Chapter-5

China-Pakistan Strategic Relations: The Terrorism Factor
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Terrorism terrifies, whatever the justice of the terrorist’s cause, whatever his methods, whether arousing terror is his aim or not, the terrorist campaign of violence does terrify.

Paul Gilbert

Terrorism: A Brief Outline

Terrorism as an activity can be traced back to First Century B.C. The “Zealots Sicarri” (Jewish terrorists dedicated to inciting a revolt against Roman rule in Judea) murdered their victims with daggers in broad daylight in the heart of Jerusalem, eventually creating anxiety among the population that they generated a mass insurrection. The Spaniards use “guerrilla warfare” against Napoleon, since then traces can be found during the Roman Empire; in the Tsarist Russia and in France during the period of evolution. However, the term modern terrorism originated with French Revolution. It is stated that the term “terror” was coined systemically in 1795 to refer to a policy to protect the fledging French Republic government against counter-revolutionaries. Thus, the original use of the term “terrorist” in English lexicon came in 1795 French Revolution in the writings of Edmund Burke commenting on the regime of terror of Maximilien Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety in France.

Definitional Dichotomy

There is no agreed definition of terrorism internationally. The following definitional approaches however, clarify the meaning of terrorism. Many define it on the basis of methods; political; religion bases, etc. To begin with, Paul Gilbert, explained terrorism as any method of war of intentionally attacking those who ought not to be

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attacked. In a similar line, Walter Lacquer, pointed out that terrorism used violence method of combat strategy and not an ideology to achieve certain goals by inducing fear in the victim, with publicity as an essential strategy. Terrorism can also be viewed in relation to political interest. While lamenting notion about terrorism for humanity, Ted Honderich explained:

Terrorism or political violence, in all its element is, a use of physical force that injures, damages, violates or destroys people or things, with a political and social intention, and whether or not intended to cause fear to people in general, and raising a question of its moral justification—either illegal violence within a society or violence between states and societies not according to international law, and smaller-scale than war.

Terrorism is also referred to as the use of threat or violence for political purposes to create a state of fear, which will cause individuals, groups or governments to alter their behaviour or policies as stated by George P. Schultz United States Secretary of State. Similarly, Alastair C. Mac Willson defined terrorism as an organised violence by small groups against the state or against other ethnic groups or classes for political purposes he went ahead by mentioning four characteristics of terrorism: 1) Terrorism as trans-national, 2) Terrorist acts for a purpose, 3) Terrorism as part of a continuing spiral of violence, and 4) Anyone can become the victims of terrorism. Likewise, terrorism is referred to the organised system of intimidation to achieve certain ends, especially the political ends. Therefore, it can be stated that terrorism is a politically loaded term. This is because it differs according to the nature, circumstances and mode of activities.

The second point is based on the basis of religion. A leaf from the American historian Samuel Huntington’s concept on “clash of civilization” between the world’s major civilization including the Islamic world and the west can be viewed upon to clarify this point. Huntington has argued that the difference between Islam and the west are both centuries old and bitter. He claimed that “while Muslim states have had a high propensity

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13 Ashutosh Kumar, "Terrorism and Democratic Regimes", in B.P. Singh Sehgal (ed.), n.12, p. 90.
to resort to violence in international crisis, the West simultaneously has an increasing
tendency to worry about, and to make military plans to counter, the Islamic threat."14 To
this argumentation some protested the concept while others embraced. For example the
leader of Lashkar-e-Toiba Hafiz Mohammed Seed has been quoted as saying “We
believe in the clash of civilisations and our Jihad will continue until Islam becomes the
dominant religion.”15

Pakistan and China Phenomenon

Pakistan’s role can be trace back to 7th century dispute between the “Sunni” and
“Shiites” on the issue of who was the true heir to Prophet Mohammad.16 However, its
ideological roots can be traced back to the 18th century Saudi Arabia militant
“Wahhabism”.17 In addition to it, the cardinal tenets of Islamic fundamentalism is to
protect the purity of Islamic precept.18 The ideology binds together some 750 million
Muslims spread over the world.19 Although it started as an intra-Islamic conflict, in
general it is a fight to shape the future of Muslim civilization.20

Pakistan with dictatorial regimes helped fundamentalist agenda to create
widespread infrastructure for the spread of fundamentalism. In 1979, Pakistan’s then
military ruler Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, “instituted Sharia courts for religious offenses”
later in 1991 “Sharia was declared as the supreme law of Pakistan over and above even
the constitution.”21 This transformed the structure of Pakistan state and society “it
spawned gun violence and gun culture, the jihadist assemblies, the militant mullahs and
their Taliban (students).”22 The end result a degree of low intensity conflict in Kashmir.
Jamaat-e-Islami (unlike the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) advocating
independence) an offshoot of the Pakistani party of the same name emerged favouring

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union with Pakistan as anti-Indian sentiment hardened in 1980s. Taking the situation into advantages, the Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) turned to Jamaat-e-Islami’s armed wing Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (the organisation supports the union of Kashmir with Pakistan).

For China, it was due to the conglomeration of nationalities in Xinjiang (East Turkestan) province began to witness separatist movement. Thus, China, at present times raises the issue of terrorism and extends its overtures towards India to contain the growing role of Islamic fundamentalism. This is a positive move, as “terrorism is a by-product of fundamentalism with different forms, religious, regional, political, ideological, urban, international and state terrorism. Besides this, “terrorism is now taken to be any premeditated and unlawful act of violence against innocence people or non-combatants, irrespective of its cause or motive.”

Terrorism: Pakistan’s Role and Sanctuary

The emergence of terror related problems in Pakistan can be directly attributed with the policies it followed vis-à-vis the Islamic code of conduct. It was President Ayub Khan’s bold decision to counter the influence of ulamas on March 1962, set the stage and after a year on December 1963, by an amendment Ayub declared Pakistan as an Islamic State. This was followed by President Zia-ul-Haq enacting certain Islamic laws and Islamic tax (Islamic penal code, Shariat court and levied Islamic taxes) in 1979. The end result, religious intolerance cropped up between the two sect (Sunnis and Shias) leading to widespread of terrorist activities in Pakistan. However, Zia’s “Islamisation” agenda for the creation of a parallel system of Islamic legislation and judiciary benefited the religious political extremists.

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24 Owen Bennett Jones, n.23, p. 82.
26 A.N. Sadhu, “Key Note Address”, in B.P. Singh Sehgal (ed.), n.12, pp. 14&16.
Another factor that is widely visible in Pakistan is the deep-rooted linkage between the Jama'at and the military. “It is no secret that the Jama'at-i-Islami and the ISI worked closely during the Afghan crisis and even after the crisis” stated Robert G. Wirsing. 32 Similarly, Ayesha Siddiqa-Agha explained that:

This religious extremist party has an organised force to conduct its operations in Kashmir consisting of separate political, military and publicity wings. Its support was considered vital by the military and publicity wings. Its support was considered vital by the military decision-makers due to the financial and human support which the Jama'at capable of obtaining from other Muslim states on ideological grounds. 33

Thus, evidence shows that Pakistan harbours Jehadi camps that operate in and around Pakistan and even beyond.

Jihad: Pakistan’s Role

In Arabic, jihad means “struggle” and is commonly known as “holy war”. 34 Jihad, however, as a historical tradition and a general practice has come to mean “a military action with the expansion of Islam and the needs to defend Islam.” 35 It is this concept of military action that Jihad became more vulnerable. Apart from this, “Jihadists see themselves as non-state actors waging an irregular war against ‘kafirun’ or unbelievers.” 36 “The Jihad also struggle to achieve (a just) world,” writes Karen Armstrong. 37 Conversely, extremist like Mullahs and Ayatollahs justify and condone barbarous acts in the name of the Islamic struggle to gain more adherents and further territorial expansion. 38 Thus, under such strict adherence to Islamic ideological conceptualisation Pakistan’s role becomes imminent. 39

According to intelligence reports from Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) a number of camps are based in Pakistan. The report with supporting evidence in the form of photographs, radio intercepts, interrogation and the like stated that “55 camps spreads all around Pakistan – 29 in PoK; 15 or more in the North West Frontier Province; 7 in Punjab; 3 in the Northern Areas of Gilgit-Baltistan, and one in Sindh. In addition to it, 13 camps are reported to exist in Manshera (NWFP) under the auspicious of Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, Al Badr Mujahideen and the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen. (See Appendix – 6 for the profiles of Terrorist Organisations groups).

Interestingly, to a question pertaining to cross-border movement of terrorists, Pakistan’s President Pervez Musharraf answered that “there were no training camps in Pakistan and there was no cross-border movement of “terrorists” into Indian-held Kashmir.” Although, Pakistan vehemently denies that such camps exist, however, Afghans and Indian officials repeatedly objected Pakistan’s role in harbouring and spreading the nefarious terrorist activities beyond its border.

Al-Qaeda

Al-Qaeda (meaning- the base) is the personal creation of Osama Bin Laden. The ideology is derived from three pre-existing socio-political forces: “The Wahhabite movement in Saudi Arabia; the Muslim Brotherhood that emerged in modern Egypt, and finally, the technological education now available to disaffected Muslims throughout the Middle East.” It was developed by Bin Laden and others in 1980s to support the war effort in Afghanistan against the Soviets. The resulting victory gave rise to “Jihad” and the trained Mujahideen fighters from Afghanistan continued the Jihad and by 1990 Al-Qaeda began providing military and intelligence training in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Sudan.

46 Taken from Congressional Statement, 18 December, 2001, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Statement for the Record of J.T Caruso Acting Assistant Director Counter Terrorism Division, Federal Bureau of
Now, Al-Qaeda is considered as an umbrella organisation of Islamic fundamentalist. It follows a network of religious terrorist organisation. In addition to it, Pakistan provides the playgrounds for the training of various groups and individuals of terrorist organisations. For instance, Peshawar, the capital of Pakistan’s North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) serves as a command headquarters of the Jihad. Besides this, an examination of evidence taken from Afghanistan and Pakistan reveals that Al-Qaeda is showing interest in chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons. Fear also emanates due to “misuse” of WMD, and its capability of mobilising direct and indirect attack targets at home and abroad. It was reported that Al-Qaeda had established its branch in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK). With the support from Muslim non-governmental organisation throughout the world Al-Qaeda truly acts as a global network.

Difficulties

There is much difficulty in tracking these groups because at times of danger many go into hibernation or even change their names. Following Jaish’s inclusion in the U.S. Department’s terrorist watch-list release on April 2000, the Kashmir based Muttahida Jihad Council (MJC) on December 2001 had announced that Jaish-e-Muhammad had

47 Sharad S. Chauhan, n.46, p. 2.
55 For detail see, http://www.treas.gov/offices/enforcement/ofac/sanctions/t11ter.pdf, in this web site a long lists of people and organisations sanctioned under Executive Order 13224, signed on September 23, 2001, is given.
been renamed as AI Furqan. Similarly, the dreaded Lashkar-e-Tayba was renamed Jamaat al Daawa. This clearly indicates that the insurgents use different strategies depending on circumstances. Besides this, in Pakistan, religious extremists over the past decades or so became a threat to regional and global stability because of state patronage. And the groups also hold close ties with military’s foreign policy.

The difficulty also emanates as terrorism is a permanent historical phenomenon accompanied in various forms and conditions. The interference in determining the course of action in domestic and foreign policy by the militants made the situation even worse for Pakistan. The fact is that some of Pakistan’s religious schools the madrassas are no longer just bastions of medieval theology. “They have evolved into training center for radical anti-Western militancy.”

Besides this, “cross-border operations have increasingly blurred the distinction between ‘regulars’ and ‘irregular’ infiltration, and the roots of Islamic terror spread from Algiers to Xinjiang and Chechnya and Daghestan to Kashmir.” This aggravates the problems as “terrorism is not just a matter of the individual terrorist and organisation, it is also applicable to the realm of state behaviour,” stated Uzi Arad. Therefore, in order to contain this problem, “Pakistan must urgently enact legislation to prevent the flow of funds to terrorists and other extremists,” opined Samina Ahmed. A revamp is needed

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pertaining to “Shariat” as the law cannot be practically be applied in the age of technology.\textsuperscript{67}

**Flawed Policies of Terrorism: China’s Concern over Xinjiang**

China’s contact with Xinjiang (western province) began during the emperor Han Wudi in 140 B.C. However, it was during the Qing Dynasty it formally became a part of the Chinese domain.\textsuperscript{68} It is China’s largest province, accounting for a sixth of the total area.\textsuperscript{69} Uighur, Kazak, Dongxiang, Kirghiz, Tadjik, Uzbek and Tarar minority Muslim community resides in the province.\textsuperscript{70} According to 1990 census, the population of Uighur minorities is second the first being the Hui.\textsuperscript{71} (See Appendix – 7, for populations of Muslim minorities in China)

The Table-1 below shows the Muslim nationalities in Xinjiang province of China. Xinjiang is a multi-national region with 12 minority ethnic groups, accounting for 60 percent of the region’s 14 million population.\textsuperscript{72}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL, No</th>
<th>Minority Nationality</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hui</td>
<td>7.21 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Uighur</td>
<td>5.95 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kazak</td>
<td>610,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dongxiang</td>
<td>280,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kirghiz</td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Salar</td>
<td>70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tajik</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bonan</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>10,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>14 million</strong></td>
</tr>
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\textsuperscript{68} Yan Ding, “Nuclear Pollution and Human Rights Violations in Xinjiang”, JPRS Report China, JPRS-CAR-92-039, 11 June 1992, p. 81.


\textsuperscript{71} “Population”, JPRS Report China, JPRS-CAR-91-032, June 13, 1991, p. 34.

Threat of Growing Ethnic Separatist

Most of Xinjiang’s 46 different minority peoples have their own spoken language, written script, culture, customs and habits, and religious beliefs. Any sort of ethnic separatist would act as a cataract in Xinjiang and internal unrest. In Xinjiang Pan-Turkish movement flourished among the Uighurs, and a Hui Muslim warlord controlled a powerful and largely autonomous army. In order to crystallize this fear “all nationalities enjoyed autonomy under the Xinjiang Autonomous Regional People’s Congress Standing Committee founded in 1955” said Amudun Niyaz, the Chairman of the Committee. It is stated that the Muslims resent Chinese rule in different aspects. Such as: forced birth control, restrictions on building mosques, unsustainable exploitation of the region’s natural resources and the primary nuclear testing site of the PLA’s at Lop Nur [Lop Lake] in Xinjiang.

China’s major fear is that Islamic fundamentalism in the Xinjiang-Uighurs Autonomous Area (XUAA) directly adjoining to Central Asia may resort to demand for a separate autonomous area from the mainland. Therefore, on the basis of 6 national autonomous counties and 5 national autonomous prefectures, the Xinjiang Uighurs Autonomous Region was founded on October 1, 1955. This led the Uighurs to outrightly reject Beijing’s charges of persecuting the ethnic minorities. The Muslim separatist activities increased as nearly 20 million of the People in the People’s Republic of China are Muslim. The major jolt was felt in 1990, when the Muslim uprising broke out in Xinjiang. China simply cannot compromise this, as Xinjiang has rich natural

77 Ibid
resources. And China looked to untapped the reserves petroleum in Xinjiang province to meet the energy needs. Besides this, according to reports, Chinese minority nationality had increase from 789,000 to 1.84 million and from 4.76 to 6.06 percent nationwide. Thus, China followed a balance approach in spite of the unrest in the region.

External Linkages: The Pakistan Factor

The province with 14 million Muslims has strong links with other Islamic countries. The Chinese fear about the possibility of the separatist uniting with other Muslim countries in the Middle East and Central Asia. Prior to this, even Moscow is said to have used the ethnic unrest in Xinjiang to threaten China in early 1960s. However, in recent time, Beijing expresses displeasure over the growing Islamic fundamentalism in Xinjiang and its linkages with Pakistani fundamentalist religious groups. The problem is added up with Osama’s Al-Qaeda network providing financial and material aid to the Uighur separatists.

Pakistan with its ideology of Islamic fundamentalism definitely acts as an irritant in its relations with China. The separatist seeking to create the nation of “East Turkestan” in Xinjiang is said to have links with the Islamic fundamentalist active in Pakistan. China even accused Pakistan by stating that “the group’s members had been

87 Robert S. Ross, n.82, p. 191.
trained in Pakistan and had links with the Al-Qaeda.”92 Pakistan’s President Pervez Musharraf, in order to mend the allegation is said to have promised the Chinese leaders that “He would not let terrorist to use his country as a base including separatist from China’s Muslim in north-west, as the two sides signed an agreement to extradite each other’s criminals.”93 To this, the Chinese President Hu Jintao, stated that “We always found him (President Musharrat) supportive of Chinese policies on regional terrorism and global crime.”94 Interestingly, with the exception of infrequent incidents involving Uighur separatists in the remote western region of Xinjiang, terrorism is all but unheard of in China.95

**China’s Move to Contain Terrorism: The Shanghai-Six**

Nations pursue various approaches in opposition to terrorism.96 Similarly, China joined the Shanghai-Five (comprises of Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan) which was formed in 1996, as a security measures to deal with border disputes and confront Islamic militancy and extremism in the region.97 Later on, at the August 1999 Summit in Bishkek, an agreement was reached on practical measures to tackle and eliminate religious militancy in the region. The Shanghai-Five was later changed into Shanghai-Six, with Uzbekistan joining the group at a meeting of the head of the state government held in Shanghai, it was here the groups decided to set up an anti-terrorism centre in Bishkek and raise a rapid deployment force.98

The basic agenda of the Shanghai-Six include, to maintain regional security, to contain international terrorism, illicit drug trafficking, illegal arms running, etc.99 At 2000 Summit held in Dushanbe, China’s President Jiang Zemin, called for “deeper security

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93 Ibid
94 Ibid
cooperation." The Shanghai-Six was further renamed as the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) in 2001. The SCO objective is also to check the U.S. pervasive presence in the region both in terms of security and control of energy. Since then, China seeks to extend her influence through an alliance with Russia vis-à-vis the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation.

Pakistan, India and Iran also show great interest in joining the organisation. Pakistan is said to have even seek to get admitted way back in January 2001. However, the problem with Pakistan is the international isolation and the terrorism tag it possesses especially after 9/11. The aim to contain terrorism as one of the goal of the SCO attracts India, as India is concern with its 100 millions Muslims. However, China is cautious about Pakistan's membership due to the active role played by Pakistan in terrorist activities and its failure to adhere international norms to contain such activities. For instance, Pakistan failed to adhere the resolution of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) 1333, para 2& 4 [that call upon all states to prevent use of their territory for the supply of weapons, equipments, vehicles, technical advice, assistance or training related to the military activities of the armed personnel under the control of the Taliban]. And also the UNSC resolution 1378 passed on September 28, 2001, stating that all countries should, among other things, freeze the assets of the terrorist groups.

Conversely, Russia too expressed its opposition in granting SCO membership to Pakistan owing to Islamabad support to Taliban. However, at the same time, Pakistan and Russia have also agreed to further strengthen cooperation against terrorism. Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Safonov, heading the working group on terrorism

100 Ibid
101 Data from the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Russia, as given in East Asian Strategic Review 2006, p. 176.
102 Ibid
103 Anita Sengupta, “Russia in Eurasia; The Ongoing Debates”, Mahavir Singh (ed.), n.98., p. 120.
105 Ibid
108 Ibid
appreciated General Pervez Musharraf's role in countering the threat of terrorism. "The two countries shared identical views on the fight against terrorism", Safonov told the APP in Islamabad on February 24, 2004. The Foreign Minister also said that:

The Pakistan-Russia Joint working Group discussed elimination of sources of funding through various sources including charities and the draft of a treaty of extradition, increasing cooperation between experts of law-enforcing agencies, exchange of specific information on terrorists, cooperation in anti-narcotics measures and appointment of liaison officers to coordinate these efforts.  

Terrorism in Kashmir: China's Changing Attitude

Terrorism in Kashmir can be traced back to the days of Arabs, Turks and the Mongols invasion. However, it was after the withdrawal of Britisher's, followed by civil war between the Azad Kashmir and India, terrorism surfaced out in Kashmir. The situation aggravated with the Pakistani government mobilising its army and infiltrating it into Kashmir to support the Kashmiri rebels. Since then, Kashmir began to occupy the centre stage between India and Pakistan. Thereafter, Pakistan began to infiltrate into Kashmir, leading to frequent military clashes along the ceasefire line. The infiltrators commonly follow "guerilla warfare."

Some of the group's active in Kashmir include: Harkat-ul-Ansar (HUA); Hizbul Mujahideen (HM); Pan-Islamic group and Lashkar-e-Toiba. Interestingly, Pakistan's anti-Indian military and its support to various fundamentalist organisations have made

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114 Ibid
115 Since 1947 after the emergence of India and Pakistan, Kashmir remains to be a contentious issue between the two countries. The Hindu ruler of the Muslim dominated majority Maharaja Hari Singh decision to accede with India when Pakistan suddenly attacked Kashmir, with New Delhi assurance to expel the attackers, however, under the auspices of the UN a ceasefire line was agreed upon and the war came to an end in 1948. Today Kashmir remains a territorial dispute with the Line of Control as the demarcating line.
117 Ariel Merari, "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency", in Alan O'Day (ed.) n.2, p. 222.
“Pakistan as the epicenter of global terrorism.” Interestingly, Lashkar-e-Tayba (army of the pure) which funnels combatants into Kashmir runs Wahhabi madrassas whose curriculum glorifies Jihad and martyrdom, with an objective to establish a Taliban-style Islamic state in Kashmir. In fact, the escalation of terrorism by Pakistan in Kashmir is a long term strategy and was directly under the handiwork of ISI’s “K-2” programme. The strategy also includes using Army regulars and civilian Islamic militants.

The Chinese were worried about the Uighurs separatist linkages with Islamic fundamentalist operating in Kashmir. This is because violence inflicted at one place spills-over and makes it transnational and complex. Besides this, analyst linked the recent spate of attacks against Chinese nationals in Pakistan as “Islamabad’s policy of playing ball with Beijing in its attempts to quell the Islamist movement in the Chinese province of Xinjiang.” Pakistan supporting and promoting unabated low intensity conflict began to matter even to China. However, unlike China, Pakistan continues to sponsor cross-border terrorism in Kashmir with strong anti-Indian propaganda. In an interview to Weekly, the Muslim Conference leader of Azad Kashmir; Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan said that “Jihad had become business and that Jihad in Kashmir had harmed the Pakistani,” Qayyum also termed ex-ISI Chief General (retd.) Hamid Gul as Sheikh Chilli (slaves of fantasy).

**China’s Policy**

China with its own secessionist problems in Xinjiang began to refrain from supporting Pakistan on Kashmir issue after 1990. China has now “adopted a position of

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121 “Pakistan and Export of Terrorism”, *The Tribune*, January 24, 1994.
122 Owen Bennett Jones, n.23, p. 260.
careful neutrality on Kashmir.” During his visit to Islamabad after a trip to Delhi in 1996, Jiang Zemin declared that “Kashmir was a bilateral issue to be sorted out between India and Pakistan.” Jiang Zemin also advocated a direct dialogue between the two countries on Kashmir as well as progress towards better bilateral relations. This new rapprochement is because of China’s concern of the growing Islamic separatist in its own province of Xinjiang. Chen Ruisheng, a former Chinese ambassador to India and now a senior advisor at the China’s Institute of International Studies commented that “China has traditional friendship with Pakistan but will not take sides with Pakistan in the Kashmir dispute and that it does not believe in strategic alliances, Pacts or blocs but only strategic partnership.”

The Kargil conflict (1999) was the best test of China’s repeated notion of referring Kashmir as a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan. During the meeting of Pakistani Foreign Minister Sartaz Aziz with former Chinese Prime Minister and Chairman of the National People’s Congress Li Peng, on June 1999 in Beijing, Pakistan was advised that “it should remain cool headed and exercise self-control and solve conflicts through peaceful means and avoid worsening the situation.” Similarly, China also made it clear that it has no intention or will to play any mediatory role between the two countries. This neutral stand of China backfired General Pervez Musharraf’s initiative of the Kargil incursion.

The outcome was disastrous for Pakistan, apart from China’s cautious stand during the conflict; internally Pakistan witnesses a complete chaos in terms of command. It was stated that the conflict permeated Pakistan’s military itself as the adventure backfired totally and the responsibility for the debacle was no other than the Army Chief...

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134 Atul Aneja, “We have no plan to broker Indo-Pak Peace says Zhu”, The Hindu, January 14, 2002.
Gen. Pervez Musharraf. Left with no option, General Musharraf tried to mend the damages. *First*, he fundamentally altered the basis of Kashmir policy (not abandoning the cause) after 9/11 by shifting away from support for Islamic militant groups. *Second*, Musharraf visited Beijing on January 2002 to secure assurance of the type he was keen on in relations to the India-Pakistan stand-off but had not succeeded. *And finally*, on January 12, 2002, in his hour-long speech: Addressed the international community particularly the United States to play an active role in solving the Kashmir dispute for lasting peace and harmony in the region.

**Terrorism in the 21st Century: Pakistan’s Stands and Role**

As mentioned earlier, terrorism is as old as human civilization. However, the whole perception of terrorism changed after the September 11, 2001 terror attack in the U.S. The U.S. President George W. Bush declared “a war against terrorists of global reach”, he also further stated that “it would be an extended war, different from any in American history, one whose virtues- some seen, some unseen – would accumulate.” Sparring Pakistan, the blunt was felt by other Muslim countries like - Yemen, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Lebanon. On June 2002, at West Point, Bush also vowed that the United States would relentlessly put its efforts to fight terrorism in the 21st century. The most significant development is that the words Al-Qaeda and *Jihad* became a common place in the spoken American lexicon.

Pertaining to this event and thereafter, Prof. S.D. Muni pointed out two aspects that changed the western approach towards terrorism: *First*, for the first time, terrorism attacked the mightiest of the power; *Secondly*, the attack was a challenge to the prevailing

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141 For detail see George W. Bush, n.139.
hegemonic power structure of the world and a powerful statement that the dominance of the U.S. in this power structure is not acceptable, that it could be challenged through the use of force and violence.143 Similarly, Suran Buck-Moss, with an expertise in theoretical dimension writes “It can be argued that the global violence initiated by September 11 has had an impact generally on perception and expression-on seeing and speaking.”144

Besides this, the connotation “Terrorism” has become a new paradigm of international conflict. The power, the weaponry, and the proficiency of terrorist groups began to accelerate at a much faster rate than the counter-measures available to civilised society.145 In addition, the fear of terrorist possessing weapons of mass destruction makes it even more uncertain.146 The characteristic of terrorism also shows that different mode of tactics is followed depending on the size and battle zone (See appendix – 8 for detail). Like the Al-Qaeda, where its personnel are more professional, better organised, financed, well facilitated by information technology and most importantly, willingness to cause mass casualties – perhaps by using chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear (CBRN) weapons.147 The vulnerability is also added up through guerilla tactics and mass killing.148

The current wave of international terrorism in the 21st century is also facilitated with unprecedented threats from non-state actors.149 This is because terrorism is not simply a phenomenon of blind matter of hatred.150 On the contrary, most of the facilitator

is either indoctrinated ideologically or in religious line.\footnote{151} Besides this, terrorism is now a chain of international network.\footnote{152} This process is facilitated by the information technology and the subsequent outcome of cyber-terrorism.\footnote{153} One such notable example is prior to 9/11, members of Al-Qaeda is said to have communicated through yahoo email, and Mohammad Atta, the presumed leader of the attacks is said to have made his reservation online.\footnote{154} Besides this, terrorism in the 21st century is basically asymmetric in nature.\footnote{155} “Terrorism was now seen as a national threat originating in groups that were highly organised, sophisticated in their training, planning and execution”, stated William Crotty.\footnote{156}

In spite of being an important ally of the U.S. in fighting terrorism,\footnote{157} nothing is done in Pakistan with regard to the madrassas. “The madrassas still indoctrinate and recruit militant, the militant training camps remain and several leaders and extremist groups are back on the street” said Ishtiaq Ahmed.\footnote{158} With focus on the means of technology the groups pose unthinkable threats to states, John Gearson, termed it as “super-terrorism.”\footnote{159} The indoctrination also helped Osama bin Laden and Ayman Al Zawahiri to attract adherents.\footnote{160}
The Islamic militants view the ongoing military campaign against the West and the United States as one event. In a videotape released by Osama bin Laden in October 2001, sought to rally against the infidel. "These events have divided the whole world into two sides of the infidels. My God keep you away from them. Every Muslim has to rush to make his religion victorious. The winds of faith have come. Muhammad, peace be upon him" Laden has been quoted as saying.

China’s Changed Perception

China also supported the U.S-led war on terror and at the same time called on the rest of the world to support its own war against Turkic-speaking, ethnic Uighur separatists. Beijing claims that the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) was supported and directed by Osama bin Laden and appreciated the U.S. decision to add it to its list of terror organisation in 2002. On January 21, 2002, China also stepped up efforts to win acceptance of its fights with Muslim separatists in its northwest, as according to report issued by the press office of China’s cabinet, “The East Turkestan terrorist organisation... has the unstinting support of bin Laden, and is an important part of his terrorist forces.”

In addition to it, China was equally satisfied with the response from its trusted ally Pakistan. General Pervez Musharraf move to support Beijing’s fight against the “East Turkestan” terrorism within China’s border helped to build confidence between the two countries. During the informal Asean-China Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime on November 30, 2005 in Ha Noi, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao welcomed the strengthening of cooperation to fight against terrorism and other transnational crimes and agreed to consider establishing linkages between Asean and other international organisation including the Shanghai Cooperation in global effort against terrorism.

164 Ibid
165 “Beijing links separatists to bin Laden”, http://www.atimes.com/china/DA23Ad02.html
167 Ibid
The War on Terrorism: South Asia Cauldron

Terrorism is not the problem of its victims but its impact reverberates across the globe. In South Asia religious extremists forces with support from outside and use of terror and violence seeking to fragment the multi-ethnic societies has been the biggest threat to stability. S.D. Muni remarked that:

There are no doubt, success stories in this endeavour of fighting terrorism, but the challenge remains as serious and daunting as ever. It seems that the nature of this challenge has also been undergoing rapid transformations as a result of the evolving domestic, regional, and international contexts, however, he further stated that the persistence of the challenge of terrorism also underlines the fact that the strategies pursued to cope with the challenge have not been adequate, appropriate, or ineffective.

Islamabad's close links with the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and connection with Taliban and Osama bin Laden's Al-Qaeda makes the region even more vulnerable. Richard Clarke, the first National Coordinator for Security, Infrastructure Protection and Counterterrorism has been quoted as saying that "The [Bush] administration has squandered the opportunity to eliminate Al-Qaeda...A new Al-Qaeda had emerged and is growing stronger, in part because of our own actions and inactions."

To combat the problems of terrorism, the idea was mooted at the first formal meeting of South Asian Regional Cooperation (SAARC) on December 1985. Considering the seriousness of the problem of terrorism, in 1986, the heads of State government of SAARC agreed that "cooperation among SAARC states was vital if terrorism was to be prevented and eliminated from the region."

S.D. Muni stated four broad categories of strategies pursued by the South Asian states in responding to the challenges cause by terrorism: first, the strategy is based on the use of force; second, relates to the law and order approach; third, relates the political and constitutional approach to address the root cause of insurgencies and terrorism; and the fourth, closely

171 S.D. Muni (ed.), n.59, p. 11.
linked to the political and constitutional approach is in responding to terrorism through socio-economic development and cultural accommodation.  

**India and Pakistan**

Both India and Pakistan are plagued with the problems of ethnic assertions on the part of minority groups within their respective countries. In bilateral front, both failed to negotiate peace. However, although not completely assured, both now looked forward to mend fences with the issue of terrorism. Addressing a press conference in Islamabad on October 3, 2005, India’s External Affairs Secretary Shyam Saran said “India had welcomed Pakistani assurances on cross border terrorism. The continuation of the process was in the interest of both countries and senior Indian and Pakistani leaders had reiterated their wish to continue peace.” But, India’s main concern is that Pakistan still assists terrorism infrastructure in disputed Kashmir, while on the other hand according to Pakistan’s Foreign Ministry spokesman Naeem Khan, “there is no infrastructure of terrorism anywhere in Pakistan or in territories under Pakistan Occupied Kashmir.”

Pakistan’s role in Afghanistan by providing sanctuaries to Taliban and its insincerity in the war against terrorism caused concern for India. During India’s Prime Minister Manmohan Singh two days visit to Afghanistan on August 28, 2005 and his meeting with Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai mainly focused on terrorism. “There is convergence of views that terrorism poses a threat anywhere and everywhere and we have to deal with it together” emphasised Singh. Similarly, Karzai said “Afghanistan still faced occasional terrorist activity and that he was negotiating with ‘brothers in Pakistan’ because all of us – India, Pakistan and Afghanistan – need to join hands to fight this global menace.”

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180 Ibid
India and China

Down playing the differences on boundary dispute, India and China started to build closer economic ties and have established a forum that will help them combat terrorism. The Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji visit to India on January 2002 is symbolically important. As during the visit, India and China agreed that they face a common enemy in terrorism and decided to hold a regular dialogue in this field.\(^{181}\) Zhu Rongji even warned by saying that “China resolutely opposes any sort of terrorism whenever, wherever, for whatsoever reasons and to whom it takes place.”\(^{182}\) This is because Beijing shows concern about cross-border terrorism from neighbouring Central Asian Republics. Therefore, by establishing a dialogue with India, China has now opened another channel to counter terrorism.\(^{183}\) According to Salman Khurshid, “a gradual consensus is paving way between India and China and also at the same time between China and Pakistan with regard to containing of terrorism.”\(^{184}\)

The U.S. Role

The U.S. policy seeks to maintain peace in the world.\(^{185}\) The 9/11 attack clearly reevaluate its future emergency response to detect, prevent and respond.\(^{186}\) The U.S. was concern about Pakistan’s role in harbouring extremism in the region.\(^{187}\) Thus, in the post September 11, the U.S. military configured to defeat nonstate terrorist networks spread around the globe.\(^{188}\) According to the America’s Congressional Research Service, “The United States view Pakistan as a vital ally in the international anti-terrorism coalition and has refrained from expressing any significant public criticisms of the Pakistan’s internal

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\(^{182}\) Zhao Gancheng, “China: Periphery and Strategy”, in Mahavir Singh (ed.), n.98, p. 56.
\(^{183}\) Atul Aneja, n. 181.
\(^{188}\) Greg Grant, “Pentagon Refuges to Adapt to War on Terror”, Defense News, February 13, 2006, www.defensenews.com,
political practices." The U.S. Ambassador in charge of counter-terrorism Henry Crumpton was quoted as saying that "Pakistan needed to do more to curb terrorism."

However, differences still persist between Pakistan and the U.S. on issues related to: Afghanistan, Kashmir, training camps for Islamic militants, and nuclear proliferation. Therefore, in order to check this, the U.S. increases additional military and border security for Pakistan. The reason is obvious, collapse of Pakistan into anarchy or an Islamist revolution would cripple the global campaign against Islamic terrorism. However, Pakistan under President Pervez Musharraf, the equation with U.S. remained intake. In a televised address to the nation on September 19, 2001, Musharraf "appeal to all Pakistanis to display unity and solidarity and foil the nefarious designs of such elements who intend to harm the interests of the country."

Besides this, on January 24, 2005, the U.S. State Department spokesman Adam Ereli stated that "skillful and aggressive efforts by Pakistani and American intelligence agencies have minimised Al-Qaeda’s influence in the region even if its leader Osama bin Laden is still at large." Similarly, speaking to PTVs on March 17, 2005, the U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said "Pakistan has become a vital ally with the U.S. in the war on terrorism. We have been interested in partnership with Pakistan on a broad-based relationship." Conversely, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Cristina Rocca also praised Pakistan for cooperation in the war on terror and said that "Pakistan had captured maximum number of Al-Qaeda terrorists in the World."

Thereafter, planned execution was carried out as counterterrorism efforts. The latest being the killing of a suspected operative of Al-Qaeda, Haitham al-Yemeni, in Pakistan with a missile launched from a remotely controlled CIA aircraft on May 7, 2005,

189 Anwar Iqbal, "Pakistan remains a vital US ally, says report", http://dawn.com/2005/02/20/top8.htm
190 Ibid
194 General Musharraf’s address is available on www.pak.gov.pk/public/president-address-19-09-01.htm.

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in the Pakistani province of North Waziristan. Commenting about Pakistan’s role in liquidating terrorism active in Pak-Afghan border area by the personnel’s of the Pakistan Army. “Islamabad is taking strong sovereign action in pursuit of extremist element,” said U.S. State Department, Deputy Spokesman Adam Ereli on August 2005. However, in spite of all these initiative, anti-American sentiment remains high, leaving Washington in a dilemma over how to intervene and preserve its interests in the region.

**Long Term Aid Strategy**

Clearly military actions together with foreign aid/grant programs provide an effective start to abating the Al-Qaeda threat. Pakistan as a declared ally in the fight against terrorism received huge amount of military aid from the U.S. It is stated that the U.S. gives Pakistan more than $700 million in military and economic assistance each year (covering areas like, health, economic development & trade and law enforcement). Just within a year i.e. by January 2002, after becoming an important ally of the U.S. in the war against terrorism, Pakistan is said to have received US $3 billion worth of external assistance in the form of debt relief and the rescheduling of interest payments.

**Pakistan’s Move - Policy of Containment**

Pakistan today is seen as a victim, a fighter, and unfortunately a breeding ground of terrorism and finds itself at the centre stage of what has come to be known as “the war on terrorism” said M. Ismail Khan. Khan further stated “drafting of a well thought out national strategy to combat extremism should have been a priority for Pakistan’s policy

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201 Larry Pressler, “Rice in Asia: U.S. tilt to Pakistan slights India’s democracy”, http://iht.com/bin/print_ipub.php?file=/articles/2005/03/21/opinion/edpressler.html
203 Owen Bennett Jones, n.23, p. 3.
The difficulty however lies in how to tackle the alarming trends of Osama bin-Laden with “suicide quad” drawing recruits from Muslims across Asia, Africa, Europe and the Middle East. Not only this, Pakistan being the “epicentre of terrorism”, is the fear of its nuclear weapons slipping into the hands of the Islamist forces remains a major concern.

On July 18, 2003, Pakistan’s Prime Minister Zafarullah Khan called upon the people to join hands to foil the evil designs of terrorists. A major haunt was announced on May 4, 2005, when Pakistan arrested a senior operative for Al-Qaeda (for Al-Qaeda (a Libyan named Abu Faraj al-Libbi) in Mardan, a town 30 miles north of Peshawar. However, in spite of all this efforts to contain the terrorist activities, threat from Al-Qaeda still persist. Pakistan’s Interior Minister Aftab Khan Sherpao, on June 22, 2005, stated that “Al-Qaeda had established a strong nexus with outlawed extremist groups in Pakistan.” Similarly, Pakistan’s Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz, during his state visit to Germany on July 11, 2005, reiterated that “Pakistan seek to reform internally in the economic, social and political spheres as well as its responsibilities in furthering regional stability and economic cooperation and in the wider world by doing its utmost to prevent nuclear proliferation and fight terrorism.”

Interestingly, Pakistan containment policy does not restrict to any particular country alone. On January 20, 2004, Pakistan had signed an anti-terror cooperation deal with Turkey. Besides this, one major development is that, Pakistan Navy became the

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205 Ibid
first non-Nato country to assume the command of the Coalition Maritime Security Campaign (CMSC) to lead a coalition against terrorism. 213

**Musharraf's Initiative**

It was stated that just one day after 9/11, the Director General of Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) Lt. General Mehmood, and Pakistan's Ambassador to Washington, Maleeha Lodhi, was asked to attend a meeting with senior U.S. officials on September 12, 2001, at 8. a.m. At the meeting, the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, told the Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, told the two Pakistanis that their country had to make a choice of either to align itself with the Taliban regime in Afghanistan or with Washington. "You are either 100 per cent with us or 100 per cent against us, there is no grey area" said Armitage. 214 Immediately after the meeting Lt. General Mehmood called Islamabad and spoke to General Musharraf, to which Musharraf made an instant decision. He told Mehmood that "Washington would get what it wanted." 215

Musharraf government formally notified the ban on five outlawed militant groups: Lashkar-e-Taiba, the Jash-e-Mohammad, the Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP), the Tehreek-e-Jafferia Pakistan (TJP) and the Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) due to pressure from the U.S. 216 Others banned religious groups include: Jaish Muhammad, Harkat ul Mujahideen, Jamiat ul Ansar, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, Khuddamul Furqan and Harkat ul Jihad-e-Islami. 217 However, Musharrafs policy of abandoning the Taliban was unpopular with extremists. 218

Musharraf's policy of striking the radicals and on those responsible for sectarian violence was welcome by China as well. 219 Pakistan's dependency towards China can be seen when on December 13, 2001, immediately after the Indian Parliament attack, Pakistan's President General Pervez Musharraf is said to have visited China symbolising

215 Ibid
216 B. Muralidhar Reddy, "It is for India to act, says Musharraf", The Hindu, January 16, 2002.
219 Shahzad Raza, n.217.
its strategic dependence on Beijing. And after a year, on January 12, 2002, Musharraf in his “speech of life time” said “militant Jihad is no longer acceptable to his government and he would no longer allow Pakistan territory to be used for perpetrating terrorist acts.” Besides this, Musharraf reiterated that “Pakistan was actively fighting against the Al-Qaeda along its western borders. “We will not allow the Al-Qaeda to maintain sanctuaries in Pakistan.” Similarly, on February 21, 2005, Musharraf told a bipartisan U.S. Senate that “Pakistan security agencies had yielded good results and greatly diminished the operational capability of the global terrorist’s network.”

Pakistan also carried out operation in the North Waziristan bordering Afghanistan in pursuit of foreign members of the Al-Qaeda.

Talking to a journalist in Lahore on July 25, 2005, President Musharraf said “Pakistan was not the headquarters of Al-Qaeda because most of the linkages between Osama Bin Laden and his cohorts in Pakistan had either been broken or weakened.” Musharraf also stated that about 700 activists have been arrested. The activists include supporters of Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Similarly, on August 2005, Pakistan President Musharraf also declared that “his forces have smashed sanctuaries of Al-Qaeda and have its last remnants on the run.”

General Musharraf’s latest move is the Lal Masjid (Red Mosque). After an emergency meeting failed to negotiate with the militant who held up the Mosque on July 3, 2007, Musharraf ordered his troops to enter the Mosque on July 10, 2007, for the first time a pitch battle was fought. Musharraf received applause from international

221 Ibid
audience for his tough stance against the Lal Masjid issue. On the contrary, the fundamentalist blamed Musharraf of making them a scapegoat for all of Pakistan’s ills. The event also unfolded Musharraf’s speech of 2005, in which he vowed to eradicate extremism inside his country or abroad. However, Jamaat-i-Islami Chief Qazi Hussain Ahmed, view is that “this war (war on terrorism) should not be fought with the gun alone and the option of dialogue should also be used.”

But the reality is that Musharraf has little incentives to catch Osama bin Laden in the rugged tribal areas and it may even be in the military’s interest to keep him alive, without necessarily knowing where he is. This is because, Al-Qaeda fighters were global jihadists, and their favoured battlegrounds have been outside Middle East: Afghanistan, Bosnia, Chechnya and Kashmir. For them, every conflict is simply a part of the Western encroachment on the Muslim ummah, the worldwide community of believers. Besides this, the Pakistan’s Interior Ministry has warned the Home Departments of Balochistan, Punjab, NWFP, Sindh, and Azad Jammu and Kashmir of a threat to Chinese nationals working on important development projects in Pakistan.

**Taliban: Hard Hit Challenges**

Taliban (religious fundamentalists trained in Pakistan and sent to Afghanistan to control a chaotic political situation) was launched into Afghanistan in 1996. The Taliban who were mostly ethnic Pashtuns living on both sides of the Afghan-Pakistan border along the Pakistan frontier were driven out of Kabul with the help of U.S. Thereafter, Taliban factor began to spill-over to other Muslim populace by 1999. It is

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231 Ahmed Rashid, “Musharraf's double game unravels”,
232 Somini Sengupta and David Rode, “To many, talk of a crackdown in Pakistan seems hollow”,
233 Ahmed Hassan, “Nawaz asks US to clearly define terror war”,
http://www.dawn.com/2008/02/26/top8.htm
234 Ahmed Rashid, “Little incentive to nab bin Laden”,
235 Olivier Roy, “The ideology of terror”,
236 Maryam Hussain, “Provinces told to beef up security for Chinese”,
237 H.D.S. Greenway, “Taliban ‘blowback’ threatens Pakistan”,
238 Ibid
stated that even China, Pakistan’s trusted ally showed concern about the issue. Left with no option Pakistan joined the U.S. in Afghanistan. The outcome was disastrous for Pakistan, huge migration of the refugee took place from Afghanistan to Pakistan. It was due to the supports from Islamabad that Taliban flourished in Afghanistan. On August 8, 2005, Maulana Fazlur Rehman, the head of an alliance of six Islamic fundamentalist parties and leader of the opposition in the National Assembly accused “the army of helping militants to attack Afghanistan, supporting Jihadi training camps in Pakistan and deceiving the West in its commitment to combat terrorism.”

However, with a strong foothold in the North and South Waziristan tribal areas on the border with Afghanistan, Pakistan finds it difficult to go on the offensive. The challenge of militancy also spread into the erstwhile peaceful Mohmand tribal Agency in Pakistan’s Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) region. Similarly, Pakistan’s pledge to fight the Al-Qaeda and Taliban militants in the restive tribal areas is weakened due to disagreements between Pakistani military and U.S. security forces. The situation is also worsened due to Al-Qaeda’s broader plan and suicide attacks in Pakistan.

The danger also emanates from Qari Saifullah (well-known Punjabi Taliban) and Harkatul Jihad al-Islami (HJI) firm link to the intelligence apparatus of Pakistan. Interestingly, the Qari’s organisation stretches from Kandahar to Azad Kashmir and from Chechnya to Myanmar and is linked to seminaries in Sinkiang (China), Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Karachi. Besides this, the initiatives taken by Pakistan to curb the network of Taliban as claim by Pakistan’s President Musharraf, however, seems to be not

243 Ibid
244 Syed Saleem Shahzad, “It’s showdown time in Pakistan,” http://www.atimes.com/atimes/printN.html
249 Ibid

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acceptable for the Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai, and accused Pakistan of accommodating pro-Taliban forces. 250

China's Concerns

China’s concern is that the U.S.-led war on terror gave way the Americans establishing bases in Central Asia causing fear that it may hampers its interest in the region. 251 China also observes that the U.S. move under the pretext of War on Terror as intention of seeking hegemony. 252 It has been reported that the U.S. has already established an air base in the tiny mountainous Central Asia Republic of Kyrgyzstan, which shares a common border with China. 253 The American has also moved closer to Uzbekistan. 254 Besides this, the U.S. presence in Pakistan and Afghanistan poses a security concern for the Chinese. 255 However, Pakistan, sensing China’s concern follows balance approach, particularly not to affect its relationship with China. 256

Conclusion

Therefore, terrorism orchestrated by Muslim campaign to attain both religious and political control on a number of countries/continents is undoubtedly found, with supporters from countries like: Afghanistan, Iran, Syria, Pakistan, Israel, Egypt, Iraq, Turkey, Lebanon, and parts of the former Soviet Union. 257 This is because not every terrorist group behave in a uniform way; they differ in threat, leadership, capabilities, beliefs, culture, alliance with states and other organisation. 258 Under such situation, it becomes necessary for Pakistan to see that terrorism factor does not hamper its relations with China and India. The fundamental shift is that no longer Islamabad could claim that

250 David Rohde and Somini Sengupta, “Musharraf denies, but Qaeda onslaught is on”, The Times of India, 6 August, 2005, p. 23.
252 Yu Hongjun, “China’s Diplomacy, Seeking Benefits and Avoiding Harm Amid Changing International Relations”, in Mahavir Singh (ed.), n.98, p. 63.
254 Ibid
256 Ibid
there is no connection between Afghanistan and Kashmir and even Kashmir and Xinjiang province. The reason is obvious. The Taliban and the Pakistani-based Kashmiri militant groups had the same origin. Similarly, evidence shows that Al-Qaeda active in Kashmir have parallel linkages with the separatist in Xinjiang province of China.

The Chinese government was also extremely prompt in its response to the 9/11 incidents. China sees this as a timely opportunity to highlight the issue of terrorism at the international level and interestingly this was also the first time China look forward at working towards a consensus on this issue. According to the China’s Position Paper against International Terrorism:

China supports all efforts aimed at strengthening anti-terrorism conventions within the framework of the United Nations, including the early completion of the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism and the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism. China encourages all states to become parties to the existing international anti-terrorism conventions as soon as possible and to effectively implement such conventions.

The difficulty in tackling terrorism in South Asia is due to - terrorist sympathisers, ethnic background etc. In addition to it, support of terrorism by some states makes it even more difficult. This generally pressurise governments into implementing repressive measures. In similar line, China looks towards Pakistan, while dealing with the separatist Islamic fundamentalism in its own province of Xinjiang. In other words, the needs to sustain good relations with Pakistan are now linked to the rise of Islamic extremism in Xinjiang.

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Terrorism is also not only restricted to South Asia, but it covers the entire gamut. "Radical Islam is spreading across Europe among descendants of Muslim immigrants," writes Bryan Bender.266 "Al-Qaeda today is less a product of Islamic fundamentalist and their simple strategic interest is to compel the United States and its Western allies to withdraw combat forces from Arabian Peninsula and other Muslim countries," writes Robert A. Pape.267 But the problem lies in how Pakistan balances its relationship with China vis-à-vis the separatist movement in China’s Xinjiang province. No nation can defeat terrorism alone, particularly when it comes to questions of international peace and security, a multilateral approach can only bring the international legitimacy needed to overcome the menace of terrorism.268