

# ETIM's presence in Pakistan and China's growing pressure

By Zia Ur Rehman

## ■ Executive summary

Pakistan and China have enjoyed friendly relations for six decades, but Beijing has now expressed concerns over links between Pakistani militants and the ethnic Uyghur Islamic militants belonging to the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM). Chinese authorities are said to be concerned about the presence of ETIM militants in Pakistani territory, where they say that fighters are being trained before they cross into Xinjiang to carry out attacks, as well as harming Chinese interests in Pakistan.

For a long time the U.S. and Afghanistan, and recently China, have been pressuring Pakistan to launch a military operation against local and foreign militant groups in its tribal areas. Finally, on June 15th 2014, Pakistan officially launched a fully fledged operation against various Taliban and international militant groups in North Waziristan. Analysts believe that, at the behest of China, the operation is mainly focused on ETIM and its allied Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan.

## Profile of ETIM

The East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) is an Islamist militant group operating in China's Xinjiang administrative region. Xinjiang, which has borders with eight countries, including Pakistan and Afghanistan,<sup>1</sup> is home to the Uyghurs (also spelt Uighars or Uighurs), an ethnically and culturally Turkic people and Muslims by religion, which constitute about 40% of the region's population (Wines & Walsh, 2012). Xinjiang has had an intermittent history of independence. The Chinese Communist Party took over the territory in 1949 and fully incorporated it into China. From 1954 the Chinese government started encouraging Han Chinese to settle in Xinjiang, rapidly changing the ethnic demography of the region (BBC, 2014).<sup>2</sup> Some Uyghur groups, including ETIM, claim that the Chinese are a colonial force in the Muslim-majority Xinjiang region. Since the 1990s there have been anti-Han and separatist movements in the region, where the two main sources of separatism are religion and ethnicity.<sup>3</sup>

ETIM is also associated with the Turkistan Islamic Party, the East Turkistan Islamic Party, the East Turkestan Islamic Party of Allah and the East Turkistan National Revolution Association (Kaung, 2008). The group is fighting for the

establishment of an independent and Islamic "East Turkestan" state within China. Other reports suggest that the group is interested in creating a new "East Turkestan" state that would include portions of Turkey, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Xinjiang (Xu, 2014). The group was reportedly founded in 1993 by Hasan Masoom (or Hasan Mahsum), an ethnic Uyghur from Xinjiang's Kashgar district (BBC, 2013).

The U.S., China, Afghanistan and Kyrgyzstan have designated ETIM a terrorist group, as has the United Nations Security Council. At the request of China, the Pakistani authorities have also imposed a ban on three foreign militant organisations – ETIM, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) and the Islamic Jihad Union (IJU) – that Pakistan believes are involved in insurgent activities in the Xinjiang region (BBC Urdu, 2013). ETIM-linked militants have claimed responsibility for a series of attacks in various Chinese cities, in particular the deadly bus explosions in Shanghai and Kunming in 2008. In 2014 the Chinese authorities claimed that ETIM was behind the May 22nd attack in Urumqi, the April 30th suicide bombing of the railway station in Urumqi and the March 1st attack on the Kunming railway station.

1 Xinjiang borders Russia, Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India.

2 Reports suggests that the Han Chinese population in Xinjiang province has risen from 6.7% (220,000 people) in 1949 to 40% (8.4 million) in 2008 (Bhattacharji, 2012).

3 For more details about the Xinjiang region, see Holdstock (2014).

## ETIM's presence in Pakistan

China has asked the Pakistani authorities several times to do more to end the presence of Uyghur Islamic militants in Pakistan's tribal areas. Background interviews with journalists who monitor Taliban groups in the region and with tribal elders from the North Waziristan tribal agency confirm the presence of Uyghur militants belonging to ETIM in Pakistan's tribal areas, and especially in North Waziristan, where they have been operating since 2009.<sup>4</sup> Pakistani security forces believe that hundreds of Uyghur militants migrated to the Pakistani tribal areas after 2009 when Chinese authorities started a crackdown against them in Xinjiang. It is pertinent to mention that several other foreign and international militant groups, such as al-Qaeda, the IMU, the IJU, the Islamic Army of Great Britain and Ittehad-e-Jihad Islami also operate in Pakistan's tribal areas (Rehman, 2011).

Videos released by ETIM also provide strong evidence of claims that the group's training camps are active in Pakistan's tribal areas. In April 2013 Islami Awazi, the ETIM propaganda wing, released a training video showing 13 Uyghur children being trained in the use of weapons (Mir, 2013a). Local militants said that dozens of Central Asian militants were living in North Waziristan and it was very difficult to differentiate between the Uzbeks and Uyghur militants because of their similar appearances (Rehman, 2012).

Security experts believe that after al-Qaeda and the IMU, ETIM is the third most powerful foreign militant group operating in Pakistan's tribal areas. However, the Pakistani military establishment kept the strength of the militants and the identities of ETIM's leadership secret because this information could adversely affect Sino-Pakistani relations (Yousafzai, 2009: 87). The exact figure is unavailable, but a report citing statistics compiled by Pakistani intelligence agencies suggest that between 300 and 400 ETIM fighters are operating in North Waziristan (Mir, 2013b). According to a Pakistani Taliban commander, most of the ETIM militants in Pakistan's tribal areas are clerics and fighters who mainly focus on carrying out subversive activities in Afghanistan (Mehsud & Golovnina, 2014). The 523-kilometre border between China and Pakistan is well guarded and it is very difficult for ETIM militants to cross into China (Khattak, 2014).

A number of ETIM leaders have been killed by U.S. drone strikes or Pakistani security forces in North Waziristan. ETIM's head, Hassan Masoom, was killed by the Pakistani security forces in 2003, while his successor, Abdul Haq Turkistani, was killed in a drone attack in the Mir Ali area of North Waziristan in May 2010. Abdul Haq, also known as Memetiming Memeti, became a member of al-Qaeda's executive council in 2005, according to the U.S. Treasury Department (2009), which designated him a global terrorist

in 2009. After Abdul Haq's death, Abdul Shakoor al-Turkistani became the head of ETIM and under his leadership it has re-emerged as a powerful militant group and carried out attacks in the Hotan and Kashgar areas of Xinjiang in 2011 (Mir, 2013b). Al-Turkistani was also killed in a U.S. drone attack on his training camp in North Waziristan's Shawal Valley in August 2012.

## Links with the Pakistani Taliban, al-Qaeda and their affiliates

Some analysts believe that the other, more entrenched Pakistani and foreign militant groups based in Pakistan's tribal areas, especially the IMU, have supported ETIM in Pakistan. Although the ETIM network straddling the Pakistan-Afghan border has been significantly weakened in recent years in the wake of the killing of its top leaders in U.S. drone attacks, its links with al-Qaeda, the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), the IMU and other well-established militant groups are making ETIM more dangerous. ETIM militants are gradually employing the same strategies and techniques as the other well-established militants groups such as al-Qaeda and the TTP. Previously, ETIM-linked militants had mainly targeted Chinese law enforcement agencies in Xinjiang, but from 2013 a change in their strategy can be clearly discerned in the increase in ETIM-led attacks targeting civilians – the October 2013 attack in Tiananmen Square that killed five civilians, the March 2014 attack at Kunming railway station that killed 29 civilians, and the April and May 2014 attacks in Urumqi that killed three and 43 civilians, respectively (Tiezzi, 2014a).

The Chinese authorities believe that ETIM has been working closely with al-Qaeda since the 1990s. ETIM leader Hasan Masoom and others received funding from Osama bin Laden and trained in his camps in Afghanistan (Voice of America, 2011). After the death of Abdul Haq, Abdul Shakoor al-Turkistani took over the leadership of ETIM in Pakistan. He also served as al-Qaeda's commander in Pakistan's tribal areas, succeeding the Egyptian Saif al-Adel, who left Pakistan in April 2011 to escape frequent U.S. drone attacks (Zenn, 2011). This indicates the importance of Uyghur militants in Pakistan who are close to the al-Qaeda leadership.

Jacob Zenn, a Jamestown Foundation analyst who has covered the Uyghur militants extensively, believes that the Mufti Abu Zar al-Burmi, a prominent IMU leader who is an ethnic Rohingya from Myanmar, has attempted to bring Uyghur militants under the umbrella of the al-Qaeda global jihadi network (Zenn, 2014). Pakistani intelligence officials claim that Uyghur militants share operational bases with the other foreign militants, especially Uzbeks, who speak a similar language (Mehsud & Golovnina, 2014). A North Waziristan-based journalist said that ETIM has been collaborating with the IMU in Pakistan's tribal areas.<sup>5</sup> Some

<sup>4</sup> Author interviews with North Waziristan journalists and tribal elders, Bannu, July 1st-8th 2014.

<sup>5</sup> Author interview with a North Waziristan-based journalist who requested anonymity, Bannu, July 5th 2014.

analysts believe that because of the efforts of IMU leader Tahir Yuldashev in the early 2000s, ETIM has virtually become a wing of the IMU (Saadi, 2011).

Pakistani Taliban groups have also helped ETIM by providing sanctuaries, weapons and training. Hafiz Gul Bahadur, who heads the Pakistani Taliban in the North Waziristan region, has allowed the Uyghur militants to operate in the region. The TTP provided them with training and helped them to target Chinese interests in Pakistan.<sup>6</sup> A TTP faction claimed responsibility for the May 19th kidnapping of a Chinese tourist, Hong Xu Dong, from the Dera Ismail Khan district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province (*Dawn*, 2014). In 2012 the TTP took credit for killing a Chinese tourist and her interpreter in Peshawar, saying that it was in retaliation for the “atrocities” committed by Chinese security forces in Xinjiang (Mehsud, 2012). In July 2007 unknown militants killed three Chinese engineers in the Charsadda district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, filmed the killings and sent a videotape of the attack to Beijing, saying that it was in retaliation for the execution of an ETIM official earlier that July (Ansari, 2007).

Although China is not a main concern for the Pakistan Taliban on a par with the U.S., NATO and Pakistani security forces, security analysts believe that members of the group have been influenced by Uyghur militants based in tribal areas and taken up ETIM’s cause.<sup>7</sup>

## Threats to Chinese interests in Pakistan

Security officials fear that militants linked to ETIM, with the help of the Pakistani Taliban and especially the TTP, could target Chinese development projects in Pakistan and kill or kidnap Chinese nationals to take revenge for crackdowns on ETIM in China.

Recently, Mufti Abu Zar al-Burmi, in a video message entitled “Let’s disturb China”, directed all Taliban groups to target Chinese interests in the region. “The pull-out of U.S. forces from Afghanistan is a victory for the Taliban movement in the region, and our next target will be China”, al-Burmi said in the video released in May 2014, directing all Taliban groups to carry out attacks on Chinese embassies and companies and kidnap or kill Chinese nationals (*Border News*, 2014). While delivering a sermon in South Waziristan in September 2013, al-Burmi said that it is compulsory for Muslims to abduct and kill Chinese people and attack Chinese companies, adding that Chinese companies had occupied Pakistan in the same way that the British East India Company had occupied India in the 18th century (Zenn, 2014). In an interview with Reuters conducted in the Pakistani tribal areas in March, Uyghur leader Abdullah Mansour vowed to carry out more attacks on Chinese interests (Mehsud & Golovnina, 2014). In the past several al-Qaeda leaders have issued other anti-Chinese

statements. For example, after the July 2007 riots in the Urumqi district of Xinjiang, Abu Yahya al-Libi, a key al-Qaeda leader, called for revenge attacks on Chinese nationals abroad (*China Daily*, 2009).

Despite security concerns, China has been investing heavily in Pakistani infrastructure projects and has agreed to invest around \$52 billion in the next five years in several megaprojects in the country (Aziz, 2014). The construction of an “economic corridor” (a 2,000-kilometre transport project connecting the city of Kashgar to the Pakistani port of Gwadar) and a large nuclear power plant in Karachi, and a China-based cellphone company’s 4G operations are among these projects.<sup>8</sup> Also, 10,000-12,000 Chinese experts, engineers and technicians are estimated to be working on about 120 projects in different parts of Pakistan (Siddique, 2014). However, in the wake of recent threats from ETIM and its allied Pakistani groups, China’s concerns over security in Pakistan are growing and are affecting projects executed by Chinese companies in the country.

Pakistani law enforcement agencies have also beefed up security for Chinese nationals and companies. A May 2nd 2014 media report cites intelligence officials saying that the TTP and al-Qaeda had planned to kidnap foreigners, especially Chinese engineers working with the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission’s project at Chasma Dam in Punjab province (*Pakistan Today*, 2014). Similarly, in July the authorities in Gilgit Baltistan, which borders on China, restricted the free movement of Chinese nationals in the region following threats from the militants (*Express Tribune*, 2014).

Attacks on Chinese nationals are not a new phenomenon in Pakistan. Work on the Gomal Zam Dam project came to a halt for two years in 2004 after unidentified militants kidnapped two Chinese engineers working on the project in the Wana area of South Waziristan (Khattak & Rehman, 2004). One worker was rescued, but the other was killed. And before the emergence of anti-Chinese operations by ETIM and its affiliated Pakistani Taliban groups, Baloch and Sindhi separatist groups were already targeting Chinese interests in the provinces of Balochistan and Sindh. Among other things, they opposed the Chinese government’s large-scale investments in the proposed projects of the Gwadar deepwater port in Balochistan and Zulfikarbad city in Sindh, saying that these projects would turn local Baloch and Sindhi communities into minorities in their own provinces (Bansal, 2012).

Reports suggest that attacks on Chinese professionals started on May 3rd 2004, when a car bomb killed three engineers in the port of Gwadar (*The News*, 2014). In 2007 continued attacks by Baloch separatist groups forced three Chinese companies – Great Wall, BGP and a unit of the government-run CNPC – to pull out of Balochistan (Bansal, 2014).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Author interview with Aqeel Yousafzai, a Peshawar-based security expert and author, Peshawar, June 15th 2014.

<sup>8</sup> Author interview with Afzal Nadeem, a Karachi-based investments expert, July 14th 2014.

In Sindh province Sindhi ethnic parties are also running peaceful campaigns against China over its investment in a million-acre industrial megacity called Zulfiqarabad. Some analysts fear that Sindhi separatist groups, especially the Sindhu Desh Liberation Army, could target Chinese interests linked to this project, but could also attack Chinese-linked projects elsewhere in Sindh province. Analysts also associate the July 2012 attack outside the Chinese consulate in Karachi with Sindhi separatists' anti-China campaign (Frayer, 2012). In 2011 the Kingho Group, one of China's largest private coal-mining companies, cancelled a \$19-billion investment in Sindh because of security concerns (*Dawn*, 2011).

## Sino-Pakistani relations

Pakistan has a strong, long-standing relationship with China; these ties between the two countries have been mutually beneficial. But the links between terrorism and insecurity in Xinjiang and Pakistan's tribal areas and the security of Chinese citizens working on various projects in Pakistan are two major Chinese security concerns affecting Sino-Pakistani relations (Rana, 2014). China has asked the Pakistani authorities several times to do more to end the presence of Uyghur Islamic militants in Pakistan's tribal areas (BBC, 2012).

In an April 5th 2012 statement the Chinese Ministry of Public Security published a list of six terrorists with their profiles, saying they were operating in South Asia, without naming Pakistan (Xinhua, 2012). After the Kashgar attacks in July 2011 that left at least 20 people dead, the Chinese authorities had called Lieutenant General Ahmed Shuja Pasha, the then-head of Inter-Services Intelligence, Pakistan's intelligence agency, to Beijing in August and blamed the attack on militants allegedly trained in Pakistan's tribal areas (Wines, 2011). In an interview in 2012 Xinjiang governor Nur Bekri also warned that China is facing a network of militants entrenched in neighbouring countries. Asked about ETIM's links with Pakistan, Bekri said: "We have certainly discovered that East Turkistan [Islamic Movement] activists and terrorists in our neighbouring states have a thousand and one links" (Reuters, 2012). In the past China blamed Xinjiang's violence on ETIM, Hizb-ut-Tahrir and the World Uyghur Congress, but never implicated other countries, especially not its all-weather friend, Pakistan.

## Is the ongoing military operation in North Waziristan targeting ETIM?

On June 15th 2014 the Pakistani army launched an operation codenamed Zarb-e-Azab (Strike of the Prophet Mohammad's Sword) in North Waziristan against local and international groups. For some time the U.S. and Afghan governments, and recently China, had been pressuring Pakistan to launch a fully fledged military operation against the militants hiding in North Waziristan. However, some analysts believe that the ongoing military operation is

focused exclusively on Uyghur fighters belonging to ETIM because of huge pressure from Chinese authorities. A security official confirmed this and said that the Chinese authorities had sent messages separately to the prime minister and army chief asking Pakistan to take action against ETIM militants hiding in North Waziristan (*South China Morning Post*, 2014). In a late May 2014 meeting in Shanghai, Pakistani president Mamnoon Hussain and Chinese president Xi Jinping agreed to "strengthen cooperation in counter-terrorism efforts". Hussain acknowledged China's concerns in particular about ETIM and called the group a "common enemy" of both China and Pakistan (Xinhua, 2014). In a recent interview Mushahid Hussain Syed, head of the Defence Committee of the Pakistani Senate and chair of the Pakistan China Institute said that pressure from China played a role in the ongoing military operation in North Waziristan (Siddique, 2014). Chinese authorities fear that any delay in the operation could help ETIM to relocate around the proposed "economic corridor" and to other areas where China is investing and cause security problems (Rana, 2014).

On June 16th, the second day of the operation, Inter-Services Public Relations, the public affairs arm of the Pakistani military, noted in a press release that strikes by jet aircraft in various parts of North Waziristan had killed 140 terrorists. "Many ETIM terrorists and their affiliates have also been killed in the strikes. It was a massive blow to the terrorists and one of their main communication centres has been dismantled", the statement continued (ISPR, 2014).

China also expressed its support for the ongoing military operation in North Waziristan. The Chinese Foreign Ministry said that "China always stands by the Pakistani government in implementing and moving forward its counter-terrorism and security strategies based on its national conditions", adding that dealing with ETIM is an important component of the international counter-terrorism campaign (FMPRC, 2014).

## Conclusion

A strong military operation against al-Qaeda-affiliated militant groups, including ETIM, operating in Pakistan's North Waziristan area can only benefit Sino-Pakistani relations. Analysts believe that the ongoing military operation strongly signals Pakistan's resolve to fight terrorism.

The U.S. and China have equally been pressuring Pakistan to end the presence of foreign militants operating in the latter's tribal areas. However, it seems that the Pakistani government has been more worried about the impact of Chinese concerns on Pakistan's economic, diplomatic and strategic relationship with China.

With the Pakistani military carrying out a military operation in North Waziristan, analysts believe that many foreign

militants, including ETIM fighters, will be forced to flee (Stewart, 2014). Major General Zafarullah Khan, the officer in charge of the ongoing military operation in North Waziristan, admitted that many of the militant leaders may have had time to escape before the operation got under way (BBC, 2014). Local analysts say that some foreign militants could move across the border into Afghanistan or into the neighbouring Pakistani tribal districts of Orakzai and Khyber, from where they could later return to North Waziristan.<sup>9</sup> After the withdrawal of U.S.-led NATO forces, instability in Afghanistan could benefit ETIM: Uyghur militants could establish bases there, regroup, and both relaunch their attacks in China and target Chinese interests elsewhere (Khattak, 2014).

While pressuring Pakistani authorities to carry out the operation against ETIM, China has also started to crack down on terrorist groups involved in violent activities in Xinjiang (Tiezzi, 2014b). Media reports suggest that this crackdown will mainly focus on religious extremists and terrorist groups and their training camps, and will last until June 2015 (*Global Times*, 2014). Experts believe that the recent attacks carried out in China did not need external

planning and local radicalised militants could have executed them (Stewart, 2014).

On July 3rd 2014 the Chinese government imposed a ban on Uyghur Muslims fasting during the holy Islamic month of Ramadan (Farooq, 2014). Pakistani analysts believe that imposing such bans will increase anger and resentment among Pakistani Muslims and that Pakistani Taliban groups could exploit these Chinese-imposed restrictions on Islamic religious beliefs to encourage attacks against China and Chinese interests.

Pakistan and China have both been facing the threats of terrorism, religious extremism and separatist movements, and could improve their counter-terrorism capacity by enhancing intelligence sharing and coordination (Khattak, 2014). There is no doubt that ETIM is a major challenge for both China and Pakistan, and that to bring the mutual and friendly relationship between the two countries to a new level, it is necessary to deal with this issue correctly. If not properly dealt with it could prove alarming for both countries and adversely affect the regional resolve to fight terrorism and militancy.

## References

- Ansari, Massoud. 2007. "The new face of jihad." *Newsline*, August 13th. <<http://www.newslinemagazine.com/2007/08/the-new-face-of-jihad/>>
- Aziz, Hadi. 2014. "China agrees to invest 52 billions USD in Pakistan in next five years." *News Tribe*, February 24th. <<http://www.thenewstribes.com/2014/02/24/china-agrees-to-invest-52-billion-usd-in-pakistan-in-next-five-years/>>
- Bansal, Alok. 2012. "Why Pakistan's rebels are attacking Chinese projects." *Rediff*, July 17th. <<http://www.rediff.com/news/column/why-pakistans-rebels-are-attacking-chinese-projects/20120717.htm>>
- BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation). 2012. "China urges Pakistan to expel Uighur Islamic militants." May 31st. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-18276864>>
- BBC. 2013. "Q&A: East Turkestan Islamic Movement." November 1st. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-24757974>>
- BBC. 2014. "Xinjiang profile." May 22nd. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-16860974>>
- BBC Urdu. 2013. October 23rd. <[http://www.bbc.co.uk/urdu/pakistan/2013/10/131023\\_organizations\\_banned\\_fz.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/urdu/pakistan/2013/10/131023_organizations_banned_fz.shtml)>
- Bhattacharji, Preeti. 2012. "Uighurs and China's Xinjiang region." Council on Foreign Relations, May 29th. <<http://www.cfr.org/china/uighurs-chinas-xinjiang-region/p16870>>
- Border News*. 2014. "Target Chinese interests, Burmese commander tells Taliban." May 14th. <[http://thebordernews.com/?action=news&&cat\\_id=1&news\\_id=105](http://thebordernews.com/?action=news&&cat_id=1&news_id=105)>
- China Daily*. 2009. "Al-Qaida threatens to attack China." October 9th. <<http://english.people.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6777600.html>>
- Dawn*. 2011. "Thar coal mining: Chinese group loses interest." October 17th. <<http://www.dawn.com/news/666868/comment-and-analysis-thar-coal-mining-chinese-group-loses-interest>>
- Dawn*. 2014. "TTP faction claims kidnapping Chinese tourist." May 21th. <<http://www.dawn.com/news/1107650>>
- Express Tribune*. 2014. "Travels curbs: restrictions on Chinese engineers' movement." July 10th. <<http://tribune.com.pk/story/733525/travel-curbs-restrictions-on-chinese-engineers-movement/>>
- Farooq, Umer. 2014. "Chinese Uighurs defy Ramadan ban." *Al-Jazeera*, July 5th. <<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/07/chinese-uyghurs-defy-ramadan-ban-20147471125107552.html>>

9 Author interview with a North Waziristan-based journalist, July 5th 2014.

FMPRC (Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China). 2014. Press conference. June 17th.

[http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/xwfw\\_665399/s2510\\_665401/2511\\_665403/t1166317.shtml](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/xwfw_665399/s2510_665401/2511_665403/t1166317.shtml)

Frayer, Lauren. 2012. "China's increased investment upsets some Pakistanis." NPR, August 21st. <http://www.npr.org/2012/08/21/159531740/chinas-increased-investment-upsets-some-pakistanis>

*Global Times*. 2014. "1.8 tonnes of explosive material seized in Xinjiang." May 27th. <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/862503.shtml>

Holdstock, Nick. 2014. *Islam and Instability in China's Xinjiang*. NOREF Report. Oslo: NOREF. April 11th.

ISPR (Inter-Services Public Relations). 2014. "Update: Zarb-e-Azab." June 16th. [https://www.ispr.gov.pk/front/main.asp?o=t-press\\_release&date=2014/6/16](https://www.ispr.gov.pk/front/main.asp?o=t-press_release&date=2014/6/16)

Kaung, Peng. 2008. "Beijing wants Chinese Gitmo detainees." *China Daily*, December 24th. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2008-12/24/content\\_7334470.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2008-12/24/content_7334470.htm)

Khattak, Iqbal & Mujeeb Rehman. 2004. "Chinese engineers kidnapped in Wana." *Daily Times*, October 14th. <http://archives.dailytimes.com.pk/main/10-Oct-2004/chinese-engineers-kidnapped-in-wana>

Khattak, Masood Ur Rehman. 2014. "Pak-China cooperation vital in the fight against ETIM militancy." *Pulse*, February 17th. <http://weeklypulse.org/details.aspx?contentID=4559&storylist=10>

Mehsud, Saud. 2012. "Pakistani militants say Chinese woman killed for revenge." Reuters, March 1st. <http://in.reuters.com/article/2012/03/01/pakistan-militants-china-idINDEE8200GZ20120301>

Mehsud, Saud & Maria Golovkina. 2014. "From his Pakistan hideout, Uighur leaders vows revenge on China." Reuters, March 14th. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/03/14/us-pakistan-uighurs-idUSBREA2D0PF20140314>

Mir, Amir. 2013a. "Chinese rebels operating camps in Waziristan." *The News*, April 27th. <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-173855-Chinese-rebels-operating-camps-in-Waziristan>

Mir, Amir. 2013b. "Chinese rebels operating camps in Waziristan II." *The News*, April 28th. <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-174010-Chinese-rebels-operating-camps-in-Waziristan-%20-II>

*Pakistan Today*. 2014. "Al Qaeda, TTP to use Indus River for interprovincial movement." May 2nd. <http://www.pakistan-today.com.pk/2014/05/02/national/al-qaeda-ttp-to-use-indus-river-for-interprovincial-movement/>

Rana, Muhamamd Amir. 2014. "Threat to Sino-Pak friendship." *Dawn*, June 1st.

<http://www.dawn.com/news/1109886>

Rehman, Zia Ur. 2011. "North Waziristan tribes wary of brutal foreigners." *Friday Times*, October 14th. <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/beta2/tft/article.php?issue=20111014&page=4>

Rehman, Zia Ur. 2012. "China concerned about Uyghur rebels operating in Pakistan." *Friday Times*, June 8th. <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/beta3/tft/article.php?issue=20120608&page=5>

Reuters. 2012. "China official sees militant links in Pakistan." May 7th. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/03/07/us-china-xinjiang-pakistan-idUSTRE8260BZ20120307>

Saadi, Shakar. 2011. "East Turkistan Islamic Movement threatens Central Asia." *Central Asia Online*, September 8th. [http://centralasiaonline.com/en\\_GB/articles/caii/features/main/2011/08/09/feature-01](http://centralasiaonline.com/en_GB/articles/caii/features/main/2011/08/09/feature-01)

Siddique, Abubakar. 2014. "Pakistani lawmaker considers China's growing regional security role." Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty, July 2nd. <http://gandhara.rferl.org/content/article/25443331.html>

*South China Morning Post*. 2014. "Pakistan pounds insurgent hideouts, targeting Uygur separatists." May 24th. <http://www.scmp.com/news/asia/article/1519233/pakistan-pounds-insurgent-hideouts-third-day-targeting-uygur-separatists>

Stewart, Scott. 2014. "Assessing recent militant attacks in China." Stratfor Global Intelligence, May 29th. <http://www.stratfor.com/weekly/assessing-recent-militant-attacks-china#axzz37zYcOyB8>

*The News*. 2014. "Chinese professionals have had hard times in Pakistan." April 19th. <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-245120-Chinese-professionals-have-had-hard-times-in-Pakistan>

Tiezzi, Shannon. 2014a. "Chinese involvement in global jihad." *The Diplomat*, June 25th. <http://thediplomat.com/2014/06/chinese-involvement-in-global-jihad/>

Tiezzi, Shannon. 2014b. "Details emerge on China's anti-terror crackdown." *The Diplomat*, May 28th. <http://thediplomat.com/2014/05/details-emerge-on-chinas-anti-terror-crackdown>

U.S. Department of the Treasury. 2009. "Treasury targets leader of group tied to Al Qaida." April 20th. <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/tg92.aspx>

Voice of America. 2011. "What is the East Turkistan Islamic Movement?" August 3rd. <<http://www.voanews.com/content/what-is-the-east-turkestan-islamic-movement-126763973/167829.html>>

Wines, Michael. 2011. "China blames foreign-trained separatists for attacks in Xinjiang." *New York Times*, August 1st. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/02/world/asia/02china.html>>

Wines, Michael & Declan Walsh. 2012. "China says wanted militants use nearby countries to stage attacks." *New York Times*, April 6th. <[http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/07/world/asia/china-says-wanted-militants-use-nearby-countries-to-stage-attacks.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/07/world/asia/china-says-wanted-militants-use-nearby-countries-to-stage-attacks.html?_r=0)>

Xinhua. 2012. "China publishes names of six terrorists." April 6th. <[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-04/06/c\\_131510187.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-04/06/c_131510187.htm)>

Xinhua. 2014. "China, Pakistan vow to strengthen anti-terrorism cooperation." May 22nd. <[http://www.china.org.cn/china/Off\\_the\\_Wire/2014-05/22/content\\_32460416.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/china/Off_the_Wire/2014-05/22/content_32460416.htm)>

Xu, Beina. 2014. "The East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM)." Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder. April 1st. <<http://www.cfr.org/china/east-turkestan-islamic-movement-etim/p9179>>

Yousafzai, Aqeel. 2009. *Talibanisation* (in Urdu). Lahore: Nigharishat.

Zenn, Jacob. 2011. "Al-Qaeda's Uyghur jihadi: a profile of the Turkistan Islamic Party's Abdul Shakoor Turkistani." *Militants Leadership Monitor*. Jamestown Foundation, December 30th. <[http://mlm.jamestown.org/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=38823&tx\\_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=567#.U8pnlvmSzUU](http://mlm.jamestown.org/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=38823&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=567#.U8pnlvmSzUU)>

Zenn, Jacob. 2014. "Beijing, Kunming, Urumqi and Guangzhou: the changing landscape of anti-Chinese jihadists." Jamestown Foundation China Brief. May 23rd. <[http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=42416&tx\\_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=25&cHash=d0bef6b0df632cb01ee9698af67862c3#.U8oXNPmSzUW](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=42416&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=25&cHash=d0bef6b0df632cb01ee9698af67862c3#.U8oXNPmSzUW)>

## ■ THE AUTHOR

**Zia Ur Rehman** is a journalist and researcher who covers militancy and security issues in Pakistan. His work has been published in various national and international publications, including *The Friday Times*, *The New York Times*, *Dawn*, *CTC Sentinel* and *Central Asia Online*. He is also the author of the book *Karachi in Turmoil* (2013).

### Disclaimer

The content of this publication is presented as is. The stated points of view are those of the author and do not reflect those of NOREF. NOREF does not give any warranties, either expressed or implied, concerning the content.



- The Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre
- Norsk ressurscenter for fredsbygging

*The Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (NOREF) is a resource centre integrating knowledge and experience to strengthen peacebuilding policy and practice. Established in 2008, it collaborates and promotes collaboration with a wide network of researchers, policymakers and practitioners in Norway and abroad.*

Read NOREF's publications on [www.peacebuilding.no](http://www.peacebuilding.no) and sign up for notifications.

Connect with NOREF on Facebook or @PeacebuildingNO on Twitter

Email: [info@peacebuilding.no](mailto:info@peacebuilding.no) - Phone: +47 22 08 79 32