

PhD Thesis

Sinicization of Chinese Muslims: A Comparative Study of Hui and Uighur

Ethnic Groups



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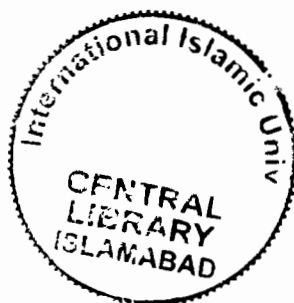
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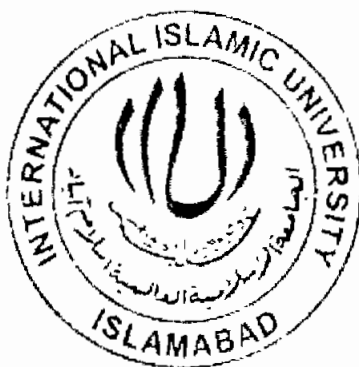
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Sinicization of Chinese Muslims: A Comparative Study of Hui and Uighur

Ethnic Groups



**Thesis submitted in the partial fulfillment of the requirement for the
Degree of Doctor in Political Science of Philosophy**

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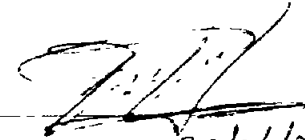


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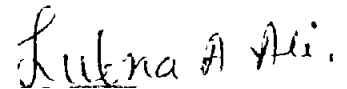
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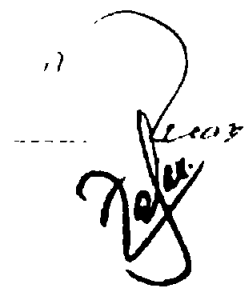
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I hereby declare that the thesis, I have submitted for the examination for the Ph.D. degree in Political Science is solely my research work and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any university for any other degree

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, family members and my daughter Areej Jan who always remained source of guidance and inspiration for me.

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to Allah for giving me strength to complete this difficult task

First, I would like to register my indebtedness to my supervisor, Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi. This thesis would never have been completed without his kind guidance and support. Throughout my research work he provided an endless source of enormous intellectual inspiration. His kindness and encouragement always helped me find the strength to persevere.

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Abstract

Sinicization is a process where non-Han Chinese come under the influence of Han Chinese. This process is the result of various social, political and economic policies adopted by the state for greater ethnic integration. Ethnic minority integration in multi-ethnic states is one of the major challenges for the states in this globalized world. In People Republic of China, there are fifty-six ethnic groups including ten Muslim groups. The two largest ethnic groups among Muslims are Hui and Uighur, having different approach toward state nationalism. The Hui are more integrated while Uighur are alienated. The objective of the study is to, find out and analyze various factors which are shaping Hui and Uighur views on integration with state. There are various factors such as cultural, social, economic, political and geographical which are shaping the approaches of both ethnic groups regarding Chinese nationalism. Apart from these factors, the historical legacy of events and state policies also add to this process of Sinicization of Muslims in China. The study will explore the reasons for this process where one Muslim ethnic group adopting the process of Sinicization whiles other opposing it. Miroslav Hroch theory of nationalism explains these complex relations of different ethnic minorities groups in nation states. His theory further explains that how social, political and economic factors are shaping nationalism in ethnic groups. This approach can help to explain the ethnic minorities and state relation in China; that how some groups strive for Chinese nationalism whiles other for ethnic nationalism. The study under research is of qualitative nature. It will provide a descriptive contemporary-historical analysis of Hui and Uighur nationalism based on secondary sources. Interview will be conducted for insight and first-hand information.

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List of Abbreviations

(BRI)	Belt and Road Initiative
(CCP)	Communist Party of China
(CFR)	Council on Foreign Relations
(CNP)	Chinese Nationalist Party
(CPEC)	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
(ETIM)	East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM)
(ETR)	East Turkestan Republic
(GLP)	Great Leap Forward (GLP)
(HRW)	Human Rights Watch (HRW)
(KMT)	Kuomintang
(MRG)	Minority Right Group
(NED)	National Endowment for Democracy (NED)
(NHAR)	Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region
(OBOR)	One Belt One Road (OBOR)
(PRC)	People's Republic of China
(RFA)	Radio Free Asia (RFA)
(SAR)	Special Administrative Regions

(SCIO)	The State Council Information Office of China
(SCO)	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
(UAA)	Uighur American Association
(UNHRC)	United Nations Human Rights Council
(WDP)	Western Development Program
(WUC)	World Uighur Congress
(XUAR)	Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

Introduction

Sinicization of Muslim in China

National integration is a process where the people feel cohesion, solidarity and loyalty to their states (Drake, 1992). According to Anthony H. Birch minorities in the modern state system can be integrated by two processes into the national community. The first process is unplanned which help social mobilization, equal opportunities for jobs, business and personal mobility. In contrast, the second process is planned, where the government follows specific policies for national integration such as one national language (H.Birch, 1989). The majority of nation-states in the modern state system consist of different ethnic/minority groups, so one of the biggest challenges is the integration of diverse ethnic groups into a nation-state.

China, like other nation-states in the world is facing the problem of national integration due to its diverse ethnic and cultural societal structure. Officially the country is consist of fifty-six ethnic groups, where Han is the dominant ethnic group comprising of 92 percent of the total population. Apart from the Han, some other prominent ethnic Muslim groups have also played a prominent role in China's political history. Among them, Hui and Uighur are the dominant groups living in the different parts of the country (Gladney, 1993).

Historically various nations world-wide adopted different policies for cultural assimilation and national integration like the Soviet Union adopted the policy of national integration by integrating the population of Central Asia both culturally and politically. This policy was called Russification or Russianization, which was promoted officially and non-officially (Ramet, 1978). Even after the independence of the Central Asian Republics, their politics and culture have been greatly influenced by Russia due to this policy of assimilation. Similarly, the process of Sinicization greatly influenced the minority groups both culturally and politically in China, particularly the Hui and Uighur. The process of Sinicization was initiated during Ming Dynasty

(1368-1644) where Muslim groups, particularly the Hui group, culturally and politically assimilated with dominant Han culture by adopting Chinese names, learning Mandarin, and enjoying political offices. This process was further strengthened by the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), which has both negative and positive impacts on China. Due to this process, the Hui people became more integrated and on the other hand the Uighur resisted this process while considering it an attack on their identity and culture (Ho, 1998).

Furthermore, the available literature mostly focuses on one ethnicity in terms of state-society integration. Majority of Uighur people are living in the Xinjiang autonomous region situated in the Western region of the country. The total population of Uighur is approximately ten million living mostly in South Xinjiang prefectures like Kashgar and Hotan. Apart from Xinjiang, they live in almost all major cities of the country (Smith, 2000). The research will further investigate the social, cultural, economic and political factors, which play a significant role in state-society integration. The available literature shows that certain factors, which hinder the process of integration of this ethnic group with the state, like the socio-cultural, political and economic factors. Historically speaking, this group have different cultural and political history compare to the other groups living across the country. The Uighur people speak a Turkic dialect with Arabic and Persian writing style (Rasma, 1975).

The origin of Uighur people

The word Uighur (some time use as Uyghur, Uighur and Uygur) is derived from the Turkish word Uyyur which has been used with various meanings in different periods of Chinese history. In the year around 400 A.D, the Chinese troops under the emperor Daowu launched a military campaign westward and they attacked the people of the Yuanhe tribe. This was the first introduction of Uighur people in Chinese history. During the Tang and Sui dynasty, these people were recognized as one group of the Tiele tribes (Turkish origin) and

they used the Chinese word Weihe for this tribe. In the 10th century, the Tang dynasty (618-907) historian used the word huihe and recognized these people as the Gaoche tribe (a tribe that belongs to the Turkic Tiele group of tribes). During this era, the Uighur people suggested using the name huigu instead of Huihe which means falcon. To transcribe the word Uighur, the Ming and Qing dynasties used the word Weiwuer. In the 17th century they were called the Hui people. To differentiate them from other Hui people the word Chan-Hui (people who wore a turban) was used for them because they wore a turban. Finally, in 1934 the word Weiwuer was adopted as official Chinese transcription for the word Uyyur (Tang, 2005). Since that time the word Weiwuer is used for these people. There are various reasons for variations in Uighur names such as geographical location where people in north and south of yellow river pronounce these words differently. In the 1930s, when the Uighur people became the ruler of Xinjiang since that time, they are known as Uighur people.

Conversion to Islam

Historically speaking, the Uighur people were living outside the boundaries of mainland China. We can trace back their history from the tenth century to the thirteenth century when they marched from Mongolia to the West and abandoned their local customs, religion and ideas and converted to Islam which gave them a new identity. Before their conversion to Islam, this area (present-day Xinjiang) came under the control of the Tang dynasty (618-907) between 630-640 the Tang army capture cities like Turfan, Kashgar, Khotan and Yarkand and further marched toward Samarkand and Bukhara in 659 (Debata, 2007). However, the Tang army could not sustain their presence in the region as the Arab army marched toward Central Asia. In the battle of Talas which occurred in 751, the Arab army defeated the Tang army and thus established its footprint in the region. With the downfall of the Tang dynasty, various Turkic groups who migrated from Mongolia

established their independent kingdom. Satuq Boghra Khan, the ruler of kharakhanids was first among khans who converted to Islam in 960. This era marks the beginning of the history of Uighur Muslims in China.

From 1215 to 1275, the Mongol empire was extended to the entire Central Asian region where Xining was situated at the eastern side under the control of Chaghatia khan (He was the second son of Genghis khan). After the Western conquest, the Mongols turned east and became the ruler of China from 1279 to 1368. In the history of China, this period is known as Yuan or Mongol dynasty. This historical development in the political history of China has an everlasting impact on Muslim integration and assimilation with local culture and traditions. During this period, the Muslim served on key administrative posts such as Syed Ajal Sham al-Din Umar. He was among those prominent Muslims who came from Xinjiang (Central Asia) and served as governor of Yunnan province.

Background of Hui people

Hui is the major ethnic group among all Muslim ethnic groups having more than ten million population. They are mostly living in the western region of the country such as Ningxia, Qinghai and Gansu (Hillman, 2004). A reasonable population of the group is also living in other provinces like Xinjiang, Yunnan, Hubei and Sichuan. According to the historians, first time Islam spread in China through the sea route and then by land. The Guangdong province was the first place, where the Muslims entered China and gradually expanded their presence in the neighboring provinces. According to M.Ali Kettani, Muslims first came through the sea route, entered Guangdong province, and then went to Xian the capital of the empire, where they met the king in 651 A.D. They stayed there and built a mosque which is considered the oldest mosque in China known as the Xian mosque (Kettani, 1986).

Muslims entered China through land route when Arab Muslim army and Chinese army confronted each other during the Umayyad period. Under the leadership of Qutaybah ibn Muslim, the Muslim army entered Kashgar from Uzbekistan and thus established the first foothold in the region. However, during the Abbasid dynasty, the relation between Muslims and China remain cordial and delegations were exchanged. In 755 A. D, the Emperor requested to get help from the Muslim state to quell the rebellion and the Caliph sent an army of 4000 soldiers to defeated the rebels. They settled there, married Chinese women, and raised Muslim families, giving strong demographic support to the first communities of the Muslims in China. The Muslim population has increased due to three main reasons;

1. Through migration
2. Intermarriages with Han
3. Through conversion to Islam

During the long history of fourteen hundred years, Muslim and Chines dynasties were not involved in any direct conflict except one time in history when China expanded its power beyond the Xinjiang region. From the Tang Dynasty (618-907) to Song Dynasty (960- 1279), generally, the Muslims remained passive in the state activities. Later on, the Muslims became more prosperous during Yuan/ Mongol dynasty (1279- 1368). The conversion of Muslims increased and Arabic was replaced by the Persian language which resulted in an increasing influence of Muslims in the society. Apart from the army, Muslims enjoyed key posts in the administration like many Muslims became governors of different provinces during this period. Al Sayyid Al- Ajall Shamsuddin Umar was one of the prominent Muslim governors of Yunnan province (Qureshi, 1993).

After the Mongol dynasty, Muslims became more integrated during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) with Chinese society. As mentioned, the Arabic language was replaced by

Persian in the Yuan dynasty; names of Muslims had been converted into the Chinese style that shows more cultural assimilation. During this dynasty, the indigenization process enhanced the process of assimilation and integration as the Persian language was replaced by the Mandarin language. this process had long lasting impact on Muslims culture such as they lost a connection with their history and secondly by adopting local names such as Ma for Muhammad and Ha for Hassan led to change of identity. . Besides these social developments, the Muslim role became more prominent and the emperor sent Muslim ambassadors to various Muslim countries, which helped China to establish good relationships with Muslim states.

Apart from Muslims' active domestic role in various state departments, some people played a significant role on external front. Among those, the most prominent person is Ma He was also known as Ma Zheng He. He was born in Yunnan province and later went to Beijing and severed at the royal palace. In the history of China, the Ming dynasty period is considered as the glorious age due to socio-economic, political and scientific development. Similarly, Muslims became more prosperous and integrated socially and politically. Ma Zheng He, a naval admiral and diplomat played a vital role in establishing good relations with countries from East Asia to the Middle East. Historically speaking, he was the first explorer who travels by sea from China's east coast to the Middle East, still, he has not been recognized in history as the European explorer has been recognized and discussed, although the European explorer came to the region after fifty years. His seven naval expeditions became a prominent chapter in China's diplomatic history where he visited along with other Chinese Diplomats to the Middle East and on return he brought diplomats and merchants that pay the way for China-Middle East diplomatic and business cooperation.

Ma achieved a diplomatic breakthrough during his fifth expedition where seventeen heads of the state visited China. Thus, a formal diplomatic interaction started between China and the countries of the Middle East and Africa. During this trip, Ma explores African countries such as he stayed in Mogadishu and Brawa (Somalia), and Milindi (Kenya). On return, many ambassadors have visited China. During the sixth expedition, he visited the previous regions and not explored new regions. This trip was a return trip of ambassadors brought by Ma during his fifth expedition. The seventh and the last expedition was started in 1433 where twenty-seven thousand men and hundred ships accompanied Ma. It was the most ambitious trip where he visited South China Seaports, sailing through the Indian Ocean and enter Aden and Persian Gulf. They further extended their trip to the Red Sea and visited Jeddah, a place a few hundred miles away from the Holy Muslim cities of Makkah and Madinah (Gronewald, 2018).

These developments show the contributions of Chinese Muslims in establishing diplomatic relations with different countries and regions in South Asia, Far-East Asia, Middle East and Africa. Historically speaking these contributions has been less discussed and explored. As mentioned above the Ming dynasty era was economically, politically and socially an era of prosperity and development, so Muslims became politically, socially, and economically more integrated with Chinese society. The contributions of Muslims show that they played a very significant role in various fields. The diplomatic relations established by Ma Zheng He has an everlasting impact on China's relations with different regions, particularly with the Middle East. The end of the Ming dynasty was followed by the Qing dynasty which is considered as the time of turmoil and conflict in Chinese Muslim history.

In the entire history of Muslims in China, the middle of the nineteenth century was the period of trouble and turmoil. The Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) was no longer able to control

the entire country and uprising and rebellion started at different parts of the country. Muslims also rebelled against the central government and a series of conflicts and violence started in Muslim majority areas. The major conflicts arose in Yunnan, Gansu, Ningxia and Xinjiang, known as four province rebellions. This instability and conflicts continued for a short period starting from 1850- 1875. Some historian calls this era as Muslim rebellion period but by analyzing the entire situation we can conclude that during the nineteenth century, the central government has lost control over the country which lead to violence and instability not only in the Muslim majority areas but in various parts of the country. The other main reason for this instability was the invasion of various provinces of China by European colonial powers such as the United Kingdom, Germany and France. These two factors are mainly responsible for instability, violence and uprising in different parts of the country. After the end of the Qing dynasty, a new era of political development started where power was shifted from Manchu to local people.

The Qing dynasty lost its control and the Republic of China was established in 1911. The prominent political leader Sun Yat-sen said that all ethnic groups in China are equal citizens of the state (Bedeski, 1977). Thus, a new era of integration and cooperation started where Muslim contributions were of vital interest of the state. World politics shaped and reshaped local political dynamics in different states at the beginning of the 20th century. The First World War and then the Second World War had major implications for international and domestic politics in different states around the world. In this context, China was not an exception as WWII changed the dynamics of local politics in China. Muslim throughout the country strongly resisted Japan occupation except Muslim of Xinjiang region.

This event led to strong Chinese nationalism, where different ethnic groups united to defend the country from foreign occupation. Muslim religious scholars called Ahongs, played

a prominent role by motivating Muslims for the protection of homeland. The Ahongs spread their messages through gathering, speeches and through distribution of magazines such as Chinese Islamic Studies Magazine, the Islamic Gazette, the light of Islam, and the Muslim youth to mobilize the people. In 1938 a new Pan-Chinese Muslim organization was established under the leadership of a Muslim general to organize a militia against the Japanese occupation. These Ahongs also quoted Hadith *حب لوطن من الايمان* (Love for the state is part of faith) for greater mobilization (Kittani 1985).

In fact, on the external front, the Muslims also diplomatically confronted the Japanese occupation, particularly in the Muslim world. A prominent Hui Ahong/Imam, Da Pusheng went to Middle East to denounce Japanese invasion. He traveled to Saudi Arabia, British India and Egypt as part of this campaign (Yufeng, 2011). These developments show the diverse approaches of Hui and Uighur people regarding nationalism and integration. The available literature is mainly focus on the religious aspects of nationalism in China that how Uighur Muslims struggled for an Islamic independent state. This study will look upon other aspects of nationalism, such as the socio-cultural and political factors which played a vital role in shaping Uighur and Han approaches toward state nationalism.

The Rationale of the Study

In the modern state system, majority of countries consist of various ethnic groups. In this age of globalization, national integration is one of the major challenges, particularly to multi-ethnic and multi-cultural countries. The study would try to explore various factors, which are shaping the nationalist tendencies in ethnic minority groups in China. Much research has been carried out by different scholars and researchers on the subject, which focuses on Hui and Uighur's different issues. This research study would follow the comparative method approach to find out various reasons for Uighur and Hui approaches

toward nationalism. Although both groups are Muslims, they have different approaches to their relations with the state, so the study would focus on these relations keeping in view their social, political and economic background.

Statement of the problem

Hui and Uighur Muslim groups have different approaches toward nationalism and national integration. Hui Muslims are more streamlined, while Uighur Muslims are alienated. The group and state relationship gave rise to different tendencies of integration and alienation, which are centuries-old. Socio-economic and political factors have played a key role in this complexity of group nationalism and state-level nationalism. The current study under research focuses on the diverse approaches of both groups toward nationalism.

Objective of the Study

The main objectives of the study are;

1. To find out different factors which contribute to Hui assimilation and integration
2. To analyze Hui Muslims role in promoting Chinese nationalism.
3. To explore various factors shaping Uighur nationalism in China.
4. To compare and analyze Hui and Uighur relations with the state.
5. To explain how the state policy for ethnic minorities is influencing Hui and Uighur integration with the state.

Research questions

1. Why the Hui Muslims are more integrated with the state than the Uighur Muslims?
2. How is the process of Sinicization helping minorities' integration with the Chinese state and society?

3. How has Uighur nationalism been developed based on ethnicity?
4. How the process of Sinicization is helping Hui integration with the state?
5. How does the national policy of the government on ethnic minorities influence China's nationalism among Muslims, especially the Hui and Uighur Muslims?

Significance of the Study

The study under research deals with the issue of nationalism, particularly in multi-ethnic states which is posing a threat to the state's integrity. The ethnic issues and nationalism among Muslims in China can best be understood through state-society relations in a historical context. The study may help to develop a greater understanding of ethnic politics and nationalism among Chinese Muslims and further may help to give an overall understanding of nationalism and ethnic conflicts in multi-ethnic states. The study will help to determine the causes of Hui integration with the state and alienation of Uighur Muslims. The study may further add to the existing literature on minority issues of integration with the state. The available literature is mostly focused on one aspect of the issues means why the Uighur are not integrated with the state while less focusing on the other side of Hui's successful integration with the state. This will be an academic contribution of the study to find out the various factors that helped Hui integration with local society and state. The study may also help the policymaker to deal with issues of integration and ethnic nationalism in multi-ethnic states. The majority of states like Pakistan have multi-ethnic groups so the study will provide suggestions and recommendations for the policymakers on minorities' integration. The theoretical approach used in the study will help to find out issues of ethnic minorities and their integration with the state. It may help for further research on ethnic minorities issues such as integration with the state and the rising tendencies in ethnic

nationalism. This theoretical approach may help to provide a base for studying ethnic minorities' integration with the state, particularly in multi-ethnic states.

Delimitation of the Study

The research will focus on ethnic minorities and ethnic nationalism with a primary focus on Hui and Uighur ethnic groups in China. Hui and Uighur are among the ten Muslim ethnic groups, which form the largest Muslim population in the country. Various factors are shaping and enhancing the process of nationalism in ethnic groups in the modern state system such as social, political, linguistic, religious, geographical and cultural. This research will focus on socio-cultural and political aspects of nationalism concerning Hui and Uighur nationalism. Uighur Muslims are mainly living in Xinjiang having a long history of resistance and peaceful coexistence with the Chinese empire, while the Hui people are also living in the Western region provinces such as Gansu, Qinghai and Ningxia as well as in some parts of mainland China like Yunnan and Shaanxi.

Operational Definition of Major Terms

Sinicization; the term Sinicization or Sinofication is used for the process of Han influence on other ethnic groups' mean how the Han culture has greater influence over other ethnic minorities, which resulted in the integration of other groups with Han society and state. Briefly, we can interpret it, to make Chinese in character or bring under Chinese influence.

Hui Muslims; Hui Muslims are those Muslims in China who live in the Western region and mainland China. In literature, some scholars use the word ethnic group and some argue that is the combination of various groups. Here Hui will be used as an ethnic group for a greater understanding of ethnic nationalism.

Uighur; Uighur is Turkic origin Chinese Muslims mainly living in Xinjiang province. They speak Uighur language, unlike Hui people who speak the Mandarin language

Methodology

Qualitative Research

The study under research is based on qualitative research. It will provide a descriptive contemporary-historical analysis of Hui and Uighur nationalism. The study will try to find out the main factors for nationalism among ethnic minorities particularly Muslim ethnic groups and its implications for China.

Data Collection Techniques

The research is based on qualitative data collection mainly using various secondary sources. Official reports and documents regarding ethnic minorities' policies in China will be consulted to understand the state policy of ethnic minority and national integration. Various other sources such as research articles, books, websites, reports, and papers of different research institutions will help explore the issues of ethnic nationalism and to find out the motivating factors for nationalism in China. Various think tanks/ research institutions' reports and analyses will further help to understand the domestic causes and implications of this ethnic nationalism. The available literature is mainly produced by the western scholars having different perspective and approaches toward issues of minority and national integration in China. In this regard, the local people perspective and point of views may be helpful for better understanding of the subject. Interviews will be conducted from Chinese Muslim students and regional experts

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis method will be used in this study. This method is commonly used in qualitative research as the study is primarily based on qualitative research so this approach will help to further enrich this study. Thematic analysis is used to analyze, classify and present themes relates to the available data. This approach provides the opportunity to analyze, identify and report the maximum available pattern in data. It also links various aspects that will help to explain and connect various aspects in the study.

To identify the pattern and themes in data, a deductive approach will help enrich the analytical and theoretical interest in the topic. The deductive technique will help explore the theory of nationalism and related the phenomenon of national integration and test the validity of the theory in the given circumstances. The thematic analysis is consisting of six steps where the researcher is first familiarized with data and then generate initial codes, coding can be done for specific questions. This study will use a latent level of themes identification. It will try to identify the underlying ideas, meaning and concepts of different data sets. The other steps of thematic analysis are searching for themes, reviving them and naming them. This approach will enable the researcher to identify various themes in the study under research for a greater understating of the complex relationships.

Organization of the study

1. Introduction
2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework
 - Theories of nationalism

- Hroch theory of Nationalism
- Phases of Nationalism
- Role of Socio-Cultural and Linguistic factor in promoting Nationalism
- Nationalism and Sense of Equality
- Geography and Nationalism
- Rise of Nationalism in the 19th century and its Impact on Chinese Muslims

3. Historical Background of Hui and Uighur

- The origin of Uighur people
- Hui people in China, conversion and migration
- Hui people under different Dynasties
- Political, economic and administrative role of Hui

4. Hui and Uighur Approaches Toward Nationalism

- The Emergence of Nationalism
- The Rise of Ethno-Religious Nationalism in China during 19th century
- The Panthay Rebellion and Establishment of the Dali kingdom
- The Dungan Rebellion and Muslim Uprising in Western China
- The Beginning of Dungan Rebellion and Hui Nationalism
- Ethno-Religious Nationalism in Xinjiang in 19th century
- This Rise of Nationalism in the 20th century in Asia and its impact on China
- Rise of Nationalism and End of Dynasty System in China
- Muslim Nationalism in the Republican Era
- The Establishment of first East Turkistan Islamic Republic 1931-1934
- Muslim Nationalism and Soviet influence in Xinjiang in the 1930s
- The Establishment of second the East Turkestan Republic 1944-1949

5. State Policies and Ethnic Nationalism Since 1949

- Minority Integration and Regional Autonomy
- People's Republic of China Official Ethnic Policy
- Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution and its impact on Minorities
- The 1978 Reforms and Muslims Nationalism
- The Western Development Strategy and Rise of Ethnic Nationalism
- Han Migration and Ethnic Conflicts in Xinjiang
- Education Policy and National Minority Integration
- Ethnic Conflict and Human Rights Violation in Xinjiang
- Belt and Road Initiative, Ethnic Minority and National Integration

6. A Comparative Analysis Of Hui and Uighur Approach Toward Chinese/State Nationalism

- Role of Political and Economic factors in promoting Nationalism
- Socio-Cultural and Linguistic factors and Ethnic Nationalism in China
- Han Kitab and Hui Muslim Integration in China
- Geographical Centralization and Ethnic Nationalism
- Language as a Source of National Integration and Assimilation
- Hui and Uighur responses toward state ethnic minority policies
- The Role of Internal and External factors in Promoting Uighur Nationalism
- Chinese Muslim Nationalism and Separatism in Post-9/11 Era
- China and USA competition for Global influence and its Impact on Chinese Muslims
- Pak-China relation and Uighur Nationalism

7. Conclusion

8. Bibliography

Chapter 1

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The complex ethnic minority structure in China need a theoretical inquiry for better understanding. The emergence of nation state and the rise of nationalistic tendencies have got the attention of scholars of nationalism. Various ethnic minority groups around the world are struggling for sovereign independent state which has direct impact on national integration. The available literature on Chinese Muslims shows that both ethnic groups have diverse approaches based on some historical, cultural and political factors. The literature on Chinese Muslims may be divided into three categories such as the contributions, perception and views of scholars and researchers outside China, particularly the western scholar's perspective, secondly the views and perceptions of local people and lastly official point of view and policies of Communist Party of China. This approach will enable us to objectively analyze ethnic nationalism and national integration process in China.

1.1 Nationalism and National Integration

The emergence of the state system and nationalism on the one hand integrated different cultural, ethnic and religious groups while on the other hand, it caused serious problems (Jonathan, 2004). In China among Muslims, we can find two kinds of nationalism, Chinese or state nationalism and Uighur ethnic nationalism. Historically speaking, the Uighur people were less integrated with Chinese dynasties in the past such as the Xinjiang area mostly remained under the control of different warlords (Millward, 2000). On the other hand, since the entry of Islam into China, the Hui Muslims remained side by side with other ethnic groups in main cities and urban centers. According to Jean A. Berlie argued in his book *Islam in China, Hui and Uighur between Modernization and Sinicization* that, the Hui Muslims

rarely speak in public about their Muslim identity and this is the power of Sinicization which make them more integrated with the state (Berlie J. A., 2004). Several factors make the Hui more integrated with Chinese society such as M Ali Kettani argued that Muslims in China particularly the Hui group enjoyed key posts in both civil and military administration. For example, during the Yuan/Mongol dynasty, Muslims were appointed governors of different provinces (Kettani, 1986:86). He further argues that the result of this indigenization was the replacement of the Persian language and the emergence of Mandarin as the spoken language among Muslims.

Various actors contribute to the process of Nationalism such as cultural assimilation. Dru C. Gladney argued that *the emerging and strengthening forms of cultural nationalisms of various groups, in turn, influence Chinese nationalism* (Gladney, 2004). A lot of research has been done on the issue of Uighur nationalism which shows that different socio-cultural and political factors are involved in shaping Uighur nationalism in Xinjiang. The Uighur nationalism can be divided into three eras, like, pre-Qing dynasty era where the warlord ruled over the country secondly the era of the Qing dynasty and thirdly the post-Republic period. Ethnic consciousness in any society became more prominent when they feel or formed the idea of identity. Different factors such as culture, language, common history and tradition are involved in this process (Aris, 2016). Similarly, these factors are involved in shaping Uighur nationalism. For better understanding of the background of Uighur nationalism we must look into the first period when they settle, ruled and formed a common history, language and traditions. The Uighur was one of the first groups who speak the Turkic language in the region. The Chinese called them huihu from the 6th century to the last Qing dynasty (1644-1911). From the 9th to 13th century the Uighur ancestors marched from Mongolia to the western region. Many people converted from Buddhism to Islam which led to the increase of Uighur population in the region.

According to Li Sheng and Qin Min, in the mid-10th century, the Karakhanid dynasty converted to Islam which the dynamics of local politics in the region. after the initial settlement they further expanded their presence to Tarim Basin and became more integrated with local people (Sheng, 2005:40). Uighur history, ethnicity, and geographical location show that they are not integrated with the state. The scholars of nationalism argue that culture, language, history and geography are the main actors in shaping nationalism. The long-distance between the Chinese empire and Xinjiang is one of the main reasons for the ineffective control of all dynasties except the Qing dynasty in the region. Therefore, the local people developed their own social, political and economic system and they also developed strategies to defend the area from foreign and Chinese aggression.

1.2 Background of Uighur Nationalism

For a better understanding of Uighur nationalism, it will be useful to trace back their political history. Around the middle of the 8th century these people had their empire in moder day Mongolia. However, the empire disintegrated and split into two main branches, the eastern and western branches. The eastern branch was founded in the Gansu region while the western branch was established in Xinjiang (Turpan region) (Bhattacharya, 2003:4). The western branch lasted till 1250 and even today the cultural and historical sites can be found. In the early 13th century, the Mongols became influential in the Central Asian region divided into two main regions. One region was Transoxiana, also called western Turkestan (presently Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan) and the second region was Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang) where the Uighur people enjoyed good relations with Mongol.

In 1876, for the first time in history, the Uighur people established the Islamic Uighur Kingdom of East Turkestan. Soon after its establishment, the Manchu dynasty invaded the region and formally annexed the newborn state into their territory. The region name was changed from Eastern Turkestan to Xinjiang meaning, new frontier or new territory in 1884.

The invasion of Manchu further lead to Uighur nationalism and they considered Manchu as a colonial power. The Pan-Turkism idea was also influential during this time which helped the unification all Turkic speaking people including the dominant Uighur ethnic group.

The beginning of the 20th century was the era of movements for nationalism and self-determination leading to uprising and violence in different parts of the world. Uighur nationalism got a new momentum for self-determination particularly in the 1930s and 40s. There were international and domestic forces which played a significant role in promoting Uighur nationalism. On the external front, the Soviet was the potential threat for the region because the Soviet wanted to increase its influence in the region which was a gateway for trade on Silk Road. The Soviet annexed the Ili valley to maintain law and order situation in the territory of Russian Turkestan (Dickens, 1990). On the other hand, in 1934, Khoja Niyas, the spiritual leader of Uighur declared the establishment of the Turkish-Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan intending to establish an Islamic system (Forbes A. , 1986). Due to the growing political power and influence of the Uighur people, the Soviet-supported, Sheng shih, the provincial head and representative of the nationalist government. The reason for the support was the fear of the Soviet leader that the Turkic people in their territory may initiate such kind of uprising. Historically speaking, the Soviet Union supported Uighur people during different time of history for various reasons (Karlins, 1975).

First East Turkestan Republic was not able to sustain and eventually overthrown by Shen forces, a warlord supported by the Soviet. The forces of the Soviet Union two times entered Xinjiang to quell the domestic uprising. The first time they entered in 1934 to topple East Turkistan Republic (ETR) and secondly in 1937 to fight against the forces of Tungan forces. In 1940, the Xinjiang regional government and the Soviet Union signed an agreement. The main purpose of this agreement was further increase the influence of the Soviet in the region such as the Soviet were allowed extract the mineral resources. In 1944, the

Kuomintang (KMT) government sacked Sheng because of his secret dealing with Stalin and the region remained in turmoil (Dickens, 1990). The Soviets took advantage of the situation and supported Uighur people in the adjacent area like Ili. The Uighur started a campaign to overthrow the Chinese rule. In history, this event is known as the three districts revolt where Uighur people revolt in three districts Ili, Ghulja and Tacheng in the northern part of the province. This revolt was carried out and supported by the those people who were educated in Soviet Union which enable them to draw their support and fight effectively against the KMT troops which resulted in the establishment of the 2nd East Turkestan Republic (Lin, 2007).

1.3 Hui Approach toward Nationalism

Contrary to the Uighur approach, the Hui people not opted for ethnic nationalism rather they always supported national integration in domestic as well as an international crisis. Several events show that the Hui people supported state unity like the establishment of cordial relations in the mid-8th century was the beginning of these policies where Muslims supported the Chinese king and helped to quell the rebel force. From the 13th to 17th century the Hui became so integrated that even they changed their Muslim names. Due to this process they became socially, politically and even economically integrated with Chinese society. The Hui people actively participated in all walks of life from social-political to the establishment of good relations with the Islamic world, particularly with the Middle Eastern countries. One of the prominent names in this list is Ma Zheng He, a naval officer of Hui origin who went to the Middle East through sea route. During his seven expeditions from 1405-1433, he explored the areas like Champa, Ceylon, Hormoz strait, the horn of Africa and the Red Sea (Wade, 2005). On return he brought diplomats/representatives from 30 states (Dooley, 2012).

1.4 State ethnic minority policies since 1949

Since the establishment of People Republic of China in 1949, ethnic minority policies and national integration remained core issues of concerned for the communist government of China. According to article four of the constitution of PRC, all ethnic groups of the People's Republic of China are equal. The state shall protect the lawful rights and interests of all ethnic minorities and uphold and promote relations of equality, unity, mutual assistance and harmony among all ethnic groups. Discrimination against and oppression of any ethnic group is prohibited; any act that undermines the unity of ethnic groups or creates divisions among them is prohibited (Constitution of the People's Republic of China). These constitutional guarantees allowed ethnic minority groups to preserve and reform their culture and promote their local languages. In order to implement these constitutional guarantees, the government adopted various policies such as it granted the status of autonomy to different provinces in order to allow ethnic minority groups to practice their culture and promote their language. Historically speaking these policies and constitutional guarantees were subject to social and political change where government adopted various policies which had very negative consequences for ethnic minorities across the country such as Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution (Robinson, 1968). According to official point of view regarding freedom of religious practices, people of all religions are allowed to practice their religion. According to current data there are around thirty thousand mosques in China including twenty three thousand in Xinjiang Autonomous Region. All ethnic groups in China have freedom and right to use and develop their own spoken and written languages. In the 1950s, China organized specialists to make investigations of the spoken and written languages of ethnic minorities and established special organizations involved in work connected with the spoken and written languages of ethnic minorities as well as institutions to research these languages, to train specialists in these languages, help minority people create, improve or reform their written

languages, and promote the use of spoken and written languages of ethnic minorities in every field. Apart from religious freedom and language policy, the government adopted policy of regional autonomy which is an integral part of China political system. Regional autonomy for ethnic minorities means that under the unified leadership of the state regional autonomy is practiced in areas where people of ethnic minorities live in concentrated communities. By the end of 1998, five autonomous regions, 30 autonomous prefectures and 120 autonomous counties (banners) had been established, as well as 1,256 ethnic townships. Among the 55 ethnic minorities, 44 have their own autonomous areas, with a population of 75 percent of the total of the ethnic minorities and an area of 64 percent of the area of the whole country (Shimin, 1988).

1.5 Theoretical framework

A Nation is an imagined community of individuals with common characteristics including tradition, ethnicity and language (Doak, 1997). These imagined communities are governed through a different mechanism such as through the modern nation system. In the early 20th century different states around the world integrated their diverse societies through nationalism where language, culture, geography and sometimes religion played an important role in national integration. In the 21st century, different factors such as globalization and greater communication and interaction have a great influence on the political dynamics of the world. These communication and interaction led to greater awareness and sense of identity among different groups such as minority groups living in different parts of the world. Such awareness and greater communication sometimes led to uprisings, national movements and sometimes arms conflicts such as various ethnic uprising and movements in the Middle East. Such movements and uprising are taking place both in the developed and developing world that is why this issue needs much inquiry and research to find out the main elements or factors behind such development. The scholars of nationalism have discussed the various approach which may be helpful in this regard such one group of these scholars are of the

view that materials and objective conditions are important factors for nationalism while the other group argues that greater awareness and national consciousness play an important role (Kandiyoti, 2002).

1.6 Theories of Nationalism

There are several theories of nationalism, which define different factors that are involved in shaping nationalism in the modern state system. Generally speaking, five main scholars developed different theories of nationalism like Ernest Gellner, Miroslav Hroch, Ernest Renan, Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson. Miroslav Hroch's theory of nationalism can best explain Uighur and Hui nationalism. According to him, a nation is a social group, which is integrated not only by one but by the combination of various kinds of objective relationship including political, economic, linguistic, geographical, cultural, religious and historical. These objective relationships have a subjective reflection in the collective consciousness.

This theory explains that how these factors help individuals to form a nation such as the situation in China, where the two dominant Muslim groups have different approaches toward nationalism. This is the main objective of the research to explore and analyze that how Muslims in China have different approaches towards nationalism. The historical inquiry of both groups shows that although both are Muslims with different social, economic and political backgrounds. These are the main factors that allow Hui Muslims to play an active role in Chinese or state nationalism while the Uighur remain committed to Uighur/Turkic (ethnic) nationalism.

1.6.1 Phases of Nationalism

The process of nationalism might be understood as gradual process that includes different phases. This approach is more helpful in defining and explaining nationalism and national

movements. Miroslav Hroch in his theory of nationalism broadly categorized the process of nationalism into three main phases. The first phase is consisting of three parts (Hroch, 2015).

1. The common memory of the group which is treated as destiny
2. The cultural and linguistic relations enable them to develop a high level of social communication in the group and even beyond the group
3. A feeling of equality among the group members like a civil society

The Hui people have greater common memory with Han people than the Uighur Muslims in the long-distance area of Xinjiang. Since they arrived in China in the mid-7th century, they have developed close ties with the local population which enables them to integrate with local people culturally and politically. While the Uighur people historically living in the Western region which remained isolated from the central region. These were some of the main reasons which lead them to develop a different approach toward nationalism.

1.6.2 Role of Socio-Cultural and Linguistic Factor in Promoting Nationalism

The second important point in the first phase is linguistic and cultural ties. The Uighur people speak the Uighur language (a language of the Turkic language group) while the Hui speak the Mandarin language. Language is the main component of any culture. Therefore, Uighurs have different cultures while Hui culture is more common with Han and other Chinese ethnic groups. So, we can analyze that culture, language and history make both groups distinct from each other. Miroslav Hroch says that in the first phase *the activist strives to lay the foundation of national identity. They search the cultural, linguistic, social, and sometimes historical attributes to raise the awareness of common traits* (Hroch, 1995). This argument explains how nationalism initially takes place. During the early history of Muslims in China, the Hui people were settled in the main urban areas which helped them to become an integral part of Chinese culture and society. Some arguments can be presented here to explain how they are culturally, linguistically and politically integrated with the state. During the Yuan

dynasty, the Hui people enjoyed key political and administrative posts and started using the Persian language instead of Arabic while the Uighur were speaking the Uighur and Arabic language. Hui people went one step ahead during the Ming dynasty where they changed their names from Arabic style to Chinese and adopted the Mandarin language as a source of communication. These developments provided a base for Chinese or state nationalism among Hui people, as mentioned by Miroslav Hroch that language and culture are the foundation of nationalism. We can analyze regarding these developments in Yuan or Mongol dynasty that such political development played a crucial role in Hui nationalism. Such developments during this dynasty enabled the Hui people to integrate with Chinese society both politically and socially.

1.6.3 Nationalism and Sense of Equality

According to Miroslav Hroch, the last phase where people feel equality and all the group members are organized like civil society. Most of the people form a mass movement. After the end of the era of dynasties in 1911, the Republic of China was established. The founder, Sun Yat-Sen said that all ethnic groups are equal citizens of China. This was the third stage where modern Chinese nationalism was taking place but at the same time, the Uighur nationalism was also at its peak where this group promoted ethnic nationalism.

The time, from 1911-1949 was a crucial time in the history of Chinese and for Uighur nationalism. During the Second World War, when Japan attacked China, the government mobilized the citizen based on Chinese nationalism to protect the homeland from foreign aggression. The Hui Muslims actively participated in the war and the leaders of the group mobilize the youth through their speeches and distribution of large literature where they showed their full support for the protection of the state. This event explains the third phase of nationalism where all the groups feel equality and mobilize the people for a mass movement. During this time the political leadership played a very active role to mobilize the various

ethnic groups to integrate and consolidate the people through the slogan of nationalism (Fass, 1964).

The Uighur nationalists in Xinjiang used the same cultural, linguistic and political commonality for their state which they call Islamic Republic of East Turkistan. Twice the Uighur people established their state, for the first time in 1934 and secondly in 1944 which lasted till 1949. Here we can make a comparison that both Muslim groups followed the same common factors such as common language, culture, political and social history to promote their nationalist agenda. This also shows that this is the main reason that Hui is more integrated with the state, unlike the Uighur people.

According to theorists of nationalism, there are two stages of nationalism. In the first stage nationalism is promoted through social mobilization, equal opportunities for all and greater awareness among citizens for national integration, this process is also called an unplanned process. In their second stage which is the planned process, the government adopts such policies that can enhance nationalism and national integration. The policy may include one official language. In China, the government is following these steps by promoting cultural and ethnic integration among all groups and also through a planned process where the government strives hard to adopt mandarin as one language for all, especially in the education sector.

The government also adopted various policies and procedures to deal with national integration issues such as The National Ethnic Minority Policy which deals with the issues of all minority groups in the country. Keeping in mind these facts and policies the study will focus on the Hui and Uighur approach towards state nationalism to explore why these ethnic groups have a different approach and what are the impacts of state policies. One explanation of this diverse approach toward nationalism maybe described in a historical context where some factors mainly contributed to Hui and Uighur nationalism.

Historically speaking, the Hui Muslims were greatly integrated with Chinese society before the modern wave of nationalism which took place at the end of the colonial era. The rise of this new manifestation of nationalism took place in Europe and then in Asia in the 20th century. When we analyze Uighur nationalism in this historical context, we can find that Uighur nationalism was at its peak in this century. The struggle for national movement power in Asia also influenced Uighur nationalism. Although there were some movements and struggle for power and national movement at the later stage of the 19th century that were not more effective. Since the start of the 20th century, there was a wave of nationalism in Asia, so these conditions were utilized by the people of Xinjiang for nationalism and self-determination right. The establishment of the first East Turkestan Republic and then the second East Turkistan Republic was the result of this wave of nationalism which means this wave of nationalism played a dominant role. To analyze the above argument, we can conclude that one of the main factors behind the Uighur approach toward nationalism is embedded in the rise of nationalism in 20th century. During this era, various socio-cultural, linguistic and political groups started struggle for independence and self-determination. Such developments and arguments help us to distinguish and analyze Hui and Uighur's approach toward nationalism.

Contrary to the Uighur approach toward nationalism, the Hui people's approach was different in the historical context. Hui people were mainstreamed in Chinese society before the rising the wave of modern nationalism. They were mainly integrated with Chinese society where the system of civilization prevailed. During the age of civilization political allegiance was not determined by nationality so Hui people integrated and adopted local culture and norms. This was a gradual process where these people first adopted local culture, norms and traditions then change their names from Arabic to Chinese. These arguments and historical developments show that the Hui people are more integrates with Chinse society and have a

different approach toward nationalism from Uighur people because they integrated with the age of civilization while Uighur formally became part of the Chinese state in the age of modern nationalism, for this reason both have different approaches toward nationalism. This is one of the main aspects of Hui and Uighur nationalism. The era of civilizations and the emergence of the modern concept of nationalism may best explain Chinese Muslim nationalism. At the end of the 18th century, civilizations were determined by nationality. Since this time people became more aware of their identity and language, culture and tradition of an area or group became more important. People across Asia started the movement of self-determination and independent state where Uighur people were no exception and they started a struggle for an independent state where they established their rule first in Southern Xinjiang in the late half of the 19th century and then in the 20th century.

Apart from these external factors, other internal factors also played an important role in shaping Muslim nationalism in China. This wave of nationalism greatly affected the Chinese dynasty system as well. At the beginning of the 19th-century various uprising took place within China where different groups started the struggle for gaining power. In such kind of situation, the Hui Muslims mainly remained integrated with the Chinese state and they did not fight for self-determination except uprising in few provinces. On the other hand, the Uighur ethnic group fought for self-determination. Under this wave of nationalism within China, the Uighur people established their kingdom in Kashgar in 1875. Such development further encourages the people of East Turkestan to struggle for an independent state which they achieved by establishing the first East Turkestan Republic in 1933 and the Second East Turkestan Republic in 1944. On the other hand, an uprising also took place in Hui dominated area but these uprisings were not strong enough to fight for self-determination due to strong Chinese government control over these areas and secondly these people were living together with other Chinese ethnic groups for centuries. By concluding the civilizational and modern

nationalism factor we can analyze that Uighur nationalism mainly took place in the era of modern nationalism where national identity such as language, ethnicity and culture played a dominant role in shaping the political system of various regions and states across Asia. These were the main factors but not the sole factors responsible for Chinese Muslim nationalism, another factor such as geographical factor played an important role.

1.6.4 Geography and Nationalism

In terms of landmass, China is one of the biggest countries in the world has more than nine million square km area. States with such huge territory may have benefits such as the availability of natural resources but at the same time, such states may face the problems of governance and national integration. Geographical location and centralization are some of the main factors which explain Hui and Uighur's approach toward nationalism. Miroslav Hroch has also mentioned the significance of history and group cohesion for the promotion of national identity. The geographical centralization allows groups to have close interaction and communication which further led to social interaction and political awareness. Such arguments may help explain the Hui and Uighur diverse approach toward nationalism

Geographical factor also plays important role in shaping people idea and concept of nationalism. According to Harold geography is one of the significant factors shaping and influencing the socio-cultural, political and economic structure of a society, he further argues that *a maritime economy is responsive and adaptable to cultural changes and favorable to the emergence of the social sciences where continental economy tends to be rigid and favorable to geography* (Harold, 1945). This factor played a vital role in shaping the Hui approach toward national integration and assimilation. As mentioned above that these people settled initially in urban coastal cities which allowed them to closely interact and integrate with the local population. The urban and adaptable nature of urban life allowed them to adopt the local culture and lifestyle. There are other such examples in Chinese history where

minority groups fully integrated and assimilated with local culture and society. The Manchu people are the fifth largest group in China after Han, Zhuang, Uighur and Hui (Szczepanski, 2020). Although these people were from Northeast China still they were considered foreigners. Such development shows that how different ethnic groups like the Hui people became an integral part of Chinese society where geographical factors played an important role because these groups mainly resided in major cities and urban areas.

Contrary to Uighur people living in the long-distance isolated area from mainland China, the Hui people were mainly living in the urban areas since the 7th century where they initially settled in Guangzhou province. Guangzhou is the most populous and urban area of China. After Guangzhou province, they visited Xian, the capital city of the empire. Over time the Hui Muslims gradually settled in all main urban areas and established close contact with Chinese people. These interactions and communication with local people helped them to become more integrated with society, unlike Uighur people who were living in the western region with less or no interaction with people from the mainland. This geographical factor led the Hui people to become more integrated with local people and adopt their culture. This factor explains one of the reasons for the integration of Hui people with the state and a different approach by Uighur people. We can conclude that geography was one of the main factors which constrained Hui nationalism and on the other hand this factor allowed Uighur people to promote their ethnic nationalism.

Historically speaking, Xinjiang remained outside the domain of the Chinese empire. Although different small states in the West and North West of China paid tribute to the Chinese emperor and the Chinese emperor's name was used in an official ceremony, but these states were self-administered where they mainly run their state affairs autonomously. Physically, these states were out of the Chinese empire's control which may be one of the reasons that why Uighur people were less integrated with the state. According to Miroslav

Hoch, a high level of communication leads to an increasing sentiment of nationalism in the group. The lack high level of communication between the Uighur and Chinese empires is one of the main factors for Uighur ethnic nationalism. The long-distance, mountain and hilly areas kept the Uighur people isolated from mainland China. This geographical factor played an important role in shaping Uighur and Hui's approach toward nationalism.

1.6.5 Rise of Nationalism in the 19th Century and Its Impact on Chinese Muslims

The rise of Nationalism in the 19th century changes the dynamics of politics around the globe where China was not an exception. The issue of nationalism and identity came to the surface which was less discussed and less important for local people in the dynastic system. As the author of Sino-Muslim history and identity said that, the *Qing dynasty (1644-1912) left behind a legacy of historical identities that profoundly influenced emerging discourses on nationality and ethnicity in the nineteenth century* (Huang, 2012). The uprising and separatist movements of the late 19th century were the first waves where both Hui and Uighur initiated various movements against the dynasty and for the establishment of an independent state. The establishment of independent rule in Dali and Kashgar were the two prominent examples of such an uprising which was highly influenced by the first wave of nationalism.

Chapter 2

Historical Background of Hui and Uighur

Ethnicity is an important factor of identity for individuals as well as for communities. In other words, ethnicity is a collective identity of a group that is mainly formed by language, culture and religion (Antweiler, 2015). Some scholars argue that blood relation is the main factor of ethnic identity while others include several other elements and factors which shape ethnic identity. One point is common among all these definitions that ethnicity plays a vital role in social order and disorder, sometimes it provokes a group and sometimes it became a factor of unity and solidarity in a society. It is one of the main objectives of this research study to find out and analyze the role of various social factors in shaping the ethnic identity of Muslim in China and further to analyze the role and approaches of two dominant ethnic Muslim minority group toward unity, solidarity and more broadly toward nationalism.

Although, all these ethnic groups were living in China for centuries while the process of nationalism particularly in the 19th century got the attention of scholars of nationalism to focus on the various dimensions of ethnic nationalism in China. Some scholars argue that, Sinicization is a process of acculturation where the state wants to develop a unifying culture or the process of acculturation to Chinese culture and assimilation. Others called this process a flawed process where ethnic identity became more prominent. Due to these discussions and the significance of ethnic studies in Chinese politics, the process of Sinicization became an area of inquiry for research and scholar of Chinese studies and other terminologies such as Herniation and Chinesiation were used to define and conceptualize the acculturalization process. The rise of ethnic nationalism in Muslim ethnic groups may be analyzed within the broader concept of Sinicization.

According to Pamela Kyle Crossley, the concept of Sinicization and ethnic integration is not compatible with each other. In his essay on ethnic identity in modern China, he argued that more studies and discussion on ethnicity in China will further deteriorate the concept of Sinicization. Mark j. Hudson focused on the religious aspect of the ethnic identity of Muslims in China. According to him, religion is a prime factor of Muslim identity in China while the state mainly focused on the cultural and racial aspects of identity. In his article Religion and ethnicity in Chinese Islam, he argued that the Hui community more vigorously expresses their identity through religion. The concept of ethnic identity is a normative concept and symbols are used to separate one ethnic group from another, these symbols may be material or behavioral in the form (Hudson, 1987). According to him for acculturation tradition of the outward conformity of dress, language and material culture is required. The Hui people adopted some traditions such as language but still, their culture mainly deviates from the dominant Han culture, therefore this process may not be called total acculturation of the Hui community.

There are ten Muslim ethnic groups where Hui people formed the largest Muslim ethnic group with a population of more than ten million, while the population of the Uighur ethnic group is also around ten million. Hui and Uighur people have diverse cultural and political backgrounds which have direct and indirect impacts on their approaches toward national integration. Without analyzing the historical background, we may not be able to understand the diverse approaches of both groups toward nationalism. In the introductory chapter, a brief history of both groups has been discussed. This chapter will analyze and discuss in detail the Hui and Uighur people living in different parts of the country by comparing and analyzing their socio-cultural, economic and political history.

2.1 The Origin and Background of Hui Muslim

The Hui Muslims are also known as Hui or Huizu modern day China forming the largest ethnic group among Muslims. Throughout history, various names were used to define their identity but there are several themes and tradition which distinguish them from the dominant Han ethnic group and other Muslim ethnic groups living across China. Hui is the second largest ethnic minority group in China after Zhuang which formed 1.79 percent Population of the country. According to official statistics, the population of this group is over ten million which was around seven million according to 1982 statistics. The people of the Hui community are living in all major prefectures, counties and cities but mainly concentrated in Ningxia Hui autonomous region, Qinghai, Gansu province, Yunnan, Hebei, Hubei, Shandong and Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. There are also a reasonable number of Hui people living in the Capital city where they are served by more than sixty mosques. The most famous among these mosques is the Injurié or Ox masjid which remained a center for Islamic life for more than one thousand years. Apart from the capital city, these people are also living in cities like Shanghai and the southern province's cities such as Guangzhou. The Hui people across China are different from each other particularly in the urban-rural area because this community is not concentrated in one particular area or region like Uighur people mainly concentrated in Xinjiang Autonomous Region. This distinguishing characteristic allows them to integrate and assimilate with local people of different regions and cities. The culture, lifestyle and attributes of Hui people in major cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin and Xian are mainly different from the people living in the other regions such as Gansu, Xinjiang and Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region.

These distinctive characteristics of Hui people are questioned by the scholar that how people of such distinct attributes should be categorized as a single group. The Communist

Party of China recognized them as Huizu means Hui nationality or Huimin means Hui people. Historically speaking, the Hui people were part of the region such as East Turkistan and Tibet which remained under the control of different people. This shows that this community has historical links and influences both in the Eastern and Western parts of the country. This ethnic group also plays a major role in mediating between Han and other Muslim ethnic groups (Dillon, 1999). Thus, we can conclude that these people have a distinguish role and influence in shaping the history of the region. It's a general view that these people mainly entered China through sea route in Tang dynasty and initially settled in the coastal area of Guangdong Province. Later on, from Guangdong province, they further traveled and settled in Xian city, which remained a center of many dynasties in Chinese history. Xian is the capital city of Shaanxi province which was the political and cultural center during different Chinese dynasties.

With this diverse cultural background, some scholar still distinguishes Hui as a separate and distinct ethnic group while some scholar likes Mark j. Hudson argued that this process of acculturation and assimilation became a hurdle for Muslims in performing their social activities and duties. This argument is countered by Michael Dillion through historical evidence where the Muslim ethnic groups played an active role in state affairs. Those scholars who support the arguments that Hui is a distinct ethnic group and state policies of acculturation not transformed their lives, they argue that although the mosques are designed as Chinese architecture when Muslims enter it and bow their heads which invalidate the argument of total acculturation and assimilation. This argument does not mean that these people are not integrated with mainstream Han culture because Hui people are actively participating in state affairs from politics to bureaucracy. So, we can analyze that there is a complex relationship between the Hui values and culture with mainstream Han culture where the Hui people are integrated but not assimilated with the dominant culture. This approach of

assimilation and integration is even varying within the Hui people from the western region such as Ningxia where they are strictly follow their values unlike the urban areas of mainland China, where the boundaries are blurred between the Hui and dominant Han culture.

2.2 Hui People in China: From Tang dynasty to Yuan dynasty

The process of integration and assimilation of Hui people can be divided into various phases such as the initial settlement from Tang dynasty to Song dynasty, secondly, they became active and influential in state affairs during the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, thirdly the process of greater integration and the adaptation of local Han culture started during Ming dynasty. In these three phases, the Hui settled across the country and adopted local culture and traditions. The initial settlement was started from the Southern East part of China Guangzhou city of Guangdong province.

The capital of Guangdong province also known as Canton in English, historically remained the center of diverse culture and identities. People across China and traders of the Indian Ocean from the Middle East and India settled here. The Surrounding areaS of the capital city was called Lingnan which was inhabited by the Imperial elite and traders from different regions of the world. According to Adam C Fong, *Guangzhou during the Tang dynasty created a "middle ground" where cultures from the Middle East, India, and Southeast Asia interacted with locals from Lingnan and immigrants from the imperial center, which created points of conflict as well as opportunities for cultural exchange* (Fong, 2014). The Arab traders carried out their trade from the Persian Gulf through the Indian Ocean to Canton. The Arab traders were aware of the navigation seasons and took advantage of the monsoon for a swift journey from the Persian Gulf to the southeast China Sea. Due to these interactions, the Eastern port cities became markets where the foreign and local people exchanged their goods. According to some researchers and historians, the trade between

China and the Middle East started before the Tang dynasty but the available literature mainly focused on the Tang era. According to Hugh Clark, historically Guangzhou played an active role in the economic transformation of China where traders from the Middle East, India and Southeast Asian nations arrived in this area. In his book, he discussed in detail the significance of this area in the late Tang history (Clark, 1991).

The transformation of the Chinese economy and arrival of the foreigners in the coastal areas also introduced new cultures and religions. The arrival and settlement of Muslims also started in this era where the Tang dynasty expands its relations with other parts of the world including Middle East. These relations and settlement paved the way for Muslim integration and permanent settlement across the country. The historical and worship places of Muslims in the South-eastern cities are evidences of the initial settlements of Muslims in these areas. These historical places include the tomb of Sad Ibn Abi Waqas in Guangzhou, Qingjing mosque also known as Ashab masjid in Quanzhou and other places that reflect Muslim civilization in the country. The most popular mosque is Xian Great Mosque Constructed during the Tang dynasty in 742 AD. Gradually, the Muslims expanded their presence from the coastal areas to other parts of the country. On their arrival to the capital city, the emperor welcomed them and allowed them to build a mosque which is historically known as Xian Great Mosque.

2.3 Hui Identity from International, Regional and Domestic Perspective

Hui people are living across China and around seventy percent of all counties having Hui population. With the above-mentioned historical background and complex identity, we can conceptualize and categorize it into local, regional and global, or international perspectives. The historical places such as Mosques and tombs put the Hui identity in international perspective such as many mosques in China represent the Middle East art and

architecture like the Qingjing mosque also known as Ashab masjid in Quanzhou city of Fujian province. Apart from these historical worship places, the historic tombs also a source of Hui identity in international perspectives. The tombs and historical places are preserved which shows the historical and ancestral links of the Hui people. These tombs are mainly situated in Guangdong, Quanzhou and Yangzhou, the major cities of southeast China. These people served from the Song to Qing dynasty as officials, merchants and militiamen. These people played a significant role in the development of China and its relationship with other regions such as Ma Zheng He played a vital role in the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Middle East and other surrounding regions. These developments are described by Dru C. Gladney in his article on historical tombs, according to him '*Many Hui look to these historic figures as foreign Muslim ancestors who provide proof of distinguished descent and who link them with a larger Muslim world*' (Gladney, 1987). The government also recognized and protected these places which remained a source of Hui identity such as the Ashab mosques which was established in 1009, was declared a historic monument by the Fujian provincial government. There are different groups within the Hui community such as Ding, Huang, Jin, Pu and Guo. Until 1979, these groups were not included as Hui ethnic group but later they were officially recognized as Hui ethnic group. These groups claimed that we are Muslims and our historical background is linked with our ancestors from the Middle East. So, all these developments, claims and historical development shows the international perspective of Hui identity.

The international perspective of Hui identity is not the single source of their identity because the regional network is also playing an important role in shaping Hui identity across China. The regional or national perspective includes shrines and a large network of Sufi order. Many travelers, scholars and researchers have discussed the importance of shrines in Northwest China particularly when they visited the area in the early 19th century. Many

Preachers from the Sufi order particularly the Qadariyaa Sufi order spread across China from Guangdong to Yunnan, Guizhou and Ningxia. According to Dru C. Gladney, Qi Jingyi who is also famous among Hui as Qi Daozu mean Grand Master is the founder of the Qadariyaa Sufi order. He studied under the supervision of two great Sufi preachers' khoja Abdullah and khoja Afaq (the two famous Central Asia Sufi preachers). Apart from the Qadariyaa, other Sufi orders such as Naqshanbandiyaa played an active role in the transformation of the socio-religious identity of Hui Muslim across China (Gladney, 1996). These Sufi orders expanded across China which has followers in other neighboring states such as Indonesia and Sub-Continent. This regional network became a source of Hui identity which integrated these people across different regions of the country particularly the Northwest and South-Eastern part where they initially settled and further expanded to the other regions. These arguments are further supported by the views of Ernest Gellner, according to him, the *importance and extensiveness of these Sufi orders for uniting disparate Hui communities across China cannot be underestimated*'' (Gellner, 1981).

2.4 Transformation of Hui Identity under Yuan dynasty

The invasion of China by the Mongols and the establishment of the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) changed the dynamic of local political order. The above-mentioned historical background in Tang and Song dynasties reflects the beginning and shaping of Hui identity while political development during the Yuan dynasty enabled these people to play an active role in state affairs. The era is considered the second phase of Hui integration where they served in the Yuan administration in key political positions such as many Hui people became governor of different provinces. According to the historian, the largest influx of Muslims in China occurred during the Yuan dynasty. Muslims from Central Asia and other regions traveled to China as traders, artisans and served in the Mongol army. On the other hand,

some prominent Mongols converted to Islam which further empowered Muslims in China such as the conversion of prince Ananda, the grandson of Kublai Khan converted to Islam. Ruth W. Dunnell, an expert on Chinese history has mentioned in his article *The Anxi Principality: Making a Muslim Mongol Prince in Northwest China during the Yuan Dynasty*, the details of Prince Ananda's conversion and its impact on further cementing of Muslim identity and political role in China. The author further explained the process of Islamization in the Mongols army. According to him, *the influence of Islamization among the troops to be felt at the level of the Mongol ruling house* (Dunnell, 2014). As the Mongol rule expanded, the influence of Muslims in China also expanded rapidly, and this can be seen through several developments such as mosques in major cities like Beijing, Xian, Hangzhou, and Kunming. After the establishment of firm rule by Mongol, Muslim scholars and traders came to China and played an important role in the domestic economy and foreign trade. According to John Chen, Muslims from different regions such as the Arab world and Persia arrived in China, *Muslim from all corner of the ocean played a leading role in the trade of south-eastern port cities such as Guangzhou and Quanzhou, a status retained and formalize under the Mongol Yuan* (Chen J. , 2016).

There were many reasons for Muslim integration during the Mongol dynasty such as it needed skilled persons and secondly before the invasion of China, Muslims had commercial ties with Mongols. These developments allowed the Muslims to play an active role in trade as well as in other areas such as administration. Although there were many issues and hurdles faced by the Muslims during this dynasty, the overall development paved the way for Muslim integration in China. The political status of Muslims was higher than other communities due to the preferential policies of the dynasty for Muslim traders and administrators. According to Michael Dillion, *Muslims had preferential treatment in the*

imperial examination, official appointments, punishment and possession of weapons and horses (Dillion, 1999).

This level of interaction and integration under the Yuan dynasty can be placed under the second category of nationalism mentioned by Miroslav Hroch. According to him, cultural and linguistic relations enable the members of an ethnic group to develop a high level of social communication in the group and even beyond the group. Before the Yuan dynasty, the Hui people shared some common memory with the local people as they settled in different parts of the country while under the Mongol, they became more integrated and adopted local culture and further developed their social interactions within-group and outside their ethnic group.

2.5 The Concept of Minzu and Muslim Identity in China

The word Minzu is used for National minority in China. This concept is one of the main reasons for the complex identity issues among Muslims in China. The Muslims associate themselves with religious identity while according to the state policy ethnicity is the main identity of all groups living across the country. This policy of national minority is mainly derived from the USSR where Stalin proposed four criteria for national minority, such as common territory, economic life, one language and common culture. On the contrary, the Chinese Muslims do not meet this criterion because it is their religion, not ethnicity which distinguishes them from other national minority while officially there is no such recognition as religious identity (Berlie J. A., 2003). Keeping in view these diverse approaches scholars questioned that the official Minzu policy is enough to define Hui Identity because Hui ancestors were Arabs. The Arabic language gradually vanished, and the Hui people adopted the Mandarin language which helped them to associate and integrate with a dominant Han population.

2.6 Chinese Perspective on National Minorities Integration

According to the official document of the People's Republic of China, there are fifty-six ethnic groups living in different parts of the country. Han is the major and dominant group while the other groups are called national minority groups. According to the census report, the Han people formed ninety-one percent of the population while the other fifty-five groups formed around nine percent of the total population (David, 1998). The Chinese state perspective on the minority groups is that they are an integral part of the society and historically they co-exist with the Han ethnic group. Sometime these ethnic groups mingled with the mainstream ethnic group while some time they lived in isolated areas where they mainly settled with other fellow group members. The national minority groups are living across the country like they are living in every province, autonomous regions and municipality. Now the majority of national minority people are living in the autonomous regions across China such as Xinjiang, Ningxia, Guizhou, Inner Mongolia, Guangxi, Qinghai, Tibet, and Gansu.

According to Chinese sources, in history, the first Centralized and united ethnic state was founded in 221 BC where the Qin dynasty today Yunnan province and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region were under the Qing government. Another ethnic integration policy was adopted during the Han dynasty where people of the western region came under the influence of Han power. The dynasty expanded its influence in the western region such as today's Gangues and Xinjiang province. These areas were dominated by diverse ethnic and cultural groups. By this expansion, the dynasty added seventeen prefectures with the central government comprising of different ethnic groups. These developments in interaction and communication further enabled the dynasty to expand its interaction with other regions. We can conclude that the Qin dynasty started the process of ethnic integration and the Han

dynasty further developed and consolidated these ethnic minority groups. Similarly, all dynasties followed policies of ethnic integration and consolidation of the Han dynasty..

The integration of ethnic minorities in China is evident from many historical events such as China was ruled by the Mongolian origin people know as the Yuan or Mongol dynasty which rules over China from 1279 to 1368. This dynasty further integrated the ethnic groups and facilitates them to play an active role in the administration and development of the dynasty. This dynasty particularly encouraged the Muslim ethnic group to play an active role in the political administration. According to Muhammad Ali Ketani, the Yuan dynast appointed Muslim governors in various provinces which show the diverse ethnic and cultural approach of the dynasty to integrate for ethnic integration. Different dynasties including the Yuan dynasty has established a system of center and local relationship to coordinate and run the political and administrative system. This system of governance allowed the local minority groups to play an active role in local administration (Yongnian, 2007). This style of governance distinguishes the Yuan dynasty from other dynasties where the majority of the ethnic groups were part of the government. The Qing dynasty also politically integrated the ethnic groups from Yunnan to Western regions such as Tibet and Xinjiang. Although there was some resistance from various groups in the Western region that were managed by the dynasty and various ethnic groups of the region were integrated. At the end of 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the Qing dynasty re-integrated all minority groups in the western region.

Various factors play a dominant role in the national integration process such as one culture, language, distribution of resources, etc while on the other hand; some coincidences may also play a significant role in integration process. In the early 20th century, Japan was an expansionist power and wanted to increase its influence in the region. With its expansionist

agenda, Japan occupied the North-Eastern part of China and gradually expanded its presence to other regions. This development proved to be a blessing for Chinese minority's integration where Minority groups such as Hui and other ethnic groups of Inner-Mongolian autonomous region played an active role in fighting against imperialist Japan. In this war of resistance against Japan, the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla forces from Inner Mongolia played a significant role to defeat the Japanese forces. Similarly, the Hui people across the country mobilized the people to denounce this occupation and fight for the defense of the country. In this regard, the religious leaders known as Ahongs in China played a vital role against the Japanese invasion. Locally they mobilized people to fight against the occupied forces while at external front they also played an active role to denounce this occupation. These Ahongs distributed literature and mobilized the fellow Muslims to protect the state and quoted the Hadith that the love for the country is part of faith.

2.7 China Ethnic Minority Policy Since 1949

Before the founding of the People's Republic of China, the central government of different dynasties adopted different policies for ethnic minority groups. Although there was harmony and understanding among ethnic groups, still the dynasties lacked comprehensive and unified policies which gradually changed after the establishment of the People's Republic of China. One explanation of these developments is that people are more identity conscious in the modern nation-state compare to the dynasty or empire system.

After 1949, the government announced and adopted more unified and comprehensive policies for minority groups to promote unity, equality and mutual respect. According to the constitution of the People's Republic of China: *"All ethnic groups in the People's Republic of China are equal. The state protects the lawful rights and interests of the ethnic minorities and upholds and develops a relationship of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all of*

China's ethnic groups. Discrimination against and oppression of any ethnic group are prohibited." It shows that the rights of minorities are constitutionally guaranteed and protected. The constitution further explains that all ethnic minority groups are allowed to enjoy their constitutional rights without any discrimination. There will be no discrimination based on religion, race, ethnic status and belief.

Based on the above-mentioned constitutional guarantees, the official point of view regarding ethnic minorities is stated that all the ethnic groups are free to live according to their value and culture and can enjoy all their rights mentioned in the constitution. Like the dominant Han population, all the ethnic groups are participating in the state administration and affairs at various levels from the center to local government. In the political structure of the People's Republic of China, National People Congress is the highest state power organ where all the ethnic groups have representatives. According to the Chinese electoral law, all ethnic groups have their representatives both at the local and at the center. Even an ethnic group which has less population than the prescribed criteria for a deputy or representative may choose one representative. Such legal procedure and development allow all the ethnic groups to represent their people and discuss all concerning issues at the highest state power organ responsible for policy making. This policy of accommodation has been adopted since the first meeting of the People National Congress in 1954 and continues till today.

Since 1954, the ethnic minority groups enjoyed more representation/seats compared to their population. The 13th National People Congress was elected in October 2017 for five years. The representatives of major ethnic groups were part of the elected members of National People Congress (NPC, 2018). It indicates the significance of ethnic minority groups in power share and legislation. Apart from the central legislation, they are also allowed to choose their representative in the local government. These facts and figures show

that all ethnic minority groups have a fair power share in state legislation. Besides National People Congress, these groups have representatives in all other state organs such as the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) and Standing Committee of the NPC. In the autonomous region and prefecture-level government, the ethnic minority's representatives are active participants in legislation, administration and state affairs.

After the constitutional guarantees, the government adopted various policies to accommodate and facilitate all the minority groups in the country. A survey was conducted in 1953 to find out and list all minority groups. In 1953, these groups were identified base on their wishes, past status, present status and some basic principle and regulations announced by the state. According to the official point of view, the conditions and rules for an ethnic group were identified irrespective of their population size, socio-economic developments and region. Based on these principles, the government identified thirty-eight ethnic groups by 1954. In 1965, another fifteen ethnic groups were identified as national ethnic minority groups. Similarly, in 1979, all fifty-five national minority ethnic groups were identified. Based on this criterion the government announced that any act or word which provokes hatred or ethnic discrimination against ethnic unity is regarded as illegal. In case of any discrimination, an ethnic group may complain to the local judicial institutions. Besides these local mechanisms and legal procedures, China also joined some international conventions such as the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. As a member of these international conventions, China is committed to following the rules and regulations mentioned in these conventions to promote unity and discourage ethnic discrimination at any level.

2.8 Ethnic Minorities and Religious Freedom in China

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was passed in 1948. According to this declaration, all individuals have the right to express their ideas and thought, can practice their religion and no one will be subject to coercion. Under article 18 of the declaration, all fundamental rights of individuals must be safeguarded. According to the convention, all member states must respect the liberty and religious freedom of their respective communities (Gilbert, 1997). Being a member of the international community and signatory of the UN charter, China is abided by international law to protect its citizen fundamental rights including freedom of thoughts and expressions and religious practices.

There are multiple religions practiced in China such as Islam, Christianity and Buddhism. Majority of ethnic minority groups holds religious belief like Muslims in Xinjiang, Gansu and other region practicing Islam while in Buddhism is the main practicing religion in the Tibet region. The constitution of the People's Republic of China provides guarantees of religious freedom and the government adopted various policies to follow and implement all the provisions of religious freedom in the constitution.

2.9 Ethnic Minorities Empowerment in China

Administratively, China is divided into various administrative units such as Provinces, Municipal level cities, autonomous regions, prefectures and Special Administrative Regions (SAR) such as Hong Kong. Keeping in view the diverse and multicultural nature of the society, the government adopted a special mechanism for governing the ethnic minority regions. These mechanisms include the empowerment of ethnic minorities from prefecture to province-level administration. This policy of regional autonomy for the ethnic minorities is a basic policy for governance adopted by the Chinese government to facilitate these groups in governing their respective areas.

The ethnic minority groups in China have been empowered at different administrative units. In some areas, autonomous regions are established where one ethnic group is concentrated such as Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region (XUAR) where the majority of Uighur people are living while other autonomous areas are established where two ethnic minority groups are concentrated such as Qinghai Province where two ethnic groups are living in a prefecture. Another type of Autonomous Regions where one ethnic minority group is concentrated at different places such as the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region where Hui Muslims are living in different parts of this autonomous region. This administrative structure allows the ethnic minority groups to play an active role in governing their respective region. In addition to the autonomous regions and prefectures, ethnic townships are established in those areas where ethnic minorities are living in very small numbers because these groups are scattered across the country.

In the year 2000, the Chinese government established five autonomous regions, around thirty autonomous prefectures and more than hundred counties for ethnic minority groups across the country. Besides this, the government also established more than a thousand townships in the Han-dominated areas to enable these groups to follow and live their lives according to their culture and traditions. Among these fifty-five groups, forty-four groups are living in the autonomous regions which formed 75 percent of the total ethnic minority population. There are various reasons for this administrative system and policy of regional autonomy. First, the country with vast land and historically administered by a centralized government, where people of the various regions established good relationship with the center. Secondly, except Xinjiang and Tibet, the majority of the population of ethnic minorities is scattered which compels the government to develop such mechanism of administrative divisions. Thirdly, with the beginning of the Opium war s1940, all ethnic groups faced up a common threat. They fought against the imperialist powers who wanted to

destabilize China. In the wake of the Japanese invasion of China, minority groups play an active role in national liberation. Minority groups, particularly the Hui mobilize people on a larger scale to fight against foreign aggression. So, these developments laid a solid social and political foundation for the establishment of united China where ethnic minority groups are enjoying regional autonomy and playing an active role in state administrative bodies both at the local and central level.

The policy of regional autonomy adopted by the government is a two-way process. On the one hand, it is in the national interest that all ethnic groups should live in harmony with each other while; on the other hand, it provides greater opportunities for the development and prosperity of ethnic minority regions where they can play an active role in the political activities and administration. This policy of regional autonomy ensures the rights of all ethnic minority groups while it is also equally important for the unification and integration of the society. This policy of regional autonomy has undergone a long period of practices. Mongolia Autonomous region was the first autonomous region founded in 1947 under the Communist Party while in 1949; the CPPCC defined the policy of regional autonomy and ethnic minority. In 1952, the government presented a program and arrangement for the implementation of regional autonomy and ethnic minorities. The constitution of China was adopted in 1954 which further defined the policy and clearly defined the political, cultural, economic and social rights of ethnic minority groups. After its establishment, the government granted autonomous status to four regions including Xinjiang 1955, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region 1958, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region 1958 and the Tibet Autonomous Region in 1965. This establishment of this self-government and regional autonomy mechanism is developed based on the people's congress system. This system allows the ethnic minority groups to elect their representative or deputies to play an active role in the People's Congress at different levels. In the autonomous regions, the

Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the People Congress should be the member of an ethnic group who will exercise his power to govern the concerned administrative unit. This administrative system of regional autonomy allows the member of ethnic minorities to perform other tasks as well such as legislation, develop and manage the local economy, train ethnic minority employees, educating and developing their culture and tradition. The autonomous region People's Congress can pass regulations in the light of local economic, political and cultural conditions. In some cases, the regional autonomous regions have the authority to change and bring some flexibility in regulations made by the central government to facilitate the local population such as according to the People Republic of China the legal age under the Marriage Law must not be under twenty-two while the five regional autonomous regions changed the age limits from twenty-two to twenty keeping in view their local culture and conditions.

The above-mentioned socio-economic, political, and legal mechanisms show the unique structure of governance of ethnic minority groups in China. Historically the inhabitants of these regions consisted of people of diverse cultural, ethnic and religious groups that coexisted with each other for centuries. Due to these historical developments, some ethnic groups became more assimilated with dominant national culture and tradition such as the Hui people changed their Arabic names, adopted the Mandarin language as their language of speaking and communication. Although some groups such as Hui ethnic group is more assimilated while some other groups such as Uighur are less integrated with mainland culture. This ethnic group wants to maintain its language, culture and tradition which they are practicing for centuries. Geographically both ethnic groups are living in the Western part of the country and also have some other common factors but having different approach toward the policy of assimilation and Sinicization.

2.10 Origin and Political Background of Uighur

The history and political background of the Uighur people are different from the Hui people up to a greater extent. Unlike the Hui people which have a diverse and complex identity, the Uighur people have a common culture, political background and identity which allow them to become more integrated and maintain cultural and ethnic solidarity. According to Kunal Mukherjee, *the Hui of Fujian have been much more relaxed about their Islamic identity and are traditionally loyal to the Chinese state, with there being no suggestion that they would want to secede from China. Against this, the Uyghur Muslims in the far north-west adhere fiercely to the traditional Islamic culture* (Mukherjee, 2010). A historical inquiry is required to understand this diverse and complex relationship of both groups with the state. Historically speaking these people initially settled in Western Mongolia and during the 9th century gradually settled in the North-Eastern part of Xinjiang. Apart from the Chinese sources, the Arab and Persian sources also recorded their history. For better understanding, analysis, and overview of the origin and evolution of Uighur identity is required which will further help in understanding Uighur nationalism.

2.10.1 Origin of the word Uighur

Great politicians will pass from the earth, and the strongest imperial states will collapse and disappear from a new generation's memory, but wisdom, civilization, and cultural heritage will continue to play a significant role among human beings as long as there is human history (Kamberi, 2005). Historically, different names were used for Uighur people in Chinese history and other sources such as Persian and Arab. The word Uighur (some time use as Uyghur, Uighur, and Uygur) is derived from the Turkish word Uyyur which has been used with various meanings in different periods of Chinese history. In the year around 400, the Chinese troops under the emperor Daowu launched a military campaign

westward and attacked the people of the Yuanhe tribe. This was the first introduction of Uighur people in Chinese history. During the Tang and Sui dynasties, these people were recognized as one group of the Tiele tribes (Turkish origin) and they used the Chinese word Weihe for this tribe. In the 10th century, the historian of the Tang dynasty (618-907) used the word huihe and recognizes these people as the Gaoche tribe (a tribe that belongs to the Turkic Tiele group of tribes). During this time, the Uighur people suggested using the name huigu instead of Huihe which means falcon. To transcribe the word Uighur, the Ming and Qing dynasties used the word Weiwuer. In the 17th century, the Uighur converted to Islam in great number and they were called the Hui people. To differentiate them from other Hui people the word Chan-Hui (people who wore turban) was used for them because they wore a turban. Finally, in 1934 the word Weiwuer was adopted as the official Chinese transcription for the word Uyyur (Tang, 2005). Since that time the word Weiwuer is used for these people. In the 1930s, when the Uighur people became the ruler of Xinjiang since that time, they are known as Uighur people.

2.10.2 Uighur under Different Dynasties

For better understanding and analysis, it is important to divide Uighur history into different periods and one approach may be to study and analyze Uighur history and socio-political development under different dynasties. The origin of Uighur people dates to the 8th century when they settled around the Orkhon river valley, the Central part of Modern Mongolia. According to Chinese sources, there were nine tribes bounded by blood relation which were usually called oyuz in the Turkic language meaning nine tribes grouping. Apart from this, the Uighur people were also allied with the other eight tribes due to political and military interests. This cooperation with other tribes such as Karluk and Basmil clans allowed them to become politically and militarily more powerful. To achieve their interest, they also cooperated with the Tang dynasty and paid tribute to the Tang court (Edwin 1956). In the

mid-eighth century, the Uighur kingdom was established which lasted for almost one century (744-840). After the establishment of their khanate, the lifestyle of these nomadic people gradually changed, and they focused on agriculture and trade with China which became the main sources of their economy. These developments led both sides to dependent on each other for military support and economic relation because Tang needed military support in the case of An Lushan rebellion while Uighur wants to strengthen the economy. To further strengthen the relation, Tang princesses were married to Uighur khaghans. This was a gesture of alliance and cooperation during An-Lushan rebellion (Li T. , 2005).

This powerful empire was attacked and destroyed by the Kirghizs in 840. As a result of this destructive event, the Uighur people scattered and moved westward. These scattered tribes elected their leader called Totoq which has a prestigious position in the tribe (Fu-Hsüeh, On the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom, 1994). According to Jean A. Berlie, from the 9th to 13th century these people traveled westward abandon their old belief system and culture, and became Muslim (Berlie J. , 2004). Before Islamization, they participated in caravan trade with Central Asia along with China's Western borderland. The geo-strategic and geo-economic significance of this area allowed the Chinese empire to play an active role in the region along the Silk Road. Emperor Xuan Di troops consolidated around thirty principalities along Tianshan Mountains then Gaochang Prefecture was established and later under the Tang dynasty (618-907) Khotan prefecture was established.

2.10.3 The Islamization of Uighur people

The area of Uighur people is situated in such a strategic place which remained the main trade route historically known as Silk Road. The Silk Road played a very significant role in enhancing trade among different regions while at the same time it became a source of interaction among different cultures and religions. Robert C Foltz discussed in detail the role

of this route in enhancing trade and culture exchange in his book, *Religions of the Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Exchange from Antiquity to the fifteen Century*. Another scholar, Christopher I. Beckwith discussed the political aspects of this historical trade route. In his book title, *Empire of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present*, he gives a detailed view of the different empire's role and significance for the region. With this historical background, the Uighur people adopted various religions before the process of Islamization started around the 10th century. According to Li Tang, the archaeological evidence shows that Buddhism was a popular religion among Turkic tribes before the Uighur Empire in the 8th century. According to some Chinese sources, these people abandoned Manichaeism and adopted Buddhism. Before the arrival of Uighur, the Turfan area was dominated by Buddhism so after the migration of Uighur in greater number they adopted Buddhism and replaced it with Manichaeism (Tang, 2005).

Historically speaking, the Uighur people were living outside the boundaries of mainland China. We can trace back their history from the tenth century to the thirteenth century when they marched from Mongolia to the West where they abandoned their local customs and religion and converted to Islam which gives them a new identity. Before their conversion to Islam, this area (present-day Xinjiang) came under the control of the Tang dynasty (618-907) between 630-640 the Tang army capture cities like Turfan, Kashgar, Khotan and Yarkand and further marched toward Samarkand and Bukhara in 659 (Debata, 2007). However, the Tang army was not able to sustain its presence in the region as the Arab army marched toward Central Asia. In the battle of Talas which is occurred in 751, the Arab army defeated the Tang army and thus established its footprint in the region. This era is called the beginning of Muslim presence in the region. With the downfall of the Tang dynasty, the various Turkic groups who migrated from Mongolia established their independent kingdom. Satuq Boghra Khan, the ruler of Kharakhanids was first among khans

who converted to Islam in 960. This era marks the beginning of the history of Uighur Muslims in China.

According to Arab and Persian sources, Bughra khan was the first ruler among the Turkic tribe who converted to Islam. He was died at the age of ninety-six, converted infidels and establish Islamic law (Shaw, 1887). This process of Islamization of the region further enhanced when the Arabs defeated the Chinese army in the battle of Talas and greatly increased their influence in Central Asia. As a result of this battle, the Muslims contained further Chinese expansion toward Central Asia (Putz, 2016). Even before these two major developments (battle of Talas and Karakhanid conversion), the Muslim preacher already started preaching Islam in the region. According to various sources and oral traditions, from nine to the tenth century Islam expanded through Karakhanid kingdom and to the rest of East Turkistan. The conquest of Khotan at the beginning of the 11th century further increased the role and influence of Muslims in the region. These developments led to the Turkicization of Xinjiang and Uighur Islamic culture. New Turkic culture and literature were produced which greatly helped to organized and unite the Uighur people. Many prominent legends mainly contributed to the field of literature such as Mahmud Kasghari and Yusef of Balasaghun (1018-1069). According to Rober Dankoff, these people developed Turkic literature with some distinctive elements such as mastery of the language, wisdom and pride in local Customs, traditions and legends (Dankoff, 1992). These socio-political developments can be put under the second phase of nationalism mentioned by Miroslav Hroch in his theory of nationalism. According to him, the cultural and linguistic relations enable the people to develop a high level of social communication in the group and even beyond the group which led to unity and integration.

2.10.4 Uighur Under Yuan (Mongol) dynasty

In the year 1279 Mongol marched eastward and established its rule in China which remained till 1368. The Mongol dynasty is distinguishing from other dynasties such Han, Tang and Song dynasties because Mongols were the first foreign people who ruled over China. Due to this distinguishing feature, it had a deep-rooted impact on the Socio-political and administrative structure of the region. Suspected of the locals, they hired foreigners especially Muslims to run the political and administrative affairs of the empire. Although, they were following Shamanism, still during this era many Mongol converted to Islam (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020). Before the invasion of China, the Muslim traders and craftsmen traveled to Mongolia and China from Central Asia. These interactions allowed the Muslims to play a greater role in the Yuan dynasty administration and played the role of mediator between the locals and Mongols (Rossabi, 2015). During the Yuan dynasty a large number of Muslims influxes to various regions such as Gansu province. During these interaction a Mongol prince Ananda converted to Islam. According to George Ernest Morrison, *The Muslims were ranked above the Chinese, second in status only to the Mongol overlords themselves. Muslims became shiboshi (trade commissioners in the ports), and they were also allowed to be darughaci (local governor), a post theoretically denied to Chinese* (Morrison 1998).

The Ming dynasty is considered an era of Muslim integration with local culture and society. There are various reasons such as Muslims helped Ming to defeat Mongols. There were many influential Muslims in the Ming administration and military such as Ma Zheng he a naval admiral who explore different regions and establish diplomatic relations from East Asia to the Middle East. Due to this integration process, the term used Chinese Muslim instead of Muslim in China. After the Ming dynasty fall in 1644, Qing came into power. There were some domestic as well as international factors that change the overall societal

structure and badly affected the unity of the empire. These developments can be summarized and conceptualize in Miroslav Hroch's theory of nationalism. According to this theory, the common memory of people led to unity and integration so many common points led these diverse groups to live together. Another point he mentioned that when these groups act as a civil society, feel equality and work together. These attributes help the diverse groups to form a nation. During the Ming Muslims greatly integrated into Han dominant society where they were feeling equality and integration. At the end of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of the Qing dynasty, the local dynamic changed due to some external factors such as the rise of nationalism. This wave of nationalism across the world changed the political dynamics of societies where China was not an exception.

2.11 Conclusion

The historical background of Hui and Uighur people show that both groups have a diverse socio-cultural, political and economic background. Different scholars and experts on Chinese ethnic groups have discussed the diverse historical background of these groups which have a deep impact on their thinking, way of life and integration and sinicization. Based on their history and culture, the government has divided Chinese Muslims into ten different ethnic groups. Whatever, the definition of ethnicity is but socially, culturally and historically it shaped and influenced the socio-cultural and political system of China, therefore, we cannot ignore the role and contribution of ethnicity factor in the political history of China. The historical background and analysis help explain the diverse approaches of both groups toward integration. The political history of the Uighur people is quite different from Hui such as the Uighur people have enjoyed independence and autonomy since the 8th century. The origin of Uighur people dates to the 8th century when they settled around Orkhon river valley, the Central part of Modern Mongolia. According to Chinese sources, there were nine tribes bounded by blood relation which were usually called oyuz in the

Turkic language meaning nine tribes grouping. Before the Qing invasion of Xinjiang, the Xinjiang region dominated by the Uighur people remained outside the rule of different Chinese dynasties. This sense of autonomy and independence resulted in the establishment of an independent East Turkistan Islamic Republic twice in the first half of the 20th century. These historical developments show the nature and sensitivity of Uighur issues for Chinese officials who blame different groups for separatism and inciting terrorism in the region. On the other hand, the history of the Hui people since the beginning of their arrival in the 7th century and settlement in different urban areas remained well integrated with local culture and society. After the initial settlement, they became more integrated during the Ming dynasty when they adopted local language and names in the 14th century. This historical shift allowed them to become more integrated with the local culture. Many scholars argue that the process of Hui sinicization started during the Ming dynasty which had a long-lasting impact on their integration and sinicization in the coming centuries.

Chapter 3

Hui and Uighur Approaches toward Nationalism

According to the Oxford dictionary, nationalism is the desire by a group of people who share the same race, culture, language, etc. to form an independent country (Oxford dictionary). Nationalism since its emergence changed the dynamics of world politics for the last three centuries. In China, there were some internal as well as external factors that promoted nationalism among Muslims. Two main factors shape or reshape the policy and political system of any country or region. Sometimes internal factors play a dominant role while some times external factors remain dominant in the political history of the world. Similarly, the emergence of nationalism in the late 18th century challenged the orthodox monarchy system in the different parts of the world where China was not an exception. A historical analysis and inquiry of nationalism will help in understanding and analyzing of Muslim approach toward nationalism in China.

3.1 The Emergence of Nationalism

Nationalism is a three-century-old phenomenon that transformed the world political system due to various reasons such as an absolute and centralized rule, the declining role of religion in Europe and enhancement of trade. Modern nationalism is a new phenomenon and scholars of nationalism having a different view on the emergence of nationalism like Walker Connor argue that it is a 19th-century phenomenon while others argue that the French and American Revolution are the manifestations of nationalism. Whatever the exact origin of nationalism is but all scholars agree that nationalism is the greatest determinant of public and private life in modern political history. This movement initially started in Europe and spread to the rest of the world, according to Hans Kohn, *at the beginning of the 20th century, nationalism flowered in Asia and Africa. Thus, the 19th century has been called the age of*

nationalism in Europe, while the 20th century witnessed the rise and struggle of powerful national movements throughout Asia and Africa (Kohn, 2019). Before the emergence of nationalism loyalty was not given to the state rather to the political organizations such as feudal lords and religious groups. This point is very important in the context of the Muslim approach toward nationalism in China because during the dynastic period they coexisted with other communities. One of the main reasons for this peaceful co-existence up to a greater extent was the political system where people were living independently and paid tribute to the emperor. As mentioned in the last chapter that although initially Uighurs established their first kingdom in 745 in modern-day central Mongolia, still they paid tribute to the Tang dynasty (Fu-Hsüeh, 1994).

Muslim nationalism in China can be categorized into two main categories due to geographical and other socio-political and economic reasons. This will help in understanding the diverse approach of dominant ethnic Muslim groups toward nationalism. According to Miroslav Hroch, generally, minority groups lack three important traits as they do not have their ruling class, secondly, their social structure is not compatible with region social development and lastly, they do not have their literary language (Hroch, 1995). In the context of Muslim nationalism in China, these traits can be found in Hui ethnic group up to a greater extent while the Uighur people struggling to maintain some of these traits. In the process of integration, the Hui people lost these traits particularly when they abandon their Muslim names and Arabic and Persian language during the Ming dynasty. On the other hand, the Uighur people at least maintain their literary language and following their customs and traditions. This may be one of the main reasons that nationalist and separatist tendencies are common among Uighur people as compared to the Hui people. Over time, some activist plays an active role to bring awareness among member and wants to be a nation. This group

awareness and activism explain the two historical events which promoted nationalism and a sense of nationhood among Hui people in the 19th century.

3.2 The Rise of Ethno-Religious Nationalism in China in the 19th century

Generally speaking, the terms ethnic nationalism and separatism are more associated with Uighur people unlike the Hui people but the Hui people also struggle and resist the central government authority. Historical events show that the Hui also struggled for sovereign independent during Manchu ruler in Yunnan province. The Panthay rebellion in Western part of China was part of this wave of uprising. These two historical events are known as the Panthay rebellion (Yunnan) and Dungan Revolt (Western China). as discussed in the last chapter that the Hui people are more integrated with the state and adopted the dominant Han culture but at the same time the 19th century remained a period of trouble and turmoil in China where Hui ethnic groups started arm resistance against the Qing dynasty. To conceptualize these developments, it will be helpful to investigate this issue in a broader context mean beyond the borders of China. The 19th century witnessed a great transformation in the political system around the world. This transformation changed the world political system from monarch and dynasty system to modern nation-state system. Beginning in Europe, nationalism spread across continents in the 19th and 20th centuries. The 19th-century wave of nationalism had a great impact on the Hui nationalism while the 20th-century wave had a greater influence on Uighur nationalism. One of the main factors for rising nationalism was the declining role of the monarchy, centralized governments and dynasty system.

3.3 The Panthay Rebellion and Establishment of the Dali kingdom

The history of Muslim in Yunnan date back to the time of Tang and Song dynasty where Muslim trader used the Sothern Silk Road through Indian Ocean. The role and influence of Muslims greatly increase during Yuan Dynasty when Kublai khan integrated

China with his empire. Muslims worked as soldiers and joined the administration which allows them to become more trustworthy than local people. One of the prominent Muslim administrators Sayyid 'Ajall Shams al-Din from Bukhara worked as governor of Yunnan for five years (Israeli, 2002).

With such historical background, Muslims in Yunnan were able to fully integrate with local people and establish a network of trade. This active involvement in trade allowed them to become propitious. This active involvement in trade and other affairs was one of the main reasons for ethnic conflict between Hui and Han in the early 1850s. The Han militias attacked Hui mines and killed several hundred Hui Muslims. This event shows the economic and ethnic dimensions of the conflict (Atwill, 2004). According to Miroslav Hroch, ethnicity plays a dominant role in uniting people and provides a base for nationalism. Ethnicity and other factors played an important in Panthay Rebellion. On one hand, it was the economic interest because Hui people were controlling mining while on the other hand; the ethnic factor makes the situation from bad to worst. The Han militia targeted villages of Hui people and killed thousands of people.

In this anarchy, Ma Rulong, a prominent Hui Muslim who was directly the victim of this turmoil situation organized other people to defend their economic interest. Although they were able to organize and unite people for their protection but failed to counter and stop the Han militia from killing the Hui people, thus the situation turned from bad to worst. In 1862, Ma Rulong surrendered to Qing forces but again in 1863 reoccupied Kunming which altered the officials and they realized that this conflict is not just the Hui Han conflict and it may have far greater consequences. For the Qing dynasty, Ma Rulong seems to be the most active leader of rebellion but the most active, ideological and military leader was Du Wenxiu.

Du Wenxiu played an important role in uniting and mobilizing people for the establishment of the Dali Sultanate. He established an independent Dali Sultanate in Western Yunnan and proved himself a leader of Muslims. He ruled for many years and administered the diverse ethnic and religious state. According to Miroslav Hroch, this is the third stage of nationalism where the member feels equality and acts as a civil society. His theory helps to analyze such complex political development. According to his theory of nationalism, first, the member of society have common memory such as the people of Yunnan had a common memory of interaction and living together for a long time, secondly, the linguistic relation increase the level of interaction and communication like the Muslims of Yunnan had a great interaction and communication will people living in the region and thirdly the member feels equality and works as a civil society. That is why all other ethnic groups were accommodated by Dali Sultanate. During the 19th century, such kinds of events and uprising took place across the different regions of the world. Within China, many political uprisings took place during this turmoil period, but the most organized uprising was the Panthay rebellion which resulted in the establishment of an independent state. Du Wenxiu and his fellow officials were able to establish and develop effective and popular governments that attract the support of all ethnic groups. This wave of uprising not stopped at Yunnan and spread to the rest of the region particularly to Western China where it resulted in destruction and took the lives of thousands of people.

3.4 The Dungan Rebellion and Muslim Uprising in Western China

In the last chapter, a detailed overview of Hui conversion, settlement and integration with local culture and society is discussed. This historical background shows that these people have diverse cultural, political and economic history compare to Uighur people. Hui people were initially known as fanke and their resident areas were called fan fang where fan

mean foreigners. The Muslims were also called Dashi means Arab Muslim and Buosi mean Persian Muslims. These terms were mainly associated with the spiritual and religious identity of Muslims. According to Rohan Gunaratna, the author of the book, *Ethnic Identity and National Conflict in China*, a large number of Muslim influx of Persian, Mongol, Arab and Turkic origin during the Yuan dynasty especially after the fall of Baghdad. Tradesmen, officials, scholars, artisan and religious leaders in great numbers settled in all parts of China. The Majority of scholars are of the view that the Yuan dynasty helped the greater integration of Muslims and allowed them to enjoy a status of the second citizen after Mongol mean more priority in administration and political affairs was given to Muslims compare to the local people. During the Yuan dynasty, the term Dashi was replaced with Hui or huihui that had a great impact on Chinese Muslims. According to Rohan Gunaratna, *The abandonment of the term Dashi and the use of the new term Hui weakened Chinese Muslim's relationship with and spiritual dependence on the Islamic world outside of China* (Pengxin, 2010). This movement was critical in the history of Chinese Muslims particularly the Hui, where they enjoyed political and administrative power while at the same period they lost their spiritual and religious identity. These arguments are very instrumental in explaining the Hui Muslim approach toward nationalism. As mentioned in the Panthay rebellion that although the Muslims established an independent Dali Sultanate but broadly speaking their main objectives were good governance and peace and stability, unlike the Uighur people who have a territorial claim. Anyhow the 19th-century wave of nationalism reached from southern China to northwest China where uprisings took place in Gansu, Shanxi and Ningxia.

3.4.1 The Beginning of Dungan Rebellion and Hui Nationalism

The trouble and turmoil spread to different parts of the Qing Dynasty in the middle of the 19th century. After Yunnan, a massive uprising and arm resistance started in western China. Initially, the Taiping uprising and rebellion seriously challenge the rule of Qing

dynasty that led to political instability and arm conflict. During this era, the Dungan rebellion started which exacerbated the prevailing political and security situation in the region. Due to some demographic and economic pressure, the Taiping rebellion expanded to more than ten provinces (Michael, 1976). These developments show the Taiping uprising led to other uprising and resistance movements against the ruling dynasty. These two events were interconnected because one of the main reasons for the Hui uprising was the Taiping rebellion. In response, the government started a campaign to counter the rebellion which resulted in the killing of a large number of people, particularly in the western region. The Hui uprising and arm resistance started at a large scale in the different regions of Western China such as Gansu, Ningxia and Shaanxi. Comparatively speaking the situation become worst in Western China due to its geographical location and large-scale uprising where thousands of Hui people lost their lives while others were forced to migrate to the other provinces (Ouksel, 1985).

3.5 Ethno-Religious Nationalism in Xinjiang in 19th century

Xinjiang remained a geostrategic area in history from the Han dynasty to the Qing dynasty which was ruled by different rulers. This area is also called East Turkestan and Chinese Turkistan. Historically speaking this area was first included in China during the Han dynasty but due to some geographical and other reasons the area remained less important for different dynasties. During the Qing dynasty, the region was again incorporated officially and the indirect rule was abolished. The dynasty also brought some structural and institutional reforms which changed the demographic structure of the region. As a result of these reforms, the Han migration was encouraged to make Xinjiang an integral and indivisible part of the Qing dynasty. The Qing maintained its firm grip in the region but the wave of nationalism in middle of 19th century again changed the dynamic of politics in the region

The 19th-century wave of nationalism and uprising engulfed the majority of the regions of the Qing dynasty and ultimately the dynasty lost its control over different regions. The Muslim nationalism and uprising from Yunnan (Dali Sultanate) spread to western China Shaanxi, Gansu and Ningxia provinces and ultimately to Xinjiang region where Yaqub beg initiated a war against the Qing. As a result of this uprising and arm resistance, the Qing dynasty lost its control over Xinjiang and an independent Muslim state was established which lasted from 1864 to 1877. The establishment of this independent state had many consequences in the political history of Xinxiang. As mentioned in the historical background chapter that the Uighur people have a history of independent rule and separate ethnic and religious identity. From the first Uighur kingdom in the 8th century to different independent states; they enjoyed freedom which resulted in separate political and ethnic identity. Over a long period, they remained under different Chinese dynasties so the 19th-century uprising allowed them to rethink and unite for an independent state. Different scholar are of the view that Xinjiang uprising have significant impact on regional politics such as Hodong Kim aargue that, *in spite of the many catastrophic results that came in the wake of the rebellion and the Qing re-conquest, East Turkistan's decade of independence from China caused the local people to reflect anew on their self-identity* (Kim, 2004). There were various factors which contributed to these uprising in different region and particularly to Xinjiang uprising.

3.5.1 Background of Xinjiang Uprising

Historical background and analysis of Chinese presence in East Turkestan and Central Asia will help to understand and analyze the political system and developments of Xinjiang during 19th-century wave of nationalism and even will help in understanding the current situation in the region. Historically, the Chinese first time expanded their empire to Central Asia during the Han dynasty. Due to the internal political instability and war, the dynasty did not expand its political power up to a greater extent in the region. It was during the Tang

dynasty that it established political and economic power and further expanded its role and influence to the different region of Central Asia such as the current day Ferghana valley and Uzbekistan. The Arabs under the Abbasid Caliphate expanded their power eastward which resulted in the direct clash between the Arab and Chinese empires. In 751, the Arab defeated Tang forces in the battle of Talas (present-day Kirghizstan) which contained the imperial ambitions in Central Asia. This was the first and last war fought between Arab and Chinese empire. After this first clash, the Chinese never expanded its power beyond the boundaries of Xinjiang region (Irfan, 2014).

Muslim uprising in Xinjiang started from Kucha where they resisted against Qing dynasty forces. Due to its strategic location on Silk Road, the city remained an important link between China and Central Asia. In the year 1864, Muslims started a rebellion against Qing which resulted in the establishment of a Muslim independent state for a short period of time in Xinjiang. The initial success of Muslims against Qing forces and the capture of the Manchu fort in Kucha enabled them to get more support from surrounding areas. After Kucha, Urumqi became the center of revolt just after three weeks of Kucha uprising. The arm resistance not stopped there and spread to the southern parts where Yarkand became the next battlefield. According to various sources such as British and Russian embassies officials who visited the area said that there are many reasons for this revolt but the main reasons were the treatment of the locals by Qing forces. The worst situation in other provinces such as Gansu and Ningxia made them fearful of the same situation in Xinjiang so they started killing Tungan soldiers (Kim, 2004). The Yarkand revolt was followed by the Kashgar revolt which took place just after three days. A similar argument is presented for the Kashgar revolt where the city governor sends a secret letter to kill Tungans which provokes rebellion in Kashgar. After Kashgar, the revolt expanded and Khotan and other parts of the region. The Qing forces responded with immense power by sending thousands of Manchu and Mongol soldiers to

counter these rebellions but initially, they were not able to defeat the rebellion. The nature of these uprisings and revolt shows that these events took place in different regions of Xinjiang where different people lead the revolt such as Rashidin Khwaja took control of Turfan but failed to unify Muslim power in other regions such as Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan. It was Yaqub Beg who came to Kashgar in the year 1865 and unified Muslim power for the establishment of an independent Muslim state.

3.5.2 Yaqub Beg and the Establishment of Muslim Independent State

After more than one year of the uprising Yaqub Beg came to Kashgar where he greatly influences the Muslim uprising and quickly got the title of the holy warrior. Initially, he increased his influence with his followers in the Sothern part of Xinjiang while till 1870 he was able to take control of Urumqi. Thus he firmly established his rule from North to South by unifying different scattered regions under Muslim control. The Muslims across Xinjiang appreciated and felt proud for the establishment of an Islamic state after the miserable situation during Manchu rule. Apart from these domestic factors, some external factors were involved such as this event closely monitored by the British and Russian due to their interest in Central Asia. Such development shows that the Yaqub Beg was able to win the support of the British and Russian but due to rivals in the region he was not able to sustain his rule. After the establishment of an independent state, Yaqub Beg re-organized his army, established a local governing system by introducing an administrative structure (Broomhall, 1910). He introduced a justice system where Qadi was responsible for investigation and judgment based on Islamic Law while muftis were allowed to issue a legal opinion. Rai was responsible for the monitoring of cities and streets to bring discipline. He brought reforms in police and army and appointed senior justice, police chief and military judge in bigger units in all provinces (Boulger, 2015). All provinces were divided into small towns having a head and magistrate. Similarly, he re-organized his army and divided it into five divisions. His

effective military strategies from recruitment and salaries to deployment helped in defeating Qing forces and the establishment of an independent state spread on a vast land.

After the devastating war, many cities turned into ruin which ultimately resulted in an economic crisis. Thousands of people were killed by forces of different groups. In such a condition, Yaqub Beg focused on the economy of the region to support his forty thousand soldiers. To overcome these issues and brought many Tungan and Chinese from Urumqi. These were artisan and skilled people who helped in producing military equipment. By mobilizing skilled labor, artisan, craftsmen and mining workers, he was able to restore the economy and bring peace and stability to the newly established state. On the request of Yaqub Beg in the year 1873, the sultan in Istanbul accepted East Turkestan as his protectorate. This development gives it international recognition and legitimacy. Apart from these economic and political reforms, some socio-religious drastic reforms were made and banned some practices which were very common during Qing rule such as drink publically. Yaqub Beg did not assume the title of khan and one of the main reasons was that he wanted to be known as Ghazi, not a power usurper. He wanted to be known as the custodian of Islam therefore he built mosques and provide funding for religious institutions.

3.5.3 The Fall of Yaqub Beg Regime

The Qing forces were able to counter rebellions in some regions because these rebellions were widespread so it took a long time to counter them. In 1867 Zongtong arrived in Western China to suppress Muslim rebellion and it took around eight-year to recover Gansu and Shaanxi. After the successful operations in these areas, the Qing forces moved to Xinjiang where they first attacked Urumqi. Although Yaqub Beg mobilized his army in great number and moved to Aksu but failed to counter and defend his state. In 1877, Yaqub Beg died which resulted in the fall of the Muslim state in Xinjiang. There were many reasons for

this defeat like some argue that due to his poor military strategies he lost to Qing forces while another view is that the Qing forces were well equipped and also greater in number which Muslims could not resist. Whatsoever the reasons, Muslim lost their independent state and the Qing dynasty further established its footprint in the region.

3.6 19th Century Nationalism and its Impact on Chinese Muslim

The 19th-century political developments have great impact on the political system of the world where China was not an exception. These events and political development shaped and reshaped the dynamics of local, regional and international politics. Historically speaking, Muslims in Xinjiang and adjacent areas lived independently mean they established their kingdom and khanate. The 19th-century uprising and arm resistance which were initially resulted in the establishment of an independent state encourage the Muslim population. This ethno religious nationalism allowed Yaqub Beg to organize and mobilize people in great numbers. These developments and ethno religious nationalism can be best described through Miroslav Hroch's theory of nationalism. According to him, the member of society feels equality which enabled them to struggle for same destiny. The struggle for the same destiny allowed Muslims from different parts of the region to form an independent state. The initial struggle was started by Yaqub Beg from Kashgar and expanded to Khotan and ultimately to the Northern part of Xinjiang where Urumqi came under the control of a Muslim. Some scholars are of the view that state was sustained just for a decade and a half due to many domestic factors but at the same time, it has an everlasting impact on the future political developments and Muslim struggle for an independent state. The Qing forces were able to counter the widespread rebellion across China but at the same time, its political and military power was greatly weakened by these rebellions.

The Muslim uprising in different parts of the country such as Yunnan, Gansu, Shaanxi, Ningxia and Xinjiang had a different impact on these regions due to various geographical location, local culture and ethnic factors. The political environment and domestic factors allowed the Hui people to cooperate and coordinate with other ethnic groups for the establishment of an independent state. The geographical factor, close cooperation among different groups, common memory and military power help in the establishment of the Dali Sultanate where all members were equally treated. The Gansu and Ningxia uprising was different from both Yunnan and Xinjiang where the uprising was suppressed by Qing forces. One of the main reasons was the un-organized and dispersed uprising without a strong and central leader. Another reason was the geographical location which allowed the Qing forces to easily counter and suppress the uprising. Unlike the Uighur people, the Hui people adopted different approaches to resist against Qing forces. Some people joined these uprising while other surrendered or joined the Qing forces. These three elements made these uprisings different from the other two regions where Muslims established their independent state. Other factors such as mentioned by Hroch like common memory, group feeling, common history, and language are the main factors in uniting and creating a sense of one nation. By comparatively analyzing these factors we can conclude that the above-mentioned common factors described by Hroch were more prominent in Yunnan and Xinjiang which ultimately resulted in the establishment of independent states, unlike Shaanxi, Gansu and Ningxia provinces which lacked these factors.

The first wave of nationalism in the 19th century mainly changed the political dynamics in Europe while it spread to Asia in the 20th century. Scholars of nationalism are agreed that nationalism mainly changed the political system of Asia in the 20th century. Still, the 19th-century developments have direct and indirect influence on the political development in Asia. Nationalism on one side integrated diverse ethnic, cultural, and religious groups

while on the other hand, it created a sense of independence among different ethnic cultural and religious groups. At the beginning of the 20th century, and the rise of nationalism have a great impact on China's political system. The dynastic system lost its legitimacy and the Republic of China was established in 1911. These developments have a direct and indirect influence on Muslim nationalism, particularly in Western China Xinjiang province.

3.7 This Rise of Nationalism in the 20th Century in Asia and Its Impact on China

National integration is the primary concern of all states, particularly the larger and heterogeneous ones. According to Christine Drake, *almost every country faces the challenge of binding its various regions and diverse people into a well-functioning, interdependent whole* (Drake, 1995). According to Anthony D. Smith, a leading scholar on nationalism, it is a socio-political movement that attains self-government through a social group based on sovereignty. After the independence, the state may use several mechanisms for national integration like a slogan by the member of a nation that we are Russian or we are proud American, etc. The second technique is using political and economic stability as a tool of national integration and the third post-independent movement is based on ethnicity which is used for national integration and strategic decisions (Smith A. , 1969). These ideas are still relevant in understanding nationalism. In the second point, Smith explained national integration through economic and political stability. This point is more relevant in the context of the current China national integration policy where economic development is used as a tool of national integration, particularly in ethnic minority regions.

It will be helpful to discuss and analyze the rise of ethno religious nationalism particularly among Muslims in the broader context of nationalism in Asia. According to Smith, the ideological movement of nationalism is reached to every periphery of the world.

Almost every nation's politics and public-private life is greatly influenced by this phenomenon (Smith A. D., 1990).

3.7.1 Rise of Nationalism and End of Dynasty System in China

The 19th century was a period of trouble in turmoil for the Chinese. The local uprising and colonial expansion and occupation of port cities weakened the Qing dynasty. Followed by these factors nationalism helped to abolish the dynastic system which was practiced for more than two thousand years. After the fall of the Qing dynasty, Sun Yat-sin emerged as the new leader of China and played an active role in the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911, thus China's political system was changed from Dynasty to the Republic. As a prerequisite of the modern nation-state, Sun Yat-sen announced to accommodate all ethnic groups in the newly established political system.

3.8 Muslim Nationalism in the Republican Era

The revolutionaries forces under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen formed an organization called Alliance Society which is also known as Kuomintang or Nationalist Party which played an active role in the overthrow of the Qing dynasty. The organization introduce four main slogans such as the establishment of a Republic, drive out Manchu (in China the Manchu people who formed the Qing dynasty are considered as foreigners), land ownership and China for the Chinese (Dreyer j. , 2016). The establishment of Republic of China changed the dynamics of local politics. The founding father urged for the establishment of a democratic system where all ethnic and religious groups will be treated equally

In the modern state system, cultural and ethnic minorities want to maintain and strengthen their identity by adopting various approaches. These approaches may be the attainment of greater autonomy such as the autonomy granted by China to some provinces and greater autonomy in Iraq for the Kurdish dominant area. Another approach may the

secession and establishment of independent states such as the struggle of Uighur ethnic group in Western China Xinjiang provinces and the Sikh movement for Khalistan independent state in India. This challenge of the secession is faced by multiple countries across the globe such as China, India, Indonesia, Spain and even the United Kingdom is facing a problem of secession (Birch, 1989).

The secession attempt may be possible if the minority group is territorially concentrated. This argument helps explain the 19th centuries uprising where Muslims established independent states in Yunnan and Xinjiang due to the territorial concentration. This territorial concentration helped them in uniting and organizing the people to fight for self-determination unlike the Hui people of Western China who were scattered in four different provinces. Here a few questions may explain the movement of self-determination such as why people opt for the self-determination movement? What are the factors which lead to these movements? And how the government policies can protect its territorial integrity? These questions and concerns are equally important for all states particularly those which are facing the self-determination movements. These movements have many grievances for the justification of independent states such as economic, political and social exploitation and violation of their rights. In the People's Republic of China, the Ethnic Uighur Muslims have all these grievances which unite the local people for self-determination movement. In modern Chinese history, such a movement started at the beginning of the Republican era where Muslims of East Turkistan established the independent East Turkistan Republic. The political developments of the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th in Xinjiang are vital in explaining the post-1949 political development. As inspired by the movement of nationalism, many movements of self-determination achieved their independent states in Asia. Broadly speaking the establishment of the first and second East Turkistan Republic is the outcome of such movements.

3.9 The Establishment of first East Turkistan Islamic Republic 1931-1934

Uprising, revolt and political instability are very common in northwest China throughout the history. The rise of nationalism and ethno religious identity played a vital role in shaping the political environment in Xinjiang in the post-Republic era. Not long ago the establishment of Yaqub Beg's Islamic government already developed a sense of Turkic-Muslim identity among the people of Xinjiang. After the death of Yaqub Beg, the Qing government adopted very strict policies to quell any future rebellion and integrate the local population. Even they adopted more harsh policies in Gansu, Shaanxi and Ningxia where they killed a large number of Muslims during the Dungan rebellion while thousands were the victim of forced migration. Such events had many consequences such as the local people realized particularly in Xinjiang province that they can establish an independent state and even can resist the strong Qing forces. The more important factor was the political awareness and ethno-religious identity which further integrated all communities in the region. These major developments had a strong influence on the political development of the 1930s where the first Islamic independent state was established.

The political environment of Xinjiang in the post-Republican era and its historical background shows that all the main factors required for the establishment of an independent state were available on the ground. The Muslims of Xinjiang utilized all those factors mentioned by Miroslav Hroch in his theory of nationalism such as common memory, language, culture and feeling of equality among group members for the establishment of an independent state. Anthony D. Smith's point of territorial centralization also played an important role. By utilizing the above-mentioned factors, the Uighur people established the first Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan. The establishment of the Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan was the most important event in the political history of Xinjiang Muslims.

Although the sentiment of nationalism and ethnic identity were already inculcated during the establishment of an independent state in the Qing dynasty era but the establishment of an independent state in post dynasty era of nationalism had a greater influence on the region.

In 1933, Sabit Damullah proclaimed the Turkic Islamic Republic of East Turkistan (Sharqi Turkestan Turk-Islam Jamhuriyatti). Inspired by the Yaqub Beg's independent state in Kashgar encouraged the Muslim leader that they can fight against the Central government for the establishment of a sovereign independent state. The policies of the Turkic Islamic Republic of East Turkistan (TIRET) were greatly influenced by sharia and such reforms were adopted where the state can form policies based on Islamic principles and compatible with contemporary socio-political conditions. Andrew D.W Forbes argued in his book, Muslim warlord in Xinjiang and history of Xinjiang form 1911-1949, that documented evidence shows that the new Muslim independent state was established with the following five main objectives.

- To form a Muslim independent state
- To seek freedom from the USSR influence
- To restore peace and stability
- To promote and encourage trade
- To establish good relations with other states

He further stated that the Turkic Islamic Republic of East Turkistan was a direct spiritual successor state of Yaqub Begs independent state established in the late 19th century (Forbes A. , 1986). Although they wanted to establish good relations with other states to get recognition and support but they failed to achieve such diplomatic success as Yaqub Beg who got recognition and support from Ottoman Empire. Initially, they looked for British India and Middle East Muslim support which resulted in less or no support. One of the main reasons

was that British India has good relationship with the Central government in China and secondly they did not want to support such a move that may result in Soviet influence in the region.

3.10 Muslim Nationalism and Soviet influence in Xinjiang in the 1930s

The geographical location of Xinjiang historically was the main hurdle of China's Westward expansion. Due to this geographical position, regional powers such as Soviet and British India expanded their influence in the region. The Soviet geographical proximity and greater economic interest allowed it to play an influential role in the region. After the establishment of the Republic of China, there were internal problems that lead to political instability. During this political instability, the central government was able to focus on Xinjiang region and suppress local population. Although initially, they brought stability but there was great resentment, particularly in the Turkic ethnic groups that was the main target of suppression, who demanded freedom and independence. Some political developments in mainland China further destabilized the country in general and already fragile Xinjiang particularly.

The political developments of the 1930s were both significant for Xinjiang and the region as a whole. The central government appointed Sheng Shicai as the new governor of Xinjiang who established a close relationship with the Soviets. During the early 1930s, a civil war started among warlords which led to political instability. Another factor was the growing tension between the communist and nationalists. In this peculiar situation, governor Sheng established a close relationship with the Soviets instead of the central government due to the political instability and civil war. Sheng wanted to establish a Soviet-style government through the industrialization of the region; hence he adopted the Soviet model of development and industrialization. The main threat was the growing influence and Turkic-

Muslim nationalism in the region which was countered with the help of Soviet forces. So the Sheng government was able to eliminate the Muslim rebellion and killed half a million rebel forces (Millward, 2007).

The Sheng and Soviet alliance had far much consequence for Muslim nationalism in the region. Inspired by Yaqub Beg's first independent state and wave of nationalism and self-determination in Asia, the ethnic Turkic Muslims were able to form an independent state in the early 1930s by establishing the first East Turkistan Republic. However, they were not able to maintain and sustained the newly independent state due to certain internal factors and the Soviet-Sheng alliance. This alliance resulted in the collapse of a Muslim independent state while on the other hand; it increased the Soviet Influence in the region. After his firm grip and control of the region, Sheng adopted Soviet-style administration by dividing the ethnic minority into fourteen different categories. The purpose of the categorization was to scatter and dispersed Turkic Muslim ethnic groups and to engage them in fighting against each other. He further re-grouped and divided Xinjiang society into various groups by adopting the Soviet-style of social stratification (Bensa, 1993).

3.11 The Establishment of the Second East Turkestan Republic 1944-1949

The founder of the first East Turkestan Republic wanted to establish an independent state based on Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism and independent from Chinese and Russian influence. Despite many short-coming, Islamic Republic of East Turkistan (IRET) had a significant influence on Uighur identity and bringing political awareness and consciousness among the local people of the Xinjiang region. The post-1930s political developments not only influence Xinjiang's relation with China but with other major powers as well. The two major powers Russia and British India were afraid of a similar uprising in their Muslims dominated areas, therefore, they denounce the establishment of a Muslim independent state

and even Russia physically intervened to defeat the Muslim rebellion and help governor Sheng to establish his autocratic rule (Dickens, 1977). Although British India oppose to self-determination movement but it supported the rebellion to counter the Russian influence in the region. Contrary to this Turkey and Japan adopted a pro-Muslim approach during the rebellion. Another dimension of these relations was to stop the expansion of communism, this factor helped in integrating three major powers such as Japan, Turkey and British India to support Muslim groups and oppose Soviet expansion to the region. This course of complex relations by various countries changed during the establishment of the second East Turkestan Republic where Russia contrary to its previous policy supported Muslim rebel groups.

The second East Turkistan Islamic Republic movement started in the North-Western part of Xinjiang, unlike the other two movements which took place in the southern part of the region. The revolution mainly begins in the Ili region of the bordering area of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Historically, the revolution is called by many titles such as the second East Turkistan revolution, November revolution and three districts revolution in Chinese history (Benson, 1990). The background of this revolution needs to be discussed for greater understanding of the main factors behind this event. Before the revolution, the Turkic ethnic Muslim groups formed arm groups and secret societies in Ghulja, the birthplace of the second East Turkestan movement. Among these groups, one was The National Freedom Group known as Freedom Group (Azadlik Taxkilati) in Uighur sources. Their main slogan was Why Are We Fighting, to get the support of local people and to motivate them for the freedom struggle. The National Freedom Group objectives can be categorized into three parts such as the reasons for the establishment of such a group, what are the main objectives of the organization and how to mobilize the people to join this group and fight for the establishment of an independent state?

In 1944, Wo Zhongxin was appointed the new governor of Xinjiang province by the Nationalist government who was welcomed by Muslim revolutionary forces with the capture of Gongha county. The capture of this area is considered the beginning of the establishment of the second East Turkestan Republic. Such development shows that the alternative and suppressive policies of Sheng already paved the way for these uprising. Apart from these policies, the withdrawal of Russian support badly affected the economy of Xinjiang. These factors were instrumental in the mobilization of people where members of the National Freedom Group arguing that Sheng has deviated from his policy and targeting ethnic Turkic Muslims. Even the central government was not happy with the Sheng policy of maintaining peace and stability, therefore a group of administrative and military forces was sent to Xinjiang. In 1944, after a failed attempt of controlling the region, Sheng's more than ten-year autocratic rule come to an end (Ke, 2018). The arrival of nationalists in Xinjiang not able to overcome all those problems left behind by governor Sheng. The new governor brought some radical changes in the administration to overcome the fragile security situation and curb the revolutionary forces. A large number of the army stationed in Xinjiang was crucial for peace and stability but on the other, such a large number of forces harmed the economy of the region. The already collapsing economy was one of the main factors used by Muslim revolutionary to mobilize people which further worsen the economic situation that added to the political instability.

The second East Turkestan Republic had different features and characteristics such as the movement was initiated in Ili prefecture on the northwest border of Xinjiang while the other two movements were mainly initiated in Kashgar. Apart from Uighur people, other Turkic ethnic groups such as Uzbek also played an important role such as Ilhan Tora, the founder and chairman of the National Freedom Group. Besides him, Uighur intellectuals such as AbdulKerim Abbasow played an active role. Ilhan Tora's main slogan was National

Freedom while the other intellectual and religious leaders mobilized people because without the religious factor they may not be able to organize and unite people on a large scale. These points are explicitly described by Miraslov Horch in his theory of nationalism that how common factors such as language, culture and religion unite people for the movement of self-determination.

3.11.1 The Beginning of Uprising in Ili

In the year 1944, the Nilka (County in the Ili District) guerrilla forces attacked a police station which triggered the beginning of the revolution. The guerrilla forces were able to capture and control the entire county within three months. Contrary to its previous policy, Russia supported the revolutionary Turkic ethnic groups. Some prominent leaders of these uprisings, who visited or studied in Soviet such as Addul kerim, had strong connection and coordination with the Soviet and revolutionary forces. Apart from the intellectual and individual bonds, Russia also provided weapons to various groups fighting against the nationalist forces. Regardless of their ethnic and socioeconomic background and status, all secret rebels and the armed group accepted Soviet aid and support to fight against nationalist forces and established an independent state. As mentioned above, one of the main reasons for the active involvement of Russia was to minimize and contain the influence of other powers such as Japan, the British Empire, and USA.

The geographical factor also played an important role which allowed the Soviet easy transportation and communication. As a result of this development, the Soviet Union developed good relationship with Muslims unlike previously support to Sheng who suppressed the Muslim freedom movement. The ethnic and cultural dimensions of this cooperation also played an important role. The Soviet-style republics for different ethnic

groups were one of the main motivational factors which were expressed in the manifesto of the National Freedom Group.

3.11.2 Political and Administrative Structure the Second East Turkestan Republic

After the establishment of an interim government, people from various backgrounds such as members of the National Freedom Group, religious leaders, merchants, landlords and other prominent people were included in the governing council. This composition of all social classes provided a shared destiny for all. The presence of religious, political and social authorities strengthens the legitimacy and power of the second East Turkestan Republic. These factors were very important for mass-support and governance. Apart from this political structure, the scattered forces were re-organized and the East Turkestan national army was founded. The national army was divided into seven regiments. The national army established various departments such as war and logistic departments. Being the internal affair minister, Abdulkrim abbasow served as the director of the political department. Ilhan Tora, the prominent religious leader extended his political power and established an Islamic court. In April 1945, the council decided that each government department must have an akhund (Islamic cleric) who will serve as a religious advisor. These akhund or Islamic clerics were also assigned to all army regiments. The religious advisors in different departments and ministries worked alongside the Soviet advisor. This political structure shows the influence of religious leaders and clerics in the newly established state both in political and administrative affairs. This structure is some-how similar to the other two independent Muslim states. This commonality shows that common elements such as language, culture and religion played an important role in the establishment of the nationalist movement as mentioned by Hroch in his theory of nationalism.

3.11.3 The Fall of Second Turkic Islamic Republic of East Turkestan

The second East Turkestan was a short-lived Muslim independent state like the first East Turkistan Republic which had far much influence on the region's political environment for decades. Many factors contributed to the fall of this newly independent state such as domestic as well as international factors within the five years. Initially, the Ili region came under the influence and after the three districts revolution; the revolutionary forces start to fight with the nationalist forces in the other seven districts which led to political instability in Xinjiang. As mentioned above, the Soviets had good relations with Sheng, the governor of Xinjiang before the establishment of the second East Turkestan Republic. Even after his departure, the Soviets established good relations. On one hand, Soviet-supported Sheng to suppress Muslim uprising while in the 1940s supported Muslim nationalism. This diverse approach in Soviet foreign policy shows the significance of Xinjiang province as an immediate neighbor and geo-strategically important area for great powers. The political and economic development of the region was greatly controlled by the Soviets particularly in the 1930s and 1940s. These external factors such as the active involvement of the Soviet, British Empire, and the USA played an active role in changing the dynamics of local politics. Apart from this external factor, some domestic factors such as the nationalist government policy of appointment of anti-revolutionary Uighur in the coalition government and the radical approach of Muslim revolutionary played a decisive role.

In 1945, Governor Zhong Zhi-Zhong reached an agreement with the East Turkestan Republic to form a coalition government under the influence of Soviet peace policy. Due to its interest, Soviet Union established good relation with Muslims in Xinjiang and also with Chinese central government. The three districts under Muslim revolutionary forces and seven districts under the nationalist forces were to be integrated under the coalition government (Wang, 1999). As a result of this agreement in the year 1946, the coalition government was

established where three districts revolutionaries were presented by eight members out of twenty-five, thus the political power was shared among members of the Three Districts, the central government and anti-revolutionary members of the other seven districts. This coalition government had little impact on the political stability of the region because the Three Districts remained autonomous with their administrative structure. The central government appointed some anti-revolutionary Muslim Uighur leaders such as Muhammad Amin Bughra, similarly another pro-Russian and anti-revolutionary, Masud Sabri was appointed as the new chairman of the coalition government. Such developments further worsen the fragile political environment of the region. In 1949, the communist took over the entire China and Kuomintang forces left Xinjiang like other parts of the country. With the arrival of communists, the second Turkic Islamic Republic of East Turkestan came to an end.

3.12 Hui Muslim Nationalism in the First Half of 20th Century

The Hui people adopted a different approach towards nationalism compare to Uighur and other Turkic ethnic groups. In the history of China, the Panthay and Dungan rebellion was the first and last systematic and well-organized attempt by the Hui people to establish an independent Muslim state. Scholars and experts of Chinese history and political system are having different opinions on the Muslim uprising and rebellion against the Qing dynasty. One dominant view is that the Hui Muslims were fighting against the corrupt system and don't want to establish an independent state. Many arguments can be presented in support of this point of view such as the close relation and cooperation between Hui Muslim and Han Chinese in the Dali sultanate and the role and support of various Hui Muslim leaders who surrendered and supported the government forces instead of supporting the rebellion. Another group of scholars and experts strongly believe that the various attempts were made by Hui for the establishment of an independent state. This group of scholars gives several arguments to

support this view such as the treatment of Muslims by Qing forces compelled them to struggle for an independent and sovereign state where they can live according to their own belief and cultural system. The establishment of the Dali Sultanate is the best example where they tried to form a state base on their norm, value and belief system. Another argument in support of this view is the rise of nationalism which changed the public and private life and political systems around the world. These uprising and self-determination movements were not only initiated due to domestic factors such as bad governance and suppressive policies but external factors also played a significant role such as the rise of nationalism around the world. Whatever the reasons for these uprising and self-determination, it greatly influenced and changed the course of political actions in China. These uprisings and rebellions in the last half of the 19th century led the country into political instability and turmoil which resulted in the downfall of the dynasty system and ultimately in the establishment of the People's Republic of China at the beginning of the 20th century. Under the Republic, the Hui approach toward ethno-religious nationalism was greatly changed, unlike Uighur people who struggled for the establishment of an independent state in the Xinjiang region.

3.12.1 Hui Nationalism in Republican Era 1911-1949

The establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1911 was a total transformation of the political system which changed the relationship and Cause of political events. Sun Yat-sen the founding father and his other colleagues such as Liang Qichao wanted to develop Chinese nationalism and get rid of the old dynasty system. After the establishment of the Republic of China, the founding father said, that this country belongs to all five nationalities like Han, Mongol, Manchu, Tibetan and Hui (all Muslims including Uighur) (Kuo, 2017). This ideological shift allowed people from different segments of society to play an active role under the banner of Chinese nationalism. As mentioned above, the Uighur and other Turkic ethnic groups used this ideological shift and wave of nationalism

for the establishment of an independent state. On the other hand, the Hui Muslims promoted Chinese nationalism in the late 20th century unlike the 19th century approach where they fought against Qing forces. These developments were unique in Chinese Muslim political history which greatly influenced the political development during the foreign occupation and post-communist era.

The Hui Muslim identity greatly changed in the Republican era where they adopted a pro-state and Chinese patriotism approach instead of Hui ethno religious nationalism. The Hui Muslim elite thought that under the new democratic system, they will get rid of some old rituals which they practice during the dynasty system and will be able to initiate Islamic modernization and revival movement combined with Chinese Nationalism. Keeping in view this mechanism of Islamic revival in China, the Hui young and educated generation adopted various approaches for the implementation of this idea in the Republican era. The Hui elite and intellectuals through magazines, newspapers and other sources of communication established a close relation with other scattered fellows Muslims. Similarly, they established good relations with Middle Eastern countries which help them in bringing reforms at the local level. A prominent Hui Muslim, Pang Shiqing, who graduated from Al-Azhar, wrote a book title *Islam in China* to introduce Islamic tradition being following by Chinese Muslim to the Islamic world. On the other hand, the Middle Eastern countries supported their Muslim brother by building the first Islamic library in China's capital and also financed Muslim students studying in Egypt. The pilgrimage was another source of communication and interaction between Chinese Muslims and Arab Muslims. Ma Huan was the first Hui Muslim who visited Mecca and performed hajj. He was part of Ma Zheng He expeditions which were initiated to explore the regions from East Asia to the Middle East through the Indian Ocean (ke, 2005). Another prominent Hui scholar Yusuf Ma Dexin (1794-1874) played a significant role in Sino-Muslim relations with the global Muslim community through his writing.

According to many scholars, he was the most influential scholar of pre-modern China having command of both Persian and Arabic language. He was the first intellectual who shifted the sole reliance on the Chinese language and emphasized the Arabic language. This approach helped him and the other Sino-Muslims to greatly connect with the Muslim world and helped to improve the authenticity of Islamic tradition in China (Peterson, 2014). According to him, the Sino Muslim should physically interact with the Muslim world as he mentioned in the travel record of hajj that linguistic and literacy capabilities are required for a strong relationship with the Muslim world. Similarly, other Hui scholars greatly contributed to the establishment of Chinese Muslim's relationship with the Muslim world.

The nationalist government valued these relationships and considers them as a bridge between China and the Middle East. As mentioned by Yuan-lin Tsai in his book chapter the Hui Muslim identity and pilgrimage that *the nationalist government saw the political value of Hui Muslims as a bridge between China and the Muslim world and developed diplomatic relations with Muslim countries through Hui Muslim elites* (Tsai, 2017). Hui Muslim intellectuals in the early 20th century considered these developments as an opportunity for Islamic modernization in China by returning to the sources of Islam. After a long time of isolation from the rest of the Muslim world, the Islamic traditions in China were mixed with local traditions, particularly in the Ming dynasty era where Muslims lost their connection with the Islamic world. During this era, the Muslims adopted the local Han dominant culture and language by abandoning Persian and Arabic languages. This was the most crucial time for assimilation and acculturation of Muslims in China because language is the main source of culture and unity. These problems were realized by Hui intellectuals such as Ma Dexing and adopted various approaches to bridge this gap. After performing Hajj, he studied for eight years in Al-Azhar which provided a new model of learning for other scholars by combining Hajj and study at Jamia Al-Azhar. These interactions and communication helped the Chinese

government to establish good relations with the Islamic world. These historical pieces of evidence show that Hui people were instrumental in the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the Muslim world. Such impact can be seen even in post-communist China. Apart from these contributions to foreign relations, they also contributed in domestic politics and the stability of the country.

3.13 Administrative Role of Hui Muslim

Hui Muslims integration and assimilation is evident due to many factors such as the adaptation of local norm, values and customs. Besides these factors, administrative and political power played a vital role. The government allowed them to be part of civil-military bureaucracy which allowed them to feel like an integral part of the system. Danial Druckman mentioned in his article, Nationalism, Patriotism and Group Loyalty that how individuals and groups develop the feeling of attachment with each other. According to him, political, economic and socio-cultural needs fulfillment give individuals and groups a sense of security, prestige and more importantly a sense of belonging which is very important for national unity and integration (Druckman, 1993). Keeping in view these social, cultural, economic and political factors, we can analyze the Hui integration and sinicization. They enjoyed political power as well as worked as bureaucrats that provided them a sense of security and belonging. This sense of belonging and socio-economic security further translated into a feeling of patriotism among the Hui. The role of some key figures in politics, administration and the army further highlight the Hui approach toward nationalism.

Anthony Garnaut has discussed the role of Hui military generals in bringing stability in the post-Republican era. In his article “From Yunnan to Xinjiang: Governor Yang Zengxin and his Dungan Generals” he discussed and analyzed the role of the Hui military general in bringing peace and stability in the time of trouble and turmoil in Xinjiang province. It was

governor Yang Zengxin's idea to recruit and promote Hui generals in military administration to fight effectively against the rebellion in Xinjiang province (Garnaut, 2008). He explained various reasons for the Hui recruitment in the region where Ma Shaowu and Ma Fuxing played a significant role in bringing peace and stability in Xinjiang province. For some people, it may be strange that how Hui Muslims are fighting against the Uighur people of Xinjiang province. There are some basic and historical reasons which allow the Hui to promote state nationalism instead of ethnic nationalism. Gui Rong mentioned in his book, *Hui Muslims in China* that certain factors contributed to the acculturation of Hui Muslims such as ethnic origin, geographical distribution, gender ratio which lead to intermarriage and the adaptation of local social, economic and political system (Gui Rong, 2016). This acculturation and sinicization process resulted in differences among other Muslim groups but still its place to ponder how they manage to maintain some basic Islamic values and avoid total acculturation. Although they adopted local norms, value and culture but still religion is the main factor which differentiate them from Han population. Such arrangement shows that the Hui identity is very dynamic because they are Muslims but living in Han dominated society. This ethnic and religious diversity compel them to adopt a diversified approach in practicing their traditions. During the Ming dynasty, Islamic knowledge was localized by the translation into the Chinese language.

3.14 Hui Muslim Activism during Japan Occupation

One of the main objectives of Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of the Republic of China was to establish a democratic state to integrate and unites all ethnic, cultural and religious groups. The post-Republican era shows that the political and security situation became more fragile. Conflicts and fighting among warlords, nationalists and communist led to civil war in the country. The nationalist forces wanted to get rid of the communist, hence

they launched a massive campaign to hunt and kill them. This conflict resulted in a mass migration of communist people from Eastern provinces to Western China where they initially settled in Shaanxi province. This event is historically known as Long March which took the lives of 90 thousand people. During these conflicts, a major event of WWII happened which changed the dynamics of world politics.

During WWII, Japan occupied the Eastern part of China. This event led to strong Chinese nationalism, where different ethnic groups united to defend the country from foreign occupation. Muslim religious scholars call Ahong in Chinese, played a prominent role by motivating the young Muslims to protect the homeland. The Ahongs spread their message through gathering, speeches and distribution of magazines such as Chinese Islamic Studies Magazine, the Islamic Gazette, the Light of Islam, and the Muslim Youth to mobilize the people. In 1938 a new Pan-Chinese Muslim organization was established under the leadership of a Muslim general. It organized a Muslim militia to defend its country against Japan. The Ahongs also quoted Hadith *حب لوطن من الايمان* (Love for the state is part of faith) for greater mobilization (Kittani 1985).

In 1932, Japan occupied the whole of Manchuria which is considered is the beginning of WWII (Dwyer, 2017). In 1938, Japanese forces further expanded their presence in North and Central-North China. This event allowed Japan to increase its influence in the region while the Chinese nationalist government was under pressure to protect its sovereignty and territorial integrity. During the invasion, thousands of Hui lost their lives and their home and mosques were destroyed. In these circumstances, the Hui Muslims played a vital role in fighting against Japanese occupation both at domestic and foreign levels. They adopted various approaches and mechanisms such as arm resistance and propaganda to counter and denounce this occupation.

In 1937, initially, they established the National Salvation Association in Henan province under the leadership of Shi Zizhou. The government was also keen to support and motivate the Hui people in the anti-Japan campaign. President Chiang Kai-shek nominated General Bai Chongxi, a top Hui Muslim official in the nationalist government to look into Hui affairs. His main contribution was to motivate the Hui people to strengthen their relations with the Muslim world. Muslim delegation visited all major Muslim countries to denounce Japan's occupation and explained the Chinese Muslim stance on the issue. The first diplomatic mission was organized in 1938 under the leadership of Wang Zengshan (he was graduated from Istanbul University) with other prominent Hui elites such as Ma Tianying, Xue Wenbo and Wand Shiming who was graduated from Al-Azhar. In the year 1938, the mission started their journey and left for Mecca from Hong Kong. After performing hajj they went to Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries such as Syria, Lebanon, Iran and Iraq and further to British India.

The Hui Muslims also had a good relation with Turkey because many Hui visited and graduated from different institutions. One of the prominent Hui educationists who are also considered the founding member of the Hui education system was greatly inspired by development in Turkey and wanted to bring some reforms. Initially, he changed the traditional mosque education in China. He said that *it was not until I returned to China from turkey that I knew the general course of the world's development is to popularize education first of all, without which a nation could not survive* (Kuan, 1912). This historical background shows that they have good relation with Turkey before the Manchuria occupation. After British India, the mission left for Turkey where they were warmly welcomed in the capital city. When they entered the city, a policeman immediately asked about the Japanese occupation and asked many questions related to the China-Japan war (Lei, 2010).

3.15 Hui Muslims Goodwill Missions

The Goodwill mission was very important in the history of the foreign policy of China. During this mission, the Hui Muslims visited eight major Muslim countries and twenty-six major cities from South Asia to the Middle East and Turkey. In the history of nations, the national disaster and war make the members of a society or country more united and stronger such as the occupation of China by Japanese forces united different groups within the country. Even the war compelled both communists and nationalists to join hands in fighting against the occupation of Japanese forces. Similarly, Hui Muslims around China, particularly in Eastern and Central China. In the following table, a detailed overview has been given of all efforts made by the Goodwill mission during the illegal occupation of their land. It shows that how they implement the idea of General Bai Chongxi to get the support of the Muslim world to denounce the Japanese occupation. Detail has been given of their stay in different cities and countries.

Hui Muslim Goodwill Mission 1938

Time from	Time to	Country	City from	City to (or for stay)	Days
November. 16, 1937	January 10, 1938	China	Nanjing,	Hong Kong	56
Jan 11, 1938	February. 3, 1938		Hong Kong	Suez Canal	23
February. 3	February. 5		Suez	Jeddah	2
Feb. 5	March 2	Arabia		Mecca, Jeddah, Arafat, Mina	26
March 3	March 9		Jeddah	Suez	7
March 10	May 14	Egypt		Cairo, Suez, Alexandra (10 days), Port Said	66
May 15	May 17		Port Said	Beirut	2
May 17	May 23	Lebanon		Beirut	7
May 24			Beirut	Damascus	1
May 25	May 30	Syria		Damascus	6
May 31	June 1		Damascus	Bagdad	2
June 2	June 8	Iraq		Bagdad	7
June 9	June 10		Bagdad	Tehran	2
June 11	June 25	Iran		Tehran, Isfahan, Bushehr	15
June 26	July 1		Bushehr	Bombay	6

				Bombay, Lahore, Lucknow, Patna, Calcutta	
July 2	Oct. 10	India			101
Oct. 11	Oct. 24		Bombay	Istanbul	14
Oct. 25	Nov. 17	Turkey		Ankara, Istanbul	24
Nov. 18	Nov. 23		Istanbul	Alexandra	5
				Alexandra, Port Said	
Nov. 24	Dec. 4	Egypt			12
Dec. 5	Dec. 17		Port Said	Colombo	12
		Ceylon (Sri Lanka)		Colombo	1
Dec. 17	Dec. 18				
	Dec. 26 (morning)				
Dec. 18			Colombo	Singapore	8
Dec. 26	(day time)	Malaya		Singapore	1
Dec. 26 (night)					
	Dec. 28		Singapore	Sai Kung	2
		Annan (Vietnam)			
Dec. 29	Jan. 2, 1939			Sai Kung	5
Jan. 3, 1939	Jan. 10, 1939		Sai Kung	Hanoi	8

Source: Wang Zengshan, ed, *Diaries of the Chinese Islamic Goodwill Mission to the Middle East* (First published in 1943). Publisher: Wang Erli of the Muslim Welfare Organization of Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur: 1996, pp. 444-447.

The table shows the significant developments of the 1930s and early 1940s which transformed the nature of domestic politics and China's relation with the Islamic world. The active and progressive role of Hui during the war changed the nature of Hui-state relations which have long lasting impacts on Hui Muslim relation with State and Chinese Nationalism. This point is mentioned by Miroslav Hroch in his theory of nationalism that at a certain stage, the members of a society feel cohesion and unite for the same destiny and cause. This cohesion and unity are based on some historical and socio-cultural commonalities which further transform into group cohesion. Base on the historical developments of the Ming dynasty where the Hui people adopted local culture and tradition and more importantly the adaptation of the Chinese language transform their social status. This transformation helped the Hui people to further integrate with local culture and Han-dominated society. This integration had a negative impact on Hui culture such as they lost direct contact and cultural communication by adopting local language and abandonment of Persian and Arabic language. This event provided an opportunity to re-integrate themselves with broader Islamic culture and traditions. The invasion of Japan, on one hand, remained fatal for Chinese society where thousands of people died while on the other hand, it integrated the diverse ethnic and cultural groups. We can include these points in the third stage of nationalism where a member of society feels equality and unite for a common objective. In the post-1930s era, the Hui people played an active role both in curbing domestic instability and fight against Japanese aggression. These developments were instrumental in shaping Chinese nationalism among Hui Muslims.

The outcome of this major event not only resulted in the integration of Muslims and promotion of Chinese nationalism but also promoted integration and communication between Hui and the Muslim world. Apart from these connections and communication with the outer world, the Hui people greatly connected and united with the scattered people in the different

provinces. These different associations, magazines, newspapers, and other sources of communication helped them to unite their ethnic fellow to defend their country. In a broader context, it helped them integrate as one group. We can analyze that at the domestic level their different activities such as speeches, mobilization of people and dissemination of information enabled them to further develop their social status in the society. It helped them to maximize their influence both domestically and internationally. According to Wan Lei, *The Hui people, employing cultural communication and people to people diplomacy, gloriously started their mission to establish liaison with the international society* (wan, 2010).

The goodwill mission was one of the aspects of the occupation of Japan and Chinese Muslim activism. The significance of Muslim involvement and activism can be seen in the 1930s developments where both China and Japan mobilize different Muslim groups. Three groups arrived in Mecca in the late 1930s to support the Chinese and Japanese governments. Among these three groups, two supported the Chinese government while the other group supported the Japanese government (Yufeng, 2010). For Japan, it was necessary at that time to win the support of Muslims for their presence and legitimacy of their installed government in North China. Another objective of the mission was to show the Muslim world that Muslims are living under Japanese rule peacefully. The Chinese on the other hand, facing different problems such as the issue of political instability in different regions, the nationalist and communist conflict and more importantly the integration of different ethnic groups, particularly the non-Han ethnic groups. These domestic and international circumstances encourage and allowed Chinese Muslims to play an active role both at the domestic and international levels. Apart from these Hui activists, the Islamic scholars and reformers played an active role in bringing Islam and Confucianism thoughts closer to each other.

3.16 Muslim Reformer's Role in Bridging Islamic and Confucius Teachings

The post- Republican developments and political events show that the external threat was one of the main factors united different groups to fight for the territorial integrity of China. This approach of reconciliation has far-reaching impacts on the Hui Muslims. The scholarly work of Muslim intellectuals particularly since the 18th century is written in the Chinese language with the main objective to make Islamic teaching compatible with some local values and traditions. According to Jonathan Lipman *"in the historical process of rendering Islam compatible with Chinese civilization, Chinese-speaking Muslims created a large and relatively unexplored body of texts collectively known, since the nineteenth century, as Han kitāb (Lipman, 2016).*

This tradition of Han Kitab is introduced by sinicized Chinese Muslim scholars such as Liu Zhi, Wang Daiyu, and Ma Zhu during the 17th and 18th centuries. They used and promote Islamic ideas and teaching which have commonalities with Neo-Confucian teaching. An overview of the contribution of different Hui scholars will help in understanding and exploring the real idea and significance of this tradition. Among these scholars, Wang Daiyu is the main contributor and pioneer member. He was born in the late 16th century and was the first scholar who contributed to Han Kitab that is why he is considered as one of the pioneer writers. A True Commentary on the True Religion (*Zhengjiao zhenquan*,) is the first text for Han Kitab which discusses God, the universe and the human soul. This text is very significant due to the systematic positioning of Islamic teachings are explained within the broader context of Neo-Confucianism. Ma Zhu was another prominent Hui scholar who contributed to this tradition (Han Kitab tradition). He was from Yunnan province and the ancestor of Syed Ajl shams Din, the first Muslim governor of the province during the Yuan dynasty. At a very young age, he contributed to Han Kitab and later on, he got the status of a

learned scholar in Yunnan. He mainly followed the work and idea of Wang but the political aspects of his work made him more popular. According to this idea, the equivalency between Islam and Confucianism is between Sharia and principle so Islam can help in the fulfillment of this principle. He motivated and encouraged the Muslims to pledge their loyalty to the emperor because he is abiding by the principle of justice and this feature of justice is common between Islam and Confucianism. He further explained that Neo-Confucius social hierarchy and moral order is also the quality of a good Muslim. According to Alexander Wain, *because Ma Zhu recognizes a common core to both Islam and Neo-Confucianism, however, he saw no contradiction in asking the Muslim Hui to swear to the non-Muslim emperor* (Wain, 2016).

The Han Kitab Tradition greatly influenced the lives and indemnity of Chinese Muslims over the last three centuries. Qing Lai has given a detailed quantitative analysis of the hundred year literature body known as Han Kitab which played an instrumental role in shaping the Sino-Muslim identity. Recent research has only focused on the contents and sources of this tradition and less focused on the other aspects such as identity. Qing Lai mainly focused on quantitative analysis to analyze and generalizes the impact of this tradition on the identity-making of Chinese Muslims. According to him, *the writing of Han Kitab was not only a process of text production but also identity negotiation. as a result, the Chinese and Islamic elements appeared simultaneously through the Han Kitab literature, all pointing to a distinct Sino-Muslim literati identity* (Lai Q. , 2019). This analysis shows that the literature produced by Han scholars played an important role in shaping Hui identity and in a broader context it played a more significant role for national integration. As discussed in the first chapter that a nation is an imagined community with a multi-complex and multiethnic population. So the organization of this imagined community was and is the main problem and challenge in the modern nation-state system. This point is discussed and analyzed by Stephanie Engola in her article national integration, peace and stability and translation. The

assimilation and integration and of a nation required various mechanisms such as translation and language play a vital role (Engola, 2019). Similarly, several scholars discussed and analyzed the role of literature and language in national integration such as scholars of nationalism considered language as one of the main factors which enable group unity and integration in a nation-state. Miroslav Hroch is of the view that language is one of the main factors, which shape group consciousness for self-determination and national unity.

By keeping in view all these arguments and scholarly work, we can conclude that the Han Kitab played a very influential role in shaping Hui identity which had direct and indirect impacts on the process of integration and national unity. The literature have mainly two impacts, first, it enables the Chinese Muslim to read and preserve their Islamic literature secondly this huge literature in the local Chinese language helped in the assimilation and sinicization of Hui Muslims. Qing Lai article further explained through qualitative data that how people are greatly influenced by this body of literature. The findings show that this body of literature is available in both public and private places. The role and contribution of the three main scholars are discussed and acknowledge in the Friday congregation. This inculcation of Islamic and Confucius values and tradition helped in producing generations of Sinicize Muslims.

3.17 Conclusion

The emergence of nationalism has changed the dynamics of the political system across the world. The process and emergence of nationalism have a great influence on European societies while in the second phase it also greatly influenced the political system in Asia. The majority of scholars agree that nationalism is the greatest determinant of public and private life in modern political history. Such developments had a great impact on all societies including China where different groups started an uprising and arm resistance

against the Qing dynasty. Both Hui and Uighur Muslim ethnic groups initiated different movements in various regions of the country such as Yunnan, Gansu and Xinjiang in the last half of the 19th century. Although the Hui people are well integrated with local culture and society as discussed in the last chapter but this wave of nationalism had a great impact on the people. The Hui people started arm resistance against the Manchu government which is also known as the Panthay rebellion in Chinese history. This resistance resulted in the establishment of the Dali Sultanate/ state. Similarly, the Hui people also initiated different arm resistance movements in western China which were effectively countered by the government. The defeat of the Hui people led to the killing of thousands of people while they were also relocated to a different region to contain them from reorganizing themselves for resistance.

On the other hand, the Uighur people started similar arm resistance and separatist movements in the Xinjiang region which resulted in the establishment of an independent state led by Yaqoob Beg in the last quarter of the 19th century. Like the Panthay rebellion, the government also effectively countered the Uighur separatist movement but the constant fighting and arm resistance also weaken the dynasty system which resulted in the establishment of the Republic of China in the early 20th century. In the republican era, the government adopted various policies to integrate different ethnic groups in the country. These policies have a positive impact on Hui Muslims where they actively adopted and promoted Chinese nationalism, unlike Uighur people who supported and promoted ethnic nationalism. The active participation of Hui people in countering and denouncing Japan's aggression is one of the main examples that how these people supported and worked for the integration of China through their goodwill missions across the Muslim world. Apart from this external role, the Hui scholars and academic elite tried to bridge the Islamic and Confucius teaching and thoughts. This approach helped the Hui people to greatly integrate with local society and

state. During this era, the Uighur adopted a different approach where they propagated and supported ethnic nationalism and struggled for a sovereign independent state. As a result of this struggle, they were able to establish a sovereign independent state in the 1930s known as the first East Turkistan Islamic Republic and similarly, they established a second East Turkistan Islamic Republic in the 1940s. The defeat of nationalist forces and the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 greatly influenced and changed the Muslim ethnic group's approaches toward nationalism.

Chapter 4

State Policies and Ethnic Nationalism since 1949

The People Republic of China was established in 1949 after the defeat of nationalist forces by communists under the leadership of Mao Zedong. This radical change transformed the dynamic of domestic politics. The nationalist government had a different approach in administering the local population while the communist followed the Soviet-style administration. This transformation had an impact on the entire country including ethnic minorities group (Chang, 1950). In the Republican era, one of the main objectives of the Foundering father Sun Yat-sen was to integrate all ethnic minorities. The government adopted various policies in this regard such as discouraged the status of autonomy for minority provinces, promoted common language and implemented the policy of assimilation and integration. These policies were never fully implemented with true spirit; therefore it resulted in the rise of ethnic nationalism and the formation of independent East Turkistan Republic in the 1930s and 40s. Although such uprising and nationalist tendencies took place in the peripheries while the settled area remained unstable due to constant fighting among nationalists and communists. After the defeat of nationalist forces, the new government faced certain challenges such as border security, internal instability, legitimacy, economic reforms and loyalty of ethnic minorities (Dreyer J. T., 1977).

4.1 Minority Integration and Regional Autonomy

Soon after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the government adopted various policies that were different from the KMT government. As mentioned above, the KMT wanted assimilation and integration without the policy of autonomy while the communist government under the leadership of Mao Zedong granted the status of autonomy for various provinces. Apart from provinces, the autonomy status was also granted at the

prefecture, county, and village level. Economic, business and all other activities were carried out in these areas both in minority and Han language. The main reason behind these policies was the integration of ethnic minorities and the promotion of national unity. In this regard, the government took some practical steps for minority integration such as constitutional guarantees for the promotion of minority language. The minority groups were allowed to get education in their local languages so they can promote their languages and local culture. According to the constitution of China, Article four, all nationalities are equal and it is the responsibility of the state to protect the rights of minority groups and work for the socio-cultural and economic development of the minority areas. This article further explains the status of the autonomous regions where the ethnic minority communities were allowed to use and develop their spoken and written languages. The main objective of the policy was to enable the minority groups to preserve and bring reforms in their customs and values. The constitution says that the ethnic autonomous regions are the integral and inalienable parts of China (Article four, Constitution of People Republic of China). Such policies were adopted by different states in the post-WWII era for national integration. Scholars were of the view that the main responsibility of the state is to develop infrastructure, enhance communication, mainstream peripheral regions and develop a dominant culture for unity and national integration. The constitution of China and various policies are also the reflection of this broader model of national integration and development of a homogeneous society. For a better understanding of China's national integration policy, it would be helpful to discuss and analyze the different phases of these policies which transformed the society.

After its establishment in 1949, the country passed through different phases of social, political and economic transformation, particularly during Mao's era. The overall developments can be best described through the lens of those reforms adopted by Mao Zedong such as the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution. These radical reforms had

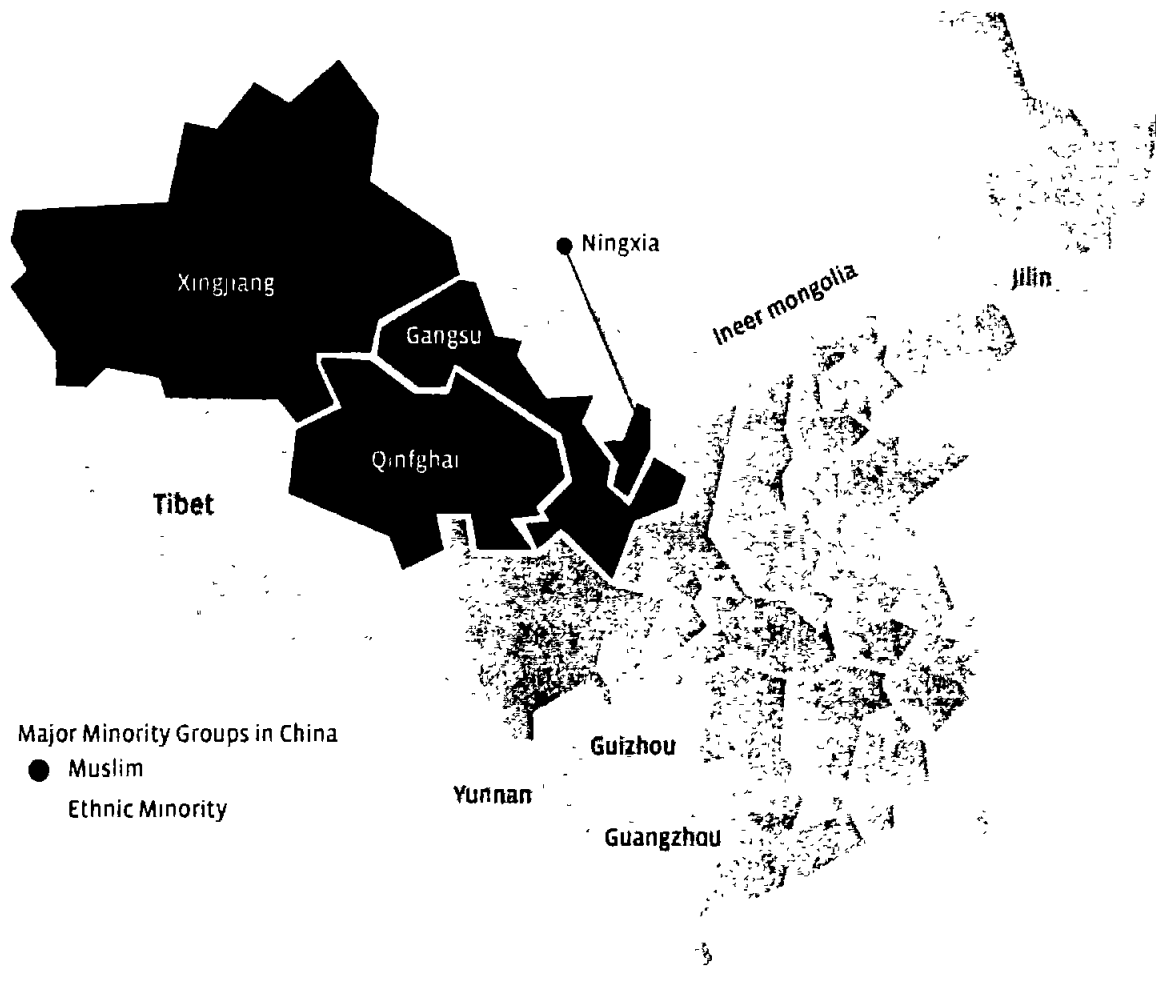
much influence on all segments of society including the ethnic minority particularly the Muslims. The minority issue remained significant since 1949 due to various reasons such as the minority ethnic groups mainly living in border areas such as Xinjiang. This geostrategic location in the post-WWII and civil war era remained vital for policymakers and researchers and academicians. Apart from security concerns, the next objective of a newly independent state was the national unity and harmony among different ethnic and cultural groups. These objectives were reflected in state policy of ethnic harmony and national integration as June Teufel Dreyer an expert on the Chinese political system mentioned in her article ethnic relation in China that, *strict warnings were issued to CCP bureaucrats, called cadres in the party's terminology to avoid great Han chauvinism in dealing with minorities* (Dreyer J. T., 1977). This policy shift in China was greatly influenced by the Soviet Union, which played an active role in shaping communist state policies, particularly in the early 1950s era.

The communist government of China followed the Soviet policy of nationalities integration called Sblizhenie. According to this policy, the national minorities will be gradually and un- forcefully integrated. China also followed the Soviet model in formulating various policies such as economic transformation and national integration. The Soviet policy of national integration is greatly influenced by Joseph Stalin through his writing. In his essay on the question of national unity, he said that nationality is a stable community that is historically constituted. According to him, some main factors are necessary for the establishment and integration of a state such as a common language, a unified territory, economic life and psychological make-up which lead to a common culture (Hula, 1944). These points can be linked with Hroch's theory of nationalism where he also focused on these points such as language, common history and culture. This commonality shows that this theory is more helpful in explaining state and ethnic minority policies in China and Russia. This historical analysis and comparison are important due to various reasons such as the

historically Soviet-influenced policymaking process in China and both countries consist of diverse ethnic and cultural groups. Apart from this theoretical dimension of nationalities' policy, other aspects remained the main obstacle in the implementation of this policy. James W. Warhola has mentioned other aspects in his article such as ethnic conflict and role of religion. According to him, ethnic conflict is playing a dominant role in 21st-century world politics. He further explained the nature and connection of various ethnic problems such as the Alma-Ata riots 1986, Nagorno-Karabakh 1987 and various other conflicts (Warhola, 1991). This aspect of national politics became more significant in multi-ethnic countries in the 21st century such as Russia and China.

The geographical location of ethnic minorities shows the significance of different nationalities in the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state. The majority of the ethnic minority groups are living in the border areas which are strategically and economically very important. The major Muslim ethnic groups are living in the Western and North Western region which is remained significant in shaping China's relation with Central Asia, Russia, Middle East and Europe. The following map shows the geographical significance of Muslim minorities autonomous provinces. Among these provinces, Xinjiang is the most important area both geo-strategically and economically. Geo-strategically the Xinjiang province is vital for China's border security because the province have borders with eight important countries including India, Pakistan, and Russia.

The following map shows the majority Muslim populated areas in the Western region of China



Sources. <https://www.greenbook.org/Content/Labbrand/minority3.jpg>

4.2 Official Ethnic Policies of People Republic of China

The ethnic minority problem is a very complex and multidimensional issue that needs great inquiry and research. Here the main objective is to discuss and analyze the official point of view, the local population, and international independent scholars' views which will help in comprehending ethnic minority policy in China. States around the world adopted various policies for unity and integration of their defined territories. Similarly, China has also

adopted and refined minority policy since its establishment in 1949. A historical analysis will help explain ethnic minority relations with the state. The diverse and complex relationship of two Muslim dominant ethnic groups with the state can be understood through the official point of view on ethnic minorities. In this regard, the state initiated various programs and developed different institutions that do research and monitor ethnic minority issues such as the State Ethnic Affairs Commission which was established in October 1949. The main task of this commission is the implementation of all policies concerned with minority such as the performance of autonomous regions and overall issues related to ethnic minority rights and interests (The State Council, 2014). After the 1978 opening-up policy the state brought further reforms in the commission which shows its commitment and interest in solving ethnic minority problems through institutional approach. The ethnic minority committee is one of the important committees among ten special committees formed by National People Congress. This institutional structure shows the significance of ethnic minorities in state institutions. Apart from this mechanism the government also adopted various policies for ethnic minorities such as ethnic representation in the legislation making process.

4.3 Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution and its impact on Minorities

Revolution is a sudden change and total transformation of political power and political system which lead to future socio-political reforms and stability. After the communist revolution, the population had a great expectation and hope for a better future and economic prosperity. Under these huge expectations, the government adopted various policies and brought some radical reforms particularly in the economy. Under the eight point agenda, the government initiated a program of agriculture reform in 1958 which is historically known as the Great Leap Forward (Shabad, 1959). These massive agricultural

reforms influenced the socio-economic life of the people where the Muslim ethnic minority groups were not an exception. These radical reforms were carried out throughout Mao era which had great impact on the lives of the Muslim minority groups. These developments are discussed and analyzed by many leading scholars on China's economy and political system.

A leading expert of China's political system June Teufel Dreyer has discussed the radical changes in Mao's policies for political stability and economic reforms. According to her the initial years of the communist revolution were based on a policy of accommodation of nationalities and political reforms. The Hundred Flower Era (1956-1957) is one of the manifestations of Mao's policy of accommodation and national harmony. According to the hundred flower idea, all people are allowed to express their ideas and thoughts openly meaning there will be freedom of thought and expression. According to Mao "let hundred flowers bloom; let hundred schools of thought contend". According to him, this approach will further strengthen socialism because in the end truth will win (Dreyer J. T., 2016). She further explained five main reasons and factors which shaped the government policies for ethnic minorities. First, the strategic factors which got the attention of the communist government because all minority groups especially the Muslims living in the border area with Russia, Kazakhstan, and other Central Asian and South Asian states. Some people such as Kazak are living on both sides of the border which makes them more significant for policymakers and researchers. The second factor is the sparsely populated nature of minority areas that remained open for migration. The minority area consists of more than fifty percent of the total landmass of the country so this aspect is also significant for policymakers in the post-1949 era. The third reason is the natural resources such as Oil, gas, gold and other minerals resources in the minority area such as Xinjiang Autonomous Region. This economic factor is more important for the state because China's huge economy needs more natural resources.

The growing economy and demand for natural resources in China make these regions important in the current situation more than ever.

This can be seen in the recent development where the government adopted strict policies for peace and stability and enhanced trade and other economic activities. Such policies are helping the process of industrialization at national level and improving life at the local level which may result in national integration and unity. The fourth factor is the implementation of the Socialist system propagated by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). One of the main arguments of the party was that the socialist system applies to all ethnic groups so the prosperity and development of the ethnic minorities will be considered as the result of this political system. Similarly, economic development and prosperity will help in the elimination of ethnic uprising and rebellion against the state. The 5th reason is the promotion of tourism because minority areas are less populated and have the potential to attract millions of tourists.

Based on the above-mentioned main reasons and factors we can conclude that the main objective of such policies was the integration of minority groups. Therefore, the Communist party attached great importance to the loyalties and integration of ethnic groups. Historically uprisings and rebellions of ethnic groups took place in border areas that were far away from the center and were less developed so we can conclude that these factors, directly and indirectly, contributed to promoting ethnic nationalism. This argument is supported by many scholars that one of the main reasons for uprising and rebellion is the economic disparities. Keeping in mind all those events that took place in the late 1870s and early 1930s, the government adopted various policies based on the above-mentioned five factors to accommodate and integrate ethnic minority groups. Theoretically these policies were more relevant to the pertaining situation of the early 1950s but the later development such as the

Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution changed the dynamics of local and national politics (Li C. M., 1963).

The 1950s economic reforms and radical policies had great influence on the entire population of the country. Mao suddenly changed his idea of Hundred Flowers and countered all those intellectuals who spoke for decentralization of the economic system. The result of these economic reforms and industrialization was devastating that took the lives of twenty-five to thirty million people. Majority of deaths occurred in rural areas such as Sichuan, Gansu and Ningxia (Naughton, 2018). The people's commune system and other economic reform of the 1950s had greatly influenced the social structure of the society. The commune system greatly influenced the rural population because everything owned by the household such as animals and store grains was contributed to the commune. The above-mentioned ethnic minority map reflected that majority of the ethnic minority population is living in the rural areas where they are mainly dependent on animal husbandry. Walker Conor has expressed the link and connection between economic deprivation and ethno nationalism in his article *Eco or Ethno-Nationalism*. According to him, many scholars focus on the economic dimension of the struggle for nationalism (Conor, 1984).

He further elaborated this idea in his article *Minority Nationalism and Changing International Order* with Joh McGarry that although relative economic deprivation is the main aspect of ethnic nationalism while the relative political deprivation could be the prime factor that may best explain ethnic nationalism (McGarry, 2003). Similarly, he focused on the connection of relative economic deprivation which leads to relative political deprivation. Such approaches can be generalized to different areas and countries around the world. The history of ethnic nationalism in China also greatly influenced the relative economic deprivation factors. The Western region of China is an economically less developed area

which remained the center of ethnic nationalism since the mid-19th century. The late 1950s economic reforms, on one hand, led to maximization of production but on the other hand, it causes relative economic deprivation which is further converted to political deprivation through Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution is greatly changed and transformed the socio-political status of ethnic minorities across the country.

The socio-cultural, political and economic radical changes and transformation of Mao further continued and reached its peak in 1966 with the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. Mao thought that the party is mainly focusing on economic reform and deviating from the ideology so he initiated a massive campaign of de-stratification of society. According to Kenneth G. Lieberthal, Mao adopted this campaign to achieve four main goals such as promote more faithful leaders in the party, party reforms, youth mobilization and making the cultural, educational and health care system less elitist (Lieberthal, 2020). The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) was a top-bottom political initiative in the political history of China.

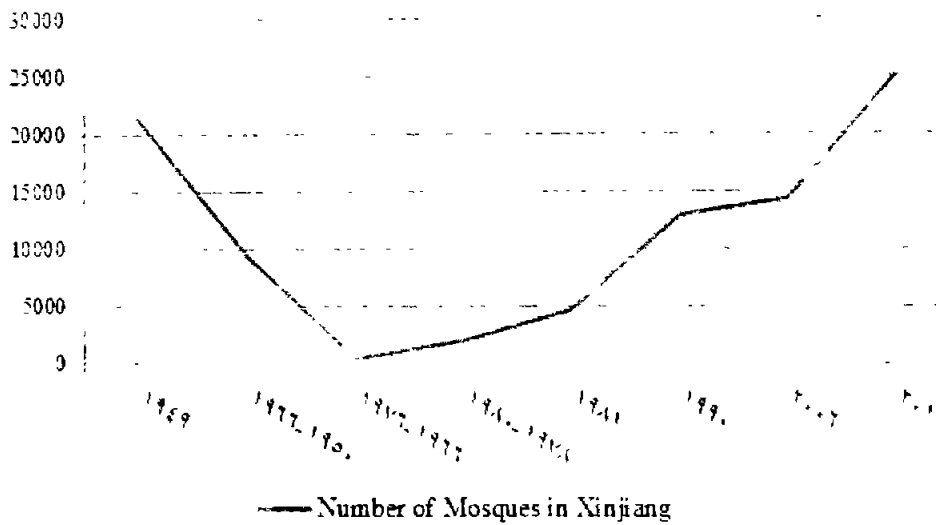
Mao formed a group of students and other young people to counter those people who were less revolutionary or not committed to the ideology of socialism. Jonathan Anger called this process the Cleansing of Class Ranks campaign where hundreds and thousands of people lost their lives. The government adopted harsh policies to compel the people to adopt the new political structure and hierarchy without any question (Anger, 2007). These radical and massive socio-political reforms changed the entire political and social structure and order of the society where ethnic minorities were the main victims. The Cultural Revolution has long-lasting impact on the ethnic minorities where they lost their cultural heritage. This point can be linked with the above-mentioned economic deprivation which greatly influenced the rural population. The Cultural Revolution led to greater socio-cultural and political deprivation which created the feeling of insecurity and resentment among ethnic minority groups.

Initially, the communist regime signaled favorable conditions and policy-making for ethnic nationalities. There were two main groups or categories of people among the top leadership. Among these two groups, one supported gradual assimilation while the other supported radical and quick assimilation. The national minority policy can be traced back to the establishment of Kiangsi Soviet (1931-1934) in Fujian and Jiangxi under the leadership of Mao Zedong. They proclaimed freedom and the right of self-determination for national minorities (Brandt, 1952). Such historical evidence shows the CCP member's approach toward national minorities which have been changed radically after the establishment of the PRC. Members of the communist party had a different approach toward the integration of national minorities. According to them, the actual problem is the bourgeois rulers of these nationalities. Once these rulers will be removed there will be greater harmony among all ethnic minority groups which will lead to national unity and integration. Whatever the historical developments of national minorities were but in 1949 Mao announced a unitary system where these groups enjoyed certain administrative autonomy. The policy of self-determination and secession was replaced by the policy of national integration and centralization of power. In the early years of reform, Mao announced the policy of gradual integration and autonomy for national minorities as he stated in 1951 that land reforms will be completed in 1952 in all regions except minority regions. This was just a gesture of respect and part of gradual integration policy. According to June Teufel Dreyer, when freedom of criticism was encouraged during the Hundred Flower Campaign, the minority groups expressed desires; some wished independence. They termed the Party's nationalities policy "trumped up" or "a deaf ear," and objected vociferously both to Han language study and to the presence of Han settlers in their area (Dreyer T. , 1968).

There were several factors behind these inconsistent and radical policies of Mao regarding ethnic minority groups such as the greater expectation of a larger population for

prosperity and economic development. Another main factor was the implementation of communist ideology which helped Mao to mobilize the peasants and other groups of the society. This was the main challenge for Mao to integrate people of diverse ethnic cultural and religious backgrounds. From a civilizational point of view, the Muslim ideology and communist ideology were different from each other. Although, the communist regime tried to integrate these diverse groups of different cultural backgrounds while the fact remained the same that they have greater differences and fewer commonalities. Keeping in view this diverse nature of the society, the government announced a policy of forced integration through Cultural Revolution. The main argument behind this policy was the one unified culture which will lead to national unity and integration. Lin Biao, who was a prominent figure of the Cultural Revolution called for the elimination of four olds such as old ideas, culture, habits and customs (Rhoads, 2019). Such policy announcement greatly affected the minority regions which had different norms, values and culture. Xinjiang autonomous region remained one of the main regions which had great consequences of the Cultural Revolution. The following map shows the destruction of Muslim worship places during Cultural Revolution which is self-evident that the Muslim minority greatly suffered particularly in the Xinjiang region.

Number of Mosques in Xinjiang Since 1949



Sources: https://studies.aljazeera.net/sites/default/files/migration/ResourceGallery/media/Images/2014/2/12/2014212125959769734_20.jpg

Comparatively speaking, the Xinjiang autonomous region greatly suffered due to the above-mentioned policy of four old. Historically the region remained autonomous and free from the dominant Han culture and political power. Such features led to a unique and quite different culture of the local population, unlike other minority groups which have some common features and characteristics of dominant Han culture. Three dominant actors played an active role in Xinjiang during Cultural Revolution namely the Red Guard who want radical change, the local and other administrators who wanted gradual reforms and the Soviet Union. As an external factor, Soviet Union also played an active role in shaping local politics. There were various reasons for Soviet intervention in Xinjiang domestic affairs such as the geographical proximity, the strategic location, Soviet- China split and most importantly the communist party leadership considered these policies in China as a deviation from the actual Marxist and Lenin policy of ethnic nationalities and national integration. The government warned and criticized the Soviet involvement and further argued that certain elements such as

rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and Muslim religious leaders are contributing to nationalist tendencies and turmoil in the region. On 25 February 1967, the central committee announced the end of Cultural Revolution activities in Xinjiang.

Zhou Enlai, the first premier of China comment on these developments in Xinjiang, we will not allow and will not provide any opportunity to Soviet for misleading our people. The purpose of such policy was to avoid Soviet interference in domestic affairs and bringing peace and stability in the region which was already under conflict among different groups such as revolutionary, counter-revolutionary and Muslim religious leaders. Although, the government succeeded in bringing peace and stability in the time of trouble and turmoil but still these developments were responsible for the rising nationalist tendencies among Muslims in China. The Cultural Revolution has a negative impact on the political developments of the region. The Cultural Revolution could not radically transform the local people due to their long history of autonomy and distinct culture. On the other hand, it gave rise to nationalist tendencies among Muslims in Xinjiang. The other side of this explanation may be that this event further exacerbated the fragile political stability of the region which is historically under constant threat of ethnic nationalism and self-determination movements.

4.4 The 1978 Reforms and Muslims Nationalism

After the death of Chairman Mao, the government adopted various reforms particularly in the field of the economy which are also known as opening up policy under the leadership of Ding Xiaoping. These reforms had a far-reaching impact on the socio-economic, political and foreign relations of China. In the 11th meeting of the Central Committee of CPC held in December 1978, it was decided to adopt a rational approach of seeking truth from facts. Under this approach, the government decided to focus mainly on economic developments unlike the last two decades of political reforms (Cai Fang, 2018).

The Cultural Revolution proved that no state can erode ethnic identity while the state should adopt a more accommodative approach rather than assimilation by force particularly in diverse and multi-ethnic societies. This was the main reason where the post-Mao political leadership adopted a different approach toward ethnic conflicts and national integration. Under this new approach, they focused on the development of ethnic minority regions and adopted various policies for integration and ethnic harmony. Deng Xiaoping was initially faced with multiple challenges to transform the existing system where political reforms and radical policies disrupted the social and economic structure of the country. The successor of Mao Zedong, Hua Guofeng wanted to continue his policies because he wanted legitimacy. Compliance with the existing policies was the main source of legitimacy for him while Deng Xiaoping wanted to focus on economic reforms and avoid political reform like Cultural Revolution. Apart from the economic reform debates were held on the rehabilitation of the victims of the Cultural Revolution.

These debates were held at a large scale in the press and also in party meetings to investigate the consequences and errors in the radical reforms. After these initial debates and economic reforms, the government focused on the mechanisms and strategies for minority integration. The integration strategies and mechanisms can be viewed and analyze through different sources such as press coverage and the response of minority groups to these strategies. The Peking Review was the main source of information in the English language. This magazine remained a source of communication between China and the rest of the world. The 1978 and onward issues show the consistency and interest of the government in integration and harmony among all nationalities. While covering the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress, the main page of the magazine covered news regarding the integration of all nationalities. According to the top story of the magazine the main theme of

the session was to mobilize the people of all nationalities in the country to unite and strive to build China into a powerful and modern country (Peking Review, March 1978).

This policy consistency shows that the post-Mao policy of national integration was varied regarding nationalities integration and a more accommodative approach was adopted than assimilation approach. To formalize and legalize these reforms and policies, a new constitution was adopted in 1982 which reflects the ideas and reforms of Deng Xiaoping. The majority of the rhetoric associated with the cultural revolution in the 1978 constitution was expunged which shows a kind of relief and accommodation for ethnic minority groups because they greatly suffered due to these policies of forced integration. Article 33, 34 and 35 guaranteed the fundamental rights and duties of all citizens which were not mentioned in previous constitutions in such details (Constitution of People Republic of China, 1982).

4.5 Economic Reforms and Ethnic Nationalism Since 1978

During the last forty years, the country experienced rapid economic growth that resulted in the development and prosperity of the coastal areas. This development was the result of Deng Xiaoping's opening-up policy where he liberalized the economy. These economic reforms have a great impact on the socio-political and economic structure of the country which was almost contrary to the developments of the 1960s and 1970s. Fang Wang concluded in his empirical study on ethnic diversity and economic growth rate that the ethnic conflict has a direct impact on economic growth in China where a decrease occurred in GDP per capita income up to 2.5% (Fang, 2011). He further elaborated on the relationship between ethnic diversity and economic growth and argued that ethnic diversity is not a curse for economic growth always. There are many countries where ethnic diversity remained a source of economic growth and development but the empirical data shows that in China there is a negative impact of ethnic conflict on economic growth. Different factors are contributing to

the problem such as economic activities, on one hand, bring development but on the other, it leads to greater awareness among group members as described by Miroslav Hroch in his theory of nationalism that group consciousness is an important factor which leads to group integration. This point may be generalized in the Chinese economic development plan where such policies had a negative impact on ethnic minorities. Many scholars analyzed the significance and consequences of the regional disparity factor. The state focuses on the eastern and coastal areas while ignoring the western region where the majority of ethnic minority groups are living. So, the regional disparity and low economic growth rate further exacerbated the regional stability and prosperity of individuals.

The opening-up policy and the massive development in the Eastern region has negative consequences for ethnic minority integration. Such development resulted in mass migration from the western region to the eastern and coastal areas which sometimes led to conflict and clashes among the diverse ethnic and cultural groups. One of the main accidents of such nature occurred in Guangdong between Uighur and Han which further extended to Urumqi in 2009 (Wong, 2009). The ethnic dimension of this accident was more prominent where media portrayed it Han-Uighur conflict. The loss of 140 lives shows the nature and severity of the ethnic conflicts in China which resulted in the migration of minorities group into urban and developed Eastern provinces. Jiaping Wu also highlighted these aspects of ethnic conflict in his article market reform and the rise of ethnicity in China. According to him, there is a dynamic relationship between economic development and ethnic identity in China where these ethnic minority groups manifest themselves at different levels. This unequal economic growth and regional disparity resulted in migration to the cities. He further argues that these economic reforms have underlined the political economy of ethnic minority groups. *Ethnicity, which was relatively hidden for three decades under socialist*

developments, has risen, either by being adopted or imposed, in both urban and regional development in China (Wu, 2014).

The above-mentioned research studies and analysis on China's opening-up policy and economic reform have a great impact on ethnic minority particularly in the western region where the majority of minority people are living. The economic reforms may be discussed in analysis from various points of view such as one of the main and dominant views regarding these reforms is the positive aspects where China became one of the fastest-growing economies of the world. Another aspect is the regional disparity where certain regions and provinces economically became more developed such as the coastal areas and Eastern provinces while the western region remained poor and undeveloped. From an ethnic minority and national integration perspective, these policies had negative impacts on national minorities. These negative impacts were the rise of tension between Han and other minority groups and the mass migration of these groups toward urban areas and all major cities of Eastern provinces. Migrations always have some impacts on the socio-political and economic structure of the urban areas. Sometimes it leads to cultural integration while sometimes it became a source of ethnic conflict and political instability. The July 2009 riots are one example where ethnic tension in urban areas led to violence and conflict which resulted in the loss of lives of more than a hundred people and political instability in the region.

The growing tension between Han and other ethnic minority groups such as Uighur-Han ethnic conflict and Han-Tibetan ethnic conflicts compelled the policymakers to adopt policies that can prevent conflict in the future. The actual policy-making process in this regard was initiated in the early 1990s which ultimately became a focus of the party elite in the year 2000 when they announced the policy of great western development. The independence movements of the early 1990s were the main factor that led the Chinese

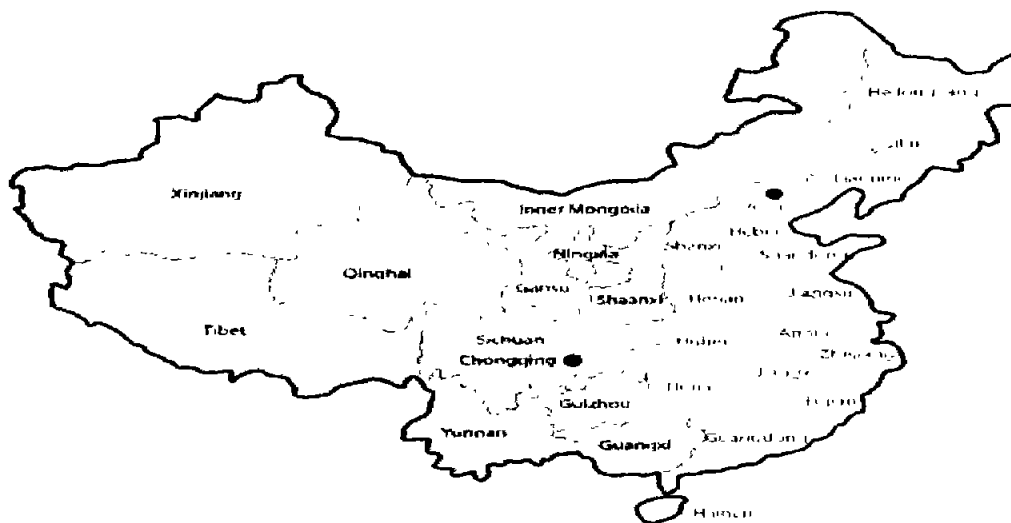
economic reforms in the Western regions, particularly Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. The geographical and strategic nature of the province allowed the policymakers to pay great attention to the economic development and political stability of the region. So the government launched Western Development Strategy to bring economic reforms in central and western regions of the country. Under these reforms, the government wanted to develop infrastructure, attract foreign investment, modernization of telecommunication and increase the regional economic growth.

4.6 The Western Development Strategy and Rise of Ethnic Nationalism

The People's Republic of China saw a radical transformation in its economy in the post-Mao era under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping which changed the command economy to a free-market economy. These economic reforms resulted in great progress and development of Eastern provinces. In the late 1990s, many experts and individuals raised their concerns regarding opening-up policy and regional disparities. In the year 1999, the communist party leadership initiated a policy of the development of the Western region. This policy is known as the Great Western Development Strategy also known as Go West Spirit. The main objective of this policy was to develop the Western region through modernization of communication, infrastructure and to encourage foreign corporations and companies. Apart from this economic aspect, the political and geostrategic aspect is also very important. Due to these strategic reasons, the government initiated these reforms to avoid local political instability and trans-border issues. The planning commission presented an initial draft of the Western Development Plan to the politburo standing committee in 1999.

In 2000, the state council of PRC established a group for the implementation of the Western Development initiative. The State Council further adopted various policies and reforms to strengthen this initiative. In 2006, the 11th five years plan executive committee of

the State Council approved the strategy which shows the government's interest in the development of the western region. The western region under this plan was consisting of six provinces, five autonomous regions, and one municipality. The following map shows the provinces, autonomous regions such as Xinjiang and Ningxia dominated by Muslim population and Chongqing municipality were mainly focused during this strategy.



Source: <https://ars.els-cdn.com/content/image/1-s2.0-S0261517705000270-gr1.jpg>

This map also shows that during the initial reform almost all ethnic minority areas were not part of the economic reforms of 1978. From Guangxi where the largest ethnic group resides to Xinjiang, the largest Muslim population area. One explanation for such development is produced by the market economy expert that in the initial stage of development, there may be inequalities or regional disparities. Irrespective of this explanation, the initial economic reforms have long-lasting impacts on the western region where the majority of the minority people are living. Thus a detailed analysis may be made to explore the impact of this initiative on the ethnic minority. These impacts may be positive or negative such as the previous reforms had a positive impact on some segments of society while some regions and provinces remained underdeveloped.

The Western Development Program (WDP) is an ambitious and significant due to the amount of investment, largest geographical area and it was carried out in all minority area. This area is consists of around 110 million people which cover more than half of the geographical area of the country. The geographical size and population of the Western region are bigger than many countries around the world (Shen, 2011). There were two main objectives of this initiative, first to balance the process of development across China and second, to address the grievances of ethnic nationalities which were vital for national unity and integration. Apart from these two objectives, the government desired to integrate the periphery and border regions which historically remained autonomous and somehow independent from the central government policy-making process. Jihyeon Jeong is of the view that the western development program has less impact on the overall development of the region and this initiative is not effectively reduced the income inequalities in the Eastern and Western regions. He further argued that *the traditional conception of the "periphery or border area" versus the "center" China has played a major role in the process of gradual inclusion of minority areas in the WDP* (Jeong, 2015). This argument shows the security aspect of WDP where the main concern was the security situation. The government wanted to integrate the minority nationalities through economic activities and communication by modernizing infrastructure and communication. These policies can be viewed through the growing challenges of ethnic nationalism where the political elites want to integrate these imagine communities. As Hroch mentioned in his theory of nationalism that a nation is an imagined community having a common language, culture and objective where the group wants to strive hard for these objectives. This approach and theoretical analysis are best describing the development of post-1978 opening up and national integration. The government initiatives were broadly based on the idea of national integration where economic development and other incentive were used as tools for the implementation of this policy.

The different and diverse cultures, language, and groups feeling of the ethnic nationalities area particularly the Xinjiang region compelled the government to initiate such massive economic development project which according to them will lead to cultural integration, uniformity of the system and overall national harmony and integration. The post-2000 economic development shows that the government has not achieved these goals and objective although there is some economic development in the region while the local people grievances and sentiment of ethnic nationalism and separatism still exist in the region which remains the main hurdle in the unification and sinicization of Uighur Muslim population.

4.7 Han Migration and Ethnic Conflicts in Xinjiang

Economic development has always great impact on the value and culture of any region or country. In the post-Western Development Program, the Xinjiang region remained under circumstances where economic development have certain impacts on one hand, while the Han migration further exacerbated the fragile situation of cultural and ethnic conflicts. The distinct Uighur culture always remained a source of unity at the local level while it remained a source of conflict at the national level. Cultural Revolution was one of the demonstrations of the central government to eliminate the cultural differences and develop culturally unified China. Such harsh and radical policies even not changed the norms, values and culture of the region but the Han migration into the region have a greater influence on the socio-cultural and economic conditions of the region. This massive migration and economic incentive for Han Chinese in the Western region particularly in Xinjiang remained a bone of contention and source of ethnic conflict in the region. This migration has a deep-rooted impact on the social and economic development in Xinjiang. It changed the demographic structure and led to interethnic conflicts. Historical analyses of Han migration into Xinjiang

may be helpful in understanding the reasons and factors behind Han migration and its impact on the region which mainly started from the Qing dynasty era.

Historically speaking the Xinjiang region first came under the Han dynasty but the dynasty did not maintain its power and political influence due to various reasons such as the geographic location and long-distance. It was the Qing dynasty that established its firm rule and political influence in the region in the mid-18th century. This era had much influence on the socio-cultural, political and economic developments of the region as compared to Han dynasty rule which not able to settled people from mainland China. The Qing dynasty adopted a different approach and settled the Han people in the region. It radically changed the demographic structure of Xinjiang. The demographic data shows that with the arrival of Qing the Han migration suddenly increased and in the 1800s they formed 30% percent of the Xinjiang population while the Uighur population remained 60% (Stanley, 2004). At the end of the Manchu rule and dynasty system, the demographic structure changed once again and the Han population remained below 10%. In the year 1953, the Chinese Communist government conducted its first national census. According to that census Xinjiang's total population was around five million where Uighur consist of 75% while Han remained just 6% of the total population (Orleans, 1957). These developments show that historically the Han population never became an integral part of the Xinjiang region. There are many answers and explanations to such policies such as these migrations took place under the government policy of national integration and secondly, it was mainly economic incentive-based migration which not resulted in the permanent settlement of the Han population in the region. Some scholars and experts of the region argue that social-cultural differences are one of the main hurdles in the integration of Han people. The conceptual and theoretical explanation of such developments may be found in the Hroch approach of nationalism where he mainly focuses on the language, culture and historical background which make the group

member more united and integrated. Such elements are missing among Han, Uighur and other ethnic groups in the region. Therefore the migrated Han population is not integrated into the Uighur dominant society in Xinjiang region. In such circumstances, the government initiated and adopted various policies for minority integration such as assimilation and integration through economic development and counter-terrorism through economic development. However, such policies did little impact on minority integration particularly in the Xinjiang region. With political and economic reform, the government initiated policies in the social and education sector to integrate minority groups and to counter separatism and tendencies of ethnic nationalism.

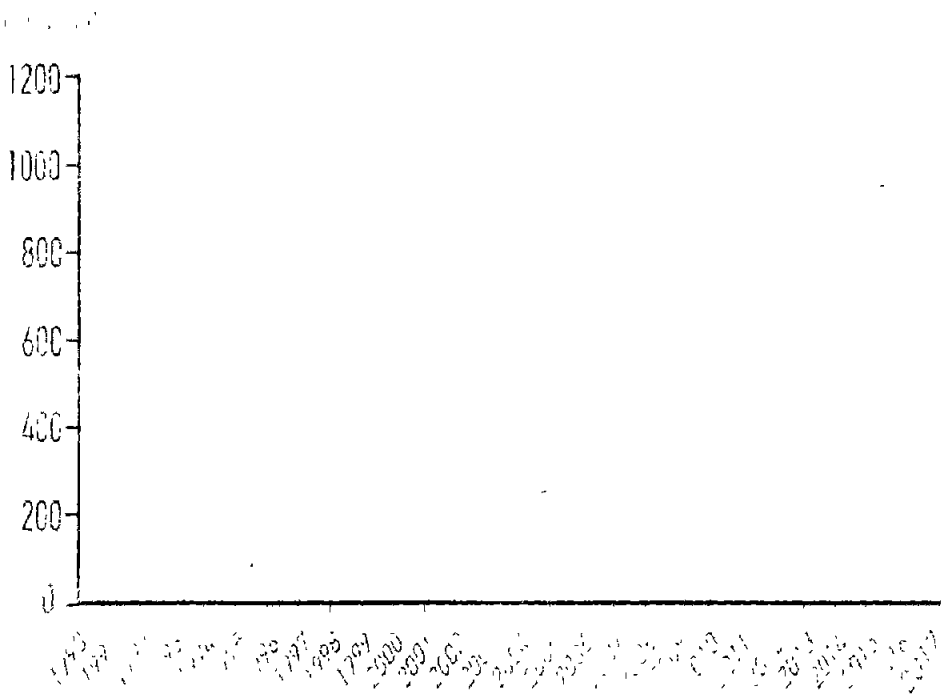
4.8 Uighur Perspective on Han Migration

There is agreement among scholars and economic experts that the Western Development Program and economic incentives greatly improved the economic condition and per capita income of the local people as compared to the pre-2000 era. Ethnic minority groups in Western China benefited from these initiatives and it changed their economic condition up to a greater extent. The following graphic data show the increase of GDP per capita income in Xinjiang compare to national GDP per capita income. According to the official Chinese news agency Xinhua, the Xinjiang autonomous region since its peaceful liberation became a major hub of development. The region's GDP increased from 751 million Yuan in 1951 to 1.22 trillion Yuan in the year 2019. The central government has invested more than two trillion Yuan which resulted in the development of infrastructure and prosperity. The foreign trade volume reached twenty billion US dollars which 1400 times more than the trade volume of 1951 (Yan, 2019). The following graphic data shows the economic development and increase in Xinjiang GDP over the last three decades

Xinjiang's economic progress

GDP

Xinjiang's GDP exceeded one trillion yuan for the first time in 2017, totaling 1.09 trillion yuan (about 171 billion U.S. dollars)



Source: CGTN, China Global TV Network.

At the same time, there are some other perspectives and views on the outcome of these economic policies such as the view and analysis of foreign scholars and local people. The economic data and development in the Western regions show that all areas are not equally benefited and some areas became more developed while the other regions are still underdeveloped. The local Uighur people have different views unlike other people who just focused on the economic dimension of Han migration; they believed that such migration is a

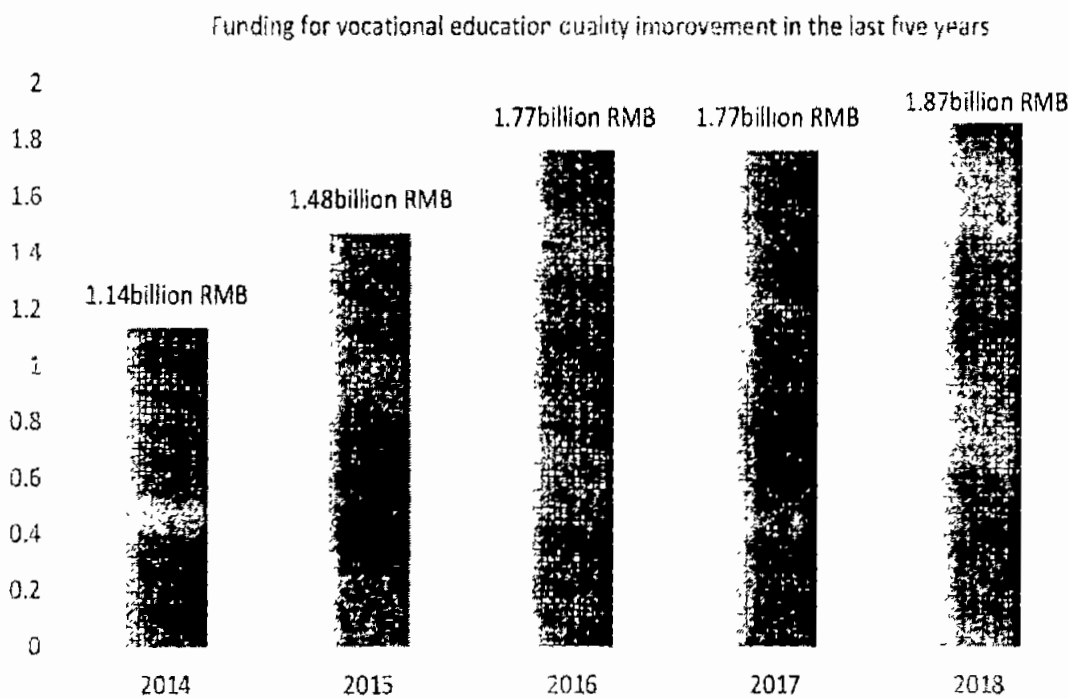
threat to their culture. Such views and grievances are very prominent among Muslims in Xinjiang which can be discussed and analyze from two different perspectives such as Han domination and psychological perspective where minorities always feel fear that the dominant culture will erode their custom, norms and value which may be resulted in the acculturation of the group. The historical data and analyses show that the government was not able to assimilate and integrate the minority groups such as the experience of the Cultural Revolution where government policies of forced integration failed.

4.9 Education Policy and National Minority Integration

Education can play and played a dominant role in the social and national integration of any state around the globe particularly in diverse and heterogeneous societies such as China. Apart from the five-year plan, the government adopted a special mechanism for education quality enactment in the post-2000 era. The State Council announced reform and developments in the education sector in 2001 to improve the quality of education in the country. Similarly, the education ministry adopted short-term and long-term reforms and plan for development which is further supported by the State Council's decision to speed up minority education in 2015 (Li j. , 2017). Within the Ministry of Education (MOE), a special department is established for minorities call the Department of Minority Education with the following main responsibilities

- Coordination and guidance on the matter related to ethnic minority education
- Bilingual education planning for national minorities groups
- Providing rules and strategies for primary and middle schools students
- Communication, coordination and assistance for those areas which are inhabited by the national minorities groups

According to the Ministry of Education, there are more than forty million students of ethnic minorities are enrolled in different levels and types of schools and universities across China (Ministry of Education, People Republic of China, 2019). The government is also focusing on vocational education particularly in the minority regions to improve the skill and job opportunities for the local people.



Sources: http://en.moe.gov.cn/documents/reports/201906/t20190605_384566.html

The above data shows the government's interest in the promotion of vocational education in the country where ethnic minority areas also benefited from these initiatives adopted by the State Council. Another aspect of these programs is the eradication of poverty, therefore the Western region is the target of such an initiative with the lowest GDP and per capita income. According to the State Council report, vocational training and education greatly helped in the elimination of terrorism and instability. According to the report, *through education, the vast majority of trainees can recognize the nature and harm of terrorism and*

religious extremism, and free themselves from the control these phenomena exert over their minds. The trainees have a much better awareness of the interests of the nation, their civic duties, and the rule of law (Vocational Education and Training in Xinjiang, 2019). These initiatives and policy programs show that the government is more focusing on the political and security dimensions of these policies which are apparently designed for economic development. The comparative approach will be helpful and analyzing the impact of such policies on the Hui and Uighur people. Apart from the other factors, the education policy played an important role in the gradual assimilation and sinicization of Hui people across the country. The recent education policy in particular in the Xinjiang region shows that the government is keenly interested in the gradual assimilation and integration of Uighur people via education.

The Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region is a multilingual and culturally pluralistic society where the government is promoting monolingual and monoculture model and wants to curtail this nature and structure of the region. There are some explicit and implicit reasons and reasons behind such policies and initiatives. Explicitly, the government wants to promote monolingual policy for greater unity and development. One of the major arguments of the government officials regarding this approach is to provide job opportunities for minority groups while implicitly the government wants assimilation and acculturation of national minority groups.

4.10 Ethnic Conflict and Human Rights Violation in Xinjiang

Human rights violation is the most prominent and serious issue in Xinjiang which is highlighted and discussed by individuals, organizations and different states across the world. The government security policies in Xinjiang in the post 9/11 era further exacerbated the fragile political situation. These policies and violation of human rights are reported and

condemned by many organizations which view the situation in Xinjiang as the violation of human rights. According to the Minority Right Group (MRG) report, the government of China is not complying with President Hu Jintao's idea of a socialist harmonious society which he presented in 2006. The report further discussed the issue of cultural and religious identity where Uighur children do not have the opportunity to learn the history and practice their religion due to the strict policies adopted by the government in Xinjiang (Hom, 2007). Similarly, the Human Right Watch report on human rights violation discuss the repressive measure taken by the government and denied by people of Xinxiang of their basic human rights. According to the Human Rights Watch, the *authorities have carried out mass arbitrary detention, torture, and mistreatment of some of them in various detention facilities, and increasingly imposed pervasive controls on daily life* (World Report 2019: China | Human Rights Watch, 2019). Apart from these organizations and states, the exile and other Uighur people living abroad have raised serious concerns over the mistreatment of their fellow Uighur people.

World Uighur Congress (WUC) is an umbrella organization of Uighur groups around the world. The main objective of this organization is to protect the rights of Uighur people both at the domestic level and international level (Introducing the World Uyghur Congress, 2010). The organization was established in 2004, with the main objective to work for the human rights and use peaceful means to determine the future of East Turkistan. Outside China, the organization adopted various mechanisms to denounce the Chinese government's suppressive policies and human rights violations such as protests, letters to different states and human rights organizations. This approach helped them to raise this issue at the international level which ultimately resulted in the condemnation of China's human rights violation by different states and organizations. Alim A Seytoff, the president of Uighur American Association and spokesperson of World Uighur Congress called government harsh

policies is the genocide of Uighur people. He further argued that why would Uighur people accept China's colonial rule and apartheid policies (Seytoff, 2014). Members of the World Uighur Congress and the majority of Uighur people living abroad are using East Turkistan for the Xinjiang region which shows their commitment and attention to the establishment of a sovereign independent state. Although they argue that our main objective is the protection of basic rights and Uighur people but the language they used as East Turkistan and Chinese colonial rule indicate that their main and prime objective is political which can be translated into the promotion of sentiment of nationalism and establishment of an independent sovereign state. Therefore, the Chinese government strongly rejected their ideas and trying to counter their narrative both at the domestic and international level.

The Chinese government has a different perspective regarding the role and activities of the World Uighur Congress. According to the official point of view, these people are responsible for unrest and political instability in Xinjiang and also responsible for the promotion of separatist tendencies and religious extremism. Due to these serious concern and allegation, the government labeled this organization as terrorist organization. China consider WUC and other Uighur organization such as East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM), The East Turkistan Islamic Party and several other organization are responsible for violent attacks, political unrest and promotion of separatist tendencies (Davis, 2008). Even the non-official Chinese English newspaper called the activities of the World Uighur Congress a terrorist organization linked with terrorist groups. This organization is playing an active role to split China and promoting Western propaganda against the Chinese government (Chen e. , 2019).

The government has adopted various social, administrative, political and legal mechanisms to counter the sentiments of separatisms and terrorism. The social mechanism

includes the training and education of minority groups so they may become well-integrated and assimilated with Han dominant society. The central government sent hundreds and thousands of teachers to teach the Mandarin language to the minority group. Giulia Cabras has mentioned and conceptualized the process of accommodation in his article, between adaptation and resistance. According to him, the process of rapid economic and social transformation where custom, value, language and demographic structure is changed up to a greater extent. The Muslim ethnic groups makes only 28% of the population in Urumqi while 72% population consists of Han people, who have a long history of migration since the Qing dynasty time. This migration into Urumqi not only changed the demographic structure but also changed the custom and language of the city (Guill, 2014). This single case is one of the examples that how the local people are losing their identity and culture. The domination and widespread usage of the Mandarin language means the direct and indirect adaptation of dominant Han culture. This is the main concern of the local people and they criticized such economic, social and political development which resulted in the erosion of local language, culture and traditions. For this reason, the Uighur people considered these mechanisms as direct threat to their identity. The local officials and political elite of CCP are aware of the outcome of such approaches. Therefore, they repeatedly announce through official policy and statement that the main objective is the economic development and protection of minority rights in the region. For this purpose, they issued several official statements and published white papers to highlight the measurements and initiatives adopted by the central government in the region.

According to the government official the main objective of such an initiative to enable the minority group to acquire jobs because language is one of the main hurdle for minority groups. These policies and reform can be broadly divided into two parts; first, the social and developmental program, second, administrative and legal mechanisms to counter separatism

and nationalistic tendencies in the region. The education reforms and economic incentives mainly fall under the first category while legislation has been passed which specifically deal with counter-terrorism and separatism. These legislations have diverse reactions and outcomes in the region because the authorities argue that such legislations are necessary for counter-terrorism and regional stability. Meanwhile the Uighur right activist blamed the government for the suppression of local people and denial of their political rights. An overview of these legislations may be helpful in the understanding of the Uighur political issue.

The legislative or legal approach can view in a broader context of various approaches adopted by the government to counter ethnic nationalism and separatism to bring stability and unity. As mentioned earlier, one of the initial approaches at the beginning of the 21st century was the economic development approach where the government initiated major projects to improve infrastructure and communication in the Western region. the main theme for this approach was used as counter terrorism and separatism through economic developments. The second approach was the social transformation of the local society through training and education where the government actively promoted education in the Mandarin language. According to government officials, the main objectives behind this social transformation were to provide maximum opportunities for minority groups in getting jobs and secondly it will promote harmony among different groups of the society. These approaches have both positive and negative aspects such as the Western Development Program helpful in bringing economic prosperity but the Han migration during this economic development have a negative impact and ultimately led to ethnic tension in the region. Similarly, the social transformation through training and education approach as seen by the minority as a threat to their culture and sinicization of the local society. After the partial success and some consequences of these approaches, the government turned into a harsh and radical approach

through the announcement of strike hard policy to counter nationalistic and separatism element through the use of force. For the implementation of this policy, the government brought some amendments and new legislation in the constitution to provide legal bases for such actions. In this regard, some amendments and new legislation were made in the National Security Law of the People's Republic of China, Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China, Criminal Procedure Law of the People's Republic of China, Counterterrorism Law of the People's Republic of China, and Regulations on Religious Affairs.

In 2004, the government introduced some regulation on religious affairs and implemented in the next year to protect the citizen religious right and to promote religious harmony. These regulations were passed in July 2004 during the 57th session of the State Council which includes 7 chapters and 48 articles (The State Council, 2004). Many people both at the domestic and international level called such initiative and policymaking as the controlling of religion. Potter argued in his article that the government control of religion raises serious challenges for its legitimacy (Potter, 2020). These regulations were further revised and implemented in 2018 to counter the new challenges posed by religious extremism in the country with a particular focus on the Western region. According to the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Premier Li Keqiang signed the regulation on a religious affair with the main aim of protecting citizens' freedom of religious belief, maintaining religious and social harmony and regulating the management of religious affairs (China revises regulation on religious affairs, 2017). Under these regulations, the national religious groups are allowed to establish religious activities both at the central or provincial level while religious gathering will be arranged only in the authorized area but the religious affairs department can allow gathering in any other place at the provincial level. There are multiple functions and duties assigned to the religious groups such as assistance and cooperation with the government for the implementation of these rules and regulations, carrying out and

arrange religious education and training and the protection of citizen legitimate rights. There is also different view of scholars on such regulation such as the local observer believe that party leadership adopted these policies and initiatives for the betterment of the communities (Qiao, 2020).

The Uighur people and another foreign expert of China have a different perspective on these developments. Magdalena Maslakova in his article discusses religious regulation in China. For him the main objective behind such an initiative is the control of the public life of minority people (Masláková, 2020). According to Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), the Chinese government toughens oversight, surveillance and attempting state-sanctioned religious institutions. The government sanctions include a restriction and limitation on religious schools, location and time of celebration of religious activities, online monitoring and strict control over donations (Maizland, 2020). Among Muslims, the main victims of these regulations are Uighur people having half of the population of Xinjiang, while there are also some violent events in other provinces such as Ningxia. Other organizations such as Freedom House also highlighted the consequences of religious regulation in the region. According to the report of the organization, the state control of religious activities mainly started in 2012 which further tighten by the state authorities in recent years. Under such regulations, the government is controlling daily life activities, protests and limited religious activities (Cook, 2017).

We can conceptualize and analyzed these competing and contradictory views on ethnic nationalism, separatism and government response through Hroch's theory of nationalism. According to him, after the common background and culture, the common goals and objectives are the main binding factors of any nation. Apart from the diverse culture and different backgrounds the Uighur and Han are not integrated. In some places, their interaction

leads to Han domination while in other areas it became a source of ethnic conflict and violence. Politically the region remained independent and autonomous throughout history. The Qing approach of Han migration and settlement is one the main example from history where the Han population failed to integrate with local culture and society. They were not integrated in the Xinjiang region due to cultural, political and social differences. So the main question arises here that with such historical background why the central government is repeating the same strategy of ethnic integration and national unity.

There are two main factors of both internal and external which justify or explain the current policies of national integration of the communist government of China. According to international law, the modern nation-state must have defined boundaries that are recognized by the international community. This definition provides legal cover and protection for the Chinese government to maintain its territorial integrity at any expense. This is the main reason that individuals, organizations and the international community condemned human right violation in the region but at the same time, they are supporting the territorial integrity of China. Similarly, the historical events may not best explain the current social and ethnic unrest in the region due to the changing nature of international relations. On the other hand, the main objective of the Uighur people is the establishment of a sovereign independent state. They argue that we have social and cultural differences and more importantly a long history of autonomy and independence. These factors enable them to strive hard for an independent state which is mentioned by Hroch in his theory of nationalism. For him these factors play a crucial role in the integration and state-building process. By comparing such characteristics of Uighur people with fellow Hui Muslims, we can conclude that due to various socio-cultural, economic and political factors the Hui lost their local identity in favor of the dominant Han culture. Language is one of the prime and main elements in the development of a culture of any society around the world as Hroch listed it as one of the main elements of

nationalism. Hui's process of gradual assimilation and sinicization started in the Ming dynasty where they adopted Mandarin language. This historical development is one of the main reasons for the Hui and Uighur diverse approach toward state nationalism.

4.11 Belt and Road Initiative, Ethnic Minority and National Integration

In 1999, the Chinese government initiated the second phase of development of the Western region after the initial phase of the development of coastal areas. Under the Western Development Program, the government mainly focused on infrastructure, transport and communication and promotion of education. Such initiatives greatly helped in economic development as well as the political stability of the region (Lai H. H., 2002). As mentioned earlier that Xinjiang has a long border with the Central Asian states, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Due to this geographical location, the area is always exposed to foreign influence. The Chinese government adopted various other strategies to counter the external influence and interventions in the region such as the mechanism under Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Apart from these security mechanisms, the ambitious Chinese program of the economic integration of different regions of the world including Central and South Asia is playing a dominant role in regional development and stability.

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) initially known as One Belt One Road is an ambitious economic program that is designed to integrate the different parts of the world through road, railway and sea routes. This initiative and economic program have a greater influence on ethnic minority groups particularly those living in the Xinjiang region. Historically speaking, the Xinjiang region remained a gateway for trade between China and other parts of the world such as Europe, Central Asia and the Middle East. Through this historically Silk Route, new religions and cultures were spread along this trading route. Johan Elverskog has mentioned and narrated different stories of expansion of Islam and Buddhism

along the Silk Road in his book; *Buddhism and Islam on the Silk Road*. According to him, *the earlier contact between Islam and Buddhism can be seen through the use of trade and linkages between religious thoughts and economic regime* (Elverskog, 2010). This information and analysis show that how trade relations had an impact on other aspects of life such as religion and culture. James Millward also analyzed the significance of Xinjiang as a gateway for trade between China and other regions. He divided Xinjiang history into various categories (Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, 2007). Similarly, a huge literature is produced by scholars and researchers on the significance of Xinjiang's geographical location and its role in building relations between China and the world. The historical analysis of the Silk Road trade shows the significance of the region for the promotion of trade and the spread of religions and cultures. The recent developments and integration through economic developments under the BRI can analyze in this historical context that historically the trade had changed the dynamics of the relationship among regions and even such interaction introduced new cultures and religions.

Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a developmental strategy announced by China in 2013, in order to connect and integrate different regions of the world through six corridors (OECD, 2018). These corridors are mainly passing through Western China Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. in this regard this region. Owing to its strategic location as China's westernmost frontier that borders eight countries – Mongolia, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India – China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region today is fittingly seen as the Gateway to the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) that envisions trade and cultural connectivity along the ancient Silk Road (Bhaya, 2021). Under these rapid development, Xinjiang witnessed construction of road, railway and other infrastructure developments which are key to the success of BRI. Being part of the historical Silk Road, Xinjiang region again becoming a main hub of economic activities. Due

to its strategic and economic significance the Chinese government adopted various socio-economic reforms in the region which may be more helpful for local people.



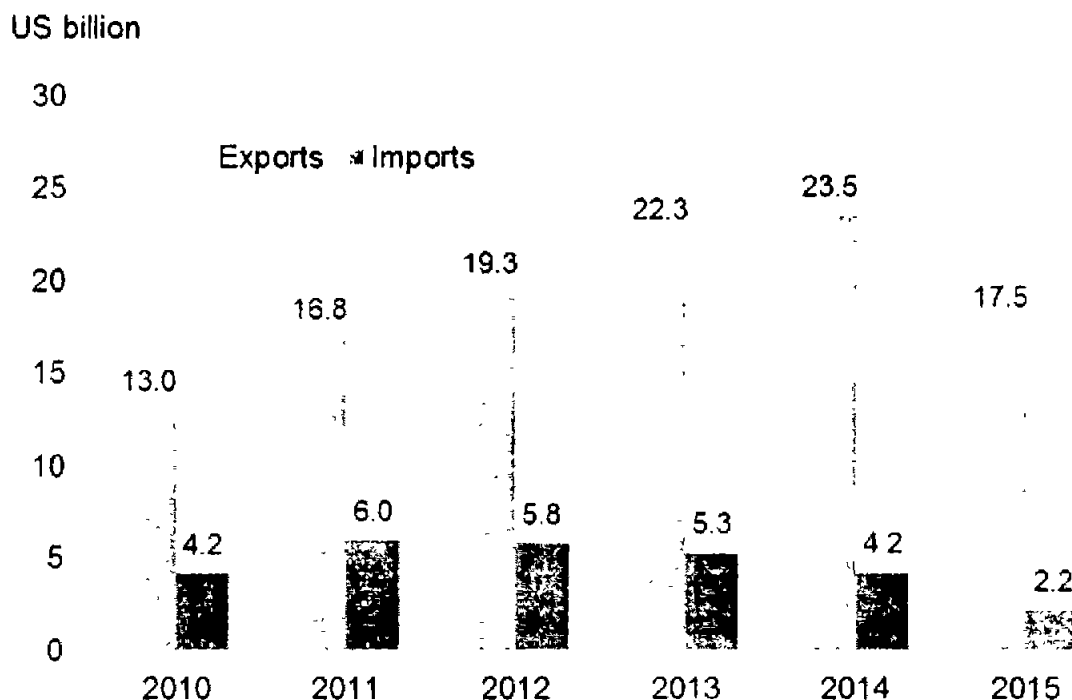
Source: Belt and Road Initiative, <https://www.beltroad-initiative.com/belt-and-road/>

The above map shows the significance of the Xinjiang region in the development of BRI where three main routes/corridors are passing through this region which connects Central Asia, South Asia and Europe. China has adopted various policies and mechanisms for regional stability and countering separatism. One of the major initiatives was to counter separatism through economic development and the great western development initiative was one of the examples where the government invested in different sectors from infrastructure and communication to vocational training and education. The announcement of the BRI plan has further provided major opportunities for development and prosperity which have a direct impact on the living standard of the local population. To enhance trade with the neighboring

countries of Central Asia and Pakistan, the government started various developmental projects in the Xinjiang region such as the construction of a logistic complex in Tashkurghan County in Xinjiang. This logistic complex will play an important role in the enhancement of bilateral trade between Pakistan and China which is initiated under the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) (Xinhua, 2016).

The bilateral relations between China and Central Asia also significantly increased after 2013 and China invested in various project including energy projects. There are more than 250 projects initiated by China under BRI in Central Asia mainly in trade and industrial development, Railway and road connectivity and various projects in the energy sector (Aminjonov, 2019). Such developments have direct and indirect impact on the ethnic minority in the region due to the presence of some ethnic groups across the border which are historically linked and integrated culturally. The Chinese government has effectively minimized cross-border illegal activities through Shanghai Cooperation Organization but the presence of different Uighur groups in different Central Asia remains a source of threat for regional stability in Xinjiang. Some prominent groups include Republic Uyghur Unity Organization in Kazakhstan, For a Free Uyghuristan in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan Regional Uyghur Organization and Uyghuristan Freedom Association Kazakhstan (Debata, 2010). Although some of these organizations are not functional or active and others are contained by the local government but the fact remained the same that foreign influence is one of the major hurdles for regional stability in China. The economic interdependency theory may best explain the current development where China needs natural resources such as oil and gas, while at the same time it has more opportunity to export its product to Central Asia. These economic interactions which are increased rapidly under BRI may be more helpful in bringing peace and stability to the region. The following graph shows the significance of the Xinjiang region in its economic relation with Central Asia.

Xinjiang's Import and Export Trade



Source: *Xinjiang Statistical Yearbook 2015*, Urumqi Customs

These greater economic interactions and bilateral trade is playing an important role in regional stability. According to different scholars and researchers of the region such as Irfan Shehzad argued that the overwhelming majority of Uighur people want national integration and economic prosperity under the Central government which has rapidly increased in the last decade (Shehzad, 2020). As mentioned above that the external influence and support for the separatist elements is one of the main challenges for China. The policy of countering separatism through economic development is proving to be the most effective policy tool for China both at the domestic level and regional level to counter Uighur separatism. The recent economic development and Chinese active involvement in the economic development of the region may help in bringing peace and stability in the region.

4.12 Conclusion

The defeat of nationalists and the victory of communists resulted in the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 which transformed the socio-cultural, economic and political environment of the country. These policies and reforms had direct and indirect impacts on the local population including Muslim ethnic minority groups such as Hui and Uighur. Unlike KMT government, the communist leadership adopted different policies and administrative structure which was more similar to Soviet model of governance. The government announced autonomy status for the ethnic minority to strengthen the process of national integration. The Xinjiang region was named Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region in 1955. Apart from Xinjiang some other provinces/regions got the status of the autonomous region such as Ningxia, Guangxi, Inner Mongolia and Tibet which were mainly dominated by ethnic minority groups. The main objective of this administrative structure was to accommodate the minority groups so they can protect and preserve their language, customs and culture which will ultimately lead to ethnic harmony and national integration. Apart from the constitutional guarantees, the government also adopted other mechanisms to protect minority rights such as the state ethnic affairs commission which was established in October 1949. The main task of this commission is the implementation of all policies concerned with minority such as the performance of autonomous regions and overall issues related to ethnic minority rights and interests.

Although the government legally and theoretically provided all basic rights to the minority groups, however, in practice, these groups did not enjoy all these rights particularly during economic reforms of the late 1950s and particularly during the Cultural Revolution. The opening-up policy of 1978 and the western region development program had some positive impacts on the lives of minority people after the harsh period of acculturation policy.

The western development strategy was an ambitious economic reform program initiated by the government to develop the western region after the development of the Eastern coastal region and provinces. One of the main objectives of this development program was to counter ethnic nationalism and separatism through economic development. This policy had both positive and negative impacts on the Western region particularly the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. There were many economic developments and infrastructure projects were initiated and the government encouraged the investors. These investments also caused the migration of many Han people to the region which changed the demographic structure of the region. The Uighur people considered such development a threat to their local culture and identity.

In 2013, China initiated an ambitious economic development program to integrate the world through road, railways and sea routes known as One Belt One Road (OBOR) which is also known as Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The economic development program has a greater impact on the Xinjiang region compare to other regions because it connects China with Central Asia and Europe. In other words, Xinjiang remained the main center of Western corridors and China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The geo-economic location of the Xinjiang region becoming more important for Chinese policymakers, therefore all the economic activities including imports and exports have rapidly increased in the region since 2013. At the same time, the geostrategic location of the region remains a source of concern for policymakers because the region has always remained under threat from terrorists and separatist elements. In this regards the active role of government regarding legislation and security measures may be helpful in the economic development and political stability of the region.

Chapter 5

Comparative Analysis of Hui and Uighur Approached toward Sinicization

Ethnic nationalism and national integration became the main debate among scholars of nationalism where different scholars have described various reasons and factors which promote ethnic nationalism. Like other countries around the world, China is facing problem of ethnic nationalism and national integration. Among these scholars, Ernest Gillner, Miroslav Hroch, Eric Hobsbawn, Ernest Renan and Benedict Anderson mainly contributed to the theory of nationalism. These scholars define and explained various elements and factors which lead to nationalism where they agree on some common elements of nationalism but still, their approaches are somehow different from each other such as Hroch's theory of nationalism may best describe the rise of ethnic nationalism in China.

Miroslav Hroch's theory of nationalism can explain the emerging trends of nationalism in China . According to him, a nation is a large social group that is integrated by several objective relationships such as political, economic, linguistic, cultural, historical, religious and geographical. These several kinds of objective relationships have a subjective reflection in the collective consciousness. He further explained the role of various factors such as common memory. Comparatively, both ethnicities have different memories of their past. Uighur people are more connected and integrated with their past, unlike the Hui people who have a different background. The socio-cultural, political, economic and geographical factors mentioned by Hroch may be more helpful in understanding and explaining Uighur and Hui's approach toward nationalism.

5.1 Role of Political and Economic Factors in Promoting Nationalism

According to Miroslav Hroch political factor is one of the main and prime factors of nationalism. Historically speaking the Uighur people had ruled over the region when they

established the first Uighur empire/state around in the mid-8th century in modern-day Mongolia. Since that time these people expanded to the western region and established their independent khanate throughout history. This political background and history of independent ruling allowed them to develop a greater sense of political awareness and independence among the common masses; hence they enjoyed greater autonomy and independence throughout history. On the contrary, the Hui people lived in different regions across the country without such political background so they have not enjoyed such political authority and power. This group was the combination of different and diverse groups such as migrated people, those who converted to Islam and those who became part of this group through intermarriage. This sense of political identity and political awareness is the main factor that led these two groups to have different approaches towards nationalism. So by applying Hroch's theory of nationalism, we can conclude that the Uighur people have a strong feeling of nationalism compare to the Hui people due to their political background. The political factor is accompanied by other factors such as economic factors which is always remained very significant.

The economic dimension of national integration is very prominent in the Chinese domestic and external policy-making process. The western development strategy or program is an example of the government initiative to integrate people through economic development. Hroch view of the significance of economic factors is supported by other scholars such as Thomas Fetzner has mentioned in his book the relationship between nationalism and economy. He further discussed different examples of integration based on the economy such as the European integration and the impact of the globalized economic system on nationalism, that how economic development influence people's approach toward nationalism (Berger, 2019). Keeping in view these scholarly views on the economic dimension of nationalism we can comprehend and analyze the diverse approach of

nationalism by Hui and Uighur. This economic dimension explains that how Hui people are more integrated with the state, unlike Uighur people. Hui people are living across the country including the eastern developed provinces which allow their active participation in the economic development of the country. Contrary to this, the Uighur people historically remained in the far western region with little or no active participation in economic affairs. Although the government's Western program somehow helped the development and economic integration of the region but still they are facing many challenges which hurdles minority integration. The political and economic factor of national integration is further accompanied by other factors such as socio-cultural and linguistic factors which are also the key determinant of nationalism.

5.2 Socio-Cultural and Linguistic factors and Ethnic Nationalism in China

Socio-cultural and linguistic factors are dominant factors in shaping nationalist tendencies in any community across the world. These factors are also highlighted by Miroslav Hroch in his theory of nationalism as well as other scholars of nationalism such as Anderson. The role of these factors in shaping nationalist tendencies among different Muslim groups in China can be discussed and analyzed through a historical approach. As mentioned earlier the geographical location allowed the Uighur dominant region to remain isolated both economically and politically. Besides it developed and maintained a different culture from mainland China. On the other hand, the Hui people had a different approach toward the development of their culture based on some main factors such as geographical location and urbanization. Although the majority of Hui people are living in the Western region, still a sizeable population is living in the urban areas. This different lifestyle distinct these groups from each where one group is strictly following its own culture and language while the other adopted dominant Han culture. The assimilation, integration and sinicization of Hui people

started during the Ming dynasty when they abandon the Arabic and Persian language and adopted Han dominant language and culture. Language is one of the main sources of nationalism and national integration. Members of any community are united based on certain common factors such as language so by adopting the Mandarin language the Hui people became more integrated with Han dominant society.

The significance of language has been mentioned by Tomsdz Kamusella in his article language as an instrument of nationalism in Central Europe. According to him, *it is proposed that this specific Central European interweaving of language and national projects may be better comprehended through the application of Einar Haugen's model of language standardization and Miroslav Hroch's model of nation-building* (Kamusella, 2003). Similarly, other scholars discussed and analyzed the role of language in the integration of community and the development of separate and distinct cultures. These cultural differences have greatly influenced the Hui and Uighur approach toward nationalism where the Hui people are following the Mandarin language while the Uighur have a strong connection and affiliation toward their local language and culture. The above-mentioned arguments show the significance of cultural and language factors which played an active role in shaping Muslim nationalism in China but the main question remains which is why one particular group adopted Han-dominated language and culture. The intellectual contribution of Hui scholars may be a useful source of explanation for such question that the contribution of these intellectuals and scholars played an active role in the integration and sinicization of Hui people. According to many experts on Chinese Muslim history, this process of integration started since the first Muslim entered China.

5.3 Han Kitab and Hui Muslim Integration in China

Han Kitab is the collection of various Islamic texts by the Muslim intellectuals to synthesize Confucianism and Islam. Han is a Chinese word meaning Chinese while Kitab is an Arabic word meaning book so it means Chinese book. Some Muslim scholars such as Liu Zhi, Wu Zunqie, and Wang Daiyu mainly contributed to Han Kitab in the early 18th century. Kristian Petersen has narrated this process of Muslim integration in story form in his book *Interpreting Islam in China*. The story begins when Emperor Qing Kangxi on his return from the Great Wall asked a Muslim general about the Muslim history in China and how they settled in China. The Muslim general replied with an answer that he did not know so the emperor presented him a book that contained the story of the first Muslim who came to China. During Tang dynasty, the emperor sent a delegation to the Western Region, on return, a delegation came to China under the leadership of Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqas.

The emperor gave special permission to him to reside in a palace and build a mosque. During his meeting with the emperor, Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqas explained to him the purpose and significance of the Quran and how it was revealed by God and its similarity with the Five Chinese Classics (the five classics are the five main books of Confucius tradition in pre-Qing era). At the end of the meeting, the emperor concluded that there are many commonalities between Confucianism and Islam, which meant they are compatible with each other. This development marked the first development of the interaction and integration of these two ideologies. The majority of the scholars and people from academia mainly focus on Arab and Middle Eastern sources to interpret and explain Chinese Muslim tradition. The local interpretation of Muslim tradition and interaction with local Han culture helps explain state nationalism and ethnic integration in China. According to Kristian Petersen, *following centuries of cultural and physical division between local inhabitants and Muslim settlers,*

Arab, Persian, and Central Asian people were slowly assimilating into Chinese society, intermarrying with local people, and gradually forgetting their original languages (Petersen, 2018).

These arguments represents that the process of integration was started in the 7th century and resulted in the integration of Hui Muslims during the Ming dynasty where the Muslims abandon the Arab and Persian language and adopted the Han language and culture. This process further cemented during the Qing dynasty where the Hui intellectuals were able to synthesize Islam and Confucianism through Han Kitab, where certain Islamic and Confucius teaching were shown as compatible with each other. Comparatively a different kind of approach was carried out in the Xinjiang region where the Uighur population was living in isolation from mainland China. The Uighur intellectuals and scholars were mainly promoting their native language and culture, unlike Hui intellectuals who established close relations with the Han elite and worked to find out commonalities between the two communities. This diverse approach toward the adaptation of Han values and culture is one of the main factors in explaining the Hui and Uighur diverse approaches toward nationalism. This historical analysis and comparison are more helpful in explaining the main question of this research that being part of the Muslim community in China why these two dominant groups have a different approach toward nationalism. These diverse approaches for Hui and Uighur Intellectuals prove to be one of the main factors in explaining this question.

The other question in this regard might be the state's approach towards Hui integration, that why it mainly focused on Hui intellectuals rather than on Uighur intellectuals. There are many factors but the historical developments and cordial relations and geographical proximity of the Hui population allowed the state to provide them the opportunity of integration and to Sinicize them for greater national unity and integration.

The Confucius Muslim scholars produced huge literature which remained a source of understanding the articulation of Chinese Muslim belief. The main scholars who produced this literature and promoted the commonalities of both ideologies were mainly lived in Eastern and the urban areas. It signifies that they were highly influenced by Confucius's philosophy such as Yuan Guozou a Nanjing-based Muslim scholar who attempted to codify Chinese language Islamic text. Several Hui Muslim scholars adopted certain principles from the Chinese education system to develop Islamic knowledge. As a result of this Sino-Islamic huge literature, a system of education was established known as Scripture Hall Education. This approach led to the relative isolation of Hui Muslims from Muslim learning centers and other Muslim ethnic groups. This argument further explains the Hui and Uighur diverse approaches as mentioned above. Although this relative isolation has not led to the complete departure from their belief and values, still it has a long-lasting impact on their lives. On the other hand, the Uighur Muslims maintained and developed their literature and also established good relations and contact with the rest of the Muslim world. Contrary to this, the Hui Muslims adopted an approach of inculcation of Confucius values which helped their integration with Han people. It was not a sudden change; it was a gradual process that took centuries and where some prominent Hui intellectuals contributed to this process of sinicization.

Among these scholars Zhang Zhong Wu Zixian, Yunshan and Ma Zhu mainly remained instrumental in the development of Han Kitab. These Hui scholars adopted various methodologies and strategies for interpreting Islam in a Chinese context. Apart from these scholars the work and contribution of Ma Dexin have also remained an important chapter in the development of Han Kitab. Through his writing, he wanted to establish a theoretical and theological environment of peaceful co-existence between Islamic values and Confucius's philosophy. Wang Daiyu was another prominent scholar who contributed to the promotion of

Sino-Islamic literature. Due to these two main reasons, he got a prominent position in this tradition, first, he claimed that his family came from the Middle East and second he was graduated from the Scripture Hall Education system which enabled him to study the Sino-Islamic literature in details. This long history of Sino-Islamic literature had a great impact on the majority of Hui intellectuals and common people which change the history of ethnic nationalism in China. Such historical developments were not the only factor that helped the Sinicization of the Hui people, other factors such as geography also played and still playing a dominant role in the promotion of nationalist tendencies among Muslim ethnic groups.

5.4 Geographical Centralization and Ethnic Nationalism

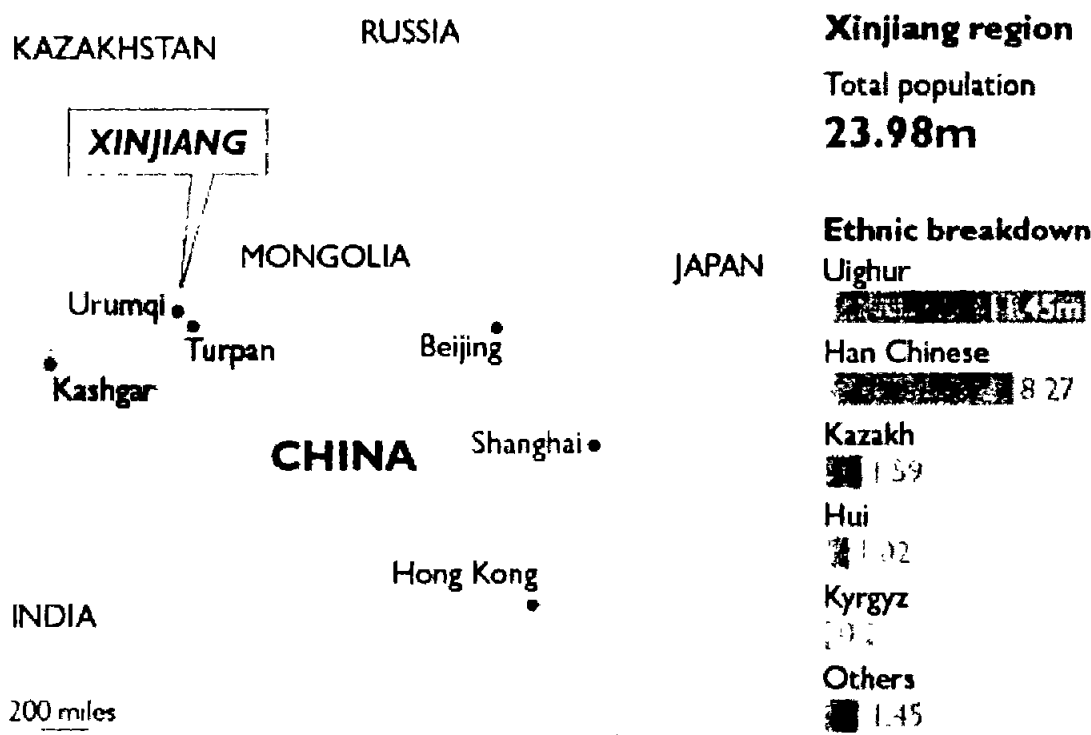
In terms of landmass, China is one of the biggest countries in the world having more than nine million square km area. States with such huge territory may have benefits such as the availability of natural resources but at the same time, they may face the problem of governance and national integration. Geographical location and centralization are the main factors that explain Hui and Uighur approaches toward nationalism. Miroslav Hroch has also mentioned the significance of history and group cohesion for the promotion of national identity. The geographical centralization allows groups to have close interaction and communication which further led to social interaction and political awareness. Such arguments may help explain the Hui and Uighur diverse approaches towards nationalism.

Geographically, the Uighur people are living in a particular region which have an over lasting impact on their history, language, culture and sense of political awareness. This particular character of geographical centralization for centuries developed a bond of unity and a sense of nationalism among Uighur Muslims. Since the 8th century, these people have lived in this particular region (modern-day western China and Mongolia) independently or with greater political autonomy. This factor has a long-lasting impact on the political development

and rise of ethnic nationalism in the region. Since the Han dynasty era, the geographical location of the Uighur autonomous region remained the main hurdle in the unification and integration of China while it is also influenced the ethnic and national identity among Uighur people as mentioned by Wenfang Tang in his article on ethnic nationalism in China. According to him, *ethnic relations and national identity are burning issues for China's leaders and can potentially shake the Communist Party's legitimacy, regime stability, effective governance, national sovereignty, and territorial integrity* (Wenfang, 2010).

Contrary to Uighur people, the Hui people are not living in a particular region of the country. Although the Hui people are living in the western region but still a reasonable population is living in all major cities and urban areas such as Beijing, Shanghai and Nanjing. Since their arrival and settlement, they settled in main urban areas and major cities such as Guangzhou and Xian. The geographical locations have a great impact on the socio-cultural development and lifestyle of any society. The geographical location of the Hui people enabled them to live and interact with Han people which ultimately resulted in cooperation and understanding between these groups. The profession is another factor that allowed the Hui people to disperse into different regions of the country. Historians are of the view that the Hui people were merchants from the Middle East and Central Asia who came for trade and settled in the urban areas. This nature of profession provides the path for assimilation and greater integration. Comparatively, the geographical location of both Muslim ethnic groups proved to be a major factor for assimilation and ethnic nationalism. The majority of the Uighur people are living in the Xinjiang Uighur autonomous region which remained one of the main hurdles for their integration with dominant Han culture and society.

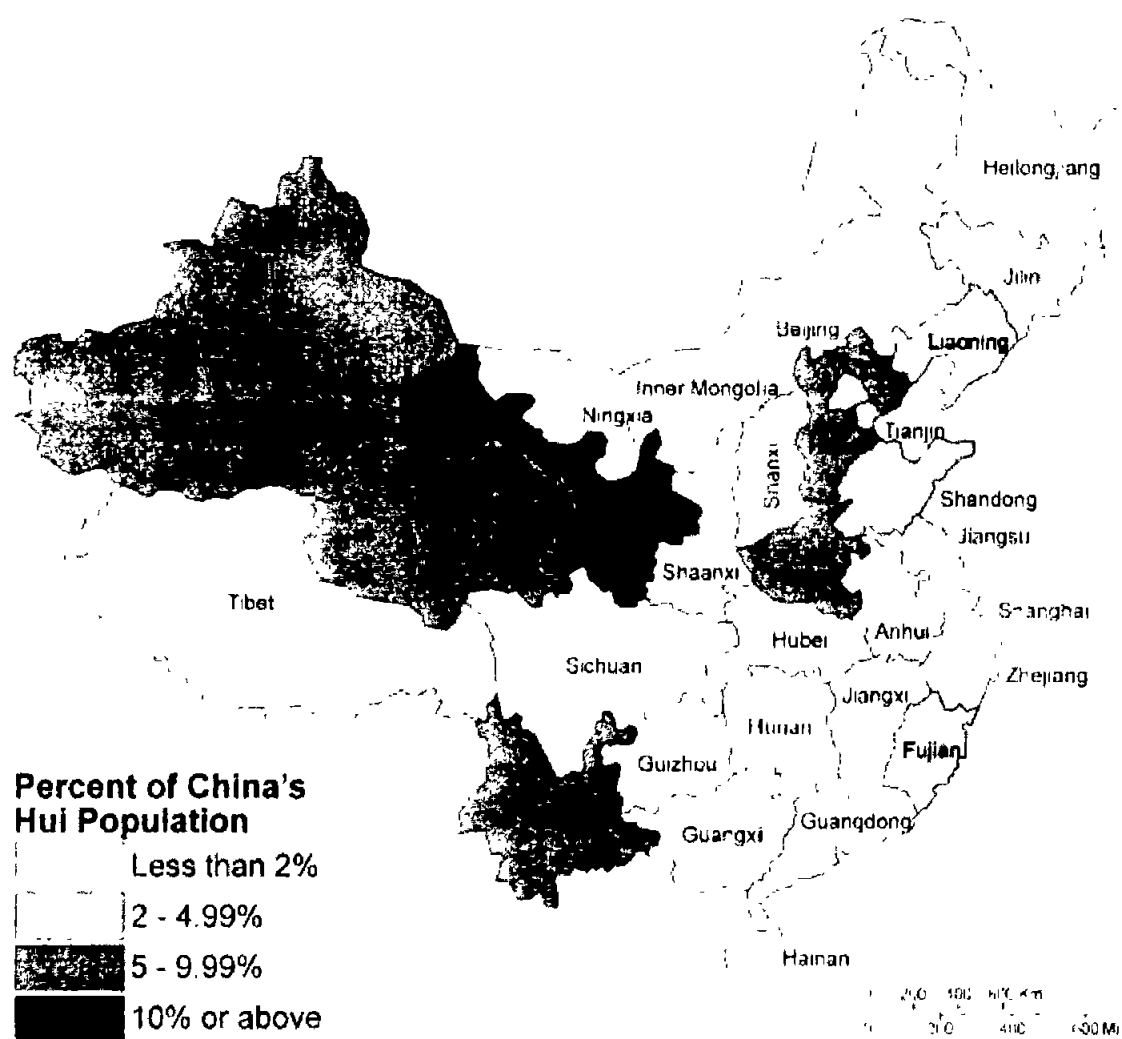
The following map shows the Uighur people geographical isolation from mainland China.



Source: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/imageserver/image/%2Fmethode%2Ftimes%2Fprod%2Fweb%2Fbin%2Fd3052d12-a54e-11e8-954a-0f56c4000b01.png?crop=720%2C480%2C0%2C0&resize=618>

The above-mentioned map shows the geographical centralization of the Uighur people which historically remained one of the main hurdles for the territorial integrity of China. Out of 12 million people, 11.45 million Uighur people are living in the Xinjiang autonomous region which shows that a huge number of their population is living in the geographically isolated area. A small number of people mainly professionals, students and workers are living in the urban areas. This geographical isolation and centralization remained one of the main hurdles in Uighur assimilation and integration with dominant Han culture. Limited Interaction and communication had a negative impact on national integration and sometimes it led to ethnic

conflict and violence. Several ethnic tensions and violence further exacerbated the fragile ethnic relation between these two groups. Unlike Uighur people, the Hui people can be found in almost every region of China that helped them to become more integrated with local culture and society.



Source: 1990 Census of China (provided by National Information Center)

The above-mentioned map shows the distribution of overall Hui population in the country. Although only Gansu province consists of more than ten percent of the Hui population but other provinces such as Qinghai, Xinjiang, Yunnan, Henan, and Hebei have reasonable Hui population. Apart from these major populated areas, other areas such as Fujian

and Shandong also have a significant number of Hui people. This also shows the nature of the scattered population of Hui people in the country which remained one of the major factors for their integration and sinicization. Among the ethnic minority group, Hui formed almost ten percent of the minority population (Zhou, 2002).

The geographical centralization and isolation made the Uighur people more exposed to Islamic Turkish culture from Central Asia. Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region culturally and geographically more closely associated with Central Asia than Beijing. On the other hand, the Hui people are living in all major cities and towns across China as shown on the map. This geographical characteristic is the key factor shaping the Uighur and Hui approach toward the process of national integration in the country. The total distance between Xinjiang and Beijing is around three thousand kilometers while Dushambi and Astana are around thirteen and fifteen hundred kilometers away from the Xinjiang region. This geographical approximately allowed the Uighur to interact with other fellow ethnic people and more broadly with the rest of the Muslim world. This geographical location and greater interaction with the outside world particularly the Central Asian region always remained a concern for Chinese policy makers. Irfan Shehzad, an Islamabad-based think tank organization head and expert on China Central Asian affair (personal communication, December 2020) argues that the distinct culture and geographical isolation of Uighur people kept them away from the dominant Han culture which ultimately resulted in their separate identity. This identity issue remained the main hurdle in Uighur integration since the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

5.5 Role of Language, in National Integration and Assimilation

Language is one of the effective instruments in the development of national unity and consciousness in any society around the world but at the same time, it may be used for

marginalization or exclusion. Like other nations around the world, the Chinese Mandarin language as a national language playing an important role in national integration. Since the establishment of the Ming dynasty, Muslim groups particularly the Hui adopted the Mandarin language which remained a source of communication and education. Scholars and experts on Chinese studies are of the view that language remained one of the major factors in Hui integration and assimilation with dominant Han culture . Under state policies, the Hui people fully adopted the Mandarin language which is even visible in their names. This integration process had two major impacts, first, the Hui people became an integral part of dominant Han culture through the adaptation of their language, secondly, they lost their greater interaction and communication with the rest of the Islamic world by abandoning Arabic and Persian languages. Language is not only a source of national integration, it also the main source of social relationship and identity. This point is more prominent in explaining Hui and Han social relationship and overall integration. It shows that how the language factor played an important role in the integration and assimilation of these diverse groups. The adoption of language not only changed the social relationships of Hui people, but rather it had a great impact on the social, cultural, and education system. On the other hand, the Uighur people up to a greater extent remained under the influence of local values and culture.

Historically Uighur people are considered themselves more associated with Turkish culture rather than Han culture where the language remains one of the major factors. They have a long history of self-rule and autonomy where they promoted their local language and culture. In the last decade, the government adopted various policies for the promotion of the Mandarin language in western China, particularly in the XinjiangAutonomous Region. According to government officials, the main objective of these policies is to enable the local people to learn the Mandarin language to get jobs and it will also enhance their interaction and communication with the rest of the people living in different regions of the country.

According to many analysts and experts, the main objective of the government is to integrate minority groups through these policies as they successfully integrated and assimilated the Hui people. The local people in the Xinjiang region particularly the Uighur people have serious reservations about these policies

The local people think that these policies are initiated for the sinicization and acculturation of minority groups particularly the Uighur ethnic people. According to them, such kinds of initiatives will erode local language and culture in the long term thus it is the responsibility of the government to protect minority's rights including their languages and culture. Officials both at the regional and central level denounce such kinds of rumors and allegations regarding the acculturation of minority groups. According to the government representative and officials, the government is protecting minority language and culture, and at the same it the responsibility of the government to promote written and spoken Chinese language. The regional government representative and officials discussed and explained the government policy regarding minority education. According to them, *mastering Mandarin enables local people to better adapt to modern society by helping them in their studies, employment prospects, communication, and business operations. The majority of students at school have improved their Mandarin skills and now helps their parents in their dealings with Mandarin speakers* (Officials discuss state of education in Xinjiang at a press conference, 2020). The officials further discussed that the promotion of the Mandarin language will bring prosperity and development while on the other hand, it may help combat terrorism and infiltration of radicals. They also strongly rejected the news reported in the New York Times about the forced separation of children from their parents in the Xinjiang Region. Such news and statement are the complete distortion of fact said by the government spokesperson.

Under the Ministry of Education (MOE), a department of minority education is established with the following main duties and responsibilities

- i. Guiding and coordinating specific matters regarding minority education;
- ii. Planning bilingual education for minority groups;
- iii. Provision of guidance for national unity education for primary and middle school students;
- iv. Coordinating educational assistance for areas inhabited by ethnic minorities.

These are a few of the examples of government policies of national integration where the minority groups are integrated through education. The promotion of bilingual education in the minority regions and overall development and promotion of Mandarin language can be seen in the broader context of the nation-state as mentioned by Miroslav Hroch in his theory of nationalism, that language is one of the main factors in promoting nationalism. Such policies of promotion of national language and integration of different ethnic groups are adopted by all nation-states including China. The status of autonomy at different levels such as province and prefecture-level show the commitment of the government to protect and preserve minority culture. The main reason behind the policy of autonomy was the protection of minority language and culture. Matthew S. Erie, an Anthropologist and Lawyer and associate professor of Modern Chinese Studies at Oxford University has thoroughly discussed the status of minority groups in the autonomous region of China. Through his fieldwork in little Mecca (Linxia), he interacted with the local Ahong/Imam to explore the role, status and authority of minority groups where these groups are living in reasonable numbers. When the author entered a mosque in Linxia and meets the Imam who was sitting on an armchair. The regulations of the People's Republic of China were written on the right side while prescriptions from Islamic revealed sources were written on the left side. During

this time a policeman came and talked to Imam and went back. When Mathew asked the Imam, why the policeman came to the masjid, he replied that *Linxia is a Muslim city. It is Majority Muslim. As Muslims, we are abiding by religious law (jiafa) and state law (guofa)* (Mathew, 2016). The majority of the people want to solve their issue based on Islamic law so in that case of an accident the Islamic law was to pay compensation. So the Imam asked the policeman that how much the Han driver can afford because Islamic law is based on justice, not on revenge.

This story of Linxia Ahong is multidimensional which explains the status of Muslim minority groups in China. Mathew's book; *China and Islam, the Prophet, the Party and Law*, indicate the socio-political and legal structure of the society. His analysis shows that how the state has integrated the minority groups by implementing both national and local laws to accommodate the minority groups. This is one of the main examples of minority integration that counter the views and arguments of some of the minority group's members and western media's allegation of total acculturation of the minority groups in the country. Irfan shazad is also of the same view that even the Uighur people are greatly integrated into dominant Han culture and society. He further argues that around eighty percent of people in the Xinjiang region want greater integration and promotion of their business. They don't have ethnic nationalism tendencies that are promoting Uighur nationalism. Such a view from different scholars and researchers shows that state policies of minority integration are more effective since the establishment of the People's Republic of China. After the successful integration of the Hui people, the government wants to integrate other minority groups through various social, economic and educational reforms.

5.6 Hui and Uighur Responses toward State's Minority Policies

The above-mentioned educational reforms show that government policies of integration of minority groups through education have partially been successful. These policies can be discussed and analyze regionally because Hui-dominated regions are more integrated compare to Uighur dominant region Xinjiang. During the interview, different interviewees expressed their views on ethnic integration and ethnic nationalism in different regions. The main objective of these interviews was to explore and explain different allegations and claims of minority integration and suppression. The allegation and claims of minority suppression and acculturation are mainly highlighted by the international media and various human rights organizations while the government explained and express its point of view through official statements at different levels such as regional and central level and also through the publication of white papers. The post-1990 political developments in Central Asia have some influence on the political environment of the Xinjiang region. To counter different claims and propaganda against the state suppression of minority groups, the government in 1997 started publishing white papers on minority issues which covered different aspects of their life.

A white paper published by the government in 1997 entirely focused on the religious freedom of ethnic minority groups and the mechanism for the protection of their religious beliefs. According to this paper, *there are over 100 million followers of various religious faiths, more than 85,000 sites for religious activities, some 300,000 clergy and over 3,000 religious organizations throughout China. In addition, there are 74 religious schools and colleges run by religious organizations for training clerical personnel* (white paper, 1997). This paper further explained the status of ten Muslim ethnic groups where Hui and Uighur formed the largest groups. According to the official data, there are more than 30,000 mosques

with 40,000 Imams and akhunds. All religious groups have their organization in China such as the Buddhist Association of China and the Islamic Association of China which run their affairs, social services and publish religious materials. Similarly, the white paper published in 1999 mainly focused on minority integration policy which is quite visible in the title of the paper (National Minority Policy and its Practice in China). The paper discussed in detail the mechanisms and policies adopted by different dynasties for ethnic minority integration till the establishment of the People's Republic of China where all these minority groups actively participated such as the first centralized and multi-ethnic state was formed in 221 BC known as the Qin dynasty. Similarly, the Han dynasty (202 BC-220 AD) integrated the Western regions including Xinjiang and established its rule over all ethnic groups. The role of minority groups continued during other dynasties after the Han dynasty such as the Mongolian established Yuan dynasty where Muslim ethnic groups enjoyed high political and administrative status. Qing was the last dynasty that continued and further improved the ethnic minority integration policies. After the establishment of China, the government initiated various policies such as the autonomy status at provincial and prefecture-level for different minority groups like Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region for Uighur people and Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. According to a 1995 survey, the population of ethnic minority groups is around 108 million which formed around 9 percent of the total population (White paper, 1999).

After the year 2000, the Western region got more attention due to two main factors such as the government initiated the Great Western Development Program and the event of 9/11 which have greater consequence for the region. The government policies which are mainly expressed through white paper focused on these two factors such as the title of the 2003 white paper was history and development in Xinjiang. The main themes of the paper

were the co-existence of multi-ethnic groups in Xinjiang, the spread of diverse religions, administration by successive governments, economic development and living standard, progress in education and government policies of development in Xinjiang. These themes are reflecting some ground realities which are related to the political environment of the region. These policies were adopted to counter extremism and separatism through economic developments because the issue of separatism and ethnic nationalist tendencies increased during this era. The white paper also claimed the diverse and integrated multi-cultural nature of Chinese society since the Qin dynasty. According to the paper, *the period of the Wei, Jin and Southern and Northern Dynasties (220 A.D.-589 A.D.) was a period of the large-scale merging of ethnic groups in China, witnessing frequent ethnic migration across the land of China, and the entry into Xinjiang by many ancient ethnic groups, such as the Rouran (Jorjan), Gaoche, Yeda and Tuyuhun* (white paper, 2003).

The State Council Information Office People Republic of China issued another important white paper in 2015. According to the paper, *China is a unified and multiethnic country. Xinjiang has been home to several of China's ethnic peoples since ancient times. Over the long course of history, the ethnic groups in Xinjiang have maintained close relations with each other, trusting and depending on each other and sharing weal and woe together* (White paper, 2015). Further, it is stated that the status of autonomy and constitutional guarantees are helpful in the implementation of the political system in the Chinese manner which may be resulted in national unification, development and unity. The government is strictly following the principle of ethnic equality regardless of their size in population and region. The minority groups are enjoying their full rights and at the same time, they are fulfilling their obligation and duties according to state law. The minority groups are also enjoying their political rights through participation in national politics such as

each ethnic minority autonomous area elect own deputies for People Congress and formed self-government organs to exercise their power for the management of their internal affairs.

Human rights violation remains one of the major issues in China highlighted by the international community and different organizations such as Human Rights Watch. According to different reports of this organization since last few years, the Chinese government adopted various techniques and approaches to suppress human right activist and lawyers and they are subject to torture and physical assault. According to the 2016 report, *the government restricts religious practice to five officially recognized religions and only in officially approved religious premises. The government audits the activities, employee details, and financial records of religious bodies, and retains control over religious personnel appointments, publications, and seminary applications* (Human Right Watch Report, 2016). To counter such allegations and reports, The State's Council Information Office issued a white paper mainly focusing on the human rights situation in Xinjiang. According to the paper, all ethnic minority groups are enjoying their social-political, cultural, civil and economic rights mentioned in the constitution. The paper further explains the status of minority groups before 1949, where foreign invaders and local landlords violated the basic hum rights of the local population. But in the after 1949, the government promoted and protects the basic rights of all individuals. The status of autonomy at the provincial and prefecture-level allowed the minority groups to exercise their political rights, promote and protect their local languages and cultures (white paper, 2017).

The analysis of these white papers demonstrates that the Chinese government actively monitoring the developments and policy implementation in the ethnic minority region. Since last decade a huge amount of literature has been produced through books, reports and article which denounce China human rights practices particularly in the ethnic minority regions such

as Tibet and Xinjiang. This literature put serious allegations on China regarding freedom of speech and expression, freedom of association and political and cultural rights. The issue of human rights violation has been raised and discussed at different forums such as in parliaments of different states, at United Nations and through different human rights organizations. The Chinese government has always rejected these reports and provided details of policies for the improvement and betterment of all citizens including minority groups. The objective analysis of such competing claims may only be possible through the available literature of both sides and through the primary data from the local people who may verify or denounce these claims.

The majority of respondents who were interviewed during the research were of the view that state policies are more effective for the integration of minorities and national unity. A Hui Muslim student from the Gansu province was of the view that we don't have such a problem mentioned by international media and human rights organizations regarding freedom of religious practices. People in my area are free to practice their religion and even children are allowed to go to mosques. When similar questions were asked from the people of the Xinjiang region regarding religious freedom, their answers and explanation were somehow different from those belonging to other regions such as Gansu and Ningxia. They were of the view that although there is some restriction on religious activities but the local people are actively involved in other activities such as business activities. The restriction on some activities does not mean that the people are fully alienated and they want independence. Although there are some elements that promote such ideas particularly those people who are living abroad but the overwhelming majority are of the view that we should protect our right within the existing political structure (Irfan Shehzad, 2020).

5.7 The Role of Internal and External Factors in Promoting Uighur Nationalism

Internal and external factors both are playing an active role in shaping or influencing the policy making process in any country in the era of greater communication and interaction. Globalization facilitated global trade, transportation and communication on one hand, while on the other hand, it has greater political and security consequences for a different states. The centralized Chinese political system somehow contained the political consequences of globalization but the opening-up policy and liberalization of trade provided an opportunity for the minority groups to interact with the rest of the world. Domestically China has strongly contained various groups and organization which supported separatism. The uprising in 1860, both in Hui-dominated regions such as Western China and Yunnan and Uighur-dominated Xinjiang region were strongly suppressed by the central government. Such policies allowed the state to protect its territorial integrity and ethnic minority ingroup integration. The successful suppression of the Hui uprising and resettlement policy is an example of state control over its region which remained effective till today. Similarly, the government forces were also able to counter Yaqub Beg's rule in the South Xinjiang Kashgar region. These historical events and the rise of ethnic nationalism, show that such kind of nationalistic tendencies were present in the local population, which was effectively countered by the central government. All these arguments and evidence demonstrate that the internal factors were more prominent during these uprisings. In the modern era, the role of internal factors are less influential compare to the 1860s uprising and political developments. Various factors enable the external factors to play an active role in the promotion of ethnic nationalism. There are two main categories of external factors influencing and promoting ethnic nationalism in China which include the Uighur people living abroad and different human rights and other

organizations, states and media groups around the world such as Human Rights Watch (HRW) and World Uighur Congress (WUC).

World Uighur Congress (WUC) is the most effective and umbrella organization for Uighur people living in different parts of the world. The organization was established in 2004 in Germany when the World Uighur Youth Congress and Turkistan National Congress merged into a single organization. The main objective of the organization is to defend and promote Uighur's rights through peaceful, democratic and nonviolent means and to determine the East Turkistan political future (World Uighur Congress, 2020). The members of this organization are mainly living in European countries and the USA who highlight Uighurs issues through demonstrations in major cities and political platforms such as the EU parliament and various other organizations and platforms. The prominent members of this organization are mostly exiled Uighurs, who are charged by the Chinese government with certain allegations such as violation of the law. According to the officials these people are involved in anti-state activities such as sharing state secrets and other information while these exiled people argue that their lives are in danger in China so they cannot be returned to their homes. These competing arguments and information may not be analyzed without the role of external factors such as the role of different states, organizations and media groups. It is important to discuss and explain the role of these factors such as how and why they are providing financial assistance and political support to various Uighur organizations and individuals living outside China.

According to World Uighur Congress (WUC) website, the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) is providing financial support. According to the president of the WUC Erkin Alptekin, *"NED funding means a lot to us and the Uyghur people. I am more than grateful for their decision to fund what we do,"* (WUC, 2006). Similarly, NED is also

providing financial support to Uighur American Association (UAA). Support for the promotion of human rights and religious freedom is the main factor that allows NED to support this association. In the year, 1991, the first president of NED, Allen Weinstein told Washington Post that *"A lot of what we do today was done covertly 25 years ago by the CIA"* (diplomatie, 2007). This statement indicates that the main objective of this platform is the protection of USA interest in the different parts of the world so we can analyze that one of the main objectives of providing funding to these Uighur associations is part of US interest in the region. Apart from NED, Human Right Watch also publishing regular reports on human rights violations in China, particularly in Uighur dominated Xinjiang region. The Chinese government officials always denied such reports and called them baseless allegations with no evidence.

In response to the growing allegation of these organizations, the Chinese government put of some these organizations on the sanctions list which includes, National Endowment for Democracy, International Republican Institute (IRI), Freedom House, Human Rights Watch and National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. According to China-based English newspaper global time, *when digging up the background of these US-based NGOs, the Global Times found that they are actually supported by the US government and some politicians and their main task is to promote US values and safeguard US interests* (Global times, 2019). These arguments and ground realities indicate that the human rights violation and suppression of Uighur nationalism are used by the USA as a tool to counter China and promote its interests. This foreign support, on one hand, raised and highlighted the Uighur issue at the international level but at the same time, this approach allowed and justified the Chinese policy of suppression and crackdown which ultimately resulted in the suppression of all separatist movements in the region. In other words, the foreign financing and political

support for Uighurs across the world remained one of the main factors in China's aggressive policy in the Xinjiang region. Irfan shezad, an expert on China Central Asian affairs is of the view that majority of Uighur people are well integrated through economic development and now they are actively involved in trade and business activities. Such development allows them to play an active role in the economic development of the region than being involved in separatist and anti-state activities. He further argued that there are some elements at the local level which is used and exploited by external factors for their interest in the region (Shezad, 2020). Apart from this financial support to these Uighur associations; USA is also supporting different media groups, radio channels and website which support Uighur stance such as Radio Free Asia.

Radio Free Asia (RFA) is one of the main sources of information, online news and commentary on East Asia. Its main focus is on the news related to China, Cambodia, Laos and North Korea and more specifically on Uighur ethnic minority. The news and information are shown on the website cover all aspects of Uighur life such as social, economic and security-related issues. This international broadcasting corporation is financially supported by the United States. It provided 41 million dollars in 2013 and similarly 43 million in 2018. The main themes of its news include labor force issues, security concerns, human rights violation, religious freedom and suppression of local ethnic minority groups. All such themes and news stories indicate the main objective of such media sources. Although there are serious issues and challenges to ethnic minorities in Xinjiang but RFA is just mainly focusing on some specific issues which go against Chinese interests. RFA also collaborated with other media sources and organizations such as Voice of America (VOA) and RFA jointly initiated a new service called Global Mandarin with the main focus on younger Chinese. South China Morning Post, a Hong Kong-based English newspaper called these developments a war of

global influence between China and the USA (Magnier, 2019). The main objective of describing and analyzing the background and role of media and other Uighur organizations is to put Muslim nationalism and separatism issue in the broader context of the US-China competition for global influence. Without understanding this broader aspect of China-US competition, we may not be able to properly highlight and analyze various issues such as human rights violations and separatism in China. Such issues and challenges of foreign intervention and influence are not new but the post 9/11 developments have greatly influenced and changed the dynamics of security and political situation in the Xinjiang region

5.8 Chinese Muslim Nationalism and Separatism in Post-9/11 Era

There is no doubt that the event of 11 September 2001 changed the dynamics of world politics where China was not an exception. The war against the Taliban government in Afghanistan had a direct and indirect impact on neighboring countries such as China. The geographical location of the Xinjiang region allowed the Uighur separatist to develop close contact with different groups in Afghanistan. The Chinese government had stated through official statements the linkage between Uighur separatist and different groups in Afghanistan but it only got attention after US and NATO forces started operation against different groups in Afghanistan including Uighur people fighting along with Taliban and Al-Qaeda. Chinese claims of Uighur presence in the country was ratified by the USA forces when they targeted some of the area near the Afghanistan-Tajikistan border where these people were hiding (Brown, 2018). Such collaboration and cooperation were carried out during the initial stage of the war against terrorism which gradually changed when the USA shifted and settled the Uighur prisoners of Guantanamo bay in different countries. The Chinese government is of the view that these people must be returned to China to face the legal proceedings against the act of terrorism and separatism but the US denied to hand over them to China. Such approaches

and lack of cooperation in this regard led to further suppression and strict security measure in the region.

The Chinese government has adopted certain administrative and legal measurements to counter separatism and security threats in the post-9/11 era. After this accident the international community joined hands to counter terrorism across the world. It was a diplomatic win for China when UN Security Council declared ETIM as a terrorist organization under its resolution 1267 and 1390 in 2002 (UN Security Council , 2002). This development helped China to reaffirm its view on the security situation of Xinjiang. More importantly the support from the UN and international community allowed them to adopt more strict measures against such organizations that are linked with ETIM. After the UN and USA, Britain also put ETIM on the list of terrorists and banned organizations which was welcomed by China. According to the Chinese foreign ministry, “We are willing to work with Britain and other parties to increase practical counter-terrorism cooperation and resolutely crackdown on international terrorist forces,” (Blanchard, 2016).

All these efforts and international support helped China to adopt more effective security measures in the region which can be observed through certain administrative reforms and new legislation regarding security. The authorities adopted certain legal measure to counter the security threat arising in the region. According to Jacques DeLisle (professor of law and political science and Director of East Asian Study Center at the University of Pennsylvania), *after the 9/11, international terrorism became immediately relevant for Chinese authorities in the aftermath of sporadic incidents attributed to Uighur separatist groups, who shared religious, ethnic and purportedly organizational ties to Central Asian Muslim radicals* (DeLisle, 2010). The Chinese authorities adopted various amendments and passed new legislation to counter the emerging security threat. These legal mechanisms such

as criminal law was amended in 2001 to increase punishment for those who organize, lead, participate and provide financial support for terrorist organizations. Similarly in 2006, an Anti-money laundering law was passed. In 2009 a new law was passed regarding paramilitary forces to put down unrest in Xinjiang and Tibet. The 2009 unrest and ethnic tensions in the Xinjiang region caused the death of around two hundred people. Such accidents led to the adaptation of new security measures such as the new legislation to further authorize the paramilitary forces to counter the unrest and bring peace and stability to the region (Mustafaga, 2019).

5.9 China-US Competition for Global Influence and Its Impact on Chinese Muslims

China is becoming global economic power and expanding its influence across the world from Africa to Latin America through Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Such initiatives and economic developments program are welcomed by many developing countries but at the same time, some regional and global powers are reluctant to join BRI. The recent trade war between China and the US is one of the main examples of US strategy to counter Chinese growing economic influence in the world. Besides trade war and sanctions strategy, the US government is also using other strategies to counter China at a regional and domestic level such as media propaganda and support of exile and overseas Uighur Muslims. On the political front, the US authorities are also using various strategies and mechanisms like highlighting Uighur issues at the international level through different forums such as the legislator raised the issue of human rights violation and religious freedom particularly during a trade war in recent years. In the recent move, the state department announced that they were going to withdraw the name of ETIM from the list of a global terrorist organization that was put on the list after 9/11 by the UN. The Chinese foreign ministry reacted to this move as the USA double standard on the war on terrorism. Such initiative will affect the global fight

against terrorism and will encourage such groups to reorganize and carry out their activities in the region.

The above-mentioned developments and arguments show that there is a co-relation between China-US growing competition for global influence and the Uighur issue where China-US relations is playing the role of an independent variable while the Uighur issue remained a dependent variable. After the opening-up policy and particularly the post-2000 economic development and trade relations between both countries allowed them to refrain from discussing any issue which may affect their growing economic interests. In other words, the growing economic interdependency allowed both nations to avoid such policy statements and initiative, for example US commitment to the one-China policy. Thus the Uighur and human rights violation issues were not discussed at a higher level. Although various organizations and institutions published reports on these issues but at the state level, these issues have not remained as the key issues of foreign policy. With the beginning of the trade war, US imposed sanctions and heavy duties on Chinese products while they highlighted the Uighur issue and human rights violations as well. The Uighur issue was discussed and highlighted at various domestic and international forums like the state department, legislators and by the foreign ministers at different international forums.

5.10 Pak-China Relations and Uighur Nationalism

Pakistan and China always maintained cordial relations due to some common strategic and economic interests of both countries. Both countries have mutual understanding and cooperation on various regional and global issues including regional stability. However, there are some factors or elements which are repeatedly shared and discussed by Chinese authorities with Pakistani officials; such as the presence of some separatist elements in Pakistan soil which remain a threat to regional stability in the Xinjiang region. China has

adopted a more cautious approach to Uighur issues due to economic, political and geostrategic reasons. Some Chinese Muslims particularly the Uighur people are living in Pakistan for a long time. Zaid Haider, a research analyst in the South Asian project Washington-based think tank institution is of the view that *the Pakistani government accepted the presence of Uighur people on its soil even allowing them to become citizens. However, there is no evidence that Pakistan supported any Uighur separatist aspiration* (Haider, 2005). Similar views were expressed by a Uighur Muslim during an interview when the researcher asked that how he viewed the current situation in the Xinjiang region and Uighur perspective. He responded that although there were some strict rules and guidelines for them but overall they were involved in business activities and well integrated with the state (Amin, 2018). Feedback, interview and interaction with Uighur people helped the researcher to conclude that although these people have reservations regarding various issues but they don't have any separatist tendencies. Another point that is very relevant in the context of overseas Uighur people living across the world from the US to Australia is that why these overseas Uighur people have different approaches than a single one. By comparing these states we may conclude that although the Uighur people are living in different parts of the world but some people, particularly those living in Europe and the US, have more nationalistic and separatist tendencies and aspirations.

Zaid Haider further explained that there are three main reasons for Uighur integration; first some people who were historically enjoyed political power and social status want to remain part of the system. Second, the business class is actively involved in trade and business particularly after the Western region development program since 2000. Third, the strict and effective security measure initiated by the government to curb separatism and terrorism. Due to these three elements, the majority of Uighur people are well integrated with

the state and they thought that this approach may be helpful in their prosperity and economic development.

In this regard, Pakistan's official stance may be considered as the most balanced approach toward the Uighur issue. During my interview with Misbahur-Rehman of Dawah Academy International Islamic University Islamabad who was part of a delegation sent by the Ministry of the Religious Affair on the request of Chinese government invitation, argued that the government provided space for religious freedom. Although some restrictions cannot be denied but still the government is somehow facilitating Muslim minority groups in the region such as the establishment of the Islamic Association of China (1953) and other facilities within the framework of the communist party (Rehman, 2017). The majority of the interviewee during their interviews was of the view that the best available option for Uighur people is the protection of their rights and interest within the current political structure. Ethnic nationalism, separatism and struggle for the sovereign independent state may not serve their interest keeping in view the ground realities. Similar views and policy statements are made by a majority of the Muslim world, unlike the western countries which strongly criticizing China, particularly in recent years.

In 2019, a group of 22 states signed a letter and addressed to the president of the United Nation Human Rights Council and United Nation High Commissioner for Human Rights violations and Chinese suppressive policies and detention centers in Xinjiang. The main objective of this letter was to denounce China's policies in the region. The ambassador of Germany Christoph Heusgen presented this letter in the UN on behalf of 39 countries which mainly included the western countries such as Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and Australia. Although the US did not sign this letter but supported this group in the UN meeting. On the other hand, the representative of Cuba presented his statement on the behalf

of 45 countries that supported Chinese policies of human rights and countering terrorism and extremism (Putz, 2020). Major Muslim countries such as Pakistan, Saudi Arab, UAE, Egypt and Syria supported Chinese policies. This diplomatic win against the dominant countries shows that the Xinjiang issue is highlighted and presented by the western countries and media to counter China's global influence. This argument may be viewed and analyzed in the context of overwhelming support for China from the Muslim world.

The above arguments and analysis show that comparatively, the Uighur people are more exposed to external influence and threats that is why external factors played and playing an important role in highlighting Uighur nationalism and separatism abroad. The role of western countries such as USA and Germany are more prominent in highlighting Uighur human right issues in the region. Comparatively speaking the Hui people are less exposed to these external influences which may be one of the main factors that these people are not inclined toward ethnic nationalism and separatism. The historical-comparative analysis of these two groups shows that multiple factors allowed both groups to have a different approach. The socio-cultural, political and economic factors are a more important element in explaining the Hui and Uighur divers approach. Being Muslim they have a common identity of Islam but it had little impact on their approach towards nationalism, unlike the above-mentioned factors which mainly shaped their idea and approach toward nationalism.

5.11 Conclusion

The comparative method is one of the main tools for analysis that enables a researcher to focus similarities and contrast to draw a logical conclusion of different cases. The comparative method approach is helpful to analyze Hui and Uighur's response towards process of national integration and sinicization. Some factors can explain these diverse approaches. First, geographical position of the ethnicities differs. The Uighur people are

mainly living in the Xinjiang region which allows them to protect their local culture and develop their own distinct identity while the Hui people are living in all major cities and urban areas of the country which exposes them to the local culture and society. Historically, the Xinjiang region remained outside the boundary of mainland China which had a great impact on the socio-cultural and political environment of the region for centuries. This factor is one of the main factors in shaping different perspectives regarding ethnic identity and national integration. Similarly, the Hui people initially settled in the main urban areas such Guangdong since the 7th century and further settled in other urban areas during the different dynasties. This nature of urban life enabled these people to closely interact with local people which ultimately resulted in the adaptation of local norms values and customs.

Different scholars and experts of the region mainly focused on these socio-cultural and political factors which lead to these diverse approaches. Second, the role of Hui scholars is important in the process of sinicization and assimilation. The initial process of Hui integration was started in the 7th century which ultimately resulted in greater integration during the Ming dynasty where the Muslims abandon the Arab and Persian language and adopted the Han language and culture. This process further cemented during the Qing dynasty where the Hui intellectuals were able to synthesize Islam and Confucianism through Han Kitab where certain Islamic and Confucius teaching were shown as compatible with each other. Comparatively, a different kind of approach was carried out in the Xinjiang region where the Uighur population was living in isolation from mainland China. The Uighur intellectuals and scholars were mainly promoting their native language and culture, unlike Hui intellectuals who established close relations with the Han elite and worked to find out commonalities between the two communities. This diverse approach toward the adaptation of

Han value and culture is another factor in explaining the Hui and Uighur diverse approach toward nationalism.

Conclusion

Muslim minorities have a long history of resistance and accommodation in Chinese society since the 7th century. The era from the 7th century to the 12th century is considered as the first phase where they settled in urban areas such as Guangdong and then gradually settled in the other part of the country. Several scholars produced literature through both qualitative and quantitative data to address and highlight both prosperity and challenges to Muslim minority groups in China. Marshall Broomhall's book, *Islam in China; A Neglected problem* (1910) is considered the pioneering work on the issue. Several other scholars also addressed the Muslim minority group's state relation through quantitative data such as Jean Berlie (2004) and Matthew Erie (2016). The available literature has focused on all Muslim ethnic groups as single muslims group mean they mainly focus on the overall issues and challenges of integration faced by Chinese Muslims. Although Jean Berlie and some other scholars had tried to discuss the Muslim integration issue comparatively however a more comprehensive comparative analysis is missing. The main objective of this research is to comparatively study and explain the Hui and Uighur diverse approach toward nationalism and national integration.

The Emergence of Nationalism in the Age of Globalization

The rise of ethnic nationalism and separatism tendencies has emerged across the world recently, where China is not an exception. Various states adopted different policies to counter separatist forces and tendencies and maintained their territorial integrity. The separatist and anti-state movements across the world are on the rise such as the recent developments in Europe, the Middle East and other parts of the world. Different scholars and experts on nationalism theories have developed various models, approaches and theories to explain the emergence and consequences of such movements because they are posing a

direct and indirect threat to the sovereignty of many states around the globe. Among these scholars, Ernest Gillner, Miroslav Hroch, Eric Hobsbawn, Ernest Renan and Benedict Anderson mainly contributed to the theory of nationalism. These scholars defined and explained various elements and factors which lead to nationalism where they agree on some common elements of nationalism but still, their approaches are somehow different from each other such as Hroch theory of nationalism may best describe the rise of ethnic nationalism in China.

Miroslav Hroch Theory of Nationalism

Miroslav Hroch's theory of nationalism can explain the emerging trend of nationalism in China which had a long history. According to Hroch, a nation is a large social group that is integrated by several objective relationships such as political, economic, linguistic, cultural, historical, religious and geographical. These several kinds of objective relationships have a subjective reflection in the collective consciousness. He further explained the role of various factors such as common memory. Comparatively, the Uighur and Hui have different memory of their past and the Uighur people are more connected and integrated with their past, unlike the Hui people who have a different background. The socio-cultural, political, economic and geographical factors mentioned by Hroch may be more helpful in understanding and explaining Uighur and Hui's approach toward nationalism. According to Miroslav Hroch political factor is one of the main and prime factors of nationalism. Historically the Uighur people had ruled over the region when they established the first Uighur empire/state around the mid-8th century in modern-day Mongolia. Since that time they expanded to the western region and established their independent khanate. This political background and history of independent ruling allowed them to develop a greater sense of political awareness and independence among the common masses.

Socio-Cultural and Political Background of Hui and Uighur

Contrary to the Uighur people, the Hui people have a different social and political background since their arrival in South-Eastern China. According to M.Ali Kettani, Muslims first came through the sea route, entered Guangdong province and then went to Xian the capital of the empire, where they met the king in 651 A.D. They stayed there and built a mosque, which is considered the oldest mosque in China known as the Xian mosque. The population of Hui Muslims increased due to the three main factors such as through migration, intermarriages with Han and conversion to Islam. From Tang Dynasty (618-907) to Song Dynasty (960- 1279), generally, the Muslims remained passive in the state activities. Later on, the Muslims became more prosperous during Yuan/ Mongol dynasty (1279- 1368). The conversion of Muslims increased as well as Arabic replaced by the Persian language and the Muslims becomes more influential during this dynasty. Apart from the army, Muslims enjoyed key posts in the administration like many Muslims became governors of different provinces during this period. Al-Sayyid Al- Ajall Shamsuddin Umar was one of the prominent Muslim governors of Yunnan province. With such diverse political backgrounds, both groups adopted different approaches toward national integration. Being part of the political system the Hui people remained politically more integrated, unlike Uighur people who have a different approach. The above-mentioned factors of assimilation and integration of Hui Muslim and diverse approach to Uighur people may be broadly categorized into socio-cultural, geographical, political and economic but at the same time the intellectual contribution of Hui scholars cannot be ignored which played a dominant role in Hui's integration.

Socio-cultural factors played an important role in the integration of Hui people as well as in the development of Uighur's separate identity. The overall history of Muslim integration

shows that both groups are Muslims having a different approach which led us to the conclusion that unlike religion other factors such as socio-cultural, political and geographical factors are playing a more active role in the development of this diverse approach of national integration of both groups. Many scholars and experts of the minority's issues in China argue that socio-cultural factors played an important role in Hui integration while the diverse socio-cultural background and history allowed the Uighur people to maintain their separate identity. This separate cultural and social identity remained one of the main factors of Uighur resistance against dominant Han culture. Cultural integration remained one of the main factors in hostile Uighur-Han relations in China during a different time period such as the clashes between Uighur and Han in 2009. Culturally and historically, the Uighurs associate themselves with the Turkic culture for hundreds of years, they have not fully integrated with the dominant Han culture. Comparatively speaking the Hui people on the other had different socio-cultural backgrounds which enable their integration with Han culture.

There are various reasons and factors for the socio-cultural integration of Hui people such as their history, migration and conversion but their settlement in the urban areas remained one of the main factors which enable them to closely interact and integrate with local society. The Guangdong province of China historically remained the main hub for economic activities where traders from different parts of the world were involved in business activities. The initial settlement of Arab Muslim traders in such populous and urbanized areas exposes them to the local culture and society, unlike Uighur people who were living in the geographically isolated area from mainland China. Urbanization is the main factor of economic development, socio-cultural activism and identity formation in any society. After their initial settlement, the Muslim population further expanded to other major cities such as Xian which remained one of the capitals and historic city during the dynastic period. These historical developments and Muslim settlement in the urban enable us to draw a logical

conclusion that historically the Hui Muslims settled in the urban areas which resulted in the greater Hui integration and assimilation with local culture and society. These historical pieces of evidence show and explain the current settlement of these people in all major cities of China. Contrary to the Hui people, the Uighur people mainly remained in rural areas and less expose to the dominant Han culture. The Xinjiang region has remained independent from direct political control of mainland China, although the Han dynasty expanded its influence into the region but it was not able to prolong its presence and control of the region.

The Qing dynasty in the late 19th century firmly established its control over the region and tried to culturally and socially integrate the region through Han migration into the region. This approach of national integration was not effective due to various socio-cultural and political factors as the dynasty lost its control and the Republic of China was established which changed the dynamics of the political system in China. In the recent time, particularly after 2000, the Chinese government adopted various approaches and policies of social and cultural integration of minority groups in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. These approaches include Han migration, economic development and promotion and implementation of the Mandarin language. With such migration in large number and economic activities enable the local people to interact with people of diverse socio-cultural background. One of the main objectives of the Western Development Program was to counter separatism and integrate the minority groups. With such initiatives, cities like Urumqi and Kashgar become urban centers particularly the capital city. The majority of the people during the interview highlighted this point that now the Uighur people are more concerned with their economic development, unlike the cultural identity and separatism which were their main objectives in the past. This analysis does not mean that the Uighur people are fully integrating with local culture and society, because there are still many challenges and hurdles for integration and assimilation like the presence of separatist elements. By comparing the social

integration of both ethnic groups, we may conclude that the process of Hui social integration is different, they were living in urban areas so it helped them to integrate with the local culture. The rural nature of the Uighur population had a different impact on the integration process. The process of urbanization and social integration is supported by other factors of minority integration such as the contribution of Muslim intellectuals.

Role of Hui Scholars in Integration and Assimilation Process

The Muslim intellectual elite particularly the Hui intellectuals played an important role in the integration and assimilation process. The main focus and finding of the study is the diverse approaches of Uighur people and contribution of Hui intellectuals for national integration. These intellectuals through their writing tried to integrate the teaching of Islam and Confucianism. Huge literature is produced known as Han Kitab which is the collection of various Islamic texts by the Muslim intellectual to synthesize Confucianism and Islam. Some Muslim scholars such as Liu Zhi, Wu Zunqie and Wang Daiyu mainly contributed to Han Kitab in the early 18th century. The Confucius Muslim scholars produced huge literature which remained a source of understanding the articulation of Chinese Muslim belief. The main scholars who produced this literature and promoted the commonalities of both ideologies had lived in Eastern and the urban areas. They were highly influenced by Confucius's philosophy such as Yuan Guozou a Nanjing-based Muslim scholar who attempted to codify Chinese language Islamic text. Several Hui Muslim scholars adopted certain principles from the Chinese education system to develop Islamic knowledge. As a result of this Sino-Islamic huge literature, a system of education was established known as Scripture Hall Education. This approach led to the relative isolation of Hui Muslims from Muslim learning centers and other Muslim ethnic groups. This argument further explains the Hui and Uighur diverse approaches as mentioned above. Although this relative isolation did not led to the complete

departure from their belief and values, still it has a long-lasting impact on their lives. On the other hand, the Uighur Muslims maintained and developed their literature and also established good relations and contact with the rest of the Muslim world. Contrary to this, the Hui Muslims adopted an approach of inculcation of Confucius values which helped their integration with Han people. It was not a sudden change; it was a gradual process that took centuries and where several prominent Hui intellectuals contributed to this process of integration, assimilation and sinicization.

Apart from these scholars the work and contribution of Ma Dexin have also remained an important chapter in the development of Han Kitab. Through his writing, he wanted to establish a theoretical and theological environment of peaceful co-existence between Islamic values and Confucius's philosophy. Wang Daiyu was another prominent scholar who contributed to the promotion of Sino-Islamic literature. He got a prominent position in the tradition, first, he claimed that his family came from the Middle East and second he was graduated from the Scripture Hall Education system which enabled him to study the Sino-Islamic literature in details. This long history of Sino-Islamic literature had a great impact on the majority of Hui intellectuals and common people which change the course of history ethnic nationalism in China.. So this intellectual contribution is one of the main factors that led to greater Hui integration while the Uighur intellectuals mainly focused on their history, culture and values. These internal or domestic factors are accompanied by some external factors which are also helpful in explaining ethnic nationalism and national integration in China particularly in the Xinjiang region.

Role of External Factors in Promoting Uighur Nationalism

External factors played and are playing an important role in highlighting and propagating the issues of Uighur nationalism in Xinjiang. Historically, the great powers

always directly or indirectly influenced the political environment of the Xinjiang region such as Russian support for warlords in the Republican era. In this age of globalization and greater communication, the role of external factors further increased. Mahesh Rajan Dobata has mentioned in his book on Separatism in Xinjiang the list of 67 Uighur organizations operating inside and outside Xinjiang. It shows significant number of organizations based in other countries such as Germany, the USA, Australia and European countries. Some prominent organizations are East Turkistan (Uyghuristan) National Congress Germany, East Turkistan Government in Exile USA, World Uighur Congress Germany and For a Free Uyghuristan in Kyrgyzstan. Although some organizations are inactive while others are playing a proactive role in raising and propagating Uighur nationalism at different forums.

China political system somehow contained the political consequences of globalization but the opening-up policy and liberalization of trade provide an opportunity for minority groups to interact with the rest of the world. Domestically China has strongly contained and eroded various groups and organization which supported separatism. The 1860s uprising both in Hui-dominated regions such as Western China and Yunnan and Uighur-dominated Xinjiang region were strongly suppressed by the central government. Such policies allowed the state to protect its territorial integrity and ethnic minority's integration. The successful suppression of the Hui uprising and resettlement policy is an example of state control over its territory which remained effective till today. Similarly, the government forces were also able to counter Yaqub Beg's rule in the South Xinjiang Kashgar region. These historical events and the rise of ethnic nationalism shows that such kind of nationalistic tendencies were present in the local population which was effectively countered by the central government. All these arguments and evidence demonstrate that the internal factors were more prominent during these uprisings. In the modern era, the role of internal factors are less influential

compare to the 1860s uprising and political developments. Various factors enable the external factors to play an active role in the promotion of ethnic nationalism. There are two main categories of external factors influencing and promoting ethnic nationalism in China which include the Uighur people living abroad and different human rights and other organizations, states and media groups around the world such as Human Rights Watch (HRW) and World Uighur Congress (WUC). The moral, political and financial support from the Western countries are enabling the exile Uighur people to adopt various means and tools to counter Chinese policies in the Xinjiang region. Chinese officials consider such support as a propaganda tool to counter China globally. This global campaign on denouncing Chinese policies in Xinjiang became less influential due to the support of majority Muslim countries for China.

In 2019, a group of 22 states signed a letter and addressed to the president of the United Nation Human Rights Council and United Nation High Commissioner for Human Rights urged China to its suppressive policies and detention centers in Xinjiang. The main objective of this letter was to denounce China's policies in the region. The ambassador of Germany Christoph Heusgen presented this view in the UN on behalf of 39 countries which mainly included the western countries such as Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and Australia. Although the US did not sign this letter but supported this group in the UN meeting. On the other hand, the representative of Cuba presented his statement on the behalf of 45 countries that supported Chinese policies of human rights and countering terrorism and extremism. Major Muslim countries such as Pakistan, Saudi Arab, UAE, Egypt and Syria supported Chinese policies. This diplomatic win against the dominant countries shows that the Xinjiang issue is highlighted and presented by the western countries and media to counter China's global influence. This argument may be viewed and analyzed in the context of

overwhelming support for China from the Muslim world. The recent development in China-Turkey relations further increased the support of the Muslim world for China. Recently China announced the ratification of the extradition treaty with Turkey which will enable China to punish those Uighur people who are involved in illegal or terrorist activities. This event will enable China to counter the propaganda and disinformation war. The overall support of the Muslim world shows that it will help China to counter the separatist tendencies in the region. This overwhelming support will also be effective in countering the western perspective on the Uighur issue. As mentioned above, the centralized political system of China helped in countering separatism movements but the external influence has remained one of the main challenges.

Recommendation for Future Research

National integration and minority issues are the main focus of scholars and researchers in the age of globalization. This research study mainly focused on the comparative analysis of Hui and Uighur ethnic groups approaches toward national integration. The available literature covered various dimensions and aspects of national integration, minority issues and separatism tendencies among ethnic groups in China. with passage of time and emergence of new challenges new dimensions and areas of research are opened to scholars and researcher. Belt and Road initiative (BRI) further enhanced the significance of Xinjiang region inhabited by different ethnic groups. The geo-strategic and geo-economic significance of Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous region became more important because it link China with Central Asia, South Asia and Europe. This will lead researchers and experts to focus on the other dimensions and Challenges for BRI.

There are certain other areas and topics which emerged in after BRI such as the integration of minority groups particularly in Xinjiang Region. This integration process is

viewed by many as force integration and even some people called it suppression and genocide of ethnic minority Uighur groups. While on the other hand the official Chinese perspective is negating such views and claims and argue that re-education camps are established in order to bring harmony and eliminate extremism in the region. These conflicting views and argument need further research that how China is integrating its minority groups and what should be its impact on society, economy and inter-regional trade. Similarly, this broader topic of national integration in Xinjiang province may led to other areas of research such as how the Chinese model of counter terrorism through economic development is effective and what should be the possible outcome of such policies for local development and integration as well as for regional integration and economic development.

List of Appendix

Appendix 1.

Hui Muslim Goodwill Mission 1938

Time from	Time to	Country	City from	City to (or for stay)	Days
November.16, 1937	January 10, 1938	China	Nanjing,	Hong Kong	56
Jan 11, 1938	February. 3, 1938		Hong Kong	Suez Canal	23
February. 3	February. 5		Suez	Jeddah	2
Feb. 5	March 2	Arabia		Mecca, Jeddah, Arafat, Mina	26
March 3	March 9		Jeddah	Suez	7
March 10	May 14	Egypt		Cairo, Suez, Alexandra (10 days), Port Said	66
May 15	May 17		Port Said	Beirut	2
May 17	May 23	Lebanon		Beirut	7
May 24			Beirut	Damascus	1
May 25	May 30	Syria		Damascus	6
May 31	June 1		Damascus	Bagdad	2
June 2	June 8	Iraq		Bagdad	7
June 9	June 10		Bagdad	Tehran	2
				Tehran, Isfahan, Bushehr	

June 11	June 25	Iran			15
June 26	July 1		Bushehr	Bombay	6
July 2	Oct. 10	India		Bombay, Lahore, Lucknow, Patna, Calcutta	101
Oct. 11	Oct. 24		Bombay	Istanbul	14
Oct. 25	Nov. 17	Turkey		Ankara, Istanbul	24
Nov 18	Nov. 23		Istanbul	Alexandra	5
Nov 24	Dec. 4	Egypt		Alexandra, Port Said	12
Dec. 5	Dec. 17		Port Said	Colombo	12
Dec 17	Dec. 18	Ceylon (Sri Lanka)		Colombo	1
Dec. 18	Dec. 26 (morning)		Colombo	Singapore	8
Dec. 26	(day time)	Malaya		Singapore	1
Dec. 26 (night)	Dec. 28		Singapore	Sai Kung	2
Dec 29	Jan 2, 1939	Annan (Vietnam)		Sai Kung	5
Jan 3, 1939	Jan. 10, 1939		Sai Kung	Hanoi	8

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