DEPENDENT STATE SECURITY: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PAKISTANI TERRORISM THREAT AND CHINESE STATE SECURITY

Irfan Ullah Khan[1], Shumilina Kateryna[2], Ngboawaji Daniel Nte[3], and Imran Ali Sandano[4]

[1]Zhejiang University, [2]Kharkiv Technical State University, [3]Novena University, and [4]University of Sindh

Abstract. The centrality of conceptual analysis has been underlined and acknowledged by scientists worldwide. This research discusses a new concept of security, identifying the relationship between state security and threats, labelled state security relation. The main emphasis is on a novel notion in the security paradigm, dependent state security, which is grounded by the case study of Chinese state security relationship with the Pakistani terrorism threat. The paper also highlights some of the practices that led to the development of the concept and the threat response strategies implied in the case of dependent state security relations.

Keywords: dependent state security, state security relationhip, China, Pakistani terrorism, threat response

1. Introduction

The significance of global change cannot be ignored by any member of the international community. It can impact not only a single state but also many territories beyond national frontiers. Just as the world is no longer merely a geographic object, and the population, economy and territory also no longer solely represent a modern country's strength. Today, the strength of any state can be measured by the level of its collaboration, that is, the quality and number of relationships and contacts established with partners, allies and friends. The merging of international and domestic issues has had a remarkable impact on the diplomatic, political and economic foundations of states and governments. However, the stimulation of globalisation, as brought on by the free flow of people,

goods, ideas, information and technology, etc., has carried with it many new security threats and challenges, creating a security environment in which no country, regardless of its power and size, can be confident in its security. Therefore, security matters gain priority for states, individuals and the world overall.

Since its inception, security studies have represented the core of international relations, predominantly dealing with issues of war and peace. Academic circles have deepened, expanded, and reconstructed the concept and theory of security. During this time, the concept of state security has also taken shape, generally referring to a nation's ability to 1) preserve its physical integrity and territory; 2) maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; 3) protect its environment, institutions, and governance from outside disruption; and 4) control its own borders (Brown 1984).

Understanding the concept of a notion and its determinants is a fundamental intellectual exercise, which is different from specifying the conditions under which security may be attained. Indeed, clarification of the concept logically precedes the search for the necessary security conditions, strategies and actions because the concept of security presupposes their identification. Thus, in our research we introduce a new perspective on security, which we have labelled the relations of state security (independent state security, inter-dependent state security, co-dependent state security, and dependent state security), emphasising the previously non-existent concept of dependent state security. This perspective is grounded in the practical case study of the relationship between dependent state security of China and the threat of terrorism in Pakistan.

Over many years, cooperation between Pakistan and China has become very upbeat, covering political, economic and military sectors. With escalating Chinese investment and the growing complexity of its foreign policy agenda, the existing theories of security based solely on the traditional view of the Pakistan-China relationship must be revised. After the superpower rivalry gone at the end of the 20th century, there is a more regionalized international security order (Buzan 2003). As Buzan states South Asia is a clear example of a security complex. Regional Security Complexes are generated by the states by their security perceptions of, and interactions with, each other. They are formed by local groupings of actors and not only play a central role in relations among their members, but also crucially condition how and whether stronger outside powers penetrate into the region (Buzan 2003). Thus deep understanding of the regional inter-state security relations has gained exceptional importance in order to decide on the most accurate and efficient threat response strategy.

The theoretical conceptual framework and practical case study, discussed in this paper, show that the dependent state security perspective opens the way for new security viewpoint on inter-state relations, significantly impacting opportunities to resolve long-lasting security issues and to opt for the different threat response measures. Therefore, the implications of dependent state security should be regarded as an 'essential new concept', elaborated upon in this research.

2. On the theories and classifications of security

Security studies have constituted strategic, central focus of international relations for decades and a clear and precise definition of its scope and classification are crucial to conducting empirical observation and analyses of security phenomena. Arnold Wolfers 1952 noted that "Security, in any objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked" (Wolfers 1952a). The latest Buzan definition of security is the "pursuit of freedom from threats" (Buzan 2016). The terms security and security classification are among the most challenging objects of international security studies (Buzan and Hansen 2016) and still lack a common definition and paradigm. Since the 1940s, when security studies emerged, various security concepts have been grounded theoretically, and many outstanding scholars have contributed valuable findings. However, the concept of security has always remained ambiguous and value laden (Milner and Baldwin 1990).

International security studies under the academic debate include various security research schools, comprising the constructivist, post-colonialist, human, critical, feminist and poststructuralist security studies, along with the Copenhagen school, globalism and peace-cooperationism, which represent the prominent academic concepts pertaining to security (Buzan and Waever 2009). Nevertheless, most efforts to redefine security are more concerned with redefining the policy agendas of nation-states than with the conceptual analysis or classification of security itself.

Conceptual analysis is not directly concerned with hypothesis testing or theory construction, though it is relevant to both, as it clarifies the meaning of concepts. Some would consider conceptualisation 'mere semantics'. However, without clear concepts, scholars' discussions become mere, and policy-makers have difficulty distinguishing between alternative strategies. On the other side the aspect of understanding notions and concepts in political science is by no means just a semantic exercise; rather, it is a most effective way to generate substantial solution-focused research (Greenstein and Polsby 1975). The conceptual explication specifies the logics and structure of notions under consideration. Thus as soon as the meanings of terms become customary, understanding is enhanced, increasing explication and decreasing the ambiguities, limitations and inconsistencies of their usage and reinterpretation. This, in turn, heightens the clarity for everyone involved and helps establish precise usage of the concept's meaning together with its ability to serve predictive and explanatory functions in theories and hypotheses (Hempel 1972).

The scientific literature has a number of valid and versatile findings on national and international security and different classifications on its internal and external paradigms, which are within the area of our research. From the point of view of Wolfers, security is classified as objective and subjective. The objective dimension deals with the determination of no threat to the object we are securing. In this

domain, we can specify human security, as well as property security, social security, environmental security, state security, etc. The subjective dimension of security refers to the psychological component linked to feelings of anxiety and safety. This draws heavily on the circumstances of the one whose values are being secured; in other words, it is the absence of fear that such values will be attacked (Wolfers 1952b). Later, the inter subjective dimension of security was enclosed to this classification, denoting a state of absence of inter subjective conflicts, which carries more social interactive meanings and reflects the absence of fear in interstate relationships (Yu and Xie 2015).

Another classification represented in Baldwin 1997 comprises specifications for security studies, previously discussed by Buzan, Wolfers, and Knorr. The author outlines not the types of security issues but a list of questions to be answered in any security research: whose values are being secured, which values are concerned, which kinds of threats are involved, the means that are available and necessary for coping with such threats, the costs of threat diminution, and the relevant time period (Baldwin 1997).

B. M. Udgaonkar argues that one should keep the internal and external dimensions of national security in mind. The internal dimension of this classification includes a lack of education, poverty, poor health care or unjust social order, large-scale unemployment, corruption, a nexus between politicians and criminals, domestic terrorism, and ineffective legislative system. Externally, security dimensions may include military confrontations, international debts, adverse terms of trade, dependence on financial aid or imported technology, necessity of importing non-renewable resources, ecological threats, international terrorism and influence of 'globalisation', 'liberalisation' and neo-colonialism forces (Udgaonkar 2001). On the other hand, in a study of EU security policy, U. Schroeder addressed the field of security holistically, arguing that the internal and external dimensions of security are increasingly difficult to separate, which, according to her study, led EU policy makers to demand a comprehensive approach to the provision of security (Schroeder 2013).

One of the commonly applied classifications of security are the dimensions of traditional security (TS), non-traditional security (NTS) and interwoven security (IS). TS includes state actors and military security; NTS is observed when non-state actors and non-military security are involved, and IS encompasses both TS and NTS. Yu 2009 has contributed a great deal to the classification and conceptualisation of non-traditional security, which is now at its peak due to the change in the trend of global security from traditional securitisation to non-traditional securitisation. His classification outlines endogenous, exogenous, dual-geneous and heterogeneous NTS. Endogenous NTS issues originate from domestic threats but have effects both inside and outside the state and must solve NTS issues of domestic policy. Exogenous NTS issues originate from abroad and have impacts in both the objective security of the country as well as affects abroad, and the domestic NTS issues must mainly be solved through diplomatic means. Dual-geneous NTS mainly refers to categories of NTS problems that occur and pose

threats domestically, nationally and internationally, primarily pertaining to borders and junctions and to problems in frontier and coastal areas, such as illegal immigrants, transnational crime, marine resources development problems, common basin water resources and ecological environment problems. The main threat factor is 'duality', which is usually linked with internal and external uncertainty. Heterogeneous NTS is a mixture of complex threats met with complex responses, which originated domestically or overseas, mixed with traditional security threats and non-traditional security threats and are solved through diplomacy and domestic affairs. Generally, it is a fusion of non-traditional threats mediated by traditional means or traditional threats met with non-traditional resources. By its nature, heterogeneous non-traditional security is broad, interwoven, and encompasses dynamic security threats that do not easily fit into other categories (Yu 2009).

However, the multiple security classifications discussed in the literature do not outline the types of relationships between the security of a state and the threat. We have found it important for our research, as it helps to realize the most efficient threat response method.

3. Relations of state security: a novel security classification

Based on the analysis of the above-mentioned theoretical findings from security studies and case studies of the terrorism threat in both Pakistan and internationally, as well as its impact on the state security of Pakistan and China, this research introduces a novel classification, namely, the relation of security. This categorisation describes what relationship the state, which security is targeted, has with the threatening object or state, from which it is being secured, and in different cases the security and its dependence appear differently. Thus, an understanding of the security relations determines or modifies the threat response strategies, which apparently are chosen according to the nature of the threat and the security relations with it. This classification of state security includes independent, dependent, interdependent and co-dependent dimensions (Figure 1).
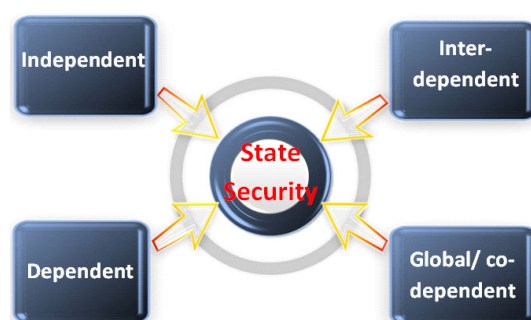

Figure 1. Security relation classification.

The proposed classification addresses a theoretical gap, which has been discovered in the existing categorisations of state security for understanding and explaining the variety of security phenomena, as it undermines the core of threat – security interconnection and aims to assist scholars and policy makers in promoting state security by finding the most efficient threat response measures and the means to execute them.

Relation is interaction, an aspect or quality that connects two or more things or parts (MerriamWebster 2015), thus understanding of the main aspects of this interaction gives the explanation of the deepest root of a relation, allowing to affect it in the most efficient and prompt way. Thereby transferring to the security area, exactly the understanding of the root aspects of interaction between the state security and a threat will point out the most effective threat response ways and strategies. Understanding the threat origin and its objective together with the way and level of state security dependence on it narrows the analysis of a particular aspect of security research and focuses threat response strategies precisely according to this relation. If a state does not respond to a threat according to its security relation, additional complications will surface in resolving the crisis or finding and applying solutions will linger.

Therefore, conceptual explications are vital for practical applications. They specify the logic and structure of the determinants under consideration. As soon as the meanings of the terms become customary, they enhance the understanding, decreasing limitations and inconsistencies in their usage and reinterpretation, enhancing the clarity for everyone involved and ensuring the precise usage of the concept's meaning together with its ability to function in theories and hypotheses with explanatory and predictive function (Hempel 1972). Thus classification of the state security relation with threats will become a solid background for research of the most efficient threat responses applicable in cases of different relations.

3.1. Independent state security

Independent state security relation denotes a security situation in which the threat to the security of the objective state is caused by a source inside the state itself. It implies that the national security of a state is threatened by any domestic agent or factor, and the crisis created by the threat impacts the state itself. Thus, the threat diminution strategies are initiated by the security object state and applied inside this state (Figure 2).

For example, a threat of Pakistani terrorism increases insecurity in the country, as actions of Pakistani terrorists create victims and property destruction along with political and economic losses in the state. Here, we see that the security objective state (Pakistan) and the threat (terrorism in Pakistan) are independent; the threat origin state and the security objective state are the same. By *security objective state* we mean the state, security of which is being protected and the *threat origin state* indicates the state, where the threat was created or which imposed the threat.
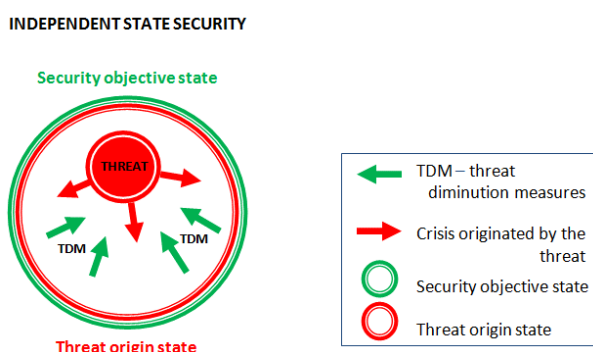
Figure 2. Independent state security relation.

The independent state security relations involve the security of one particular country and the threat in it, rather than a threat extending beyond the object state's borders. Thus, independent security relations in many ways correlate with the previously discussed notion of internal security in B.M. Udgaonkar 2001, but also underline the threat origin and the relations between the threat and the objective state security. Also in some portion the independent state security relations can be referred to the endogenous NTS, but they include only the aspects of the threat impacting inside the country, not outside it, differently from the endogenous security perspective.

Specifying the security threat response; in an independent state security relation, it is to be concentrated inside the state, mostly using internal resources of the security objective state and in-state policies.

3.2. Interdependent state security

A state's interdependent security is observed when actions of one state threaten the security of another state, e.g. when the economic, political or social actions of one state cause a security threat to another state. This notion was adopted from the work of G. Heal and H. Kunreuther at the Cambridge National Bureau of Economic Research; they described interdependent security as behaviour in the face of risks, the magnitude of which depends on an agent's own risk-management strategies, which in turn depend on the strategies of others (Kunreuther, Heal, and National Bureau of Economic 2004). Generalising this idea to the domain of state security, interdependent state security is observed when the security of the objective state depends on the actions of the threat origin state towards it. As we can see in Figure 3, a threat originated in one state brings crisis to the territory of the security objective state. This dimension of security correlates to some extend with the exogenous NTS, but implies the relation of the security origin state with the outside originated threat, not outlining the response to the threat outside the security origin state.
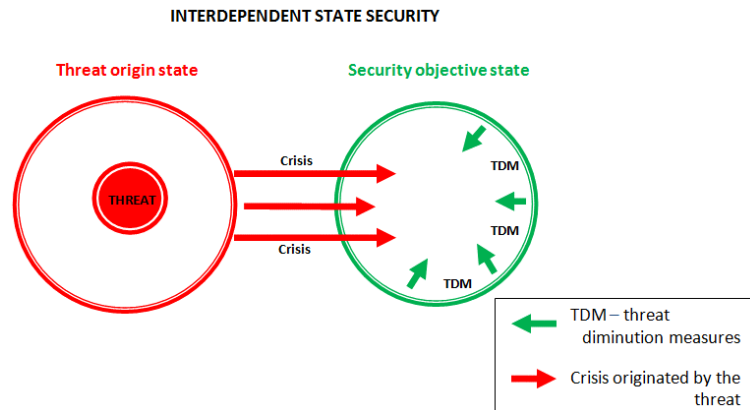
Figure 3. Interdependent state security relation.

For example, any military, social, political or economic invasion of one state by another can be represented as the interdependent state security relation, such as in the case of Russia and Ukraine in 2014, when Russian troops occupied the Crimean Peninsula and isolated it from the rest of Ukraine (Bodziany and Kocoń 2018). This threat to Ukraine's state integrity and border security was originated in Russia, but the security crisis took place in Ukraine. The threat origin state is Russia in this case and the security objective state is Ukraine, thus the threat response measures are to be taken in Ukraine interdependently, in retort to the actions of the origin state's threat. This endeavour mostly utilises the internal resources of the security objective state, but in special cases it may involve an international agent's assistance. For instance, in the case of Ukraine, it tried to use its political and diplomatic resources to set back the threat, but when that proved ineffective, the state elicited help from international political and global security organisations.

3.3. Co-dependent state security

Another important security relation is co-dependent state security. This dimension of state security reflects the rapid globalisation and co-dependence of states and humanity in general in which states must face global threats or "problems without passports" (Makinda 2006). Internationally, risks that individual states must confront are not only determined by a given state's own security posture, but also by the security-related decisions of others. Examples can be nuclear war or environmental threats such as global warming and air pollution. The effect of air pollution in China, for example, brings the environmental threat to states elsewhere in the world, as this threat knows no boundaries if the weather conditions are right. For instance, research shows that 30% of San Francisco's (US) air pollution is 'made in China' (Stern 2014). Another vivid example is the cyber security threat, as the whole world is co-using and at the same time is co-

dependent on the security of the global communication network. This perspective is also described in academia as 'shared security', which is especially represented by the concept of green justice, which includes the following facets: 1) human life as the very foundation of human values, 2) common harmony of mankind as the principle of the value, 3) mutual trust and mutual collaboration as the path toward realising the human value, and 4) win-win sharing as the value objective (Clayton and Opotow 1994). At the same time, Chinese shared security has its own unique efforts and contributions. It follows the 'five principles of peaceful coexistence' in international relations to solve all disputes. Likewise, by following the principle of 'shelving sovereignty and common development', China has seen the reunification of Hong Kong under the 'one country, two systems' policy. China's non-traditional security concept proposed the concepts of 'mutual benefit', 'mutual trust' and 'equality and cooperation', which now represent the core content of China's 'new security concepts'. This concept stresses diversity, sharing and cooperation among civilisation in the premise of a 'harmonious society' and 'world harmony' strategy (Yang 2014). This idea can be traced to Immanuel Kant's "Perpetual Peace" (Kant and Hastie 2006), in which Kant argued that common peace and well-being depend on a union of free states to promote peaceful society worldwide. Another corresponding notion is collective security, which can be understood as a security arrangement, political, regional, or global, in which each state in the system accepts that the security of one is the concern of all and therefore commits to a collective response to threats and breaches to peace (Heywood 2014).

Co-dependent state security relation broadens these ideas and reflects security situations in which a threat, originated in one state, can bring a crisis to that security objective state as well as derivative crises to multiple states or globally, as Figure 4 illustrates. This concept also demonstrates that the security response to a co-dependent threat should be a unified effort of states and international organisations, such as the UN, NATO, UNESCO, and the League of Nations, to promote and establish global security.
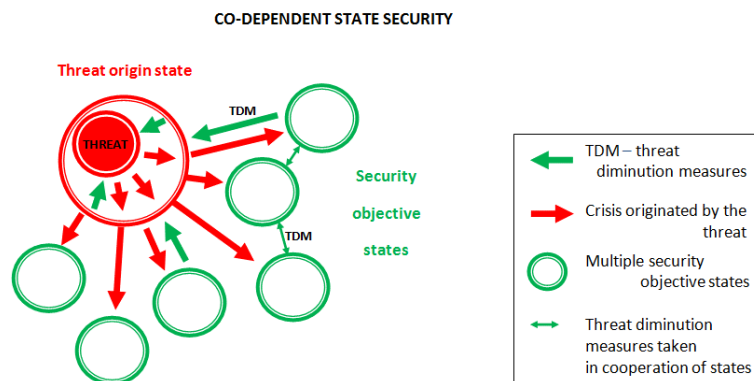

Figure 4. Co-dependent state security relation.

3.4. Dependent state security – innovation in the paradigm of security

Consequently, another facet of security is dependent state security, and the main emphasis of this research is drawn from this security aspect, which is not covered in previous scholarship, highlighting the circumstances for specific security policy-making strategies. Dependent state security is observed when the security objective state depends on the security of another state and the safety of the threatened state becomes a security concern of the dependent security objective state. Likewise, if the state security threatened in one state becomes a security concern of another state, the second state security is a dependent state security. Figure 5 illustrates the scheme of the dependent state security relation, showing the relationship between the threat and the security of the objective state in the case of dependent state security.

Cases of dependent state security emerge when the ties between countries are very tight or the security objective state's goals achievement involve the threat origin state's territory, geopolitics, political, economic, and social components or any other resources. In this case, the dependent security objective state, goals of which depend on the threat origin state, must ensure the security of the involved state to secure its own state security politically, economically, and socially, or to secure its human capital on the territory of the threat origin state on which it depends. The state, whose security can be violated on the territory of the threat origin state, is called the dependent security state. The threat to the threat origin state is called the dependent state security threat. Therefore, a dependent security state must incorporate itself into the threat response and security enhancement strategy of the threat origin state to achieve its own dependent state security.

Figure 5. Dependent state security relations.

The security strategy and threat response in this case focuses on the territory of the threat origin state but is guided, executed and/or sponsored by the dependent security state. In the figure below, we can see a visual representation of the state dependent security threat response as an interaction between two states – the threat origin state and the dependent security state (Figure 6).

Figure 6 shows that the threat origin state has domestic issues, creating a domestic crisis. However, due to diplomatic, political, and economic factors, along with its other relations with the security objective state, the threat origin state's domestic issues create a derivative foreign dependent crisis, rendering this state a dependent security state. Thus, to counter the threat and resolve the crisis, both the threat origin and dependent security states must become involved in the resolution as the crisis, which evolves into a common security threat for both states. The threat origin state uses its domestic policies and resources to counter the threat while the dependent security state ceases its foreign dependent crisis through its foreign policies, diplomatic, political, economic, military or other available resources to attain its dependent state security.

To develop a greater understanding of the dependent state security concept, the case study of the relationship between the Pakistani terrorism threat and the dependent state security of China will be examined and analysed as a concrete example of this theoretical construct.
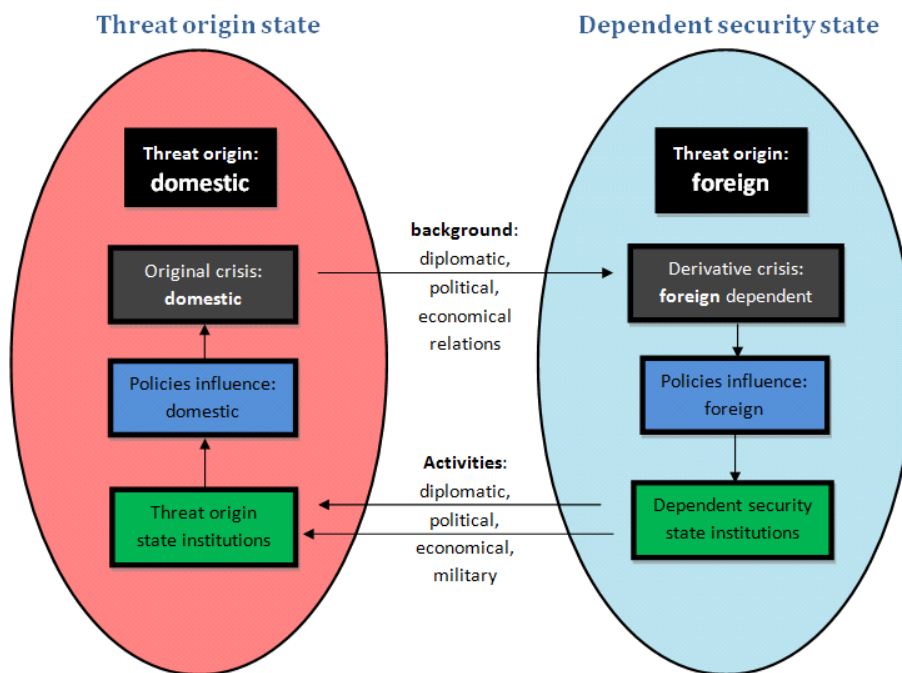

Figure 6. Dependent state security threat response.

To understand why Chinese state security and the Pakistani terrorism threat relations represent the dependent state security of China, we must first review the relations of the countries in depth to see why and how China can be impacted by the terrorism threat in Pakistan.

4. Overview of China–Pakistan cooperation

In the 1960s China and Pakistan teamed up to support a range of insurgencies within India (Small 2015) and long-lasting ties between the two states started to form on diplomatic, political, military and economic levels. Pakistan recognised and supported China's independence, and China became a significant supporter of Pakistani development. The Pakistani and Chinese friendship was recognised as "Higher than Himalayas and deeper than oceans" (Dumbaugh 2010). China and Pakistan became friends on the principle of 'my enemy's enemy is my friend', combining against the rising power of India. Pakistan required a strong partner in the confrontation with India, and China endeavoured to restrain the political authority and influence of India in Asia (Garver 2002). Sino-Pakistani relationship seems puzzling at first sight. China, the enormous, nominally Communist, and broadly secular state – with its modern origins in revolutionary guerilla warfare and its more recent experience of spectacular economic success – has almost nothing in common with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The latter is historically dominated by a Western-oriented class of feudal and military leaders who rule over a vast, poor, and poorly educated nation, but the inner core of the Sino-Pakistani linkage is security. Whatever their differences, the fact remains that China delivered essential nuclear weapons and missile capabilities to Pakistan. Pakistan, for several decades of their relationship, usefully distracted neighbouring India and helped insulate China from the western Islamist threat (Small 2015). From this point, China has become the most considerable investor in Pakistan development, making it an important player in the region to counterbalance India's influence, investing money, human resources and production facilities into the development of industrial and military bases, energy infrastructure and transportation in Pakistan.

Small 2015 analysis of Sino-Pakistan relations in recent decades shows that around 2013 China reframed its policy of non-interference into 'internal affairs' of Pakistan and significantly shifted the policy for managing its vital relationship with Pakistan. This shift was caused by the metastasis of Islamic extremism in the region and deeper understanding of a possible India-Pakistan nuclear war impact on that spreading extremism (Small 2015).

Currently, cooperation between the two countries is multilateral and progressive. Investment inflow from China to Pakistan increases yearly, and in the 2016-17FY, investment was over $1.1 billion (PBI 2001). The countries have developed many bilateral areas of cooperation and common projects. The China–Pakistan trading partnership provides special trade preferences under the free trade

zone, according to the trade agreement signed in 2006. Indeed, commercial and economic ties between the two countries have been developing rapidly. Ambassador Sun Weidong stated that the volume of bilateral trade had grown from $550 million to $1.91 billion by 2017 (BusinessRecorder 2017).

The China-Pakistan economic corridor (CPEC) signed in April 2015, concludes US$46 billion of investment agreements, which increased to US$62 billion two years later. CPEC is focused on constructing overland links from the port of Gwadar to the Chinese province of Xinjiang to alternate the maritime Straits of Malacca by land (Garlick 2018). From this project, Pakistan receives investments equal to 20% of its GDP. Chinese funds are supposed to increase Pakistani transport infrastructure, create new industries and jobs, patch holes in its energy infrastructure, and also make Pakistan an energy transport hub, giving the country an employment opportunity and business development burst . China's desire in these infrastructure projects is to meet its overall objective of reviving the Great Silk Road, which was announced by Xi Jinping on September 7, 2013 (Fallon 2015). Therefore, Chinese private and state-owned companies also receive extra energy projects, offering great financial benefits. The deep-sea water port of Gwadar is being rebuilt and renovated, and all the necessary infrastructure is being facilitated. The project is an initiative of China, and China has provided 75% of the funding (approximate total investment through 2020 is expected to be US$75 billion (Sattar and Shahi 2007). The Gwadar sea port in Pakistan will also increase the economic development of the country and attract foreign investments. China is supposed to use the port as the reference point of the Chinese navy to increase its geopolitical influence, strengthen China's presence in the Indian Ocean and bring the Chinese navy close to the Indian borders, while also helping China control trade routes. In addition, a 'Peace' pipeline is to be constructed, stretching from Iran to Pakistan and extending to China. Pakistan gets cheaper energy while China acquires an alternative energy supply route. Pakistan is the closest transport hub to the Persian Gulf, where Saudi Arabia alone provides 16% of China's oil imports (Robertson, Mhango, and Okonjo-Iweala 2012).

China and Pakistan have also become long-term partners on international political arena. Pakistan accepted China's independence and maintained diplomatic relations with the state during its political isolation. Pakistan has provided a binding link for China to the capitalist world, such as in the breakthrough in Sino-US relations in 1972 (Smith, Kōtarō Horisaka, and Shōji Nishijima 2003), which was achieved with the help of Pakistan. Pakistan has also been the Islamic world mediator for China, particularly in Saudi Arabia. After the violent suppression in 2009 in Urumqi China, the Pakistani government helped to explain to other Islamic countries the position of China in those events. These new political links paved the way for China in international connections, new production facilities and exports, which have grown to be the main income stream for the country from all over the world. In addition, of course, Pakistan has been considered a buffer against India and a partner in relations between the two eminent Asian states. Likewise, in military cooperation, Pakistan has become a

very important income source, purchasing 39% of all its weapons from China. Chinese military exports to Pakistan amounted to 41% (Mizokami 2015). Pakistan's nuclear capacity appeared only because of scientific and financial support from China as another way to balance India's influence in this domain (Small 2015). As such, Pakistan acquires a more significant political and military role in the region, which is obviously beneficial to the interests of both countries. Today, China and Pakistan are engaged in joint military-technical trainings and common military equipment production (Ahmad 2016). Pakistan also is supposed to receive eight Chinese Type-041 diesel-electric submarines, half of which will be built in Pakistani shipyards. The two countries are also negotiating the purchasing of 300 Type-99 battle tanks from China (Azog 2015). In this way, Pakistan becomes a more powerful counterbalance in the region while at the same time addressing its own political and military issues.

China and Pakistan have started off multidimensional prospects for cooperation. Pakistan has large-scale involvement in China's integration initiatives, and China pursues investments in the most attractive projects, binding Pakistan as much as possible to eliminate competitors, particularly the United States, and maintain development of economic ties with other influential powers, such as India.

China and Pakistan's military cooperation also expands. Pakistan is a large weapons market and one of the top 10 arms importers in the world (SIPRI 2015). China's ambitions for geopolitical growth and economic expansion concern the United States and may soon increase tension between the two countries (Khan 2014). As such, one of the strategic focuses of Chinese policy is in the Asia-Pacific region. Thus, the Chinese government is interested in strong and reliable ties, cooperative business investment, and non-confrontational relations with Western neighbours commensurate with its main foreign policy principle, namely, that economics defines geopolitics.

The cooperation between Pakistan and China, as we can see, is many-sided, meaningful and beneficial to both. Since the primary territory of interaction is Pakistan, the social situation and political events there can influence this cooperation immensely. Currently, terrorism in Pakistan is the biggest concern in obscuring or casting a shadow on this relationship, which is why we are interested in studying how Pakistani terrorism may impact China and why we have concluded that Chinese state security is dependent on the threat of terrorism in Pakistan.

5. History of the Pakistani terrorism threat

Terrorism became a state problem for Pakistan in the 1980s. The period from 1981 to 1989 was the Afghan Jihad period during which Russia invaded Afghanistan. The Afghan Jihad and Pakistan's participation in it began the first violent decade of terrorism in the history of the country. A majority of the attacks were organised by Afghan and Soviet intelligence agencies (Small 2015) to force

Pakistan to withhold its support for Afghan rebels. This period was also marked by sectarianism. Most of the attacks happened in national/provincial capitals, and the primary goal of the terrorists was to politically discredit the government. After the Afghan Jihad period from 1990 to 1999, sectarian and ethnic terrorism became most widespread in Pakistan, mainly represented by deadly clashes among Sunnis, Shiites and other ethnic communities. Terrorism during this decade was surprisingly consistent, averaging about 200 incidents per year (Azad 1996). The numerous incidents over the period demonstrate that terrorism has become a social ailment, diversifying and radicalising, illustrating at this time social and even cultural patterns. The average number of casualties per incident in this decade increased by almost 400% (Saeed, Syed, and Martin 2014).

After the ethnic and sectarian terrorism from 2000 to 2010, the dimension of terrorism completely changed. The US invaded Afghanistan after the 9/11 attack, and Pakistan, as a frontline state, gave logistical support to NATO for military operations in Afghanistan. The Pakistani religious militant elements considered this action a betrayal, and during this period, the militants mostly targeted foreign installations (Khaled 2011). At this time, approximately 25% of terrorist attacks took place in Baluchistan because of their religious beliefs. The remaining 75% took place in small cities and towns, not in national and provincial capitals and were also carried out by religious militants (Saeed, Syed, and Martin 2014). In the 2010 to 2016 period, terrorism had become multi-faceted, and terrorist attacks occurred for many different causes. Generally, this period could be divided into 2 main parts, 2010-2014 and 2014-2016. The first 4 years were characterised by the highest ever levels of terrorism in the country, it was very bloody and tense. This situation had several main grounds: 80% of the fatalities were caused by the Tahrik Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in their goal to obtain political power in the country. Tactics including kidnapping and political assassination were mainly used to strengthen the position of the group (Jamshed and Abid 2015). Baloch insurgency and political violence generated approximately 15% of the total violent incidents. Another 5% of attacks had other political reasons. In 2015-16, many other groups besides the TTP committed terrorist attacks. In Baluchistan alone, eight different nationalist groups were active in this period and seemed to be very politically grounded. In addition to Baluchistan, other areas of Pakistan were also heavily affected by attacks from different terrorist groups. In total, 429 different cities experienced terrorist attacks during this period (Sahill 2017), reflecting the diversity of active groups in the state.

The threat of terrorism in Pakistan is vivid and diverse, creating independent insecurity for Pakistan and any country, which may have interests there.

6. Why dependent state security?

Considering the importance of China–Pakistan cooperation for both countries and China's long-standing plans to develop numerous projects on Pakistani

territory, regional insurgencies and frequent outbreaks of violence lead to difficulty of maintaining security of the investment projects, construction of railways, plants, factories and pipelines (Garlick 2018). Thus Pakistani terrorism has become a dependent insecurity and a dependent state threat for China in many different respects.

6.1. Impact of terrorism on Chinese nationals in Pakistan

China has been expanding its economic influence throughout the world, and reasonably, Asia is the main area of interest, but unfortunately, in some regions, Chinese companies and employees are put in danger. According to a Chinese academic journal, 3969 Chinese companies are registered in the so-called 'arc of instability'; its geographical region extends from the Sahel area to Afghanistan and Pakistan (Qingtian 2015). Over 10000 Chinese workers are occupied in different projects in the territory of Pakistan (MOFCOM 2015). Table 1 below contains descriptions of terrorist incidents that directly impacted Chinese citizens.

Table 1. Chinese nationals as victims of Pakistani terrorism

Year	Chinese nationals as victims	Details
2001	1	A rocket hit a vehicle with a Chinese engineer in Baluchistan (Misra and Clarke 2012). The attack was aiming to discourage the Premier Oil Company from working in the Sunny Sohan area on oil and gas exploration and to hinder the Pak-China friendship (Jamshed and Abid 2015).
September 2003		Terrorists attempted to kidnap two Gomal Zam Dam Chinese engineers while they returned in a vehicle from their construction work at the site (Jamshed and Abid 2015).
May 2004	3	In Baluchistan, three Chinese engineers employed at the Gwadar deep seaport construction site were killed and nine injured in a car bomb explosion (Sattar 2015).
October 2004	1	Two Chinese engineers, employees of China National Water Resources and Hydro Power Engineering Group Co-operation (Xinhua News Agency 2004), who were working on the 20 billion Rupees project of Gomal Zam Dam in South Waziristan were taken hostages. Pakistani military intervention resulted in one release and one death. President General Pervez Musharraf termed this act of terrorism as a conspiracy to disturb the Sino-Pak relations (Wang, Hu, and Duffield 2014).
November 2005		Terrorists fired five rockets at the Chinese workers'camp in the Tallar area of Gawdar district. Chinese engineers were busy on the Tubat-Gwadar section of the Gwadar-Rato Dero highway. Fortunately, no casualties in this attack were reported (Pakistan 2005).
February 2006	3	Three Chinese engineers from a cement-making company in Balochistan were killed when their car was attacked by gunmen. The management of the factory decided to send the remaining Chinese engineers back home. The event took place right before Musharraf's visit to China for the 55th anniversary celebration of the establishment of diplomatic relations

		between Pakistan and China. Therefore, the killings of Chinese engineers showed an effort to reduce the influence of China in Baluchistan and to sour the relations between China and Pakistan (BBC News 2006).
June 2007	7	Seven Chinese women and one man, running a massage parlour in Islamabad were abducted by female students of Lal Masjid/JamiaHafsa. Most of the Chinese parlours were immediately closed after this incident (Khan 2007).
July 2007		A time bomb exploded at a hub in Baluchistan killing 24 policemen guarding the Chinese van. The target was basically the van in which the Chinese engineers were moving from their work location in the Zinc mine to Karachi (Jamshed and Abid 2015).
July 2007	3	Unidentified gunmen killed three Chinese workers in Peshawar in retaliation for the Red Mosque siege (Duchâtel 2016).
September 2007		A convoy of Chinese engineers was attacked, they were engaged in the construction of a 144 km Canal, most of which was to be completed in the sensitive border areas of Sindh, Punjab and Baluchistan (Miller, Vandome, and Mcbrewster 2011).
December 2007	1	Benazir Bhutto was assassinated. After his assassination, China pressed upon the Government of Pakistan to provide security to its citizens working on power generation projects and other endeavours to ward off the looming danger (Bhutta 2008).
July 2008	3	Three Chinese workers in an auto-rickshaw factory were shot by unidentified men (Munir 2007).
February 2012	1	Part of the Pakistani Taliban claimed responsibility for killing a Chinese national as revenge for China's killing of Muslims in Xinjiang (BBC News 2012).
June 2013	3	Gunmen shot and killed at least nine climbers in Pakistan's northern mountains. Three of the victims were Chinese (BBC News 2013).
August 2015	2	In Jewani airport Gwadar district in Balochistan province two engineers were killed and the radar system was destroyed (Daily Times 2015).
June 2016	1	In a roadside bomb attack, a Chinese engineer and his driver were injured. A Sindhudesh Revolutionary Army group claimed responsibility for the attack, saying that it was in opposition of Chinese investments and that 'the world's most plunderous nation has set its eye on Sindh', Reuters reported (Ali 2016).
September 2016	2	Two Chinese engineers engaged in the Dudher Zinc Project were assassinated and several were injured in a claymore blast set up by rebels in Balochistan. The Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) claimed responsibility for the attack, explaining that the aim of the terrorist act was to stop Chinese mining companies in Pakistan (India Today 2016).
October 2017	2	A Chinese duo were abducted from Jinnah Town, Quetta, on May 24 this year. Later, the Islamic State of Syria and Levant (ISIL) claimed that it had killed thembecause of the insurgency, which escalated following the launch of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC); however, the abducted Chinese nationals had nothing to do with the project, as they were preaching privately for an underground church (Pakistan Today 2017).

The information in Table 1 shows that terrorist attacks in Pakistan against Chinese nationals seemed to be mainly politically motivated and were aimed at stopping Chinese projects in Pakistan or slowing down the collaboration between the countries. The frequency and nature of the terrorist attacks were mostly against Chinese nationals who were employed in strategic economic projects, e.g. Gwadar Port, SPEC, Gomel Zam dam, Attock Cement Factory, Karachi Cannel Project, etc. Thus, Baluchistan province became the most dangerous place for Chinese nationals, as there were many different nationalist groups on this territory (Baluchistan Liberation Army, Jandullah, Baluch Sardar). The safety of its citizens is always the prime responsibility of a state, so the quantity and nature of the above mentioned tragedies speak for itself, representing to the irreversible impact of Pakistani terrorism on China state security.

6.2. Impact of Pakistan terrorism on China's economic security

Economic security, in the political context of international relations, is defined as the ability of a state to follow its chosen policies to develop the national economy. Economic security includes probable continued solvency, predictability of the future cash flow in a country, employment security (Griffiths 2007). The spread of terrorism in Pakistan may also loosen economic security of China in prospective of its projects and interests in Pakistan and decrease possible profits (Garver 2002). Due to an unstable situation in Pakistan and the lack of a security guarantee from the federal government, in 2011, for example, China Kingho Group, China's largest coal company, refused to implement a $19 billion project because of the terrorist threat to their personnel (Dawn 2011). Since 2013, China and Pakistan signed a landmark agreement enabling China to build a corridor linking Kashgar in Western China's Xinjiang province to Pakistan's port on the Arabian Sea at Gwadar, called the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). An important portion of the Corridor projects are situated in Balochistan province (Khetran and Saeed 2017), including Gwadar Coal /LNG / Oil Power Projec, Gwadar, Gwadar International Airport, East Bay Expressway, Construction of Brea quarters, Gaddani Power Park Project，2 object P, Dredging of Berthing Areas & Channels, Gaddani Power Park Project, Jetty + Infrastructure Necessary, Facilities of Fresh Water Treatment and Supply, HUBCO Coal Power Plant 1X660MW，Hub Balochistan, Technical and Vocational Institute at Gwadar, Infrastructure for Free Zone & EPZs Port – related Industries (Pakistan Government 2017). Pakistani officials informed that hostile forces, which are based in the province of Balochistan, are protesting the construction of the CPEC and openly sabotage bringing in foreign investments and integrating Balochistan with the rest of Pakistan (The Economic Times 2017). For example when President Xi Jinping visited Pakistan in April 2015, the Internet was full of protests from Baluchistan Liberation movement and after his visit the terrorists shot and killed 20 workers at a site 100 kilometres from the port of Gwadar (Xie 2016). Therefore, self-governing terrorist groups remain a possible threat for the projects of the CPEC and the growth of terrorism in this region would have a negative effect on

economic cooperation between China and Pakistan (Qaddos 2015). Thus, economic security of China is impacted by terrorism in dimension of the largest project security and its cash flow and costs. Additionally, the safety of the Chinese companies and employees is unpredictable, so both China and Pakistan are losing profits because of the terrorism threat in the country, making China's achievement of its geopolitical and economic goals less secure in Pakistan.

Counter-terrorism measures are costly, even for such big developing economies as China. China has been significantly investing in terrorism diminution in Pakistan (Qaddos 2015). Another important but contradictory aspect to be mentioned is a semi-positive affect of Pakistani terrorism on China. Pakistan is the largest MIC consumer for China (Mizokami 2015). Economically it is profitable, but it also supports all the negative effects of terrorism in Pakistan, which we have described.

6.3. Impact of Pakistani terrorism on China's political security

Chinese nationals, as victims of terrorist attacks in Pakistan, firstly constitute a loss of high- ranking professionals or officials involved in various projects in Pakistan. The figure 7 below shows the analysis of the data, examined above, proving that most of the assassinated Chinese nationals were engineers – 40%, otherwise businessmen or workers – 21% and 18%, occupied in Pakistan projects.

Table 2. Occupation of the Chinese nationals, victims of terrorism in Pakistan

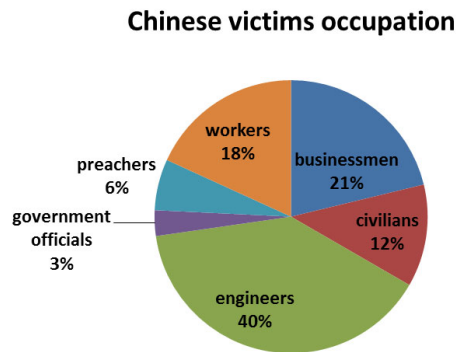| Chinese nationals victims	Victim occupation	%
7.00	businessmen	21
4.00	civilians	12
13.00	engineers	39
1.00	government official	3
2.00	preachers	6
6.00	workers	18

Chinese victims occupation

Figure 7. Occupation of the Chinese nationals, victims of terrorism in Pakistan.

Secondly, these losses damage the political image of the Chinese government, which is accused of not protecting its citizens abroad (Reuters 2012). The terrorist attacks against Chinese nationals were an attempt to destroy relations between Pakistan and China and decrease Chinese involvement in different projects in Pakistan (Ramachandran 2018). Such damage would hinder Chinese global geopolitical, political and economic aspirations in Asia, including 'One belt one road' (OBOR) and the main project of CPEC. OBOR may be mainly an economic and trade initiative, but its broader consequences have a strong political and security dimension (Zhao and ISEAS 2016). H.E Mr Zhao Lijian, Deputy Ambassador of China in Pakistan, pointed out the aspects of CPEC importance in China-Pakistan relations at his speech "OBOR: CPEC as a Linchpin" on August 23, 2017, at the seminar on "Pakistan-China Relations beyond CPEC", held by the Institute of Strategic Studies Research & Analysis (ISSRA). He highlighted three important aspects of CPEC: first as a linchpin of Belt and Road initiative, second as a Linchpin for Pakistan-China relations and third as a linchpin for globalization process in the region (Munir 2017). This Linchpin project for China is being hindered by the terrorist groups, especially in Balochistan. The rebel forces pointed out in several public sources that if CPEC is not stopped, the Chinese in Pakistan will face on the ground consequences and stronger Baloch rebellion (TheEconomicTimes 2017). These violent ways to terminate CPEC in bigger scales try to disrupt creation of an easier access to the Indian Ocean for China, which geopolitically is a strategic plan of high importance to China, decreasing the route for strategic resources by 10000km.

Additionally, it is important for China that the political image of Pakistan should be maintained in the world, as it is one of the China's valuable partners in the world and has been a mediating negotiator with Muslim states in the Middle East for many years (Chaziza 2016). The inability of Pakistan and its government to bring order to the country, end terrorism and eliminate its causes, might diminish Pakistan's political influence among the Middle East nations that are of interest to China. Therefore, it is favourable for China to involve in Pakistan maintaining its political clout in the region. Also China has been politically and economically enhancing Pakistan for decades to ensure its weight as a counter-balance to India (Garver 2016). Uncontrolled terrorism spoils the image of Pakistan as a political force, changing the attitude and political value throughout the world and impacting the balance of power in Eastern Asia.

Furthermore, terrorist attacks create impediments to Pakistan economic growth. While an economically vibrant Pakistan would not be so dependent on Western states (Grare 2007). At the same time, economically developed Pakistan would also provide a very good basis for China to meet all of its projected political and geopolitical objectives in the territory of Pakistan (Mustafa and Zafar 2017). Due to the terrorism insecurity in Pakistan, the security of Chinese borders is threatened. Terrorist groups like Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), al-Qaeda and IS have all threatened to target Chinese nationals as a warning to China over its treatment of Muslims (TheExpressTribune 2012). In a video released in March

2017, IS vowed to 'shed blood like rivers' in attacks on Chinese national in order to revenge Beijing's treatment of Uighurs. As China steps up its repressive policies in Xinjiang, it can expect more attacks on its nationals and projects in Pakistan (SATP 2017). This blackmailing shows the importance of the Chinese incentives in Pakistan and wish of terrorists to use the situation in order to achieve their own goals.

Another affect of Pakistani terrorism has been visible on Xinjiang Uighur activity in China. As Pakistani political, religious and separatist forces used terrorist methods to achieve their objectives, the Chinese Xinjiang Uighur separatists, observing this close and vivid example, started to fight for their national and religious rights, using much more violent methods since late 1980s (Dillon 2004). Pakistan and Afghanistan also have become for Uyghurs a close source of tactics and weapons. Since the Soviet Union and then the US invasion to Afghanistan, the world's biggest terrorists training centers were in Pakistan, thus it has also become a training camp for the Xinjiang Uighur terrorists (Christoffersen 2002).

Global world players compete for power and resources, especially in the rich Asian lands, and the fight has led strong competitors of China, such as the US and its NATO allies, to use and promote actions of terrorists and extremists in certain situations to strengthen their geopolitical dominance in the region and maintain it by military presence. Pakistan can be easily used in this way to produce a great impact on China as one of its main areas of interest.

Pak–India clashes in Kashmir have also a negative effect on the attitude of India towards Chinese incentives in Pakistan. India-Pak tensions may influence the future of major projects, such as the $46 billion CPEC, which mainly seeks regional development and cannot take place in a violent atmosphere (Khetran and Saeed 2017). If India hardens its attitude against CPEC, it will impact its success. Another political concern of China might be if separatist or terrorist-oriented forces gain major power in Pakistan, as they could change the policy line, which might negatively influence both political and economic cooperation with China.

Thus politically the security of China, connected with Pakistan and the Asian neighbours, is dependent on terrorism threat in Pakistan and according to the dependent security theory, the situation requires from China dependent threat response measures to protect its interests on the territory of Pakistan.

We have observed the mutually beneficial relationship between Pakistan and China while explaining how terrorism threatens this partnership. As beneficial as this relationship is, terrorism in Pakistan threatens most Chinese goals that are to be achieved in or by Pakistan. Chinese companies are hesitant to settle here, as Chinese workers are too often targeted, kidnapped or even killed by extremist terrorists. Chinese workers in Pakistan fail to work to their full potential because of the threat to life constantly looming over them (Khruakham and Lee 2014), the multifaceted projects and investments are endangered, bringing political, economic, social and psychological insecurities for Chinese state security inside Pakistan and, thus, making it dependent on the Pakistani terrorism threat.

Other cases, which can be named in the dependent security theory are, for example, the situation of US dependent security in Mexico, where the quantity of American citizens murdered exceeds the assassination incidents in all other foreign countries combined (Stoller 2018). In 2016, there were 23 000 homicides across Mexico, which had more deaths than Iraq and Afghanistan over the course of that year (Salt 2018). And US security of human capital is dependent on the threat of violence in Mexico, thus USA has to get involved into the narcotics-related violence in Mexico to save its citizens and investments on the territory of the country.

Dependent security cases can be traced in relation of countries, which include substantial investments of one country into another country or political, geopolitical, economic, social goals of one state to be achieved on the territory of another state. If there are hurdles of any kind in the state, where the interests are to be fulfilled, we can observe dependent security. Thus realizing the security dependence and applying the dependent threat response measures make the achievement of dependent goals much more productive and the threat response efficient.

7. Theoretical and practical implications

In this study, we coined the new classification of state security and the notion of dependent state security, introducing a new perspective of security and threat analysis, which theoretically increase the understanding of the crisis origin and its relation to the state security being discussed and practically leading to more rewarding recommendations for threat response strategies. This finding is important because systems analysis is one of the most important stages in choosing a means of defence (Schlesinger 1967). The new categorisation of state security speeds understanding of the crisis created by a threat to a security objective state and a clear identification of which threat response measures are to be taken in order to cope most effectively with this crisis, because a generalised, empirically-oriented theory is the most economical way to understand political situations in the long run. Clear theoretical analysis, at least, may become a springboard for discussions of alternative approaches (Easton 1957). The understanding of relations between the threat and security of a state allows strategic forecasting of specific situation and its trends, which may assist governments in adopting more proactive and preventive threat response measures (i.e. increased diplomatic efforts, intelligence prioritization, and, in the worst case, military contingency planning). Thus, the state security relation dimension may contribute to analysis and resolution of long-lasting security crisis situations and become a significant part of security analysis in order to identify the most efficient threat response measures in case of each security relation.

Another direction for future research would be to explore a possible creation of a unified multi-dimensional system of security and threat analysis, a generalised

applicable system, a scientific model of state security threat response, which will include the relation of security as one of the important dimensions of security analysis.

We conclude this section with two practical implications. First, our findings are interesting because they demonstrate the relations of one of the world's fast-developing countries (Napoli 2014) in a new dimension of its state security dependence, which is neither theoretically grounded nor described previously. This viewpoint allows the suggestion that China's focus on specific dependent state security threat response measures mentioned above to protect its dependent state security in Pakistan; at the same time, the theoretical and practical case study of dependent state security becomes a vivid pattern for solving similar security situations for other countries experiencing similar security issues.

Second, our findings suggest that a dependent security state may also benefit greatly by improving its independence in case of any dependent threat, such as finding alternative resources for achieving the same goals and/or focusing on independent goals so as not to face the difficulties of dependent state security threat response, which is indirect and thus more complex.

In summary, our research findings contribute both theoretically and practically to the international relations and NTS analysis to help researchers and policy makers to find economic, efficient and less consumptive threat response measures.

8. Conclusion

Due to the nature and intensity of China–Pakistan relations, the Pakistani terrorism threat has become a dependent state security threat to China, thus its state security is dependent on terrorism threat in Pakistan, and its securitisation strategies should be implemented in Pakistan politically, economically, socially or in any other necessary way to attain Chinese economic, political, diplomatic and citizen security in the achievement of the above-named objectives through Pakistan. That is why China must protect its current investments and future projects; to guarantee its own dependent state security by getting involved in the Pakistan terrorism threat response, applying dependent state security threat diminution measures.

Pakistan and China have started engaging in common activities to end and counter terrorism, such as signing an Agreement on Extradition Treaty, setting up the Joint Task Force, Pakistan joining of Shanghai Co-operation Organisation, and running joint antiterrorism military operations. The states also signed a number of antiterrorism treaties, decreasing separatism and extremism. The choice of future dependent state security threat response strategies to be elaborated by China are always conditioned by the particular situation and security specifications, threat acuteness and available time. Traditional security measures are more productive from a short-term perspective, when the non-traditional security measures are long lasting both in implementation and in results.

From the discussion of the dependent state security concept theory and threat of terrorism in Pakistan, the study concludes that the security and threat analysis should be accomplished from different angles to determine the relationship between state security and the threat to elaborate and implement the most appropriate threat response strategy, considering the relations between the security and the threat. This study has introduced a new dimension to analyse and determine a state security threat response strategy for scholars and policy makers. The global dimension of the terrorism threat enhances the importance of the study, which will not only add to theoretical scholarship but will be practically significant as well.

Our study, however, is not without limitations, as it concerns one case of dependent state security and did not focus on multiple case analyses; thus, we did not elaborate an efficient strategy of dependent state security terrorism threat diminution, applicable in every case of dependent state security. At the same time, we focused on the state viewpoint of dependent security, but we suppose that the security relation can be broadened to other areas of security and even to other disciplines, which can then become a new topic for research. Our study also did not describe threat analysis and methods of diminution in other relations of state security, which also may become a future research topic.

Addresses:
    Irfan Ullah Khan
    Center for Non-Traditional and Peaceful Development Studies
    School of Public Affairs
    Zhejiang University
    Hangzhou
    People's Republic of China
Email: irfanullahkhan742@yahoo.com

    Shumilina Kateryna
    School of Business Administration
    Zhejiang Gongshang University
    Hangzhou
    People's Republic of China
Email: shumilina.kate@gmail.com

    Ngboawaji Daniel Nte
    Intelligence and Security Studies
    Novena University, Delta State, Nigeria.
Email: ngbodante@gmail.com
Tel.: +234-8035678662

    Imran Ali Sandano
    Department of International Relation
    Faculty of Social Science
    Allama I.I. Kazi Campus
    Jamshoro-76080, Sindh, Pakistan
Email: iimran110@usindh.edu.pk

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