To decrease ethnic instability in Xinjiang, the Chinese government's plan is to economically develop the region. Xinjiang is rich in natural resources, is geographically significant and has a special economic zone. China is also investing in Central Asia to further meet its energy demand. A network of pipelines and major rail systems connect sources from China to Central Asia and beyond. Xinjiang's economy will benefit from the network because it is the gateway and corridor to Central Asia and a hub for the Silk Road traffic. This study suggests that Xinjiang's economic development led to a few destabilizing elements, including Han migration, income disparity and employment discrimination. All of this is taking place while the government is also dealing with other cultural issues, such as religion and education. The author hypothesizes that China's economic development plan in the Xinjiang Uyghur (or Uighur) Autonomous Region increases, decreases or is a subsidiary factor to ethnic instability. This paper argues that China's economic development plan for Xinjiang affects ethnic stability in Xinjiang as a subsidiary factor.
CHINA’S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN IN XINJIANG AND HOW IT AFFECTS ETHNIC INSTABILITY

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ABSTRACT

To decrease ethnic instability in Xinjiang, the Chinese government’s plan is to economically develop the region. Xinjiang is rich in natural resources, is geographically significant and has a special economic zone. China is also investing in Central Asia to further meet its energy demand. A network of pipelines and major rail systems connect sources from China to Central Asia and beyond. Xinjiang’s economy will benefit from the network because it is the gateway and corridor to Central Asia and a hub for the Silk Road traffic. This study suggests that Xinjiang’s economic development led to a few destabilizing elements, including Han migration, income disparity and employment discrimination. All of this is taking place while the government is also dealing with other cultural issues, such as religion and education. The author hypothesizes that China’s economic development plan in the Xinjiang Uyghur (or Uighur) Autonomous Region increases, decreases or is a subsidiary factor to ethnic instability. This paper argues that China’s economic development plan for Xinjiang affects ethnic stability in Xinjiang as a subsidiary factor.
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<tr>
<td>AIIB</td>
<td>Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCM/A</td>
<td>billion cubic meters per annum</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCP</td>
<td>Chinese Communist Party</td>
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<td>CE</td>
<td>Common Era</td>
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<td>CITIC</td>
<td>China International Trust and Investment Corporation</td>
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<td>CNOOC</td>
<td>China National Offshore Oil Corporation</td>
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<td>CNPC</td>
<td>Chinese National Petroleum Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>CO2</td>
<td>Carbon Dioxide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPC</td>
<td>Communist Party of China</td>
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<tr>
<td>ET</td>
<td>East Turkestan</td>
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<tr>
<td>ETIM</td>
<td>East Turkistan Islamic Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETLO</td>
<td>East Turkestan Liberation Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETR</td>
<td>Eastern Turkistan Republic</td>
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<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INA</td>
<td>Ili National Army</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAP</td>
<td>People’s Army Police</td>
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<tr>
<td>PCC</td>
<td>Production and Construction Corp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLA</td>
<td>People’s Liberation Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>People’s Republic of China’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSB (Bovingdon)</td>
<td>Public Security Bureau</td>
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<tr>
<td>SCO</td>
<td>Shanghai Cooperation Organization</td>
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<td>SEZ</td>
<td>Special economic zone</td>
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<td>SOE</td>
<td>State own enterprises</td>
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<td>TIERT</td>
<td>Turkish Islamic Republic Eastern Turkistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNRF</td>
<td>United National Revolutionary Front of East Turkistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</td>
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<tr>
<td>WUC</td>
<td>World Uyghur Congress</td>
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<td>XJ</td>
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I. INTRODUCTION

The “Great Western Development” of 1999 was China’s strategy to boost the economy of Xinjiang and other provinces in western China. The campaign is one of the Chinese Communist Party’s (CCP, also known as Communist Party of China [CPC]) top economic development priorities to reduce poverty and decrease ethnic conflict between the Han Chinese and the Uyghurs. China is developing Xinjiang based on three factors—rich resources, the Silk Road and SEZ status. The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) has an abundance of rich resources that will help sustain and grow China’s economy. Xinjiang is also geographically located in the center of Asia, where the Silk Road crosses from different directions, bringing together traders and goods from China and Central and South Asia, the Middle East and Europe. To accommodate the traffic, China is developing Xinjiang into a cultural, financial, and logistical trade center. Because foreign trade has become an integral part of the XUAR’s economy over recent years, establishing stability through economic growth in that region


7 Economy and Levi, By All Means Necessary, 155.

8 “China’s Ambitions In Xinjiang and Central Asia, Part I.”

to attract business is crucial to Xinjiang’s economic success.\textsuperscript{10} To boost Xinjiang’s economic development, China designated Kashgar City in the southern Tarim Basin as a SEZ to attract foreign investments.\textsuperscript{11}

In addition to the XUAR, China has economic ties with Central Asia. Central Asia has more natural resources than Xinjiang, which could supply China with a constant flow of energy for decades.\textsuperscript{12} For the resources to reach China, the PRC and Central Asia have been collaborating on pipelines and rail systems construction projects to link the sources to the China Seas. Construction projects further link China, through land and sea, to states as far as Belgium.\textsuperscript{13}

XUAR is economically prospering, but instability continues to persist for a range of reasons, such as Uyghurs’ desire for autonomy or independence, dissatisfaction with the government, Han migration, income disparity, employment discrimination, religious suppression and resistance to assimilation.\textsuperscript{14} These factors can threaten the region and the state’s economy and security. Additionally, ethnic conflict may create economic roadblocks for the Chinese government in attaining its developmental goals such as China’s Silk Road Economic Belt project.\textsuperscript{15} The region may encounter additional difficulties attracting foreign and Chinese investors who feel threatened for lack of a secure investment in that region.\textsuperscript{16}

This thesis proposes three possible hypotheses: the PRC’s economic development plan for Xinjiang increases ethnic conflict, decreases ethnic conflict, or is a subsidiary


\textsuperscript{11} “China’s Ambitions In Xinjiang and Central Asia, Part I.”

\textsuperscript{12} Economy and Levi, \textit{By All Means Necessary}, 148.


\textsuperscript{16} Economy and Levi, \textit{By All Means Necessary}, 20.
factor to ethnic conflict. One of the CCP’s top priorities is economic growth, with the hope that this facilitates ethnic stability between Uyghurs and Hans. Some scholars have proposed other important factors as well, including cultural and educational development, and ethnic policies to stabilize Xinjiang. This thesis will present in the literature review different scholarly perspectives of how China’s economic development plan in Xinjiang affects ethnic instability in the XUAR.

Chapter I of this thesis is the introduction, which introduces XUAR’s background and the literature review. Chapter II focuses on the People’s Republic of China’s (PRC) economic development in the XUAR with the region’s rich resources, the Silk Road and SEZ. This chapter will also expand on China’s economic development with foreign states, especially with Central Asia’s resources and major infrastructure construction projects, which links China to Europe. Chapter III analyzes the economic factors that increase ethnic instability in Xinjiang. The chapter will also include other destabilizing factors such as religious suppression and the education system. Chapter IV is the final chapter. It will conclude with the findings for the hypothesis.

A. BACKGROUND OF XINJIANG

The next few segments of this chapter will focus on the XUAR’s demography, geography, resources, history, religion and conflict. Demography, geography and resources include many facts and figures. History, religion, and conflict, on the other hand, have dynamic timelines.

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3
1. Demography

The XUAR of China, sometimes known as East Turkestan (ET), Uyghuristan and Chinese Turkestan,\textsuperscript{21} is home to approximately 21.6 million people of different ethnicities.\textsuperscript{22} Xinjiang borders eight countries (India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Russia and Mongolia) and three Chinese provinces (Tibet Autonomous Region, Qinghai and Gansu).\textsuperscript{23} Its location gives Xinjiang a diverse population. In 2010, Xinjiang was comprised of 46.4 percent Uyghur, 39 percent Han,

\textsuperscript{20} Pannell and Schmidt, “Structural Change and Regional Disparities in Xinjiang, China,” 331.


\textsuperscript{23} “Who are the Uyghurs.”
seven percent Kazakhs, 4.5 percent Hui, 0.9 percent Kirghiz, 0.8 percent Mongols, 0.2 percent Tajik, 0.2 percent Sibe and the remaining Dagur, Manchu, Russian, Tatar, Uzbek and others. The absolute population of Uyghurs in Xinjiang has been consistently rising. It was 3.6 million in 1945, 13.1 million in 1982, 16.8 million in 1996, and 21.3 in 2008. In 2000, statistics showed that 27.3 percent of the Uyghur population in Xinjiang are between 0–14 years of age; 68.17 percent are 15–64, and 4.53 are 65 and above. Compared to China, in 2014, 17.1 percent of the people are between 0–14 years of age, 73.2 percent are 15–64, and 9.6 percent are 65 and above.

2. Geography

Xinjiang is the most northwestern and largest province in China. Its total land mass is 1,660,011 square kilometers (640,930 square miles). Approximately 41.2 percent of the land in Xinjiang is suitable for agriculture, forestry, and raising animals. Due to Xinjiang’s low and fluctuating precipitation, farmers rely on irrigation to water their crops. Although the climate is arid, the fertile land and long hours of sunlight are ideal for growing a variety of high quality produce such as potato, cotton, grapes and pomegranates.

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24 Due to lack of access to more recent statistics, 2010 is the most recent figures I found in this site. The statistics of the population breakdown were cited from the 2010 Xinjiang Statistical Yearbook according to “Xinjiang,” The China Story, Australian Centre on China in the World, August 2, 2012, http://www.thecinastory.org/lexicon/xinjiang/.


27 “China Age Structure,” Index Mundi, access date February 8, 2015, http://www.indexmundi.com/china/age_structure.html.


While agriculture is significant in Xinjiang, XUAR is a vital province to the Chinese government for many reasons. The Silk Road goes through Xinjiang, making this region the land bridge to South and Central Asia, a hub for trade, and a corridor for transporting energy resources. Xinjiang’s natural geography forms a protective buffer with its deserts, mountains, plateaus and steppes, creating challenges for attacks from any directions. During the Sino-Soviet tension, XUAR was the barricade against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) threat. It also serves as a safety buffer between the Muslim Central and South Asian states and the rest of China.

3. **Resources**

Xinjiang is rich in natural resources such as coal, oil, gas, gold, uranium and nonferrous metals. Beijing estimates one-third of China’s gas and oil reside in Xinjiang. Xinjiang’s oil has a history that dates back to the mid-seventeenth century during the Qing Dynasty. A river of crude oil was discovered in a mountain north-west of Kucha (or Qiuci). The native Kucheans used the smelly ooze as a rejuvenating remedy, while others used it for lamp-oil. A lot of oil seeped to the surface, but the main field that was opened and developed was in 1955 in Karamay. The city became synonymous with Xinjiang’s petrochemical refining center. New oil and natural gas fields are discovered frequently, which increases China’s energy reserve. In 2005, state-owned oil company Sinopec claimed to have discovered a field with more than one billion tons of crude oil, and a Tarim Basin field with 59 billion meters of natural gas. If the

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33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
numbers are accurate and proven, that is an extra one third added onto China’s current reserve.39

In addition, one hundred twenty-two minerals exist in the province but natron saltpeter, muscovite, beryllium, serpentine and pottery clay are the most abundant.40 Over 70 different non-metallic minerals including asbestos, gemstones and jade also exist in Xinjiang.41 The province has an estimated 730 million tons of iron ore, 318 million tons of salt, 170 million tons of mirabilite and over 2 million tons of natron saltpeter.42

4. History

To illustrate the Uyghurs and the XUAR’s rich history, this section will start with an ethnic heritage that dates to pre-historic time. Then, the focus shifts to territorial disputes, starting from the Qing Dynasty in the 1700s until the fall of East Turkistan in 1949. The final section transitions to the XUAR under Mao Zedong’s Communist rule.

The history and origins of the Uyghur people differ from source to source. The World Uyghur Congress (WUC) states that Uyghurs were present 4,000 years ago;43 historian Turgun Almas estimated the Uyghur population dates back 6,400 years ago based on the discoveries of Tarim basin mummies;44 Muhemmed Imin Bughra, a historian of East Turkistan and a Uyghur politician, believed Uyghurs existed for 9,000 years.45 A majority of the literature refers to the Uyghur as a Turkic people who were

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39 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
native to the Central Asian basins of Junghar, Tarim, and Turpan. The Uyghur American Association declares that Uyghurs are Central Asian Turks, not Chinese.

According to another source, the Uyghurs are Persian, descendants of the ancient Sogdians. These were skilled traders who were known throughout Inner Asia as Iranian-speaking people. Starting in the sixth century common era (CE) and continuing for the next 15 centuries, Sogdians facilitated trade throughout the Silk Road, which runs through the Eurasian steppe, Central Asia and China. The primary goods they sold throughout this period were silk, silverware, musk and slaves. Physical Sogdian features are evident in modern day Uyghurs, especially along the heavily trod Silk Road. In the Uyghur bazaars of Kashgar, Khotan and Yarkhand, one will see people with exotic features from the west—hair with blond or brown color, and eyes with hazel and blue color.

According to some historians, the Uyghurs have been a nomadic Turkic people moving across the Mongolian Step in their early existence until they reached the modern area of Xinjiang. Because they were nomads, they identified with their territories and their oasis cities rather than an overarching single title, which would describe who they were collectively.

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46 “Who are the Uyghurs.”


50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.


55 Ibid.
In 1759, the Manchus of the Qing Empire in China invaded East Turkestan and ruled it until 1864.\textsuperscript{56} After 42 revolts, Uyghurs expelled the Manchus in 1864 and regained their independence.\textsuperscript{57} Yakub Beg became their leader, and henceforth, the independent kingdom was renamed Kasharia. Russia, Great Britain and the Turkish Empire recognized its independence. In 1876, the Manchu Empire invaded the region and annexed it in 1884. To prevent Russia’s tsarist expansion, Great Britain supported and funded the Qing Empire to conquer the area. After the Uyghurs’ defeat, Manchus renamed the East Turkestan to Xinjiang, the “New Territory.”\textsuperscript{58} In 1911, the Chinese Nationalist (Guomindang) Party overthrew the Qing dynasty.

Shortly after, Uyghurs briefly achieved independence and established the Turkish Islamic Republic Eastern Turkistan (TIRET) from 1933 to 1934 and the Eastern Turkistan Republic (ETR) from 1944 to 1949.\textsuperscript{59} From 1933 to 1934, the TIRET held the southern region of Xinjiang from Kashghar to the southern border.\textsuperscript{60} The ETR, with its Ili National Army (INA) gained independence from 1944–1949, and governed from Ghulja to the northwest.\textsuperscript{61} When the ETR fell apart due to insufficient manning to guard the territory, internal disagreements and external attacks, the CCP occupied Xinjiang from the ETR.

The soldiers who fought in this war demobilized and worked on paramilitary farms subsequently known as the Production and Construction Corp (PCC).\textsuperscript{62} Eventually, Uyghurs, Kazakhs and other ethnic minorities accused PCC soldier-farmers of being “Han colonialists.” As a result, the CCP reinstated their effort to assimilate minorities.

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid.
In October 1955, the XUAR was established. While the CCP’s autonomous region system was meant to give non-Hans control of their regions, in the government a Han majority ended up controlling Xinjiang. Uyghurs had little influence over their territorial affairs because the CCP controlled and crushed movements that hinted at promoting independence or “real autonomy.”

In the beginning of 1958, Mao’s “Great Leap Forward” program called for cultural homogenization, such that ethnic differences would be dissolved to create a unified people. The CCP attempted to force compliance through cultural isolation of Islamic customs seen by the party as outdated and ancient. By doing so, they hoped to aid progress. The outcome of Mao’s plan severely disrupted peoples’ livelihoods across China. Party leaders took control out of Mao’s hands in order to stabilize the economy. Though, the restructuring plan failed as well. Famine continued. As a result, an influx of 800,000 hungry people and party-backed Hans migrated into Xinjiang between 1959 and 1960. The PCC farms welcomed the refugees with land, which incited Uyghur resentment toward the Han Chinese.

By the mid-1960s, ethnic minority policies changed again. Renewed radicalization led to the “Cultural Revolution,” and a demand for extreme cultural homogeneity. Young Han Red Guards in Xinjiang battered non-Han culture. For example, policies instructed various minorities to wear Mao suits instead of their traditional hats, scarves, accessories and clothes. Red Guards forced Muslims to raise pigs, shaved Muslims’ beards on the street and destroyed mosques as a way to forcibly promote the new age of China; progress and rapid assimilation.

After more than a decade of ethnic minority resentment, Mao’s death on September 9, 1976 and the arrest of the Gang of Four brought on a new challenge for
Segments of alienated populations throughout the PRC felt the Cultural Revolution was a political, social and identity assault.70

5. Religion

For the Uyghurs, Islam is more than a belief—it is an identity intertwined into their lives, culture, economy, society and political system.71 A majority of the Uyghurs in Xinjiang are Sunni Muslims.72

From a time before the Cultural Revolution to the present day, the Uyghurs have experienced different levels of state tolerance of religion. This section focuses on the pendulum swing of soft and hard policies under Mao’s regime, Deng Xiaoping’s administration, and into the aftermath of the United States’ September 11, 2001 attack.

In 1966, religion in Xinjiang was loosely controlled. Kashgar District had approximately 5,500 mosques, and 107 of them existed in the city of Kashgar. During this time, the CCP had little tolerance for religion. In the 1970s, Mao and his Red Guards purged tradition, relics, history, antique, and religious establishments. Kashgar District was left with 392 mosques and Kashgar City with two. After Mao’s death in 1976, Deng loosened cultural policies, which allowed religion to rebuild again. Between 1980 and 1981, Muslims reclaimed and rebuilt mosques until Kashgar District reached 4,700 mosques, and Kashgar City reached 93.73

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69 Bovingdon, Autonomy in Xinjiang, 21.
70 Ibid.
72 Rudelson, Oasis Identities, 22.
73 Bovingdon, The Uyghurs, Strangers in Their Own Land, 66.
On December 4, 1982, the CCP established the Constitution of the People’s Republic of China, and within it, have an article about religious freedom:

No state organ, public organization or individual may compel citizens to believe in, or not believe in, any religion; nor may they discriminate against citizens who believe in, or do not believe in, any religion. The state protects normal religious activities. No one may make use of religion to engage in activities that disrupt public order, impair the health of citizens or interfere with the educational system of the state. Religious bodies and religious affairs are not subject to any foreign domination.74

While Article 36 provides citizens with freedom of religion, there are stipulations.75 For example, children at any age can profess to be an atheist, but must be 18 to proclaim a religious faith. Furthermore, the article prohibits foreign domination over religion, religious rituals that impair citizens’ health and activities that cause public disorder.76

In 1990, shortly before the Soviet Union’s collapse, a violent uprising in the city of Baren surprised Chinese officials.77 Muslim activists proclaimed that Islam would defeat Marxism-Leninism.78 The uprising and the fall of the Soviet Union led the CCP to overturn its liberal policy to limited religious tolerance. According to Gardner Bovingdon, “officials prosecuted ‘illegal religious activities,’ defrocking suspect clerics, breaking up unauthorized scripture schools, and halting the construction of mosques.”79 The government implemented new policies. For example, imams have to go through a political examination. Only those who are deemed patriotic and politically sound can remain in their position. The CCP also established a religious institution in Urumqi that new clerics must train in. The party took other measures including the destruction of seventy mosques or religious sites in Ili Prefecture, and twenty-one sites in Urumqi, the

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76 Newton, “Requirements of Religion in Xinjiang,” 43.
77 Bovingdon, The Uyghurs, Strangers in Their Own Land, 66.
78 Ibid.
79 Ibid.
shutdown of underground schools, the exclusion of religion from education and the banning of students from fasting during Ramadan.80

The aftermath of the United States’ September 11, 2001 attacks further intensified the Chinese government’s stance against alleged separatists and terrorists, especially when the Muslim population is involved. Along with China, other states such as Chechnya, Karabakh, Kashmir, Palestine and the Philippines associate separatist movements with terrorism.81 The Chinese government heightened its “Strike Hard, Maximum Pressure”82 campaign to suppress secular and religious conflict. In November 2001, in Kashgar, authorities closed thirteen illegal religious centers and arrested the fifty people who prayed in the facilities.83 Restrictions continued to increase. For example, the loyalty requirement that used to apply only to clerics, now apply to all Muslims.84

The CCP’s soft and hard policies in Xinjiang swung back and forth for the last few decades from fierce punishments to accommodating the Uyghurs’ religious practices. However, based on the past few years’ record of ethnic conflicts, China responded with tougher restrictions and control.85

6. Conflict

From 1949–2005, the XUAR has been plagued with protests and violent events between Uyghurs and Han Chinese. This section will provide glimpses of events that took place between 1949 and 1980, which will help contextualize contemporary conflicts inside and outside of Xinjiang.

81 Graham E. Fuller and S. Frederick Starr, The Xinjiang Problem (The John Hopkins University, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute), 14.
82 Ibid., 32.
83 Bovingdon, The Uyghurs, Strangers in Their Own Land, 71.
84 Ibid., 72.
85 Fuller and Starr, The Xinjiang Problem, 35.
After the People’s Liberation Army’s (PLA) “peaceful liberation”\(^86\) of the XUAR in 1949, armed uprisings and rebellions spreaded throughout the region. In 1950, Uyghur resistance leaders such as Khalibek organized one attack, while other leaders such as Abaydulla, Sultan Sarif, Janabil and Orazbay organized five rebellions against the PLA. The PLA quickly suppressed the rebellions.\(^87\) In 1951, Uyghurs continued their quest for independence through armed struggles. The PLA, again, put down the rebellions. In 1952, religious rhetoric started interweaving into resistance efforts. Pan-Turkists allegedly established the “Islamic Alliance Party” to plot an armed uprising against the government, while other Uyghur resistance leaders established and led a “religious army” to rise against the CCP.\(^88\)

Activities in the years between 1953 and 1957 tapered off. In 1953, no protests or violence took place.\(^89\) From 1954 to 1957, one to two Uyghur uprisings or insurgencies sprouted per year; and the government reacted by taking the participants prisoner.

In 1962, due to the hardship following the Great Leap Forward, a mass emigration of 62,000 Uyghurs and Kazakhs fled to Kazakhstan to escape famine.\(^90\) From 1962 to 1966, according to Bovingdon, no protests or violent events took place between Uyghurs and Han Chinese. As for 1966 until 1979, previous sections already covered the struggles between Uyghurs and Han Chinese.\(^91\) Based on Bovingdon’s accounts, protests and violent events before 1975 were instigated by Uyghurs mainly to rebel against the government for ‘colonizing’ Xinjiang.\(^92\)

In 1975, the trend of protest and violence changed. Han migrants in Xinjiang started protests and violent acts against Beijing for economic reasons.\(^93\) Over 100,000

\(^{86}\) Bovingdon, Autonomy in Xinjiang, 18.

\(^{87}\) Bovingdon, The Uyghurs, Strangers in Their Own Land, 174.

\(^{88}\) Ibid., 175.

\(^{89}\) Ibid., 175–6.

\(^{90}\) Bovingdon, The Uyghurs, Strangers in Their Own Land, 176.

\(^{91}\) Refer to the history and religion sections in the Introduction.

\(^{92}\) Bovingdon, The Uyghurs, Strangers in Their Own Land, 177.

\(^{93}\) Ibid.
protesters were young migrants sent by Beijing to settle along the USSR-Xinjiang borders in the 1960s. They were recruited to strengthen defense against the Russians from enticing Muslim Uyghurs into the Soviet Union. Many of the youths were recent junior and senior high school graduates from Shanghai who would have been unemployed had they stayed in the city.94 In 1979, these Shanghai youths petitioned twice to return home. Beijing denied their requests. In 1980, the youths proceeded to demonstrate.95 From this point on, the combination of Han and Uyghur dissatisfaction with the government, and each other, continued to escalate. Tension rose between Uyghurs and Han Chinese for political, cultural and economic reasons. For events between 1980 and 2005, refer to the appendix.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

There are many books published about China’s grand economic development. However, books written about the XUAR and its economic growth in relation to ethnic instability are limited. Authors often focus on the region’s violence, battle for greater autonomy, and cultural and religious freedom. Nonetheless, many writers have also published theses, articles in scholarly journals, daily news and blogs pertaining to economy and instability, which will become my main sources of reference for this thesis.

Timothy Beardson pointed out in his book *Stumbling Giant* that ethnic instability in China threatens the PRC’s economic growth.96 Beardson wrote a section about Xinjiang, indicating that the CCP’s acknowledgment of the Uyghurs’ discontent is primarily due friction associated with language, religion and economic challenges.97

Ari Aisen and Francisco Jose Veiga agree with Beardson that political instability affects economic growth. The authors used data models that spanned 44 years and approximately 170 countries to prove the association through the use of data and the empirical model. Their hypothesis is that political instability can result in lower economic

94 Topping, “Shanghai Youths Sent to Sinkiang.”
95 Ibid.
growth, affecting the rate of GDP per capita. The authors also indicated that low economic growth can lead to increased government instability. On the other hand, a free economy with a homogeneous population seems to have a positive effect on growth, yet surprisingly they found that democracy had a slightly unfavorable effect on economic growth. Although their research was at the international level, the empirical data is applicable to Xinjiang’s regional level as well. The authors’ research contributed valuable data by identifying the effects of political instability to economic performance.

While Beardson, Aisen, and Veiga believe instability affects economic growth, Clifton W. Pannell and Philipp Schmidt have a different opinion. They believe violence in Xinjiang is independent of its economic growth. The Chinese government is moving Xinjiang’s development full speed ahead despite continued ethnic, social, and political instability. This move is not necessarily the solution to stability in Xinjiang. Pannell and Schmidt substantiated regional economic disparities in Xinjiang through models, and official statistical data.

In addition to economic growth, Pannell, Schmidt and Davide Giglio agree that violence between Han Chinese and Turkic Uyghurs had been related to disparity in employment due to ethnicity. Because economic development is often perceived to benefit the Han-Chinese more than the Uyghurs, the employment inequalities lead to violence between the two ethnicities. Their data revealed obvious advantages for the Han. Even though Uyghurs are the majority ethnic group in Xinjiang, Han Chinese dominate the higher echelons, and attain higher living standards and occupy higher political and

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99 Ibid., 9.
100 Ibid., 11.
101 Ibid., 1.
102 Ibid., 25.
104 Pannell and Schmidt, “Structural Change and Regional Disparities in Xinjiang, China,” 349.
105 Giglio, “Separatism and the War.”
economic management positions. Gardner Bovingdon identified the employment disparity in Xinjiang’s state-run mining and export of oil and gas. Beijing controlled the labor force, which resulted in almost 100 percent Han Chinese. But are disparities the root causes of violence? Giglio argues that poverty and backwardness are the root causes of Uyghur violence.

Aside from employment disparity, Tyler Harlan compared the Han and Uyghurs in different sectors. He argued that self-employment and private enterprise are mainly concentrated in urban areas of northern Xinjiang. Xinjiang’s private sector is important to its economy, yet Uyghur participation in the private sector is low compared to the Han. Uyghur entrepreneurs dominate the informal or unregistered private sector especially in trade and catering services.

Anthony Howell and C. Cindy Fan’s research focused on a different aspect: internal migration, specifically on Han-minority inequality. The authors substantiated their research by using 30 of Urumqi’s service activities, and roughly 600 participants. Their research reported that recent Han migrants from other provinces migrated to Xinjiang on their own instead of being sponsored by the state. They are less educated and less skilled. They chose to migrate to Xinjiang because competition is less compared to the east coast. On the other hand, Uyghur migrants to Urumqi are generally young, highly educated, from the southern region, hired into the service and professional fields, and often earn higher salary than Han migrants. The authors concluded that in this particular study, Hans were not exempted from disparities, and that Uyghurs were not discriminated from higher paying jobs.

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106 Pannell and Schmidt, “Structural Change and Regional Disparities.”
108 Ibid.
109 Giglio, “Separatism and the War on Terror.”
111 Howell and Fan, “Migration and Inequality in Xinjiang,” 199 and 136.
Scholars have varying opinions about economic development and its effects on stability. Giglio expressed his concurrence that long-term economic development policy is a necessary solution to an ethnically stable Xinjiang that is free of fanatic Islamist violence. An important aspect Giglio argued for is that development must be in conjunction with improvements and opportunities, which have to be more evenly spread among Uyghurs to reduce poverty.112 Xinjiang is rich in resources yet the region is still in need of state funds to assist the Uyghurs in the private sector. Thus, Harlan and Webber advocate for government support to fuel corporate Uyghur entrepreneurship, taking the Uyghurs from the informal to formal economic market. Government support is crucial to encourage Uyghurs into businesses, boost the region’s economic growth, and enhance ethnic stability.113 Nevertheless, Giglio praised Xinjiang for overcoming economic and cultural backwardness quite remarkably.114

Altay Atli, a lecturer in Boğaziçi University in Istanbul, Turkey, argued that China depends on Xinjiang for its continuous economic growth. To substantiate his argument, he compared Xinjiang’s contribution to the nation, to other eastern provinces. According to his study, China is dependent on a stable Xinjiang for political and economic security.115 As Xinjiang’s local and regional economy develops, Atli believes the XUAR transportation infrastructure, contacts and trades with its neighboring states will continue to improve and expand.116

In order to hypothesize whether China’s Economic Development Program in Xinjiang is increasing interethnic conflict or not, it is necessary to research other causes of instability. Bovingdon argues that unrest in Xinjiang usually has multiple causes. To support his argument, he analyzed historical policy changes, and studied current policies

112 Giglio, “Separatism and the War on Terror.”
114 Giglio, “Separatism and the War on Terror.”
116 “China Focus: New Road Exemplifies Xinjiang Prosperity, Stability Drive.”
in Xinjiang. Though this literature was published in 2004, his arguments are still important and valid for understanding the basis of Uyghurs’ unrest.\textsuperscript{117} He used a sequence of events from 1950 when China had relative tolerance, to 1990 when Deng Xiaoping squashed a violent uprising in Xinjiang. Without economic development, will Xinjiang’s ethnic conflicts persist? If Xinjiang’s economic growth stops, will autonomy be enough to stabilize Xinjiang? As it stands for the time being, deep discontent has been brewing due to Beijing forbidding XUAR to openly express their frustration and dissatisfaction with their rights in the region.\textsuperscript{118}

Giglio believes the root cause of Xinjiang’s unrest is culture and religion. He believes Uyghurs are interpreting and fearing the CPC’s cultural and religious restrictions in assembly, language, and religion as a way to assimilate the Uyghurs, whether that is the CPC’s intention or not.\textsuperscript{119} He reports that past unrest was motivated more by non-religious demands than Islamic ideology. However, religion is becoming the Uyghurs’ method of expressing their growing economic grievances. Beijing’s concern is the radicalization of Uyghurs if they become influenced by foreign Islamic militants. Normally, Beijing’s task is to strike a balance between containment of the separatist movements and genuine autonomy.\textsuperscript{120}

At this moment, the balance may be many years away. The government seems to be putting efforts into containment but not so much with entrusting Xinjiang with autonomy. For example, Xinhua reported in May 2014, that in front of Kucha County’s government building, a group of people protested for the arrest of one hundred women and middle school girls for wearing head scarves, which is a dress code violation. The protest turned violent when participants hurled stones at the building and beat the school

\textsuperscript{117} Bovingdon, \textit{Autonomy in Xinjiang}, vii.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., viii.
\textsuperscript{119} Giglio, “Separatism and the War on Terror.”
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.
principal and a township official. As a result of the violent turn of events, policemen fired into the crowd trying to disperse them, killing at least two protesters. 121

Ching Mun Rosalyn Lim argues that ethnic and religious differences are not enough to cause armed conflict. Contentions are generally complex and multi-layered. Religion is important to the Uyghurs, but to stereotype their conflicts with Islam can inherently exclude important contexts related to social relations, history and politics. 122 Therefore, both Lim and Giglio argue along the same lines that Uyghur violence is more often motivated by secular demands, and less by Islamic fundamentalism. 123

Lim suggests a re-evaluation of the region’s current policies to change from reinforcement of the Uyghur’s distinction from the Han’s, to the accommodation of the Uyghur’s transition and inclusion into Chinese society. To stop and prevent further damage to inter-ethnic ties, the CPC should develop a reasonable and comprehensive approach to manage ethnic minorities. 124 According to Yan Sun, China President Xi Jinping is aware of the dilemmas in Xinjiang and is striving to make improvements to the region. He will support the protection of legitimate religion, but at the same time, abolish illicit religious practices. 125

Arienne Dwyer concedes that the underlying animosities and conflict between the government and the Uyghurs will persist unless cultural and religious issues are addressed. 126 Nonetheless, her study focused on another important topic: language and ethnic identity. Dwyer insists that official language policies can be a catalyst for conflict over ethnic nationalism. For major ethnic groups, the resolution to ethnic conflict has to


123 Giglio, “Separatism and the War on Terror.”


126 Dwyer, “The Xinjiang Conflict.”
include linguistic and cultural autonomy. Contrary to the CPC’s policy, Dwyer argues for Beijing to support and maintain Uyghurs’ unique language and identity—it will benefit China’s goal in nation building. And, because Uyghurs are pro-Americans, Washington should clearly state to Beijing that the United States wants to cooperate with them—and the Uyghurs—on human rights, including cultural rights.127

James Leibold argues that the current ethnic policy is a failure. CPC officials’ are open to new approaches to reduce ethnic conflict and establish social stability, which is a prerequisite for regime stability in Xinjiang. Reformers believe China could take small, yet vital, consensus building steps to slowly decrease ethnic violence and separatist activities. In the meantime, to monitor ethnic violence, the government is using high-tech surveillance to increase security efforts in troubled areas.128

Leibold continued to emphasize that if policy reform is the key to overcome regional instability, then the government has to make it a top-priority. CPC policymakers, Chinese scholars, and public leaders acknowledge the necessity of ethnic-policy reform to strengthen interethnic cohesion and national integration. However, ethnic policy reform is relatively low on the CPC’s priority list.129 Beardson pointed out that Beijing has the ability to change Xinjiang’s future by involving the Uyghurs in the debate. Instead, Uyghurs have been excluded from participation. By restricting Uyghurs to peacefully oppose political issues in an open forum, the CPC only encourages violent opposition.130

Nevertheless, when Uyghurs have the opportunity to debate, Leibold suggests for the Uyghurs to make clear to Beijing the root of the issues they are unhappy and dissatisfied with. Otherwise, the ethnic policy changes Beijing makes will be a wasted effort. All in all, Beijing will continue to uphold economic development and make it a top priority, even though some leaders do not believe money alone will solve Xinjiang’s problems.

128 Leibold, “Ethnic Policy in China.”
129 Ibid.
130 Beardson, Stumbling Giant, 224.
ethnic and religious issues. The author pointed out that Ma Rong of Peking University and other scholars believe if long-term changes occur in China’s ethnic policy, the progression will be nonlinear and long-drawn-out. Nonetheless, the effort should strengthen interethnic cohesiveness and national integration.¹³¹

Despite ethnic instability, Giglio suggested that Xinjiang’s living standards have progressed with each year: life expectancy has been extended, the income gap between social classes has shrunk, food consumption has grown, quality of life has improved and the rate of death has decreased.¹³²

Although seldom discussed, Giglio acknowledged that some Uyghurs embraced and adapted to the Han’s socio-economic change, and understood the necessity of progress. Lim pointed out that Uyghurs who have assimilated have better protection and enjoy greater autonomy. Notwithstanding, Uyghurs who are satisfied with the status quo experience prejudice from Han migrants and Uyghur separatist.¹³³

¹³¹ Leibold, “Ethnic Policy in China.”
¹³² Giglio, “Separatism and the War on Terror.”
¹³³ Ibid.
II. CHINA’S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN IN THE XUAR

During the early 1980s, Deng Xiaoping developed an economic plan to improve China’s economy. The development plan was to start in the eastern coastal regions and then proceeded toward the west. As the east grow, so did the income gap between the east and the west. Beijing reacted in June 1999, by forming a group, led by Premier Shu Rongji with 17 ministerial-level officials to oversee the development of the western regions.134

Chinese leadership understood that a lesser developed western region such as Xinjiang would affect the PRC’s prosperity and political stability, attract Islamic extremism, and encourage ethnic separatism.135 After the July 5, 2009, riot, China President Hu Jintao spoke in Xinjiang saying that “the fundamental way to resolve the Xinjiang problem is to expedite development in Xinjiang.”136 To assist with the XUAR development, 19 wealthy provinces and cities paired with different Xinjiang cities to provide funds, technology, human resources and management support. Shanghai, for example, paired with counties in Kashgar Prefecture such as Bachu, Shache, Yechang and Zepu.137

President Xi emphasized the salience of economic growth during the 2014 Chinese New Year message, “Our ultimate goal in pushing forward [with economic development] is to make the nation more prosperous and strong.”138 In order to have a prosperous and strong China, he argued Beijing has to develop Xinjiang into an economically sound and ethnically stable region.

134 Davis, “Uyghur Muslim Ethnic Separatism in Xinjiang, China.”
135 Atli, “The Role of Xinjiang,” 120.
136 Wei and Cuifen, “China’s New Policy in Xinjiang,” 60.
137 Ibid.
The XUAR’s economic growth and stability depends heavily on its rich natural resources with oil and mineral bringing in the greatest wealth. In the process of exploiting the region’s natural resources, the PRC also has plans to revive the Silk Road, which runs through the XUAR. With Xinjiang as a crossroad, China plans to develop the region into a financial, trade, education, science and cultural hub. To attract investors to the southern Tarim Basin, which is poorer than the northern Dzungarian Basin, China designated Kashgar a SEZ in 2010 to attract investors.\(^\text{139}\) SEZs have unique policies and flexible policies to encourage economic growth.

China’s economic development in the west goes beyond Xinjiang’s border. The PRC expanded economic relationship with the Central Asian republics including Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, to meet its energy demand and lessen its reliance on sea-lanes in the South and East China Seas.\(^\text{140}\) China is tapping into Central Asia’s resources, and major pipelines and rail system construction projects have already linked Central Asian states to China.

A. RESOURCES

China’s economic development in the XUAR is mainly in energy. Investment in mining and energy sectors spiked 33 percent for both 2011 and 2012. From January to September 2012, the fixed-asset investment in the XUAR was $66 billion.\(^\text{141}\) Furthermore, one of the world’s largest untapped thermal coal reserves resides in the XUAR. In 2012, the coal output was 141 million metric tons. The forecast is that by 2020, its output will be approximately 750 million metric tons. On July 30, 2013, Sinopec Group, or China Petrochemical Corporation, was one of 35 companies that submitted a bid to lead a $32 billion project to create synthetic natural gas. Moreover, the government has a plan to extend the XUAR’s operation to becoming the center to process and store oil, gas, coal, chemical, and wind power generation.\(^\text{142}\)

\(^{139}\) “China’s Ambitions In Xinjiang and Central Asia, Part I.”

\(^{140}\) Ibid.

\(^{141}\) Ibid.

\(^{142}\) “China Focus: New Road Exemplifies Xinjiang Prosperity, Stability Drive.”
In the past, the region’s economic development, infrastructure and workforce faced a lot of constraints, which limited its growth. Up until recently, Xinjiang did not have the resources, technology and manpower to capitalize on the region’s mineral and petroleum deposits. To catch up to the national average GDP, the government’s 10th Five Year Development Plan implemented the “Western Development” plan (xibu dakaifa), from 2001 to 2005, to quicken central and western regions’ development and to equalize the economic growth between regions. The government’s investment into the region encouraged Chinese people from the east to “Go West,” to gain prosperity.\textsuperscript{143} At the same time, the increase of migrants increased the workforce, boosted the number of skilled tradesmen, transformed regional innovation, advanced urbanization, established sustainable agricultural practices and developed a sound electrical distribution system to provide green power to the modernization effort.\textsuperscript{144} The plan raised the XUAR’s economic strength, despite the contention between the Ugyhurs and Hans over economic dynamics. With the influx of migrants and skills, the region’s GDP within the last 10 years experienced periods above the national GDP.\textsuperscript{145} Based on Peter Bernat’s study, there was a time frame in the 2000s when the XUAR GDP increased from an annual 150 billion to 220 billion yuan.\textsuperscript{146}

The CCP has been strengthening the XUAR’s infrastructure and economic robustness. Large scale infrastructure has been in construction, especially pipelines and railways to transport resources and provide access to Central-Asia’s even larger natural resources fields. For example, to accommodate the east coast’s energy demand and to boost Xinjiang’s economy, China announced in Spring 2000, the national “Develop the West” program to develop a 12–20 bcm/year (billion cubic meters per year) pipeline that links the west to the demand centers of eastern China. In June 2001, PetroChina and

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Howell and Fan, “Migration and Inequality in Xinjiang,” 121.
\item Bernat, “The Uyghur Question and What is Behind It.”
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consortia partnered to develop the Tarim Basin gas fields and construct the “West-to-East” gas pipeline. Exxon-Mobil, Gazprom, Shell, China Light and Power, Hong Kong and China Gas, and Stroytransgas agreed to make its first oil and gas deliveries through the 4,200 pipeline to Shanghai in 2004.\textsuperscript{147} In 2004, the pipeline promptly transported 29 billion cubic meters of gas to the eastern region.\textsuperscript{148} Another ongoing project is the $196 billion power generation expansion and ultra-high voltage transmission lines connecting the XUAR coalfields to consumers in the east. In addition, the government also has plans for a $392 billion rail network expansion for high-speed rail and national freight transports to encourage.\textsuperscript{149}

**B. INVESTING FOR FUTURE GROWTH: SILK ROAD**

Aside from developing the XUAR with its rich resources, Beijing is also reviving the historic Silk Road. The Silk Road has a salient role in the XUAR and vice versa. China is planning, and in some cases, already, modernizing transcontinental highways, railroads, and telecommunications lines. The enhancements will boost the infrastructure and industrial and financial cooperation with the emerging markets that reside along the route.\textsuperscript{150}

The Silk Road is vital to the XUAR because it is the hub for visitors from South and Central Asia, the Middle East, and Europe as they enter China. Historically, nomads, diplomats, pilgrims, soldiers, generals, monks, traders and investors traversed the route, with Marco Polo and Kublai Khan leaving their famous footprints. The international Silk Road trade route was not an actual fixed road. A better way to describe it is that it a network that traders used to exchange a plethora of consumer goods: silk, coins, paper,


\textsuperscript{148} Bernat, “The Uyghur Question and What is Behind It.”

\textsuperscript{149} “China’s Ambitions in Xinjiang and Central Asia: Part 2,” Stratfor Global Intelligence, October 1, 2013, https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/chinas-ambitions-xinjiang-and-central-asia-part-2?ip_login_no_cache%3D64588ce110c2f8281f2251b62a9a41df-

spices, art, utensils and even ideas. The Silk Road may function similarly in contemporary time except in greater capacity and speed.

The XUAR is important to China’s rejuvenation of the Silk Road because it is China’s gateway to the west and the crossroad for Russia, Kazakhstan, and China. In late 2013, Beijing proposed the “Belt and Road” project. President Xi called to its neighbors to accelerate the linking of infrastructures and cooperation in construction. Beijing’s strategy to extend the Silk Road from China through Central and Western Asia to Europe is known as the Silk Road Economic “Belt” project. This economic trunk line may affect more than 40 Asian and European countries and possibly three billion people. On October 24, 2014, China and 21 Asian states established the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) to finance the building of regional connectivity, such as roads and cell phone towers, and infrastructure of the Belt-and-Road. As of January 2015, AIIB’s member count increased to 26, including Bangladesh, Brunei, Cambodia, China, India, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Laos, Malaysia, Maldives, Mongolia, Myanmar, New Zealand, Nepal, Oman, Pakistan, the Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan, Thailand, Uzbekistan and Vietnam. In February 2015, Chinese leaders presented the priorities for initiatives, emphasizing the transport infrastructure, financial collaboration, trade and investment expedition, and cultural interactions.

Improved network and infrastructure on the Silk Road could mutually benefit China and other users, enhancing economic interaction, integration and cooperation. To accommodate Xinjiang’s foreseeable growth, CCP tasked the region to reform its financial, logistical, and trade centers. The southern region will become a major traffic

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152 Ma, “The New Silk Road.”
154 Ma, “The New Silk Road.”
155 “Why China is Creating a New ‘World Bank’ for Asia.”
156 “Chronology of China’s ‘Belt and Road’ Initiatives.”
hub. Its transportation network will spread in all directions, connecting China to Europe; and West, South and Central Asia. In addition to the Silk Road bringing in economic prosperity, President Xi also claims it will bring peace, security and stability to China.

C. SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONE

The economy in southern Xinjiang, comparatively, has not performed as well as northern Xinjiang. To give the southern region an economic boost, Beijing designated Kashgar as a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in May 2010. As Kashgar is a SEZ, investors may benefit from preferential policies in finance, taxation, industries, trade and land use. Using Shenzhen as an example, the Chinese government plans to develop Kashgar into a booming economic hub.

The SEZ reform was Deng Xiaoping’s plan to enhance the PRC’s economic growth. He saw the open market as the future to China’s prosperity. At the start, Deng mainly identified coastal cities and provinces such as Guangzhou, Shanghai, and Shenzhen as the targets to “receive foreign investment, establish joint ventures, and export.” Eventually, SEZ allowed overseas companies to invest. The SEZ plan succeeded. At the state level, China’s economy experienced double digit growth for more than 25 years. At the city level, Shenzhen, a rural fishing village outside of Hong Kong, became an SEZ. Between 1980 and 2004, Shenzhen’s GDP averaged 28 percent growth per year and in 2004, per capital GDP was $7,161, which was the highest of any mainland China city.

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157 “China Focus: New Road Exemplifies Xinjiang Prosperity, Stability Drive.”
159 Davis, “Uyghur Muslim Ethnic Separatism in Xinjiang, China.”
160 Wei and Cuifen, “China’s New Policy in Xinjiang,” 64.
162 Ibid.
However, it is unclear if other SEZs follow the same developing model. In 2010, a large banner that read, “Learn from Shenzhen, Pay Tribute to Shenzhen” hung in Kashgar’s People’s Square. Kashgar is growing. Kashgar Airport is Xinjiang’s second busiest airport. It accommodates China’s longest interstate air route of 7.5 hours from Kashgar to Shenzhen. China’s vision is to build a “Silk Road in the air” that will connect the XUAR to Central Asia, East Asia, and Europe. Although the government invested in Kashgar’s infrastructure, such as the airport, it is uncertain whether Kashgar can develop as successfully as Shenzhen. Shenzhen has the advantage of being a coastal city located close to Hong Kong in the Pearl River Delta area, which has attracted a lot of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).

164 “Facts and Figures.”


Kashgar may be less likely to attract such FDI as it is landlocked by mountains and desert.\textsuperscript{167} China’s hope is that financial aid and infrastructure improvements will encourage foreign and domestic investors to see the same potentials in Kashgar as they saw in Shenzhen,\textsuperscript{168} However, because Shenzhen and Kashgar are drastically different, Wang Ning, director of the Economic Research Institute at the Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences in Urumqi, and her team proposed a tailored model for Kashgar. Shenzhen is an industrialized city with a heavy emphasis in manufacturing, high-tech and finance. While the Shenzhen model worked for China’s major coastal cities, Wang proposed that in the early phase, Kashgar’s economic development should focus on tourism, while being supported by growth in agriculture, manufacturing and local service industries. Kashgar should start by capitalizing on its rich culture, old architecture and native art scene. After tourism matures, manufacturing and other sectors are likely to follow.\textsuperscript{169}

D. DEVELOPMENT BEYOND CHINA’S BORDERS

In addition to domestic economic development in Xinjiang, China invests heavily in energy across the western border with its Central Asian neighbors. Central Asia has resources, and China needs more energy than Xinjiang can provide. Xinjiang plays an important role as the gateway and land bridge between China and Central Asia for pipelines and infrastructures. The PRC’s rapid economic growth in recent years resulted in energy consumption being outpaced by production.

\textsuperscript{167} Primiano, “China Under Stress.”
\textsuperscript{168} Davis, “Uyghur Muslim Ethnic Separatism in Xinjiang, China.”
The Chinese government is well aware that an energy shortage in China could damage the nation. Negative economic performance may cause instability, which the government dreads, especially in Xinjiang, because economic instability can lead to ethnic instability. China must seek energy beyond its borders. Since 1995, China has become dependent on energy imports. Central Asian states are supporting China’s development with their resources.  

1. Xinjiang: The Gateway and Land Bridge to Foreign Investment

Xinjiang is crucial to Beijing’s energy investment in Central Asia; it shares 3,700 kilometers of border with its western neighbors, and it is the only gateway and land bridge between the PRC’s core provinces and Central Asia. As a transport corridor and resource hub, the resources that flow through the XUAR are important for uninterrupted supply and continuous industrialization from Xinjiang to the South and East China
Seas. The XUAR is also the crossroad for imports and exports of resources from South Asia, the Middle East, Eurasia and Europe. Its crossroad explains President Xi’s reason for reviving the Silk Road with commerce expanding in several directions from Xinjiang. Pipelines and transportation infrastructures have been, and are being, built to connect the China Seas’ coastal centers, Xinjiang, South and Central Asian states, Europe, and the Indian Ocean Basin.

2. Central Asia Resources

After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, international oil companies quickly purchased newly available Central Asian republics’ resources. Unlike international companies, China did not take immediate action. The Chinese National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) waited until 1997 to purchase its first oil and gas field, Kazakhstan’s Aktobe field. In 2005, CNPC spent $4.2 billion to acquire a 67 percent stake in PetroKazakhstan. In 2009, CNPC cooperated with KazMunaiGas, and spent $2.6 billion to buy MungistauMunaiGas. Other Chinese investors such as Sinopec, Sinochem, China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) and China International Trust and Investment Corporation (CITIC) invested, to a lesser degree, in Kazakhstan’s oil and gas industry. By 2010, China possessed 23 percent of Kazakhstan’s oil production shares. In 2009, China invested with Turkmenistan. China Development Bank loaned $4 billion to Turkmengaz to build the Galkynysh gas field. Instead of financing the loan with currency, the parties agreed to pay back with natural gas exports to China.

Even though Xinjiang’s Tarim Basin has untapped oil reserves, the government is aware that the amount is insufficient to meet the PRC’s continuous energy demands. Therefore, to ensure China has enough energy to support its economic growth, the PRC has been heavily dependent in Kazakhstan’s and Turkmenistan’s ample oil and gas supply.

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174 Ibid.
175 Pannell and Schmidt, “Structural Change and Regional Disparities in Xinjiang, China,” 333.
Kazakhstan owns approximately two percent of the world’s proven oil reserves, and possibly a larger unproven reserve. The proven reserve is enough to supply China with nearly six years of oil. In 2011, Kazakhstan produced 1.8 million and Turkmenistan produced 200,000 barrels of oil a day.

Turkmenistan, in the meantime, possesses 11.7 percent of the world’s proven gas reserves, an equivalent of roughly one-third of Europe and Eurasia’s gas. Its gas reserve, which is the largest in Central Asia, is enough to supply China with nearly twenty years of gas.\(^\text{176}\)

As for natural gas, Kazakhstan produced two billion cubic feet (.057 billion cubic meters) daily, while Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan each produced six billion cubic feet (.17 billion cubic meters) of natural gas. Eight billion cubic feet (.23 billion cubic meter) of natural gas a day meets almost a third of Chinese’s daily demand.\(^\text{177}\)

3. **Infrastructure**

Ever since Central Asian republics gained their independence, the region was primed to expand its trade. China reciprocated with great interest.\(^\text{178}\) In 1997, the PRC and Kazakhstan started cooperating with an intergovernmental agreement about collaborating in oil and gas fields. One such project was the Central Asia-China gas and oil pipelines to transport resources from the west to the China Seas. The two states also linked rail lines to connect people from the China Sea to the Atlantic Ocean.

In September 2004, shortly after the 4,200 km West-to-East pipeline started delivering oil from the Tarim Basin to Shanghai, Kazakhstan’s President Nursultan Abishevic Nazarbayev and President Hu, signed a contract worth $3.3 billion\(^\text{179}\) to extend the pipeline from the Tarim Basin another 2,830 km to Atasu in north-western


\(^{177}\) Ibid., 149.

\(^{178}\) Pannell & Schmidt, “Structural Change and Regional Disparities in Xinjiang, China,” 334.

\(^{179}\) Bernat, “The Uyghur Question and What is Behind It.”
Kazakhstan.\textsuperscript{180} The pipeline was essential to meet China’s energy demand, and was portrayed as “a bridge of friendship between two people.”\textsuperscript{181} In November 2005, the transnational Atasu pipeline was completed.\textsuperscript{182} During the same meeting, the two presidents also signed other agreements to jointly explore and develop oil and gas resources in the Caspian Sea, and considered plans for a natural gas pipeline to connect gas fields in the Caspian Sea to China.

Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan also cooperated with China to build pipelines. On April 3, 2006, the late Turkmen President Saparmurat Niyazov, and President Hu signed an agreement to collaborate on oil and gas, such as a Turkmenistan-China gas pipeline. Ever since the agreement was signed, the three countries swiftly completed the construction of Lines A and B.\textsuperscript{183} The 1,830 km Line-C construction started in September, 2012. A year later, the pipelines were welded, allowing the initial segment of the Central Asia–China Gas Pipeline in Uzbekistan to operate. Starting from Gedaim on the border of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, Line-C runs parallel with Lines-A and -B. Line-C, then, enters China at Horgos, Xinjiang, to link up with the third West-East Gas Pipeline. By the end of 2015, the Line-C supporting facilities will be completed, which will allow Line-C to operate in full capability to transport 25 billion cubic meters per annum\textsuperscript{184} (bcm/a).\textsuperscript{185} The combined delivery capacity of the three lines of the Central Asia-China Gas Pipeline will amount to 55 bcm/a. Aside from satisfying 20 percent of China’s natural gas demand, replacing standard coal with natural gas will reduce carbon dioxide and sulfur dioxide emissions.\textsuperscript{186}


\textsuperscript{181} Millward, \textit{Eurasian Crossroads}, 301.

\textsuperscript{182} Davis, “Uyghur Muslim Ethnic Separatism in Xinjiang, China.”


\textsuperscript{184} “Turkey as an Energy Hub: Opportunities and Challenges,” Hazar Strateji Enstitusu (blog), April 23, 2014, \url{http://www.hazar.org/blogdetail/blog/turkey_as_an_energy_hub_opportunities_and_challenges_796.aspx}.

\textsuperscript{185} “Line C of the Central Asia-China Gas Pipeline.”

\textsuperscript{186} “Line C of the Central Asia-China Gas Pipeline.”
In September 2013, Tajikistan’s President Rahmon Emomali and China’s President Xi participated in the opening ceremony for the construction of the fourth Central Asia-China Line-D gas pipeline.\textsuperscript{187} The 620-mile (998-kilometer) pipeline will start operating from the Galkynysh field in Turkmenistan at approximately one bcm/a.\textsuperscript{188} The route for gas pipeline networks A, B and C’s is Turkmenistan-Uzbekistan-Kazakhstan-China, while line-D’s route is Turkmenistan-Uzbekistan-Tajikistan-Kyrgyzstan-China.\textsuperscript{189} The four operational pipelines will have a combined capacity of 80 bcm/a of gas to China, meeting 40 percent of the PRC’s overall imported gas supplies.\textsuperscript{190} Line-D is expected to come online in 2016 to increase China’s gas import and meet the PRC’s demands.\textsuperscript{191}


\textsuperscript{188} “Construction Starts on the 4th Gas Pipeline.”


\textsuperscript{190} Song, “Fourth Link of Central-Asia-China Gas Pipeline.”

\textsuperscript{191} “Construction Starts on the 4th Gas Pipeline.”
III. ECONOMIC GROWTH AND REGIONAL INSTABILITY

China’s economic development plan in Xinjiang has not reduced ethnic conflict in the region. Since 1978, China’s market reform from state-owned enterprise to a free market model led to 10 percent average annual GDP growth, and alleviated 500 million or more people from poverty.\footnote{Beardson, \textit{Stumbling Giant}, 3.} In the eyes of the PRC, economic development should have the side effect of fostering better social relations. The ideas that higher income, better living conditions, and more chances to lead a better life, generally calms restless people on the edge of survival. Economic development in Xinjiang, paradoxically, seem to increase ethnic conflict due the interplay of new economic such as Han migration, income disparity, and restrictive and discriminatory policies and practices with existing social factors such as religion, education and alienation.

A. HAN MIGRANTS

The Han migration to Xinjiang is one cause of instability in the region. Unlike \textit{bingtuaner} (Chinese for military corps), whom Uyghurs looked upon more favorably, Uyghurs’ opinions of some contemporary migrants are negative. Between 1950s to 1970s, the Mao-era, migrants such as convicts, state-mandated border supporters (soldiers), and workers sent for state resettlement purposes, for the most part, adapted to the Uyghur environment and lifestyle, and made the region their home.\footnote{Fuller and Starr, \textit{The Xinjiang Problem}, 11–12.} Some Hans even identified themselves as \textit{Xinjiangren}, or natives of Xinjiang, or \textit{Lao Xinjiang}, meaning old Xinjiang native.\footnote{Agnieszka Joniak-Luthi, “Han Migration to Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Between State Schemes and Migrants’ Strategies,” \textit{Dietrich Reimer Verlag}, 2013, 170.}

This section will touch on early migrations, the perception of migration, the for-profit migrants, the disorder migrants bring to the region, the socially displaced migrants and how the Uyghurs and Hans needs each other to develop the region and state.
The early Han migrants to the XUAR were soldiers. After the PLA took control of Xinjiang in 1949, soldiers remained to work in areas such as agriculture and animal husbandry, road building, irrigation channel construction and industrial development. In 1954, Beijing established a state-run military organization call PCC, or the bingtuan to administer 100,000 demobilized soldiers, who became known as bingtuaners. The PCC had jurisdiction over areas scattered throughout the region that totaled the size of two Taiwans. The soldiers were given land and they settled in Xinjiang.  

The government’s “go west” plans to benefit the XUAR are often perceived differently by the Uyghurs. To develop the XUAR, the Chinese government established programs to benefit everyone involved. Many Uyghurs cannot associate Han migration to benefiting local ethnic minorities. For instance, the “Develop the West” campaign was an initiative to recruit millions of Han laborers to move to the western borderlands to build road, railroad, and infrastructure construction. Uyghurs view of the government’s push for the Han Chinese to move west was interpreted as a CCP motive to weaken the Uyghurs’ status. Also, Uyghurs perceive Han migrants as given the better paying jobs, while Uyghurs occupy the lower paying and harder labor jobs. By the late 1980s, the push to the west attracted and brought in profit-driven migrants. Due to relaxed household registrations, contemporary migrants have options to be mobile, flexible, and indeterminate stay.

Due to this fact, recent migrants, or “self drifters,” voluntarily left their hukou (household registration) in search of a better life. While migrants may have voluntarily moved to seek profit, central and local governments may have also created favorable environments to entice companies to build factories, and lure people with skills to move and work in Xinjiang. The migrant pool, however, did not necessarily match with the

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197 Davis, “Uyghur Muslim Ethnic Separatism in Xinjiang, China.”

198 Joniak-Luthi, “Han Migration to Xinjiang,” 170.

government’s intention. Instead of attracting skilled personnel and long-term settlers to Xinjiang, many recent migrants are seasonal and temporary peasant workers and entrepreneurs who are in the XUAR with only profit in mind. In turn, Xinjiang’s Han demographic problem is not all within the CCP’s control.

For-profit migrants flocked to Xinjiang in the 1980s when the region was presented as “the land of opportunity where…money can be easily earned.” Whether migrants were resettled by the government or individually motivated to go to the XUAR, net migration to work large industries and construction projects increased. In the beginning, Xinjiang offered employment to Han migrants to work in the industrialized north of the Tengri Tagh/Tianshan Mountains. Due to tax breaks and inexpensive land, private and state-owned enterprises from eastern China invested in Xinjiang. Han migration continued into southern Xinjiang, particularly to work the railway and road construction sites, urban construction projects, Taklamakan Desert’s oil fields, Tarim Basin extraction sites, and Aqsu and Kashgar cotton fields. On the surface, economic growth may seem to profit the XUAR, but data collected between 2011 and 2012 proved that most of these enterprises used Han Chinese labor, not Uyghurs.

Seasonal and temporary migrants to Xinjiang sometimes referred to as the “Floating Population,” bring disorder to the region. They do not observe local regulations nor have a settlement pattern, which is a challenge to the CCP. Han migrants have threatened the XUAR’s social stability such as with the birth-control policy. They breach one-child policy, and do not necessarily adhere to the local law and order. Without the prospect to permanently settle, a Han Chinese once said during an interview, “Xinjiang is not a place you want to live after retirement.” For this reason, even after

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200 Joniak-Luthi, “Han Migration to Xinjiang,” 168.
201 Fuller and Starr, *The Xinjiang Problem*, 11–12.
202 Joniak-Luthi, “Han Migration to Xinjiang,” 168.
203 Ibid., 169.
204 Ibid.
205 Joniak-Luthi, “Han Migration to Xinjiang,” 169.
206 Ibid.
years of living in Xinjiang, many Hans keep their original hukou status and do not see the need to establish hukou in the region where they are making money. For example, rural farmers with farmland can lease their land during their absence from their hukou. They benefit from additional rental income and the money they make in Xinjiang. Floaters are self-driven and susceptible to relocating to the next employment opportunity. The government is suspicious of floaters because their patterns are erratic and most do not satisfy the CCP’s plan of increasing Han settlement in the XUAR.207

Another negative Han migrant factor is perceived social displacement. Some Han migrants had difficulties integrating with society. Some migrated to the UAR only for money and not the people, land, or culture. Many profit-driven Han entrepreneurs bring their families with them but have no intention to stay. While there are floaters, some migrants have transferred their hukou so their children receive education and health care.

In the meantime, some migrants become socially dissatisfied because they do not feel compatible even with those from their native home. For example, due to dialectic differences, Hans do not understand, relate or associate with all Hans. As an example, a Sichuanese will most likely socialize with a Sichuanese instead of a Cantonese because their language and possibly, culture are differences.

Social displacement can be a problem among Uyghurs and Hans, and Hans and Hans. Some migrants are so intimidated by the local language and culture that they preserve close ties with their families back home, shop in stores with products and produce they are familiar with, cook their own traditional dishes, eat at restaurants that serve their own specialties, and socialize with their “fellow natives.”208 Some of these migrants earn money and remain socially segregated. The negative depiction reinforces Uyghurs’ and long-term Han settlers’ negative perception that floaters are in Xinjiang only to make profit; lack ecological interest; are nonchalant with the people, history, culture and land; and voided responsibility for the region.

207 Joniak-Luthi, “Han Migration to Xinjiang,” 169.
208 Ibid., 170.
B. INCOME DISPARITY

Income disparity is another destabilizing factor between the Hans and ethnic minorities. Income disparity between urban-rural zone in Xinjiang stemmed from the Mao era when state-owned projects such as the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC) and construction and development of natural resources were dominated by Hans. Hans tended to own companies and manage private- and state- owned transport and telecommunications industries.\textsuperscript{209} Uyghurs lived in unfavorable locations that lacked infrastructure and human resources, which negatively affected their economic development and income. This section will use two examples to explain Uyghur-Han income disparity: spatial segregation and a study conducted by Anthony Howell and C. Cindy Fan specifically on market differences and wage gaps in Urumqi.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure4.png}
\caption{Spatial Distributions of Different Ethnic Groups in Xinjiang, Western China\textsuperscript{210}}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{209} Cao, “Urban-Rural Income Disparity and Urbanization,” 969.
\textsuperscript{210} Ibid., 970.
Uyghur-Han spatial distribution is split into two: ethnic minorities dominate the less developed and agricultural rural southern Xinjiang and the majority of Hans live in modern and developed urban centers of northern Xinjiang. Southern Xinjiang is composed primarily of Uyghurs living in rural areas. One quarter of Xinjiang’s cities are located in the southern region. Agriculture is the base of the southern economy. While 47 percent of the XUAR population lives in this region, 90 percent are ethnic minorities. This region is geographically disadvantaged with socio-economic obstacles. The region lacks infrastructure, especially roads. The attempt to transport produce to Urumqi is a great challenge for minorities.\textsuperscript{211} The government designated 20 of its 25 counties “poverty-stricken counties.”\textsuperscript{212}

Northern Xinjiang, where most Han urban dwellers live, is more urbanized, industrialized and developed. The Tianshan economic belt on the northern slope, for example, has developed transportation infrastructure, copious human capital and rich natural resources. The area provides all the ingredients for economic development. While the area covers only five percent of the XUAR’s territory, 20 percent of Xinjiang’s population lives here.\textsuperscript{213}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{211}{Cao, “Urban-Rural Income Disparity and Urbanization,” 975.}
\footnotetext{212}{Ibid., 972.}
\footnotetext{213}{Ibid.}
\end{footnotes}
Table 1. Demography of Urban Uyghurs and Hans in Xinjiang (2002)214

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name &amp; States of the Administrative Unit</th>
<th>Uyghur Population (%)</th>
<th>Han Population (%)</th>
<th>Per Capita GDP (yuan)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karamay (north)</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>77.9</td>
<td>43,926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urumqi (north)</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>73.2</td>
<td>16,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turpan (north)</td>
<td>69.6</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>12,831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shihezi (north)</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>94.6</td>
<td>9,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changji (north)</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>74.8</td>
<td>8,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumul (north)</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>68.7</td>
<td>7,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ili (north)</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>5,344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aksu (south)</td>
<td>74.9</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>4,939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashgar (south)</td>
<td>89.2</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>2,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khotan (south)</td>
<td>90.7</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1,643</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Educational disparity is a factor that increases the income gap. Southern Xinjiang’s illiteracy rate ranges from 8.7 percent to 14.2 percent. The eastern side of Xinjiang ranges from 6.5 to 8.7 percent. The most northern part of the XUAR ranges from 2.2 to 6.5 percent.215 The urban-rural income disparity is due arguably to inadequate education in rural areas. Less educated Uyghurs create less skilled and insufficient labor in remote minority areas and in the cities. This analysis may explain the large Han-Uyghur income gap and Uyghurs’ slow but rising quality of life, as compared to the Han.

Howell and Fan conducted a study in 2008 that focused on Urumqi Uyghur migrants’ and Han migrants’ choice of markets, and how their differences affected their wage gaps. A 2008 statistic illustrated that since 2005, 11 percent of Uyghurs received pay raises, while 36 percent of Hans received pay raises. Also, the Uyghur-Han wage gap in the XUAR averaged 28 percent higher for the Hans without consideration for their


professions.216 This particular study, using specific parameters, showed that urban Uyghur migrants’ wages were not at a disadvantage compared to Han migrants.217

Sources often suggest that Uyghurs are economically disadvantaged when compared to Hans. For instance, Howell conducted another study that combined ethnicity, gender and migrant status. This research revealed that Uyghur native, compared to Han natives and Han migrants, had the greatest disadvantage regarding income disparity.

C. EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES

This section will cover historical discriminatory labor practices, the labor law, and more recent employment discriminatory practices.

Employment discrimination in the XUAR is not a new phenomenon. During the early Republican era, Hans, not Uyghurs, occupied Xinjiang province and subprovince official positions. Han officials deprived the Uyghurs of a fair chance in politics and employment, and further invited Han migrants to the region to settle. Officials would entice Han migrants to settle by presenting them with favoritism, such as gifting them with prime farmland take from Uyghurs who had been evicted.218

On July 5, 1994 the Eighth National People’s Congress promulgated the Labour Law of the People’s Republic of China.219 Article 12 states: “Labourers shall not be discriminated against in employment due to their nationality, race, sex, or religious belief.”220 Article 14 declares: “In respect of the employment of the disabled, people of minority ethnic groups, and demobilized army men, where there are special stipulations

217 Howell and Fan, “Migration and Inequality in Xinjiang,” 132–133.
in laws, rules and regulations, such stipulations shall apply.”221 While the PRC now has a labor law in place, adherence to regulation is another matter.

Discriminatory employment practices are still present in Xinjiang. Uyghurs feel insignificant in the region’s administrative, technical, and professional arena because the high-skill service sector predominately hires Hans. Scholars have also noted that in Xinjiang, Han migrants “are given priority over minorities in obtaining urban employment, a source of persistent inequality between Han and minorities.”222 To give minorities bigger advantages, the PRC has been enforcing hiring quotas for State-owned-enterprises (SOE).

Since the late 1970s, SOEs have been required to employ a certain percent of minorities. The exact quota percentage was difficult to locate and the number gap between each source varied a lot: James Leibold stated that there was a 70 percent quota,223 Shan and Weng quoted no less than more than 60 percent,224 and Shan and Chen stated 15 percent of SOE employees, management included, to be ethnic minorities.225 During the 1970s, the state sector endowed the region with GDP growth. Since the SOEs had lots of industrial and service job positions, they hired as many Kazakhs, Uyghurs, and other non-Hans as they could.226 As private enterprises flourished, SOEs shrank. More and more minorities had to quit the SOE and search for private sector jobs. Private companies, though, were not bound by the preferential policy as the SOEs were. Private owners had the freedom to choose; many chose not to hire Uyghurs because they did not have the technical and language skills that the employers

221 “Labour Law of the People’s Republic of China.”
222 Howell and Fan, “Migration and Inequality in Xinjiang,” 121.
223 James Leibold, “Xinjiang Work Forum Marks New Policy of ‘Ethnic Mingling,’” The Jamestown Foundation 14, no. 12 (June 19, 2014), http://www.jamestown.org/regions/chinaasiapacific/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=42518&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=52&cHash=e382c60e99ad9bf66cd7453376dc25a0#.VQyqjdJ4omw.
needed. Without the necessary skills, Uyghurs were at a disadvantage when compared to Hans in the private sector.

In the late 1990s, some private enterprises advertised jobs, but indicated that Uyghurs, whether conspicuously or inconspicuously, “need not apply.” Employers were so hesitant to hire non-Hans that Uyghur parents “paid substantial bribes to officials in hopes of securing desirable jobs for their children.” Meanwhile, the CCP encouraged large-scale SOEs, such as energy giants PetroChina and Sinopec, to invest and develop in the Tarim Basin region. Unlike the earlier SOEs which had to meet ethnic minority hiring quotas, these SOEs employ Hans due to their technical skills. On another note, these SOEs pay income tax to Beijing or Shanghai instead of Xinjiang because “they are registered in Beijing with their oil and gas pipeline subsidiaries registered in Shanghai.” The discrimination and tax factors intensified economic disparity between minorities and Han in Xinjiang and the rest of the PRC.

D. OTHER DESTABILIZING FACTORS IN XINJIANG

Xinjiang’s economic development has negatively affected ethnic stability because factors related to economic growth such as Han migration, income disparity and discrimination practices compounded the existing complex mix of destabilizing factors. Other destabilizing factors include, but are not limited to, social displacement, assimilation, colonization, cultural suppression education, lack of autonomy or independence, politics and strong nationalism. This section will focus on religion and education, and how each created tension among Uyghurs and Hans in the region.

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230 Wei and Cuifen, “China’s New Policy in Xinjiang,” 60.
231 Bovingdon, The Uyghurs, Strangers in Their Own Land, 3.
1. Religion

Religious tensions between Uyghurs and the government are major causes of minority unrest. Because religion is tightly interconnected to many facets of Uyghurs’ lives, nearly any act of dissent can qualify as religiously motivated.

In the early 1980s, many Xinjiang public schools were secular and restricted from religious teachings. Religious educational deprivation led many Uyghur students in Xinjiang to quit their secular education with the public school. Instead, they attended private Muslim academic institutions called madrassas. Uyghur parents wanted their children to learn Islamic traditions, values, rituals and scripts instead of the government’s secular teachings. This demand for institutions with Islamic teachings eventually contributed to the introduction of underground Islamic sects in Xinjiang.

Cultural factors, such as religion, have been a pivotal element of ethnic instability in the XUAR. For example, Xinjiang legislators passed a law in December 2014 that banned the wearing of burqas in public. Because Islam is woven into every aspect of Uyghurs’ lives, restricting cultural garments may easily be interpreted as religious suppression even though “burqas are not traditional dress for Uyghur women, and wearing them in public places is banned in countries such as Belgium and France.” Still, local legislators instituted the ordinance in response to a spate of violent attacks, such as the March 1, 2014 attack at Kunming’s railway station where attackers with knives stabbed 31 people to death and wounded 141. Aside from the ban on burqa, in August 2014, due to a sport competition in Karamay, the XUAR temporarily prohibited passengers with long beards, head scarves, veils, hijab, burqas, and garments with Islamic crescent and star symbols to board public transportation. The government took security...
measures in an effort to curb potential Islamic terrorism in China.\textsuperscript{237} One last example: during 2014’s Ramadan, certain students, teachers and government employees were banned from fasting because the government feared fasting would lead to violence. Observers claimed that during “Ramadan rage,” the combination of fatigue, thirst, and hunger contributed to the increase of violent acts—deaths, assaults, disputes, fights, accidents, burning of religious structures, and beating of women and children.\textsuperscript{238}

Understanding the PRC’s response to past violence may help one see why local and state governments administer certain restrictions against contemporary conflicts. Without the background information, one could misinterpret the government’s actions as religious suppression rather than security measures.\textsuperscript{239} Understanding the minority actions that caused the government to implement certain religious policies may reveal that the government is putting effort into stabilizing the region. Nonetheless, despite government efforts, religious policies are widening the cultural gap between the XUAR and the state.\textsuperscript{240}

2. Education

The education system in Xinjiang is another factor that causes friction between ethnic minorities and Hans. Hans claim reverse discrimination due to preferential treatments that give ethnic minorities advantages on their college entrance exams.\textsuperscript{241} Uyghurs, in the meantime, are not content to participate in bilingual education.

Han students in Xinjiang feel that educational preferential treatment is reverse discrimination due to colleges’ different admission criteria that favor minorities, crippling Hans’ chances. Ethnic minorities are given extra points for their college entrance

\textsuperscript{237} Martel, “China Passes Burqa Ban.”
\textsuperscript{239} Wright, “Xinjiang: Restrictions on Religion.”
\textsuperscript{240} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{241} Sun, “The Roots of China’s Ethnic Conflicts,” 236.
exams.\textsuperscript{242} For example, in 2004, minorities who took the Mandarin (or Putonghua, meaning “common speech”\textsuperscript{243}) exam were awarded 50 points if both their parents were minority, or 10 points if one parent was a minority.\textsuperscript{244} In more disadvantaged regions, minorities have the option to take college entrance exams in Mandarin or Uyghur. The exam in Uyghur is easier in content than the Mandarin exam, and the minority students are still supplemented with ample extra points.\textsuperscript{245} Nevertheless, the score gap between minorities and Hans has been narrowing.\textsuperscript{246}

Preferential policies encouraged, developed and trained a sizeable pool of minorities in a number of fields. A 2009 survey conducted by the Xinjiang Bureau of Education showed 89,538 (37.5 percent of the total enrollment)\textsuperscript{247} minorities in tertiary institutions, and 1,705 (14.65 percent of the total enrollment) minorities in postgraduate school. Nonetheless, without preferential hiring policies, minority graduates experience fewer employment opportunities than Han graduates.\textsuperscript{248} Critics of the preferential policy argued that lower academic standards and lack of Mandarin fluency for minorities negatively affected their post-college employment prospects. Henceforth, to level the playing field for minorities and Hans, the PRC instituted bilingual education, specifically Mandarin and the native language, in colleges to enhance minorities’ competitiveness with Hans.\textsuperscript{249}

The ability to speak Mandarin and another language promotes upward movement, but minorities have reservations about the educational plan. China’s legislation gives Xinjiang’s education administration the freedom to develop its own education program.

\textsuperscript{242} Sun, “The Roots of China’s Ethnic Conflicts,” 236.
\textsuperscript{244} James Leibold, \textit{Minority Education in China: Balancing Unity and Diversity in an Era of Critical Pluralism}, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014) 142.
\textsuperscript{245} Leibold, \textit{Minority Education in China}, 142.
\textsuperscript{246} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{247} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{248} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{249} Sun, “The Roots of China’s Ethnic Conflicts,” 236.
The XUAR has two types of schools: minority and Hans. As long as a language has a written script, minorities are permitted to have separate schools using their native language for primary instruction; Kazakh schools speak Kazakh, and Uyghur schools speak Uyghur. Both schools also learn Mandarin as a second language starting in grade three. Han schools, on the other hand, speak Mandarin but their second language is English. Minority school students, though started bilingual education since third grade, may not be proficient in both the minority language and Mandarin. Their low competency in Mandarin could be a contributor to their lack of competitiveness in the job market against Hans, which often leads to friction between the minorities and Hans.

![Figure 5. Number of Violent Incidents between Uyghurs and Hans (1980–2014)](image)

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251 Baki, “Language Contact Between Uyghur and Chinese,” 47.

252 Ibid.


IV. CONCLUSION

To the CCP, economic instability can lead to ethnic instability.\textsuperscript{255} China has been economically developing Xinjiang, in hopes that economic stability will decrease ethnic violence in the XUAR. Xinjiang’s economy has been growing steadily since the implementation of the “Western Development” Program. China is exploiting the region’s rich natural resources to meet the state’s energy demand. In addition, China is rejuvenating the Silk Road, which goes through the XUAR. Xinjiang is China’s gateway to the west; a crossroad for Russia, Kazakhstan and China; and the hub for traffic from South and Central Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. To geographically link the different states to Xinjiang, China and its neighbors have plans to improve the network and infrastructure along the Silk Road, which could enhance economic interaction, integration and cooperation. To further advance Xinjiang’s economy, the CCP designated Kashgar a SEZ to attract investors by giving investors breaks in finance, tax, industries, trade and land use. Moreover, China is investing in Central Asia’s natural resources to ensure the state has enough energy to sustain economic growth and stability. Central Asia and China have been cooperating in major pipeline and transportation infrastructure projects to connect the east coast of China to Europe.

China’s economy is growing, but how is growth affecting ethnic stability in the XUAR? Is it a determining factor that either increases or decreases ethnic conflict, or is it merely a secondary factor? While Giglio argues that long-term economic development is a necessary component of Xinjiang’s ethnic stability, he believes the root cause of Xinjiang’s unrest is culture and religion. Bovingdon and Lim argue along the same lines that Xinjiang’s unrest has multiple causes. Xinjiang’s economic development created additional ethnic tension between minorities and Hans. Therefore, in addition to the existing social ethnic conflict factors, minorities and Hans have to deal with Han migration, income disparity and employment discrimination.

Han migration is integral to the development of Xinjiang because Hans have the skills to build infrastructure. While the region is modernizing with highways, railroads, and telecommunications lines, which have been attracting an array of investors,
Uyghurs perceive development benefiting Hans and not them.\textsuperscript{261} Furthermore, for-profit, temporary and seasonal migrants tend to bring disorder to the region.\textsuperscript{262}

Income disparity is generally perceived as being in favor of Hans, but after analyzing the contributing factors, such as spatial segregation, and Urumqi’s market differences and wage gaps, income disparity is more fluid. The gaps could narrow, or reverse, if minorities alter their social and professional characteristics to the majority of China. However, Howell and Fan’s study was specific to minority migrants and Han migrants in Urumqi.\textsuperscript{263} The complexities revealed by this work could shift the perception of income disparity and the outlook on opportunities available to minorities. Their individual job preferences can heavily determine wages compared to Hans. Nevertheless, if minorities do not see the potential of different job markets and continue to resist adaptation, then income disparity will persist, along with ethnic instability.

Employment discrimination causes tension between minorities and Hans, especially when employers discriminate based on “nationality, race, sex, or religious belief.”\textsuperscript{264} Minorities who are fluent in ethnic languages but not scientific and technical terms can hinder their capabilities to communicate, acquire a trade and be offered employment. Minorities may consider emphasizing their fluency in Mandarin. Proficiency in the national language can help them advance in the same trades Hans are learning, thereby reducing the chances of employment discrimination.

Between the two social factors of religion and education, religion is more volatile than. The three economic destabilizing factors of Han migration, income disparity and employment discrimination. See appendix for a chart of incidents between Uyghurs and Hans. Religious differences, if allowed to escalate, can potentially destabilize Xinjiang’s economic development significantly. The existence of social conflicts can manifest into ethnic instability, which the CCP sees as a key threat to economic growth.\textsuperscript{265}

\textsuperscript{261} Fuller and Starr, \textit{The Xinjiang Problem}, 5.
\textsuperscript{262} Joniak-Luthi, “Han Migration to Xinjiang,” 169.
\textsuperscript{263} Howell and Fan, “Migration and Inequality in Xinjiang,” 132–133.
\textsuperscript{264} “Labour Law of the People’s Republic of China.”
\textsuperscript{265} Beardson, \textit{Stumbling Giant}, 6.
Chapter I introduced three possible hypotheses: 1) the PRC’s economic development plan for Xinjiang increases, 2) decreases, or is a 3) subsidiary component of ethnic conflict. Upon analyzing the XUAR’s economic growth and destabilizing factors, this paper argues and concludes that the PRC’s economic development plan affects ethnic stability in Xinjiang as a subsidiary factor.

![Graph of Xinjiang GDP (1990–2012) with Number of Violent Incidents]

Figure 7. Correlation of GDP of Xinjiang (1990–2012) with the Number of Violent Incidents Between Uyghurs and Hands.

Bovingdon’s 1949 to 2005 account of Xinjiang’s violent events (see the appendix for years 1980 to 2005) and Radio Free Asia’s 2008 to 2014 data (see Figure 7) further support this thesis’ findings. As the graph of Xinjiang’s GDP illustrates, the trend of economic growth since before the “Great Western Development” persistently increased. In the meantime, the violent incident graph between the years of 1980 and 2014 showed a trend of ebb and flow.

Because the trends of the two graphs do not match, one can argue that ethnic conflict does not affect economic growth because, whether the number of violences rises or falls each year, economic growth continues to climb annually. On the other hand, this study argues that economic growth can affect ethnic stability in two ways: increasing ethnic instability, or decreasing ethnic instability.

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267 “Uyghurs: The Troubled Fate of a Minority.”

One can argue that economic growth increases ethnic instability due to the addition of economic destabilizing factors to existing social factors. Han migration, income disparity and employment discrimination, together with religious suppression and education, may have exacerbated minorities’ pool of grievances. Minorities could potentially use these factors to mobilize and to justify their violent actions against the government, Han Chinese and other minorities. These combined social and economic factors could possibly explain the spike of incidents since 2011.

In order to create long-term ethnic stability and economic development in Xinjiang, China needs to confront the deeper and more historical roots of the social factors that affect XUAR’s violent activities. The author argues that social factors effect stability the most when the economy is underdeveloped, or in the process of development. Once the region achieves a certain developmental threshold, the social factors can be lessened by the pursuit of stability and prosperity.

If this brief assessment is plausible, it explains the PRC’s ongoing economic development in the XUAR, despite increasing or decreasing ethnic conflict. The social factors, which are the root of many conflicts, should be the PRC’s main focus. Long-term stability and prosperity in Xinjiang may require the CCP to institute fair policies, equal education opportunities and open communication. This thesis argued that Xinjiang’s economic growth can negatively and positively affect regional ethnic stability, but only as a subsidiary factor, as China continues to exploit Xinjiang’s natural resources, expand the Silk Road network, develop Kashgar into the next Shenzhen, and invest with its Central Asian neighbors.
## APPENDIX

### ORGANIZED PROTESTS AND VIOLENT EVENTS IN XINJIANG, 1980–2005\(^\text{269}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE (and DURATION)</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th># INVOLVED</th>
<th>COMMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980-01 (-)</td>
<td>Aqsu</td>
<td>Demonstration (Han)</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Shanghai youths seeking right to return home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-04-09 (2 days)</td>
<td>Aqsu</td>
<td>Riot, clash</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>Public Security Bureau (PSB) employee Huang Zhen killed a Uyghur “drunk” in custody; demonstrators paraded with the body, shouted “Down with Hans, Hans go home”; attacked government offices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-06-27 (4 days)</td>
<td>Atus</td>
<td>Riot, clash, demonstration</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Several hundred Uyghurs attack military organs, make trouble in barracks and on the street. Propaganda and “detaining the leaders of the troublemaking” resolved the problem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-08-02 (Days)</td>
<td>Urumci</td>
<td>Shooting, riot</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Production and Construction Corp (PCC) clerk killed Uyghur farmer’s ox, then a Uyghur roadworker. After clerk received a death sentence, other Hans stormed jail and freed him. Later sentenced to manslaughter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-08-20 (-)</td>
<td>Oghiliq</td>
<td>Incident</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>“Sent down” youths seeking to return home; 1,000 staged a hunger strike; martial law in effect through December 26, 1980.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-11-12 (40 days)</td>
<td>Aqsu</td>
<td>Riot (Hans)</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>Talips rioted after a mosque fire, accusing a Uyghur PSB official as arsonist. Slogans: “Follow Allah,” “Long live the Islamic Republic,” “Kapirs out.” Attacked government offices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-01-13 (4 days)</td>
<td>Oghiliq</td>
<td>Riot</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>Insurgents stole weapons, planned to establish an independent East Turkestan (ET) Republic; led by Hasan Ismayil, Dawut Sawut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-05-27 (-)</td>
<td>Payziwat (Jiashi)</td>
<td>Insurgency</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>Riots after Han shot Uyghur youth with a hunting rifle. Rioters stormed the post office, party committee, bank; attacked 600, injured 200; shouted “Long live Uyghurstan-Islamic Republic, “Down with Qitay.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-10-30 (Days)</td>
<td>Kashgar</td>
<td>Riot, “racial incidents”</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-12-12</td>
<td>Urumci, Khotan, Aqsu, Bole</td>
<td>Demonstration</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>Later spread to Nanjing, Beijing, Shanghai; 2,000 students from 7 universities involved. Students</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{269}\) Bovingdon, *The Uyghurs, Strangers in Their Own Land*, 177–190.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Event Type</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Incident Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988-04</td>
<td>Ghulja</td>
<td>Demonstration s (Qazaq)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Protest against “White house in the distance,” with Qazaq students from 6 colleges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988-06-15</td>
<td>Urumqi</td>
<td>Demonstration s</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Racist slogans on toilet door; demonstrations at major universities in Urumqi; organized by “student scientific/cultural association”; Dolquin Isa claims responsibility 2006.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-02-08</td>
<td>Taklamakan</td>
<td>Prison riot</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>More than 80 prisoners at a remote labor reform farm used hammers and knives to kill guards, take hostages, and burn buildings. There had reportedly been 11 major riots in 23 camps with 96 escapes in the previous year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-05-13</td>
<td>Urumqi</td>
<td>Sit-in (Han)</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>Former uranium mine workers protested problems of radiation sickness and also supported students. Met by government officials and PCC officials (who employed them). They were promised redress but told that their sit-in was “inappropriate.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-05-16</td>
<td>Urumqi</td>
<td>Demonstration</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-05-18</td>
<td>Urumqi</td>
<td>Demonstration</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-05-19</td>
<td>Urumqi</td>
<td>Riot</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>Over the book Sexual customs, initially described as “orderly march in support of Beijing democracy movement”; degenerated into a riot; 1,000 PSB, 1,200 People’s Army Police (PAP) dispatched.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-06-05</td>
<td>Urumqi</td>
<td>Sit-in</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>More than 100 students protested outside a district government office; protest posters “appeared at every university.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-01-15</td>
<td>Qaghliliq County</td>
<td>Demonstration</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>Some 200 Talips petitioned the county government and “made trouble.” Although the trouble was squelched expeditiously, the Uyghur imam was criticized for dereliction of duty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-03-25</td>
<td>Moyu County</td>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A small group of people reportedly led by Talips burned the family-planning technology station (where ultrasounds and abortions would be performed).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-04-05</td>
<td>Baren</td>
<td>Armed uprising</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>Started in a mosque.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-09</td>
<td>Northwest Xinjiang</td>
<td>Disturbances</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Event Type</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-02-28</td>
<td>Qucia</td>
<td>Bombing</td>
<td>A second bomb failed to detonate.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-05</td>
<td>Cocak</td>
<td>Demonstration</td>
<td>Armed rebellion calling for independence, political parties, <strong>minzu</strong> army: armed demonstrators occupied Tacheng government building, demanded government “hand over power”; gunfire left 140 killed, wounded, arrested.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-06-11</td>
<td>Bole</td>
<td>Demonstration</td>
<td>Demonstration for democratic elections, some called for right to join Soviet Union, looting, shootings, 500 killed or wounded.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-02</td>
<td>Ghulja</td>
<td>Bombing</td>
<td>A series of bombings reported; January 21 document attributes them to “Islamic Reformers’ Party.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-02-05</td>
<td>Rumnei</td>
<td>Bombing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-03-05</td>
<td>Khotan,</td>
<td>Bombings</td>
<td>Attack on government; January 21 document claims bombings continued through September; Shu Banggao attributes it to the ETDIP.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-03</td>
<td>Lop Nor</td>
<td>Demonstration</td>
<td>Anti-nuclear.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-06</td>
<td>Ili region</td>
<td>Kazakhs clash</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-06-17</td>
<td>Kashgar</td>
<td>Bombing</td>
<td>In the video parlor of a trade company.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-07</td>
<td>(Not specified)</td>
<td>Assassination attempt</td>
<td>Targeted Hamudun Niyaz, chairman of the XUAR People’s Target</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-08-01</td>
<td>Yurkand</td>
<td>Bombing</td>
<td>In the video parlor of a trade company.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-08-04</td>
<td>Kashgar</td>
<td>Bombing</td>
<td>Bombings in a total of 5 cities (other cities not cited).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-08-19</td>
<td>Khotan</td>
<td>Bombing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-08-24</td>
<td>Qughiliq</td>
<td>Assassination attempt</td>
<td>Attempt on Abliz Damolla, parliamentary member, head of great mosque.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994-07-18</td>
<td>Toqsu (Xinhe)</td>
<td>Bombings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-04-22</td>
<td>Ili Zhou, Mongolkure</td>
<td>Protest</td>
<td>Possibly up to 100,000 protestors at climax, Protestors reportedly called for a &quot;Qazaq state,&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The end of Communist rule," and "Long live Uyghuristan." Note: Not mentioned in any mainland Chinese sources. [Although scholars such as Linda Benson and Ingvar Svanberg, and Michael Dillion report this event as established fact (Benson and Svanberg 1998: 194–195; Dillion 2004, no. 949:68–69), James Millward expresses skepticism, since it was reported only in a Hong Kong magazine that regularly retails stories unflattering to the CCP. Millward raises three important objections: first, if as large as reported, it would have been one of the most serious antigovernment protests since 1949; second, news of a protest of the size proposed would almost certainly have traversed the border into Kazakhstan; and third, having reported the violent uprisings in Baren in 1990 and Ghulja in 1997, CCP officials would have had no obvious reason not to publicize this event as well (Millward 2007, no. 1640: 329).]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Casualties</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995-07-07</td>
<td>Khotan</td>
<td>Riot</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Protest at the dismissal of the molla of Beytulla Mosque.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-08-14</td>
<td>Ghulja</td>
<td>Demonstration</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A protest at the jailing of Abdulhelil, leader of masrap' described by Chinese sources as &quot;illegal protest.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-02-10</td>
<td>Aqsu: Onsu, Toqsu (Xinhe), Sayar, Quca</td>
<td>Violent clashes</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Arsons, assassinations, robbery, bombings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-02-13</td>
<td>Urumci</td>
<td>Bombing, violent uprising</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Separatists blew up a car at a police substation and committed violence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-02-24</td>
<td>Sayar Township</td>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15,000 yuan stolen from vice chairman of the People's Political Consultative Congress, Rehmetulla Hidayet, by 4 masked men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-03-22</td>
<td>Toqsu (Xinhe)</td>
<td>Assassination</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hakim Sidq Haji, vice chairman of the Islamic committee, mosque head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-03-27</td>
<td>Sayar Township</td>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6,975 yuan stolen from Imin Saqi, an iman, by 4 masked men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-04-12</td>
<td>Sayar County</td>
<td>Gunfight</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-04-16</td>
<td>Khorgos</td>
<td>Weapons smuggling</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>East Turkestan Liberation Organization (ETLO) members reportedly imported weapons into Xinjiang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-04-29</td>
<td>Quca</td>
<td>Bombing spree</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>After April 27, 1996, boarder agreement by Shanghai Cooperation Organization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Incident Type</td>
<td>Days</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-04-30</td>
<td>Multiple sites</td>
<td>Street fighting</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Followed SCO boarder agreement previous day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-05-12</td>
<td>Kashgar</td>
<td>Assassination attack</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Attempt on cleric and parliamentary delegate Harunkhan Haji, by 3 “fanatical and inhuman” splittists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-07-15</td>
<td>Sayar</td>
<td>Prison break by “separatists”</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Splitists broke out of the Tarim Prison, stole weapons, and killed police, army, and civilians; Beijing attributes the break to the ET Islamic Justice Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-08-27</td>
<td>Qaghiliq</td>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6 base-level cadres and masses injured; 4–5 killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-10-23</td>
<td>Yerkand</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Splitists murdered an “innocent Han and two helpers”; there was supposedly a later plot to kill 40 people, but the plan collapsed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-11-20</td>
<td>Yerkand (several places)</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3 farmers murdered at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-02-05</td>
<td>Ghulja</td>
<td>Riot</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Biggest incident since Baren.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-02-23</td>
<td>Aqsu</td>
<td>Assassination</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Killed Omurjan, head of bingtuan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-02-25</td>
<td>Urumqi</td>
<td>Bombing</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>PRC consulate website claims it was the work of “ET National Solidarity Union.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-03-23</td>
<td>Aqsu</td>
<td>Assassination</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Mamatjan Sadiq, party committee secretary of a mincu farm, Bingtuan no. 1 division; Ziley Abdurrazaq, a woman encouraging other women to take off their veils and use family planning; assassinated by “splittists and violent terrorist.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-04-26</td>
<td>Ghulja</td>
<td>Riot at execution</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-06-04</td>
<td>Moyu, Khotan, Qiaqke Township</td>
<td>Assassination</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mamatrozi Mamat, cadre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-06-26</td>
<td>Ining County, Fanjin Township</td>
<td>Assassination</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Qasim Masir, the chairman of a township village public-order group, was killed by “splittists” at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-07-01</td>
<td>Poskam County, Gulbagh Township</td>
<td>Assassination</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mamat Seyit, party branch secretary, was killed by 3 members of an “illegal religious organization.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Event Type</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-07-03</td>
<td>Basilik, Awat</td>
<td>Assassination</td>
<td>Killed Turganiyaz, village cadre in Beshlik, and wife.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-09-22</td>
<td>Toqsun, Shwan, Pichan, Khumbi, Hejing,</td>
<td>Armed rebellion</td>
<td>Multiple rebellions in widely spaced towns with 3,200 involved.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Khoshut</td>
<td>and riots</td>
<td>800 staged an armed attack on Hejing and Khoshut party and government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>buildings. Officials first denied the reports but later acknowledged</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-09-28</td>
<td>Sayar County, Sayar Township, Yengi</td>
<td>Assassination</td>
<td>Aziz Abbas, imam of the Yangi Mahata Mosque, helped break a 500,000-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mehelle</td>
<td></td>
<td>yuan robbery and capture the head of the bombing on February 5, 1997.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>assassinated by “splittists and violent terrorists.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-11-06</td>
<td>Bay, Aqsu</td>
<td>Assassination</td>
<td>Killed Yoins Sidiq Damolla, Islamic association, head of Bay mosque:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>blamed on separatists.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-01-27</td>
<td>Qaghiliq</td>
<td>Assassination</td>
<td>Abliz Haji, head of Qaghiliq mosque; blamed on separatists.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-02</td>
<td>Ghulja</td>
<td>Disturbance</td>
<td>1,000 police dispatched.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1st week)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-02-22</td>
<td>Qaghiliq</td>
<td>Bombings</td>
<td>6 bombings total through March 1998; economic damages of 100 million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(37 day)</td>
<td></td>
<td>yuan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-04-07</td>
<td>Qaghiliq</td>
<td>Bombings</td>
<td>8 bombings in one day.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-04-20</td>
<td>Ghulja (Hudiyayizi)</td>
<td>Gunfight</td>
<td>PSB official Long Fei was killed. PSB blamed it on Mantimin Hazrat and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the ETLO. Not originally attributed to terrorists in 1998.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-05-21</td>
<td>Aqsu</td>
<td>Battle</td>
<td>PSB officials encircled “violent terrorists” in their Black Hills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(--)</td>
<td></td>
<td>hideout; the suspects kept up a barrage of hand grenades until all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>were killed or blown up.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-05-23</td>
<td>Urumei</td>
<td>Arson (40)</td>
<td>15 successful; no injuries.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3 day)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998-06-02</td>
<td>Khotan District</td>
<td>Battle</td>
<td>2 “violent terrorists” pursued by PSB fought them with knives, injured</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(--)</td>
<td></td>
<td>police, and took hostages. Outcomes not specified.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>(--)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-07-22</td>
<td>Awat County, Tanqitaghraq Township</td>
<td>Gunfight</td>
<td>Ablat Tayip, chairman of the Ustum Aral village committee, was killed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>while helping police break up a “violent terrorist gang.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Event Type</td>
<td>Cause</td>
<td>Details</td>
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<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-08</td>
<td>Northwest Xinjiang</td>
<td>Murder of police</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Tas Razaq, secretary of Politics and Law Committee, stabbed while apprehending head of “violent terrorist gang.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-11-02 (1 day)</td>
<td>Yarkand County, Igerci Township</td>
<td>Stabbing</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Murat Rustam was killed while trying to apprehend suspects in a major robbery-murder case; by 2005 they had become “terrorists.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-02-10 (1 day)</td>
<td>Urumei</td>
<td>Gunfight</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Police tried to arrest 30 Uyghur men shouting “independence for XJ” after a night of drinking. Crowd growing to 300 surrounded police, who clashed with 150.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-02-16 (1 day)</td>
<td>Urumei</td>
<td>Riot, clash with police</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>PAP headquarters admitted that 30 officers had died in a motorcade bound for Shihezi; military insiders say it was “definitely” a bomb set by separatists. There also were gunfights with suspected separatists in Hutubi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-03-17 (1 day)</td>
<td>Changji city</td>
<td>Bombing</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Reported separatists attacked a power station on a military base in Hejing, blowing up, killing or wounding 12; 12 armed separatists were killed in police pursuit afterward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-07-10 (1 day)</td>
<td>Hejing County</td>
<td>Attack and bombing</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2,000 protestors surround and attack the PSB after a fruit seller was challenged for not having a business license.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-07-17</td>
<td>Khotan</td>
<td>Armed attack</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>300 people mob the PSB as security personnel try to apprehend Hebibolla, suspected in the Hotan event of July 7, 1995.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-07-23</td>
<td>Khotan</td>
<td>Armed attack</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Police shot and killed Kuras, called a “terrorist leader” by the government; 21 others arrested.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-08-09</td>
<td>Lop</td>
<td>Armed attack (riot at execution)</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>Riot at the execution of Murtaza; Chinese sources describe as “very serious.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-08-20 (1 day)</td>
<td>Khotan: “Sidhtweei mosque”</td>
<td>Religious incitement</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>The molla of the mosque (and apparently some worshippers) reportedly shouted “Drive out the ‘kapirs.’”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-08-23 (1 day)</td>
<td>Posam County, Posam Township</td>
<td>Assassination</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Khudahardi Tokhti, head of a patrol station; blamed on separatists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-08-24 (1 day)</td>
<td>Khotan area</td>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Uyghurs riding a motorcycle and beating one or more Hans(s).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-08-27 (1 day)</td>
<td>Khotan area</td>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Head of the Nurbaghi police substation was attacked and left bleeding from the head, sent to hospital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-09-04</td>
<td>Khotan area</td>
<td>Killing</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Police shot and killed Kuras, called a “terrorist leader” by the government; 21 others arrested.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Details</td>
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<tr>
<td>1999-10-21</td>
<td>Poskam County,</td>
<td>Killing</td>
<td>A government driver, Tursun Qadir, and a township communications specialist, Qadir Mamat, wounded; the killings were blamed on Yasin Mamat.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gulbahg Township</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-10-24</td>
<td>Poskam</td>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>Attack on Sayri Township PSB; described in Chinese sources as being like Baren.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-11-08</td>
<td>Awat County, Bas</td>
<td>Assassination</td>
<td>Turghun Aqiyaz, a policeman, was killed by “violent terrorists” on his way home.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eriq Township</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-12-15</td>
<td>Khotan County</td>
<td>Arrest battle</td>
<td>In trying to arrest suspected separatists, the PAP officer Abduqeyum Jumeniyaz was killed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-09-28</td>
<td>Almaty</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Chinese Foreign Ministry claims 2 Qazaq police were murdered by members of the ULO.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-02-03</td>
<td>Shufu, Kashgar</td>
<td>Assassination</td>
<td>Mamatjan Yaquip, cadre.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-08-07</td>
<td>Urumei</td>
<td>Riot</td>
<td>Started when inspectors challenged an unlicensed fruit vendor; people threw fruit, rocks, bricks at inspector; people surrounded substation after police collared a suspected ringleader, police arrived to break up.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-08-07</td>
<td>Qucha</td>
<td>Gun battle</td>
<td>Police surprised a house full of suspected separatists; 4 died in the gun battle, including the chief, Chen Ping; a cache of weapons was reportedly found; report of a plan to storm a government building and raise the Uyghur flag.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aborted uprising</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2001-09</td>
<td>Zhangmu entry port.</td>
<td>Weapons smuggling</td>
<td>ETLO reportedly imported weapons into Tibet. Reports identified two Uyghurs, Aqlent Tursun and Almet (family name not specified) as the ones responsible.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-10</td>
<td>Qaraqas</td>
<td>Protest</td>
<td>Some 180 people protested the destruction of a mosque deemed too close to a school, thus a “negative influence” on students. A Chinese official said it was the third such mosque destruction that year.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-11-02</td>
<td>Atus City, Ustun</td>
<td>Gunfight</td>
<td>Feng Tao, the head of special antseparatist PSB unit “110,” was shot while trying to apprehend “violent terrorists.”</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Atus Township</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001-12-24</td>
<td>Khotan</td>
<td>Protest</td>
<td>A day-long protest by 100+ workers after 200+ were laid off at a textile factory that originally had 1,300 workers, of which 80% had been Uyghur. Workers were worried they’d get no severance; local government officials assured them they would.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-05</td>
<td>Khotan</td>
<td>Stabbing</td>
<td>A teacher, an advocate of an Islamic state, was</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>2002-05-27</td>
<td>Poskam County, Yima Township</td>
<td>Attack</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Yasin Manut, party committee vice secretary and head of a police substation, was killed while inspecting stand selling religious texts; Yusupqadir Idris, PAP vice head, was killed “protecting a cadre” in a struggle with “violent terrorists.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-03-07</td>
<td>Khorgos</td>
<td>Student protest</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>A whole class (minzu unspecified) boycotted and staged a sit-in in over “exam immigrants”; said to have “threatened social order.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-03-18</td>
<td>Manas</td>
<td>Student protest</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Some 300 students boycotted classes at the peak, reason unknown; said to have “threatened social order.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-04-05</td>
<td>Ucturpan County, Aqtuqay</td>
<td>Attack</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sa’atquiz Tokhtí, an assistant in the family-planning office, was killed by the husband of a pregnant woman being examined.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-03-02</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bombing of PAP barracks</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wang Lexiang, deputy PSB chief, deputy PSB chief, announced the “successful” 2004 bombings in August 2006, after claiming the PSB had foiled other bombing attacks (suspicous report by Xinjiang government given attempt to prove there are terrorists years later).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-06-11</td>
<td>Qapsaghai (Ili Prefecture)</td>
<td>Protest</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>A day-long protest by farmers, foresters, and herdsmen. A hydropower station under construction would require the relocation of 18,000 people; 38,000 yuan compensation offered, only 880 was given; 16 people arrested.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-09-05</td>
<td></td>
<td>Combing of rail line</td>
<td></td>
<td>See entry for March 2, 2004, event.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005-03-12</td>
<td>Poskam</td>
<td>Fight</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17 to 18 Uyghur students fought with Hans; all were arrested, and 4 were sentenced; 4 teachers were also arrested.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005-04-16</td>
<td>Korla</td>
<td>Strike</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Korla taxi drivers stuck over a newly announced tax of 4,000 yuan per year; on day 3, seabs were driving with covered license plates; the number of participants is an estimates.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF REFERENCES


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