

independent scholar of security and intelligence issues, has done a great job. He has indeed succeeded in combining journalism and scholarship. To be sure, the book is not written from an academic perspective and is not grounded in theory. Nevertheless, the story flows smoothly and is written extremely well. The documents have been handled so meticulously that scholars can read it with benefit. *Hoodwinked* is a valuable research tool for scholars and experts.

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***Xinjiang-China Muslim Far Northwest.*** By Michael Dillon. London: Routledge Curzon. 2004, pp. 201. ISBN 0-415-32051-8.

Reviewer: Roy Anthony Rogers, Lecturer, Universiti Malaya, Malaysia.

Unlike Tibet that has received ample international attention and reaction mainly due the efforts of the Dalai Lama, the oppressed Uighurs of Xinjiang living under Beijing's rule have not received the attention they deserve. Michael Dillon of the University of Durham attempts, in the book under review, to highlight the plight of the Muslims that has been ignored by the world community for a long time.

There are few scholarly studies but are mainly focused on the historical relations between ancient China and the Central Asian kingdoms. Most of the previous works were unable to relate the historical events with contemporary events in Xinjiang. A couple of articles deal with the Muslims but their focus is on past events and the facts are outdated. *Xinjiang-China Muslim Far Northwest* is one of the latest and most up-to-date books that deals with relations between the Uighurs of Xinjiang and Beijing. Unlike most of the previous works, Dillon presents Beijing's current involvement in Xinjiang in a historical context. The book is divided into four parts. Part one consists of five chapters that provides an insightful background knowledge on the province and the ethnic conflict between the Uighurs and Hans. Dillon describes the geographical position of the province which includes its location, size, topography, demography, geology and ethnicity. He brings the province's history into life and discusses the origins and development of the Uighur

kingdoms, the Silk Road which passed through Xinjiang, and a detailed account of the advent of Islam into the region as well as the introduction of the various Sufi orders like the *Naqshbandiyya* in the tenth century.

The illuminating aspect of part one is the attempt to demonstrate the historical evolution of the Uighur's struggle for independence and perseverance of their culture and identity against Chinese attempts at subjugation. The study covers over a period of two centuries (18 century until the mid 20 century). China was able to consolidate its position in Xinjiang since the late 18 century during the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911). The book provides details regarding the various rebellions organised by the Uighurs against the Chinese governments prior to 1949.

Part two, consisting of another five chapters, highlights the Uighur rebellion towards the Han Chinese since the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) took over the administration of Xinjiang in 1949. Although Xinjiang was declared an autonomous region in 1955, major decisions were made by the CCP controlled by the Chinese Hans. It demonstrates the nature of the ethno-nationalism of the Uighurs that has not waned in spite of Chinese policies of Sinicisation and subjugation in the 1950s until the late 1970s. Dillon discusses the policy of subjugation by focusing on the mass migration of Chinese Han into Xinjiang as well as the Sinicisation of the Uighur language and culture. This was done by replacing names with a Chinese version instead of an indigenous one. The authorities of the Islamic court and *qadi* were abolished. The policy of mass migration of Chinese Han into the province has caused the Chinese Han population to increase tremendously since 1949. It was estimated that the Chinese Han population in 2001 was 7,023,910 or 39 per cent of the total population of Xinjiang whereas in 1949 the Chinese Han population was merely 300,000. Despite oppression, the Uighurs continue their resistance against the Chinese domination.

However, Dillon only highlights certain aspects of the policies of Sinicisation and subjugation. What is demonstrated by Michael Dillon's treatment of the issue is rather "mild" compared to the actual oppressions encountered by the Uighurs. He fails to mention the oppression endured by the Muslims during the Cultural Revolutions. Among them are the desecrations of mosques with pigs, arrests of

*ahungs* (Islamic religious teachers), assassination of Uighur leaders, discrimination against Uighurs for wearing headscarves or other Muslim clothing. This has resulted in a major migration of many Turkics to the Soviet Union.

During the 1980s, the Chinese authorities relaxed their policies of subjugation. Hence, the Uighurs were able to practice Islam and use their language again. They were also able to travel abroad especially to perform *hajj* in Makkah. The freedom to travel had also enabled them to establish network with other Turkic groups seeking for independence in Central Asia. According to Dillon, 1990 was a turning point for the Uighurs as they witnessed the collapse of the Soviet Union and the independence achieved by their fellow Turkics in Central Asia. This inspired them to re-organise their resistance wanting to achieve independence. The resistances have turned violent on several occasions like in the town of Baran in 1990 and in the town of Yining in 1997. Beijing responded harshly by invoking the “Strike Hard” policy which aimed at suppressing the Uighur ethno-nationalism and separatism. Therefore, in the 1990s, thousands of innocent Uighurs were arbitrary arrested and many of them were executed. However, it did not prevent bloodshed to reoccur in the province. Clashes between the separatist groups and the government forces continued. In the post-September 11, 2001, the Chinese government tried to tie the Uighur separatist groups to al-Qaeda.

Dillon highlights an interesting point that the Uighurs activists, too, have their own propaganda machinery to inform the international community regarding the violation of human rights in Xinjiang like the *Voice of East Turkestan* based in Almaty, Kazakhstan. Additionally, though not mentioned by Dillon, the Uighurs are making use of the Internet to spread ideas and re-construct their identity against the Chinese.

Part three, entitled “The Changing International Context,” discusses the impact of the international communities towards the plight of the Uighurs. It has only three chapters and deals with two pertinent issues: the new “great game” and China’s efforts to counter Uighur separatism internationally. The new “great game” involves countries like Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan and the United States. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 gave rise to intense

competition by Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia for political, economic as well as spiritual influence in Central Asia which includes Xinjiang. Turkey claims to be the natural ally to the Turkics living in Xinjiang. This has led China to turn to Iran and Saudi Arabia as countervailing forces. Apart from geo-strategic reasons, China aims to establish closer ties with Saudi Arabia and other oil-producing countries in the Middle East for investment. China would like to portray that the country tolerates Islam and that the Chinese Muslim population was free to worship.

The United States, on the other hand, is interested in the region due to its war against terrorism especially in the post-September 11, 2001. The US has already established military bases in Central Asian countries like Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan during the war against the Taliban in Afghanistan. The presence of US forces in the region has caused China to face a dilemma. Initially China welcomes the presence of US forces as it would assist in fighting terrorism, separatism and Islamic religious extremism in Central Asia which will have a spillover effect to Xinjiang. Ironically, the US, which has been supporting the Uighur rights, has even directly aided Beijing's crackdown on the Uighur activists. The East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) has been listed in the US State Department's list of global terrorist organisation. However, an overstayed presence of the US forces would be a potential threat to China. It considers itself being encircled by the US forces.

Although part three highlights the involvement of international communities in Xinjiang, it does not offer any suggestions to the international community to assist the Uighurs from further marginalisation. It does not provide any method that the international community can adopt to minimise the ethnic conflict in Xinjiang. Meanwhile China has established the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) which consists of Russia and all the Central Asian countries in an effort to fight terrorism, separatism and religious extremism. It tries to convince the Central Asian republics not to support the Uighur "terrorists" and separatists. China has also stationed large garrison troops in the province to consolidate its position and guard its interests.

Part four summarises the findings of this study. The book attempts to highlight the nature, substance and character of Turkic nationalism

and how over a period of time this has been innovated to suit changing conditions. What had started as an ethno-nationalist movement is slowly but surely moving to take on a religious fervour in Xinjiang. This book is strongly recommended to researchers who are interested in the study of minorities in China especially the Uighurs of Xinjiang. It is noteworthy to mention that Dillon provides detailed historical data on the Uighurs' struggle against the Beijing rule. However, the book does not touch on any theoretical approaches to the study of ethnic conflict in Xinjiang. It emphasises the empirical analysis rather than applying theories of ethnic conflicts in understanding the ethnic conflict in Xinjiang.

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**Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes.** Edited by John Darby and Roger Mac Ginty. Great Britain: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp. 336. ISBN 1-4039-0139-4.

Reviewer: Siti Rozana bt. Hanipah, University Kebangsaan Malaysia, Malaysia.

*Contemporary Peacemaking* consists of twenty-one chapters, contributed by different authors that tries to explore the essential components of contemporary peace processes. The first contributor is Crawford Young whose experience and vast knowledge in the study of ethnicity are evident from his description and discussion of the characteristics of ethnicity. His discussion on the relationship between ethnicity and nationalism and ethnic conflict is highly meaningful. He also provides the three dimensions through which ethnicity can be analysed in recent years, i.e., primordial, instrumental and constructivist. This chapter serves as a framework for explaining aspects of ethnicity that lead to conflicts. William Zartman explains the concept of ripe moments in negotiations, which he claims, centres on the perception of a mutually hurting stalemate (MHS) by both conflicting parties. His argument that this is the best time for negotiations to be carried out as it would yield the best result in terms of cooperation from the involved parties was not shared by John Paul Lederach who provides a practitioner's view of conflict