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Abstract

This paper discuss the important aspects of Chinese ethnic minority policy, reflections of Confucian ideas on ethnicity identity and Xinjiang problem. Strategic status of Xinjiang's and the potential for ethnic unrest translates into a higher degree of Chinese concerns than in other provincial level units. Today, Beijing endorses minority rights and faces the question of how to honor its commitment to minority rights. In the traditional Chinese 'Cultural norms', ethnic identity rested on the distinction between barbarian minorities and civilized Han. This distinction, according to Confucianism, does not refer to apparent 'differences' in physical feature or language rather; it is mainly shown in 'Cultural differences' with values and norms of behavior as the distinguishing characteristics. What are the features of a 'Confucian' approach to minority questions? What are the major factors which impact on Chinese ethnic policy which compell to shift from cultural assimilation to politicization of ethnic issue? In the end, it concludes that Confucian ideas of cultural diffusion and assimilation combine political unity, ethnic equality and cultural diversity to deal minority issue quite effectively.

Key Note:  Chinese Politics, Minorities in China, Confucius Philosophy, Ethnic Policy
Introduction:

Ethnic relations have become one of the central issues of every emerging society in 21st century. Due to multicultural and multiethnic societies challenged the political leadership and social elite to tackle such questions as how to manage with the legal position and basic rights of diverse ethnic groups within its political entity federation or state; how to hold their socioeconomic structural differences (education, industry, occupations or income gaps) and cultural differences (language, religion and custom). How to comprehended their existence and divergent ideological and social norms and the trends of ethnic based movements in the future; and the strategies and measures the governments should adopt to guide the trends of inter-ethnic relations of group equality, social justice, ethnic harmony, social stability, and political unity. Peaceful ethnic relations develops a harmonious society which reduce operational and administration cost, boost economy, improve positive image around the globe and internal integration and every groups are winners in the process. However, a nation with poor ethnic relations will suffer growing social disunity, social riots and disorder, aggregate government expenditure in cost and energy, political confrontation, and political separations movements caused by internal contradictions of theory and practices and external international environments.

Minorities constitute only 8 percent population of China, which in absolute figures is a significant size (60million). They occupy 64% of the land area, which contrasts with the densely populated areas inhabited by the Han. They are therefore natural areas for the resettlement of the Han. These lands contain some of the most valuable mineral and other resources in China, which are vital to its plans for economic development and modernization. Minorities also live in border areas; over 90% of border populations are minorities.\(^1\) At the frontier regions, large amount of army stationed to coup any political and security unrest. Chinese migration policy has

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shifted and create a balance where predominantly population of minority exist. There is considerable umbrages of this influx, which is annoyed by growing economic difference between them and the local people. Minorities show great diversity in social structure, languages, cultural and religious traditions, and economic development. The larger, concentrated minorities tend to be more resistant and have secessionist tendencies.²

Theoretical Explanation of Han-Uyghures Conflict.

The causes of the Han-Uyghur problem are varied and complicated, with scholars utilizing a range of theories from social constructions theory, relative deprivation, core and peripheries relationship, Islamic radicalization to explain the contention. A synthesis of several theoretical frameworks would yield a holistic approach to understanding the endogenous and exogenous factors of the Xinjiang conflict. It is commonly assumed that the conflict arises from unbridgeable differences between two historically strong civilizations, in other words, the irreconcilable differences between the Uyghur Muslims and the atheist communist Chinese order. Like Samuel Huntington work, "Clash of Civilization and the remaking of the world order" which shows the future conflicts lies between nations and groups of different civilization. He defines civilization as a cultural entity, arguing that civilizations are differentiated by history, language, culture, tradition, and most importantly, religion. Religion is significant as it reinforces the revival of ethnic identities. Because these fundamental differences run deeper than differences among political ideology and political regimes, civilization differences cannot be easily assimilated into another culture.³

A scholar on Islam in China, Raphael Israeli⁴, like Huntington, focuses largely on civilization markers, religion

² Ibid.96-98.
and ethnicity. A defining theme in Raphael Israeli's book, Islam in China: Religion, Ethnicity, Culture, and Politics, is the resurgence of Islam as a unifying force for Muslims and Muslim nations prioritize state interests over ideals and support Xinjiang independence from Chinese control. In fact, some scholars observe that China and major Islamic countries in the Middle East have been drawing closer together to strengthens their political, strategic and economic alliances. In short, the Islamic civilization is far from a united, cohesive, and monolithic community, given its many subdivisions including its Arab, Turkic and Malay branches. To blame the conflict entirely on ethnic differences would be too simplistic. Therefore, pre-assumption of religious and ethnic differences are not the principal cause of the Uyghur-Han conflict.

Jonathan Fox finding of Xinjiang conflict helps to evaluate the risks of ethnic conflict also looks at the roles of religious legitimacy, religious discrimination, and religious institutions, presenting us with a systematic method of dissecting the conflict in Xinjiang. Consequently, the effects and impacts that religion has on the conflict can be discovered. Different group of scholars uses an economic lens to examine and suggest that bread and butter issues trump all other casual factors in conflict. Socio-economic inequalities and exploitation of Natural resources of a particular region fuels desperation, radicalization and mobilization, leading to conflict implying that it is economic deprivation and depraved living conditions that fuel civil conflict.

In the historical context, some scholars point out that Uyghur nationalism is a relatively recent construct. Uyghur historian Ablet Kamalov analyzed and contends that the Uyghur national identity was started in and shaped by Russian Central Asia. This argument offset the notion that the Uyghur national identity is created and reinforced by the Chinese state. Kamalov argued "Soviet historiography has consistently characterized the Uyghurs as a people of Central Asian origin indigenous to the territory of today's Xinjiang,". While it is true

that Uyghur history was exploited by the Soviet government in ideological disputes with the Chinese communists and helping to reinforce and propagate a nationalistic Uyghur vision of history and narrative. De Vos provides societies need "others" to remind themselves of what they are not. De Vos provides a list of potential criteria for cultural difference including racial uniqueness (some sense of genetically inherited differences), place of origin, economic independence (secured by community organization within the plural society), religious beliefs and practices, aesthetic cultural forms (food, dress, dance), and language.

In choosing some or all of these criteria as symbols of identity, group members define the way in which they differentiate themselves from other groups. Selective Segregation Model by Joanne N. Smith provided a selective segregation model. This theoretical framework is discuss how uyghures in the mid to late 1990s are activating and exaggerating religious-cultural difference between themselves and the Han as means of demarcating a unified ethnic identity in relations by employing certain religious cultural difference in reaction to increased competition from Han immigration in the spheres of education, work and growing perception of socioeconomic inequalities. Some of these boundaries are symbolic (like language, time zone, family planning, and intermarriages) Spatial (construction of Old and New town in Xinjiang, food, social hygienic issues) and social segregation (practical relationship within work environment, street or cultural or religious gathering norms).

Theory related to identity construction, clash of civilization, ethno-religious narratives, and economic centric perspective cannot fully explain the deep-seated Uygur-han

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9 Ibid. 159-169.
contentions. It required a sociological, historical and political context of a domestic narrative which rationally explain the Chinese government's attitude and also endorse various perspectives and frameworks to guide and help to understand this conflict.

**Confucian ideas on Ethnicity problems.**

In the traditional Chinese Cultural norms, ethnic identity rested on the distinction between barbarian minorities and civilized Han. The ancient Chinese viewed Chinese Culture as 'the most advanced civilization of the world, which would sooner or later influence surrounding barbarians'. This distinction, according to Confucianism, does not refer to apparent differences in physical feature or language. Rather, it is mainly shown in Cultural differences with values and norms of behavior as the distinguishing characteristics. In this point of view, those who were acculturated by Chinese Civilization became 'member' of this 'civilized' world with 'Han' as its 'core'. Those who were uncultured remained 'barbarians' who need to be 'educated'.

Cultural diffusion and learning remained persistent between core and peripheries. Discrimination attitude toward the barbarian group was consider as Cultural superiority rather than racial superiority'. So acculturation is only methodology to change them. According to Chinese Cultural tradition, all ethnic groups were considered equal to each other because, Chinese believed on Unified view of 'the World' (Tianxia or all under heaven) which emphasized that "all lands belong to the emperor and all people are his subjects'. The end all peoples should be unified and live harmoniously under "heaven" as harmonious organism.10

Confucianism recommended that diverse minorities should merge into a unified harmony and co-exist peacefully in mutual respect and interdependence.11 The dominant framework in which confucian scholars have dealt

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11 Ibid.
with the question of minority is the Yi-Xia doctrine (Xia means Han chinese or Zongyuan is the ruler while Yi means Barbarians, outsiders, or minorities) Confucian obedience involves minority groups conforming to confucian norms, maintaining unity and correct relations. Their coexistence is peacefully possible when they follow by minority the principles or norms. He expected that Yi would not disrupt Xia. Mencius held the view that Xia could cultivate Yi, but not the other way around. Hao Jin, a Confucian scholar during Yuan Dynasty interpreted that Yi can rule China if it follows Confucianism. Anyone committed to Confucianism regardless of their ethnic background can be a political ruler over China and this Interpretation of Confucian Yi-Xia doctrine transcended Confucianism beyond Han Chinese. 12

Confucianism prefers its own version of assimilation through culture diffusion rather than coercive measures. Confucianism's central aim is to achieve assimilation and harmony between the majority and minorities, recognized differences to prevent conflicts between the majority and minorities to maintain stability and order in the context of a diversity of races and ethnicity, and to promote the coexistence of plural ethnic identities. Confucian assimilation was not a "melting pot," but a system where outsiders or minorities could partake in Han society by adopting, incorporating, learning, and understanding the majority's ways. 13

Confucianism emphasis that diverse minorities should merge into a unified harmony and co-exist peacefully in mutual respect and interdependence. It stresses mutual respect and responsibility. 14 In Chinese history, it is quite clear that, when acculturation occurred among the 'barbarians', a diffusion process followed in respects. The best example was

the intermingling between the Manchu and the Han language. After three hundred years, very limited number of people can speak Manchu language. Due to supremacy of Confucianism philosophy and Chinese culture, Han maintained and preserved their identity under a foreign rule.\textsuperscript{15}

Confucianism is a duty based theory that stresses paternalism (senior brotherly love, the duty to protect younger minority "brothers.") in the form of state benefits, they allowed to live separately with their own customary rights and cultural traditions. It should be reciprocated with obligation and obedience from minorities.\textsuperscript{16} The confucian idea of compassion or ren implies a paternalist government whose duty is to win the hearts of minorities, emperors have offered benefits to minorities, or adopted in modern terminology, affirmative action and acceptable for minority groups. These affirmative action’s, or policies are customary and minority people have natural feeling to expect them so that they become entitlements enjoyed by minority groups.

As concerns towards ethnic autonomy, confucian accept the autonomous rights but he also endorse cultural exchange, economic integration and political sharing to avoided any internal boundary and looks skeptical from institutionalization and politicization to dealing minority policy.\textsuperscript{17} Critics believed that ethnic autonomy is quite natural and encourage for social coexistence, strengthens cultural transactions on an equal basis, enriches the cultures of majority and minority, helpful for cultural diffusions on selective grounds and enhance mutual respect. Confucian communitarianism stresses the importance of community in establishing and maintaining a political unity or power. It relied on the recognized values of relating, harmonizing, and integrating. Confucian communitarianism seems to lend strong support to state protection of minorities and demand sacrifices.

\textsuperscript{15} He, "Confucianism Versus Liberalism over Minority Rights: A Critical Responce to Will Kymlicka.", 112-114.


\textsuperscript{17} He, "Confucianism Versus Liberalism over Minority Rights: A Critical Responce to Will Kymlicka", 110-15.
from majority, condemns their discrimination and dampen there any dissatisfaction that could be transform into any political actions against governments affirmatives policies for the support of minorities. It also hold a complete check on minority unwanted aspirations and used repressive measure to tackle if necessary for maintain the unity of the state and examples a lesson for other political community or external spoilers. But sometimes, it encourage and justify state annexation, 'expansions' and 'exploitation and fails to recognize the rights of minorities. Cultural diffusion and acculturations sometimes fails to recognize the equality and respects the different culture which antagonizing the minority towards the positives aspect of strong culture in negations.  

**Chinese minority policy and Politicization of Ethnicity:**

Government Policy plays an important role in guiding group identity and adjusting the boundaries of a political entity. Chinese government's policies seems deviants from Confucian de-politicization model where groups are consider as cultural groups rather than political groups. This section will discuss some important aspects, internal and external factors and issues which compel Chinese government to take a shift from de-politicization of ethnic minority and transform a ethnic community into a political community. The preamble of the constitution of the people's Republic of China proclaims it. It stated that "A unitary multinational state created jointly by the people of all its nationalities. Socialist relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance have been established among the nationalities and will continue to be strengthened. In the struggle to safeguard the unity of nationalities, it is necessary to combat big nation chauvinism, mainly Han Chauvinism, and to combat local national chauvinism. The state will do its utmost to promote prosperity of all the nationalities."  

Further Yash Ghai explained, "These formulations provide a useful clue to understanding Chinese minority policies. China classifies its

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18 ibid. 117-118.
19 Yash Ghai, Eds., Autonomy and Ethnicity: Negotiating competing claims in Multi-ethnic states, (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 200),77
population into fifty-five ethnic or nationality groups of which fifty-four are regarded as minorities. 'Han Chauvinism' refers to Han arrogance towards and contempt for minorities, rooted in Confucian perception of them as 'barbarians', and 'local chauvinism' refers to minorities' assertions of self-determination." 20

Throughout the imperial era, China was satisfied that smaller units around it established its suzerainty, and it let the people rule themselves. After the 1911 revolution, the Republic government took a more active interest and persuaded other minorities like Uygurs, Mangols and Tibetans should be assimilated with Han majority to strengthens her national. 21 Under the influence of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communist Party implemented Leninist policies in 1931, persuaded minorities groups by self-determination, relaxation cultural, religious and linguistic policies, and even secession, to solicit their help alongside the nationalist. 22 However, Mao Zedong went through an ideological transformation from his early idea of federalism and self determination to that of regional autonomy as a political principle to deal with minority issues because of interdependence of minority groups and historically assimilation of many groups living together from many centuries that was quite different from Russia and Europe. It appears that, the confucian thought of the great 'Unity and Harmony' contributed to the rejection of federalism and the right to self determination by minority nationalities. Also Sun Yat Sen drew on the Confucian idea of harmony to stress 'coexistence, equality, and harmony among the five major nationalities in the wake of the end of Qing dynasty. 23

First step taken by classification of nationalities in the 1950s and 56 ethnicity were recognized. For personal identification and nationalities, chinese citizen were bounded

20 Ibid. 77-78.
22 Ibid. 207-208.
23 Ibid. 208-210.
to get registered. In a second step, for ethnic minorities a process of Autonomy was established. There are 120 autonomous counties, 30 autonomous prefectures and 5 autonomous regions has established which is 64% of China's territory. Thirdly, the government has designed and practiced a series of preferential policies in favor of ethnic minorities, in the administrative, educational, economic and cultural areas, and even in family planning programs. Every year, financial aid has been fixed by government for these autonomous regions, prefectures and counties to eradicate poverty, socioeconomic development and abridged the difference between ethnic groups.24

Confucian believed that culturalization and de-politicization is a better trade off to dealing with minority and economic development through state policies. Developing a political group rather than cultural group create more trouble for state by strengthened ethnic consciousness by targeting a specific group of certain geographical area and identified them as political group for administrative reasons for economic development. The process of establishing and implementing these policies and the institutions, with their emphasis on 'equality between ethnic groups' rather than 'equality among citizens' will predictably politicize and institutionalize these groups and supported their group consciousness. Such cultural groups received more attention and chances will improve that they strengthen their identity as a political group which create more trouble for national unity.

Xinjiang Conflict: Issues and Government response:

The Central Asian border region of Xinjiang, in northwestern China, accounts for one-sixth of the country's land mass and is home to about 20 million people from 13 major ethnic groups.25 The majority in southern Xinjiang were Uygurs, while northern Xinjiang was mainly inhabited by Han and Kazak peoples. The Kirgiz, Xibe, Tajik and Daur peoples.

25 "Cultures are valued among all ethnic groups" China daily, September 22 2009 http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2009-09/22/content_8718281.htm
mostly lived in compact communities, while most of the remaining ethnic groups reside scattered among other groups. Historically, Xinjiang was the passage for land transport and civilization contact between Asia and Europe. The famous Silk Road linking the ancient civilizations of the East and the West went through this vast land. Its geographical location has resulted in Xinjiang's distinctive feature: coexistence and integration of diverse peoples and their cultures.

Throughout history, ethnic identity has been treated under the Confucian principal of cultural diffusion and acculturation principal by accommodating their difference and assimilated them peacefully. After 1821 Qing dynasty began to encourage mass Han Immigration to Xinjiang in order to strengthen the frontier defenses of the region, and encouraged Uygurs to move from southern Xinjiang to Ili in the north, as well as Han and Hui people from inland areas to migrate to Xinjiang to promote production and social harmony. From the late 19th century to the early 20th century, a great number of Russian, Uzbek and Tatar people settled down in the region.

After the dissolution of Qing Dynasty, Turkic rebels in Xinjiang declared independence in October 1933 and created the Islamic Republic of East Turkestan, also known as the First East Turkestan Republic. The following year, the Republic of China reabsorbed the region. In 1944, factions within Xinjiang again declared independence, this time with the support of the Soviet Union, and created the Second East Turkestan Republic. But in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regained the territory. In October 1955, Xinjiang became classified as an "autonomous region" of the People's Republic of China, with a number of autonomous Mongol, Kyrgyz, Kazakh, and Hui counties.

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26 "Cultures are valued among all ethnic groups" China daily, September 22 2009 http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2009-09/22/content_8718281.htm
27 ibid.
29 Ibid.24.
In this politico-historical context, the Uyghurs' strife with Han Chinese arguably arises from nationalistic inclinations, not militant intentions or religious differences. Identities are socially constructed, temporarily fixed and reconstructed again under different circumstance and process during different space and time. Justin Jon Rudelson broken down Uyghur identity into five separate component as Citizen of China, a Turk, Turkic language speaker, a resident of specific Oasis town and Muslim. Dru C. Gladney argued that there are three patterns in the development of the Uygurs identity to transform it into a political group rather than cultural group after independence, which he calls "ethnicization," "Transnationalization," and resistance to integration.

The growing sense of ethnic identity—along the official designations of national identity in China—is what Gladney calls ethnicity. Since 1949, Xinjiang had been subject to Communist Party campaigns and policy swings between openness and control. It is probably a fair observation that anti-Han sentiment has been generally prevalent among the Uyghurs due to Han presence in Xinjiang on a massive scale creates perceptions of antagonism. Beginning with immigration policy, Manchus and the Chinese Nationalists, the Chinese Communist have consistently advocated mass Han Chinese immigrating to Xinjiang, largely as an attempt to establish this important border region. Three Visible Effects of Immigration of Xinjiang. First, Number of Han Chinese has grown, pressure on fragile ethnic boundaries has increased, making religion-cultural differences harder to manage. Secondly, the increase in Han number has led to growing Uygure perception of socioeconomic inequalities between ethnic groups in Xinnxiang. Thirdly, growth of the Han

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immigrant population has led Uyghures to complain of great Han Chauvinism and ethnic discrimination.\textsuperscript{33}

Governments standpoint for migrations has risen to flow of labor and reinforce ethnic diversity is to improve ethnic imbalance and resolve ethnic problem in region. First, the number of ethnic groups has increased. Second, the population of almost every ethnic group in Xinjiang is increasing. From 1978 to 2007, the populations of the region’s four largest groups - Uygur, Han, Kazak and Hui - have increased, respectively, 74\%, 61\%, 81\% and 78\%. Third, the percentage of the population of each minority in their traditional settlements has decreased. For example, the ratio of Uyghurs in southern Xinjiang’s three prefectures, namely, Kashi, Hotan and Aksu, to the total Uygur population in Xinjiang fell from 84.6\% in 1944 to 71.5\% in 2007. The multi-ethnic mixture in the cities and towns of Xinjiang has become more prominent, like Urumqi, the capital of the autonomous region, is inhabited by people from 52 ethnic groups, and the percentage of minority residents population increased from 18\% in 1978 to 27\% in 2007.\textsuperscript{34} From an economic standpoint Xinjiang is highly a typical among the interior and western provinces, as the only province with a GDP per capita above the national average (at the 12th position in provincial rankings. Immigration to the Northwest has been facilitated over the past half century by the extension of the Railway first from Lanzhou to Urumchi, and then from Urumqi to Oorla and on the Qasqar and highway like Urumchi-Xotan desert suitable for large scale development, settlement, have greatly speeded the immigration process. As result, the number of Han Chinese immigrants in Xinjiang has drawn gradually closer to the number of local inhabitants.\textsuperscript{35}

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\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.156-157. \\
\textsuperscript{34} “Cultures are valued among all ethnic groups” China daily, September 22 2009 http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2009-09/22/content_8718281.htm \\
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It also seems that government domestic policies created ethnic difference that's strengthens political consciousness. Minimum interference of government in social norms, commerce and religious practice in early 1950s. However, by the mid-1950s, Mao Zedong urged for many socialist changes throughout the country. The Great Leap Forward, which started in 1958, was characterized by calls for rapid cultural homogenization and low tolerance of difference. The CCP policy of collectivization, antirightist policy of 1957 opposed "local nationalism" among ethnic minorities. A decade later, the Cultural revolution (1966-1976) caused even greater prejudice against ethnic minorities. Religion was especially suppressed, but so was ethnic language, cultural cuisine, and garb. According to Elizabeth "The hard-line and intolerant policies of the Cultural Revolution were perceived by the Uyghurs as grossly unfair and an assault on their political rights and core religious identities. The Uyghur in Xinjiang, like other Muslim minorities throughout China, saw their religious texts and mosques destroyed, their religious leaders mistreated, and individual supporter castigated."  

Transnationalization refers to Open policies in post-Mao era, Globalization and disintegration of Soviet Union had a great impact on ethno-religious interactions of Uyghur's Muslim to outside world. Meanwhile, the dissolution of the Soviet Union along ethnic lines in 1991 and the resultant independence of states with Turkic and other Muslim peoples also fueled nationalist desires among the Uyghurs and led Uygurs in the 1990s to exaggerate certain religious cultural differences as a means of ensuring symbolic, spatial and social segregation from the Han.

39 Joanne N. Smith, "Making Culture Matter": Symbolic, Spatial and Social Boundaries between Uyghures and Han Chinese, Asian Ethnicity 3, no 2
This brought about intense discontent and therefore instability. Beijing's strategy to deal with ethnic separatism in Xinjiang since the 1990s has essentially been two fold. The Chinese government began to crack down in Xinjiang in 1996, shortly after the first meeting of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). While there has been suppression of any unofficial religious activity, there has also been an "ambitious program of economic reform, on the assumption that the principal underlying reason for the disaffection of the Uyghurs is not ethnic nationalism but poverty and underdevelopment," writes Michael Dillon, former Director of the Centre for Contemporary Chinese Studies at the University of Durham, U.K. Yet despite the state's efforts, cultural assimilation between the Uyghurs and the Han Chinese in Xinjiang has been limited. Other dimension of the camping to Open Up the West, especially the massive investments in infrastructure, industrial and state-environmentalism, are also of prime significance to analyzing how Xinjiang is going to be shaped in the future, not least because of the high degree of dependence and supervision of Xinjiang vis a vis the center, and the structure of its economy. This close relationship with central authorities is due to traditional strategic considerations, reinforced by three main elements: the projected increased dependence of the country on XUAR's oil and gas resources; its geopolitical position at the crossroads with Central Asia; and the context of looming ethnic unrest nurtured by the perceived threat of Islamic fundamentalism.

Resistance to integration, Gladney argued that these factors have shaped the "grass root conditions that sustain a 'low level' insurgency and sporadic hostility in Xinjiang."
wrote about the concept of "everyday resistance," a reference to the ways and means individuals use to resist authority when open resistance is too difficult or dangerous. Scott posited that people could submit to authority in public but deride it in private conversations amongst themselves.

**Conclusion:**

In the Confucian way, traditionally Chinese remained successful in transforming the barbarian into Civilized' which result in prosperity and order. Idea of cultural discrimination among the ethnic groups and elites, appeared when some groups shows resistance and treats to stability and possibility of external invasion then it required coercive measures to keep the environment peaceful and healthy. On the other hand, institutionalization of ethnic groups systematically creates institutional barriers for the interaction and integration between the members of different ethnic groups. When ethnic issue is related to some favorable or discriminatory policies, ethnic boundaries will become a political issue. Its seems the cultural diffusion model and de-politicization approach towards minority which is guided by Confucian getting blurred in chinese handling of Xinjiang issue.

Fei Xiaoping's framework of 'Cultural pluralism with political Unity' which represents expansion of 'national identity 'of everyone at national level while encourage cultural characteristics at the ethnic group level provide a reflection of confucian traditions and ideas. Confucianism's central aim is to achieve assimilation, unity harmony and stability between the majority and minority in the context of a diversity of races and ethnicities and promote plural ethnic identities. Ethnic stability in confucian style based on duty deriving minority approach, communitarian support for collective rights, entitlement to certain benefits through preferential policies and paternalistic

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44 James C. Scott, "Weapons of the Weak: Everyday forms of Peasant Resistance" (Yale University, 2008), 84.

affirmative traditions provide a solid based for governments to promote and support the unity and order in the society.

China should review this historical position. Although, in general ethnic relations in today's China are smooth and cooperative, the differences among ethnic minorities in national identification still remain. The route of 'de-politicizing' ethnicity might lead China to a new direction, strengthening national identity among ethnic minorities while guaranteeing the prosperity of their cultural tradition. Of course, how to protect the rights and benefits of ethnic minorities in that process will still be a big task. Social development, economic prosperity, democracy and cultural diversity reach a high level in most nations, and equality among different groups has been reached, then the tension among ethnic groups will fade and finally, vanish because, there will be no need to encourage minority to fight for their rights and benefits. When that stage has been reached, the concept of ethnic identity will lose its political meaning, retaining its linkaes only with cultural heritage.