

**Muslim Politics in China: A Case Study of Uighur Muslim
Minority in Xinjiang Region**

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Dedication

To My Beloved Parents

Who are my only source of encouragement at every moment of my life.

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It is boundless and infinite mercy of Allah and his Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) that I have been able to complete this research. I have no words to describe my sensation of respect about my parents, sisters and brother because without their support, kindness and encouragement it could not be possible for me to attain this target. I am highly grateful to my supervisor Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi and my respected university teachers. I am grateful to my fellow students and my all friends who have supported me during my research.

Abstract

China is a state with diverse ethnic groups comprising of fifty six; out of which the Han Chinese ethnic group is the largest one. Among the rest ethnic groups, there are some Muslim ethnic groups with their peculiar characteristics of religion, language, history and culture. The Uighur community is prominent among the Muslims due to their big population, large area and differences with the Chinese Government.

The Uighur's differences with the Chinese authorities are not a new phenomenon; rather it dates back to the colonial era. The misunderstanding has led the both parties to clashes, in pre and post independence periods. Chinese Government has tried in different times to facilitate the Uighur community and to end their grievances. On the other hand, the Uyghur have complaints of discrimination from the Beijing Regime. This discrimination gave birth to the demand of Uighur's separate homeland "East Turkistan". To achieve the said purpose, the East Turkistan Movement initiated with some violent methods. It is believed by the Beijing Authority that the movement is a terrorist organization with foreign support of material, training and finance.

The present research opens the pages of this dilemma and tries to understand the respective positions of both; the Uighur community and Chinese Government. In this respect, current research is conducted to address the questions that what are the discriminations faced by the Muslims in China especially the Uighur community and what are the facilities given by the Chinese Government? This thesis is also an attempt to draw various possible accepted solutions for both parties.

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Introduction

China has its history as back as five thousand years. In different times it was ruled by the different dynasties. Most of the imperial rulers in China are considered as the members of the Han community. The rise of the dynasties has a cyclic process and the fall of the dynasties is led by the modernization, reforms and revolutions in the country. With time to time China government faced many of the uprisings and tensions in the country. If we talk about the proportion of the population of Uighur's community in Xinjiang region, it is 45% of the total population whereas Han community consists of the 41% percent of the total population in the Xinjiang region.¹

In China Uighur's minority wants to make their separate home land so that they could live their life according to their own rules and regulation of their religion, whereas China's government wants them to merge into the main stream of China. To establish their separate home land Uighurs community initiated the East Turkistan Independence Movement and latter all the organizers of the East Turkistan Independence Movement were called as the terrorists. Although East Turkistan Movement is working for the independence and separate homeland but most of the Chinese living in Xinjiang region do not support this campaign. U.S. and China's governments are of the view that East Turkistan Islamic movement has its links with Al-Qaeda terrorist group. They are of the view that they are getting support and training from Al-Qaeda.²

Uighur community is of the view that it is difficult for them to assimilate into the main stream of China. It is so because they are very much different from the majority of the Chinese population

¹ Jackie Armijo, "Muslim Education in China." In *The madrasa in Asia: political activism and transnational linkages*, by Yoginder Sikand, Martin van Bruinessen Ahmad-Noor A. Noor, (171. Amsterdam: Amsterdam university press, 2008), 71

² M. Spiegel, "Congressional Human Rights Caucus (CHRC) Members' Briefing: The Human Rights Situation of Uighurs in the People's Republic of China (PRC)." Human rights watch, April 27, 2005, <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2005/04/2> (accessed July 27, 2011).

and do not have any thing common. They are of the view that they have threats from the Han community regarding culture, language, religion whereas China's government is of the view that many of the separatist groups have their links with the terrorist activities and with the drug trade. They are of the view that the East Turkistan Movement is led by the foreign nations and it is seek to weaken` the Chinese nation. China's government is of the view that under the Chinese administration Uighurs community is flourishing and their living standards are getting better as compare to the past and they have complete freedom of religious activities.³

In spite of the uprisings and tensions in the region by the Uighur community, after 1990 China's government is building roads, highways and railways and airports to connect the region with the major cities.⁴ Because of the improvement in the infrastructure the economic conditions of the Uighur minority is improved as they can develop the trade links with the other nation.⁵ China's constitution gave the authority to the national minorities to have their own autonomous government in their region but with all that they have to accept the authorities of the central government of China.⁶

Stricter control on the Uighur community is because China's government is of the view that the Uighur religious behavior has its links with the separatist movement in the region. China government is using war against terrorism to meet all the crimes in the country. Many of the legal and judicial reforms are improving the human rights situation in the region. According to

³ Raphael Israeli, "The Muslim Minority in the People's Republic of China." *Asian Survey*, Vol. 21, No. 8, (Aug., 1981): 917

⁴Preeti Bhattacharji, *Uighurs and China's Xinjiang Region*. July 06, 2009, <http://www.cfr.org/china/uighurs-chinas-xinjiang-region/p16870> (accessed March 02, 2011).

⁵Lauren Zumbach, *A Moral Question: Addressing Human Rights in Xinjiang*. March 28, 2010, <http://afpprinceton.com/2010/03/a-moral-question-addressing-human-rights-in-xinjiang/> (accessed March 15, 2011).

⁶*Freedom of Religious Belief in China*. October 1997, <http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/whitepaper/blsreligion.htm> (accessed January 28, 2010).

the China's government Chinese society is ruled by law and they are permitting all the minorities to practice their religious norms and condition.⁷

Problem statement

China is a country with multi-ethnicity with a considerable population of Muslims. Various ethnic groups of the Muslims are present in China in which Uighurs are the prominent. it is due to the reason that Uighurs have kept their distinction as not belong to the Chinese ethnicity but to the Turkic origin, having their own popular traditions, history and language. they have demanded for the separate homeland in the wake of misunderstandings between them and the government. They are of the opinion that the government is not ready to bring them into the mainstream politics and thus are deprived of their due rights.

Research questions

- What is the history of the Uighurs problem? Is it after the independence of the Peoples Republic of China or it has its links as far back in the history?
- From where these militants belong to and what is their nationality and have they any link with the international terrorist organization?
- Why Uighurs community is not assimilated into the Chinese nation, is it because of the flaws in the China's ethnic policies for the Uighurs community in the region?
- Is there any role of the international community or third party in the rise of the Uighurs community against the government?
- What are the factors that made Uighurs minority to rise against the government?
- Are the Uighurs really facing any repression against their religion in the country?

⁷Ishaan Tharoor, *Al Qaeda Leader: China, Enemy to Muslim World*. October 9, 2009,
<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1929388,00.html> (accessed February 23, 2010).

Hypothesis

The proposed research will test the following hypothesis:

Muslims have been participating in the politics of China but there are some misunderstandings between them and the government; especially Uighur minority. For the smooth running of political process; good governance is pivotal. To remove misunderstandings, more participation of the Muslims in the government circle is necessary. To eradicate the tendency of extremism and insurgency and to have common consensus negotiation is the best policy.

Literature review

Most of the literature relevant to the topic is in Chinese language so it is difficult to use the literature written by the Chinese authors. For this study books, articles and reports from all over the world will be used. A brief survey of the available literature is given below.

Richard Madsen works in the area of the culture, religion and Chinese society. He writes in his article “China’s Confounding Religious Rival” about the situation of the Chinese society. He had tried to show the picture that how China government is suppressing the rights of the Muslim community in China.

Calla Wiemer in his article “The Economy Of Xinjiang” in S. Frederick Starr’s book *Xinjiang: China’s Muslim Brother land* writes that during the year 1880 Qing dynasty has the revival in the Xinjiang region with many of the betterment in the fields of economy and agriculture. Qing dynasty aggressively decided to expand the agricultural area of the country and for this reason they decided to incorporate more land area into the agricultural field and for this purpose many of the land area was given to the formers in the region. During this period region

made developments in many of the field in agriculture and to some extent cloths were the most exporting good in the Xinjiang region. After 1930 many of the developments in infrastructure were made with the help of Soviet Union as Soviet Union gave loans to China government for the purpose.

Foster Stockwell is a publishing consultant for Chinese publishers and authors. He discussed in his book *Religion in China Today* about the phenomenon of the religious life of the Chinese people. This book includes the view point of the religious leaders and can be helpful for the researchers and for those who are interested in different religions of the world.

Michael Yahuda has expertise in International politics of East Asia; China's foreign relations. He contributed in the book *Asian nationalism* edited by Michael Leifer by writing a chapter on The Changing Faces of Chinese Nationalism. He discussed in this chapter that how after the collapse of the Soviet Union Chinese religious minorities have struggled against the Chinese rule and that Uighurs group was blamed for all the riots and disturbance in the country.

This book is very much helpful for the research,

Derk Bodde was an American Sociologist and historian of China. He was pioneer in writing the history of Chinese legal system. In his article "China's Muslim minority" that was published in *For eastern survey* he discussed that the unity of the Chinese Muslim is because of the religion, educational aspects and their social and economic conditions. For China's Muslim minority religion is very important as compared to the other minorities and because of the reason they are being exploited in the country.

Christine drake is a professor of geography at Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Virginia in her article "National Integration in China and Indonesia" published in *Geographical*

Review discuss about national integration as the primary concern for China and Indonesia and national policies are compared in many of the ways.

Objective of the study

Objective of the study is to find out all those reasons and misunderstandings that are creating tensions in the region between the Chinese Government and Uyghur community. It is also to find out that the foreign powers are promoting Muslim uprisings in China or not.

Research methodology

This will be a qualitative and analytical research and will be based on the primary and secondary sources. Primary sources will be like China's official web site for example Foreign Ministry of Peoples Republic of China and secondary sources will be various books, research articles, magazines, newspapers and reports such as human watch reports regarding the issue at hand.

Detailed outline

Introduction

Chapter 1

Muslim Politics in China

Chapter 2

Misunderstandings between the Government and the Muslims

Chapter 3

The Uighur Community

Chapter 4

Government-Uighur relations

Chapter 5

Impacts of Uighurs tensions

Conclusion

CHAPTER: 1

MUSLIM POLITICS IN CHINA

China is a country with cultural diversification and diverse religious beliefs. Main religions practiced in China are Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism. According to the government authorities in China all the citizens are allowed to practice their religion freely and adapt their beliefs according to their own choice. In China there are many websites working for the religious teachings many of the religious leaders are there to guide the followers and solve their problems. During the Cultural Revolution all the aspects of society faced the negative effects and to eliminate the negative affects of the Cultural Revolution the China's government made many efforts. Government has made policies to give the freedom of the religious belief to the minority groups of the country and made justice stronger⁸ It seems that China is following the theory of good governance as they are making good and cordial policies even for the minority groups necessary for the political development of the country.

Islam in China is present since the Tang dynasty and had always remained a challenge for the government authorities of China, even at times they were the threat to the establishment of the Peoples Republic of China. Due to the affiliation to the Islamic culture Muslims were trying to assimilate into the Chinese culture from distance. In other words they tried to strengthen the Islamic rules and regulation and tried to rule out their own Islamic superiority in the country. They were trying to strengthen the rules and regulation in the country that was quite unknown to the other groups within the country.⁹

⁸*Freedom of Religious Belief in China*. October 1997, <http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/whitepaper/blsreligion.htm> (accessed January 28, 2010).

⁹ Raphael Israeli, "Muslims in China: The Incompatibility between Islam and the Chinese Order." *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, Vol. 63, Livr. 4/5 (1977): 290

Muslims in all over the world take great pride by referencing a hadith “seek knowledge even unto China”. Even at the time of Holly Prophet (S.A.W) China was given more importance because of the order to seek knowledge even if in China. It was so because China was considered more developed even at the time of Holly Prophet (S.A.W).¹⁰

1.1 Nationalism in China

Nationalism in China belongs with the recent history. In its modern meaning it gives the idea about the political and territorial self determination, national identity based on particular culture and the idea about the national self defense. The concept of nationalism was basically derived from the European nations. The modern concept of the nation state basically gives an idea about the political organization that came into force because of the struggle among government and common people and among old system and modern system. The concept is achieved to get political status and to compete on the global level.¹¹ In China there is politics of representation which is often used for both of the minority and majority groups of the country. Some time it is taken as the imagined ideas and is not applicable in the social life as the Han group is always taken as the majority or representative group in the country. Different scholars in China have noted that the representation of the minority groups in the country into different state organizations are somewhat critical and is useful to the integrity and prosperity of the state.¹²

Nationalism in China appeared because of the western imperialism. It was started in 1919 and is referred to the movement against the Treaty of Versailles in which Chinese territory was

¹⁰History of Islam in China. <http://chinese-school.netfirms.com/Muslims.html> (accessed January 17, 2010).

¹¹Suisheng Zhao, "Chinese Nationalism and its International Orientations." *political science quarterly*, vol. 115, No. 1 (Spring, 2000): 22.

¹²Dru C. Gladney, "Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities." *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (Feb., 1994):98-99

transferred to Japan. Nationalism in China revived in 1978 and 1989 by Chinese Communist Party. It was because China intended to play an active role in the international affairs while maintaining peace at home and achieving its national goals. In this situation nationalism could be a tool to maintain peace and prosperity at the national level but at the same time it could harm its image internationally.¹³ The nationalists in China are critical to their own country, they are not strong enough to look after and stand for their national interests. Minorities in the country are of the view that government is banning their cultural instincts along with that propagating and washing the minds of the common people that their country is strong. In fact the government officials are weak in their authority and afraid that is the reason they are banning the minorities in the country.¹⁴

1.2 Religion in China

According to the western scholars of religion, religion belongs with the beliefs of the people that do not exist in reality. Rituals are best way to express their religion. With time to time these rituals and beliefs are preserved, developed and started working through religious institutions. But modern scholars have different view point, according to them the concepts of religion and secularization are developing separately from the concepts and modernization of the western societies over the past four centuries.¹⁵

Until death of Mao Zedong in 1976 and during the Cultural Revolution, all the religions were suppressed in the country. At that time it was presumed by many of the scholars that Chinese religion was dead. But after 1979, all the religious activities were resurveyed and new forms of

¹³JayshreeBajoria, Nationalism in China. April 23, 2008, http://www.cfr.org/publication/16079/nationalism_in_china.html (accessed september 16, 2010).

¹⁴DamianGrammaticas, *China's rising nationalism troubles West*. November 17, 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8363260.stm> (accessed September 16, 2010).

¹⁵RichardMadsen, "China's Coufounding religious revival." *Current History*(September 2007): 290.

religion were invented. This makes the scholars difficult to understand the Chinese societies. Matteo Ricci claimed that Chinese society has no religion in spite of the reason it was guided by the Confucius teachings that were very rich and profound in nature and were not very different from the Christian teachings. However Confucius teachings were not new for the Chinese society, somewhat hundred years back Chinese scholars adapted it from the western scholars.¹⁶

Islam was propagated between the Muslims in China before 1300 years in the Hui people. But many of the problems faced by Muslims are relevant to the Turkic and Indo-European Muslims. Hui teachings were used in China to introduce Islam in the country. Hui community in the country is given the identity of Chinese Muslims and presently they are known as the Sino Muslims. This situation is misleading and discriminatory because by law all the nations in China are Chinese and there are many of the Hui communities which do not speak Chinese language for example Tibetan, Mongolian, Thai and Hainan Muslims. These groups are termed the members of the Hui community but they are using the languages of those areas where they are residing along with the Chinese national language that they have learned in their schools. As compared to the other minorities in the country Hui are closer to Han community in terms of their culture and demography. They are adapting Han way of life along with the Islamic teaching and many of the reformers criticized these acts. In the past timings it was not a great problem for the Turkic and Indo European groups because they were not having any direct link with the Han community, but since last forty years the situation has been changed. Because of the state sponsored national campaigns for identity, groups in the country have started considering

¹⁶RichardMadsen, "China's Coufounding religious revival." *Current History*(September 2007): 293.

themselves more ethnic nationalities, and trying to establish themselves somewhat above the Islamic teachings.¹⁷

Chinese government has broad casted the provisions of the religious activities for the minorities in the country. China's government respects the religious activities and freedom in the country, government policies also allows the religious base contacts, cultural and academic exchanges with in the country. Chinese minorities are allowed to participate in the religious activities on the states recognized sites; they can also preach their religion on the national and provincial level.¹⁸

1.3 Muslims in China

All these members of Islam belong to the eleven minority ethnic groups. They are known as the Uighurs, Huis, Uighurs, Kazaks, Tartars, Kirgizs, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Dongxiangs, Salars and Bonans. In their living styles and physical features they are quite different from the majority group (Han). They are provided financial subsidies by the government and are allowed to improve their living standard by their own choice. They are being provided with their separate schools, hospitals and are getting other benefits.¹⁹

In all most every school, college and work places there are at least ten Muslims. At almost all the work places and educational institutions there are separate dining tables for the Muslim and because of this special treatment with the minority group the Han members feel resentment because they are of the view all the members of the society should be treated on the equal basis and not any one of them should be getting benefits on the ethnic basis but the treatment to the minorities are taken as the law of the land. After 1947 China government has tried to eliminate

¹⁷Dru C. Gladney, "Islam in China: Accommodation or Separatism?" *The China Quarterly*, No. 174 (Jun., 2003): 450.

¹⁸*Freedom of Religious Belief in China*. October 1997, <http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/whitepaper/blsreligion.htm> (accessed January 28, 2010).

¹⁹FosterStockwell, *Religion in China Today* (Beijing: China international book trading corporation, 1993), 114.

the discriminations to the Muslim minorities in the country but before 1947 the situation of the Muslims was quite different.²⁰ In spite of the reason, China government is trying to eliminate the differences in all the 56 ethnic groups; Muslims have been rising complain for injustice at the educational institutions and at the work places.²¹

Muslims in China remained themselves different with the majority group because of the Islamic affiliations. Hui is the group that has adapted many of the rules and regulations of the Han group even then they have maintained their own separate Muslim identity.²²

The situation of the Muslims in China is same like as it was 1,400 years back when they were experiencing continual interaction with the Chinese society. But some of the challenges are new and erupted because of the globalized society. These challenges became more intense after the incident of 9/11, after the initiation of the Global War on Terrorism, Muslims in China have started facing more problems in the country as they are living as the minority group and all other non Muslim groups as secularist and kafir (infidel). Many of groups from Muslim community in China had been surviving in inhospitable circumstances, although they are in small number but their population is more than the Muslims in other countries like Malaysia and even Middle East. But the Muslims in China are facing more problems for their security and identity. The problem arose because China is a secular state but the Muslims want to rule or run the country according to their religious teachings.²³

Muslims in China were facing series of civil wars and whenever they rose their voice they were invaded by the higher authorities in the country. They have bear natural disasters and were

²⁰ FosterStockwell. *Religion in China Today*. (Beijing: China international book trading corporation, 1993)/142

²¹ FosterStockwell, *Religion in China Today*. (Beijing: China international book trading corporation, 1993),142

²² M. EhsanAhrari, "China, Pakistan, and the "Taliban Syndrome"" *Asian Survey*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Jul. - Aug., 2000): 663.

²³ Dru C. Gladney, "Islam in China: Accommodation or Separatism?" *The China Quarterly*, No. 174 (Jun., 2003): 439.

forced for the resettlement in the country. They were also experiencing the oppression to their religion. Their religion was banned and they were not allowed to practice their religion in the country. Their mosques were closed and religious leaders were imprisoned and they were completely cut off from the larger Islamic communities. In spite of the reason the Muslims in China have survived in China and also strengthened their status to the higher level.²⁴

1.4 Legal protection to the religious beliefs in China

In China all the minorities have legal protection to their religious rights which is the basic right to all the human beings. Article 36 of the Chinese constitution explains that all the ethnic minorities in the country have the religious freedom and not a single state organization can force any of the group or group member to believe in any of the religious teachings or not to believe that and there will not be any discrimination to any of the group on the religious basis. Constitution of China also explain that state will support and protect normal religious activities and common people are not supposed to use religion for getting engaged into the destructive activities in the country and religious activities will not be taken as the role or domination of the foreign powers. All the members of the ethnic minorities are allowed to participate in the election and to represent their ethnic group. Government of the country is bound to protect the property hold by the religious organizations. China government is also bound to facilitate the religious contacts of different ethnic groups within the country. Religious freedom to the minorities given in the Chinese constitution is according to the international documents and conventions related to the religious freedom.²⁵

²⁴ L. J. Newby, "The Pure and True Religion in China." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Apr., 1988): 922.

²⁵ *Freedom of Religious Belief in China*. October 1997, <http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/whitepaper/blsreligion.htm> (accessed January 28, 2010).

Even though the constitution of China gives the protection to the minority rights to practice their religion freely, government is continually making anti-Islam polices in the country.²⁶ For example during the period of Mao all the religious places of the Muslims and the copies of Quran were destroyed.²⁷ Along with this situation China government is punishing the people who are committing anti-minority activities but this does not show that China government has changed its anti-Islam policies. China government is making more policies related to the Muslims after the Muslims' demonstration in the country.²⁸

China's government is of the view that religious beliefs are the personal affairs of the citizens. However to make the country more powerful and prosperous is the common goal for all those who believe in the religion and for those who do not believe in. To maintain the prosperity in the country Chinese government provides complete protection to the religious beliefs and gives the opportunity to all the citizens whether they believe in any religion or not, to get together for the achievement of the national goals.²⁹

1.5 Muslims are tightly stuck with their ethnic culture

During the time period of Kangxi of Qing dynasty (1662-1723), his advisers proposed a ban on Islam. He was told that a vast majority of the Muslims are gathering in a mosque and are about to plan for a rebellion. But the emperor himself investigated the problem that proved false.³⁰ This incident is not only important for the king's action but also points out two behaviors, one of the

²⁶KaziMahmood,*China Continues Suppression of Islam in Provinces*. <http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2001-09/08/article3.shtml> (accessed January 28, 2010).

²⁷Altinoluk, "Islam in China." *Wisdom*. Jan/Feb 2010, <http://www.sufi wisdom.net/index.php?sayfa=yillar&MakaleNo=d021s035m1> (accessed June 03, 2012).

²⁸KaziMahmood,*China Continues Suppression of Islam in Provinces*. <http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2001-09/08/article3.html> (accessed January 28, 2010).

²⁹*Legal Protection of the Freedom of religious beliefs*. <http://www.china.org.cn/e-white/Freedom/f-2.htm> (accessed September 16, 2010).

³⁰Foster Stockwell,*Religion in China Today*(Beijing: China international book trading corporation, 1993), 133.

king's and second of the advisors of the king who belong with the common group of the population. On one side this incident is giving and idea about that how Muslim had been discriminating in the region and on the other side it shows the kind behavior of the king, who was supporting the Muslims community and was facilitating them to fulfill their basic needs and to perform their religious activities.³¹

It is said that with the advancement of technology Islamic civilization was ended. A great majority of the Muslims are of the view the original theme of the Islamic civilization does not exist in the present and they are working to revive all those rules and regulations in their original form and they are also working to save them from any of the damage. It shows that Muslim are accepting all the rules and regulations presented by historians, in spite of the reasons those rules and regulations have many of the short comings and do not meet the requirements of the modern world. It is said that for the present Muslims, Islam is only a history and the main purpose of the Islamic teachings was to provide people war like concepts with faith. As in past Muslims were conquering the nations which were more superior and power full from them, they were doing so on the art of civilization and were giving them the unified law and government. As the time pass under the theological state system the mind set of the Muslims became at a standstill, they want to rule the state according to their religious rules³²

Many of the Muslims of China are now living in other countries as exiles. Many of them are living in the neighboring areas of China, Turkey and Saudi Arabia. Those who are living in Saudi Arabia are working as tailors, shirt makers and shoe manufacturers. They chose to reside over there after performing hajj and are less patriotic and attached to the cultural norms as

³¹Foster Stockwell, *Religion in China Today* (Beijing: China international book trading corporation, 1993), 133.

³²MansoorMoadel, "Religion and Women: Islamic Modernism versus Fundamentalism." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Mar., 1998): 129.

compare to the Muslims living in Turkey. After the creation of the Peoples Republic of China the arrival of the Muslim into the south west Asia was increased.³³

Muslims in China feel more affinity with Muslims living outside China as compare to their Chinese neighbors, in other words they are more aliened with the concept of Muslim *Umma* where as they do not give enough value to the local identities. The identity that Chinese are having through remaining aliened with the religious worshipper is taken as temporary as it is not enough for the Chinese identity as the Chinese people have in their villages, province or country. Secondly the attachment with the old norms of the society is because of their ancestors and the local spirits whose protection they got at the time of calamity or loss. ³⁴

1.6 Muslims are divided into different ideological movements

Muslims in China have divided themselves into different ideological movements and these movements are getting complex because of the concept of the ethnicity. These divisions are making possible that Chinese Muslims will engage themselves into an undefined collective action and because of the ethnic injustice the result into the political disturbance. Some members of the Uighurs community are also working for the independence of the Xinjiang region and for the fulfillment of the purposes they are indulging themselves into the terrorist and violent activities. Government is suppressing all those activities for the peace, security and integration of the country. Some of the scholars are of the view that all the Muslims in China are not in favor of

³³Sen-Dou Chang, "The Distribution and Occupations of Overseas Chinese." *Geographical Review*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (Jan., 1968):99.

³⁴Raphael Israeli, "Muslims in China: The Incompatibility between Islam and the Chinese Order." *T'oungPao*, Second Series, Vol. 63, Livr. 4/5 (1977):319.

the radical movements but the harsh policies of the government are forcing them to adopt such behavior.³⁵

1.7 Role of Chinese Muslims in the government

After 1949 Muslims are allowed to participate in the government. Now they are allowed to participate in the local and national affairs of the country. Now Muslims are allowed to represent their Islamic community. Now Muslims have more representation in the government as compared to the proportion of their population. They are also emphasizing the role of the women in the government and women are holding important positions in the government.³⁶

Muslims are of the view that their religion teaches its followers that they should love their country and should work for the betterment of the country and to achieve national goals.³⁷ United States is also playing very important role in this situation, as it was said that United States was playing the “business as usual” with the Chinese problem that China government was harassing religious leaders from Muslim, Christian and from other communities in the country not to practice their religion. They sell the dangerous weapons to most violent group, help out the slaves to become powerful and forces for the abortion. But in presently China’s government want to eliminate all the tensions in the country as it does not want to have terror situation inside its borders.³⁸

³⁵Richard Madsen, "China's Coufounding religious revival." *Current History*(September 2007): 288-295.

³⁶Foster Stockwell, *Religion in China Today*(Beijing: China international book trading corporation, 1993), 83

³⁷Foster Stockwell, *Religion in China Today*(Beijing: China international book trading corporation, 1993), 84

³⁸ David M. Lampton, "China." *Foreign Policy*, No. 110, Special Edition: *Frontiers of Knowledge* (Spring, 1998): 13-14.

1.7.1 Chinese Islamic Association

Chinese Islamic Association was started in 1952. This association is working for the preservation of the culture and history of the Muslims in China, organize pilgrimage and in their research writing they include the recommendations for the Islamic classics. It also discusses the government's policies that to what extent religious practices should have the freedom and to what extent these policies have the implementation in the country. They are also working for the strengthening the faith of the Muslims and providing them Islamic teachings.³⁹

After the creation of the Peoples Republic of China many of the Muslims joined Communist Party. At that time government was giving respect and protection to the faith of the Muslims. After the creation of the Chinese Islamic association, now many of the Islamic Associations are organized to coordinate ethnic affairs in all over the country.⁴⁰

Role of Chinese Islamic Association is to assist the government authorities to make such policies that ensure the religious freedom in the country. It raises different issues faced by the Islamic population in the country. They unite Muslims in the country for the prosperity of their country and well being of their religion and to assist the Muslim community to build friendly relation with the local and international communities. Later Islamic associations were created on the local level that was doing the business to assist the common people of the Muslim community in the country.⁴¹

³⁹Foster Stockwell, *Religion in China Today*(Beijing: China international book trading corporation, 1993). 148-149

⁴⁰Shahriar Kabir, *Muslims in China*. <http://www.secularvoiceofbangladesh.org/Muslims%20in%20China.htm> (accessed January 18, 2010).

⁴¹CHAPTER 4-2 *The Formation of Islamic Organizations and Their Activities in China*.

<http://www.aboutxinjiang.com/zt/Islam/CHAPTER%204-2%20The%20Formation%20of%20Islamic%20Organizations%20and%20Their%20Activities%20in%20China.htm> (accessed September 16, 2010).

1.8 Regional inequality

Regional inequality is very important issue in China after 1949 and it is considered very important issue in the development of the country. Reforms in the systems of the country are considered as one of the reason for the regional inequality. In Chinese history, Deng Xiaoping tried to lessen the regional inequalities among the regions of the country after the reforms in 1978. Under the rule of Mao, regional inequality could be divided into two phases. First phase started from 1950s and ended in 1958, whereas second phase starts from 1960 and lasts till 1970. Two years of 1958-1960 are known as the line of divisions among the two phases of regional inequality.⁴²

Regional inequality in economic field in China has many factors. First could be taken as the imbalanced development of regional economies, secondly regional development was not priority for the national government of China. Third reason the poor planning for the remote regions of the country. Political events in the country also affected the economic development of the country; Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution could be taken as the examples in this regard.⁴³

Inequality in China started in 1978 when Chinese Government started introducing different incentives regarding one's personal affairs and market forces. Social policies of the Chinese Government also contributed to the regional equality in the country as they were giving more priority to the urban and interior areas as compared to the rural and coastal areas. Initially because of the social policies the income growth was more than the income growth of the urban areas but sooner the situation became reversed. "Rural per capita income was 38.9% of urban per

⁴²Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography, Vol. 80, No. 1, (1998): 13.

⁴³Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography, Vol. 80, No. 1, (1998): 15.

capita income in 1978, 53.8% in 1985, and was down to 35.9% in 2000 (Lin, 2003). Inequality decompositions show that the rural-urban income gap explained one-third of total inequality in 1995 and one-half the increase in inequality since 1985".⁴⁴

1.9 Cultural Revolution, a struggle for power

Cultural Revolution (1966-1977) in China is taken as the struggle for power between the ethnic groups within Chinese nation. On 26th June 1966, New York Times wrote that "titanic struggle" is taking place in China. The efforts for the struggle of power were started in 1966 and in a concept "Titanic struggle" was taken as the challenge.⁴⁵

After the creation of Peoples Republic of China in 1949, many of the disturbances and tensions erupted in China that ended during the Cultural Revolution. After the third Congress of eleventh Centralized Committee, government changed its policies for Muslims community and made these policies in favor of the Muslims in the country. During 1976 Chinese Government declared the religious freedom in the country and achieved confidence of Muslims in all over the country. According to the religious leaders in China in present religion is having more modest revival because in present times there are more worshipers as compared to the past.⁴⁶

1.9.1 Suppression of the minorities

During the time period of 1986, it was noted that people from all the ethnic minorities in the country were feeling suppression on the cultural bases. At time Muslims were taken back with their religious freedom that they have achieved through their struggles of many years. During the

⁴⁴ Arsenio M. Balisacan and Geoffrey M Ducanes, *Inequality in Asia:a synthesis of recent research on the levels, trends, effects and determinants of inequality in its different dimensions*. February 2006, <http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/3112.pdf> (accessed September 17, 2010)

⁴⁵ Ellis Joffe, "China in Mid-1966: "Cultural Revolution" or Struggle for Power?" *The China Quarterly* (Jul. - Sep., 1966): 130.

⁴⁶ *History of Islam in China*. <http://chinese-school.netfirms.com/Muslims.html> (accessed January 17, 2010).

Cultural Revolution most of the mosques were closed and religious leaders were forced to work in the factories or in the rural areas, but after the Cultural Revolution all the policies were revived and the religious minorities including Muslims were given the freedom to practice their religion. Now all the religious organizations are working independently, they are free to organize the religious gatherings and to the religious teachings in all over the country. China has a policy to set religion apart from the education and it is not recommended to give religious teachings into the educational institutions. In spite of the reason many of the institutions are giving religious education and conducting research in the religious fields. Many of the institutes in China are free to set their curriculum according to their own choice.⁴⁷

1.10 Threat for the rulers

Muslims in China are challenging the government authorities of the country through the separatist movements. In present many of the separatist movements are working in China for the achievement of their political purposes. Many of them are working outside the country and the diverse political goals and strategies for the Xinjiang region but they all agreed that Xinjiang region affected largely because of the Chinese and Soviet invasion. The independence of the Soviet Republics in 1991 encouraged the Muslim community for their separate home land. But in 1996 Muslim organizations in China make an agreement with the Chinese government they will not support the separatist for the fulfillment of their purposes.⁴⁸

As Uighurs are appearing as the united nation working for the common cause, but they have many of the differences in themselves and they have many of the conflicts in terms of religion,

⁴⁷Kabir, *Muslims in China*. <http://www.secularvoiceofbangladesh.org/Muslims%20in%20China.htm> (accessed January 18, 2010).

⁴⁸Dru C. Gladney, *Islam in China: Beijing's Hui and Uighur Challenge*. Winter/Spring 2007, <http://www.worlddialogue.org/content.php?id=403> (accessed January 17, 2010).

territory, language and political affiliations. The evidence of the matter becomes clear through the incident of the attack on the Imam of the Idgah Mosque in Kashgar in 1996 by some of the Uighurs. The assassination of at least six Chinese officials in September 2001 could also be taken as the example for the matter.⁴⁹

Muslims in China are committing terrorist activities to achieve their goals and to force the higher authorities to accept their demands. Most of those who are committing terrorist activities in the country are the Uighur or Tibetan separatists. Government is arresting these terrorists for their alleged crimes and executing them for committing the crime of bombing in the cities of China. Such crimes are becoming common in the country since 1997 and this proves through the documents of Amnesty International.⁵⁰

1.11 Enmity between Huis and Uighurs

In China Islam is the only thing that is taken as the source of unity for the Muslim communities. Huis and Uighurs both are the Muslim groups and have almost same cultures; in spite of the reason both the groups have some diverse ideas for the government and the independence movement. A few numbers of the Huis support the independence movement and a vast majority of Kazakhs have very little say in the independence movement.⁵¹

Cultural and linguistic grievances in China are increasing among the minority and majority groups and these grievances are increasing because of the internal problem. Because of the economic decline and uneven growth clashes among the majority and minority groups especially

⁴⁹Dru C. Gladney, *Islam in China: Beijing's Hui and Uighur Challenge*. Winter/Spring 2007, <http://www.worlddialogue.org/content.php?id=403> (accessed January 17, 2010).

⁵⁰Dru C. Gladney, "Islam in China: Accommodation or Separatism?" *The China Quarterly*, No. 174 (Jun., 2003): 454.

⁵¹Dru C. Gladney, *Islam in China: Beijing's Hui and Uighur Challenge*. Winter/Spring 2007, <http://www.worlddialogue.org/content.php?id=403> (accessed January 17, 2010).

Han and Muslims are increasing resulting many of the deaths and injuries. All the government policies for the minority groups have the recognition from the government officials that the minority areas should be given the limited autonomy and unofficially they are putting their efforts to control those areas.⁵²

1.12 All the Muslims do not support separatist movement

Muslims separatists in China are not powerful in their campaign, they are poorly equipped, have weak communication system, and are killed by Chinese army on large scale. It is also important to note that the other nine Muslim minorities do not support the separatist movement in China. It is said that the support to the independence movement with the Xinjiang region and in the neighboring areas is quite blurred and is creating economic disparities in the region. Because of the separatist movements local population is not able to enjoy the economic facilities.⁵³

In spite of the mistreatment issues and abuse of the rights of the Muslims, the other nine Muslim minorities do not support separatist movements in Xinjiang region. Many of the local activists do not support the complete separate region but they are more concerned about the environmental degradation in the region.⁵⁴

1.13 Chinese-Muslim relations

Relationship among Chinese and Muslims community is disrupted because of the internal and external factors, and these factors are based on both political and social problems. During the

⁵²Dru C.Gladney, July 16, 2009, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970203547904574279952210843672.html> (accessed January 28, 2010).

⁵³Dru C. Gladney,*Islam in China: Beijing's Hui and Uighur Challenge*. Winter/Spring 2007,<http://www.worlddialogue.org/content.php?id=403> (accessed January 17, 2010).

⁵⁴Dru C. Gladney,*Islam in China: Beijing's Hui and Uighur Challenge*. Spring 2007,<http://www.worlddialogue.org/content.php?id=403> (accessed October 12, 2010).

recent years the problem in the Xinjiang region is lessening but it does not mean that problem has been solved.⁵⁵

Muslims in China differ with all other ethnic groups although they were given main concentration in the Chinese empire and they were present in almost all the provinces of the country. They were large communities in the capital and ruling many of the trades in those areas and leaving their impact on many of the areas especially on individual bases except on group. These impacts were merely because of the ever present hatred that Chinese people were having for the Muslims in all over the country. Secondly, when Chinese government tried to civilize the non Chinese citizen Muslim community refused to attend the ceremonies organized for the purpose. Hui community was having their own sense of superiority; they were having their own religion, festivals and religious representation. Because of these they did not feel any need to participate into the festivals organized by the Chinese government to civilize the non Chinese residents. Hatred was also increasing among the Chinese and Muslim communities because Muslims were given the special section where they were living and were enjoying many of the territorial privileges.⁵⁶

1.14 Opposition to the Chinese rule

Among all other fifty five minorities the case of Muslims is somewhat different. They are rising against the government because of some reasons. First of those reasons is that the Muslims are ignored in all over China. They are not given autonomy in any of the region and their problem is addressed in any one province or region. Secondly they are unable to assimilate into the main

⁵⁵Dru C. Gladney, *Islam in China: Beijing's Hui and Uighur Challenge*. Winter/Spring 2007, <http://www.worlddialogue.org/content.php?id=403> (accessed January 17, 2010)

⁵⁶ Raphael Israeli, "Muslims in China: The Incompatibility between Islam and the Chinese Order" *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, Vol. 63, Livr. 4/5 (1977): 296.

stream of China because of their Islamic culture. Thirdly China government is trying to differentiate among the Muslim groups in the country and trying to recognize them with particular places. China government has adapted the divide and rule policy on the basis of ethnic and language differences. It is so to eliminate the threats of all China Muslim front. Fourthly for the Muslims Islam is not only the culture, but it gives complete teachings about personal, social and political affairs. These teachings also give the idea of Muslim state hood and because of the reason some time polices of Muslims in country based on separatism. Finally Muslims are demanding for the separate home land because of the increasing strength of the economies of the Muslim country and that is taken as some ting to feel pride. More over the organization of Islamic conference is giving pan-Islamic sentiments. Past experiences are giving the evidence that in present day China whenever government put restriction on the Muslim minority it was explained as the discrimination, but whenever they were given authority to express their view point freely they started rising their voices for independent territory ruled by the Muslims themselves.⁵⁷

With the growth of the enmity and abuse of rights to the Muslim, the Muslim's community started rising against the Chinese rule and proved as the strict opposition to the ruling authorities. The opposition resulted in violence and people were arrested and executed on large scale. Chinese government adopted the policies to crush the opposition of the Muslims and signed many of the agreements with the Central Asian countries for the support to crush the rebellions.⁵⁸

For twice Uighurs succeeded to establish their independent region, first in 1933 and second 1944, as they were raising numerous uprisings against the Chinese rule. Later they were

⁵⁷ Raphael Israeli, "The Muslim Minority in the People's Republic of China" *Asian Survey*, Vol. 21, No. 8, (Aug., 1981): 916.

⁵⁸ Latheef Farook, *Uighur Muslims Uprisings – What China Doesn't Want Others to Know*. July 14, 2009: <http://www.sailanmuslim.com/news/uighur-muslims-uprisings-what-china-doesn%E2%80%99t-want-others-to-know/> (accessed October 13, 2010).

persuaded to leave their independence as they were promised to be given real autonomy. In August 1949 many of the leaders of the Chinese Muslim league died in a plane crash when they were going to meet Chairman Mao. Chinese Muslims made the Chinese rulers to face sporadic opposition until 1951, when the leader of the Muslim independence movement was executed.⁵⁹

1.15 Socio-economic situation

Data on the socio-economic situation of the Muslims in China is very little. The existing data on the subject show that religion of the Hui, and Dongxiang and Uighur etc is accepted by the government. In spite of the acceptance of their religion they are facing restriction and control by the government. They are facing disadvantages because of the educational policies also. In East Asia largest numbers of Muslims are living in China. Hui minority group is very much similar to the Han group in terms of culture, they have adopted the Han practices along with their Muslim way of life and this effort is largely criticized by the Muslim reformers.⁶⁰ After the creation of the Peoples Republic of China they are holding the higher positions in the power organs, multi-national companies, executive departments and professional bodies. Many of the professionals and technical personals of the Hui groups who could compete in their work and could progress in the political environment of the country is given the training in their respected fields. All the members of the Hui group are supposed to work for the country's prosperity and integrity and significant attention is given to many of the Hui autonomous areas for the development in terms of investment, manpower, material recourses and technology.⁶¹

⁵⁹ *Atrocities & Genocides – Muslims – in china*. July 14, 2009, <http://heshamsyed.wordpress.com/2009/07/14/atrocities-genocides-muslims-in-china/> (accessed October 13, 2010).

⁶⁰ *Hawaii Honolulu, Islam in China*. April 16, 1999, http://www.apcss.org/Publications/Report_Islam_in_Asia_99.html (accessed January 18, 2010).

⁶¹ *The Hui ethnic minority*. <http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/shao-2-hui.htm> (accessed January 28, 2010).

1.15.1 Call for equality

The earlier stages of Communism there were the policies of equality, autonomy and religious freedom. Many of the Muslims in China were supporting the communist policies and were active in the governmental affairs of China. Such Muslims became prominent because they criticized the religious practices and during the Cultural Revolution Muslims were the main focus for the religious critique and ethnic discrimination. Now Muslims are becoming active on political bases at the national level and the government is responding very quickly. The quick action of the government shows the importance of the issues related to the Muslim community in China. In the year of 1986, many of the protests were seen in the Xinjiang region on many of the issues. Those issues include environmental degradation, nuclear tests and the settlement of Han members in the Xinjiang region. In this way the examples of the protests against the publication of the sexual customs in 1989, in this case government responded very quickly and accepted the demands of the Muslims and also condemned the publication of the book.⁶²

1.15.2 Militancy

In Chinese society terrorism is being used with the name of fundamentalism, which is not only threatening the socio-economic situation of the society but also the security situation worldwide. They are also causing the human rights violation as they are killing thousands of the innocent people because of the name of fundamentalism.⁶³

⁶²Hawaii Honolulu, *Islam in China*. April 16, 1999, http://www.apcss.org/Publications/Report_Islam_in_Asia_99.html (accessed January 18, 2010).

⁶³Shahriar Kabir, *Muslims in China*. <http://www.secularvoiceofbangladesh.org/Muslims%20in%20China.htm> (accessed January 18, 2010).

1.15.3 Language policies

After the independence of Peoples Republic of China, central government has the policies that all the minorities are equal and they are free to flourish in the country according to their ethnic rules. They have the freedom to develop their own culture and language. The constitution of the country allows the minorities to use one or two languages to run their business. Minorities are also allowed to their own local language in the judicial proceedings. All China minorities' education conference also favor the idea that all those minorities having their language scripts should be taught in the primary and secondary schools in their languages. Those minority groups who do not have their own language scripts or having with some weaknesses should have to be helped to develop their own language scripts. They are also in favor to give Han language classes so that minorities could meet and compete the job requirements.⁶⁴

1.15.4 Religious leadership

In all over the world Muslims are arising on the large number after Christianity. Secondly Muslims wanted to highlight their religious identity and leadership. The idea of leadership in China comes from the social teaching of Confucius. Social harmony is given high value in the Chinese society. It also gives the defined concepts of leadership, its concepts and responses it has from the common people.⁶⁵

1.16 Reasons to rise with arms

There are two reasons to rise against the government, first the pressure of the Chinese culture and secondly because of their survival on the break of the government machinery. In both

⁶⁴ June Teufel Dreyer, "Language Planning for China's Ethnic Minorities" *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Autumn, 1978): 380-381.

⁶⁵ Saeeda Shah, "Educational Leadership: An Islamic Perspective." *British Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Jun., 2006): 370.

respects the basic purpose is to look after their interests and to achieve their identity. Basic demand of the Muslims in China is to get right to rule their minority, as all the nations in the world has a rule that all the ethnic minorities in different nations of the world have right to participate in the governmental affairs and to represent their minority. Chinese Muslims are of the view that that the Muslims should have the participation in the government to protect their rights as at the time of trouble minorities are more vulnerable to experience the damages. They are of the view that if they were be given the right to participate in the government then they would be supporter of the peace efforts in the country.⁶⁶

Many of the revivalist movements are the result of the modernity, some time these movements are the expression of the modernity and they are taking place to counter the seeds of modernity. These movements are directly taken as the direct response to the global change. The histories of the Islamic societies show that there had been many of the movements that erupted in the result of social, political and economic changes.⁶⁷

1.17 Impossible to get right impression about the ground reality

It is impossible to get the exact picture of the ground reality that which one of the two parties is on the right side. Because both of the parties are posing that they are being threatened by the other party and both are considering that the other party is threatening the security and integrity of the other group.

⁶⁶Raphaël Israeli, "The Muslim Revival in 19th Century China." *StudioIslamica*, No. 43 (1976): 125.

⁶⁷Ira M. Lapidus, "Islamic Revival and Modernity: The Contemporary Movements and the Historical Paradigm." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (1997): 450.

Chapter two

Misunderstandings between Muslims and China's Government

Problems in China are increasing because of the misunderstandings among the two parties, government of China and its Muslims. Because of these misunderstandings they are setting enmity against one another. For Muslims there are many of the organizations in country that are working for their assistance for example Chinese Muslim Association.

Relationship of the Han community with the minority groups has always been sensitive. Ruling party always consider the national minority as a threat to the national integrity and prosperity of the country. They are of the view that they are posing constant threat to the ruling party or government officials. In present times such problems are not so much prominent but are getting more intense with the increase of economic growth as it is increasing the gap among the poor and rich and making the competition more intense for the excess to the limited resources of the country.⁶⁸

2.1 Setting Muslims against non-Muslims

Teachings of Confucianism might explain the differences among the Chinese Muslims and non Muslims and distinguish their cultures from one another. It also explains the fact that why Chinese Muslims are happily considered as the part of the Chinese community and why are they

⁶⁸Tim Luar, *China's minority fears*. November 4, 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3982537.stm> (accessed February 24, 2010).

considered as the aligned part of the Chinese community. Traditional habits and customs also have impacts on the relations among the Chinese Muslims and non-Muslims.⁶⁹

After the Muslims takeover in Xinjiang, Chinese authorities started keeping themselves updated about the region. It was more like Stalin's approach in Soviet Union which resulted twenty million deaths as it was seen intense oppression to the Muslims in the region. The hatred of the silk merchants in Xinjiang region was expressed openly as when they used to see Chinese passing through them they started mocking at them by saying "Kafir, Kafir! Jihad, Jihad!". There was a man who was hiding himself from the police for the accusation of teaching Quran to the children. Chinese authorities were having regular roundups about the Muslims that what they were doing in the region. It was not because to check that how Muslims are abusing the power but to strip them of from their Muslim identity.⁷⁰

Drastic reduction of the Muslim population has been seen during the communist regime in China. During their regime almost half of the million Muslims were killed as all the communist governments take the Muslims as the threat to the security and integrity of the country. Muslims in China were not having any religious and social freedom in the country and the authorities deliberately put their areas underdeveloped. They were not allowed to raise their living standards and if they wanted to do so then they were supposed to leave their areas but with this they lose all the religious and social freedoms.⁷¹

After the decade of 1990 China government was trying to work for the betterment and settlement of the China's minority regions. At that time government was also looking after the relations of

⁶⁹Raphael Israeli, *Islam in China: Religion, Ethnicity, Culture and Politics* (United States of America: Lexington books, 2002), 9

⁷⁰*China's Crusade Against the Muslims of East Turkestan (Xinjiang)*. July 07, 2009,

<http://www.khilafah.com/index.php/concepts/islamic-culture/6938-chinas-crusade-against-the-muslims-of-xinjiang> (accessed December 17, 2010).

⁷¹Syed Soharwardy, *Muslim's Holocausts and Genocide Remembrance Day*. <http://www.themodernreligion.com/racism/muslim-holocaust.html> (accessed December 20, 2010).

the Muslims in the foreign countries. Violent out breaks in China caused the long misunderstandings among Chinese Muslims and non Muslims. Because of the reason non Muslims were trying to compete Muslims in the country for their tasty foods and their cleanliness.⁷² Before the Cultural Revolution all the religious activities were diminished in all over China but after that government started making policies that were pro-minorities. Because of the diminish of the religious activities Muslims in the country started avoiding their contacts with the Chinese communities and with the government and started struggling with in their groups for the development of their society, economic and social conditions of their groups. Even at that time many of the Muslims were taking part in the activities of the government and were serving for the interests of the national government.⁷³

2.2 Causes of ethnic violence

Throughout the Chinese history two reasons have been given for the violent conflicts among the Muslims and the other communities of China. The first one which is very much similar to the western point of view is that Muslim are violent by nature. As compared to the other communities, by their religious teachings and history they are the violent people. This reason is accepted by the Chinese officials and Han community. The second reason is given for the violence among the Muslims and Han communities are because of the policies of the Manchu Qing policies as they were making oppressive, discriminatory and ethnocentric policies. In reality neither of the explanations are based on assumptions and could not be taken as true as cordial relations has been seen among the Muslims and the other communities of China. They

⁷²Morris Rossabi,*Governing China's Multiethnic Frontiers*(Washington USA: university of washington press, 2004), 66

⁷³Raphaell Israeli,*Islam in China: Religion, Ethnicity, Culture and Politics*(United States of America: Lexington books, 2002), 21

are making association and unions with the other ethnic groups for the economic benefits and often acting as the mediators among the other ethnic groups.⁷⁴

Ethnic violence broke out in China in July 2009 when authorities try to disperse the nonviolent protest by the minority groups in the country. As peaceful protest was changed into the violent protest in Xinjiang when police tried to disperse when demanding a call for the inquiry for the death of the two Uyghur members. Resultantly this incident made the minority population indignant against the Chinese government. At the same time there are some economic reasons for the violent outbreak in the country as the Muslims minorities are of the view that they are given minor benefits in Beijing while millions of the people from the Han community have been migrated to the Xinjiang region to have economic benefits and to exploit agricultural recourses in the region.⁷⁵ Even Qing dynasty tried its level best to protect its territory and ethnic groups after the first opium war. Because of such threats they have started learning techniques of modern politics of nationalism. At that time some administrative adjustments were also made for the integrity of the country and its nations.⁷⁶

Role of third party could also be seen in the escalation of the problems in China. After putting more restriction on the practice of the religious norms in the border areas of the country China government has become aware of the importance that was given by the foreign Muslim governments to the Muslim community in China as it was affecting the trade and military agreements of China with the other countries. During 1991 China government established its diplomatic relation with Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and military and technical trade with the

⁷⁴ Jonathan Neaman Lipman, Stevan Harrell. *Violence in China: essays in culture and counterculture* (New York: state university of New York, 1990), 67-68

⁷⁵ The Telegraph, *China riots: worst outbreak of ethnic violence in 33 years*.

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/5755863/China-riots-worst-outbreak-of-ethnic-violence-in-33-years.html> (accessed December 22, 2010).

⁷⁶ Ma Rong, *The Soviet Model's Influence and the Current Debate on Ethnic Relations*. June 2010, http://globalasia.org/V5N2_Summer_2010/Ma_Rong.html (accessed December 28, 2010).

Middle Eastern Muslim states was increased. During this time period China's treatment with its Muslim minorities was more noticeable and striking.⁷⁷

Many of the Chinese Muslims have migrated to Taiwan. Muslims were migrated to Taiwan in 1961 with the army troops; they had also brought their families with them. They have carried their family system and living styles same like they were following in China. But with time Chinese Muslims in Taiwan had lost their original faith and Muslim community living in China was restricted by the government not to have contacts and relations with the Muslims living in Taiwan.⁷⁸

During the year of 2004 China's government gave the permanent status to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) legal attaché office in Beijing, in the same way China's government gave the expansion to the US-China law enforcement and counterterrorism cooperation. While admiring the role of China's government USA exchanged substantive intelligence in many of the cases. But at the same time Chinese law enforcement personals were not having proper training and counter terrorism expertise that remained an issue for the Chinese authorities. But many of them were getting training in law enforcement academy in Thailand during the year of 2004 while there was not a single terrorist act in China during the year of 2004.⁷⁹

Muslims are of the view that there were more protests in the country when government was not looking after the social and religious needs of their groups. Because all of their religious activities were diminished in the country, they were not allowed to go to mosques and to follow their religious norms. Muslims are of the view that it is their right to demonstrate for their basic

⁷⁷Daniel L. Overmyer, *Religion in China today* (USA: Cambridge University Press, 2003):156

⁷⁸Ibrahim Bao, *Islam and Muslims in Taiwan*. <http://www.islam.org.hk/eng/islamandmuslimsintaiwan.htm> (accessed February 23, 2010).

⁷⁹State Department, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism. *Country Reports on Terrorism 2004* (April 2005): 36.

rights but when in 1990 Chinese television reported that Muslim in the Xinjiang region are planning for jihad for the separatist state and the government officials declared a new policy for the region that required Imams and religious leaders to support the government and to follow the communist policies.⁸⁰

Violent outbreak took place in China also because Islam is always misunderstood and many of the Muslims in China faced the hatred of the high officials in the country. Because of the misunderstandings about the religious norms of the Muslims many of the problems are erupting in the country. Teachings of Islam do not allow Muslims to eat pork, but Han people for the purpose to make the Muslims familiar with the taste of pork mixed the bone of pork into the wells from were Muslims use to drink water.⁸¹

2.3 Treatment of the minorities

It is said that all the minorities in China are treated equally and there is equality of inequality. It is said in the justification of the China's negligence to the cultural equalities in the country. It is said that China does not support equality in the country so it is not entitled to be treated at equality.⁸² Many of the studies on ethnicity reveal that China's government is having dominant attitude towards its minorities some time openly and sometime in a hidden manner. Many of the studies reveal that media distributed to the different nationalities are still under the domination of the central government and majority group Han. They are of the view that because of the domination on the media that is representing the minority group, they are becoming powerless and voiceless. They are also of the view that because of the controlled media they are unable to

⁸⁰Dale F. Eickelman, James Piscatori. *Muslim Politics*. (Unuted Kingdom : prinston University press, 1996), 107

⁸¹Morris Rossabi, *Governing China's Multiethnic Frontiers* (Washington USA: university of washington press, 2004), 112

⁸²Nicola Piper, Anders Uhlén. *Transnational activism in Asia: problems of power and democracy* (London: Routledge, 2004), 85

arrange any social or religious activity.⁸³ Because of the efforts of the Chinese communist party many of the documents were developed for the improvement of the minorities and about the relations of one group to the other within the country. Those documents also give the opportunity to the minority groups to develop their own language and vernaculars for the purpose of the preservation and development of their ethnic and religious rules and regulations. It is considered that their national identities are not discriminated on the level of theory but in reality they are facing discrimination in the state constitution because it undermines their religious freedoms. Because of this misunderstanding, in censuses of 1953, many of the Muslims hide their Muslim identity because of the fear of discrimination, and registered themselves as the member of the Han group.⁸⁴

Government of China has its common practice to not term the respected minority group as Muslims because they are of the view that the group does no longer believe in the religious teachings of Islam. On the other a large number of mosques can be seen in China that number 40000 and are built in the Chinese areas on demand of the Chinese Muslims. All the mosques are built under the supervision of Chinese Muslims and each mosque has the capacity for five hundred people.⁸⁵

It is said that Chinese Communist party has been treating its national minorities through the rule of institutional discrimination and people in China are discriminated same as the South African people are being discriminated. Events of the Cultural Revolution had also left deep impacts on the minds of the minority people in the country as many of the religious places were damaged to

⁸³ Nimrod Baranovitch, "Between Alterity and Identity: New Voices of Minority People in China." *Modern China*, Vol. 27, No. 3, (Jul., 2001): 369.

⁸⁴ L. J. Newby, "'The Pure and True Religion' in China." *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 2, (Apr., 1988): 923-947

⁸⁵ Today's Muslim Population in China, <http://www.prayway.com/unreached/main/china5.html>, February 23, 2010, (accessed February 23, 2010).

the extent that they were not left repairable. These suppressions in China of the national minorities were not specific to one group or identity but it was to all kind of differences for example ethnic, religious, cultural or political. An uncertain argument is made that that opportunities to develop the national minorities in country were destroyed or to the extents were put to limitation. Another argument is that China government is giving all the opportunities to its national minorities, they can have more children as compared to the majority group, and they pay less taxes, they have better educational opportunities for their children, they can speak and get education in their own languages, they can practice their religion and can highlight their culture through public meetings and arts.⁸⁶

During and after the time period of Mao governments are making policies for stabilization of the regions rising of the living standards of the common people living there. In present everyone wants to be a modern consumer in spite of the reason when they do not have much idea about it that they could become a modern consumer and at the same time Muslims form the North Western and Tibetan region have started intensifying the separatist ideas in their respective regions. On the other side many of the restrictions were imposed on the migration of the members of the Han community in the Muslim areas and many of the developmental projects were started in the Muslim region of the country.⁸⁷

2.4 Economic, social and educational conditions

Some misguided people in China and in many other countries are carrying out terrorist activities whereas Islam totally forbids such activities. Islam is religion of mercy that teaches not to force

⁸⁶Jocelyn Leung, *The Chinese Communist Party's treatment of ethnic minorities*. January 10, 2010, <http://www.e-ir.info/?p=2932> (accessed February 24, 2010).

⁸⁷Kenneth Pomeranz, "Is There an East Asian Development Path? Long-Term Comparisons, Constraints, and Continuities." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (2001): 359.

other to believe in or not to believe in and it does not allow to fight with the people who do not harm you. Islam teaches to fight those who are fighting you and do not disobey the teachings of Islam.⁸⁸

During the present times many of the Islamic schools and educational institutes are developed to meet the educational requirements of the Muslim community. Along with the facility of the mosques, Islamic schools, government and private colleges a large number of the Chinese students are given the permission to complete their higher education in the international Islamic universities of in Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Iran, and Malaysia. Interviews taken during 2005 and 2006 from those who are getting their education in the institution outside China reveals that the uprising of the Muslims in China are not because of the spread of the Islamic education in all over the country because spread of Islamic education gives the opportunity to the Muslim community to rebuild their faith and religious institution after the suppression of the Islam and Islamic activities by the government authorities.⁸⁹

It is said that economic development in the country has improved the living standards of Chinese community but on the other side it is not taken as encouraging because on one side it is providing the better opportunities to one group but for the other group it is emerging as the suppression of their rights and opportunities towards developments of the minority groups.⁹⁰ Since the initiation of China's open door policy in 1976, government has released data on the internal development and on its national minorities. Since 1980s government has started publishing year book on that contain data regarding the development in the in the different sectors of the country including

⁸⁸ Abo Muhammed Samir Faid, *Islam - Cultural misunderstandings*. May 21, 2006, <http://en.allexperts.com/q/Islam-947/Cultural-misunderstandings.htm> (accessed february 6, 2010).

⁸⁹ Jackie Armijo, *Islamic Education in China*. <http://www.asiaquarterly.com/content/view/166/> (accessed February 5, 2010).

⁹⁰ Alan M. Wachman, "Does the Diplomacy of Shame Promote Human Rights in China?" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 22, No. 2, (Apr., 2001): 269.

development of the minority groups. Government is also emphasizing on the educational equality of all the groups in the country. Educational policy by the government is interpreted differently.⁹¹ First it is interpreted as government will facilitate all the highly qualified people who wanted to seek education. Secondly government will put all its efforts to provide basic education to all the citizens regardless of their ethnic groups. Thirdly it is interpreted that the government will provide special provisions to the group that is taken as the disadvantaged so that they could compete with the other groups in the country. The idea of equality of educations is something that all the governments of the developing countries are looking for. Data on the educational expansion in the minority areas show the efforts of the Chinese Government to provide educational facilities in the minority areas of the country. Schools in all over the country increased by 67% and high schools in the country increased 17 folds.⁹²

Muslims in China are experiencing developments in the fields of food and other growing industries for example clothing, embroidery, transportation and in real estate industry. They are also having benefits in respect of trade and in other economic fields for having cordial relations with the Muslim Arab countries. State economy and living standards of the Muslim community are improving and Muslims are showing high enthusiasm in the development of the socialist spiritual civilization. After 1987 when China Government made the policies to establish diplomatic relations with the other countries of the world, there have been many of the Muslims working in the governmental institutions to represent their minority groups.⁹³

⁹¹ Julia Kwong and Hong Xiao, "Educational Equality among China's Minorities." *Comparative Education*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (1989): 231.

⁹² Julia Kwong and Hong Xiao, "Educational Equality among China's Minorities." *Comparative Education*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (1989): 233.

⁹³ Shoujiang Mi, Jia You, *Islam in China* (China: China intercontinental Press), 188

2.5 Minority representation

All the minority groups in China are allowed to participate in the public gatherings and can publish their writings in the state approved magazines. All the writings and portraits published in the state approved magazine show that there is not a slight difference in any of the minority representation. There is hardly any chance for the difference of the Muslims groups they all are treated same as the other minorities of the country. State sponsored media always portray that all the minorities that are accepted by the state are happily following the state rules and regulations set for the minority groups of the country.⁹⁴

Before the Cultural Revolution minority communities in the country especially Muslims were facing suppression in the country but after the Cultural Revolution situation was changed. Muslims in China still discuss the suppression by the government authorities during the Cultural Revolution in their private meetings but hardly seen any material written by Muslim authors on the topic. Even after passing thirty years of the Cultural Revolution many of the aspects for example treatment of the minorities groups specially the Muslim groups is highly sensitive issue for the government and policy makers. After the Cultural Revolution many of the teachers got the higher positions in their respective regions and organized many of the educational institutions and many of the students were ready to get their education from those institutions even though they were not recognized by the government. They were doing so to establish the independent Islamic institutions throughout the country and these Muslims were first in the country who got allowed by the government authorities to get their education from abroad.⁹⁵

⁹⁴Dru C. Gladney,*Dislocating China: reflections on Muslims, minorities and other subaltern*(United Kingdom: C. Hurst & Co (Publisher) Ltd, 2004), 44.

⁹⁵John L. Esposito, John Obert Voll, Osman Bakar,*Asian Islam in the 21st century.*(New York: Oxford university press, 2008), 224

Muslim group named Hui is given the representation in all over the country where as other Muslim groups are settled in the Northwestern province on China. During the present time wide pressure coming from the Muslim countries because they perceived that Muslims in China are being suppressed by the Chinese authorities. It is said that Islam in China will face more problems as compared to the time period of before 1990 and even still Islam is working under the restriction by the state authorities. On the other hand it is reported that Muslims in the country do not have any restriction in their religious or social life as there are Mosques as before 1949. They are also traveling across the border without any restriction for the purpose of trade, *Hajj* and educational purposes.⁹⁶

All the Muslims in China and in all over the world considered themselves united. Muslims are of the view according to their religious teachings they cannot remain silent when they see repression to the people who are following the same religious norms. So they are of the view that they are supposed to protest against the cruelties faced by the Muslims not only in China but in all over the world, so they are raising their voices against the cruelties of the Chinese government towards the Muslims community in the country. Different problem in the world concerning Muslims like in Palestine and Bosnia are proving as the representative for the cause followed by the Muslims in China.⁹⁷

2.6 Role of media

Media in the country is also playing very important role in the misunderstandings between the Muslims and the China government. Some time media plays quite different picture of the

⁹⁶William Wagner, *How Islam Plans to Change the World* (United States of America: kregal publication, a division of kregal, Inc, 2004), 194.

⁹⁷Dale F. Eickelman, James Piscatori, *Muslim Politics* (United Kingdom : prinston University press, 1996), 147.

problem then the reality. On one side media present all the Muslims in the country as the terrorists and rebels and on the other side Muslims in the country believe that all these riots and terrorist's activities have nothing to do with the Islamic teachings and ethnicity. They also believe that all the violent activities and looting are illegal activities of the overexcited groups in the country.⁹⁸ Media is exaggerating the situation in Muslim areas, if any Muslim commit odious he is considered as the Muslim terrorist even though the same situation is going on in Serbia and Northern Ireland.⁹⁹

When riots erupted in China July 5, 2009 western media misguided their readers especially in the Muslim world. They published in their papers that Muslim in China are being suppressed by the government authorities but in fact this does not have any similarity with the reality caused misunderstandings among the Muslim community. It is necessary to let the world know that which one of the group is committing terrorist activities and there is a difference between the terrorists and the separatists and all the separatists are not terrorists. Because of the misunderstanding about the China's government, Turkey was the first country that raises its voice against the Government of China for the genocide of Muslims in the country, which China's Government dismissed by saying that their Muslim brothers can understand the realities of the matter.¹⁰⁰ Minorities are of the view that to maintain the desired situation they are controlling state media press and even internet. For the purpose they are also running a strike hard campaign or anti-crime campaign in the country. Whereas government officials are of the view that they are working for the development of the socio economic situation of all the nations

⁹⁸Yoichi Shimatsu, Behind the China Riots -- Oil, Terrorism & 'Grey Wolves'. July 13, 2009, http://news.newamericamedia.org/news/view_article.html?article_id=6dee147021a596f4f22c69316977d3f3 (accessed Februray 6, 2010).

⁹⁹Abo Muhammed Samir Faid, *Islam - Cultural misunderstandings*. May 21, 2006, <http://en.allexperts.com/q/Islam-947/Cultural-misunderstandings.htm> (accessed february 6, 2010).

¹⁰⁰Global Times, *Ties with Muslim world will not be upset*. July 16, 2009, <http://opinion.globaltimes.cn/editorial/2009-07/447359.html> (accessed February 07, 2010).

in the country and for the improvement of the skill and fertility. They are also of the view that they are making policies that to provide assistance to the poor people in the country.¹⁰¹

2.7 Muslim separatists are termed as the terrorists

Muslims in China are of the view that China's government is presenting them as terrorist and as they are posing treats and tensions in the country. China's government is condemning Muslims in the country for starting rebellion in the country whereas Muslim are of the view that they were protesting peacefully against the inequalities by the Chinese government. Many of the Turkish speaking Muslim are of the view that they are facing suppression by the Chinese Government for last sixty years.¹⁰²

Internet based East Turkistan Islamic Movement that is working for the independent homeland for the Muslims is named as the terrorist organization by the United States in October 2002 and blamed for the domestic and international terrorist acts. in 2001 in its report US State Department named many of the separatist and terrorist groups that were involved in many of the separatist acts with in the country and abroad. In their report they highlighted the name of the United Revolutionary Front of East Turkistan whose leader claimed to have thirty armed units with twenty million Uighurs ready for the terrorist attacks. Many of the critics are of the view that ETIM is named as the terrorist organization just because to strengthen relation with US government. They do not consider ETIM and other groups as the credible threat to the

¹⁰¹ Dali L. Yang, "China in 2002: Leadership Transition and the Political Economy of Governance" *Asian Survey*, Vol. 43, No. 1, (Jan. - Feb., 2003):39.

¹⁰² Sino Daily, *Muslim 'extremists' attempt uprising in western China: govt.* April 2, 2008, http://www.sinodaily.com/reports/Muslim_extremists_attempt_uprising_in_western_China_govt_999.html (accessed February 23, 2010).

government and that they are only named as the terrorist organizations to increase domination on the minority groups.¹⁰³

During the recent years China Government is trying to increase its diplomatic relations and cooperation with the Muslim countries especially in Middle East to fight the Muslim separatists in the country. China Government is motivated to seek cooperation from the Muslim world to take an action against the Muslims because of the separatist elements in the country especially in the Xinjiang regions that are making the government confused since 1990. Since 1990 many of the Uighurs are involved in many of the terrorist activities in the country like riots, assassinations and bombings as between 1990 and 2001 Uighur separatist were involved in almost 200 terrorist attacks within the Xinjiang region and killed almost 162 people from different ethnic groups.¹⁰⁴

China Government is of the view that Muslim separatists are getting support and funds from Taliban in Afghanistan. After getting their training in Afghanistan they cross back to Xinjiang region and start to give terrorist threats to the authorities of Chinese government. Even many of the experts also agree to the China Government that hundreds of the Uighur Muslims have joined Al-Qaeda, “Beijing has a long history of falsifying data, they say, and since September 11 the Chinese have repeatedly tried to paint their own campaign against Uighur separatists in Xinjiang as a flank of the U.S.-led war on terrorism—and to get Washington to drop its long-standing protests over Chinese human rights abuses in its crackdowns in Xinjiang.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³Dru C Gladney,*Dislocating China: reflections on Muslims, minorities and other subaltern*(United Kingdom: C. Hurst & Co (Publisher) Ltd, 2004): 251-252

¹⁰⁴Chunlong Lu and jie Chen, "China's middle east policy since the post-mao reform." In *Strategic interests in the Middle East: opposition and support for US foreign policy*(90. England : ashgate publishing limited , 2007): 90.

¹⁰⁵Holly Fletcher,*The East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM)*. July 31, 2008,
http://www.cfr.org/publication/9179/east_turkestan_islamic_movement_etim.html (accessed January 02, 2011).

China Government is of the view that Muslim in China has their links with the international terrorist organization existing in the world. They give justification to the matter by coating the appeal raised by the top Al-Qaida leader requesting the Muslim world to fight against the cruelties faced by the Muslims in China and in other parts of the world. Government officials of China are of the view that such appeals show the relations of the Chinese Muslims to the international terrorist organizations. Abu Yahya al-Libi who is considered on the third position in the chain of Al-Qaida leadership, in his speech on October 7, 2009 point out the mistreatment of the Chinese Government with its Muslim community. But China had been keeping itself apart for the US initiated war against terrorism and its profile is still growing in the Islamic world and it is also increasing its economic interests in the Muslim world.¹⁰⁶

2.8 Special visas to Muslims

Muslims in China are given special visa package for the purpose of the pilgrimage. They are provided such facilities because of the efforts of the Chinese Government, Chinese Government made an agreement with the Government of Saudi Arabia because of the circumstances as Chinese Government has always been helping the Muslims in the country with regards to offer their pilgrimage.¹⁰⁷

Muslim community in China had been isolated from the other Muslim world because of China's close door policy, but during present period Chinese Muslims are once again establishing their contacts with the Muslim communities in all over the world. They are making their relations in the fields of commerce, information on the global level and they are also developing diplomatic

¹⁰⁶Ishaan Tharoor, *Al Qaeda Leader: China, Enemy to Muslim World*. October 9, 2009, <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1929388,00.html> (accessed February 23, 2010).

¹⁰⁷Chinese Muslims granted special visas. October 4, 2006, <http://pk.chineseembassy.org/eng/zbgx/t274923.htm> (accessed February 7, 2010).

relations with the other nations in the world. Chinese Muslims are also adapting the policy to assimilate themselves into the Chinese culture and to adapt rules and regulations of the Chinese Culture. They are working for the revival of Islam and at the same time they are trying to assimilate into the Chinese population.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ *In Depth: Chinese Muslims*. March 1, 2007. <http://www.pbs.org/kqed/chinainside/power/muslim.html> (accessed February 23, 2010).

CHAPTER 3

The Uighurs Community

According to some facts during 1966 there were forty million people belong to the national minorities which constitute more than six percent of the total population of China. This population is divided into fifty different ethnic groups and only ten of theses are having their population more than one million. Because of their size of population they are being scattered in all over the country. Because of their location China's national minorities could be identified into northern and southern divisions. Northern division includes Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols and Manchus etc. whereas southern side includes provinces of Kwangsi, Kweichow, Yunnan etc. National minorities in the country could be differentiated because of their language, religion, culture and social structure but many of the people from the minority groups have the resemblance to the majority community of the country.¹⁰⁹

3.1 Origin of Uighurs Community

Uighurs are the group of people who speak Turkic language and have migrated to the Xinjiang region from the area presently occupied and governed by Mongolia. Over half of the million of the Uighurs are living in the surrounding areas of China. They adapted the Islamic religion in seventh century and started settling in the Xinjiang region in 840. After rebellion of several times they gained autonomy in the region in 1877. Throughout the twentieth century they continued their struggle for independence from the China government “first with the Guomindang-led Government (1928-1945), and then with the communist government (post-1949)” and the period of 1945 to 1949 they established their independent state called East Turkistan. During 1949

¹⁰⁹ Josef Kolmas, "The minority nationalities." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists A Journal of science and public affairs*, (June 1966): 71-72.

China's Communist Government takes over the region once again and name it as the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and during 1955, to some extent, they were given the right of self rule in the region.¹¹⁰

The modern identity of the Uighurs community is said to be imaginative but is very important to the minority group as it is serving as the source of unity for their nationalism and call for independence. Before twentieth century, for five hundred years the name of Uighurs was not in use, it is in the present time CCP started calling them as Uighurs to identify them as a distinct group in the country. Many of the modern Uighurs are using this name to seek a platform for the achievement of their objectives.¹¹¹

History of the Uighurs community in China could be divided into four different phases. "Pre-Imperial (300 BCE - 630 CE), Imperial (630-840 CE), Idiqt (840-1225 CE), and Mongol (1225-1600 CE) with perhaps a fifth post-Mongol or modern phase running from the death of the silk road in 1600 CE until the present." This history of the Uighurs community is basically about the nomadic group of people who were ambiguous to some extent and later proved as the diplomatic tool for the Mongols when they invaded.¹¹²

According the national census in 2000 Uighurs are having 8.6 million of population in China. At the time of the establishment of the Peoples Republic of China population of Uighurs community in Xinjiang region was ninety percent of the total population whereas it has decreased to the 45% because of the migration of the Han community in the region. Muslims have the history in China

¹¹⁰Colonel Ming T. Wong, *Xinjiang and China's National Security: Counter-Terrorism or Counter-Separatism?* April 07, 2003, <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA415744> (accessed February 01, 2011): 2-3

¹¹¹Kristian Petersen, "Usurping the Nation: Cyber-Leadership in the Uighur Nationalist Movement." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (April 2006): 69.

¹¹²*A brief history of the Uyghurs (1)*. <http://www.uyghurensemble.co.uk/en-html/uy-history1.html> (accessed February 06, 2011).

since the advent of the religion of Islam. During the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1274-1368) many of the Muslims from western and central Asia were forced to move toward the region whereas many of them willingly migrated to the region to help the Mongols in their administrative affairs. During Ming dynasty (1366- 1644) Muslims were forced to follow the new law in region that is bound to be dressed in the Chinese style and to adapt Chinese surnames and to use Chinese language for communication. Whereas after the establishment of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) Muslims in the region once again were allowed to follow their culture and live life according to their own religious norms.¹¹³

3.1.1 Identity

It is difficult to assess the situation in the region because China's Government does not allow for any of the research in the region but according to works of the Western ethnologists conducted in 1990 since national identity is increasing in all the Uighurs population in a significant way. During 1980s all the tensions that cause unrest in the region were not because of the political reasons but because of the economic difficulties. During the following years the idea of separate home land was coined on many of the occasions and the idea was coming up through the violent activities in all over the country. During 1990s many of the internal and external factors were present to boost the process of the Uighurs national identity.¹¹⁴

Uighurs are the largest ethnic minority of China, they are Muslims by religion and ethnically Turks. They are having strong links and similarities with the Central Asian states "since East Turkestan is home to about 1 million Kazakhs and smaller numbers of Kyrgyz and Tajiks."

¹¹³Jackie Armijo, "Muslim Education in China ." In *The madrasa in Asia: political activism and transnational linkages*, by Yoginder Sikand, Martin van Bruinessen Ahmad-Noor A. Noor (171. Amsterdam: Amsterdam university press, 2008), 71

¹¹⁴Thierry Kellner Norris translated by Carolyn, *China: The Uighur Situation From Independence For the Central Asian Republics to the Post 11 September*. May 2002, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pfdid/465e8a292.pdf> (accessed January 27, 2011).

Uighurs are residing in border areas of almost all the Central Asian states. Separatist elements in the Uighurs community are getting their inspirations and motivations from the independence of the central Asian states.¹¹⁵

Islam and Christianity both were developed in the Uyghur community during the post-soviet Kazakh society. Many of the mosques were constructed for the Uighur Muslims through the country. On the other hand Uighur Christians are very small in number and they are growing in the country gradually. *Khitailiq* Muslims are more religious but more of the people are joining *yarlik* group which is not much religious during the time period of soviets. Generally majority of the Uyghur community is ethno religious and Islam is playing very important role in the religious and cultural identity.¹¹⁶

Uighurs community is considered that the traditions established by the Turks were inherited to them. Language of Turks and Uighurs in Mongolia was same and they were using same script for the introductory statements on their monuments. In this way many of the scholars suggest that Uighurs Empire should be considered as the third Turk empire. Uighurs are also considered as the inheritors of the traditions of the economic exchanges between China and other nations. Uighurs used force and threat of force to maintain their trade and they maintained the same position when they became on the position of Turks in Mongolia in 744.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵Sonay Batur, *East Turkestan and China's Security*. October 7, 2010, http://www.bilgesam.org/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=322:east-turkestan-and-chinas-security&catid=107:analizler-cin&Itemid=134 (accessed February 01, 2010).

¹¹⁶Touraj Atabaki, Sanjyot Mehendale, *Central Asia and the Caucasus: transnationalism and diaspora* (USA and Canada: Routledge, 2005): 165.

¹¹⁷Michael Robert Drompp, *Tang China and the collapse of the Uighur Empire: a documentary history* (netherland: Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, 2005): 23-24.

3.2 History of Xinjiang

Many of the Uighurs considered themselves as the indigenous residents of the Xinjiang region but many of the foreign scholars are of the view that they were not migrated to the region till tenth century. They sooner or later built tribal societies along with the Tarim Basin in China. Many of the archeologists after the assessment of the well preserved mummies are of the view that the people that first live in the region were western Eurasians. Until Qing dynasty, Chinese authorities did not control the territory politically as it is controlling in the present times.¹¹⁸

Xinjiang autonomous region consists the area of the 1.6 million square kilo meters that cover one sixth of the total area of China the region is surrounded by range of mountains and consist of three basins. Because of the rivers in the region peoples are settling in the region adapting the occupation of the agriculture.¹¹⁹

Xinjiang is the region which is known for the separatist movements by different small number of peoples having support from the foreign powers since 1949. East Turkistan Peoples Party was founded in 1963 with the help of Soviet Union and started working throughout the country but many of the writers are of the view that this party was working since 1950s and is involved in different kind of separatist activities since its creation and even in the present times. Even because of the efforts of the government authorities to suppress their activities they have continued to pose threat to the authorities.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸Ian Jeffries, *Political Developments in Contemporary China: A Guide*(USA and Canada: Routledge, 2011): 326

¹¹⁹S. Frederick Starr, *Xinjiang: China's Muslim borderland*(United States of America: M. E. Sharp, Inc., 2004): 29-31.

¹²⁰Thierry Kellner Norris translated by Carolyn, *China: the Uighur Situation From Independence For the Central Asian Republics to the Post 11 September Era*. May 2002, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/465e8a292.pdf> (accessed January 27, 2011).

After 1912, with the collapse of the Qing dynasty Xinjiang region enjoyed autonomy of different levels. During October 1933 Islamic Republic of East Turkistan was created when Turkic rebels declared independence in the region but during the following years China's Government restored its control over the territory but during 1944 once again independence was declared and second east Turkistan Republic was created and in 1949 Chinese authorities once again took the control over the territory and declared the region as the Chinese province. During 1955 Xinjiang region was given the status of autonomous region of the Peoples Republic of China.¹²¹

Xinjiang is considered as the back bone of the Chinese economy because of its strategic location and economic resources. The area is increasing its importance because it can not only meet the energy requirements of the country but also for being the site for the nuclear and ballistic missiles. Because of its economic, strategic and military importance China Government is putting all its efforts to maintain peace and stability in the region as it is very important for its economic trade and border security because Central Asian states are very important to meet its requirement of its oil and gas products.¹²²

Xinjiang has the vast range of mineral and oil reserves and in 1990 it was given the status of special economic zone, gave subsidies to its local farmers and renovated its taxes. Tarim Basin project was launched by the Xinjiang Government in August 1991 to make betterment in the agricultural fields. During this time period China government also invested to make the infrastructure of the region better. "In an article for *The China Quarterly*, Nicholas Bequelin of

¹²¹Preeti Bhattacharji, *Uighurs and China's Xinjiang Region*. July 06, 2009, <http://www.cfr.org/china/uighurs-chinas-xinjiang-region/p16870> (accessed March 02, 2011).

¹²²Sonay Batur, *East Turkestan and China's Security*. October 7, 2010, http://www.bilgesam.org/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=322:east-turkestan-and-chinas-security&catid=107:analizler-cin&Itemid=134 (accessed February 01, 2010).

Human Rights Watch says these projects were designed to literally "bind Xinjiang more closely to the rest of the PRC."¹²³

3.3 Qing Dynasty

Uighurs community was settled in the Xinjiang region in the tenth century after the migration from Mongolia. Xinjiang region was originally conquered by the Qing dynasty during eighteenth century. During the Qing dynasty Manchus in the region tried to control the Uighurs community while resisting the sporadic revolts.¹²⁴

3.4 Education and Culture of the Uighurs Community

During the year of 1982 different policies once again changed into law that was helping to make better educational condition of the Uighurs community in Xinjiang region. In 1986 nine year compulsory education law was passed to provide elementary education throughout China. In the constitution of Peoples Republic of China educational rights are accepted and getting educated is considered as the duty of all the citizens living in the country. According to the statistics released in 1995 by the education ministry after ten years of the establishment of the nine year compulsory education law enrolment of the students in primary schools throughout China reached to 98.5% among school aged children and 78.4% among junior secondary schools. In spite of all these policies and progresses in the educational fields many of the Uighurs show their dissatisfaction with the educational conditions in the Xinjiang region. They are of the view that education in the region is very expensive and it is unfair to use Chinese language in the institutions and to have religious restrictions. "Although laws have guaranteed free tuition and

¹²³Preeti Bhattacharji, *Uighurs and China's Xinjiang Region*. July 06, 2009, <http://www.cfr.org/china/uighurs-chinas-xinjiang-region/p16870> (accessed March 02, 2011).

¹²⁴Ian Jeffries, *Political Developments in Contemporary China: A Guide*(USA and Canada: Routledge, 2011): 326.

the abolishment of “miscellaneous fees,” expenses still exist.” Because of the reason the percentage of the Uighurs getting high education remained low and the percentage of the Uighurs completing middle school education is relatively high.¹²⁵

General perception among the Uighurs community living in Xinjiang region is that the educational policies of the government has limited the educational opportunities for the Uighurs community and Han community is getting better quality of education than the Uighurs community. Many of the Uighurs are of the view that outside of Xinjiang there are better educational opportunity. They are of the view that these differences in the educational policies are because of the unjust policies of the government. Whereas Uighurs living in Beijing is of the view that government is doing its best for the betterment of the educational policies and opportunities for the students of the minority groups.¹²⁶

During 1950 Uighurs community and other Muslims were getting education in Uighur language schools that were designed on the Soviet school systems. Curriculum taught in those schools was also designed by the Uighur and Russian educators. After the death of Mao all the leaderships in the country acknowledged and worked for the betterment in the educational fields. National government in China passed a law on regional autonomy in 1985 for the elimination of the illiteracy in the region. The law also made compulsory the primary education and expanded boarding schools to facilitate children of nomadic families. After getting the right to develop curricula the autonomous region focused on the standardization. Most of the materials used in the institutions in the region is the direct translation of the material in Chinese language used in

¹²⁵Timothy A. Grose, *Educating Xinjiang's Uighurs: Achieving Success or Creating Unrest*. http://www.mbc.edu/faculty/dmetraux/vras/docs/Grose-Xinjiang_education.pdf (accessed March 08, 2011).

¹²⁶Blaine Kaltman, *Under the heel of the dragon: Islam, racism, crime, and the Uighur in China* (United States of America: center for international studies ohio university, 2007): 18.

all over the country. Students from the minority communities were to study Chinese language without having any option for any other language as Han students have. During the decade of 1990 all the students of college and university level from the minority groups were required to study the approved history of the Xinjiang region.¹²⁷

Uighur culture has been flourished under the influence of the Arab and Iranians. They have many similarities in their living styles and eating habits. Like the other Muslims in the world they are also having their own brand of Islam. They are also having the culture of sacrificing animals for the protection against the illness and evil eye and used to go shrines for the same purpose. One of the reasons for the attack on the Uighurs culture is the widening gap between the people living in north and south Xinjiang. People who are living in the northern parts of the region are following the modern forms of culture, they are less religious and making progress in the fields of science and education. The people living in southern parts of the region are backward where as people living in southern parts of the region consider the people living in the northern parts of the region as Chinese and not Uighurs.¹²⁸

Xinjiang is always considered as a region not capable to develop its own political, economic and cultural energies and is always governed by the others in political, economic and cultural terms. In spite of the fact many of the central forces are working in the region to protect the interests of the people living in the region. It is considered that each of the oases of the Xinjiang region have its own cultural, economic and social features and is governed on day to day basis. Xinjiang

¹²⁷Linda Benson, "Education and Social Mobility Among Minority Population in Xinjiang ." In *Xinjiang: China's Muslim borderland*, by S. Frederick Starr(New york: M. E Sharpe, Inc, 2004): 197-198.

¹²⁸Abd Al-Hada,*The Uighurs of Xinjiang* . october 1985, www.ijfm.org/PDFs_IJFM/02_4_PDFs/2_4Uighurs.pdf (accessed March 10, 2011).

region even do not have vastly populated area in the region that could serve for the development of the territorial identity.¹²⁹

During 1930 political development in China were very beneficial for Russia to work on its policies to create its friendly regimes around its borders. On one side they were declaring their support for the national liberation movements and on the other side they helped China government by providing military assistance to suppress the local people in Xinjiang. At the same time they aide the local people of the region to pressurize the then governor of the region to develop moderate cultural policies for the local people. Later on Uighurs educational and cultural institution in Central Asia not only raised their voice for the needs of their own community but also for the Uighurs in Xinjiang.¹³⁰

3.5 Separatist Element and East Turkistan Movement in Xinjiang

During Manchu's dynasty China's Government conquered the region for the first time and ruled it out till 1862. During that time period almost forty uprisings against the government were recorded. In 1862 Muslim separatists were successful in removing Chinese forces from the region and in establishment of the independent state. After they establish an independent state they enjoyed their freedom and autonomy till Chinese authorities reoccupied the area in 1884 and changed its name from east Turkistan to Xinjiang.¹³¹

There are four reasons for the separatist elements and conflicts in china. The first main reason is identity which is considered as the twentieth century phenomenon for the Uighurs community.

¹²⁹S. Frederick Starr, "Introduction." In *Xinjiang: China's Muslim borderland*, by S. Frederick Starr (New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc, 2004): 11-12.

¹³⁰AbletKamalov, "Uighur Community in 1990 Central Asia A Decade of Change." In *Central Asia and the Caucasus: transnationalism and diaspora*, by Sanjyot Mehendale Touraj Atabaki (150. New York: Routledge, 2005): 150.

¹³¹Yoram Schweitzer, Shaul Shay, Meir Dagan, *The Globalization of Terror: The Challenge of Al-Qaida and the Response of the International Community* (United States of America: the interdisciplinary center for herzliya projects , 2003): 94.

People from the Uighurs are of the view that emergence of the Uighurs as an ethnic group largely curtailed because of the policies of Han community which are imposed on them. They also consider Han migration to the region as the threat to their identity which is also paving the way towards the tensions in the region. Second basic reason for the separatist movements in the region is grievances of the Uighurs community against the Han Chinese. Uighurs community is of the view that arrival of the Han community in the region is depriving them from economic, political and religious rights. Formation of the controversial goals from the Uighurs community could be taken as the third reason for the instability in the region. Fourthly collapse of the Soviet Union is also taken as the reason for the Uighur activism in the region.¹³²

At the time of establishment of the Peoples Republic of China, Eastern Turkish forces were not wiped out completely. Many of them migrated to the neighboring areas of China and other joined unofficial separatist movement within the region. That time anti Chinese elements were establishing in all over the world and they waited for the suitable time to engage themselves into the violent separatist movement. In 1968 national separatist elements together they under the peoples revolutionary party of East Turkistan got victorious in few regions but in 1970 the Chinese suppressed the party authorities however it continued its work as the secret organization. During 1990 separatists in the region used deterrence in their counter revolutionary movement it was so because they consider deterrence pivotal for their separatist agenda.¹³³

During the year of 1990 China Government has experienced repeated terrorist attacks on its authorities by the East Turkistan Islamic Movement. China, the United States, and the UN Security Council declared East Turkistan Islamic Movement as the terrorist group and China

¹³²Matthew D. Moneyhon, *Taming China's "Wild West": Ethnic Conflict in Xinjiang*.

<http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk/dl/TamingChina%27sWildWest.PDF> (accessed March 11, 2011).

¹³³Qin Huibin, "Western China (Xinjiang)." In *History of civilizations of Central Asia*(403. italy: united nations educational, scientific and cultural organization, 2005): 403

Government accused it for having relation with the Al-Qaeda terrorist group. Government of China tried to suppress the terrorist element in the region through raiding the ETIM and through arresting its members. They also monitored the religious activities in the region to avoid the spread of separatist views by the religious leaders. After the incident of 9/11 China's Government has started to link this problem with the US initiated war on terror.¹³⁴

East Turkistan Islamic Movement is posing most prominent threat to the Xinjiang region and nationally and internationally the movement is considered as the terrorist organization. China Government accused the group for terrorist activities in the region and in all over the country. In 2008 China government arrested many of the personals who were involved in planning terrorist activities during Beijing Olympics.¹³⁵

China Government in a report declared that separatists in Xinjiang region are suspected to get funds and training from Al-Qaeda and that they are having strong links with international terrorists. The report shows that Osama Bin Laden is giving open handed support to the terrorist organization and considers them as an important part of his organization. Osama Bin Laden many times secretly planed with the terrorists organizations in South Asia to help and assist the separatists in Xinjiang region. The report was released one month before the visit of U.S. President George W. Bush to China and is considered as the effort to get support of US to attack Islamic militants in the region.¹³⁶

¹³⁴Preeti Bhattacharji, *Uighurs and China's Xinjiang Region*. July 06, 2009, <http://www.cfr.org/china/uighurs-chinas-xinjiang-region/p16870> (accessed March 02, 2011).

¹³⁵Carolyn Bartholomew, *Report to Congress of the U. S. -China Economic and Security Review Commission* (Washington : U.S Government Printing Office, november 2009): 214.

¹³⁶*China links separatists to bin Laden*. January 21, 2002, http://articles.cnn.com/2002-01-21/world/gen.china.xinjiang_1_bin-east-turkestan-islamic-movement-separatists?_s=PM:asiapcf (accessed March 14, 2011).

3.6 Han migrations

Growing job opportunities in the region has increased migration of the Han community. According to the experts Han population was increased to five percent till 1940 and to forty percent till 2009. "In its 2007 annual report to the U.S. Congress, the Congressional-Executive Commission on China said the Chinese Government "provides incentives for migration to the region from elsewhere in China, in the name of recruiting talent and promoting stability". Since imperial times, the Chinese Government has tried to settle Han on the outskirts of China to integrate the Chinese periphery. But the Communist Party says its policies in Xinjiang are designed to promote economic development, not demographic change. Xinjiang's influx of migrants has fueled Uighur discontent as Han and Uighurs compete over limited jobs and natural resources."¹³⁷

Migration of Han community into the Xinjiang region effected local population in three ways. On the first level they affected language of the Uighurs community. With the migration of the Han community into the region the idea of bilingual teaching was promoted in the educational institutions of the minority community in order to get quality education and to meet job requirements. On the second level migration affected the lifestyle of the minority community in Xinjiang region. They started living in brick and wooden houses instead of yurts and adobe houses. Similarly they started eating western dishes and fried food instead of milk tea and rice. On third ideology of the Xinjiang people was affected. It was believed that people in Xinjiang region are following the ideas that were unacceptable for others and with the Han migration in the region many of the old ideas were changed. "These ideological changes are mainly related to

¹³⁷Preeti Bhattacharji, *Uighurs and China's Xinjiang Region*. July 06, 2009, <http://www.cfr.org/china/uighurs-chinas-xinjiang-region/p16870> (accessed March 02, 2011).

the concepts of communist market economy, such as the ideas of profit, competition, cooperation, socialized production and so on.”¹³⁸

During the year of 1990 East Turkistan Islamic Movement was accused that they have committed 200 terrorist attacks for the creation of an independent state. Most of the Uighurs do not posses any sympathy for the separatists but at the same they do not accept presence of Han people and Chinese government in the region. China’s government started many of the projects related to infrastructure and increased its control in the region making efforts to strengthen its ties with the region. For the purpose strong ties with the region they encouraged migration of the Han people in the region. Competition was increased for job and natural recourses in the region and the practice of Islam was banned by the Chinese Government.¹³⁹

¹³⁸Guangyao Wang, *The Influence of Population Migration and Mobility on Culture Changes in Xijiang since the Foundation of PRC*. march 2009, www.ccsenet.org/journal/index.php/ass/article/download/254/230 (accessed March 15, 2011).

¹³⁹Lauren Zumbach, *A Moral Question: Addressing Human Rights in Xinjiang*. March 28, 2010, <http://afpprinceton.com/2010/03/a-moral-question-addressing-human-rights-in-xinjiang/> (accessed March 15, 2011).

CHAPTER 4

Government-Uighur Relations

Relations between China government and Uighur community have never been cordial. Both of the parties are of view that they are suppressed by the other party. Uighur community is of the view that they are not given proper rights in the country and they are not allowed to follow their culture and to practice their religion. Where China government is of the view that they are giving all the rights to the Uighurs community but they are posing threat to the national security and stability.

4.1 Uighur Diaspora

China Government considered Uighurs problem as an internal one and do not want any interference from the external powers. After 1990 international community is taking more interest in the Uighurs problem in Xinjiang and China government is very well aware of these growing interests. These interests are developed because of the efforts of the Uyghur diaspora organizations in all over the world. Many of the Uighurs are settled in Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. The exact number could not be verified because of the similarities and the assimilation into the Central Asian nation most importantly with Uzbeks. Uighurs community left the country in different waves because of the worsening policies of the government officials and also when they got opportunity for migration. Uighurs diaspora organizations are running their own organization for the preservation of their identity. In order to overcome fragmentation and disagreement in the Uighurs society many of the efforts are made to establish an umbrella organization on international level so that all the activities could be managed in all over the world. "The Eastern Turkestan National Congress set up in Turkey in

1992 and the East Turkestan Government-in-Exile, formed in autumn 2004 in Washington could be taken as the example for the umbrella organizations.” Many of the attempts could not come to the success except the World Uyghur Congress that was inaugurated in April 2004 in Munich.¹⁴⁰

Different networks for communication have always been formed by the ethnic communities and Diasporas to communicate with their communities for the purposes of trade. This communication system has never been much stronger but with the invention of the modern technologies communication and interaction of the people from different ethnic groups has become more intense and with the introduction of the internet more communication networks were immersed. Since mid 1990 internet proved to be a more powerful tool for the communication for the communication purposes for the Uighurs migrants in different parts of the world. Many of the Uighurs personals living in west created websites to generate interest and to gain support for the freedom purposes. These websites are only used by the Uighurs community living outside the China and other interested groups and not by the community living with in china because of the censorship and restrictions on the use of internet in the country. The site of the Eastern Turkistan Information Center (www.uygur.org) is also very admired by the Uighurs community as it is considered as the first attempt by the Uighurs community in their nationalist movement. As Uighurs migrants are settled in different parts of the world internet is playing very important role in the communication between different Uighur organizations working in different parts of world.¹⁴¹ Many of the Uighur nationalist living Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are publishing material on the political activities of the Uighur diaspora groups living in Europe and Turkey for the sake of providing information to the other diaspora groups especially in Xinjiang. Same in

¹⁴⁰ *Lost Nation: Stories from the Uyghur diaspora.* <http://www.forcedmigration.org/video/uyghur/> (accessed May 02, 2011).

¹⁴¹ Kilic Kanat, *Ethnic Media and Politics: the Cascade of the Use of the Internet by Uighur Diaspora.* July 04, 2005, <http://www.uic.edu/htbin/cgiwrap/bin/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/1259/1179> (accessed May 17, 2011).

that way Uighurs diaspora living in Xinjiang are publishing data for the information of the Diaspora groups in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Uighurs Diaspora in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan is also working for the distribution of the information in all over the world about the human right abuses in Xinjiang China.¹⁴²

4.2 Impact on the diplomatic relations

According to the many of the experts on foreign relations, China is successful in its diplomatic efforts. They are of the view that its neighbors are more sympathetic to China as they are fighting against their own Muslim fundamentalists groups. According to the US State Department government of Uzbekistan has handed over a Canadian national man of Uyghur ethnicity to the Chinese government who was alleged to be involved into the activities of ETIM. Such evidences show that China's neighbors are cooperating China in its anti secessionist policies but United States doing the reverse by refusing to hand over the Uyghur after releasing from Guantanamo Bay in May 2006 and transferred them to Albania. Non of the neighbor of China expressed support for Uyghur officially. During 1980s and 1990s many of the Uighurs travelled to Pakistan and Afghanistan where they involved themselves into the extremist activities and many of them enrolled themselves into madrassas.¹⁴³.

Since 1997 Turkey is improving its diplomatic relations with China to reach its markets. Turkey started purchasing different weapons and missiles from China that it could not acquire from the west and trying to gain full support on the Cyprus issue. Several measures were taken to enhance the diplomatic relation between both the countries for example secret memorandum number 36

¹⁴²Sean R. Roberts, "A Land of Borderlands". In *Xinjiang: China's Muslim borderland*, by S. Frederick Starr (231. new York: M.E. Sharpe Inc, 2004): 231.

¹⁴³Preeti Bhattacharji, *Uighurs and China's Xinjiang Region*. July 06, 2009, <http://www.cfr.org/china/uighurs-chinas-xinjiang-region/p16870> (accessed May 19, 2011).

that was issued in December 1998 that was to limit the separatist East Turkestan activities in Turkey or to ban East Turkestan flags in the country. “Then-PM Bülent Ecevit’s explicit statement that Uighurs cannot remain a problem in Turkish-Chinese relations”. Leaders of the both of the countries continued visiting each other's countries and give their promise to cooperate with each other against terrorism. Events of 2009 gave a twist in the relations of both the countries while Turkey was trying to improve its relations with China and at the same time felt the need to support Uighurs community because of the internal pressure when people started gathering after prayers for the protest against China.¹⁴⁴ In the recent years China’s relations with the Muslim world as Turkey, Saudi Arabia, neighboring Kazakhstan, and other Muslim countries are showing their sympathy for the Uighurs in Xinjiang region. These leads China towards unsatisfied happiness and towards refurbish its worse relations with the Muslim world. Because of the complicated political situation and foreign relations with the neighboring countries and for having common border with Russia and for oil and gas fields has turned Xinjiang region to the crucial situation for China.¹⁴⁵

4.3 Dialogue between government and Uighurs community

Uighurs community expresses their desire to engage themselves in dialogue with China government for the promotion of Chinese constitution and international law in Xinjiang region. For the purpose a conference was organized with the topic of “*Uyghurs Call for Dialogue with China - Implementation of the Chinese Constitution to Safeguard and Protect the Rights of the Uyghur people*”. The conference was concluded on 30th April 2010 with the rigorous call for the dialogue with the Chinese Government to overcome all the problems and tensions in Xinjiang

¹⁴⁴Gpot Fatih Furtun, *Turkish-Chinese Relations in the Shadow of the Uyghur Problem*. March 29, 2010, <http://www.todayszaman.com/news-205744-159-turkish-chinese-relations-in-the-shadow-of-the-uyghur-problem.html> (accessed May 25, 2011).

¹⁴⁵Raphael Israeli, *China’s Uyghur Problem*. israelcfr.com/documents/4-7-Raphael-Israeli.pdf (accessed May 25, 2011).

region and to ensure that provisions in the Chinese constitution are observed for the protection of minority rights in China.¹⁴⁶

All the information about the Uighur community in China that is given to the international community is not clear and transparent that is the reason international community is unable to make any comment. On this international community insist the government to give space for the freedom of expression in the Xinjiang region and to discuss social, economic and political issues that are causing tensions between Uighurs and China Government. This is also useable and encourage able for the dialogue between the government and Uighurs community that has been seen artificially between government and Dalai Lama. It is considered that undemocratic way of government is the root cause for many of the problems in the Xinjiang region and Tibet.¹⁴⁷

Taking into consideration the Berlin Declaration in 2008 and Brussels Declaration in 2010 that was adopted by World Uighurs Congress and the UNPO, Uighur community recalled for “the application of the Chinese Constitution and the Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law by Chinese authorities in East Turkestan and elsewhere”. Under the umbrella of such declarations Rubiya Qadeer made a public call in 2009 in front of the European Parliament’s Subcommittee on Human Rights for opening the meaningful dialogue between Uighurs community and China’s government. In April 2010 another public call was made by the world Uighur Congress in Brussels on the occasion of conference of Uighurs call for dialogue with China to ensure the protection of the rights of the Uighurs community in China.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶China-Uyghur Dialogue Conference. May 10, 2010, <http://www.unpo.org/article/10887> (accessed May 26, 2011).

¹⁴⁷Sean Roberts, *Ethnic Clashes in China: Uighurs vs. Han Chinese*. July 08, 2009, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/discussion/2009/07/07/DI2009070701491.html> (accessed May 26, 2011).

¹⁴⁸UNPO Resolution on East Turkestan (Passed by the 10th General Assembly of the UNPO, Rome, Italy). May 29, 2010, <http://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/?p=2500> (accessed May 26, 2011).

4.4 Hatred between Uighurs and Han Communities

It is considered that terrorist activities are always occurred within the ethnic groups, against their own ethnic fellows. But in the case of the Uighurs community they are committing crimes against the Han community which is in majority in the country whom they considered as oppressors. Uighurs hatred and criminal activities against the Han community is not because of their frustration that rose because of the restrictions in the social mobility and because they are unable to absorb into the Han community. It is also because they have rejected the social goals of the Han society and are not interested to absorb themselves into the Han society. Because of the reason they feel it unnecessary to respect laws and customs set by Chinese society.¹⁴⁹

According to the Chinese authorities tensions between both of the parties are increasing because of rumors as well. For the mater they give an example of the false rumor in with a Uighur was accused for the rape of a girl in a toy factory which resulted in the attack on the Uighur group of people leaving two Uighurs dead and more than one hundred injured. In this incident four hundred police men were deployed to control the fighting in the colony of the Uighurs community hired by the factory. Because of such incidents Uighurs community is becoming a dilemma for the authorities of the Chinese Government.¹⁵⁰ Insurgencies between Uighur and Han community were there even before the creation of the Peoples Republic of China and has been increased with time. There are many of the reasons that are given for the insurgencies of the Uighurs community. One of the major reasons behind the insurgencies of the Uyghur community is the ban on the religious activities. Economic inequality and cultural repressions are also taken

¹⁴⁹Blaine Kaltman, *Under the heel of the dragon: Islam, racism, crime, and the Uighur in China* (United States of America: center for international studie, 2007): 132.

¹⁵⁰Alexander Neill, *Violence returns to China's New Frontier*. <http://www.rusi.org/analysis/commentary/ref:C4A54B02CA0E9B/> (accessed May 28, 2011).

as the reason for the insurgencies and hatred of the Uyghur for the Chinese Government and Uyghur community.¹⁵¹

Many of the time government of China accused for spying on the Uighurs refugees in other countries but it always refused all such allegations. This reaction of China came when Uighurs refugee was arrested in Sweden and was put into jail on the decision of court for sixteen months because he was accused to pass information about the Uighurs migrants to the Chinese agent. The court was said that man was entered the world Uighurs organization to spy on the Uighurs migrants living in Sweden but Chinese authorities totally refused the allegation and said it groundless and are with hidden motives.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹Tong Zhao,*Social Cohesion and Islamic*. <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1004&context=jss&sei-redir=1#search=%22hatred+between+uighurs+and+Han+community+in+china%22> (accessed May 28, 2011).

¹⁵²*China denies spying on Uighurs in Sweden*. March 09, 2010, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8557777.stm> (accessed May 26, 2011).

Chapter 5

Impacts of Uighur tensions

5.1 Social impacts

Issue between Uighurs and government of China are affecting the social life of both of the groups in many of the ways. Uighurs are of the view that they are being suppressed by the Chinese authorities because they are in minority where as Han community is of the view that their social life is being attacked by the Uighurs community and they are committing terrorist activities and inflicting threat to the national security and integrity.

Uighurs are of the view that they are suppressed by the Han community in every aspect of life. And because of such perception intolerance is increased among the minds of the Uighurs people against the Han community. Because of such perception Uighur community is inflicting terrorist activities against the Han community whom they consider as their oppressor. They are also floating laws set by the national government.¹⁵³

The initiation of the US lead Global War on terrorism paved the way for the China Government to attack on the racism of the Uighurs community in China. China government included Uighurs group in the list of terrorist organization that gave the license to the China Government to attack on the Uighurs community. This has also strengthened relations of China Government with the US.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³Blaine Kaltman, *Under the Heel of the Dragon*. 2007, <http://www.ohioswallow.com/book/Under+the+Heel+of+the+Dragon> (accessed July 16, 2011).

¹⁵⁴Eric C. Anderson, *Washington Abetting Racism in China*. July 6, 2009, <http://www.uyghurnews.com/american/Read.asp?UighurNews=washington-abetting-racism-in-china&ItemID=JO-812009147102836865372> (accessed june 18, 2011).

Tensions between Uighurs community and China Government are also affecting the security of the common people in China. Beijing Olympics in 2008 also highlights the key security dilemma for the Government of China as it was used as the stage to show the political grievances of the minority groups against the government. Uighur community portrays all the terrorist incidents as the oppressed Uighurs group and oppressive China Government but the reality is bit different. It is said that it is true that Uighurs community is suppressed but there is a small group of people who has links with the terrorist groups is spoiling the image of the majority of the Uighurs community in China.¹⁵⁵

5.2 Education

In spite of all the tensions and problems of the Uighurs community China's Government is making such policies that could improve literacy level of the Uighur community. It is constructing educational institution in Uighur areas and are giving them more educational opportunities. New Chinese constitution mentions that all the minorities in China are equal to each other. One group cannot dominate the other one and all the minorities are the indisputable part of Peoples Republic of China. The constitution also emphasizes the critical role of the one class dictatorship and class system in the relations with in the groups. The constitution also defines that all the minorities are the special groups and they can enjoy all the rights that majority groups are enjoying. Chinese and the national minorities are struggling to develop the policy that could satisfy the needs related to the education, culture, language, and which could be able to satisfy national as well as minority needs. Educational institutes in China can play a very important role in the settlement of the dispute between China's Government and national minorities in the country. Their educational system can promote the values. If the educational

¹⁵⁵Elizabeth Van Wie Davis, *China Confronts its Uighur Threat*. April 18, 2008, <http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China/JD18Ad01.html> (accessed june 24, 2011).

system of the Han and minorities groups could be examine to make it clear that their system is serving for both the national settlement and for the tensions in the county. China's national minority policies have their links with the second Chinese Communist Party Congress that was held in 1922. It is based on the Marxism-Leninism that separates the Chinese minority policies from the other nations following the socialism. Chinese constitution gives the security to all minority groups that they can enjoy the independence in getting education, adopting culture and language but with respect to the national needs and requirements. They can play an active part in the country's political system.¹⁵⁶ It is China's national priority to make developments in the educational field. They are planning for nine years compulsory education to reduce the illiteracy rate from the country. Some of the students are provided free text books and some of them are provided the living allowances as well.¹⁵⁷ In minority areas government is emphasizing on the "nationality policy education" and to those which can highlight the living style and rules and regulations of the minorities. In spite of that 1982 survey depict that illiteracy level in the minority areas is twenty per cent lower as compared to the Han majority in the country.¹⁵⁸

Whereas; Uighurs are of the view that because Han community is enjoying all the opportunities for the promotion of education and their social life and ignoring Uighurs community to support their language education and other needs of social life. Economic developments are widening the gap between two groups instead of decreasing between both of the groups. Such social problems

¹⁵⁶ John N. Hawkins. National-Minority Education in the People's Republic of China. *Comparative Education Review*, 22(1)(February, 1978): 159.

¹⁵⁷ China.org.cn. *China's Budgets Report*. March 19, 2007, <http://www.china.org.cn/english/government/203405.htm> (accessed July 2, 2011).

¹⁵⁸ R. Stites, L. Semali, Adult Literacy for Social Equality or Economic Growth? Changing Agendas for Mass Literacy in China and Tanzania. *Comparative Education Review*, 35(1) (February, 1991): 60-61.

are aggravating national problem as both the groups are trying to generate their own social group with totally different school of thought.¹⁵⁹

5.3 CCP Policies in China

Tensions and uprisings in Xinjiang and Tibet make the Chinese leaders somewhat confused because many of the people whose economic condition was improved under the Chinese rule were protesting and creating troubles in the country. During 1950s and 1980s China's Government started making policies to integrate Xinjiang into one national unit. To achieve these policies it started reducing trade barriers, it set the basis for mineral resources and start building infrastructure in the region. They also gave some subsidies to the local people in Xinjiang. Government started providing them more income and easy access to the modern technologies and because of the reason; the incomes of the common peoples in Xinjiang were increased prominently. All this realized the minorities that integration with the Han majority can provide them more prosperity because income of the people living in Han dominated area was double as compared to them. The improved situation of the region let the people who migrated to the other countries for the better living standards, to come back to their home and demand their government to provide all the benefits, facilities and rights that they were enjoying in abroad.

Chinese Government started considering that religion is an "evil force" and termed the religious behavior as terrorism. They made the pilgrimage tours so expensive in the year 2007 from Xinjiang only 3400 peoples went to Mecca for pilgrimage. Muslims in China can go to Mecca for pilgrimage under the government scrutiny and government keeps the checks on them. Local Chinese are of the view that peoples, who are working in government institutions are

¹⁵⁹Daniel Tomas, *Uyghur identity emergence: the Chinese Achilles' heel*. July 4, 2011, <http://www.globalaffairs.es/en/uyghur-identity-emergence-the-chinese-achilles-heel/> (accessed June 24, 2011).

discouraged from fasting during Ramadan and to go to pray in Mosques. Government is of the view that all this is because of the threat of the unrest and rebellion in the country.¹⁶⁰

During the opening of the CCP's ruling period its policies were based on moderations. It was willing to strengthen the position of the Uighurs minority in Xinjiang region and was trying to stabilize the region and to make developments over there. During the 1957 to 1961 CCP changed its policies and converted to harsher and stopped considering the environment of the Uighurs in Xinjiang.¹⁶¹ In present times China's government has the policies to strengthen the region economically and politically. To improve the economic condition in the region is the top priority of the Chinese government. They have decided that if they want anything from Xinjiang then they have to give something in return. In other words they are adopting the give and take policies in the region. They are also putting their efforts to improve the living standard of the common peoples in Xinjiang.¹⁶² Xinjiang integration into the national economy came into being in 1990 after ten years of the China's economic reform policies. The integration of Xinjiang into the national economy was a more political act. During the years 1989-1990 Beijing authorities made the policies to change the bargaining position with the Xinjiang region and provided the priority status in the eighth five years plan. During the republican control, the Han authorities realized that the region is rich with the mineral resources, which they can use for their national interest, and they try to achieve them through the economic development policies in the region. Of the total 147 different minerals found in China, 115 are produced in Xinjiang. China's need for these minerals let the Chinese authorities to make best policies to integrate the Xinjiang region into the main economy of Xinjiang. But in Xinjiang rising Turkic nationality and Islamic culture was

¹⁶⁰J. Ansfield, Pilgrims Progress. *Newsweek* (2008, April 21- April 28): 33.

¹⁶¹D. H. McMillen, "Xinjiang and Wang Enmao: New Directions in Power, Policy and Integration?" *The China Quarterly*, 99, (September, 1984): 579-580.

¹⁶²L. C. Harris, "Xinjiang, Central Asia and the Implications for China's Policy in the Islamic World." *The China Quarterly*, 133, (March, 1993): 120-21.

posing a continual threat to the Chinese leaders.¹⁶³ China wanted to establish the peace and prosperity in the region because it can only achieve its interest when the region is peaceful and prosperous.¹⁶⁴

China's Government is using the war against terrorism in Xinjiang to make its act legal against Uighurs in Xinjiang. Government is of the view that some of the Uighurs has their links with Al-Qaeda terrorist group and that is supporting them to rise against the central government. But in fact very few people from Uighurs minority rise against the central government; China's government is making the policy to re-educate the Muslim leaders so that they could act according to the will of government leaders and should not be able to rise against the government.¹⁶⁵ China's government is making the policies that all the peoples in Xinjiang will support and work for the national interest of China. China's government is willing to give all the authorities to the local leaders of Xinjiang if they can work for their interests and could prevent any kind of sufferings and the central government will not suffer any kind of act which could harm the national integrity and sovereignty. Government is of the view that government should take interest in the different minority groups in the region and these minority groups should work under the supervision of the local leaders. But this arise the question that whether these policies are correct and helpful or not.¹⁶⁶

If we have a look at the history of Xinjiang, the historical records testify that during the last 70 to 80 years peoples in Xinjiang were gradually becoming prosperous and they did not face any starvation. That is why Chinese government is taking much more interests in the region because

¹⁶³G. Christoffersen, "Xinjiang and the Great Islamic Circle: The Impact of Transnational Forces on Chinese Regional Economic Planning." *The China Quarterly*, 133 (March, 1993): 39.

¹⁶⁴R. M. Li, "Migration to China's Northern Frontier, 1953-82." *Population and Development Review*, 15(3), (September, 1989): 519.

¹⁶⁵J. Kurlantzick, "China: Economic power, Political Enigma." *The Washington Quarterly*, 25(3), (summer 2002): 59-60.

¹⁶⁶C. Chih-Chung, "Dilemma in Sinkiang." *Pacific Affairs*, 20(4), (December, 1947): 426.

it can fulfill its economic interests in the region if the region is very stable in agricultural and mineral resources¹⁶⁷

Economic recourses in the region are also a cause of the tensions by the ethnic minority in the region. Because the property in the region is not owned by the people, who are inhabitant of the region nor controlled by the government of the region. But in spite of that government is providing the financial subsidies to the region and showed lots of interest in the region's recourses.¹⁶⁸ Central authorities in China are taking into the consideration to the Xinjiang's developments in the economic, cultural and political fields and to integrate its development with the northwest province. Government have polices to control the economy of Xinjiang and unlike the other provinces most of the industry in the region is under the government control. In spite of the reason the foreign investment in the region is very low that is 0.5 percent of China's total.¹⁶⁹

After the establishment of the Uighurs autonomous region in October 1, 1955, peoples from the Uighurs community enjoyed a lot of benefits and privileges in the region as they were having their own government representatives who were free to make polices according to their own will. After the establishment of the Uighurs autonomous region they were having more freedom in cultural affairs as compared to the political and economic areas.¹⁷⁰ China has started its rule in the region on the policies to increase the population of the Han community that was in minority in the region, to develop the industry in the region that would be equipped with the modern technology and to integrate the region in the mainland China that could avoid all the foreign influence in the region.¹⁷¹ Xinjiang is enjoying the advantageous position in the region because of the two reasons. First officials in Xinjiang have the authority to formulate the rules and

¹⁶⁷C. Chih-Yi, "Land Utilization and Settlement Possibilities in Sinkiang." *Geographical Review*, 39(1) (January, 1949): 69.

¹⁶⁸G. Christoffersen, "Xinjiang and the Great Islamic Circle: The Impact of Transnational Forces on Chinese Regional Economic Planning." *The China Quarterly*, 133 (March, 1993): 136.

¹⁶⁹N. Bocquelin, "Xinjiang in the Nineties." *The China Journal*, 44 (July, 2000): 82.

¹⁷⁰O. E. Clubb, (Economic Modernization in Sinkiang." *Far Eastern Survey*, 27(2) (February, 1958): 20.

¹⁷¹A. S. Whiting, "Nationality Tensions in Sinkiang." *Far Eastern Survey*, 25(1) (January, 1956):10.

regulation according to their own interest. They can formulate the policies that could pursue their social interest in the region. Secondly they are not bound to submit the taxes gathered in the region to the central authorities, they can use all the tax for the regional development.¹⁷²

In January 1994 the Standing Committee of the Xinjiang Regional Congress made new polices to maintain the peace and stability in the region. People's Liberation Army and armed police were ordered to establish a team for the preservation of the peace and stability in which civilians were supposed to protect the public order and stability in the region.¹⁷³

China is using the policy of war against terrorism to shoot up the war against the Uighurs community in the region. Because of these tensions some of the Uighurs started rebellion in the region which could increase tension in Central Asia in future times. China also blamed that some of the Uighurs have their connection with the terrorist group Al-Qaeda. But in spite of the fact that Uighurs community had faced massive bombing, very few of the Uighurs arise and create tensions for the central government.¹⁷⁴ China have polices to term all the Uighurs as terrorist just as Rebiya Qadeer. She was a business woman and currently running the Uighurs American Association and is the leader of the exile movement that is working for the better rights of the Uighurs community in the region. She had passed six years in jail because she was charged to pass the secret information to the foreigners.¹⁷⁵

CCP has the policy to abolish and eliminate the entire separatist in the region and make peace and stability. For this purpose it has made four in one defense system that link the PLA, armed

¹⁷²K. Griffin,"Rural Development in an Arid Region: Xinjiang." *Third World Quarterly*, 8(3) (July, 1986): 980.

¹⁷³G. Austin,'The Strategic Implications Of China Public Order Crises." *Survival*, 37(2)(summer 1995): 12.

¹⁷⁴J. Kurlantzick, "China: Economic power, Political Enigma." *The Washington Quarterly*, 25(3)(summer 2002): 61.

¹⁷⁵ S. Elegant/khotan, *In China's Wild West*. April 17, 2008, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1731669,00.html> (accessed July 3, 2011).

police, XPCC and common people who are working in the region for the peace and stability in cooperation with each other.¹⁷⁶

5.4 Rebellions in Xinjiang

During the first ten years of the establishment of the People's Republic of China, violence started rising in the region because of the government policies in the rural areas of the country. This violence was of different intensity and was against the new socialist measures.¹⁷⁷

China did not allow the people in the region to struggle for their independence. Whenever people organized themselves in a group to run the separatist movement they were suppressed by the PLA that resulted many deaths in the region.¹⁷⁸ Another reason for the separatist's movement in the region can be the neglected behavior of the government for the Muslim minority in spite of the fact they are in majority in the different parts of country. Their problems are not taken into consideration seriously as compared to other groups in the country. However, in later times minorities were given the privileges and were welcome to join the government and to represent the minority group to which they belong. China's government also made an alliance in which all the minorities are equal and they follow their own rules and traditions. At that time minority groups in different areas especially Muslims in Xinjiang were asked that they are recognized as the national minority in the country and China's government itself will defend the border areas of the country.¹⁷⁹

Many of the construction works in the region was done by the Han migrant in the Xinjiang region because of the reason many of the native workers were declared untrained. It was because

¹⁷⁶ China.org.cn. *History and Development of Xinjiang (Part 10)*. May 26, 2003, <http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/zfbps/t36551.htm> (accessed July 08, 2011).

¹⁷⁷ E. J. Perry, Rural Violence in Socialist China. *The China Quarterly*, 103, (Sep., 1985): 421.

¹⁷⁸ G. Christoffersen, "Xinjiang and the Great Islamic Circle: The Impact of Transnational Forces on Chinese Regional Economic Planning." *The China Quarterly*, 133(March, 1993): 135.

¹⁷⁹ R. Israeli, "The Muslim Minority In the Peoples Republic of China." *Asian Survey*, 21(8) (August 1981): 911.

of the reason that Chinese government wanted to strengthen its control over the region. In order to avoid the violence in the region China's government gave the little political autonomy to the region as their experiments of the 1954 realized them that the lower level, controlled and limited self government system was safe.¹⁸⁰

In order to reduce and eliminate the threats of the rebellions and uprisings in the country China's government also made the considerable policies to normalize the relations between the common people and the Peoples Liberation Army.¹⁸¹ According to the 1978 and 1980's laws they also allow the Muslims in the region to have the friendly linkages in outside the country and to have the friendly relations with the Muslims in other country. Xinjiang's political and economic integration into Han is also a source of tension because people want to have full autonomy in the region. In the Year 1983 Xinjiang science and technology information research institute wrote in its publication about the energy of the Xinjiang region that the natural resources of the region especially petroleum and gas are not benefiting the people living in Xinjiang region.¹⁸²

China's Government is facing the governance problem and because of that reason, the crime rate in the region is increasing with time. According to the annual report the crime rate in the year 1978 was 5.5 per 10000 people and increased to 28.8 in the year 2000. According to these reports the crime level in the region is increasing on very high level as compared to the past.

China's public economies are interlinked with each other and the common people especially farmers are to pay heavy taxes. In spite of the reason China's Government is spending much more on the public security, health and education of the common people in China. In the year 2000 China's Government spent 1.2% of the total GDP on social security program and for

¹⁸⁰ J. P. Lo, "Five Years Of Sinking-Uighurs Autonomous Region 1955-60." *China Quarterly*, 8(October - December, 1961): 101.

¹⁸¹ D. H. McMillen, "Xinjiang and Wang Enmao: New Directions in Power, Policy and Integration?" *The China Quarterly*, 99, (September, 1984): 580.

¹⁸² G. Christoffersen, "Xinjiang and the Great Islamic Circle: The Impact of Transnational Forces on Chinese Regional Economic Planning." *The China Quarterly*, 133 (March, 1993): 149.

education and health care it figures 3.5% of the total GDP.¹⁸³ Another reason for the separatist movement can be China's effort to force the Uighurs to think themselves as the part of the Chinese community and as the citizens of the PRC. China's Government is of the view that they should follow the common identity and interests with the Han people. This make the Uighurs community aggressive and they started arising against the central government because they want to follow their Uighur ideology and want to be known as the Uighurs. To suppress the separatists posted many of the troops in the region. It was in the result of the 1997 riots that left many of the Han people terrified. After the bombings in the bus the China's government appointed at least two soldiers at every bus stop in all the cities of the region.¹⁸⁴

During the year 1990 China faced massive bombings by the separatist movement organizer in the region. China's Government repressed that group that was struggling for the independence in the region. It was done by the arrests on large scale in the region. In present times China's Government is using war against terrorism to suppress the group of people to whom China titled as terrorists. After the incident of the 9/11 China's government is claiming that these separatist groups have their links with the Al-Qaeda terrorist group. They are doing so because it could legalize its acts for the Uighurs community. In 1997 China's Government attacked on the peaceful pro-independence demonstration that resulted two days riot and in the result separatists attacked on the two buses in the capital of Xinjiang region. On this act China's government acted in very harsh way and arrested thousand of peoples and many of them were executed after unfair trials. In spite all these things International Human Rights Group claim that there is very little evidence that Uighurs were involved in the terrorist activities in the region.¹⁸⁵ During the year

¹⁸³S. Wang, "Governance Crises in China." *journal of democracy*. 18(3)(July. 2007): 53-54.

¹⁸⁴G. Bovingdon, "The Not-So-Silent Majority: Uyghur Resistance to Han Rule in Xinjiang." *Modern China*, 28(1)(January, 2002): 60.

¹⁸⁵D. J. Lynch, *In Xinjiang province, an uneasy coexistence*. September 9, 2004, http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2004-09-22-chinaterror-usat_x.htm. (accessed July 7, 2011).

1998 Chinese Prime Minister Jiang Zemin during his visit to Xinjiang ordered the local government to attack on the separatists in the region and to crush the separatist in the region is the key policy of the central government. In the same year Chinese government arrested many of the people who were involved in the terrorist activities in the region, according to the officials they were the people who got their training from Afghanistan and it was also considered that death sentences will be issued after the secret trials.¹⁸⁶

Protests occurred in the region because the China's Government refused to give the right to the people to conduct the demonstration in the region. These protests were suppressed by the China's Government through using its powers and through massive police presence in the region. To suppress these protests China's Government also arrest a lot of people and many of them were executed after the unjust trials.¹⁸⁷ China's Government is suppressing the religious groups because the government officials are of the view that the sects and the secret societies are not the religious groups but are the counter revolutionary organizations inflicting threats to the central government of China. At that time government provided different document to prove them as rebels and they have their links with the powers outside the country.¹⁸⁸

China's government is trying to put its efforts to realize the international community that the separatists in the region have their direct links with the terrorist groups and they have direct link with the war against terrorism. China's government has policies to crush all those elements that are going against and inflicting threat to the Chinese government. After the incident of 9/11 China's government strengthened its campaign to crush the separatist activities in the region and

¹⁸⁶S. Ribao, J. Zemin, *Through Economic Development Break Up Xinjiang Independence Movement*. September 1, 1998, http://www.economist.com/world/asia/displaystory.cfm?story_id=10875823. (accessed July 2, 2011).

¹⁸⁷D. L. Yang, "China in 2002: Leadership Transition and the Political Economy of governance." *Asian Survey*, 43(1)(January - February, 2003): 33.

¹⁸⁸E. J. Perry, "Rural Violence in Socialist China." *The China Quarterly*, 103 (Sep., 1985): 430.

for this purpose it is seeking the foreign help.¹⁸⁹ During 2001 China's government strengthened the strike hard campaign in the region. On the national levels it deals with the crimes but in Xinjiang it was used to crush the separatist and illegal religious activities. The campaign of strike hard also intensified the arrest and unjust death sentences in the region. After the incident of 9/11 strike hard campaign started working against the separatists, terrorist and illegal religious activities in the region.¹⁹⁰ On November 12, 2001 China's government told the UN Security Council that the separatist groups in Xinjiang have their links with the terrorist group Al-Qaeda and they are getting support from the radical Islamist organizations. By linking it with the war against terrorism China's government made a credible propaganda campaign against the Uighurs community in Xinjiang region.¹⁹¹

Because of the Chinese policies Uighurs community in Xinjiang is demanding for the separate home land where they could make the regional and local policies according to their own will and could practice the religious rules freely. China's government termed these separatists as the terrorist and they have direct influence of the terrorist groups. To abolish the terrorist threats China's government is reeducating the Muslim imams according to their own set patterns. They are trying to realize the religious leaders that their first loyalty should be their country not the religion, even government was to decide that what version of Koranic tafseer should be used. Religious training was led by the party and the government officials and was started in 2001 and some 8000 imams were asked to take part in that training. Along with the speeches and verbal

¹⁸⁹ T. Luard, *China's changing views of terrorism*. December 15, 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/3320347.stm>. (accessed JULY 2, 2011).

¹⁹⁰ [cecc.gov/CECC/2002/Annual_Report_Xinjiang_Uighurs.htm](http://www.cecc.gov/CECC/2002/Annual_Report_Xinjiang_Uighurs.htm). <http://www.cecc.gov/pages/virtualAcad/uighur/xinannrept02.php>. (accessed July 2, 2011).

¹⁹¹ Human Rights Watch, "Devastating Blows Religious Repression of Uighurs in Xinjiang." *Human Rights Watch*, 17(2(C)) (April 2005): 1-113.

exams the trainees were required to criticize themselves and to admit their mistakes.¹⁹² Xinjian's Party Secretary Wang Lequan said in January 2003 that "Xinjiang will always keep up the intensity of its crackdown on ethnic separatist forces and deal them devastating blows without showing any mercy."¹⁹³

Uprisings in Xinjiang were started in 1958. The rebels in Xinjiang were organized in small groups and they were fighting guerrilla warfare. To counter these guerillas additional army troops were sent to the region and a campaign was also initiated to realize the common people that the people's liberation army is to look after all the groups in the country. In February 1967 some tensions arose in the Xinjiang region when PLA was called to restore the order. It was in the result when General Head quarters of revolutionary affairs announced that they have got all the authorities from party committee and people's council.¹⁹⁴ Chinese government is of the view that tensions in Xinjiang are because of the Cultural Revolution but in fact they are because of the policies of the Chinese government they wanted to make full control over the region and they are of the view that the region is the primary part of China. At the time of the surrender by the Xinjiang government many of the leaders were succeeded to get rid of the foreign influence in the region. It is also said that the tensions in the region are also because of the attachment with the ideological rules and regulations. At times a new tension could be seen in the minority peoples of the Xinjiang because they wanted the Han majority people to leave the region and in a result a large number of the Han people started leaving the region in the year 1980. The economic situation in Xinjiang was not so much critical but the policies and decision of the authorities were creating the causes of tensions in the region. Uighurs wanted the people from

¹⁹² M. Spiegel, *Congressional Human Rights Caucus (CHRC) Members' Briefing: The Human Rights Situation of Uighurs in the People's Republic of China (PRC)*. April 27, 2005, <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2005/04/2> (accessed July 27, 2011).

¹⁹³ Human Rights Watch, "Devastating Blows Religious Repression of Uighurs in Xinjiang." *Human Rights Watch*, 17(2(C)) (April 2005): 110.

¹⁹⁴ J. Dreyer, "China's Minority Nationalities in the Cultural Revolution." *The China Quarterly*, 35 (July - September, 1968): 97.

Han majority to leave the region because they wanted to dilute the monopoly of the Han community in the region. In the long run uprisings started beginning in the region but on small scale. In these uprisings the young people from Uighurs minority group were killed in 1980 but the concerning authorities took no action in this way.¹⁹⁵

Government is of the view that peoples of Xinjiang do not need to go for new uprisings because they are politically stable and they do not have any intention to be separate from the mainland China. Uighurs are not facing any domination or economic problems in the region, they were enjoying full independence in the region.¹⁹⁶

Xinjiang is the most sensitive region politically and for the police control as compared to the other border areas. All these rebellions and tensions in the region is not new, Chinese government gradually expanded the control over the region. Chinese government tried to reduce the threat of rebellion in the region in order to prevent the terrorist activities in other parts of the country. During the year 1996 China's government made the serious policies against the terrorist threat in the region. They mention that the terrorist groups in other countries are strengthening their ties with the separatists in the Xinjiang to create destruction in the region and with in Xinjiang the separatist movements are spreading on very high scale and they have very strong bases and they are indulging themselves into the terrorist activities in the region and that is posing threat to the whole country.¹⁹⁷ China's government is of the view that the rebellion in the region is encouraged by Soviet Union and they are also providing weapons to the separatist or rebels in the region. Its looks true because some of the Muslims are found with the modern Russian weapons. It is also said that some of the anti Russian Chinese blame Russia for the tension in the region instead of wrong policies of the government. There are some other reasons

¹⁹⁵ J. T. Dreyer, "The Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region at Thirty: A Report Card." *Asian Survey*, 26(7) (July, 1986): 739.

¹⁹⁶ C. Chih-Chung, "Dilemma in Sinkiang." *Pacific Affairs*, 20(4) (December, 1947): 425.

¹⁹⁷ N. Becquelin, "Xinjiang in the Nineties." *The China Journal*, 44 (July, 2000): 75.

for the tensions in Xinjiang other than the Russian support to the separatist. Ninety five percent of the population of Xinjiang is Muslim; only five percent of the population is non Muslims and ruling the whole region. They have had the policies to keep the Muslims poor and they were bound to pay more taxes as compared to the non Muslims in the region.¹⁹⁸ Clashes and unrest in the regions are also because of the differences in the economic conditions of the permanent population and nomads. In the past clashes and tensions emerged because of the attack of the hungry peasants on the fields of the nomads. To avoid such conflicts some strategies were adopted. Agricultural patterns were changed. People's liberation army was called to provide its assistance for the developments in the economic fields. PLA is providing its assistance for the economic development in the region even in the present times. In December 1954 it was organized into the production construction army and it was working under the instruction and command of the Xinjiang district command. PLA was serving in the region for the expansion of the cultivated land and to initiate the farm units that are working under the government authorities.¹⁹⁹ Some separatists are emerging in the region and China's government termed these separators as the terrorist. China officials are of the view that over all situations in the region is good but in spite of the fact they should have to be prepared for all kind of violence and danger even in the time of peace.²⁰⁰ As the result of the ill treatment of the Chinese government to the religious leaders of Muslims in the region, some tensions and conflicts started emerging in the region. At that time some of them organized themselves in a group in order to protect their social, political and economic rights in the region. The group of people who were gathered for the

¹⁹⁸E. Lattimore, "Report on Sinkiang." *Far Eastern Survey*, 14(7) (Apr. 11, 1945): 77-79.

¹⁹⁹O. E. Clubb, "Economic Modernization in Sinkiang." *Far Eastern Survey*, 27(2) (February, 1958): 20.

²⁰⁰[bbc.co.uk,China warns of Xinjiang 'danger'](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/4292466.stm). September 29, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/4292466.stm> (accessed July 8, 2011).

destructions in the region always remained in small number. These groups planned to create destructions in the region through bomb blast and killing of the Chinese officials in the region.²⁰¹ Peoples in Xinjiang enjoyed a greater autonomy in the region as compared to the present times. Some of the Uighurs are demanding more autonomy in the region as they are allowed to have in the present times and some of them are demanding for the separate home land where they could be able to practice the rules and regulations of their own society. China's government sees all the Uighurs as a threat to the national sovereignty and integrity. Government is making policies to take upper hand on Islam so that they could be able to suppress the Uighurs community in the region.²⁰² China's hold on Xinjiang is unacceptable for the peoples in the region and because of the China's increasing influence in the region peoples have started the rebellion in the region and coming up with the different slogans that show that they do not want any assistance from the Han people or from the communist party they only want Muslim's rule and independent home land. In the mid of 1994 China's government started feeling threat to its national security and blame the Uighurs community that they are the source of threat to the "transport routs, military farms, factories and oil fields."²⁰³ People in Xinjiang wanted political autonomy in the region for the preservation of their rights and they could be able to perform their religious activities freely. The fulfillment of the rights and immunity to the minorities can go with the national interests and integrity. Major source of tensions in Xinjiang is the migration of the people from the Han community to the region. These migrations are thought as the attack on the native culture, culture and tradition. Many of the non Uighurs are of the opinion that all this is the part of the Chinese policies to dominate the Uighurs community through culturally and

²⁰¹J. Kurlantzick, "Repression and Revolt in China's Wild West." *Current History* (September 2004): 266.

²⁰² Human Rights Watch, "Devastating Blows Religious Repression of Uighurs in Xinjiang." *Human Rights Watch*, 17(2(C))(April 2005): 111.

²⁰³G. Austin, "The Strategic Implications Of China Public Order Crises." *Survival*, 37(2)(summer 1995): 21.

politically.²⁰⁴ Separatist's movements in Xinjiang are actively and violently demanding their separate home land, or they should have enough authority in the regions so that they should make the policies for their betterment and development in the region. More or less these tensions were started in 1990's and social, political and economic issues give boost to these tension. Furthermore migrations of the Han community in the region, China's minority policies and difference of the financial conditions between the minority and majority groups was also a factor of tensions in the region. Uighurs community also got supports in their movement from other minority groups in the country. Uighurs separatist got support of the Kazaks and Kyrgyz in April 1996. Their government officials realize the China's government that they should change their policies in the region and set up the bases for the cooperation between the China's government and the Uighurs community in the region. Uighurs community in Central Asia has provided their support to the separatist movement in the region in two ways. First they provided the significant moral support to the separatists in the region. Secondly they approach the international community for example the international organizations so that they could pressurize the Chinese government to find a peace full solution of the Uighurs problem.²⁰⁵ After the collapse of the Soviet Union the separatists in Xinjiang became more organized. After 1996 separatists in Xinjiang started a movement to kill the government officials and after that different incidents took place in the country. All these riots and tensions were against the Chinese government and Chinese government blame the Uighurs community. China's government is opposing the Uighurs community in the region because they are Muslims. It is so because they are feeling Islam as the threat to the communism because all the Islamic movements are anti communist and

²⁰⁴Y. D.Yang, H. Wei, " Rising Sectionalism in China." *Journal of international affairs*, 49(2)(Winter 1996): 169.

²⁰⁵K.Sheives, "China Turns West: Beijing's Contemporary Strategy Toward Central Asia." *Pacific Affairs*, 79(2)(summer 2006): 209.

Islam is the only thing that could unite the non-Han people in the region.²⁰⁶ China's government is of the view that the extremism, separatism and terrorism are the basic issues that are considered as the threat for the Xinjiang's social stability. Many of the critics are of the view that China's government is using war against terrorism for the justification for its crack down on the Uighurs community. In the year of 2001 there were many reports that many of the Uighurs were arrested because they were taking part in the terrorist activities in the region. Many of them were executed and many of them were put into prison for long times.²⁰⁷

5.5 Role of International Community

After the adaptation of the open door policy China was facing a huge pressure from the international community that Xinjiang region should be opened to them for the exploration of oil and other resources. They were of the view that they can go for the joint expedition for the exploration of oil and other mineral resources in the region.²⁰⁸ Leaders in Xinjiang decided to surrender themselves to the Chinese communist party in 1949 because they were realizing that Soviet Union would occupy the region. Many of the Han people from Xinjiang who were living in some different areas were ordered to go back to Xinjiang. They were having the alternative to live in the same place without having the registration that could provide them the ration token and they might have the continuous fear that any time they can caught by the security forces in the country.²⁰⁹

International community is also taking interest to solve the Uighurs' problems in China. As United states warned the China's government that it could not be considered as leader in

²⁰⁶M. Yahuda, "The Changing faces Of the Chinese Nationalism." In *Asian Nationalism*(London: Routledge, 2000.): 22-37

²⁰⁷Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. *China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau) Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - 2002*. March 31, 2003, <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/rrpt/2002/18239.h> (accessed July 8, 2011).

²⁰⁸G. Christoffersen, " Xinjiang and the Great Islamic Circle: The Impact of Transnational Forces on Chinese Regional Economic Planning." *The China Quarterly*, 133(March 1993): 147.

²⁰⁹J. T. Dreyer, "The Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region at Thirty: A Report Card." *Asian Survey*, 26(7)(July 1986): 73.

international system unless it will not develop all the areas equally and will not provide the proper human rights to all its minorities in the country and make a transparent, open and free society.²¹⁰

Pakistan used to condemn the terrorist activities and terrorist organizations in china and always supports China against the terrorist activities. Chinese authorities always appreciated the role of Pakistan in Tibet, Taiwan and Xingjian and because of the reason they wanted to enhance cooperation with Pakistan in different fields.²¹¹

During the visit of Pakistan's ISI chief Ahmed Shuja Pasha to China in 2011, Pakistan was blamed that the most of the terrorist in china were got their training from Pakistan. Government of China is of the view that Pakistani government is not directly involved in the terrorism in china but it is not strong enough to cope with the problem. Chinese officials are of the view that China government have avoided to blame Pakistan for years in spite of having clear evidence of Pakistan's support to the terrorist organizations in china.²¹²

²¹⁰John D. Negroponte, *The Future of Political, Economic and Security Relations with China*. May 01, 2007, <http://www.state.gov/s/d/2007/84118.htm> (accessed July 04, 2011).

²¹¹StaffReporter, "Pakistan censures anti-China ETIM." *The Nation*. May 30, 2012, <http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/national/30-May-2012/pakistan-censures-anti-china-etim> (accessed June 02, 2012).

²¹²Saibal Dasgupta, "China blames terror camps in Pakistan as 20 killed in Xinjiang violence." *The Times of India*. August 01, 2011, http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-08-01/china/29838192_1_kashgar-east-turkistan-islamic-movement-uyghur (accessed July 02, 2012).

Conclusion

According to Chinese Government, all the minorities are allowed to practice their religion freely and government is trying to overcome the affects of the Cultural Revolution. From the histories Islam in China is a challenge for the government because of the concept of nationalism in the Uighur community. Till 1976 and during Cultural Revolution it was assumed that religion in China was dead but after 1979 all the religious activities were revived in the country but Muslim community remained themselves different from all other religious groups. China government is also giving protection to all the religious beliefs of all the nations living in the country. Muslims in China are not ready to leave their ethnic culture that the reason they are not ready to assimilate themselves into the Chinese culture and adopting it from the distance.

Cultural Revolution in China is taken as the struggle for power that started in 1966 and continued till 1976. But with the creation of People Republic of China many of the tensions that erupted in the country came to an end during Cultural Revolution. Muslims in China remained challenge for the government as they always inflict threat to the national security and integrity as they are ambitious to establish their independent homeland. In spite of the reason all the Muslims do not support the separatist movement. It is said that relations between Muslims and Chinese government are disrupted because of many of the internal and external factors based on political and social reasons. Political autonomy of the Xinjiang region and socio economic conditions of the Uighurs community are some of those reasons Uighurs are with arms because they think their existence in China more vulnerable.

Many of the scholars are of the view that tensions between China Government and Uighurs community are because of the many of the misunderstandings. Because of the same reasons

Muslims are against the Chinese government and ethnic violence is arising in the country. Minority groups in the country are of the view that minority groups in the country are not treated on equal bases and that is the only reason Economic, social and educational conditions of the Han community are much better than the minority community. Whereas China government is of the view that all the minority groups are free to represent their minority groups and they are working to improve their social economic and political conditions. It is believed that both national and international media is playing very important role in the misunderstandings of both of the groups. Because of these misunderstandings China government term Muslim community as terrorist who are inflicting threat to the integrity and prosperity of the Chinese nation but on the other side they are helping Muslim community in their religious activities by providing them special visas for pilgrimage.

The modern identity of the Uighurs community is said to be imaginative but is very important to the minority group as it is serving as the source of unity for their nationalism and call for independence. History of the Uighurs community in China could be divided into four different phases. Pre-Imperial (300 BCE - 630 CE), Imperial (630-840 CE), Idiqt (840-1225 CE), and Mongol (1225-1600 CE) with perhaps a fifth post-Mongol or modern phase running from the death of the silk road in 1600 CE until the present. General perception among the Uighurs community living in Xinjiang region is that the educational policies of the government has limited the educational opportunities for the Uighurs community and Han community is getting better quality of education than the Uighurs community. Where government officials are of the view that Uighur community is allowed to get education in their own ethnic language and they are having educational opportunities not less than Han community.

Separatist element and East Turkistan Movement in Xinjiang are working for the four reasons in the region and identity is among the main reason for that. Uighurs are of the view that Han migration in the region is decreasing the social economic and political opportunities of the Uighurs community and converting them into minority from majority.

Relations between China Government and Uighur community have never been cordial. China government take them as the internal one and do not want any interference from the external powers but after 1990 international community is taking more interest in the Uighur problem because of the Uighur diaspora. Many of the experts on the foreign relations are of the view that neighboring countries are trying to improve their relations with China and are more sympathetic to China as they are fighting against their own Muslim separatists. In spite of the hatred between Uighurs and Han community Uighurs are intended for dialogue with the government for the promotion of the laws and constitution of China.

Issues between Uighurs and government of China are affecting the social life of both of the groups in many of the ways. The initiation of the US-led Global War on terrorism paves the way for the China government to attack on the racism of the Uighurs community in China. These tensions are also affecting the security of the common people in the country and making government officials more confused because of the reason Chinese Government started considering that religion is an "evil force" and termed the religious behavior as terrorism and trying to legalize its acts against the Uighurs community. Economic recourses in the region are also cause for the tension in the region but with the creation of the Xinjiang Autonomous Region, Uighurs were free to make policies on their own without any influence of the central government of China. In January 1994 the Standing Committee of the Xinjiang Regional Congress made new polices to maintain the peace and stability in the region. People's Liberation

Army and armed police were ordered to establish a team for the preservation of the peace and stability in which civilians were suppose to protect the public order and stability in the region. China's Government is facing the governance problem and because of that reason, the crime rate in the region is increasing with time. Because of the terrorist activities and protests in the region China Government is trying to realize the international community that Uighurs separatists have direct link with the international terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda. On the other side Uighurs are demanding a separate and independent homeland because of the policies of the China government. The rebels in Xinjiang were organized in small groups and they were fighting guerrilla warfare. To counter these guerillas additional army troops were sent to the region and a campaign was also initiated to realize the common people that the People's Liberation Army is to look after all the groups in the country. In the region both the parties are making policies to have upper hand on the other one. Because of the tensions in the region pressure of the international community is increasing on the China Government. They are of the view that they can go for the joint expedition for the exploration of oil and other mineral resources in the region. They are also taking interest to solve the Uighurs' problems in China.

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