

*Counterterrorism and Potential
Constructive Cooperation Between China
and the United States*

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Counterterrorism and Potential Constructive Cooperation Between China and the United States

Abstract

Terrorism is a scourge common to the international community and its threat to world peace and stability is severe and imminent. This paper evaluates the campaign against terrorism and the possible modalities of constructive cooperation between China and the United States in this fight.

Technical cooperation can enhance Sino-U.S. security capabilities for dealing with the terrorist threat. This paper identifies specific bilateral cooperative activities that may benefit common interests. Focusing on protecting people, facilities, and infrastructure, Sino-U.S. cooperation may introduce protective technologies and training, including means of boosting port and border security, and detecting explosives or nuclear materials. Cooperation will not only enhance the global counterterrorism campaign, but also form a sound foundation for constructive and cooperative relations between the two countries.

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Acronyms

APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CMC	Cooperative Monitoring Center
EU	European Union
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAS	Organization of American States
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
OTF	Outdoor Test Facility
PIN	personal identification number
RDD	Radiological Dispersal Device
SCO	Shanghai Cooperative Organization
SNL	Sandia National Laboratories
UN	United Nations

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Executive Summary

Terrorism has long been recognized as a major threat to the security of states. However, the September 11 attacks have underscored the seriousness of this threat, and made global cooperation in combating terrorism both necessary and pressing. All countries share the responsibility to eradicate this menace and safeguard international peace and stability. To this end, we should take the same resolute position against terrorism no matter when, where, and in what form it occurs, or at whom it is targeted.

The recognition of terrorism as a predominant international threat began at the end of the 1960s. During 1968 to 2001, terrorist incidents greatly increased in the 1970s and 1980s, then declined in the 1990s, especially after the end of the Cold War. However, the severity of and the casualties from attacks have become much more serious. The United States has been and remains the top target of international terrorist attacks. After the end of the Cold War, anti-U.S. terrorist attacks have declined in number, but have resulted in increased and more serious casualties. Based on the number of attacks and resulting casualties, Asia has become the second-most-affected region in the last six years. The prevalent methods employed by terrorists were bombing, armed attacks, kidnapping, hijacking, and assassination, accounting for over 80% of the totals. The foremost targets were business related, and the attacks targeted at non-official interests greatly exceeded those targeted at official interests. This trend continues.

International terrorism, as well as other non-traditional security problems, is derived from a combination of political, economic, ethnic, and religious conflicts, and has deep-rooted historical and cultural dimensions. Poverty, development gaps, and a variety of social injustices are fertile breeding grounds for its growth.

China is also a victim of terrorism. In order to found the state of “East Turkistan,” the al-Qaeda-linked East Turkistan forces have plotted a series of incidents in Xinjiang, China, and other countries. Especially in the last decade, these terrorist activities have seriously threatened the security and stability of China and Central Asia.

Thanks to the close cooperation among countries, the international counterterrorism campaign has made positive headway over the past year. But, as the terrorist threat is transnational, and deep-rooted in diversified contradictions, this campaign will be a long, hard-fought confrontation. Efforts should be made to work out a comprehensive strategy based on the United Nations (UN) Charter to treat both the symptoms and the root causes of terrorism. At the same time, we must avoid linking terrorism to specific countries, ethnic groups, or religions.

China and the United States are permanent members of the UN Security Council with a wide range of common interests. Because both are victims of terrorism, fighting terrorism has become a major shared interest. In the war on terror, the Chinese and Americans have created a consultative mechanism to carry out effective cooperation. The designation of the East Turkistan

Islamic Party as a terrorist group by the UN Security Council is an important achievement of their concerted efforts. During the third summit meeting between Chinese President Jiang Zemin and U.S. President George W. Bush, the two countries agreed to strengthen exchanges and cooperation in antiterrorism in a “two-way and mutually beneficial basis.”¹

Among the varied facets of cooperation, technical cooperation could be further expanded and strengthened. Science and technology can support essential security measures, which would help prevent and minimize the damage from future terrorist attacks. The following areas identify potential choices for expanded cooperation.

Protecting critical infrastructure and key assets. Operation of modern society depends on networks of infrastructure. Attacking one or more sections of those assets could cause huge damage to the country. Applying the technology of *physical protection* could be an effective means to tackle the problem.

Preventing catastrophic threats. Threats of terrorists using explosives, chemical, biological, radiological, and even nuclear weapons potentially exist, and the consequences could be catastrophic. To deal with those threats, technologies to detect explosives and nuclear material and to protect certain biological materials could provide countermeasures.

Safeguarding transportation security. Terrorists may use international transportation to carry out an attack on a major port or city. Thus, providing transportation security while promoting the efficient flow of people and goods is an important field for cooperation. Several measures that may be considered include inspection of international shipments, electronic seals, and electronic documentation exchanges.

Safeguarding border security. China has land borders 22,800 km long and links with South and Central Asia where active terrorist groups are located. Protecting such long borders in remote areas is a difficult task. Intrusion detection and surveillance technologies can help increase the effectiveness of border security forces while increasing their own security. The Cooperative Monitoring Center has an Outdoor Test Facility to demonstrate and test border-monitoring technologies, which might provide one basis for cooperation.

Technical training. Training can help to raise the capability for China and the United States. The United States has advanced technology and rich expertise to tackle terrorism; China also has its strong points. Technical training workshops, legal and financial training seminars, police and other security force training, or joint China-U.S. training for the region could benefit both sides.

Other areas of cooperation include information and intelligence sharing, cooperation in the economic field, law enforcement, and multilateral frameworks. These ideas are offered to assist Chinese and U.S. authorities in identifying useful modes of cooperation in the counterterrorism fight. Promoting cooperation in this campaign will not only benefit the global anti-terrorism efforts, but also encourage a healthy growth of a constructive relationship between the two countries.

¹ See “President Jiang Zemin Met with U.S. President Bush,” October 26, 2002, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/36544.html>.

Counterterrorism and Potential Constructive Cooperation Between China and the United States

1. Introduction

With its complex transnational characteristics, international terrorism is derived from a combination of political, economic, ethnic, and religious conflicts, and has deep-rooted historical and cultural dimensions. Therefore, efforts to combat terrorism call for the United Nations (UN) to play the primary role in the campaign, must comply with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and other recognized norms of international laws, and need to address its symptoms and root causes with every means available, including political, economic, diplomatic, military, legal, scientific, and technological measures. In short, countries should seek common security through cooperation for mutual benefits.

As two influential countries and permanent members of the UN Security Council, China and the United States shoulder common responsibility for world peace and stability, and share a wide range of common interests, including counterterrorism. China and the United States have cooperated against terrorism under a mechanism established by their Presidents in October 2001 at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit in Shanghai.

This paper offers ideas to assist Chinese and U.S. authorities in identifying useful ways to cooperate in the counterterrorism fight, including technical cooperation in protecting critical infrastructure and key assets, safeguarding transportation and border security, information and intelligence sharing on terrorists' movements and plans, and cooperation in the law enforcement and economic fields.

2. Definition of Terrorism

2.1. Definition of Terrorism from a Chinese Perspective

No single definition of terrorism has been universally accepted. For the purposes of this paper, however, the author has chosen the definition of terrorism contained in *The Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism* concluded by members of the Shanghai Cooperative Organization (SCO) on June 15, 2001. That convention contains the following definition.

The term “terrorism” means:

- Any acts designated and defined as criminal offenses by one of the international conventions annexed to *The Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism*;
- Any other acts resulting in death or serious bodily injury to civilians or those who did not actively participate in military activities; in substantial material damage of the targeted property; and of organizing, plotting, conspiring, and instigating the above-mentioned activities. This includes those acts intended to terrify residents, sabotage public security, or compel authorities or international organizations to do or abstain from doing any act. Perpetrators must be prosecuted for their criminal responsibility in accordance with the domestic law of the member states.²

The Shanghai Convention states that terrorism, separatism, and extremism defined by the convention are under no circumstances justifiable, and that whoever commits terrorist acts would be punished by penalties consistent with their grave nature. The above definition would not hinder any international treaties or the domestic law of member states to include any other definitions with wider scope.³

2.2. Common Denominators of Terrorism

The definition of terrorism has been an important topic for countries, academic institutes, and scholars. Based on the existing diversified definitions and research regarding this issue, we may find at least some characteristics of terrorism in common:

1. **Creating terror.** Through violence or the threat of violence or other destructive activities, the perpetrators seek to create an atmosphere of terror in order to produce psychological pressure on people and society. Its true goals in most cases are broader than the chosen targets, aimed at influencing people, society’s reaction, and the state’s policy.
2. **Conducting violence or destruction or threatening to do so.** From the traditional meanings, violence is an inherent feature of terrorism, and must be punished by the

² *The Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism*, June 15, 2001.

³ *Ibid.*

- international law or domestic law of states. However, more countries and scholars now believe that the threat of violence is also a terrorist act. In addition, non-violent destructive acts that cause economic catastrophe, such as attacks on cyber systems, are commonly defined now as a kind of terrorist act.
3. **Having political or social goals.** Terrorists perform violent or destructive acts to compel the government or society to change in order to reach their own goals. In recent years, terrorism has shifted from primarily political motivations to religious, sociological, or ideological motivations.
 4. **Gaining publicity and disseminating propaganda** in order to maximize terror and expand influence. The effect of terror depends upon the degree that people become angry and terrified, but that also depends on how widely they attract social attention. Terrorism is usually aimed at a wider audience than its immediate victims. Terrorists inherently need propaganda, since “without propaganda, terrorism is like a gun without gunshot.”⁴ The more propaganda is spread by the media through reporting on terrorist acts, the more powerful terrorism appears.
 5. **Violating the law or committing criminal offenses.** The criminal nature of terrorism has been emphasized, because the use or threat of violence and destruction jeopardizes society, and violates international and domestic law. Since terrorism is often motivated by political considerations, terrorists claim they are political dissidents and seek political sanctuary to avoid punishment by the law. In order to combat terrorism effectively, most countries have stated that the principle of non-extradition of political refugees does not apply to terrorist crime.

⁴ Stephen Segallar, *Invisible Armies: Terrorism into the 1990s*, London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1986, p. 11.

3. Basic Characteristics of Terrorism

3.1. Basic Characteristics of Terrorism

The recognition of terrorism as a predominant international hazard began at the end of the 1960s. From 1968 to 2001, terrorist incidents greatly increased through the 1980s, then declined in the 1990s, especially after the end of the Cold War. However, the severity of and the casualties from attacks have become much more serious. Based on the number of attacks and resulting casualties, Asia has become the second-most-affected region in the last six years. The prevalent means used by terrorists were bombing, armed attacks, kidnapping, hijacking, and assassination, accounting for over 80% of the totals. Among them, the predominant method of attack was by bombing. The foremost targets were business related, and the attacks targeted at non-official interests greatly exceeded those targeted at official interests.

1. **Quantity of terrorist attacks.** During 1968 to 2001, the number of international terrorist acts ranged from 142 to 666 events a year.⁵ During the last 30 years, the peak of international terrorist incidents was 1987, with 666 attacks worldwide. The lowest point was 1998, with just 274 attacks recorded.⁶ See Figure 1.⁷

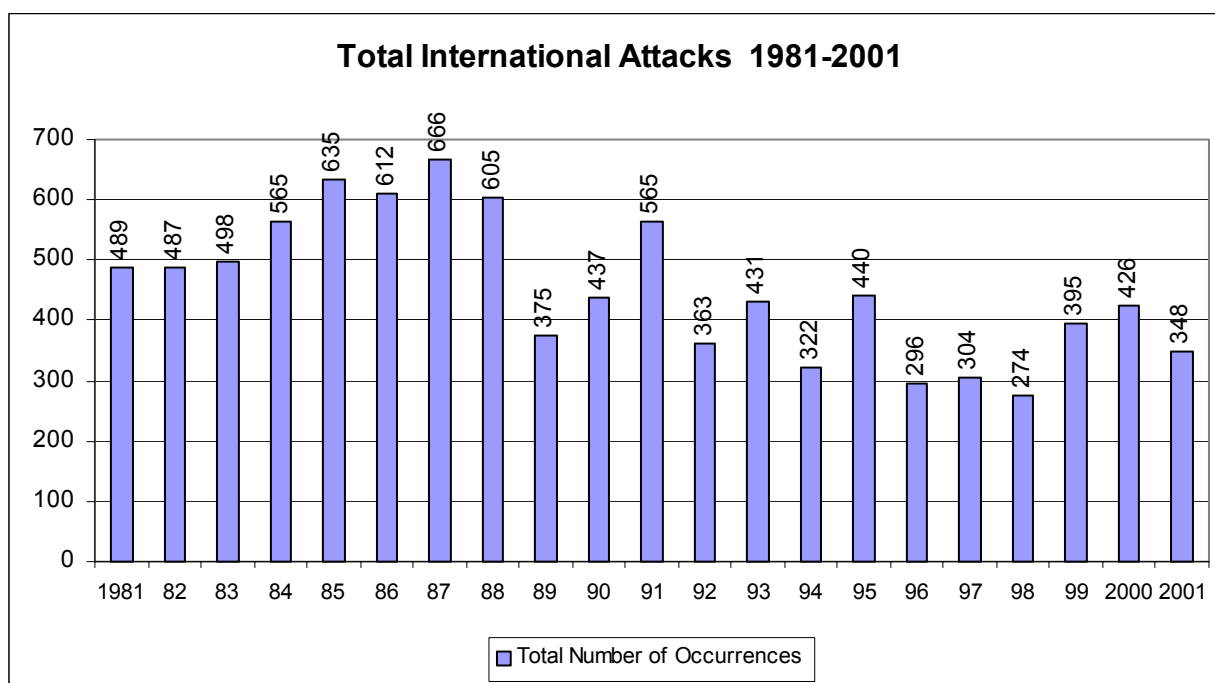


Figure 1. Total International Terrorist Attacks, 1981 to 2001

⁵ Quoted in Lianhe Hu, *Modern World-Terrorism and Countermeasures*, Beijing: Oriental Publishing House, 2001, p. 88, and U.S. Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism: 2001*.

⁶ See U.S. Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism: 2001*, <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2001/pdf/>.

⁷ See U.S. Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism: 2001*, <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2001/pdf/>.

From 1968 to 1979, international terrorism had the fastest expansion, with 5,954 attacks around the world.⁸ In the 1980s, international terrorism continued with 5,429 terrorist incidents recorded worldwide. In the 1990s, the number of international terrorist incidents dropped to 3,827,⁹ which coincided with the end of the Cold War.

2. **Casualties.** Although the number of international terrorist incidents has fallen greatly in the last decade, the resulting casualties have increased. This is more pronounced after the end of the Cold War. From 1992 to 2001, 27,537 casualties were recorded globally, for an annual average of 2,754.¹⁰ See Figure 2.¹¹ This is an increase of 86% from the annual average of 1,483, recorded immediately before the end of the Cold War and up 146% from the annual average of 1,119 casualties recorded during 1968 to 1991.¹² Most of those casualties were caused by a small number of major acts. Islamic fundamentalists' attacks resulted especially in heavier tolls. From 1991 to 2001, Asia was the most affected region with 10,745 casualties.¹³

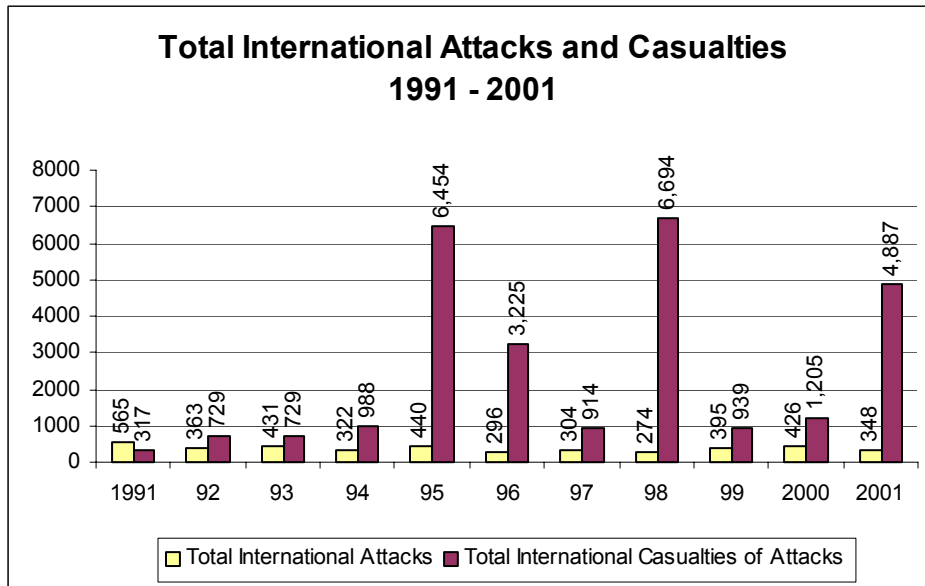


Figure 2. Total International Attacks and Casualties

⁸ Quoted in Lianhe Hu, *Modern World-Terrorism and Countermeasures*, Beijing: Oriental Publishing House, 2001, p. 88.

⁹ See U.S. Department of State, Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1996 and 2001, <http://www.state.gov/www/images/chart70.gif>, <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2001/pdf/>.

¹⁰ Analyses based on the figures come from U.S. Department of State, Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1996 and 2001, <http://www.state.gov/www/images/chart73.gif>, <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2001/pdf/>.

¹¹ See U.S. Department of State, Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1996 and 2001, <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2001/pdf/>.

¹² Quoted in Lianhe Hu, *Modern World-Terrorism and Countermeasures*, Beijing: Oriental Publishing House, 2001, p. 122.

¹³ Analyses based on the figures come from U.S. Department of State, Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1996 and 2001, <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2001/pdf/>, <http://www.state.gov/www/images/chart73.gif>.

3. **Distribution.** From 1991 to 2001, there were 4,164 international terrorist attacks in the world. Latin America was the most affected region with 1,450 attacks, accounting for 35% of the totals, followed by Western Europe, 1,210 attacks; Middle East, 606 attacks; Asia, 457 attacks; Africa, 238 attacks; Eurasia, 179 attacks, and North America, 24 attacks.¹⁴ In contrast, from 1968 to 1990, the order of affected regions was Western Europe, Middle East, Latin America, Asia, North America, Africa, and Eurasia.¹⁵ See Figure 3.¹⁶

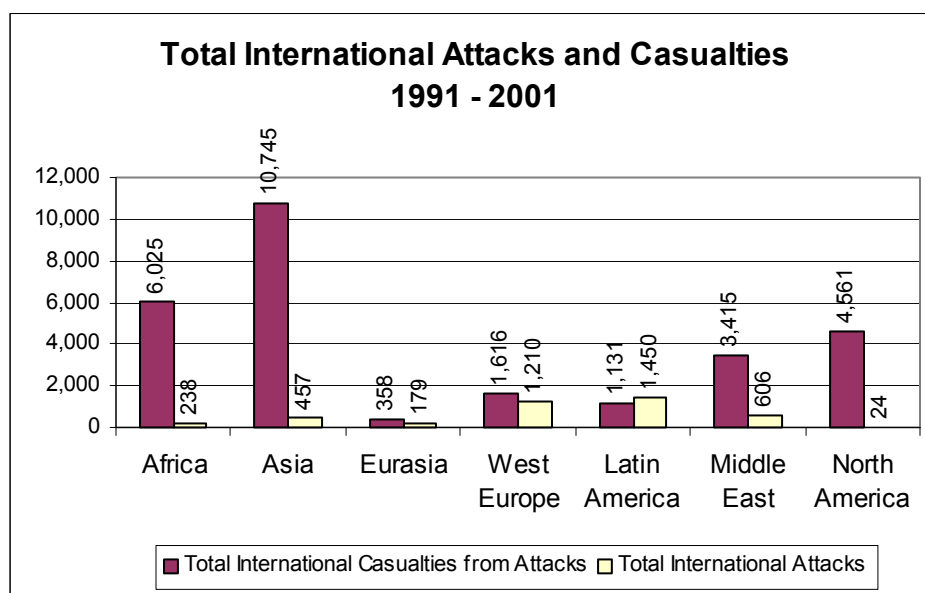


Figure 3. Terrorist Attacks and Resulting Casualties by Region

4. **Methods.** From 1968 to 2001, the prevalent methods used by terrorists were bombing, armed attacks, kidnapping, hijacking, and assassination, accounting for over 80% of the total terrorist attacks recorded in the world. Bombing was the predominant type of attack.
5. **Targets.** International terrorist acts focused on the general public. Any person or facility could be a target, as the trend continued toward more ruthless attacks on mass civilian targets. During the last three decades, non-official interests were always the top targets of terrorist attacks. By single category, diplomats were the primary targets of attacks in the 1970s. The attacks aimed at business interests have greatly increased in the last two decades, making it the number one target in the last 10 years, with 3,263 attacks.¹⁷ See Figure 4.¹⁸

¹⁴ Source: U.S. Department of State, Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1996 and 2001,

<http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2001/pdf/>, <http://www.state.gov/www/images/chart71.gif>.

¹⁵ Quoted in Lianhe Hu, *Modern World-Terrorism and Countermeasures*, Beijing: Oriental Publishing House, 2001, p. 98.

¹⁶ See U.S. Department of State, Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1996 and 2001.

¹⁷ Source: U.S. Department of State, Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1996 and 2001, <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2001/pdf/>, <http://www.state.gov/www/images/chart72.gif>.

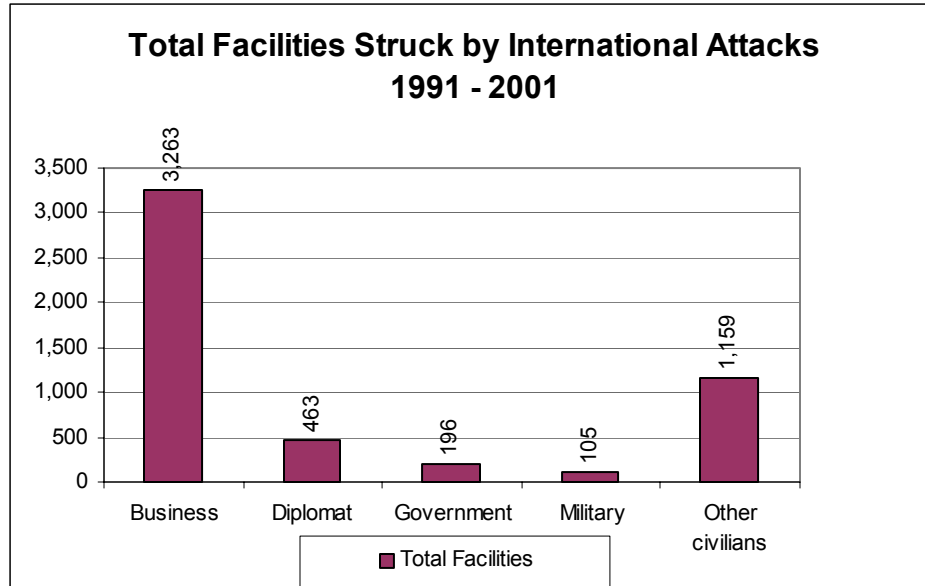


Figure 4. Total Facilities Struck by International Attacks, 1991 to 2001

- 6. Terrorist groups and terrorists.** There are many types of terrorist groups, but four basic types predominate: ethnic separatist, fanatic religious, extreme rightist, and extreme leftist. Among them, ethnic separatist terrorism is one of the most prevalent and active types. Although there are fewer fanatic religious groups, they are responsible for higher numbers of casualties, and continue to dominate international terrorism. Terrorism by extreme rightists, mainly centered in the developed countries, Western European countries, and the United States, has been fast spreading after the end of the Cold War.¹⁹ Meanwhile the extreme leftist groups have been on decline.²⁰

3.2. Basic Characteristics of Terrorism Targeted at the United States

The United States is the top target of international terrorist attacks. In the 30 years from 1968 to 1997, there were 5,655 international terrorist attacks targeted at U.S. interests, accounting for about 37% of the total international terrorist incidents.²¹ From 1998 to 2001, this proportion rose from 40% in 1998 to 66% in 2001 with 708 anti-U.S. attacks among 1,442 globally.²² The main features of anti-American attacks are described in the following sections.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Extreme right groups have been concentrated in Western Europe, the United States, and other developed countries. At the end of the 1980s, the extreme right began to spread in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as a result of the changes there. Attacks by the extreme right were directed mainly at leftist parties and organizations, Jewish people, people of color, foreign immigrants, political figures, government facilities, and the public. For example, in 1995, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was killed by an Israeli extreme rightist.

²⁰ Leftist groups have been active in some Western European countries and Latin America. They seek to change the current social political process through dangerous terrorist activities. Some of these organizations include the Red Army Party of Germany, the Red Brigade of Italy, Direct Action of France, and the Red Army of Japan.

²¹ Analyses based on the figures in Lianhe Hu, *Modern World-Terrorism and Countermeasures*, Beijing: Oriental Publishing House, 2001, p. 124.

²² See U.S. Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1998-2001*, <http://www.state.gov/>.

3.2.1. Quantity, Proportion, and Casualties

During 1968 to 2001, U.S. interests were the top targets of international terrorist attacks. The number of annual anti-U.S. terrorist acts worldwide fluctuated from 68 to 396, accounting for 18% to 75% of the world's totals. After the end of the Cold War, the incidents involving U.S. interests have declined in quantity, but the casualties of those attacks increased sharply, and its proportion of the world's totals remains high.

1. From 1968 to 1979, there were 2,671 anti-U.S. terrorist attacks, which accounted for about 35% to 75% of the world's annual total. In the 1970s, dozens of U.S. citizens died in those attacks. Based on simply the number of attacks, 1978 was the peak with 396 anti-U.S. attacks. With regard to the proportion of world totals, 1971 was the peak (about 75%). Dozens of U.S. citizens died in those attacks.
2. In the 1980s, 1,802 terrorist attacks targeted U.S. interests, 869 less than the period from 1968 to 1979. Its proportion in the world's annual totals dropped slightly, accounting for 18% to 44% over this period. Based on percentages, 1987 was the lowest point in the decade (about 18%). However, the resulting casualties increased to 1,146.²³
3. In the 1990s, there were 1,462 anti-U.S. terrorist acts, continually falling from the previous decade; its proportion accounted annually for 20% to 56% of the world's totals. Based on quantity, 1991 was the peak of this decade with 315 attacks, and 1994 was the lowest year with 68 incidents. The casualties of those attacks have continually increased to 1,714 during 1991 to 1999. See Figure 5.²⁴

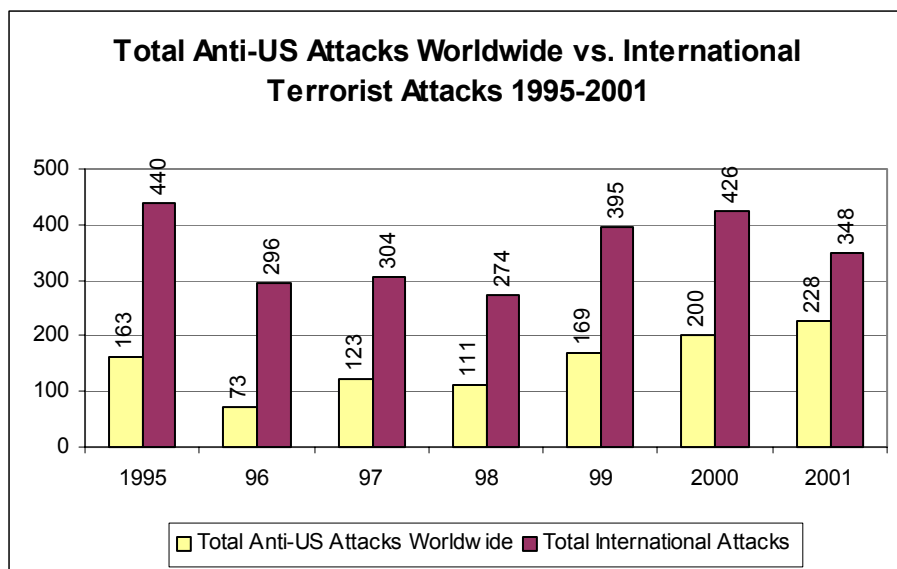


Figure 5. Total Anti-U.S. Attacks Worldwide vs. International Attacks, 1995 to 2001

²³ Analyses based on the figures in Lianhe Hu, *Modern World-Terrorism and Countermeasures*, Beijing: Oriental Publishing House, 2001, pp. 128, 130.

²⁴ Source: U.S. Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1996-2001, Significant Incidents of Political Violence Against Americans, 1995*.

3.2.2. Regional Distribution

With the spread of international terrorism, U.S. facilities and citizens throughout the world are possible targets. In the last three decades, most anti-U.S. attacks occurred in Latin America. The basic features of attacks occurred by regions as follows:

1. In the 1970s, anti-U.S. terrorist attacks occurred mainly in Latin America, accounting for about 28% of totals recorded, followed by Middle East, 26%, and Western Europe, 22%. Other regions (especially Asia) accounted for 24%. Anti-U.S. attacks were very few in the Soviet Union and East Europe.
2. In the 1980s, anti-U.S. terrorist incidents also occurred mainly in Latin America, accounting for about 44% of the world totals. Western Europe followed with 34%; Middle East, 8%; and the other regions (especially Asia and Africa) accounted for 14%.
3. In the 1990s, anti-U.S. terrorist acts occurred mainly in Latin America, accounting for 66% in the world's totals; Western Europe, 17%; Middle East, 7%; and other regions (especially Asia), 10%. With the end of the Cold War, anti-U.S. attacks increased in the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.²⁵

3.2.3. Targets and Means

During the last three decades, U.S. non-official interests have been the most frequent victims of international terrorist anti-U.S. attacks. The attacks aimed at U.S. official interests were highlighted in the 1970s, but gradually reduced in the last two decades, especially in the last 10 years. Business-related interests were always the first targets. Those attacks greatly increased in the last decade, accounting for almost two thirds of the total anti-U.S. attacks in the last few years. The most-used means in those incidents were bombing, kidnapping, armed attacks, and hijacking.

The analysis per decade is as follows:

1. In the 1970s, terrorist attacks targeted American officials, accounting for 55% of the totals, including diplomatic, about 27%; military, 16%; and government, 12%. By single category, the foremost target of terrorists was business related, accounting for 32% of the total.
2. In the 1980s, the attacks aimed at American diplomatic targets had fallen from the previous decade. Those targeted on civilians increased visibly. The attacks directed at the non-official interests (54%) exceeded those directed at the official targets (47%). Business-related attacks still headed the list, accounting for 33% of the total. The other targets were diplomats, about 21%; other civilians, about 21%; military, about 16%; and government, about 10%.

²⁵ Analyses based on the figures in Lianhe Hu, *Modern World-Terrorism and Countermeasures*, Beijing: Oriental Publishing House, 2001, p. 131; and U.S. Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1996-2001*, <http://www.state.gov/>.

3. In the 1990s, the attacks directed at U.S. official interests declined, accounting only for 22% of the totals, but the attacks directed at business and other civilian targets continued to rise, accounting for 78% of the totals. Among them, the business-related attacks were very prominent, accounting for 89% of the totals in 2001.²⁶

3.3. Basic Characteristics of Terrorism Targeted at China

China is also a victim of terrorism. Over a long period (especially since the 1990s), East Turkistan forces inside and outside China have planned and organized a series of violent incidents in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China, and some other countries, in order to found a state of East Turkistan. These terrorist incidents have seriously jeopardized the lives and property of people of all ethnic groups as well as social stability in China. They also threatened the security and stability of related countries and regions.

3.3.1. Background

After the establishment of a frontier command headquarters in the Western Region by the Han Dynasty in 60 B.C., Xinjiang became a part of Chinese territory. From that time on, the central government has never ceased jurisdiction over Xinjiang. However, at the beginning of the 20th century, a handful of Xinjiang separatists and religious extremists created the concept of “East Turkistan.” They claimed that “East Turkistan had been an independent state since ancient times,” and incited all ethnic groups speaking the Turkic language and believing in Islam to unite to form a state featuring the “integration of religion and politics.” They also called for “opposition to all ethnic groups other than the Turks,” and for the elimination of “infidels.” East Turkistan terrorist forces have instigated riots with the aim to split China and establish an Islamic State of East Turkistan under temporal and religious administration in Xinjiang, China.²⁷

3.3.2. Terrorist and Other Illegal Activities Committed by East Turkistan Groups

In the 1990s, East Turkistan adherents openly declared that terrorist violence was the only way to achieve their aims and conducted a series of violent acts in Xinjiang. Incomplete statistics show that from 1990 to 2001, the East Turkistan terrorist forces used explosions, assassinations, poison, arson, kidnappings, assaults, and other means of attack, creating over 200 terrorist incidents in Xinjiang. The attacks resulted in the deaths of 166 people of all ethnic groups, injuries to more than 440 people, and serious economic losses.²⁸ Among those attacks, business and other civilian targets accounted for 67% for the total.

In addition, East Turkistan terrorists have secretly set up dozens of training bases in Xinjiang to teach terrorist skills and theories of religious extremism and terrorism. Some of those bases provide workshops for making weapons, ammunition, and explosive devices. They have smuggled arms and ammunition into China. The Xinjiang police uncovered and confis-

²⁶ Analyses based on the figures in Lianhe Hu, *Modern World-Terrorism and Countermeasures*, Beijing: Oriental Publishing House, 2001, p. 134. U.S. Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1996-2001*, <http://www.state.gov/>.

²⁷ Quoted in Information Office of the State Council, “‘East Turkistan’ Terrorist Forces Cannot Get Away with Impunity,” January 21, 2002, p. 3.

²⁸ Quoted in Information Office of the State Council, “‘East Turkistan’ Terrorist Forces Cannot Get Away with Impunity,” January 21, 2002, p. 4.

cated large numbers of antitank grenades, hand grenades, detonators, guns, ammunition, and tools for making explosive devices.

East Turkistan terrorist groups, especially the East Turkistan Islamic Party, have been closely connected with Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda networks. Al-Qaeda and the Taliban helped train personnel, provided capital, and assisted those terrorists in violent attacks in Xinjiang and Central Asia.²⁹

²⁹ Quoted in Information Office of the State Council, “‘East Turkistan’ Terrorist Forces Cannot Get Away with Impunity,” January 21, 2002, pp. 5-14.

4. Main Causes of Terrorism

International terrorism, as with other non-traditional security problems, usually has a very complicated background, as it is derived from a combination of political, economic, ethnic, and religious divergences, and with deep-rooted historical and cultural dimensions. Poverty, development gaps, and a variety of social injustices also provide fertile breeding grounds for terrorism.

4.1. Main Domestic Causes of Terrorism

The main domestic causes of terrorism include political, economic, ethnic, religious, and cultural divergences. The manifestation of those issues depends on each country's situation.

1. As a complicated political and social problem, terrorism is often derived from economic imbalances among regions within a country and between related countries. Poverty, unemployment, and huge gaps between the poor and the rich are important sources of terrorism and fuel it. Less-developed regional economies or unbalanced economic development cause an increasing gap among the people of these regions, stimulating resentment. As a consequence, the people who feel mistreated try to reverse this situation, and, by any means, try to regain what they think belongs to them.
2. Intensified ethnic and religious conflicts are also an important cause of the birth and growth of terrorism. Reasons such as the implementation of unreasonable ethnic and religious policies, unfair treatment, and other grievances are usually mixed with deep-rooted historical and cultural factors.
3. Political autocracy, political corruption, and loss of political legitimacy also directly or indirectly encourage the birth and growth of terrorism.

4.2. Main International Causes of Terrorism

International conflicts and contradictions are not only important external causes of terrorism's birth and growth inside of a country or region, but are also the breeding ground of international terrorism, as follows:

1. **Conflict between Arab countries and Israel.** The intensified Arab-Israeli conflict from the end of the 1960s is one essential factor causing international terrorism. That has not only resulted in the spreading of international terrorist activities in the Middle East region, but also is a major cause of international terrorist attacks targeting Israel, the United States, and some other Western countries, due to their pro-Israel policies.
2. **Contradictions between the United States and Muslim countries.** These are closely connected with the United States' Middle East policy, and especially related to its pro-Israel policy. Most states designated by the United States as "sponsors of terrorism" are Muslim countries (Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Sudan). As this

contradiction intensified, terror acts have risen accordingly, thus forming a vicious circle.

3. **Contradictions between East and West.** These were especially acute during the Cold War between socialist and capitalist countries, and were caused by the Western countries' policies of containing the development of socialist movements. This contradiction was greatly reduced with the end of the Cold War, but still exists. The double standard on ethnic separatism usually taken by Western countries reflects a partially continued contradiction. However, the United States has designated the East Turkistan Islamic Party as a terrorist group, showing its increased recognition of China's concern with terrorism.
4. **Contradictions between South and North.** The widening economic gap between the South and North aggravates the problem, and, as the axiom states, "as the rich get richer, the poor get poorer." This hinders healthy and sustainable economic development and encourages social unrest and the growth of terrorism.

5. Trends in Terrorism

Although the incidence of international terrorism has dropped sharply in the last decade, the overall threat becomes more serious with the continued increase in casualties. All the basic factors from which terrorism is derived still exist, and will not be eliminated in a short time. Moreover, advanced technology also could be used in terrorist activities. Thus, we have to tailor our policies to combat the shifting trends of terrorism.

5.1. Trends in Terrorist Methods

Besides the traditional methods previously discussed, terrorists could also take advantage of globalization and modern technology to improve their capability in order to create greater terror. However, because of their limitations in funding, knowledge, and availability of means, and growing pressure and restraint from the international community, simple and easy-to-use methods still could be their best choice.

1. Bombings and explosions could remain the main choice for terrorists because explosives are easy to use, easy to handle, and easily available. Technological improvements would also follow. Kidnapping, hijacking, assassination, and armed attacks would also remain their basic means. As an easy way to raise funds at low cost, kidnapping tends to increase. Historically, hijacking airplanes has created a big sensation, but with the development of anti-hijacking techniques, enhanced security measures, and increased international pressure, hijacking may decrease.
2. Cyber terror could become a new method of attack. Political, economic, military, and social activities increasingly rely on cyber technology. Thus, cyber attacks could lead to big disruptions and economic losses. Moreover, the preventive measures in many systems are relatively weak. According to cyber experts, up to 75% to 85% of web sites, even those in the United States with relatively strong security techniques, still could not resist all hackers' attacks.
3. Biological, chemical, and radiological weapons are highly possible choices for terror attacks. With the expertise, technology, and material needed to build such weapons inexorably spreading, the threat of terrorist use is increasing.
4. The possibility of using a nuclear weapon or nuclear materials for terror still exists. Since the end of Cold War, the smuggling of nuclear materials has escalated. It is possible for terrorists to engage in nuclear material smuggling or even try to obtain nuclear weapons.

5.2. Trends in Terrorist Groups' Development

After the end of the Cold War, international relations experienced huge changes and new conflicts have intertwined with traditional ones. Accordingly, some trends have emerged on terrorist groups, their organizational structures, scope of activities, and motivations.

1. Terrorist groups are diverse. Fanatical religious and extreme rightist terrorism continue to dominate. Besides Islamic fundamentalist groups, new religious terrorist groups may appear, including some cults. Separatist terrorism will remain active and menacing, particularly in the multiethnic states. The danger of extreme rightist terrorism remains and could be even more serious in Western countries. Extreme leftist terrorism has been declining, but still exists, for example, in Nepal. With the increasing pressure from the international community, one positive result is a decline in state-sponsored terrorism.
2. The organization of terrorist groups follows two main models. Technical advances, the availability of cell phones, the Internet, and globalization have provided new methods for terrorists to form well-organized international networks, which enable more liaisons among them and facilitates conspiracy and clandestine financing. At the same time, some groups have shifted to close-knit, smaller units resulting from increased pressure and scrutiny from the international community. Both models make the apprehension of the perpetrators more difficult.
3. With the decrease of state funding, terrorists are turning increasingly to other sources of funding, including private sponsorship, crime, illegal trade, and drug and precious stone (i.e., diamond) trafficking, as well as some charities.
4. The shift in terrorism also parallels a change from primarily politically motivated terrorism to terrorism that is more religiously, sociologically, or ideologically motivated. There could yet be more small terrorist groups born for fighting against some specific policies.
5. A visible trend shows a shift eastward of the locus of terrorism from the Middle East to South Asia, specifically Afghanistan and Central Asia. As most Middle Eastern countries have strengthened their counterterrorism measures, terrorists have sought safe haven in areas where they can operate and avoid punishment.

5.3. Trends in Terrorist Targets

Terrorist targets are not limited in scope: they could be anything, anybody, and anywhere. However, in order to maximize terror, attract wide attention to influence society's reaction, and compel governments to change policies, targets are selected to meet certain conditions, as follows:

1. **Symbolic targets.** Attacking these targets could have a lasting impact on society with relatively low cost and fewer people directly involved. Considering the current high pressure on terrorism by the international community, reducing cost and participants may be important factors in terrorist planning. As people quickly adapt to the new situation, ordinary terrorist acts may not create a satisfactory sensation; terrorists may tend to escalate attacks in order to capture a wider audience. The September 11 attacks are an extreme case.

2. **Revenge targets.** That is particularly evident in the Arab-Israeli conflicts. Terrorist attacks have been and will remain the main means for both sides to gain revenge on each other. That phenomenon has also highlighted the anti-U.S. attacks. Usually after the United States has intervened internationally, there have been increased anti-U.S. terrorist acts occurring throughout the world.
3. **Economic targets** will remain on top of the target list, because those attacks can cause great disruption, fear, and damage to society. Potential targets include items within the critical infrastructure, such as nuclear facilities, cyber systems, electrical and water systems, transportation facilities, and other basic city infrastructures.
4. **Civilian targets.** Terrorist attacks on civilian targets will increase and be more serious in the future. Security has been increased at official facilities, so attacking the public may be the easiest way to strike terror. As terrorists become more ruthless and attack civilians with more powerful means, the possible targets could include facilities where people are generally known to congregate or visit, such as shopping centers, restaurants, schools, or office buildings.

6. Cooperation and Challenges

As discussed above, the terrorist threat is global in scope, many faceted, and deep rooted. The war on terror will be a long, hard-fought confrontation. Thus, defeating this threat requires the international community's every available means and must elicit a multidimensional effort around the world. Counterterrorism cooperation across the world increased after the September 11 attacks, including closer consultations, exchange of intelligence, and better cooperation in freezing the financial assets of terrorist organizations.

6.1. International Cooperation

Combating terrorism is a shared responsibility. Countries are more aware of the need to ensure common security through pooling wisdom and expanding cooperation. Many countries have carried out active bilateral and multilateral cooperation against terrorism. Those efforts have not only promoted multilateral security cooperation and mutual assistance among the international community, but have also accelerated positive changes in relationships among major powers.

6.1.1. Diplomatic and Political Cooperation

The campaign against terrorism is a prime example of a global coalition focused on a common goal, with the UN playing a leading role. The existing 12 UN conventions on terrorism³⁰ strengthen international efforts by providing a legal foundation for nations to join this fight. The UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1373,³¹ requiring all UN members to pursue terrorists and those who support them. The varied regional organizations actively coordinate efforts in the fight. This includes APEC, the SCO, European Union (EU), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum (ARF), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization of American States (OAS), and Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), etc. The members of NATO and the Rio Pact invoked these treaties' mutual defense clauses for the first time. Also, there is very energetic bilateral and multilateral coordination among them. All this reflects the trend toward deeper interdependence among countries of the international community.

On the counterterrorism front line, the Asia-Pacific region, especially Central and South Asian countries, are very active in this fight. Under the concerted efforts of the international community, Afghanistan has changed its government and begun rebuilding. The members of SCO³² have signed *The Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism* and *The Agreement on Regional Counter-terrorism Agency*.³³ These documents establish a multilateral mechanism and legal foundation for anti-terror cooperation.

³⁰ See "The UN Treaty Collection, Conventions on Terrorism," <http://untreaty.un.org/English/Terrorism.asp>.

³¹ See "The UN Action Against Terrorism, Action by the Security Council," <http://www.un.org/terrorism/sc.htm>.

³² SCO was founded by China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan on June 15, 2001.

³³ See "The SCO Signed *The Agreement on Regional Counter-terrorism Agency*," June 8, 2002, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/chn/30856.html>.

6.1.2. Information and Intelligence Sharing

Sharing information and intelligence about terrorists, their movements, and their planned attacks is an absolute prerequisite for successful interdiction. Sharing information allows countries to expose the criminal network in which terrorists operate and to act preemptively to counter terrorists before they act. Strengthening cooperation in this field among countries is significant.

In the wake of September 11, intelligence cooperation among countries has expanded to unprecedented levels and occupies a primary place in many bilateral and multilateral anti-terror agendas. The regional organizations, such as SCO, ASEAN, and OSCE, have all pledged to enhance information and intelligence exchanges in fighting terrorism. The anti-terror accord between ASEAN and the United States signed on August 1, 2002, is an example of this new type of cooperation.

6.1.3. Legislation Cooperation

Because of the transnational nature of terrorism, strengthening the international and domestic legislative infrastructure to deal with this issue is critical. Many nations have changed their laws, regulations, and practices in accordance with UN conventions. Currently, an *International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism* and a *Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism* have been under negotiation in the UN. The 12 existing UN conventions on terrorism remove the legal obstacles to more effective international cooperation, and have the following features:

1. **Define the unlawful nature of terrorism.** All 12 conventions designated terrorist acts as criminal offences, and require states to crack down on these acts within their jurisdiction. Current international law states that no terrorist acts are politically justifiable. Furthermore, those who are prosecuted for terrorism are deprived of right of asylum in other countries, and the principle of non-extradition of political refugees is not applicable to terrorist crime.³⁴
2. **Strengthen cooperation between State Parties in combating terrorism.** Some conventions set up the principle of “prosecution or extradition,” stipulating that terrorist crime is an extraditable offense between the State Parties, and establish that the act of funding terrorism is an offense.³⁵
3. **Expand States’ jurisdiction over terrorist acts.** The conventions establish some special jurisdiction bases for the state. For instance, “the offence is committed by a stateless person whose habitual residence is in the territory of that State.” “The offence is committed in an attempt to compel that State to do or abstain from doing any act”; “does not exclude the exercise of any criminal jurisdiction established by a

³⁴ See “The International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism,” adopted by the General Assembly of the UN on December 9, 1999, p. 14, <http://untreaty.un.org/English/Terrorism.asp>.

³⁵ See “The International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism,” adopted by the General Assembly of the UN on December 9, 1999, pp. 2, 7-9, <http://untreaty.un.org/English/Terrorism.asp>.

State Party in accordance with its domestic law.”³⁶ These conventions improve a state’s capability when it exercises jurisdiction over international terrorist acts.

6.1.4. Law Enforcement Cooperation

Because of the transnational nature of terrorism, it is imperative to establish effective cooperation among countries for prosecuting international terrorists.

Bilateral and multilateral cooperation on law enforcement emphasizes freezing sources of funds for terrorists, stopping the flow of their weapons, and tracking their networks. Because the most active terrorist groups are located in the Asia-Pacific region, consultation and cooperation are more extensive among regional countries and organizations, such as APEC, ASEAN, ARF, and SCO. The SCO’s six members have signed *The Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism*.³⁷ This focuses especially on East Turkistan, Chechen terrorists, and the Uzbek Islamic movement. A Regional Counterterrorism Agency in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, coordinates efforts to implement this treaty. Other efforts include attempts to curb arms smuggling, drug trafficking, and other criminal activities in the region.

6.1.5. Cooperation in the Economic Field

Depriving terrorists of financial resources is critical to the war on terrorism. Thus, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1373 requiring all UN members to prohibit terrorist financing, recruitment, and access to weapons and other support. Resolution 1373 and *The International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism* strengthen countries’ capabilities to cut off the flow of funds to terrorist groups. Under this framework, countries and regional and international organizations have enhanced cooperation to combat terrorist financing in a global, systematic way.

This effort has obtained encouraging results, as follows:

- 210 individuals and entities have been designated by the United States and other countries as financiers of terrorism;
- 161 countries and jurisdictions have taken concrete action to block terrorists’ assets; and
- \$116 million in terrorists’ assets have been frozen globally since September 11.³⁸

³⁶ See “The International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombing,” adopted by the General Assembly of the UN on December 15, 1997, pp. 5-6, <http://untreaty.un.org/English/Terrorism.asp>.

³⁷ *The Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism*, concluded by China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan on June 15, 2001.

³⁸ Quoted in U.S.-EU Terrorist Financial Fact Sheet, “Summary of Terrorism Financing War,” <http://www.treas.gov/press/releases/po3070.htm>.

6.2. Challenges and Difficulties

Given the complicated background, transnational character, and deep-rooted historical and cultural dimensions of terrorism, the fight against terrorism will be a protracted and complicated task. The challenges are as follows:

1. **Lack of a universally accepted definition of terrorism.** A definition of terrorism is important because it can pave the way for the creation of a multilateral action against terrorism. People with various political and cultural backgrounds may have diverse views on terrorism. Those who commit violent acts, which others see as terrorist actions, claim that they perform these acts for political and ideological purposes and therefore do not consider their actions as terrorism, but rather as heroic deeds. They also consider themselves to be the oppressed and not the aggressor.
2. **Political concerns and national interests.** Some states may be concerned that their national interests conflict with the demands for international cooperation. It is more difficult for those states that have historically rooted conflicts to cooperate. There is also some political sensitivity for states, which are concerned that cooperation may hurt their national sovereignty and not serve their national interest.
3. **Insufficient international legal system on terrorism.** The international anti-terrorist legislative and judicial infrastructure is insufficient, which reduces the capability of states to tackle the threat. Moreover, each state generally defines and prosecutes terrorists according to its domestic law. Differences in the legal system of states involved are therefore a key challenge. Due to the lack of a universally accepted definition of terrorism, those differences could hinder multilateral cooperation.
4. **Law enforcement cooperation.** Law enforcement depends on the states' domestic system. Differences in the legal system of states may affect this cooperation. For instance, the UN Security Control Resolution 1373 requires states to provide maximum coordination in investigation and take necessary measures to starve terrorist financing. Judicial assistance between states may be difficult because of the differences between the systems and their capabilities.
5. **Technical progress and globalization.** Terrorists can take advantage of fast capital flow, complicated financial systems, and differences between legal systems and capabilities of countries. Suspicious assets may be hidden in a legitimate business.
6. **Imbalanced capabilities among states.** States' capabilities are diverse in terms of the availability of technology and professional expertise. Differences in legal and financial systems of states also create vulnerabilities and limitations.
7. **Sharing intelligence and information.** States may not be willing to share information because of national security concerns or other ideological or political considerations.

6.3. Possible Approaches and Principles

To meet the challenges posed by the terrorist threat, there is a need to explore new initiatives, thereby paving the way for a more effective cooperation among states. Emphasis should be given to the following points:

1. **Combating terrorism should be pursued on the basis of international law** and norms governing international relations, allowing the UN and its Security Council to play a leading role.
2. **Strengthen the related international legislative infrastructure.** For example, quick action is needed to finalize the UN formulation of an *International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism* and a *Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism*. This will help states to improve their capabilities to prosecute terrorists.
3. **Develop an internationally accepted definition of terrorism within the UN framework.** A common definition would clarify ambiguities. The international community should take the same position against terrorism no matter when, where, and in what form it occurs, or at whom it is targeted, avoiding double standards.
4. **Define the scope of operations against terrorists.** Antiterror activities must not be arbitrarily enlarged. Operations should be based on convincing evidence, with clearly defined targets, and special care must be taken to avoid harm to the innocent.
5. **Settle regional conflicts fairly.** Curb escalating violence in the Middle East and seek a peaceful solution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict through promoting dialogue and understanding, in order to revive the Middle East peace process. It is also important to promote peace in and reconstruction of Afghanistan, which is key to the security of Central and South Asia.
6. **Address the root causes of terrorism.** The international community needs to eliminate the social grounds for the breeding and spreading of terrorism. This would include alleviating poverty and the development gap, and eradicating social injustices and unfairness as well as racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination.
7. **Countries should support the peaceful coexistence of different social systems and civilizations.** Thus, a new security concept based on mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality, and coordination should be cultivated.
8. **Strengthen countries' antiterror capabilities.** International cooperation must encourage countries to help each other by providing advice and expertise, especially in technical, financial, and legislative fields. It is particularly urgent to improve the capabilities of developing countries, which may have a less-developed antiterror infrastructure.

6.4. Chinese Efforts in Combating Terrorism

The Chinese government has always firmly opposed terrorism in all forms and adopted a series of measures to fight terrorism internationally and domestically, especially after the September 11 events. These are summarized in the following sections.

6.4.1. Diplomatic and International Cooperation

China actively participates in international cooperation against terrorism. In the multilateral field, China supports the leading role of the UN and is a party to most of the international conventions on terrorism. China has actively pushed the UN General Assembly and Security Council to adopt a series of resolutions against terrorism. On the regional level, China supports ARF and the APEC Leadership Meeting's declarations on counterterrorism. Most importantly, China has concluded *The Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism* with other member states of the SCO in an effort to strengthen regional anti-terrorist cooperation.

China has undertaken closer bilateral cooperation with various countries and established consultation mechanisms on anti-terrorism with the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, India, Pakistan, and other countries.³⁹ China has worked for years for a peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan issue and actively supports its post-war reconstruction.

6.4.2. Law Enforcement and Security Measures

Deeply concerned about the terrorist threat, Chinese law enforcement agencies have taken steps to strengthen its security and enhance international cooperation against terrorist, separatist, and extremist cells, especially East Turkistan terrorists in China. They have obtained encouraging results: 44 hideouts have been destroyed and over 100 East Turkistan terrorists who infiltrated Xinjiang have been apprehended. A large amount of ammunition was confiscated, including 4,500 grenades.⁴⁰

After September 11, China tightened its borders and Customs control, especially at the border with Afghanistan, in order to block terrorists fleeing into the country. China has also taken measures to improve aviation security. In the last six months, China invested 200 million yuan (\$US 24 million) to improve the airport security infrastructure, and plans to allocate another 800 million yuan (\$US 96.4 million) to enhance civil aviation security after August 2002.⁴¹

On June 7, 2002, China signed an agreement to set up the SCO Anti-Terrorism Agency. Chinese law enforcement agencies have expanded cooperation with their foreign counterparts in

³⁹ Quoted in China Foreign Ministry Spokesperson's Press Conference on September 5, 2002, <http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2002-09/05/content551552.htm>.

⁴⁰ Quoted in China Foreign Ministry Spokesperson's Press Conference on September 12, 2002, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/34813.html>.

⁴¹ Quoted in Xinhuanet, "China to allot more for better aviation safety," August 8, 2002, <http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2002-08/08/contet517025.htm>.

many areas, including information and intelligence exchanges on terrorists and their movements. A U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) office in Beijing opened this year.

6.4.3. Economic Measures

To combat terrorist financing, China implemented the UN Security Council Resolution 1373 and conducted a thorough search within Chinese financial institutions and foreign financial institutions with branches in China for evidence of terrorist financing mechanisms.

China also has taken measures to strengthen its legislative infrastructure on combating money laundering and other financial crimes. In recent years, the Chinese government promulgated a series of laws and regulations concerning money laundering. In September 2001, China set up a special anti-money laundering task force charged with the unified leadership and deployment of anti-money laundering operations throughout the Chinese banking system. Efforts are being stepped up to revise regulations governing cash management and to set up a system to report suspicious cash transactions. A center for overseeing financial transactions and payments to prevent money laundering is under active development.⁴²

In the last two years, Chinese police enhanced international cooperation for identifying and disrupting terrorist financing networks. They assisted their foreign counterparts to investigate over 70 money-laundering cases related to 17 countries and regions.⁴³

⁴² Quoted in China Financial and Economic Times, "People's Bank directs Chinese campaign against money laundering," July 2, 2002, <http://finance.sina.com.cn/g/20020702/227973.html>.

⁴³ Quoted in People's Daily, "Crackdown on money laundering," June 19, 2002, <http://www.news.sina.com.cn/c/2002-06-19/1720610561.html>.

7. Sino-U.S. Cooperation on Counterterrorism

China and the United States are permanent members of the UN Security Council with a wide range of common interests. Because both are victims of terrorism, fighting terrorism has become a major shared interest. In the war on terror, the Chinese and Americans have created a consultative mechanism to carry out effective cooperation. Designation of the East Turkistan Islamic Party as a terrorist group by the UN Security Council is an important product of their concerted efforts. During the third summit meeting between Chinese President Jiang Zemin and U.S. President George W. Bush, the two countries agreed to strengthen exchanges and cooperation in antiterrorism in a “two-way and mutually beneficial basis.”⁴⁴

7.1. Technical Cooperation

Science and technology provide valuable security measures. New technologies for analysis, detection of attacks, and countering chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear weapons could help prevent or minimize the damage from future terrorist attacks.

7.1.1. Protecting Critical Infrastructure and Key Assets

Operation of modern society depends on infrastructure networks, both physical ones such as energy and transportation and virtual ones such as cyber systems. Attacking one or more pieces of those critical assets could disrupt entire systems and cause huge damage to the country. In addition, China will host the 2008 Olympics. Ensuring security poses a big challenge, and the technology of physical protection could be an effective means to tackle the problem. Access control and intrusion detection technology address both covert and overt attacks. They aim to identify, reject, slow down, or repel attackers while alerting response teams to take appropriate countermeasures.

Access control ensures that authorized personnel can enter a facility and that unauthorized personnel do not gain access. Moreover, technical access control systems can be programmed for complex access rules and reprogrammed easily. These systems use three categories of information:

- ***Something you know.*** Various personal identification number (PIN) systems are well known and widely used. To avoid bystanders’ learning an authorized person’s PIN, the Hirsch Scramble Pad displays the number keys in a random pattern each time the Start key is pressed. Only a person standing directly in front of the keypad can read the number display.
- ***Something you are.*** Physical features are unique and can be used to recognize authorized persons with biometric access control systems. Iris and retinal scanners, hand and fingerprint readers, and voice and face recognition systems are commercially available.

⁴⁴ See “President Jiang Zemin Met with US President Bush,” October 26, 2002, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/36544.html>.

- ***Something you have.*** At the simplest level, this can be a common key. However, a physical key can be stolen and used. An electronic key can be deactivated if stolen; hence, magnetic swipe cards or proximity readers are more secure. Lapel-worn infrared emitters can also be useful, especially where workers need to have both hands free to carry materials.

Intrusion detection systems counter intruders who may use force to gain entry. Various approaches may focus on identifying and assessing an attack. Intrusion detection methods include switches on doors, motion detectors and other sensors, and video surveillance systems. Some typical technologies are listed below:

- Fences can be instrumented to provide warning of attempts to climb over or cut through fences. Typical sensors attached to exterior fences can include fiber-optic nets or taut-wire strain gauges to detect personnel climbing over the fence. Interior fences can be set up with low-voltage electric fields, which are sensitive to movement.
- Intrusion detection sensors between fences can detect motion of intruders. Aboveground sensors can include microwave or infrared emitters that set up a “curtain” of sensitivity. Underground sensors include buried fiber-optic cables that detect persons on the surface.
- Video cameras help the guard force assess an intrusion. “Change detection” cameras can be used to alert the response force when scene changes occur. At a high-value facility, cameras might include pan, tilt, and zoom capabilities in both the visible and infrared light spectra.
- Active “access denial” technologies can counter intruders. In especially high-value facilities, smoke generators can disorient intruders or special foam dispensers can immobilize them.
- Planning for response to an attack (or accident) is an important part of protecting critical infrastructures. Disruption of water or electricity supplies could cause a collapse of other important services. This kind of planning could help Beijing prepare for the 2008 Olympics, for example. The United States and other countries have valuable experience in conducting tabletop simulations of these interactions.⁴⁵

7.1.2. Preventing Catastrophic Threats

Based on the analysis above, traditional terrorist methods such as bombing or causing explosions will probably remain the primary means in future terrorist attacks, perhaps with technological improvements. Threats of terrorist attacks using chemical, biological, radiological, or even nuclear weapons potentially exist, and the consequences could be catastrophic. To tackle those threats, the technologies and approaches discussed below could provide suitable countermeasures.

⁴⁵ Discussion with John Olsen, Cooperative Monitoring Center (CMC), Sandia National Laboratories.

- ***Explosives detection portal.*** At entries to buildings, airports, or borders, people can walk through a portal, much like an airport metal detector portal, to be checked for explosives particulates. While the person pauses for a few seconds, puffs of air blow particles off their clothing, hair, and skin. The sample collection system sucks in the particulate, the sample is analyzed, and an alarm alerts the operator if explosives are present. Sandia National Laboratories (SNL) has successfully tested a prototype at the Albuquerque Airport. In cooperation with industry, a second-generation explosives detection portal has been developed for commercial use and may win approval for use at U.S. airports.
- ***Explosives sniffer.*** A hand-held sniffer may be used to detect explosive particles on vehicles, shipping crates, or packages. These sniffers are rapidly becoming smaller and faster acting and could become standard tools at borders or near potential targets.
- ***Nuclear material detectors.*** Recent news stories have considered the threat of a Radiological Dispersal Device (RDD) that would use explosives to spread radiological contamination over a target area. While the health hazard of the RDD would be mainly due to the explosives themselves, the economic impact of such terrorism could be very large. Portable detectors of gamma rays and neutrons could be used to scan personnel, cargoes, and vehicles at border crossings, ports, and near potential targets. The United States is currently very active in preventing smuggling of nuclear materials, with a strong emphasis on material originating from sites in the Former Soviet Union. This project, known as the “Second Line of Defense,” may supply nuclear detectors and train border inspectors in any countries that might be along a nuclear smuggling route. This concept might have applications in cooperation with China.
- ***Biosecurity.*** The objective is to prevent the diversion of high-consequence pathogens and toxins that could be used for bioterrorism. Certain biological agents need to be controlled in a manner that is similar to the administrative and technical procedures used in the nuclear industry. However, many unique aspects of microbiological research make the nuclear security standard inappropriate for biosecurity. For instance, biological agents exist in the natural environment; can self-replicate, mutate, and die in ways that cannot be anticipated; cannot be detected outside of a sealed container; and can be cultured and weaponized with commercially available equipment. The Cooperative Monitoring Center (CMC) is currently engaged in assisting the U.S. Departments of Agriculture, Defense, and Energy in drawing up security plans and standards for various microbiological research laboratories. The specific plans will be confidential, but the concepts and methodologies could be of interest to Chinese authorities that confront similar responsibilities.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Discussion with John Olsen, CMC, Sandia National Laboratories.

7.1.3. Safeguarding Transportation Security

Modern life and economic development rely heavily on transportation. With globalization, virtually all countries of the world are connected to the global transportation network of seaports, airports, pipelines, waterways, and railroads that move people and goods within them. China is the fourth largest trading partner of the United States, and the United States is the second largest trading partner of China. The bilateral trade volume exceeded U.S. \$80 billion in 2001. Thus, providing transportation security while intensifying bilateral economic cooperation in this field is important. Security measures must allow the efficient flow of people and goods across borders while preventing terrorists from using transportation to deliver implements of destruction. The measures discussed below may be considered:

- ***Applying principles used in Second Line of Defense activities.*** The United States cooperates with the Former Soviet Union states to prevent smuggling of nuclear materials across international borders. Originally intended to prevent smuggling of weapons-grade nuclear materials, this program is now expanding to detect and intercept other nuclear materials that could be used in a “dirty bomb.”
- ***Inspection of international shipments.*** Several technologies are available for detecting dangerous contraband in international shipments. For instance, large x-ray scanning devices can create an image of the contents of a transportainer, crate, or truck in a few seconds. With either low-energy x-rays or higher-energy gamma rays, metallic or organic compounds can be highlighted respectively. In addition, specialized detectors can sniff out explosives, certain chemical agents, or detect emissions from nuclear materials. Planning an effective inspection system and training operators can be a major area of cooperation.
- ***U.S. inspectors in Chinese ports.*** The United States has suggested placing Customs inspectors in Chinese ports for inspecting shipments to the United States, in order to enhance the security inspection and prevent terrorist attacks. This could also expedite acceptance of Chinese shipments into U.S. ports and avoid lengthy inspection delays. The United States has made similar requests of Holland, Singapore, and other countries.
- ***Electronic seal.*** One way to speed up shipping without sacrificing security is to inspect transportainers at the point of origin, such as a factory or warehouse. Customs inspectors could inspect materials during loading and then affix an electronic seal to detect tampering.
- ***Electronic documentation exchanges.*** Many cases of fraudulent shipping documents suggest that an international system of authenticated shipping invoices could help interdict the shipment of terrorist materials. Establishing an internet-based Customs system with electronic validation could be another topic for cooperation.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Discussion with John Olsen, CMC, Sandia National Laboratories.

7.1.4. Safeguarding Border Security

China has land borders 22,800 km long with 15 contiguous countries. Five countries neighbor China across the seas to the east and southeast. Moreover, China is contiguous with South and Central Asian areas where terrorists are very active. Despite peaceful relations between China and its neighbors, the ongoing war on terrorism in South Asia may cause terrorists to relocate into China's western areas. Therefore, safeguarding border security is of great importance.

Protecting such long borders in remote areas is a formidable task. However, technologies exist that can assist in this task. The CMC is currently testing border-monitoring technologies in a desert location as part of the development of a proposed monitoring system on the India-Pakistan border. This test location is known as the Outdoor Test Facility (OTF) and includes a 2-km-long "border" section. The OTF is intended to simulate the circumstances along a border with occasional civilian traffic that must be distinguished from illegal traffic.

Various monitoring technologies are tested at the OTF. Sensors are buried in the ground along the test border and video cameras are mounted on a tower to assess the nature of traffic detected by the sensors. The entire OTF is powered by solar panels and reports via a microwave link to a central command station several kilometers away. The sensors include the following:

- ***Ported coaxial cable.*** An electrical signal cable, like a television service cable, can emit a low-level, high-frequency field if the outer jacket is opened along part of its length. Personnel or vehicles entering this "leakage" electrical field will alter the signal in the cable, allowing detection of intruders. This cable is somewhat expensive but does not generate false alarms caused by ground motion.
- ***Seismic detectors.*** Seismic detectors can measure the vibrations caused by people, vehicles, or animals. Modern systems can distinguish between vehicles and people, and to some extent, farm animals. Because these are buried below the surface, intruders may not be aware of the detectors.
- ***Microwave or infrared intrusion detectors.*** Where a narrow path must be monitored, and where surrounding terrain provides concealment, a beam of microwaves or infrared light may be used to set up a "break beam" to detect the motion of people or vehicles. Some systems use both microwave and infrared sensors to discriminate between small animals and people.
- ***Video cameras.*** While sensors indicate an event, a camera image is needed to assess the cause of the alarm and to plan the best response. At the OTF, both visible and infrared light cameras are placed on a tower to monitor the entire 2-km length. The visible light camera can automatically turn toward an alarmed sensor and zoom in on the intruder. Infrared cameras also provide night assessment capabilities.

All sensor signals and video images are sent to the command center on a microwave link. Operators at the command center can manually aim the cameras and perform some remote programming.⁴⁸

7.1.5. Technical Training

Technical training is an important element of technical cooperation. Winning the war on terror depends on the capabilities of all the defenders. Without qualified personnel, any good strategy or advanced technology would be of little value. Therefore, technical training is vital. The United States has advanced technology and rich experience in combating terrorism with financial and legislative tools; China also has strong points in this regard. Therefore, sharing those experiences and knowledge could be justified for both countries. Cooperation could take the form of the following:

- ***Training workshops.*** If the above-mentioned technologies appear to be useful, “train the trainer” workshops could transfer the expertise to responsible organizations in China. For instance, SNL conducted training workshops on the physical protection of nuclear materials and facilities in China in 1998, 2000, and 2002 at Daya Bay and in Beijing. In addition, U.S. laboratories and Chinese institutions cooperated to instrument a nuclear facility as a demonstration in 1999.
- ***Specific training seminars*** to strengthen the capability of legal and financial officials. The emphasis would be on areas such as trafficking, money laundering, and other crimes related to terrorism or the support systems for terrorism.
- ***Police and other security force training.*** Although Chinese civilian security forces are experienced, expert exchanges could benefit both sides. Topics of mutual interest include incident management, border security, trafficking in drugs or persons, money laundering, and arms trafficking, among others. Training to deepen police technical capabilities in protecting facilities, monitoring borders, and detecting dangerous materials offers several other useful areas of cooperation.
- ***China-United States joint training for the region.*** In the Asia-Pacific region, especially Central and South Asia, China and the United States have common interests in combating terrorism and maintaining regional peace and stability. In cooperation with regional organizations such as ARF, SCO, and ASEAN, China and the United States might jointly organize counterterrorism training in the region, inviting the participation of concerned countries.

7.2. Information and Intelligence Sharing

Gathering and sharing information about terrorists, their movements, and their planned attacks are absolute prerequisites in the war on terror, with cooperation in bilateral and multilateral efforts. For instance, emphasis could be placed on information and intelligence exchange regarding terrorist groups and activities in the Asia-Pacific region.

⁴⁸ Discussion with John Olsen, CMC, Sandia National Laboratories.

7.3. Cooperation in the Economic Field

Depriving terrorists of financial resources is critical to the war on terrorism. The two countries could coordinate efforts in combating terrorist financing and money laundering, in order to effectively implement Resolution 1373 of the UN Security Council. China has to improve its capabilities and overcome technical, structural, or legal obstacles that may impede financial institutions from combating terrorist financing, money laundering, and other crimes.

The United States could help China through provision of financial and legal advice and technical assistance, as well as sharing related expertise. China could then contribute more to counterterrorism efforts with a more efficiently operating financial system.

7.4. Law Enforcement Cooperation

Faced with the rising threat of terrorism, law enforcement agencies need to expand their missions accordingly. In addition to a traditional mission of investigating and prosecuting criminal activity, they must add this new task of preventing and interdicting terrorist activity within China. The legal infrastructure needs to be tailored to fit this new situation. China and the United States could help each other in ongoing terrorism-related investigations and prosecutions, particularly those that target border security, terrorist financing, trafficking in drugs, money laundering, arms trafficking, and other crimes. The two countries could share related experiences and expertise, especially concerning incident management.

7.5. Cooperation in Multilateral Frameworks

As major countries and permanent members of the UN Security Council, China and the United States could expand cooperation within multilateral frameworks, especially in the UN and the Asia-Pacific region. The following suggestions apply to multilateral frameworks:

1. Enhance coordination and consultation in the UN and promote implementation of the existing international antiterrorism conventions, and encourage more countries to become parties and implement them. Contribute advice and expertise to help overcome obstacles that may arise.
2. Enhance cooperation in the establishment of new international law on terrorism. For example, the UN is negotiating an *International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism* and a *Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism*.
3. Strengthen cooperation to maintain regional peace and stability, especially in South and Central Asia, where conflicts between various religions and ethnic nationalities provide fertile ground for terrorism. Besides supporting the UN's leading role in Afghanistan, it would be beneficial to enhance antiterror cooperation through the SCO in Central Asia. The two could coordinate efforts in mitigating regional conflicts, especially between India and Pakistan.
4. Strengthen antiterrorism coordination and cooperation within APEC, especially in the fight against terrorist financing. Enhance consultation and coordination against terrorism and transnational crime with ASEAN and ARF through the exchange of information and intelligence, starving terrorist financing, and building capabilities.

8. Conclusions

In the current world, the international security situation is undergoing profound changes. Besides traditional security problems, the non-traditional security issue of terrorism is of grave concern, imposing a real threat on international peace and stability. The September 11 incidents underscore the seriousness of this menace.

As the terrorist threat is transnational, many-faceted, and deep-rooted in diversified conflicts, the international campaign against terrorism will be a long, hard-fought confrontation. Countries should strive for global cooperation to tackle this threat, and continually support the leading role of the UN and its Security Council, while further enhancing regional cooperation, as follows:

- Assist each other through an integrated use of political, economic, diplomatic, military, legal, scientific, and technological means;
- Redouble efforts in alleviating poverty and the development gap;
- Endeavor to settle regional conflicts in a fair and reasonable manner, and promote understanding and dialogue among different countries, ethnic groups, and societies;
- Oppose terrorism no matter when, where, or in what form it occurs, or at whom it is targeted, avoiding a double standard.

China and the United States, two permanent members of the UN Security Council, share a wide range of common interests, especially in counterterrorism, since both are victims of terrorism. During his recent visit to the United States, President Jiang Zemin expressed his appreciation for the effective cooperation between two countries in the war against terror. China and the United States have agreed to continually strengthen antiterrorism cooperation.

Among the varied facets of potential cooperation, technical cooperation should be emphasized and expanded to improve capabilities and efficiency in dealing with this threat. Focusing on protecting people, facilities, and infrastructures, this cooperation may introduce protective technologies and training, including the means for boosting port and border security and detecting explosives or nuclear materials. Promoting further cooperation in this campaign will not only benefit the global counterterrorism efforts, but also encourage a healthy growth of a constructive and cooperative relationship.

About the Author

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