

Outside agitators for democracy

From the U.S., Chinese students fight on

China's democracy movement was not all flower power. Behind the harmony in Tiananmen Square were rival factions, whose secrecy and leadership struggles sometimes mimicked the Communist regime the students were demonstrating against. Since the June 4 massacre, Beijing's Revolution Central has moved to the United States, which has the world's biggest contingent of mainland students outside China and now the largest number of Chinese activists anywhere. Factionalism had been transplanted even earlier. It reached B-movie dimensions last week when, on the eve of a nationwide "unity" conference in Chicago, several Chinese student groups played capture the flag with the best-known living symbol of the student revolt, the flamboyant hunger striker Wuer Kaxi.



Wuer Kaxi flying on to Boston, as he had planned, or from railing into the hands of rival groups. A few days later, he appeared on a Chicago platform, along with other prominent escapees, including Yan Jiaqi, a political adviser to China's recently purged party boss. Their object was to boost the effort by U.S.-based Chinese students to weld dozens of local organizations and a host of aspiring politicians into a single democracy movement. A week earlier in Paris, Wuer and Yan were among the founders of a Front of Democratic China, intended to lead a worldwide resistance struggle. It remains to be seen whether these will be competitive or cooperative campaigns.

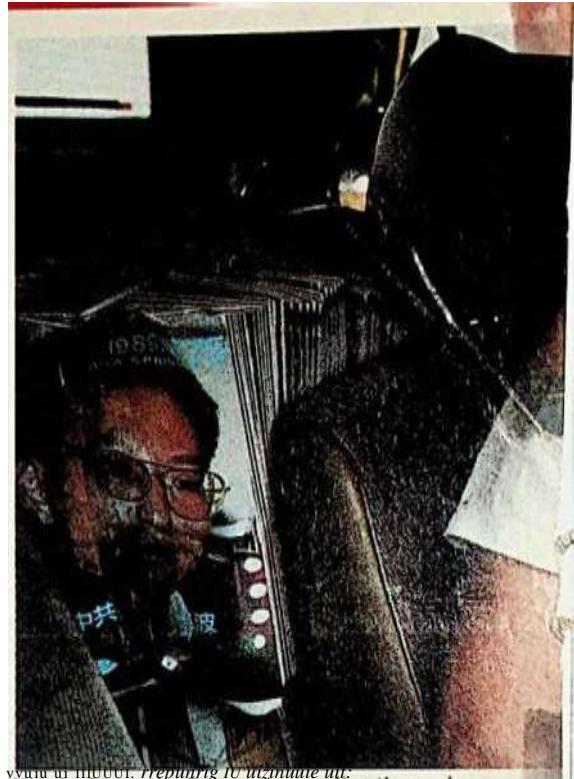
'Dreams am! illusions. Exiles from Deng Xiaoping's China, stranded students and senior dissidents alike, have potent dreams but few illusions. Their aim is to oust the regime that ordered tanks to crush the democracy movement. But they know that any attempt to foment

unrest from outside would be futile. Earlier exile movements, like that of Sun Yat-sen, which helped overthrow the Ch'ing dynasty in 1911, relied on allies and uprisings within the country. But no organized resistance can operate today under the totalitarian thumb of Deng.

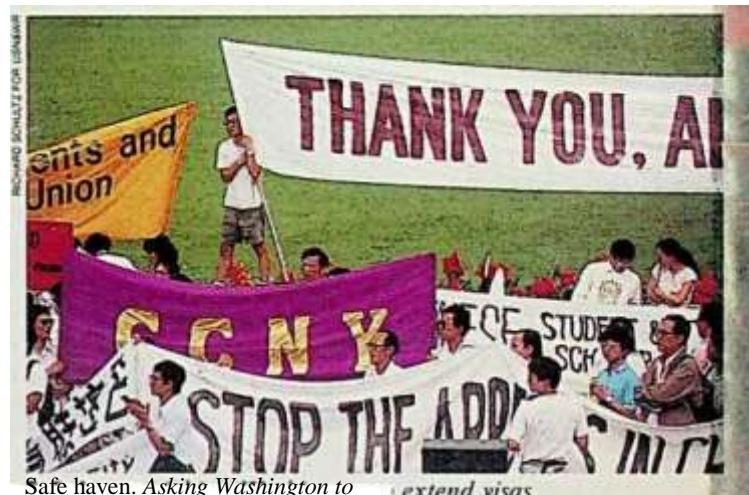
Glimmers of opposition burn on in China: Isolated acts of sabotage, an illegal student gathering, a letter threatening terrorist killings. Some student activists in the United States concede that while their own movement is avowedly nonviolent, the violence of others can enhance their bargaining power. A fringe group is urging Taiwan to launch commando raids.

But virtually everyone agrees that a large-scale upheaval is unlikely. "I can't conceive of an uprising in China in the near future," says Su Shaozhi, one of China's leading intellectuals, who escaped the Deng dragnet in early June and attended the Paris and Chicago meetings. Su and others also dismiss chances of an Army revolt, at least as long as the powers behind the June crackdown, Deng Xiaoping and President Yang Shangkun, are alive and in control.

This leaves militant students abroad with two missions: Keeping the Tiananmen spirit alive by assembling archives, pamphleteering and somehow beaming their message back home, and keeping up indirect pressure on Beijing by lobbying foreign governments for economic boycotts. The reasoning behind the sanctions campaign is simple. China is already heading for economic crisis. Withholding credit, investment and certain kinds of trade will not only hasten its decline but also strengthen the hand of the remaining reformers in their battle with hard-liners. Professor Su also argues for suspending academic exchanges to reinforce Beijing's sense of quarantine. America's academic



Victim of injury, being held up in a crowd.



Safe haven. Asking Washington to extend visas

working to ensure their own safety by persuading Congress to waive requirements that they return home anytime soon. So far, they have proven remarkably effective lobbyists. Representative Joe Barton (R-Tex.), who introduced a bill that would extend the students' visas, noted that Chinese lobbying has been so energetic that he received 800 letters about the Chinese in one week, more than on any issue apart from catastrophic health care for the elderly. Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Me.) acknowledges that he got involved in drafting protective legislation for the Chinese as a result of student

persuasion. He says that he will attach the Mitchel-Dole amendment, now part of a threatened immigration act, to succeed.

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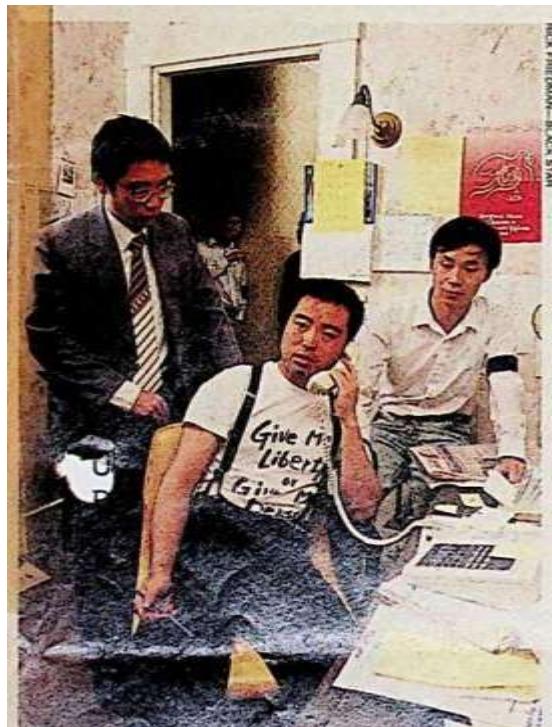


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dissident magazine, China Spring



Phone work. Organizing from Boston

remain in the U.S. for three or four years and allow them to work, unless the President certifies that it is safe for them to return to China.

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expired visas have applied for this special status.

The crackdown has concentrated the students' minds on the dangers they face. Harvard's Chinese Student Association polled some 600 students throughout the country and found that, whereas 58 percent intended to return to China before the massacre, fewer than 1 percent are sure about returning now; 30 percent want to become permanent U.S. residents, up from 4 percent, and an additional 54 percent are waiting to see which way the political winds blow in China.

Threat and retribution. Some Chinese students report cold political drafts even on U.S. campuses. These have come in the form of threatening visits from Chinese consular officials, mysterious telephone calls and harassment by fellow students acting as informers. One Harvard activist moved to a new apartment and obtained an unlisted phone number after receiving a call with Chinese funeral music in the background. Intimidation is a two-way street. The computer networks, which Chinese students use to coordinate strategy, have recently carried lists of the names of children of high-ranking Chinese leaders studying in this country, with the implied, anonymous threat.

Fear of retribution has been reinforced by reports from Beijing about the use of television film to identify protesters. An official of the New York consulate confirmed that it has been videotaping demonstrations in the United States. Even so, many thousands of Chinese students have joined the struggle over the past several months. At a press conference in late June, for instance, some 300 students who were card-carrying members of the Communist Party publicly renounced their membership. Attempts at intimidation notably failed to restrain the participants in the Chicago meeting, who denounced the "murderous" Chinese regime. But they stopped short of calling for the overthrow of China's Communist Party.

As seasoned experts in Marxist hairsplitting, Chinese know the weight of words. And they know, too, that their hopes for a democratic China must rest, at least in the first stage, on forces within the Communist Party itself. "We can't expect an opposition party to emerge even in 10 years," says Ding Xueliang, a Harvard activist. "What we hope is that reasonable elements in the party will turn it in new directions." For this to happen, Chinese say, pressure must be applied

from all sides. The 40,000 Chinese students in the U.S. are one source. Politicians and businessmen in the U.S., Europe and Japan are another.

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HISTORY LESSONS

Dissidents then and now

For 40 years, the Communist Party has inculcated Chinese youth with tales of the revolutionary ardor of their forebears. History books extol the student demonstrators of the 1920s and 1930s for their acts of courage and love of motherland. They credit the protesters with awakening a nationalist spirit in the Chinese people and ultimately sweeping the Communists to power. This spring, as students of a new generation took to the streets calling for political reform and an end to official corruption, it was apparent that they had learned their history lessons well. Too well, in fact. Last week, the Communist Party closed the Beijing University history department to further enrollment.

The U.S. role. Chinese students abroad also draw justification for their political actions from official Communist Party history. When Sun Yat-sen, the grandfather of the modern Chinese state, set out to establish a democratic republic, he turned for support to Chinese communities in Hawaii and mainland U.S. and to students in Japan and Europe. In October, 1911, the victory of Sun's United League in Wuchang was the death knell of the moribund Ch'ing dynasty.

A decade later, some of China's most prominent personalities cut their political teeth in Europe. In 1921, Chou En-lai helped found a Chinese Communist Party in Paris. He returned to China to organize worker uprisings and was China's Premier for 26 years until his death in 1976.

Not all returning students have fared so well. In 1930, 28 Moscow-trained ideologues returned home to lead China's fledgling Communist movement. But the returned students soon found themselves on a collision course with Mao. Spouting Marx, they insisted

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ei::: s vlao backed a more agrarian-oriented approach. Mao, the tried evolutionary, ultimately gained the upper hand: the 28 > .ids sank into ianominv.

CHINESE HUNT FOR TURKIC MUSLIM STUDENT LEADER OERKESH

(MUHAMMED ERKIN ALPTEKIN)

Despite the condemnation of western nations, the Chinese authorities are continuing the executions, and mass detention of those who participated in last month's pro-democracy demonstrations and their hunt for student leaders who played a prominent role in the protests.

Wuer Kaixi is one of the student leaders whom the Chinese authorities are hunting for.

His real name is Oerkesh. His family name is Devlet. He is 21 years old, a Uygur, Born in Hi, in Eastern Turkestan, (known in the West as Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region), on February 17, 1968, in the midst of the Cultural Revolution, when the aging Mao Zedong formented social unrest in the name of class struggle.

Throughout the rigors of this period, Oerkesh's father remained a member of the Party and spent years translating the works of Marx, Lenin and Mao from Chinese into Uygur. When thousands of Chinese Intellectuals were forced out of the cities to work as peasants in the countryside, Oerkesh's father went willingly. The strain and exposure left his legs paralyzed for years after-ward, but he neither complained nor criticized the party.

A precocious child who read insatiably, Oerkesh often visited his grandparents in Ili, near the Kazakistan border, to learn Uygur. But he spent most of his boyhood and schoool years in % Beijing.

In 1984 the family moved to Urumchi, the capital of Eastern Turkestan. Oerkesh helped edit the school newspaper, an experience friends believe developed his interest in freedom of the press. In the summer he went on school field trips to visit Kazak herdsmen. That too left an impression. "He could tell the differences between the life of the ordinary people and the life of the leaders, and he got ideas from these people," one of his friends told a Time magazine correspondent. In 1988 he entered Beijing Normal Univercity. According the Time correspondent, he told his friends he had wanted to study Chinese literature but felt compelled to pursue an education degree because the Uygurs were in dire need of teachers.

Last January Oerkesh's ideas seemed to flower into activism. He wrote to a friend according to the Time reporter that inflation was "robbing the country," and he worried about its impact on workers. His political views grew out of his own experiences, rather than Western influences; he never went abroad, but his voracious reading exposed him to all sorts of modern concepts, Chinese and foreign. "He believed," said a friend of his to the Time correspondent, "in the Chinese saying

During the pro-democracy demonstrations, Oerkesh headed the banned independent union of students, where his sophisticated ideas and brash irreverence won him considerable celebrity. But it was less easy for those who knew him well to think of him on a hunger strike. Since childhood he had suffered acute stomach trouble, and only a few days into the fast he collapsed and was taken to the hospital. His mother crossed the country from Eastern Turkestan to plead with him not to resume his fast. He persisted.

It was Oerkesh who, though weak from hunger, sat opposite Li Peng and chastised him for arriving late to the meeting accorded the protestor. "He talked with Li Peng as an equal," said a Beijing intellectual to the correspondet of the Time magazine. Oerkesh barked directives from a bulhorn and bantered with demonstrators and journalists alike. The recent manhunt dispelled rumors that he had been shot to death or taken his own

V life-

China's hard-liners have vilified Oerkesh and other student protestors as counterrevolutionaries. But those who have known Oerkesh for years say he never sought to overthrow the government. During the protests, he told reporters his aim was to "form a nationwide citizens' organization, like the Polish Solidarity," able to deal "openly and directly" with the government. Weeks before the Tiananmin massacre, he told an American reporter, "I knew that we needed an organizer who wasn't afraid to die."

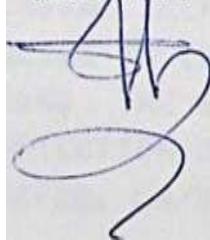
Said a friend to the Time correspondent: "He fears nothing; he was always like that." But now, with his face on "wanted" posters across the country, Oerkesh has all China to fear.



Erkin Alptekin

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West Germany



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A-WIRE

02-JUL-89 16:30

CHINA - 1630 INTRO CHINA (NEW: ALL NEW MATERIAL)
(PARIS, HONG KONG; JULY 2)

REPORTS FROM PARIS SAY CHINESE STUDENT LEADER WUER KAIXI IS IN FRANCE ALONG WITH YAN JIAQI, A PERSONAL ADVISOR TO OUSTED CHINESE PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY ZHAO ZIYANG.

WUER IS BEING SOUGHT BY CHINESE POLICE FOR HIS PART IN LAST MONTH'S STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS IN BEIJING. YAN IS REPORTEDLY ALSO WANTED IN CHINA FOR TAKING PART IN THE STUDENTS' PRO-DEMOCRACY ACTIVITIES.

TODAY'S REPORTS SAY WUER AND YAN ARE UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE U.S. EMBASSY IN PARIS AND ARE EXPECTED TO LEAVE FOR THE UNITED STATES. THEY SAY YAN IS ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS WIFE.

THOUSANDS OF PROTESTERS MASSED NEAR THE AIRPORT AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT RESIDENCE IN HONG KONG TODAY TO PROTEST BRITAIN'S RELUCTANCE TO OFFER REFUGE TO HONG KONG RESIDENTS.

TARGET OF THE PROTESTS IS BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY GEOFFREY HOWE, WHO IS VISITING HONG KONG. HOWE TOLD REPORTERS THAT HONG KONG RESIDENTS "HAVE NO STAUNCHER FRIEND THAN BRITAIN," BUT THE RESIDENTS SAY THEY ARE AFRAID OF WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THEM WHEN HONG KONG BECOMES PART OF CHINA IN 1997. (CMD/AFP/DPA/AP/REUTER)

SUMMARY: REPORTS FROM PARIS SAY CHINESE STUDENT LEADER WUER KAIXI IS IN FRANCE ALONG WITH YAN JAIQI, AN ADVISOR TO OUSTED CHINESE PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY ZHAO ZIYANG. THE REPORTS SAY BOTH MEN ARE WANTED BY POLICE IN CHINA FOR THEIR PARTS IN THE PRO-DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT IN CHINA. THE REPORTS SAY THE MEN AND YAN'S WIFE ARE UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE U.S. EMBASSY IN PARIS AND WILL GO TO THE UNITED STATES. LA/BV

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28-JUN-89 18:43

CHINA- STUDENT LEADER REPORTEDLY ESCAPES FROM CHINA

HONG KONG. JUNE 28 (UPI) - A KEY CHINESE STUDENT LEADER WHO FLED HIS COUNTRY TO ESCAPE ARREST AFTER A BLOODY ARMY ASSAULT ON TIANANMEN SQUARE SAID THE PRO-DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT WOULD CONTINUE AND TOPPLE THE "REACTIONARY FASCIST GOVERNMENT" IN BEIJING.

WUER KAXI, 21, IN HIDING WEDNESDAY, SAID IN A VIDEOTAPE MADE AVAILABLE BY STUDENT CIRCLES IN HONG KONG THAT FELLOW ACTIVISTS SHOULD NOT LOSE HEART AFTER THE BRUTAL ASSAULT THAT ENDED A STUDENT OCCUPATION OF THE SQUARE. "SINCE THE MASSACRE WE HAVE NOW REACHED THE .

"WE WILL BE ABLE TO REALIZE A GREATER STUDENT MOVEMENT IN OUR COUNTRY THAT WILL OVERTHROW THE REACTIONARY FASCIST GOVERNMENT OF (PRIME MINISTER) LI PENG, (STATE PRESIDENT) YANG SHANGKUN AND, BEHIND THE SCENES, (SENIOR LEADER) DENG XIAOPING."

WU MADE THE TAPE IN AN UNKNOWN LOCATION AND SPOKE IN MANDARIN. NBC TELEVISION AIRED A SECTION OF THE TAPE IN THE UNITED STATES TUESDAY NIGHT. MONDAY, STUDENT SOURCES IN HONG KONG SAID WU'ER KAIXI, AT THE FOREFRONT OF THE TIANANMEN SQUARE DEMONSTRATIONS THROUGHOUT MAY IN BEIJING, AND TWO OTHER STUDENTS AVOIDED ARREST AND FLED THROUGH THE PORTUGUESE ENCLAVE OF MACAO.

STUDENTS WERE ULTRA-SECRETIVE ON WUER'S PRESENT WHEREABOUTS, BUT RELIABLE SOURCES SAID HE HAD TRAVELED ON TO FRANCE OR BRITAIN^

WUER SAID THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT SURVIVE**LONLTBT&USE IT IS "AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE."

"THE PEOPLE ARE FRUSTRATED," HE SAID. "THEY MAY HAVE BEEN DEFEATED TEMPORARILY, BUT THEY HAVE NOT BEEN DEFEATED ... THE REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF LI PENG IS TRICKING THE PEOPLE, BUT THIS CANNOT CONTINUE AND THEY HAVE GAINED ONLY A SHORT TIME FOR THEMSELVES.

"PEOPLE LIKE THEM ARE JUST PEBBLES ON OUR PATH OVER WHICH WE HAVE TRIPPED, BUT WE WILL CONTINUE DESPITE THEM." IN AN EMOTIONAL APPEAL TO "EVERY FREEDOM-LOVING CHINESE," WUER SAID, "WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO THOSE WHO DIED ... TO THOSE WHO SHED THEIR BLOOD, THEIR SWEAT AND THEIR TEARS FOR THE MOVEMENT. WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY: WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO OURSELVES."

WUER SAID THE ORIGINAL OBJECTIVE OF THE MOVEMENT HAD NOT BEEN TO BRING DOWN LI PENG BUT TO "CREATE IN CHINA A SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES." "WE WANTED TO REMOVE THE RESTRAINTS ON NEWS COVERAGE AND TO CREATE A SENSE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE COUNTRY AND, IN THE LONG TERM, TO CREATE A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT WITH CHECKS AND BALANCES.

"I WOULD SAY DEMOCRACY IS WHERE THE PEOPLE HAVE THE POWER, NOT WHERE POWER CONTROLS THE PEOPLE," HE SAID. "WHERE PEOPLE HAVE THE POWER TO CHOSE THE ECONOMY, THE SOCIETY HOW THEY WANT TO LIVE. THIS IS DEMOCRACY." WUER SAID WHAT THE MOVEMENT NOW WANTED WAS TO "DO AWAY WITH THIS REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE."

WANTED WAS TO DO AWAY WITH THIS REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. WUER IS ONE OF THE MAIN TARGETS IN THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT'S CRACKDOWN ON STUDENT LEADERS AND LEADING INTELLECTUALS. SEVERAL DEMONSTRATORS HAVE BEEN EXECUTED. THE CRACKDOWN FOLLOWED THE ARMY ACTION LAUNCHED JUNE 3 - WHICH HE CALLED "THE DARKEST DAY IN CHINESE HISTORY."

HE SAID HE COULD NOT SAY HOW MANY DIED IN THE ASSAULT ON THE SQUARE - "A THOUSAND
PERHAPS TENS OF THOUSANDS, BUT MANY DIED."

THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT SAID ONLY 300 PEOPLE DIED, AT LEAST 100 OF THEM SOLDIERS. BUT HOSPITALS AND WITNESSES SAID MORE THAN 300 CIVILIANS WERE KILLED AND UNOFFICIAL REPORTS PUT THE TOLL IN THE THOUSANDS. WUER SAID, "AT THE BEGINNING, WE NEVER THOUGHT THINGS WOULD GO THIS FAR ... THAT STUDENTS WOULD HAVE BEEN CRUSHED BY TANKS." HE SAID STUDENTS SAW BODIES OF COLLEAGUES BEING "PUT INTO PLASTIC BAGS, STACKED AND BURNED."

WUER WON FAME IN THE PRO-DEMOCRACY DEMONSTRATIONS WHEN HE BROKE OFF A HUNGER-STRIKE AT TIANANMEN SQUARE TO CONFRONT LI PENG BEFORE TELEVISION CAMERAS. HIS FACE, USUALLY SEEN SHOUTING SLOGANS THROUGH A BULL-HORN, BECAME FAMILIAR IN CHINA AND ABROAD.

OTHER ACTIVISTS, INCLUDING CHINA'S TOP PRIVATE BUSINESSMAN, WAN RUNNAN, WHO RAN THE HIGH-TECH STONE CORP., ALSO FLED CHINA THROUGH HONG KONG AND REPORTEDLY WERE NOW IN THE UNITED STATES. MR.

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Chinese dissidents in Paris unveiling mi

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has supported the Chinese students who built the statue.

Wu, one of China's most wanted student leaders, has said Chinese troops killed more than 2,000 protesters in Tiananmen Square in the June 4 crackdown.

"On the day of the massacre I was at the square. At least over 2,000 people were killed on Tiananmen Square," Wu said yesterday in an interview with the US television network CBS which said he was in hiding somewhere in Europe.

Chinese authorities say more than 200 civilians, including 36 students, died in the suppression of the pro-democracy movement, which Beijing dubbed a counter-revolutionary attempt.

Foreign estimates of civilian deaths, based on witness accounts and diplomats' reports, vary from many hundreds to several thousands.

Wuerkaixi, who was seen on television around the world shaking his finger at hard-line Premier Li Peng in a meeting before the crackdown, fled China via Hong Kong last month.

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PARIS, Wed. (Rtr.)
TWO fugitive leaders of China's pro-democracy movement, crushed by troops in Beijing last month, reappeared in public for the first time today, accompanied by a French Government minister.

Students Wuerkaixi and Li Lu emerged in the west under heavy guard at a ceremony to unveil a replica of the goddess of Democracy statue erected in the Chinese capital's Tienanmen Square during mass demonstrations.

Lu, who said he helped build the original statue torn down on June 4 by Chinese troops, said: "The statue is a symbol of hope for Chinese people. Now that I have seen it again, it is like seeing more hope for China."

Beijing has protested officially to France about harbouring dissidents, saying they were plotting to overthrow the Chinese Government.

French Culture Minister Jack Lang was present at the unveiling of the statue at a Paris Science Centre. The government



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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Li Peng said: We are deeply grieved by the heroic death of the three martyrs. I want to use this opportunity to express my deep condolences to all officers and men of the People's Liberation Army [PLA] and Armed Police Force and public security police who died in the suppression of the counterrevolutionary rebellion in the capital, and I wish to extend my cordial sympathy to the relatives of all martyrs.

Li Peng said: The martyrs have rendered a meritorious service to the people and to the suppression of the counterrevolutionary rebellion, and the party and the people are thankful to them. Their sacrifice has awakened thousands upon thousands of people and helped them see through the counterrevolutionary ruffians' brutal and abominable [ko wu de 0668 1921 4104] countenance. Why did our PLA, which is a heroic Army skillful in battle and which has defeated many strong enemies, suffer such great losses in suppressing the rebellion? That was because they tried their best to protect the masses and exercised restraint and tolerance and obeyed the PLA's disciplinary rule of "not hitting back while being hit and not abusing back while being abused." For nearly 2 months, our party and government exercised restraint and tolerance in face of the upheaval. No country in the world can do this. Our PLA did not resort to self-defence until it was forced to do so. If they had not, our losses would have been even greater. Li Peng said: The three martyrs performed heroically during the suppression of the rebellion and they died a heroic death. This can be attributed to the party's education over a long period of time and to the education given them by the PLA. But I must also thank you, the father, mother and brothers of the martyrs, for your family education.

Li Peng said: The counterrevolutionary rebellion in the capital has now been basically suppressed, and the situation keeps stabilizing. But many ruffians are still at large. While we must carry this suppression through to the end and never let the bad people go unpunished, we must earnestly adhere to policies and strictly distinguish the two different types of contradictions.

Li Peng urged the martyrs' relatives to restrain their grief, take proper care of themselves, turn grief into strength, stay on their jobs, and contribute to the four modernizations.

All the relatives of the three martyrs indicated that the martyrs died a glorious death because they died for the sake of protecting the party Central Committee, the capital, and the People's Republic. They expressed thanks for the concern shown to them by the party and the government and they asked Premier Li Peng to convey their best regards to Comrade Deng Xiaoping.

Also present at the meeting today were Tian Jiyun, Song Ping, Qi Jiwei, Wen Jiabao, Hong Xuezhi, Liu Huqing, Luo Gang, Cui Naifu, Zhou Yibing, Liu Zhenhua, Zhu Dunfa, and Zhang Xiufu, as well leading comrades of local governments.

Before the meeting was over, Li Peng, Qiao Shi, Yao Yilin, and other leading comrades posed for a group picture with the martyrs' relatives.

MING JPAO. Interviews Student WoerKabri*
*11X2006044389 Hong Kong MING PAO
in Chinese 17 Jun 89 p 1*

[“Wuer Kaixi Says, ‘We Must Face Reality’—China’s Democratic Development Might Retrogress”]

[Text] The most conspicuous leader of the student movement on the mainland Wuer Kaixi was interviewed by another student movement leader on 3 June, one day before the bloody suppression by the troops in Beijing. The tape recording of the interview was broadcast by ABC Radio Network. The following text of the interview has been compiled from the tape recording for our readers' reference.

In the interview, Wuer Kaixi talked about his main motives for participating in the student movement, and the development and prospects of the democracy movement.

After the bloody suppression of the democracy movement in the small hours of 4 June, the whereabouts of this 21-year-old student of the Beijing Teachers' University is unknown. However, our reporter has learned that he is still alive. But he has concealed his identity and gone underground.

Question: It seems that the situation in Beijing is fairly dangerous. So I would like to talk with you, and hope that this is not the last.

Wuer Kaixi, what are the main motives that drive you to actively participate in the student movement and become its leader? What is your practical experience in this regard?

Answer: I have been paying attention to democratic development on the Chinese mainland for many years. I have written some articles, although they have not been published. I only buried myself in writing those articles. Now I believe that the current movement will become a great student movement, and that I have my own enthusiasm and capability in this regard. Therefore, I step forward bravely to participate in the student movement, and become its leader.

Question: What is your view on the death of Hu Yaobang?

Answer: The death of a Communist Party member, or a common person on the mainland must not produce such great repercussions. This matter itself is a problem, that the death of a democratic leader could cause such a great turmoil. This shows that the Chinese people are extremely dissatisfied with the current situation in their country.

Question: What did you expect to get when you first joined the movement?

Answer I expected improvement in the following two aspects. First, as far as democratic consciousness was concerned, I hoped that we could get the same effects of enlightenment as those of the 4 May movement. Actually, although the Chinese people strongly desire democracy, they lack consciousness of democracy, and do not understand democracy. I hope that through the student movement, we will make progress in our work of enlightening people. Second, I hoped that we could set a good example with regard to the skills for promoting democracy. At the beginning, I hoped that our Students Self-Government Federation's legal status would be recognized, and could play its role in government administration as an opposition group.

Question: To your mind, what mistakes has the government made in dealing with the student movement? What basic problems have these mistakes reflected?

Answer For example, before the massive demonstration on 22 April, the majority of young students who are 18 or 19 years old only presented a petition (to the government). At that time, students only lodged their appeal. There was no organization. The government could take the initiative to solve the problem. The government could have easily disposed of (and handled) the student movement.

Question: If the government handled the student movement at that time, what results would you expect?

Answer: This would be determined by the efforts made by us. I didn't think that the situation would become so chaotic.

Question: What is the second mistake of the government in its policy?

Answer: On 22 April, the government sent public security police and soldiers to beat students. Actually, force has enabled the students to become more united, and given rise to the establishment of the temporal' students federation. On 27 April, I initiated the establishment of the federation. As a result, the student movement is greatly different from the past. Massive student organizations have been formed.

Question: To your mind, what problems have the government's mistakes reflected? Did you expect these problems? What will you expect in the future?

Answer I think that the key to all these mistakes is that the government is not democratic. The government is not accustomed to listening to the opinions

Basically speaking, it is not accustomed to such democratic actions as demonstration, sit-in, and so on. The decisionmaking process of the government itself is not democratic. Actually, in the government everything is

decided by one person. Li Peng himself has said: In our government, actually it is only Deng Xiaoping who has the final say. Lacking democracy and being unaccustomed to democratic life are the main reasons contributing to the current situation. In the meantime, the quality of many high-ranking officials of the government is too poor. This is also a problem.

Question: What are your main motives for leading the student movement? What theories and convictions do you follow to understand democracy and the current situation of Chinese society?

Answer Actually, my motives are very simple. I am very dissatisfied with the society. I study the science of education. When I assess education in China, I discover that the problems of education are very serious. At the beginning, my attention was focused on education. After thinking over the matter further, I realize that it is political system which blocks the improvement of education. Therefore, my first purpose in establishing a students federation is to actively promote political reform, to protect citizens' rights and freedom contained in the constitution, and to ensure that economic reform can be truly implemented. In addition, freedom of the press is, of course, my purpose. I believe that the main reasons contributing to the many problems in China's system, including corruption, bureaucracy, undemocratic practices, and so on, lie in the fact that the people cannot independently exercise their political rights, or exercise control over their own political and economic life...Actually, we can say that it is a democratic movement of human rights.

Question: Through constant dialogue with the government and participating in such a massive social movement, do you think that you have enhanced your understanding, or accumulated more experiences?

Answer: Of course, I have. In particular, as far as I myself am concerned, I have greatly enhanced my capability in thinking over and observing things. What I have learned in this regard is greater than what I achieved in the classroom on the mainland. I understand the practical problems of the government and the society. People in general cannot understand this. One of the things which I have realized is that consciousness of democracy is inseparable for the environment and the people. Just as I said in the past, the greatest obstacle to reform in China is its 1 billion population and its 5,000-year history.

Question: According to your organizational and political experiences gained from participating in the current student movement, what will be the main problems facing China on its path toward democracy?

Answer: There are mainly two problems in this regard. First, consciousness of democracy of the masses. When we are promoting the democracy movement, people are shouting their slogan of overthrowing Li Peng. This shows that we are unable to promote democratic ideas.

This is a great obstacle to the consciousness of democracy. Second, the system itself is also an obstacle. If the government persists in the system of prohibiting the existence of an opposition party, and if there is no real political parity (zhi heng 0455 5899), there will be no hope of success for the reform and democracy in China.

Question: If your idea can be smoothly spread throughout the society, what will be the response of the government? How high will be the percentage of success?

Answer. I think that we will succeed. It is difficult to predict the result in the short run. However, in the long run, democracy in China will gradually advance. Our actions are speeding it up. At present, we are not powerful enough, and we must exert greater efforts.

Question: As far as the system is concerned, what obstacles will you encounter?

Answer: In view of the situation in Beijing over the past 2 days, no one is too optimistic about it. We must face reality. As far as the development of democracy in China is concerned, retrogression might possibly occur.

Question: As for myself, whether the government takes drastic actions to suppress the movement, or tries to suppress it, and whether Li Peng or some other people are in power, I believe that things will completely change in the coming 2 to 5 years. If this proves true, and if you can freely act at that time, what do you think that you will do?

Answer I think that I will develop a balanced political power. I will contribute to such development. I agree with your analysis. Another possibility is that Li Peng might step down, and there will be a purge inside the party.

Question: Apart from the obstacles erected by the government, do you think that there are also problems with regard to students and the masses who participate in the movement?

Answer We lack the experience in fighting for democracy. In the meantime, we ourselves are poisoned maliciously by the bureaucratic system. Actually, many student leaders are also influenced by bureaucratic style. This is a very big obstacle.

Question: Now I want to ask you: How much do you understand the nature of the previous political movements over the past 40 years in China? Let us take the 4 May democratic wall movement in 1986 and 1987 as an example. Can you compare it with the current movement, and tell us their similarities and differences?

Answer: I think that basically speaking, there is no difference between the previous student movements and the current one. However, the previous student movements lacked organization. They did not extensively

involve people at various layers, and fewer number of people participated in them. In the meantime, they did not evoke the common understanding and response of the masses.

The greatest success of the current movement is that it has evoked the common understanding and response of Beijing residents. An organized and powerful opposition force has been developed. Although we are not completely satisfied with it, it is hard to come by. Even if we fail in our action, I believe that greater student or social movement will occur soon. At that time, we will achieve greater success.

People of our generation have witnessed the opening up in China, and the contributions made by Hu Yaobang and others have further enlightened us ideologically. I believe that through the current democratic movement, university students of the 1990's will have stronger consciousness of democracy.

Question: From newspapers I learn that many noted intellectuals have supported you. They are also active in disseminating their political ideas. I do not know whether you have contacted them. If you have, what is your appraisal of them. Can you tell me the similarities and differences between you and them?

Answer In China a small number of persons have made very great contributions to democracy. We should say that at least they have made great efforts in this regard. I believe that the quality of people of the younger generation is better than people of the older generation. Young people are also purer. Due to restriction of the environment and feudal system which lasted several thousand years, Chinese intellectuals are generally weak and prone to compromise. Many of their proposals (we can also say that they are protests) are worth mentioning. Now in China what we need is to strengthen the consciousness of individuals as citizens. Apart from talking, each and every person must also act. I believe that people of the younger generation are purer and stronger than people of the older generation.

Question: I completely favor your view. Over the past 10 years, I have been paying close attention to intellectuals, and the trends of intellectuals who demand democracy, freedom and cultural value in particular. I believe that every one of us must consider things in an all-round way in terms of theories, political reality and historical conditions. Do you think that their political and democratic ideas are disconnected with our social foundation?

Answer What you say is right. Very often their theories are attached to the so-called reformists. But I believe that what we need is not reform. The reformist movement has been in effect for a long time. It started in the Qing Dynasty, but it has never truly succeeded. Experiences have told us that reform is useless in foreign countries [as published]. However, our intellectuals have continued to stick to reform. I believe that what China needs is

revolution. Of course, I do not favor violent revolution. What I mean is that some people believe that power only resides in the highest stratum. But I don't think that it resides in the highest stratum alone. It also resides in the people.

Question: I wish to ask you: What is the differences between your concept of people and that of the government? How do you define the word "people"?

Answer First of all, people must not be regarded as an organic whole. They are individuals, or a group of citizens. According to the old concept, people are regarded as a pile of monotonous beings. This is actually an insult to the people. People are complicated. Regarding people as 1 billion citizens is different from regarding them as an organic whole.

Beijing Abuses Legal Rights To Arrest 'Rebels'
HK20Q6030689 Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese
20 Jun 89 p 1

[“Beijing Authorities Abuse Legal Rights To Arrest and Bring Suits Against Rebels as Quickly as Possible”]

[Text] While strengthening their control over citizens who want to go abroad to prevent those active in the democratic movement from fleeing the country, the Chinese authorities have started a nationwide action of tracking down and arresting such activists. Sources from Beijing revealed that the Supreme People's Procuratorate has issued one emergency notice after another, ordering the procuratorates throughout the country to arrest and prosecute the so-called “counterrevolutionary rebels” as quickly as possible. The procuratorates have been ordered not to get themselves tied down by small and side issues. A scholar held that although there are laws to abide by, this is an abuse of legal rights.

? It was revealed that on 7 and 11 June, the third day [as published] after the massacre on Tiananmen Square, the Supreme People's Procuratorate issued two “emergency notices,” ordering to “crack down on counterrevolutionary riot and strike blows at criminals who have committed serious crimes of beating, smashing, looting, burning, and killing.” The notices said that this is “a major and important task” of the procuratorial organs in China.

The notices said: In the unusual times at present, as the targets of the struggle are very clear, it is necessary to take resolute actions to quickly arrest and prosecute the rebels provided there are basic facts and proven evidences. There is no need to quibble over small and side issues.

The notices also said that all those who have violated the law and committed crimes, no matter if they are students, workers, or other citizens and no matter if they are party members, cadres, or ordinary masses, should be arrested, prosecuted, and punished according to law.

Statistics show that since 4 June when the arrest started, some 1,375 people have been arrested, and 11 of them were quickly sentenced to death. But foreign news agencies believe that the real number is much higher than that. Chang Hsin, a Hong Kong scholar specializing in the study of Chinese laws, pointed out: The decision on “quick arrest and prosecution” is based on a resolution adopted by the National People's Congress [NPC] Standing Committee on 2 September 1983. But he criticized the authorities for abusing their legal power. “The laws should originally be used to restrain the government's power,” he said. “But in China, the fundamental problem is that there is no democracy. As the party is exercising leadership over everything, the laws have become the tools of the party.”

The NPC Standing Committee adopted a resolution on 2 September 1983, titled “On the Procedures for Quickly Trying Criminals Who Seriously Undermine Social Security.” Here is a passage quoted from the resolution:

“It is necessary to bring to trial immediately those criminals who have committed murder, robbery, blasting, and other crimes that seriously undermine public security, who have incurred the greatest popular indignation and should be sentenced to death, and whose main criminal facts are clear with proven evidences. In such cases, the trial can be carried out disregarding the stipulations of Article 110 of the Criminal Procedural Law. The deadline for delivering the copy of indictment to the accused and for the delivery of various summons and notices can be shortened.”

However, Chang Hsin, honorable senior research fellow of the Chinese laws study project of the Center of Modern Asian Studies in the Chinese University of Hong Kong, said that although the “quick arrest and prosecution” has a legal basis, in reality, it is an abuse of the legal power. Moreover, the martial law itself is illegal.

He pointed out: The population of the eight districts under martial law makes up more than 50 percent of the total population of Beijing. Therefore, they cannot be regarded as parts of the municipality. Moreover, even if the authorities did not have time to call a meeting of the NPC Standing Committee before the enforcement of martial law, they should still call the meeting afterwards to subsequently endorse it.

Further more, according to the organizational law of the State Council, all important matters should be decided at the State Council's meetings. When promulgating a certain decree, it is also necessary to give clear indication of the relevant standing committee meeting or plenary meeting which has adopted it.

Faster Ways To Handle ‘Counterrevolutionaries’
HK2006070389 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 20 Jun 89 p 7

[By Willy Wo-lap Lam]

[Text] Beijing has speeded up procedures for rounding up and prosecuting people charged with “counterrevolutionary” crimes, legal sources in the capital said.

Portrait of a “Hooligan”

From Mao's Little Red Book to embracing democracy

BY TED CUP

Wuer Kaixi, 21, A Uighur with wavy black hair, big round eyes, high cheekbones. Shown last week on Chinese television on secret videotape from a Beijing hotel that falsely suggested he was eating when he was on a hunger strike in Tiananmen Square. Wanted by the Chinese government. His crime: he was a leader of the prodemocracy movement.

Just a few months ago, Wuer was a handsome college freshman who listened to Beethoven, read classic Chinese novels and thought there was no greater adventure than riding horseback with cossack herdsmen in the cool mountains of his beloved Xinjiang autonomous region.

But then Wuer found a more compelling cause in rallying discontented students to demand changes from the Chinese government. It was Wuer who, though wilting from hunger, sat across from Li Peng and chastised him for arriving late to the meeting accorded the protesters. "He talked with Li Peng as an equal," said a Beijing intellectual. IBs denim jacket and shaggy hair became a familiar sight in Tiananmen, where the charismatic Wuer barked directives from a bullhorn and bantered with demonstrators and journalists alike. Even after other student leaders voted him off the standing committee organizing the protests, in part for advising his fellow strikers to abandon the square the day after martial law was declared, Wuer remained devoted to the cause. "I deserved to be replaced," he conceded, for believing false information that the army was about to move in. After the army finally did appear two weeks later, Wuer vanished, and only last week's manhunt dispelled rumors that he had been shot to death or had taken his own life.

China's hard-liners have vilified Wuer and other student protesters as counterrevolutionaries. But those who have known Wuer for years say he never sought to overthrow the government and that he hoped one day to join the Communist Party. During the protests, he told reporters his aim was to "form a nationwide citizens' organization, like the Polish Solidarity," able to deal "openly and directly" with the government. Though sometimes overconfident even cocky, he had no his



Fugfthe Wuer Kabd: "I knew that we needed an organizer who wasn't afraid to die"

tory of troublemaking. "He's a good student he's from a good family, he loves the people, and he loves the country," said a close friend. But like others in the protest movement Wuer possessed a combustible mix of raw courage and naivete. Weeks before the Tiananmen massacre, he told an American reporter, "I knew that we needed an organizer who wasn't afraid to die."

He was born Orkache (pronounced Wu-er-kai-she as transliterated into Chinese) Dawlat in Beijing on Feb. 17, 1968, a native Uighur, in the midst of the Cultural Revolution, when an aging Mao Zedong fomented social unrest in the name of class struggle. A family portrait shows Wuer, age 1, holding up a copy of Mao's Little Red Book. Throughout the rigors of the period, his father remained a loyal member of the party who spent years translating the works of Marx, Lenin and Mao from Chinese into Uighur. When thousands of China's intellectuals were forced out of the cities to work as peasants in the countryside,

Wuer's father went willingly. The strain and exposure left his legs paralyzed for years afterward, but he neither complained nor criticized the party.

A precocious child who read insatiably, Wuer often visited his grand-

S parents in Xinjiang, near the Soviet border, to learn Uighur. But he spent most of his boyhood and school years in Beijing in an apartment adorned by a portrait of Mao put there by his father. In 1984 the family moved to Urumqi in Xinjiang. On Wuer's bedroom wall hung a portrait of the ancient poet Qu Yuan. Wuer began to write poetry, and took part in school affairs. He helped edit the school newspaper, an experience friends believe developed his interest in freedom of the press. In the summers he went on school field trips into the mountains to stay with the cossack herdsmen. That too left an impression. "He could tell the difference between the life of the ordinary people and the life of the leaders, and he got ideas from these people," said a friend. In 1988 he entered Beijing Normal University. He told friends he wanted to study Chinese literature but felt compelled to pursue an education degree because the Uighurs were in dire need of teachers.

Last January his ideas seemed to flower into activism. He wrote a friend that inflation was "robbing the country," and he worried about its impact on workers. His political views grew out of his own experiences, not Western influence; he never went abroad, but his voracious reading exposed him to all sorts of modern concepts, Chi-

nese and foreign. "He believes" said a friend, "the Chinese expression that the leaders should serve the people."

During the pro-democracy demonstrations, Wuer headed the banned independent union of students, where his sophisticated ideas and brash irreverence won him considerable celebrity. But it was less easy for those who knew him well to think of him on a hunger strike. Since childhood he had suffered acute stomach trouble, and only a few days into the fast he collapsed and was carried to the hospital. His mother crossed the country from Xinjiang to plead with him not to resume his fast. He persisted.

Said a friend: "He fears nothing; he was always like that." But now, with his face on wanted posters across the country, Wuer Kaixi has all China to fear. ■



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Dissident in Paris

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Chinese dissident
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Wuer Kaixi and Li Lu, two of the most wanted men in China since the military crackdown, surprised crowds in Paris gathered for the unveiling of a Goddess of Democracy statue.

The statue is a replica of one built by Chinese students in Beijing and torn down by troops over a month ago.

"The day we win victory and achieve democracy in China we will rebuild the statue in Tiananmen Square," Li Lu said.

The French government, which has shrugged off protests from Beijing over its support for the Chinese democracy movement, sent Culture Minister Jack Lang to

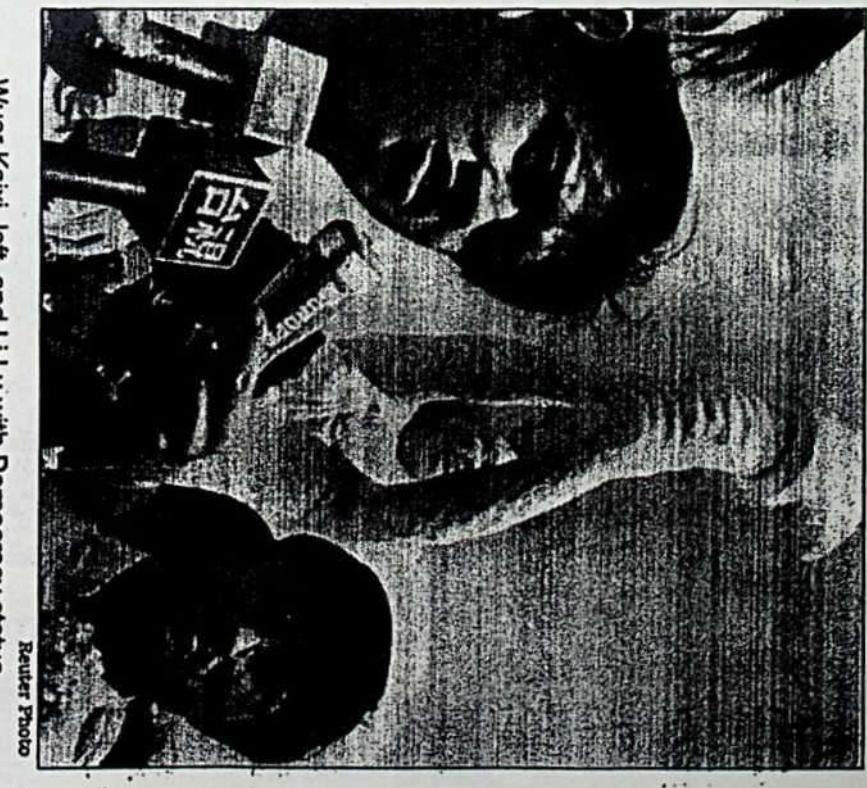
the ceremony.

The two dissidents later called for the 30 heads of state and government gathering in Paris this week for celebrations of the bicentenary of the French Revolution to impose economic sanctions on China.

The dissidents would not comment on persistent reports that they were being sheltered in the U.S. embassy in Paris, but denied that they had applied for political asylum in the United States. They would not say how they had left China.

A spokesman at China's embassy to Paris later said the two men were criminals rather than dissidents.

"Wuer Kaixi and Li Lu are not dissidents. They are common criminals against whom the Chinese state security service has launched a search warrant for inciting and organizing the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing," the spokesman said.



Wuer Kaixi, left, and Li Lu with Democracy statue

Reuter Photo

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"AU-the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York

VOL. CXXXVIII. v.-Na 47,917 Copyright C IMS The New York Time*

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JUNE 30, 1989

'Beijing Protesters Said to Flee To a Now-Uneasy Hong Kong'

By FOX BUTTERFIELD
Special to The New York Times*

HONG KONG. June 29 — Several leaders of the pro-democracy movement in Beijing, who have been on the Government's most wanted list, have reportedly escaped to Hong Kong, raising further concern in this British colony about future relations with China.

Diplomats here said they could not confirm reports that four prominent Chinese students and intellectuals along with several friends had been smuggled out of China to Hong Kong over the last week. But the diplomats said they believed that the accounts were correct, and two Hong Kong student leaders who helped to raise money for the demonstrators in China confirmed the escapes.

Hong Kong and its 5.7 million people are scheduled to revert to China in 1997 under an agreement in which the Communists pledged to let Hong Kong continue practicing capitalism for 50 years.

Confidence Shaken

But the crackdown in Beijing on June 4 has shaken confidence in Hong Kong's future and spreading concern among residents that Hong Kong should avoid doing anything to offend China.

There are fears here that if people in Hong Kong were involved in helping arrange the escapes, this could lead to charges by Beijing that Hong Kong was being used as

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Bush Urges Campaign Fund Curbs And Limits on Fees for Congress

By MAUREEN DOWD
Special to The New York Times*

WASHINGTON, June 29 — After years of debate about the high cost of congressional campaigns and the special interests that pay for them, President Bush weighed in today with a campaign fund-raiser for Congress.

Some constitutional scholars

a base for subversion, a situation the colony's British administration has always sought to avoid.

One dissident, Wuer Kaixi, a charismatic 21-year-old leader of the Independent Students Union in Beijing, which is now banned, appeared on Hong Kong television in a taped interview Wednesday night. Neither the television station nor the students who pro-

Continued on Page A6, Column 1 •



Wuer Kaixi, a Chinese student leader, as he appeared in a taped television interview broadcast in Hong Kong on Wednesday night

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WITH BUSH, VOTES
CHINA SANCTIONS

NEW CURBS PASS 418 to 0

Bipartisan Measure Bypasses Some Harsher Proposals — No Veto Planned,

By MARTIN TOLCHIN
Special to The New York Times*

WASHINGTON, June 29 — House Republicans broke with President Bush and joined Democrats in a vote of 418 to 0 today to impose new sanctions on China and condemn Beijing's suppression of human rights.

The sanctions package, worked out by Democratic and Republican foreign policy leaders on Capitol Hill, was a bipartisan substitute for about two dozen bills, some of them harder and considered likely to be adopted by the House.

Thus the legislation allowed Congress to vent its anger at the Chinese Government with senior journalists. Month over the military crackdown on the keenly felt the difficulties under democracy movement without taking attack from both flank side, he extreme steps like rescinding China's trade status as a "most favored nation."

No Veto Is Planned The Bush Administration did not endorse the House move, but also indicated that it did not intend to veto if the sanctions approved by the House would suspend the financial support of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation in China, halt expenditure of previously authorized funds for trade and development, mandate American opposition for six months to liberalization of export controls, and ban the export of crime control equipment and nuclear equipment that could be used for military purposes. In addition, the measure would prevent the President from lifting the sanctions he has already imposed except for reasons of national security or unless he assures Congress that

**Polish Leadt
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Might Visit Mo&**

By HENRY KAMM

WARSAW, June 29 — Gen. Jaruzelski, the Polish leader, a serious challenge within th' nistiparity to his scheduled r jas Rresident next-week, Pole lomats said today.

At the same time, senior leaders and Western diplor Lech Walesa, the founder of t -merit, might soon be invited b to discuss the political imp; President Mikhail S. Gorbach

The opposition to General J comes from Communist cons who criticize the President, w the party's First Secretary, f yielded too much power to tl tion and having made possiblity's crushing election setbai hands of Solidarity this month

Attacked on Both Flan!

General Jaruzelskl said in month over its anger at the Chinese Government with senior journalists. Month over the military crackdown on the keenly felt the difficulties under democracy movement without taking attack from both flank side, he extreme steps like rescinding China's trade status as a "most favored nation."

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Continued on Page A1, Column 1

WASHINGTON, June 29 - campaign fund-raiser for i Bush who is now the Aral designate to Luxembourg edged to Congress- today^ tha

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provided the tape would say where it was made. In the interview, Mr. Wuera, Communist Government "a b reactionary warlords and fa and predicted its demise in six to three years.

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Wuer said: "It is they
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Mr. Wuer's remarks

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CHINA IS PLANNING 2 YEARS OF LABOR FOR ITS GRADUATES

A LESSON IN COMMUNISM

Factory or Farm Work Would Be a Must Before Higher Study and Skilled Jobs

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF
Special to The New York Times

BEIJING, Aug. 12 — In an effort to rekindle Communist values, the authorities disclosed today that most college graduates will have to work for a year or two in villages or factories before being permitted to enter graduate school.

The new policy, reported by the official China Daily, appears to be part of what well-placed Communist Party officials describe as a wider program to compel college graduates generally to put in at least a year at manual labor on farms or in factories before taking up their comfortable white-collar jobs.

The Chinese officials said that in the aftermath of the student unrest this spring, the leadership felt that one way of combating "bourgeois liberalization," as Western democratic influences are now labeled, was to send students to rural areas to teach them to endure hardship, work hard and appreciate the daily difficulties faced by China's mostly rural population.

Cultural Revolution Recalled

The steps are reminiscent of the practice in the Cultural Revolution of the 1960's and 70's, when youths and others were sent to the countryside by the millions for re-education.

"Instead of going to graduate school this September, students, especially those in the social sciences, will have to work for a year or two," The China Daily reported today, citing a circular issued by the State Education Commission.

While some top leaders apparently would like all college graduates to get experience toiling in the countryside, it is not clear how rigorously the policy will be put in place: Resistance among young people is certain to be immense, and employers may also be less than enthusiastic about losing new recruits for a year.

Administration Headaches

If it comes about, the policy would not only deepen the alienation among university students, but could create vast administrative headaches for universities and for the villages that are supposed to be the hosts of the graduates; - - .

China already has a surplus of labor in the countryside, and villages are unlikely to welcome intellectuals who speak with urban accents and are unenthusiastic about wading barefoot in the rice paddies all day. - .

Although there has been no announcement of the new policy, requiring those who graduated since 1985 to work at manual labor, word already is spreading among young people, who are scrambling to avoid it. Most are convinced that the policy is retribution for the student-led democracy movement this spring, which the authorities violently suppressed, or at the least a reflection of the new-found enthusiasm for revolutionary values that the leadership is trying to foster in the society.

"This is part of the brainwashing now going on," said a young businessman who graduated from university a half-dozen years ago. "They want to send you to a horrible place so that when you get back to the city you'll appreciate it and won't cause them any problems."

Information in Report

The businessman, who has access to information about high-level party decisions, said the policy of sending students to the countryside before giving them white-collar jobs was contained in the party's Central Committee report^a, now circulating among senior officials. V. •if • s*

Today's article about requiring work experience before young people can enter graduate school did not indicate how the policy would be administered nor how rigorously it was expected to be pursued. While the article seemed to say that the change would take effect immediately, that would require a degree of swiftness and cooperation among authorities that would be highly unusual in the Chinese bureaucracy.

The article suggested that it would apply in particular to graduate schools in social sciences, presumably because students of politics and history and related subjects were at the center of the democracy movement.

Under the new program, young people will have their household registration transferred to the rural area where they will work. In theory, there should be no problem in transferring it back to the city a year later, but many people are suspicious that they will be forever exiled in the countryside. Those people who tried to return to the city without also having their registration transferred would find it difficult to get jobs, housing, ration coupons and perhaps even to get married.

While most young people are appalled by the new policy, a university teacher who was sympathetic to the democracy movement said that most students had been coddled and would benefit from a year learning the value of responsibility and hard work.

Take Out the Garbage*

"Most students don't even know how to take out the garbage for themselves," the teacher complained. She added that in any case the policy was unlikely to be pursued widely, and said that at her institution no steps had been taken toward putting the policy into effect.

A senior party official said the policy initially had been agreed upon in 1984 but was never implemented, and would apply to students who had graduated from college in 1985 and subsequent years. Throughout the country, about 1.8 million people have graduated from institutions of higher learning since 1985 and apparently would in theory be subject to the new policy.

"Many of them are very arrogant, the party official said of college students. "This will be very good for them, by teaching them how most Chinese people live."

The official said he was sending the newly hired college graduates in his department who have no experience in manual labor to work either in the fields or in a factory. In some cases, his department will pay them a subsidy to make sure they do not suffer hardship, he said.

The official said this can't be compared to the Maoist method of sending people to the countryside. He said that except in extreme cases of people who performed very badly, graduates would be allowed to transfer their household registrations back to Beijing] and begin assigned white-collar work after a year.

Kirti A* (jl<SX^so

^ IXo V

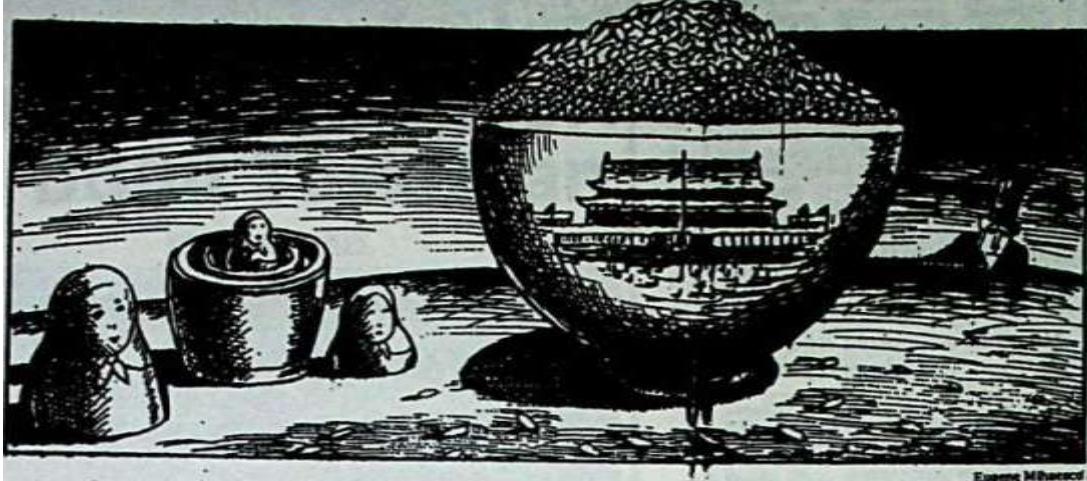
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At the Summit, g

By Richard C. Holbrooke

They didn't plan it this way. The first Chinese-Soviet summit meeting in 30 years was originally designed to put the long-strained relations between the two largest Communist nations on a stable and more friendly basis, address disagreements accumulated over many acrimonious years and gain an advantage in the triangular relationship involving China, the Soviet Union and the United States.

'Ten, or even five years ago, such a meeting challenge for vast but controlf could have rocked the world, and might have had a - populations now represent natl profound effect on die global balance of power. swept by the drama of people tryli -. Instead, with the greatest possible historical irony, to speak for themselves. Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping- will meet in Even in this extraordinary atm Beijing next week at a time when both of them,phere, there are still Important intef trying to reform Communism In Order to save it, national issues to discuss. From an must focus on un - *, preceded internal upheavals. American point of view, the outcome ■

Richard C. Holbrooke was Assistant to the Secretary of State for International Organization and Law. The results of the talks on two problems are of greatest immediate interest.

Richard C. Holbrooke was Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs in the Carter Administration. The petty factionalism of the Cambodian

hour. History is being written in large type by students in Beijing, and by In- / ance"J. tellectuals and voters in growing na- tionalist movements in most of thO

"republics" of the Soviet Union. The period during which two visionary but authoritarian leaders can determine reform solely from above may well have run its course. Popular movements — long thought by observers to be inconceivable in both nations — are confronting both governments with nearly impossible and perhaps internally contradictory choices. Two leaders who until : , cernly assumed they would come the summit meeting speaking without

Even in this extraordinary atmosphere, there are still important international issues to discuss. From an

American point of view, the outcome of the talks on two problems are of greatest immediate interest. The first is Cambodia, where progress has already been made in anticipation of the summit meeting. The petty factionalism of the Cambodians has long been sustained by big-power backing for each of the fac-

ing Ton' the "non-Communist resist-

tolln/fiaic 9«a union In arnurinn »» If, iBS
in Beijing results in more
ir for political compromise,
Would be a major achievement,
'long as It does not provide a cover
r a Khmer Rouge return to power,
comparable American action
ild be desirable to encourage this
rocess.

• A second, area where Chinese-Soviet rivalry has long heightened tensions in the world is Korea. Until the 1988 summer Olympics, neither Moscow nor Beijing had dared urge restraint on their common neighbor, Kim Il Sung's totalitarian North Korea, for fear that a conciliatory position by one nation would give the other an advantage with the North Korean dictator.

If at long last both nations agree to stop seeking advantage at the other's expense in North Korea, and simultaneously seek relations — not only trade, but diplomatic — with South Korea, an unprecedented opportunity would exist to break a 38-year-old stalemate.

Here again, Americans would have a role to play — by not withdrawing our troops from South Korea unless this is part of a larger deal that guar-

anlccs peace on the KoreA pcnlsls Even partial withdrawal^, somthii which Ronald Reagan discussed pul llcly before leaving office, should m be considered at this delicate mi ment. "'

These and other International an bilateral issues — including Afghan stan, troop reduction along the borde and In outer Mongolia and econml development of the Soviet Far JEAs — will undoubtedly dominate the offl cial-summl agenda.

But important as they are, they fade into insignificance before the issue that probably will *not* be discussed: the future of Communism itself in the two largest countries that profess to practice it.

It is unlikely that either leader will wish to discuss why his reforms, while popular and partly successful, have been accompanied by so much unrest..

I believe this has happened for the simplest and most basic of all reasons: human nature.' • • • Mr. Gorbachev's reform for the political system, even.dh its present chaotic and incomplete state, and Mr. Deng's transformation -of both the political and the economic system In China, even under its present stress, are historic events. Both ienave gone a long way towards reversing some of die odious legacies of their predecessors.

But their reforms contained the seeds of their own crisis from the outset. How do you give people a little bit of freedom and not expect them to ask for more? How do you open the eyes of [people to the outside world and not expect them to want what they are allowed for the first time to see? How do you allow people to tell the truth about their past, but still ask them not to have honest discussion of their current leadership?

. History In China and the Soviet Union today can turn in either direction: toward repression or toward freedom

The forces of the state certainly have the power, and pettiaps the will, to Impose their authority with great force. Any such action,, however,, would be enormously awtly politically and doom the hopes of either Mr. Gorbachev or Mr. Deng for economic development, fof it is Impossible, as both-nations are learning, to open up the economy without, funda- mentar changes in the «pollUcal ays' tem.

These two extraordinary men undoubtedly still hope that they can control the reform process, granting a limited measure of freedom while maintaining the complete political supremacy of the Communist Party. - But Chinese and Soviet citizens are saying, in effect, that a process controlled entirely from above may no longer be sufficient — that economic development requires political liber

alization, and once people get a little
freedom they will want 'the
Idling.

3 HAFTA SURECEK B|R YAZI (§6^55^1^B)

cin-sovyet ili\$kileri

ve Dogu Turkistan

ERKIN ALPTEKİN



Uzun süre Doğu Türkistan'daki tutuklama, cezalandırma ve İdamlar, bizzat Sovyetler Birliği tarafından yürütülmüşür? 1949 ile 1951 yılları arasında Sovyetler Birliği'nin Doğu Türkistan'da ortadan kaldırdığı insanların sayısı 75.000 dolayındadır.

GEKEN whbetimizde, SSCB'nin AQui yet'i Qln donevinden Dogu Hirkisinda yuritraig olduğu Ikyuzli dueti hakkında bilgi verme eye caligrafig. Bütinkii lobbeU-mud* 1M, SSCB'lin Kom limit Qln done-mind* Dogu Tbklttin hilkuu kargi yilr-mig oldugu UtuZuU nyited kalkanlı bilg imatiy esUgaLrn

MULLyet!! ClnJ mig ederek Dogu Tbkltti timirlarima davandigil bür urada, Oriimelded Sovyeller Bagkonaloj AUKiander Serloff 10 Agust 1949 tarihinde Dogu TMxkittandakJ MIUY*?! Cln ankerlerIn Baakomutani Korgeneler Tar 9 Yili ya bür muhtira ver*rek, tedim oknaua UUmgUr. Korgeneler ft YU'de, o anlarda Dogu TUxkaUn . VaBd olan Tatar ault Buthan \$**

Ili\$klclrl n bolzulmaunin tcbplerinden bird d*. Sovyeller Blrlighln Dogu Tirkitani tamamen kendi tend altna alibilmek! ?In harkfi elmlg olmandir.

Sovyeller Blrlighli Qln aranndak IB* kller 1959 dan Ubaren tedril olarak aogumay* baglamigt. Bu Larihan tonra Sovyeller Bubfl, daha once Imha etmey* al*tigi Dogu TurkiUn halkmn "hamld" poiluna bli\$ ummeye baglamigir.

Bal Tirkitam yigamakla olan v* bllahar* Sail Tirkitan'a ugur Dogu Tirkitilardan bli\$imfad* Qln* karri gdditiU bür propaganda kampanayı baglatmigt. Sovyeller Blrlighli kandi Idarot altinda Dogu Tirkitilardan yaralaranarak "Cln Uh-k*odnd*n", "Cnlillerin n* kadar govn* bür millet oldugundan", "Cnlilleden kendl Idare-

Sovyetler Birliği kendi idaresi altında Doğu Türkistan İlardan yararlanarak, "Cln Tehlikesi'nden, Cnlillerin ne kadar soven bür millet oldugundan, "Cnlillerin kendi idaresi altında Uyghur, Kazak, Kirgiz, Mogol ve Uzbeklere karis yurutmeye oldugu insanlık dışı siyasetten" den yurmustur.

Rus imparatorlugimun aimruua ujine

■- katmakla kalmayip, finle olan sinirimizi da
4 bin versts (Rusyada 1.07 kilometre uzun*)
Iugundaki OI9U) kisalttn? olacagB,'..

Diger taraftan fin de Dogu Turkistam (kendi giivenligi igin 90k onemli isayagel-)

mi\$tit. Bu yiizden de M.O. 104'lerden iti-

baren bu UUceyi istila edebilmek i?in tarn €bliyiik sefer diizenlenmiytir. Dogu Tirkis-
le tanin fin i\$in olan stratejik onemini Mangu

In* Silalesinin fin asilli devjet adami ve komu- p. • tanlarmdan Zo Zung Tang \$u \$ekilde belirt- •Vt , ir T

hdylic dimfirk 20 EyUl 1949 Urhlnde l^{ev} Um

kirari ilmisli C" Komililliller Dogu Tuikl*.

K-3 tem reimon IUU etmeye bi'Um-iir.

Dbycice Dogu TurkliUnd* blr terdi dcvri * ,

bijlimtir.

Jl- Cerci Dogu TurkliUn, Komilniil Cln

Urfifindin iUh edilmie de, Ulkenln oii- a

liin nkeri, dyid ve ekonomik kontrolil

IU Umtmen Sovyeler Birlighln eln* go-?

migUr. Ilk merhilede Genoril Hodanof 3*

komuUiundi 23 bin Sovyel »keri Dogu

Tirkitam* glercek tritejik dncme halz bol- ccler

18c'd cmglgUr. Du Sovyel itkorlorinc ~ Itu aiilli

Korgeneler Uddnln komuta-

aindaki 36 bin u)Uk mill! ordur yordenci

ii allindaki Uyghur, Kazak, Kirgiz, Mogol Tbkltiller kar'ı yunilmekte oldugu Inur digi dyaiylem" dem vurmugur. Vine Dp d*TurklUanilarlard UUililard Uatidakl dm bUylklcdne, basin mtnsuplarina ve millel anu legUlatlara muhfilalar gdndetemlt Dig Ulkelcre yagamakla olan Dogu TVrl lanlilara congel alabilemek i?in "Azal ?a Tirkilan adli gazelenln yayimina lain s mlglr. Dogu Tirkilan halkln Chndares karasi kurkitabilmek makiadiyle "Azat S kl WklUmu Avail" adli bir gizzl rad yavu yaplrm igil. Cln alehyindrd bura panyaya Uati Tirkislamm mahalU ya< organUri da filen kaltigmigt.

Diger larafan Cln basini, Sovyel

ili\$kier 1959'dan 11

1 'bar en't edric l ."o 1 aralt' so g u ni ayab a § 1 a m 1 § t > r • Bu tariht-
spnra;|Sovyetler Birli&It^dajha Once imha etmeye calijl •\$> Do'gu,TQ;kIstanhalkirun
"hamisLpostuma biirttmi
ye ba\$lamitir;->y.^';f.^>

oknurtur. Bu mlli ordu, 1944 da tg'de
MIUyelg Cln Idaretinge kargi patiak veren
ayaklanmadan sonra Sovyeler Blrlighln
yardanıyle kurulmu. Corel Sovyeler Blrligi,
III inklapflarini MIUyel? Cln lie anlagarak
koalisyon hukUmm kurmayda

zorlamtsa da milu orduya dagilmamig- (i Cumhuriyetler arazindaki liigilenn teknormale
Ulkenln dyad Idared Aleckunder

SeviloCun yerine Urilm? Bagkonosolotu-
guna alanam Uamlno, Mllclclarası Komil- nl>
Parti Dogu Türkistan Subethln Ssk-

roleri tieulin ve Malyote Konuloi Niko-
layciorden olusan "Troyka"nin ellendiyel, Sovyeller UrliM, Cln Ho 14 Subal [§50 laribinde
Moikvalia Imzalamig oldugu dosluk,

anlagmadyle Dogu TbrklUndaki bUluN
ekonomik Iglerle de derulil' elmeye bagla-

Ne var kl, Sovyeler UirUfii lie C-n H>

Brlrlgl'in Dogu Tirkilan'a "Car Itusya din minde

oldugu gbl glmdl de caua gbind mekle",

Clnblerle azinlik mllrlter arat dakl doslugu

botmakla" ve "Dogu Ibrk tanda kargasafak

"karmakla" w?lamigil.

Slni Im, C-n alehyinrekl yuiazymye nl

Cln lehntdeki vazilar almaya ba> migir.

Sonu? olarak gunlari myleneck nw kUn:

Kudar, ?ok eikl lanhlerdin bert De

Egerbiz Dogu Türkistan'i ele geciremezsek, Mogoli

tanrdavelde tutamayiz; Eger Mogollstan'i kaybedece

olurs?ik, \$emsil ve Kansu gib! eyaletlerimiz de tehlike a

mi\$Ur.

Ilu ddhemde Dogu Tirkistan'daki tu-
luklama, cetaldrme ve Idamlar blzzat
Sovyeller Blrlgl tarafindan yilrilUlmiqi- I
lii 1959 dan 1951 yllar arninda Sovyeller
Blrlighln Dogu Tirkilan'da ortadan kaldir-
dig Inanlarin iyi 76 bindotaylarwadir.

Hunlarin arasinda Ahmet Kadmol, ihak-,

bey Muninof, AbdUkerim Abbatoz ve Dell-

han Suearbayev gibi IU inkilabim onde .

cceln Uderlerde vardt Moskova, bu klmcs-

leri bizzal Sovyeller Blrlighnde yetgUlp, Dogu

Ibrkisla gondermeli. Amcrtkan New York

Tmea gazedel 19 Subal 1951 -> Yenl llehliden

veiml oldugu blr haberinde gnyi* yazmiti:

"Komimil Cln poiluna llurunen Sovyeller Blrligl

Slnklangdakl nlamlari blzzat yilrifmekicdir.

Bbyelec, C-n Komiminler blr donecum Dogu

Tirkilan Sovyeter Blrlighln blr oyuncagi

durumuna J rtuiniiylerd. hlotkova He PekiQ araimdakl

ibrklilam kendi guvenUgl l?in alraleik on me-
haiz bir bolge olarak lelakk etmiglerdi
Dolayiyle, bu ilke-i bizzal kendi kont-
kont (line abilimek Icln Dogu Tirkila halkna kari
iklyikzli iijayel yUritimiiglu Bu yiizden de
zaman zaman Cinl* mucadelre glmgilr. Dogu
mirkilswn llular l?i olan slntejik onemli
Tirkilan Cenel Val at olan Karopakln 1 Subal
1917 de Ri Carina)azmtig oldugu rspondu
gbv belirtmektedir.

"Bundan 800 yil once oldugu glbl, Ru-
lgacake veya kalabalik ordu b*ilemek r runlugu
haul obcakl*. Dogu Turkistan C" Ulerin eline
yeni denilen belirememli 1 yan. Eger biz, Dogu
Turkistan Cenel Val at olan Vladvoitoka
kadar yenil b uni ?zecek oluruk, o aaman yalniz
Mogi Uilan lie Mancuryanin kuzye keilmeli
(UagUrali 6. Sayfat).

fin Sovyet ili\$kileri ve Dogu Turkistan

Ba\$torafi 4. Savlada) vjj

mektedir:

"Egor biz Dogu Hirkistam ele gecire- mezsek, Mogolistani da elde tutamayiz. Eger Mogolistani kaybedece olursak, \$ensi ve Kansu gib'i < eyaletlerimiz de tehlike altma girecektir."

Acaba Sovyeter Birligi, kendi giiven- ligi i<?in
hayati oneme haiz oldugu ileri siir- dligU Dogu
Tirkistan'i kendi tesiri alatma alabilemek, igin bundan
sonra da ikiyizlzi siasetini devam ettirecek raidir,
ettirmeyecek midir, bunu zaman gosterecektir.

“Gin’de Tiirk asilli

milyon Müslüman yaşıyor”



Mehmet Emin Hazret

Başlarken

“Li omen hepsi'etrafımızdakı komşu devletlerde ;% & l^y^3^N^*]mIE|i|^i9fvTOrkler*4;K£u^ri(Oislisi^ P;... ni)zyaya§yava§, kaybQluyor vayerin olması gere-

V^TOrklye'diarakr:bUhdiari8onraBlz(mmeselerniz: • sadece Bulgaristan,pfirnayacak. Kendimizi mOsIQ- .

man TOrk olarak kabul ettigimiz sQrece, biz iste- , mesek cie, di? TOrkler.ermeselemlz ojacaktır.

BatiV

Trakya'dai. 'irak'daiKerkOk. bOlgesjride.' Iran'da, Sovyet Rusy^da 'vapin'dei.klmryerde 'az, klm- 'i sjncie Cok'qlanTp.rkJer. va.asimije

Bunun Icm Bulgaristan geyindes oturdu gidi hazir- liksz yakalanmamak istiyorsak, etkili ve tutarlı bir dis politikamızın olması gereklidir.

Di§ TOrkler'Iri:kalabalik bir- şekllde irieskfln bu- lundu Wan yerlerden.birl.d© Po9u';TOrkistan;Cin'->v in simrlaq Iqlndo yer aian Dofiu TOrkistan'da alias! w i- iidblrlikte kaqarfVeTGrklye'ye gelip Utica eden SI-. •; /riema Yazar Mehmed.Emlh.HazrettleGln'dekil?.

f.TOrkler'in durutunugSrtl§tQk.'Hazreti'oradaCinr:'

• In bQtGhasimlle polilikalarina ragmen TOrkler'in erl- .tilemedigirlis5y!leydirek: "Dogu;TURkistan'da. bQ- j yUK blr uyamklikmevcut" dlypr: "• ! v" TOrklye'ye ka§i§r, 'uzuh zaman ,alan, Mehmed , Emin Hazret'In yol.u,

IlkAnc'eRqsya'dakl.BatjTQrk- . v Istan'a (hamminin akribalai'.inin orada olmasini ba-,

hane ederek) gegmeslyve daha^sonra Romanya Ozerinden TOrkiye'ye geli§i §'ekliride olmu§. 'Tabi \$'

• katiandi'gi ^mq^/bura^^a^j.atmair.mQml^n.;^

^d09^! , y ?h y

I Cl'n delkensinemayazan^yeha.niminin.daga-,, ligmasi" Nil run n Isa-1984",

ncre, Tfirkiyc ncrc? Amn gdnill bu; Turk yurdflnda olunca iraklar yakin, zorlar kolay oluyor. lje Qin'in sinirlerin Igindc yer aian Dogu TOrkistan'dan ailesi ile birlik ic hilriyeti segen Yazar Mhmt Emin Hazret ile soh-bctimiz.

Nedcn kagmj, nasil kagmj, oradaki TiirkJer'in ju anki dumrulan nedir? Sorulannmz vc sohbctlerimiz bu minval ilze- rc oldu.

Zanian— Efendim, once kendiniz hakkında bize bilgi vrclr mlslniz?

— 1950 yilmda Dogu Tirkistan'in Hoten vilayetine dogdum. ilk vc orta tahlisimi orada yaplim. 1972 yilinda

"Kannda5-1985", "Bekir- lar Alles-1988". Aynca nc- rediml;, fakat filme gekl- memls ilg scnaryom var.

"Gizlilik tgin" adlı bir Şiir kitabim, Pekin Milleller Ne- rity atı tarafindan, 1981 yilinda ncjredildi. Yazdigim b(ilQn senaryolarda bir arada olmak (Izrc, "şincan Yajlar Ngriyatı" tarafindan 1985 yi- linda basilmijitir.

1989 yilinda "AF" adyla bir romanım, aym nejriyat tarafindan yayimlandı. Aynca gesiti dergilerde sinema konu- sunda vc sanat konularında makalclcrim yinalandı.

Mcydana getirdigim bu cscrler Dogu TOrkistan halki- run mill! gelenciklerini, sanaum

kendi yazdiklanna gore A rap. vc Iran'dan gelen iQccarlaann Gin'c gelip cyclnmcleri ile or- laya (ikan bir uk olarak tam- tiyorlar kendilerini..

Zaman— Gi" iiilkiametl mOsUman Tlirkler ile mis- illimanilar Qlnlller arasında egitim veya diger yitnlerden fark gozetyor mu?

— Hem de 90k. Bir defa, Ginli mQslOmanlann dili Qin- 9c vc bu yflnden bidden daha fazla avantaja sahiptir. Ginli- lerle anlajabilir. Zaten bizim her zaman Qin'den aynlmak istegimizin oldugunu Gudiler bilir. Ginli muslumanlann 6ylc bir istekleri olmadigi igin on- lara daha farklı davram, bize gore. Giniilc'e gdre Ginli muslumanlar bidden daha emin- dirler.

Zinan— HnH splitfiltrum- lar Gin'den aynlmayı U9 dO- junmediler mi?

— Eskiden varmi}, ama jlmdl onlar boyle blr \$eyi pek dUjiinmilyorlar.

DONGENLER

Zaman— MUSlUman TURkler'e giiven mediklerle- gdre onlara Onemil vazife de vermlyorlar 0 zaman...

Elbette. Bizden hep kujkuya la baktulan igin hOkOmetin onemli ycrlerine bidden kim- scyi sokmazlar. Ginli mQslQ manlardan bizim kadar kork- madigi igin onlara bazi vazife- leri veriyor. Zaten Ginli mQslQmanlann bir dzerk bolgesi var. Bizim "ddeng" dedigimiz Ginli mQslOmanlann fizerk bolge dijinda daguuk halde ya- \$adiklan da gdrillQr. Dagildik- tan sonra erimedile kolay oluyor tabi. Din duygusu da- ha zayif oluyor. Fakat kendi- sinin bir mQslQman oldugunu unutmuyor.

Gin hQkdmeUnin Ginli mQslQmanlar ile TOrkler arasında ayinm yaptigina misal olarak hac meselesini verebiliriz. GunkQ mQslQmanlara hacca gi- derken verilen pasaporta

"hacca gldecek" diye yazılı. Dogu Tirkistan'dan hacca gi- decek olanlara ise Pakistan'da- ki, Arabistan'daki akrabalan- un taahhudQ flzerine di\$anya gidiyor diye pasaport veriyor.

TOrkler'in hacca gitmesini ka- ellgi bir durum ortuya liyor orada. BInncisi, Tark, ijjonmuyor. .:ul3! asilli olan mOsldmanlar. Bunr.) ju ^.

vc kuliOrilnO yansitmaktadir. Aym zamanda Qin Halk Cum- huriyeti Yazarlar Birligi vc Si- nemacilar Birligi Qyesiyim. Cince bilmeksteyim. Anadilim, TOrk?c Uygur jlvesidir.

TORKNOFUSU

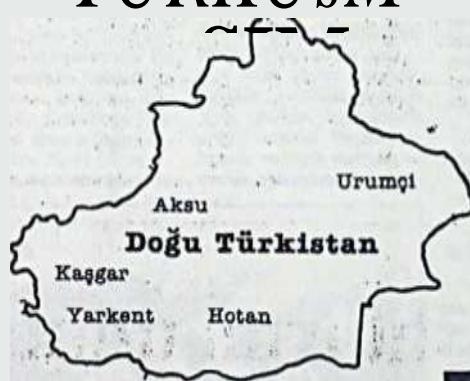
Zaman— Gin sinirlan ifin- de Uygur, Kazak vs. diger milletten olanlar da dahll mOsUmanlann ifisufu ne kadar §u an da efendim? — MQslQmanlar ikiye ayn-..,ju^

BInncisi, Tark, ijjonmuyor. .:ul3! asilli olan mOsldmanlar. Bunr.) ju ^.

lann toplami 25 milyon civa- rinda. Bir de Ginli mQslQman- lar var. Biz btinlara "dongan" diyoruz. Bunnann dili, ge- nekleri, kiyafetleri tamamen Gin usulildvlr Yalmz bunlar.

,;X

DOGU TURKUSM



M.Emln Hazret Ile roportaj Hazırlayan: SOleyman Unal

Dogu Turkistan'da giindiiz okula gi- den ogrenciler. Gece de Kur'an kur- suna gidiyor



Dogu Turkistan'da dirii egitim yerleri var ama hukumet bunu kanunen yasakliyor. Gizlice mahallelerde, sokaklarda ogretiliyor gocuklara. Her mahallede gizli olarak dini egitim yapan okullar var. Halk ibadetlerini turn zorluklara ragmen .! yapiyor. Tek Islmd Enstitüsii'ne ise sadece 100 ogrenci faaltmyor

ia On, Mehmet Emin Hazr., Bali TQrkistan'a go? ctti. tan'i Clnlller'in clnnoct J ret lie Doşu TGrkistan- 1981*dc Bau TURKISLAN'da vefat ■ kurtaracagiz. O zamanlar siz- dakl TQrkler'in nQfusu, Qin- etti. Gani Balur Dogu Turkistan'da yilicadele i?ln olan benim turbem bakm ve benim i?n dua edin, diye bu yol uzerine benim meczanmi yapm."

Gani Batur, Dogu Turkistan'in iliyiyeinde dogru. KQ?Gkken bili boylu postu birisi ve gcn? liginde lanimm? bir gflrc5?idir. Baskalarinn kotG ijlerine karji ku?ukluqindede vamJi mucadele etmesiyle biliniyordu. Gani Batur da Osman Batur gibi halk i?inden ?ikan kahramandır. Fa-, kat onun sonradan yaptigt mucadele Osman Batur'dan daha buyuk oldu. Zaten Dogu TORKISTAN Gani Batur'u Osman Batur'dan daha buyuk biliyor.

Dogu Turkistan i?in Meh-

— Turkiye'de, Cin'e karji ..Turkistan Turkleri raficadelen- sl deyince akla gelen Uc isim "Osman Batur" dur. Osman Batur Dogu Turkistan halki tarafindan nasil bU?nıyor?

— Osman Batur'u Dogu

TGrk- istan'da halk ?ok seviyor. Qin- liler'le 20 sene mfcadele eunij. Kizil Qin'le savajan Balur'a, Cinliler "Osman Batur" de- mezler. "Osman Ejkiya"diye adlandirinir. "Osman Balur" /jj?n kimseyi de cezalandirinlar.

Osman Batur 1937'de Qinli- ler'in zulmune karji ?ikmisit. Dini inan?ci ?ok kuvvelli olan bi- risidir. Mucadele esnasmda be? vakit namazi hi? kaza etmemi? birisidir. Milletpcver bin olarak taninir. Dogu TGrkistan tarihin- de kendine g?re bir veri vardir.

GAWi BAfUR

— Osman Batur'dan baska fin He mucadele eden kahra- manyokmu?

— Tabi var. Biz de Baturlar ?okturi. Mesela Osman Balur ite ayru zamanda onaya?ikan"G***" ni Batur" isminde birisi var. bu Uygur TOrku"dr. Osman Batur . ise Kazak TQrkQ'dQR.

Gani Batur, 1943'de kurulan Dogu Turkistan Curahuriyeti- nde

Onemli rol oynayan birisidir. 0?Cenacz torcni yapacakiz ve Dogu met Emin Bugra Han'in one- mi kultur seviyclcrinde de farkltlk zamanda general olmustur. Ordudan TOrkistan kahramam yapacakiz" nedlr? yetijen bir kimsydi. Eski Qindediler. Ruslar, Cinliler'in hojuna — Mchmei Emin Bugra, her baktmndan bQyuk faridart var. tarafmdan hapsedHdi. Daha sonragitmez bu durum diye izin jeyden once alimdir. Cok oku- Qinliler kasltti olarak Uygurlar hapsitesi ka?ip etra- fina insanlarvermezler. Sonra turbe uzerinem? bir tarih alimdir. -Srntw? bir ve Kazaklar arastnda ?e?ithi toplayarak "0? Vilayet" inkilabuya?alan yatlansil- mijler, fakat, bchadir degil, lider ki?iligin la- propagandalar yaptiyorlar. Bir- yapanujur. 1945'de kurulan Gani Batur'un TOrbcs??" yazisunu jytan bir kimsedir. MGcadeleye i birlerine dujumdc i?in Turk die Cumhuriyct?n kurmasi i?in yazmasi mQ- saade elmjiler, son birka? defa liderlik yapmij. Hat- ta bir ?ey yok diyorlar. Hepsinin ayn hukomet bile kurmu; (Islam ayn millet oldugunu yasy- yorlar. Cumhuriyeti). Mehmet Emin Aralannda savajmalan i?in clindcn

Zorluklar iflnde ibadet

Sonra Giniile?u ijkenccsine den "Bir gun Dogu Turkb- upradi ve 1955 yduda mecburen

DOGU imm t SIMM/



M.Emin Hazrcl lie rdportaj
Hazırlayan-Siiloymen Unal

- Normal egitimden ayn olar ik dini egitim yapan mii- cscseler var mi?

— Dini egitim yerleri var anui hukumet bunu kanunen yasakliyor. Gizlice mahallelerde, sokaklarda ogretiliyor gocuklara. Boyle dini egitime ozellikle Dogu Turkistan'in Ka?gar, Hoten tarallarinda onem veriliyor. Kur'an ogretilmesine dikkat ediyor.

Dini egitim olarak resmi bir Islam Enstitusu var. Ancak o da yQz kadar ogrenci ahoy. YuzG kcsinlikle ge?moyor. Gayr-i resmi olarak a?ilan dini okullar he- men kapatiliyor. Yalmz her mahallede dini egitim yapan okullar var. Qocuklar genellikle le gunduz normal okulculuk giderler- ken akjamlari Kur'an kursuna ugralar.

~ NUFUS

PLANLAMASI

— Qln'dc yapılan nifus planlamasi Tiirkler'e nasil uy- galumiyor?

— Cinliler'e planlama daha dneeden bajladigi i?in onlarda jehir i?inde ya?ayanlar birden fazla ?ocuk yapamaz. Dogu Turkistan'da 1980'abinbasina ka- dar pek a?ik bir tavr koyp nu- fus planlamasina uyulmasim istememi?jler. O larhiten sonra bize de bir sinir kopuy, sehir- de bir ailenin ikiden fazla ?ocugu koylerde de u?den fazla ?ocugu olmayacak. Tabi bu nufus planlamasi Dogu Turkistan'daki Qin- liler i?in uygulanmamiyor.

Aslmda yazi olarak ?ikari?an planlama incburiyeti bizde ?ok fazla tuimid. Oin'in i? tarafa- rinda daha siki lutuluyor.

— Turkler'in egitim sevyle- leri ne durumda cfendim?

— 1984'den sonra bulun Qin- dc anayasa dognillusunda mecburi egitim koydular. Liscye kadar. Bu meeburyiet bizim Turkistan'g gelince biraz degi- tabi. Eskiden okuma imkam, okullarm ?ok uzak koylede olmasi sebebiyle yok gioydi. 1980'den sonra ictisadi yonden insanlar biraz rahatlayinca ?ah- si olarak kendi bulunduklar yer- lere okullar yaptiyorlar. Hukumet tarafindan okul yap- nlamayan bir?ok koylerimiz var. Hoten gibi.

— TORKLER egitim durumla- l nm daha iy? hale gelirmek i?in ne gibi ?ubu sarfediyorlar?

— 1980 yilindan sonra biraz dijanya a?ilm? ile birlikte, hac vesilci ile dijariya ?tkan Turkler, kendilerinin ne kadar geri kaldiklann goriliyorlar. ?imdi ?ocukian okutmak i?in ?ok onem veriyorlar. Ama bizim ?o- cuklann liseyi bitirdikten sonra universilye girmesi ?ok zordur. Turkler i?in aynlan kontenjan azdir zira. Bu sebepten de bazi aileler nasil olsa ?ocugumuz uni- versiteye giremiyor, okumasin deyip laruna veriyorlar. Bazila- n da tuccar olarak yetisjin diye ali- veri? ilerine gönderiyorlar.

DEVAM EDECEK

Z A M A N

OPORTAJ-DIZI-INCELEME

20 TEMMUZ 1989 PERŞEMBE

*t(i)m
m*

Urumft

Aksu

Dogu Turicistan Kaxgar

Yarkent Hotan

Universitelere Türk alınmıyor''

*Qinli ve Turk evlenmesini te\$vik igin Qin
fiikumeti bir yasa fikartti. Bir Tiirk bir Qinli
He evlendi\$ zaman i\$i garantiye ahniyor, i\$isiz
olsa bile para veriliyor. Qinliler'in
anlattiklanna gore Orke\$, muti\$ bir n&tit,
konu\$masi gok etkili.*

bi mahallde kimse onunla ko-
nuyamaz. Devamlı olarak rahat- sizlik
duyar. Ancak bajka bir ye-
rc tajinmasi sonucu (opium bas-
kisindan kurtulabilir. TQrk yur-
duda kalamaz zaten.

Qinli ve TQrk evlenmesini tej-
vik ifin Qin hQcumai bir yasa fi-
kartti. Bir TQrk bir Qinli ile ev-
lendi\$ zaman i\$i garantiye ali- myor,
ijsiz olsa bile para veriliyor. Ayrica
bu evlilikten dolayi ikibin Qin parası
(500 dolar) mQ- kafat veriliyor. Bir
de ev veriliyor. Bunlara ragmen iki
irk ara- sindaki evlilikler fok nadir
mey- dana geliyor.

- Qinli ogrenciller bir TURK- '11
Uder olarak nasil scfmljler?

• Qinlilerin antaUiklanna gOre
Orkcs.mQlisi bir n2nk, konu\$- masi
fok etkili. Konu\$ma sirasinda
insanlar üzerinde etkili olan el
hareketleri ve mimikleri var. Bir de
konu:masında kijkiruci- ligin fok
gQflQ oldugunu yazi- yorlar.
Qinliler ogrenci liderini enince
aynittanla kadar yaz- milaf.

Qinli Ogrenciler TQrlere baski
yapilmamasim istiyorlar. Ve bu
hususta demokrasi mQcadele- sinde
TQrkler de yanlarda ali- yorlar.
Qinli Ogrencilerde TQrk dQjmanligi
diye bir Joy yok. Eger Qin
hQkQmetinin bize yap- uklarini
Qinli Ogrenciler Ogren- sc daha fok
karji gelirler. Kisa- ca Qin'de mesele
rejim mesele- sidir.



Bir Do\$u TQrkistanli aile.

Cuma gQnQne denk getirilen yQ-
rOyO\$ie kabalilik foktu. ..

medi ve fok insan tutuklandi. Bu
yurOyuler demokrasi isteyen og-
re nci hareketlerinin arefesinde
olmu\$lu.

ze karji davramjan fok degiti
Qinliler'in.

9IN-TURK EVLENMESI

- YtrUyyt] yapanlara her-
hangi bir baski yapıldı mi da-
ha sonra?

levizyonu resmt olarak af ikl-
nanyapildigi biliniyor. Bunlar ne gibi
rakama gOre 46 ki[1.-Ama gayr!skence- ler? •

Qln'de Ijkence Qln Hukiimcti'nin Tlirk-
lerle arasmada evlili\$ tejvik
ederek asmllyasyon yap- mak

- Tutuklananlara ne gibi ce-
zalar verildi?" *

Polislerin fok ufak Istedglin bgrendik. Bu 5c-
kilde fazla oldugu biliniyor. Bir hafla scbcpelerle
masum insanlar evlenenler artiyor mu?

ifinde bu rakam bejyQzQ Socti;; tutukladildan ve dQverck

OldQrdQkleri olur. TQrk talebeleri
bif fok kere arkadaf- lannin mesi fok nadir. Bir defa bir Qinli
cesedelerini alarak nQma-

Ijkence Qln'ler arasmada evlili\$ tejvik
ederek asmllyasyon yap- mak

- Sadece kitaba karji oldugunu meyhan baysndır.

• Qln'ler arasmada evlili\$ tejvik
ederek asmllyasyon yap- mak

ceza verilmez. \$u anda onla- nn- ler TQrkler'e baski yapma ta- raffisi
durumu nedir bileyemiyorum, mi?

Demokrasi isiegile sokaga fi-
cza verirler. Ama bizirakiler so-kanlar bir Qin - Turk aynrai yap-
kaga fikumi mutlaka birisi "Qlnliler mamaktadirlar. Zaten bOIQn 6g- okutmusi". Ku bQyQ- yQnce bir
feklisln" diye scYler. Sloganlar rencileri ideri de bir TQrk'tQr. Bu Qinli ile evlenenler is- tedi. Bunu
ahilar, ijin yCnQ degi- kazandirdigii bir je- yi aktaraoak juur olmayan baba, Of gece vazgef
istiyor. Uygurular Pekin'de bu ijten diye ki- zuu evine kapainan;

■ bull. Bunds kemi\$ d\$lyfoclefini*
mQsIQmanlara aitmi\$ gibie gCste-
riyordu. Kitap nejredih'p dagih-
raya bajlandigmada, Cnee Pekin'de
Qinli MusIQmanlar ile

istiyor. Uygurular Pekin'de bu ijten diye ki- zuu evine kapainan;

■ TQrkler, kanjik olarak yurUyJ
yapular. Bu yQrUyJ Qin hQkO-

meti de pek tails karji fikama- di.

Bu yQrUyJ Ifin zaten mQsIQ-

genellikle kebapi olarak hayallann Babasmm ve fevremine de baskisi ile

QQnko istm alemden koy- kuyor manlar sokaga fikarken bajlan- na devam ettirirler. Pekin'de yajayan Qinli ile evlenmekien vazgefti kiz,

Ondan sonra Dogu TQrk- * istan'm "la Qahe flallah" diye ya-

TQrk'i Qin-

LiDERLERiN OLOMG

• TQrkler Uderlaini kendli Is-
tekleriyle ml scf iyorlar, yoksa
tepeden bir taynlle ml geliyor?

Orada demokratik sef im diye bir
sey olmadigii ifin tek parti ne derse 0
uygular. Bize de bir kaf sene
Once TQrkleye gelelim Uygor Dzerk
bOlgesinin baska- ni olarak Ismail
Ahmr', Uder olarak gozukQyordu. O
biraz mUlyifti bir zat oldugu ifin
bur- dan dOndugQ an, onu Pekin'e
ge- (irdilc. COQnQjte mevkisini
yukseltili ama hukukunu elinden
almij oldular. Onun yerine, kendisi
TQrk, fakat Qin taraAan olan bins ini
getirdiler. Halkin isteme- digi birisi.
Simdi TQrk halkini temsil eden bir
ba\$kan yok du- rumda Dogu
TQrkistan'da.

Uder yok derken Qinliler ta-
rafindan kabul edilmeyen, fakat
kendi araminda saygisi olan insanlan
unutmamak lazim. Bize liderler fok
fiki, ama fazla ya- fatmadilar.
Liderin gayesini Qinliler biraz
Kendisi mill' juur olarak aylinca eskiden kur- juna
birisidir. Qo- cugunu kuQften dizerdi.
Simdilde hapsediyorlar.

1985 yiluun Kasim ayinda bir
oMayi\$ oldu. Bu nQmayijin li- deri
Urumfi'deki Oniversitenin Fizik
Fakultesinin Ogrencisi. Ebu Bekir
ve Enver isiminde. Bu Ogrencileri
nQmayijin lideri ol-

!6 KMİ/% Tercuman

JO jlli 0,0 J (j 0[^]

Gok Bayrak nasıl dalgalandı?..

ISA YUSUF ALPTEKIN

Geçen cumartesi Doğu Türkistan'ın Qin esaretinden kurtulup istiklal ilan ediginin ve biiyiik ecadi gi- Isaret tanimaz bir millet ouhigunu biitin diinyaya haykirigmm ve Tiirk'iin mill bayragi olan "Gok Bayrak"- m Tanridagli iizerinde dalgalanmaya baglayigim 50. yildoniimli idi.

Dogu Turkistan'ı ikinci iQin'in istilasından 35 sene gectikten sonra, bu mliddet zarfında patlak veren ve 50k kanlı gekilde bastırılan mill! ayaklanmaların yedincisi, 3 Mart 1931'de Dogu Tiirkistan'ın doğu ucunda bulunan ve Cin'le hemhudut olan. Kumul vilSye tinden Haci Hoca Niyaz admdaki bir mil- li kahramanımız liderligin- de, higbir milletin ve devletin yardımı olmaksızın yalmz sopa ve dig-tırnak gjic ile, hatta Ruslar'ın talimatı ile kizil komgumuz Dig MogolisteSft'ui yardım talebini de red- Q[^]erek meydana, geldi. Bu mill! ayaklanma 1933 senesi- ne kadar biitin Dogu Tiirkis- tan'a yayıldı. Şerif Han'ın li- derliğinde Altay vilfiyetinde, Uygur Tiirkleri'nin merkezi olan Turfan'da; Musul, Maksud, Mahmud Muhiit kardeglerin liderliğinde Turf an'- da; Hafiz Bey liderliğinde Karagheir vilSyetinde, Timur Beyin liderliğinde Aksu vilfiyetinde, gene Timur ve Osman beylerin liderliğinde Kaggar vil&yetinde ve Mehmet Emin Bugra Bey'in li- derliğinde Hoten ve Yarkent - vilfiyetlerinde mill! ayaklan- malar meydana geldi.

ISLAM CUMHURİYET!

50 yıl once millf ayaklanmalarla Dogu Tiirkistan,Cin istilasından ve esaretinden kurtulmus ve Dogu Tiirkistan isISm Cemiyeti adıyla bir Turk Devleti kurulmu\$tu...

Cin istilfismdan ve esaretinden kurtulmug oldu. Ve bu mukaddes Turk toprakları, govenist, magrur, gaddar, hi- lekfir, zalm Cinliler'den te- mizlendi. Ve Dogu Turkistan'ın tarihi, mill! merkezi olan ve bagrmda Karahanlı Devleti'nin kurucusu Satuk ■ Bugra Han'ın ve Turklige gan ve geref kazandiran Divan-i Lugat-it Turk miielli- fi, Tiirkolojinin bfinisi Mahmud Kaggar! hazretlerinin ve Turk'tin Sehnfimesi olan Kutadgu Bilig'in muellifi Yusuf Has H&cib hazretlerinin miibarek kabirleri bulunan Kasgar'da "Dogu Tiirkistan Islifim Cumhuriyeti" adıyla bir Turk devleti kurul- du. 12 Kasim 1933.

Kumul'da meydana gelen ilk- ayaklanmamn lideri Haci Hoca Niyaz cumhurbagkan- ligina ve Dogu Tiirkistan'ın .minewer din filimlerinden olup bir miiddet Tiirkiye'de de bulunan Sabit Abdilbfiki bagbakanliga getirildi.

GOK BAYRAK'TAN SELAM

■j-stiklfil merasimine Tiirki JLye'den gelen (bir rivayete gore Ataturk'iin emriyle gonderilen) Dr. Mustafa Kentli, Ahmet Tevfik Paga, Mahmud Nedim... gibi zevat da katildilar. Ve Dogu Tiirkistan Islid Cumhuriyeti er* kfinini Tiirkiye adina tebrik ettiler.

Hukilmet, Isvegli misyo-.

nerler tarafından Kaggar'da kurulmug bulunan matbaada "Erkin Tiirkistan", "Yeni Hayat", "Istiklal"... gibi mecmua ve gazeteler neget- tirdi. Aym zamanda Dr. Mustafa Kentliyi, Dogu Tiirkistan Islam Cumhuriyeti'nin temsilcisi olarak Hindistan'a gonderdi. Vazifesi: Bagta kardeg Tiirkiye Curn- huriyeti olraak izere, komgu ve diger devletler nezdinde, yeni kurulan bu Tiirk devle- tinin tanmması saglamak ve yeni devletin ayakta kala- bilmesi igin mali ve asker! yardım temin etmekti. Mustafa Kentli Hindistan'a gelir gelmez ilk ig olarak, Mustafa Kemal Atatiirk'e "G8k Bay- rak'tan Albayrak'a selfim" diye baglayan bir telgraf gek- ti.

KIZIL ISTILA

B u arada Dogu Tiirkistan' m kurtulug hareketina yardım etmek bahanesiyle, Qin'in batı ucunda bulunan Kansu eyaletinden Ma Cun Yin admda bir Miisliiman Qinli general Dogu Tiirkistan'a geldi. Ve Urumⁱ'yi rauhasara etti. Dogu Tiirkistan Askeri Direktorii si- fatim tagiyan zalm, gaddar, haris, habis, sadist... bir insan olan general \$in Si Say Ruslar'dan asker! yardım istedi. Dogu Tiirkis tan'da bir Miisliiman Tiirk devleti kuru- lmasından son derece endi- geye diigen Ruslar, general \$ in'dan buyiik imtiya\$lar ko- pararak, Dogu Tiirkistan'a iki koldan Kizilordu birlikle- rini sokmak suretiyle Urum- ?i gehrini muhasaradan kurtardi ve mill! ayaklanma lan bastirdi. Kurulan yeni devle- ti de yitti. Dogu Tiirkistan'a tamamen hakim oldu. Sonra ! tedricij, Haa Hoca Niyaz ' ve Sabit Abdilbaki bagta ol- mak iizere 300.000 kigi tev- kif edildi. Bular iizerinde 125 tiirlili igkence usulii kul- landi. 28 tiirlili dldiirme usu- lii kullanarak 100.000 kigiyo oldiirdii.

1933 yilinda baglayan bu . istila hareketi, isim ve rejim degitirerek hiftia biitin gid- detiyle deyan ej;raektedir.;.

Bu meg'Om istiMnm, bu in- sanhgı utandiran emperya- list' tecaviizlerin durdurul- masi igin Dogu Tiirkistan'ın Miisliiman Tiirk halki, bagta aziz Tiirkiyemiz olmak iizere, Islifm diinyasmdan ve hir insanlik aieminden Acil ve te- sirli te'gebbiisler ve yardım- lar beklemektedir.

MILL! MAR\$

K/^yil ewel kurulan ve DU Kaggar'da yapılan muh- tegem bir merasimle kutla- nan istiklal gUniiniin hatirası olarak, Dogu Tiirkistan as- kerlerinin ve mekteplilerinin gegin resniinde yilksek sesle soleyerek gegitkleri mill! margin bazi misralann ouraya ahyyorum.

"Kurtulug yolunda ou tek,- akdi hizQing kanuniz Sen igin ey yurtumuz, bolsun feda bu canimiz.

Kan kecip, hem can berip ahir kurtuldurdugjeni Kalbimizi kutkuzugka bar idi iyanimiz.

Ydr-i Hemdem boldi bizning himmetimiz sen igizi, Diiniani sorgan idi, himmet ile ecdadimiz. YurHiunuz biz yiiz, kOZlgnı kan ile p&kizlediik İmdi hig kirletmiyegmiz, gunkii Tiirk'tiir nimuniz.

Atilla, Cengiz, Timur... diin- .yani titretken idi. Can berip, can aiimiz, biz on- larning eviadlyiz

Qikda can, hem akti kan dligr- mandan oldu el-aman
Yagasm, hig dimesin, parlan- sm istikbfliiimIV

Dogu TURKISTAN'da ve btt- ttin Tiirk diinyasmda ebedl istiklal giineginin, bir daha batmamak iizere dogmasuu diler, aziz Tiirkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilelebet pflyidd ol- masmi Cenab-i Allah'tan niyaz ederim.

Netice itibanyele, ili ve Urumgi viayetlerine bagli birkag kaza dignnda bii- tiin Doeu Tiirkistan meg'tim



Her gün binlerce Müslüman'ın namaz kıldığı Kasgar* *daki id Kah Camii ve Türk asıllı Müslümanlarla ulyor.



**Komünizm
Müslümanlığın
yayılmaması
engelleyemedi**

ilv

Ciride İslamiyetin zaferi

Mao devriminde, imamlann bacaklanna domuz başı bagla-nip surtiklenmeleri bile, Müslümanları vildirmadi. Sadece Qin hdkimiyyeti altındaki Do^u Turkistan'da 12 bin caml, 15 bin civarında mescit var

O Kaxgar Camii'nde giinde 4-5000 kişi namaz kiliyor. Cuma giinleri ise 15.000 kişi geliyor. Kaggari Imam: "Bir İnsan ya Müslüman'ır va da komünist. Bunun orta yolu yoktur. Müslümanlıfı yoketmeye kimsenin gücü yetmeyecektir" dileyor

DIŞ HABERLEB SERVİSİ

Kızıl Qin'de Islam dininin ge- bu sayyuun 20 milyondan fazla lis̄tiği ve hızla yayıldığı a^ılk- olduguunu ileri sürüyorlar. iandı.

Resmi a^ıklamalara göre ha- yeralan incelemeye göre bu ilke- len gu anda 12 milyon Miislu- de İslâm'ın daha 50k Türk azmbk- man'ın yagadığı belirtilen bu il- kede, resmi oLmavan kaynaklar |

(DcvamıSa: X 0 Su: 1)

Tc/'C-U-rt*-/)

CJN'DE İSLAMIYETİN

(Bajtarafı L Sayfada)

lar arasında varbgim siirditir- yor, fakat bilhassa son yıllarda Qin'liler arasında gozle gorilir bir geligme gosteriyor. ...

Qin'in kuzeybatisındaki Doğu Turkistan bölgesinde yagayan yaklagik altı milyon Uygur, 1 milyon Kazak ve daha az sayıda- ki Kirgiz, Ozbek, Tacik ile 520.0 Qince konugan Müslüman, geleneklerini ve fidetlerini asırlardır surdiiriyor.

"International Herald Tribune" Mao'nun kiiltur devrimi sırasında imamlann bacaklanna domuz bagları baglar up sokak- larda surüklemelerine rağmen, İslâm'ın bu ilkde varhgim i'inatla" siirdurdugu de kayde- ^dildi. Mevcut Müslümanların 'btıyik kismının Sunni, Tadkle- rin ise şil olduğu belirtildi.

Cin'deki yeni yoneUmin son • yillarda vilkedeki dnlere bazi niimyetler tamdigı belirtilen in- celemede, yalmzca Doğu Turkistan bolgesinde 12.000 cami ve 15.00 civandıa mescit ve degi- şik İslâm amagli kurum olduğu belirtildi.

1980 yibndan bu yana belirli oranda Müslüman'ın Hacca gitmesine izin verilen Qin'de, bu tu- tumun bilhassa Müslüman ilke-

lerle ilgiklerin dUzeltimesine yاردıraa oldugu da kayded**" Qin'in gu anda 12 MÜSLÜRAAL keyle diplomatik ilgikisi bulunuyor. *

Kaggar'daki id Kah Camii imarra Massem Karaji, camie giinde 4-5.000 Müslüman'ın na- maz igin geldigini, bu sayının cuma giinleri 15.000'i bulduğunu agikhyor.

Dini hırriyet tamindiktan sonra, ilkedeki hakim din olan Budizm'ın kargasında en hızlı ge- ligen dinin Mülümnanlık oldugu- na dikkat eden hdkOmet, 18 ya* gindan kugliklerin din! egitim gormelerini yasaklamış durum- da. Kaynaklar, yiizyillardır mis- yonerlerin bir numarah yerleg- me yeri olmasına rağmen, Cm'- de Hristiyanhm herhangi bir ilerleme kaydetmediğini belerti- yorlar.

Bu konuda yine Kaggarb imam Karaji'nin, "Ne kadr baski olurea olsun komünist r. jim altında da Müslümanlıgi yoketmeye kimsenin gilcti yetmeyecektir. QUntki insanlann kalbine sdz geclremezsiniz. Bu se- beple bir insan ya Müslüman' dir ya da komünist. Bunun bag- kaca ortayolu yoktur" dedigi de ayfu incelemede belirtildi.

“III-# si|1

iiiiliffllljfflffi! Ayji! &...

$\sim PV^*$:

B

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All

İslam ve müslümanlar

nde, Çin'in en
arısında olan
oğrenciler, 1986
feftanın her
ayından
yapılar.
İslam: Uygur özerk
özerkliklerde son
içindeki tarafsız
ülkelerin azınlıklara
darak boğete
almaları; suçluların
başına
met...

Cin'in[^]eytan
Ayetleri"

CuUilkesindeki "Şeytan Ayetleri" ni yasakladi

Adı: Cinsel Alişkanıklar Yazarlar:
Ke Le ve Sang Ya Yayinevi: Merkez
Yayiiievi, Shanghai ve Xiwang
Yayinevi, Shangxi (Merkez
Yayinevi'nin lisansi ile)
Yaym Tarihi: Mart 1988 Yasaklıma
Tarihi: Mayıs 1989 Yeri: Merkez
Meydani, Gansu Eyaleti, Lanzhou
Zamani: Ogleden sonra Tarih: 12
Mayis 1989

dakte odUmlftir. Esasta kitap, denlziyan Ulkelerdu yayınlanın gozete vo - periyyodiklerden alıratılları dataidir. Kitapta, Hac'ın amacının "hacıclarla dl-fl dcvolörin blrlfomoloni" oldugu söylemektedir. Caral kubbolcrinin • do "Vonlis Topcsı (pornografik bir terira) nl sembolizle ettiği ifade odılmaktır. Kur'an'ın bir 90k pasajları keyfl olarak ya- lan f ekilde ve tahrif odDmifür. Sdz konusu moktup, benzeri bayagi kitaplann Qin'de daha dnceleri yayılmandığına degimmi. dımek olarak 1984'de Islam ve Miislumanlara hakaret eden 1984'de yayınlanan bir dergi ve 1988'de Shanxi tarafmdan yayınlanan "Din Tarihi" nden sdz etmiftir.

Burada kayda degor olan husus, Qinli yetki-Ulerin sdz konusu saldi-nm yapıldığını kabul edip, derhal harokoto geg meierid.

Lanzhou'da, Eyalot Parti Komiteai Sokreter Yardımcı Lo Kejian "ra-mozan Bayramı" (8 Mayıs) dan kisa siro sonra Miisluman liderlero gna da bulunarak, Eyalet Parti Koraidot ve Hıkkimetin müslümanlara aynı luzgink dolu duygular iginde olduldannı ifade etmif ve ilgili dairelerere kitabın satıflına derhal durdurulması, toplanması, yasaklanması ye bir lefik bir gosteride iraha edilresi igin emir verilmesi volunda gerckonlon- rın yapılmakta olduguna

Lanzhou Uerhez Meydani sel Ahfankılıklar" kitabı 10.000'den fazla \$ev ke gel mi | Uk kez 1988 Mart'ında, mils! iun&n ka- laba!"" Shanghai KUltürel Yayin-tezahıraUan ile kay. du. Bu ovi tarafmdan basılmış, insanlar, eyales yetkililerince ancak ikinci kez Xiwong "Cm •el Ahfankılıklar" kitabı- nn Yayinovice basıldıgına 90.000'den fazl* nus- banzı Miislumanlann dikkatini halkın" bñndo İrha ed 1f iní geknitfir. Bk gosteril- aeyretmek iizere toplanımfardı, rin 21 vo 23 Nisan tarih-Yal nizca bir hafta once; leri araaında Gansu eya-Maya'm 6'i ve 6'auida binlerce lotindo yer almasından Mıaliitman diizen- li feküde sonra diger bolgelerde gdstorler yapa- rak hukümeti de yiniyuglert bunu Iz-adz konusu kitabı yasaklamaya lodigi bildirilraftır. Pe- ve bliuti nliahanın İrha kin de gosteriler 12 Ma- etmeye, yazaınlıya ya- yista baflaraf, bir dileri yimnlgnm CWUUpd/TIDI* baflamadan, dneeki zor- ya davet etmifderi. Bu- gun, bu lukla yatıffraifır. Qofitl YuiaKalik Qin hıkkimetinin gosterile Pekin'deld kendi haklı taleplerini kabul Ögretmenler ve Tanrı ederek, derhal hareketi gegmif. Üniversiteleri dahil bar-oiraanından dolayı hog- nütük ken teki bir dizine Unive tatminkarlık ıgindeler. Qin'de veriste ve kollejden 6- bugin basin ve edebi yayralar renciler yer almiftar. Pe- ozgürUgii k'nusunda il- ke kin'de okuyan yabancı gaprada yogun bir tartıfma öğrenciler de bu gostri- vardır. Ancak hie kimao "ifado lere kablaileardur.

ozgürler- gU" mazeretinln arkama sgnimaya Pekin'de yiiriyyufle <:U(raaraakta, awlan ktabım kablanlar gefitli bolgo- lore yaaaklan- man ve imhaanın dagilimflardır. Va- tandaña ilkedde dada fazla ozgürlige hitabon bir mek- tupta, İslamın kitapta naail tahrif edildiği, ya- lan ve pospayo bir fokil- de yansıtlıdıgı İzah edil- raftır.

Kitap, Ke Lo ve Sang Ya takraa adınnı kul- lanan iki Qinll yazar ta- rafından yazılmış vo re-

illfklın temlnat vorml gldr. Bu eyalet dilzoyIndo olaiuydi. Milletlorle Ugıll Iflor Komlsyonu Din If, leri, Dcvlot Konsoyl, Basin vo Yayınlar Dairesi Ho diger bUrolar adl bir toplantı yaparak, daha once "Cinsel Adetler" in igerginin müstehcen olduğu vo kullarulan monfur dillp Miislumanlann hıslarılın recide ettiği konusunda bir aonuca varrafları. Kitabin bası- mi lie yayincılık yone- tmlıyle Dgili kurallan CCP (Qin Komünist Partisi!) ve hıkkıraotin din politikasının, sosyal istik- rann ihlal-edildigi husus- landa da fıkır birligle vanlmif ti. - Bu konuya musaraahasız bir fokiide ugragmak amacıyla gu karalar ainnmistr :

1. Cinsel Adetler'in sal if 1 derhal durdurulmah. Daktilo editmif formalı- n, filmier ve fotograf- lari dahil, henuz satılma- mif nişhalari derhal imlia editmeli ve yeniden basıl- mamah.

2. Kitabi yaymlayan Shanghai KULLırcıl Yaym- cılıgm faaliyetleri durdu- rumah ve tasfiye edil-



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ndge yaymlayarak tiim ilgili oziir dilcmolcri istenraif- tir. yerlordon kitabin nişhalanın Shanghai Yayincin- don istemif, kitabın horhangi bir kitabın toplatılmasi iflovinin Qin'de müslümanlar kitapgi- da halon satUmaka tamamlanması amaciyla Ifini yitirilmif ya da smirnol- dı- dıgungan saptanraasi ha- durdurma- si iatonken, dirilmif dinsol haklama ilifkin Undo, Igililorin haklarm- da yayraevinin yonotin kadrosu, bir 90k sorundan yasaklananif yaym- rm ılerdc bi tür yaymam engol etkilonmotederler, ama Qinll dagitimim on gelleyen kurallara lennesini saglayacak yon de lidolorlin horhangi bir gore tahlikal agılcagi ve takviye edilmif tir. aldatmacaya başvur maksizm belediye bafkentin * karari bir fe- kildc harokete uyanda buluhmufetur.

Kitabın yazarın Ke Le vo He Luli, kitabevleri- nl kontrol Miisluman top- lumen Sang Ya faaliyet- ten geglcl Igin 1000'- den fazla kififiy acilanm, iztripla- rını olarak men edilmifler, gorevlen- dirmiftir. Bu kifiller paylaflanın ifade etmeleri ile kendilerinden sorumlu müidir 4. 000'i afkin niishaya el hofnut ol- muflardır. Gao Gou- plng ile birlikte kitle koymuflardır. "Cinsel A- ilo- tifim araglan arycibgi De doter" in 100.000'den fazla kani Imam al - Haci Salan an Muslumlarda agıkgı niishasi toplananif ve imha Hiwoi, hUkiime- tin aldigı kararlar ve one- rilorin, Miislumanlann 91- karlarımı tomsil ettiğin soylemiftir.

Over 1,000 Hui Muslims slain in 1975 China revolt/

KUNMING, China, April 19 (AP) - Troops killed more than 1,000 Hui Muslims to crush a 1975 rebellion in southwest China's Yunnan province which began when Huis were forced to raise and eat pigs.

The previously unreported revolt was disclosed this week to visiting foreign reporters by Chinese and Muslim sources in the provincial capital of Kunming and confirmed by officials at the Yunnan Institute of Nationalities.

It happened during China's leftist 1966-76 Cultural Revolution when religion was banned and national minorities coerced into abandoning their traditions.

Hu Maoxiu, deputy director of the institute, and leading researcher Wang Jun said Hui Muslims in southwest Yunnan rebelled because they were not allowed to attend mosques, say prayers and follow their dietary practices.

"They were forced to raise pigs and eat pork," Wang said. The officials said they did not have details of the incident but Wang confirmed "there were deaths."

One authoritative Muslim source in Kunming, who asked not to be identified, told reporters that 1,200 Huis were killed in the army crackdown. Other sources said about 1,000 rebels were slain.

A Chinese eyewitness who said he visited the area after the People's Liberation Army was called in to shell two of the 10 rebel villages told the Associated Press, "there was rubble everywhere and even big trees were uprooted. The government then sent

troops and a construction team in to build a brand new village.

One Chinese source, who spoke on condition he remain unnamed, said the uprising started when rebels raided the PLA's county arsenal and killed soldiers on patrol.

Troops then encircled the rebel villages and demanded their surrender, sources said. The Huis included former officers of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang Nationalists, defeated by the Communists in the Chinese civil war.

In the fighting that followed, between 100 and 200 PLA troops were killed, sources said.

Wang Hongwen, then a Politburo member and later jailed as one of the "Gang of Four" responsible for Cultural Revolution excesses, reportedly ordered the shelling of the two villages.

The Huis were holding 20 PLA prisoners in a mosque and when they saw there was no way out, they cut their throats, the sources reported.

A 1976 exhibition of photographs and weapons from the revolt was held at the Soviet-style military museum in Kunming just before the downfall of the "Gang of Four." It sought to justify the PLA assault on the Huis and the execution of six or seven rebel leaders, sources said.

In 1980-81, the Yunnan provincial Communist Party revised the official version of events, rehabilitating the reputation of Huis previously labeled "counter revolutionaries," Wang said.

H/fi b /Vr •'</ //

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China Muslims protest "anew"

HONG KONG, May 16 (AFP) — More than 30,000 Muslims in northwestern China held a march protesting the publication of a book on Muslim customs, a pro-Beijing newspaper reported here today.

Ta Kung Pao, quoting the official China News Service, said the Chinese Muslims held the protest march yesterday in Xian condemning the book as an attack on Qur'anic teachings which "wantonly blasphemes Islam."

The newspaper said there were no untoward incidents.

New China News Agency reported Sunday that the government had decided to seize and destroy all copies of the book in circulation, adding that 95,240 copies which had not yet been put on sale were destroyed.

NCNA said the book, published by the Shanghai Cultural Publishing House in March, has been banned by the press and publication administration and its authors, Ke Le and Sang Ya, as well as its Editor Gao Guoping, would be punished.

Some 3,000 Chinese Muslims staged a demonstration Friday in Beijing to protest the book, which they compared to British author Salman Rushdie's blasphemous *The Satanic Verses*, which was banned by most Muslim countries earlier this year.

In another development, Muslims demonstrated in the Dagestan autonomous re-

public yesterday calling for a second mosque, the replacement of two muftis (Islamic jurists) and the right to print texts in Arabic, Soviet human rights activist Valery Senderov said.

Senderov told Agence France-Presse in Moscow that the local government leader in the Dagestan capital, Makhachkala, had met demonstrators and promised to reply on a possible site for a second mosque within three days.

The leader, named only as Mirzabekov, also promised to refer the mufti demand to the state committee for religion, but unsatisfied demonstrators asked to be allowed to choose their own law interpreters, Senderov added.

They wanted to oust the mufti of the Islamic spiritual directorate of the northern Caucasus — one of four such directorates in the Soviet Union — as well as the local mufti. Dagestan is a mountainous republic east of Georgia and north of Azerbaijan, bordering on the Caspian Sea.

Until World War II, Arabic was the main language of the numerous mountain peoples of Dagestan, which was made an autonomous republic in 1921.

Three months ago, Muslim demonstrators in Tashkent won the removal of a mufti who inherited the post from his father, who interpreted Islamic law there in Stalin's days. He represented the spiritual directorate for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, the biggest of the four.



Halil Sivgin Kaşgar Valisine yemek hitap ederken.



Kajgar Valisi ve İmanları Kaşgar Camii'nde seccade hediye ediliyor.



Soydaşlanmamış Kaşgar Camii'nde seccade hediye ediliyor.

URUMÇI'DE MCSHTE^EM COMA

Q' in Uludararas Oifi; kiler »e An lay 15 Dcmegi Bal- kan Li Mang'm davetli olarak Q'n'e giden Anavatan Partisi Genel Bjakan Yardıçısı Hafif 'Ngn' ve beraberindeki heyet 24 gün siren gezbinden Urumpide b.^-ee kifi ile kilman i' jem Cuma ^-----

zini eda ettikten yurda dndu.

Beraberinde E5

?vgm, Tokat MiDi Talat Sargin ve 2 Tu zetedisi oldugu hold Ejkin'de yurdurnuzda Un.'heyet gezisi si bajta Pekin olmak Urumpi, Kaxgar, jribi Turk 3dlgelei Singhay, Kant on ve zen gibi bolgelerde lemelerde bulundu.

türbsini ziyaret ederck bir saks bizim bir ncsil iincemizn topragi Tiirkkiye'ye g^- tirdOer. konujugu lath bir Tuikpe... Topragi Ba\$oakan Tuigut Hepimiz duyulannu*tik Ozal' takdin cde- celi olan Gdzyoflanni saklayarak climde hycetimiz burada 11 llygur olmadan bir konu- ma yaptim. Ozerk Bolge Ba\$ken- ti Kur'an- Ke- rim'deki abu Urumpi'c pepti. Urum- pi'h. AyeUni oku- yara'm Ulu Camisinc bir seccade Ue t'AllalJil.mbrdcnlcrle tenberdir" Istiklal Marji- dediin.

Cmidec muezzin ve imam'in ezan ve Kur'an okurken agladigir.i belirten ve sscleri aldig biuillnrida dinlcten Halil \$ivgi Urumpi Universitesini de ziyarcit tiklerni belirtrek joylc dedi: On/crsitcdeki zengin

Turk kaynaklarmi arafuta- da bizlere Uygor Ba\$liklari vc bilmek ipin bundan bdyle kor? CSbbeler hediye etller. Hm adamlarmi Hail \$ivgm'a C>n gezi yollayacagn. Burada Uni- sine katilan Talat Sargin be versiteye edebiyat tarili He 'in'dc hip yainnedik pekm- dik Tiirkistan Tarili kitapla- nm diyebiliriz. dedi ve nok- ciltler halinde hediye ettik. talamamtz ipn Sunu sayldci: "Cin Ogrctim iiycleri ve soydabnmiz de Tdrkler muduman- ligi vc bizlcrden kitap istediler. TUiklQn hala mu- lafaz Soydayalma ediyorlar."

Candan bir karfilana tote

Cin'de ilk defa toreni ie kar'ila devlet in he- Halli-

sonra Hale tvekili yk Ga- 16 a syn- rasunda ture Turgan il de Sen- ince-

5ivgin ve arkadafla v' Devlet Balkan 1 Li \$cn Yeng Be 15 saadi a\$an bir gorimiyaptilar. Dija a?ilma politikas, kdy-jehir politikas ve iki ulkein kar- ltkli munasebetleri'nin go- ru\$ulduf-i topantida Cin Cumhurba?kanı ■ ulke- irV olan munasebetkrin e sin den yana mutlu olaguunu belirtin. <ok can- dan ve sicak bir Bgi ile kar- Sianan heyetimizi agirlayan <in hukimet yetkilicri ve Bakanlar a:iri solculardan yakmarak "dqqa apilmamai istemiyorlar. Oevamli hu- zusuzluk pikaryorlar" diye- rek yeni politikalann anlat- Ular.

Urumqi'de

Cuma Namazı

Pekin'den ayrılarak Kaşgar'a giden ve bolge- ye iCe giren yaoancı heyet 'invamı ah Halil Sivgin ve- berabcrindekiler burada Divan-i LSgafut Turk'On yazan Ka^garii Mahmud'un



Urumci'de Belediye Ba'kanı Kur'an-ı Kerim lieilii c cdilirkcu.



Kascar Camiinde namaz sunnrası

mrzin yazildigi bir Turk Bayragi asan Halil \$iv- gin Camii'nin bayimamllanna Diyanet ISleri Balkan 1 Tay- yan Altikulp'in okudu Kur'an-ı Kerim

bantlarun hediye etti

Gin dbnuju Istanbul'da gezi ile ilgili hatralarimi Ok olarak gazetemize anlat tan Halil \$ivgin dzctle pby- le dedi:

"Cuma Namazı Oncesi Camide Tayyan Altikulp'in Kur'an-ı Kerimi' bant tan okundu. Binlerce kisigozyay- lari hrasnda dinlcdi. Muthiq bir izdiham oldu. Mahjeri kalabalik ellerini bicz sure- bilmek ipin birbirlerinin eze- rek üzerimize geliyor, gi- venfik kuwcileri man ola- miyordu. Elbisemize bile elini surmeye muvaffak olan soydaşlanmamız ellerini du- dakkanna gotiicrek dua ediyorlardı. Turke konu- juyorduk. O kddar tatli TQritpeleri vardı la... Ancak,

Komunist Qin istilasimn 35.

yildonumunde is a Yusuf Alptekin gdruslerini

agikladi
"gin

Emperyalizmi Tirkleri yok etmege gabaliyor"



• "QIN EMPERYALiZMi 35 YA\$INDA"

35 YIL ONCE (13 EKIM DOGU TURKISTAN' A RECE bir baski ve i\$kenceye ta-KOMONİSTLER EL-bi tutulmu;lardir ki, 200 bin KOYMU\$LARDI' BUDOGU Turkistanli, "dirilerin KORKUNQ FACIANIN YIL-cehennemi" diye adlandirilan DONOMO MONASEBETİY-Rus mahkumu Batı Tiirkis-LE GERiDE BIRAKTISIMIZtan'a ka?mak mecburiyetinde HAFTA iQINDE YENİ D0-kalmi5tir. Bir ?ogu da, Afga-\$ONCE MUHABIRI, DOGU nistan, Pakistan, Hindistan gibi TORKISTAN HOKOMETi ESKi kom\$u ilkelere iltica et-GENEL SEKRETERi SAYIN mi\$lerdir. Ka?amayan bir ?ok ISA- YUSUF ALP- TEKIN'LÉ insan, ?ejitli jekillerde inti- har GORO\$TO.

SAYIN ALPTEKİN'N akla hayale gelmez i\$ken- BU FACIA iLE iLGİLİ GO-celer 6ldiiriilmii\$lerdir. RO5LERİ AYNEN \$OY- Yeni DO 5 ONCE: LEDİR:

Yeni DO § ONCE: Sayindinuyle bugunii arasmada bir Alptekin, bize o giinleri ozet-farklilik var midir? lemek ister misiniz?

isa Yusuf ALPTEKİN: isa Yusuf ALPTEKİN: Efendim 35 yıl £in komunist- "Dogu Tiirkistan'da, 35 sene- den leri "Sizleri kurtaracagiz" ba-beri esmekte olan imha firtinası; hanesiyle Dogu Turkistan'igizli-a^ik halt de- vam istila etmijier ve kisa bir miid-etmektedir. Kizil C'n, ba\$ta det sonra ananevi Qin ijkence Ttirkiye olmak lizere, diinyamn metodlariyla komiinizmin i?en buytik devletle- n'yle kence usullerini birleştirmek dostluklar tesis etmek suretiyle Dogu Turkistan Dogu Tiirkistan'da : yaptigi ve Tiirkleri'ne zulmetmeye ba\$-yapmakta oldugu insanlik di?i lamişlardir.

Uzun yollar boyunca £in?ali5makta ve sinsi planlarini istMa ve zulmii altmda ya\$-sessiz sedasiz uygulamaktadir. yan Dogu Turkistan, bu sefer dinlerinin, orf ve adetlerinin.. top yekun kiiltirlerinin imha edilme tehlikesiyle karji karsi kalmijlardir. Yillardan beri maddeten ezilen ve somii- riilen miisliiman Turk halki bu sefer maneviyatının da.ezilip yok edildigine \$ahit olmu5-tur.

Qin'in Dogu Turkistan'i elinde tutmasinin en mihiim sebeplerinden biri de, son de-rece stratejik bir mevkie sahip Dogu Turkistan'i, si?rama tahtasi olarak kullanmak ve ilk firsatta Hindistan'i, Afga-nistan'i, bilhassa Batı Turkistan'i istila ederek Orta Dogu'ya, Rusya'ya ve Avrupa'ya uzanmaktır.

Yeni D0\$ONCE: C'n'de musliiman Tiirklerle kar?i bazi miisamahali hareketlerden de soz edilmektedir. Bu konuda neler diisiinmektesiniz?

isa Yusuf ALPTEKİN: Efendim, Kizil £in hiikumeti, ^ejitli sebeplerden dolayi, Dogu Turkistan'daki zul.um ve ijkenceleri bugun bir nebze yumujatmi? ise de esas politikalaram, yani Dogu TurWstan Tiirkligiinii milli ve manevi yonlcriyle imha etme siyasetlerini kat'iyen degistirme- mi?tir.

Bugun Kizil C'n> ?5itli usul ve ?arelere ba\$ vurmak suretiyle "Biz Cin Halk Cumhuriyeti olarak Sincan

halkma muhtariyet verdik, topraklarinin bir kismim iade ettik, ticaret yapmalari i?in imkan tamdik." jeklinde propaganda yaptirtmaktadır.

Yapilan judur: i\$sizligi onlcmck ve sosyal patlamalari hafifletmek i?in, ba\$kalardan misadere edilcn topraklarin az bir kismim yine ba\$kalarina vermek suretiyle bir kism ailelerin karinlari doyurulmu? ve biraz olsun ceplerine para girmeye baj- mijitir. Ancak, Dogu Turkistan Tiirklerinin davasi karm- larini doyurmak veya ceple- rini doldurmak olmayip, hirriyet ve istiklallerine kavujmak ve insanca yajamaktir. ikiyiz kiisur seneden beri Dogu Tiirkistan halki bunun i?in miicadele etmi?, bunun i?in su gibi kan dokmij, yiiz-

'CiN

EMPERYALiZ

Mi 35

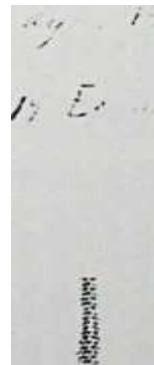
YA\$INDA'

(Ba\$tarafi 3. Sayfada) binerce \$ehit vermijtir. Buna ragmen, bugun hak ve hirriyet namma hi? bir \$eyc sahip degildirler.

Yeni DO § ONCE: Sayin Alptekin, bize bu konuda son soz olarak ne söylemek istersiniz?

isa Yusuf ALPTEKİN:

Her zaman oldugu gibi, Sunu haykirmak istiyoruz ki: Dindajlarimiz, soydajlari- miz ve hir insanlik alemi bize yardım etmeseler de yalmz Allah'a dayanarak ve giivenerek, Dogu Tiirkistan'in hak- larini savunmaktan geri dur-



i-W?

iSA YUSUF ALPTEKIN'E

Y.v 17 A

^» ?mK MEKTUP

Iki goziim EMMIOGLU; mektubunu aldım. Okudum okudum ve gene okudum; bir defa daha okudum. Ke\$ke iki goziim kor olsaydı da bu mektubu okuyamasaydım. Mektubunda diyorsun ki; Elin AMERiKA'sında caddeler de ve sokaklarda insanlar esaretten kurtulmak i\$in yiirriyii\$ler yapıyorlar, toplantılar diizeniliyorlar, ALAMANYA'da URUS'a, fiN'e bangır bangır bagırıyorlar. Seslerini biitiin diinyaya duyuruyorlar da koca TORK DEVLETiNDEN "Yizelli milyon Tiirk'te esir oldugu halde" bir tek ses \$ikmiyor. Daha millet olma vasfina bile eri\$ememiş bir AMERiKA insan haklarının koruyuruusu oImu\$, zilme kafa tutar hale gelmiş. "Ey KCIKREMi\$ 4N. Koca Ti'JRK DEVLETi! haksızlık kar\$ismada susmak

Ai
sana yaki\$ır mı? Halbuki sen kii?iik yaratıkların haklarınında korumakla görevli değil misin? Asırlardır ufaklıklar senin golgene sigimp, kirintılarla geginip de bugiinlere gelmediler mi?

Sen de bir hal var, sanki iiizerine dlli topragi atılmış gibi....
Sanki serho\$, sanki bir ho\$ sun

Aziz EMMiOGLU,
MUHTEREM AGABEGiM!

Sen ne soyldersen söyle senin hakkım inkar etmek "HAK'KI iNKAR" etmek olur. Senin duygularını payla\$mak senin gibi gormek senin gibi dii\$iinmek benim de görevimdir. Benim kan karde\$lerimin, benim din kardeşlerimin izdirabım duymak en azından TORK ve Miisliimanlığımın en tabii bir icabidir.

Muhterem iSA YUSUF AGABEY; Daha diin TURK iSTiKLAL Harbimize ondaki man? ondaki iman ve micadele azmimizde biitiin diinyaya i\$ık tutmu\$, mazlum milletlere esaret zincirinden kurtulmanın re?etesini yazmı\$ bir milletiz. TURK iSTiKLAL micadelesini ornek alan nice kabileler efendilerine karşı bagimsizlik sava\$ı vcrmi\$ ve esaretten kurtulmuşlardır. 0 milletler kurtuluj i?in milli ruh ve milli heyecanın hareketeye ge xcsinin tek \$art oldugunu bizden ogrenmişlerdir.

iDolayisiyla; seni ferahlatacak, gonliini scrinletecek, ve

igini doyuracak bazı şcyler söyleyecegim bunlan da bilesin:

- 3iitiin diinyaya koca TCiRK'iin olii zannettikleri bir za- manda diri, yok zannettikleri bir zamanda var ve kii?iik gor- dUKleri bir zamanda biyyiik oldugunu dcfalarda isbat etmisiz- dir.

- Hasta adam dediler; iiizerimizc al?akca 7 koldan yiiklen- diler ve fakat yarali arslan alim Allah ciimlesinin ervahim, bit silkeler gibi silkeledi ve peri\$an etti.

— Diin de Kibris'ta Yunan Palikaryasını iiizerimizc binbir vaadle ve de garanti destek vereceklerini söyleyerek ki\$kirti- lar. Ama gene de dedelerinin ycidi gibi ZORLU BiR KOTEK yiieren canları zor kurtarıp gittiler. Hem de baglandıkları tanklarla berabcr.

— Bilirsiniz ki, Tiirk milled biraz agirdan alır, Anadolu'da kirk batman odunla kizmaz ama; ya birde kizarsa derler... I\$tc diijmanlar dii\$iinsinler biz esir kardejlerimizc sabırlar ve me- ■ tanet tavyise etmiyoruz TURK MiLLiYET^iLERi olarak; bi- zimdc sabrimiz sizden evvel ta\$maktadır. Yeryiizinde esiri olan sadece bir millet vardır. TURK MiLLETi.....

Bo\$ laflar söyleyip, kuru siki atanlardan sadece sabır tavyise etmekten gayri hie bir arifeti clmayanlardan degiliz.

Namusunun, şeref ve ha'ysiyetimin, dinimin ve devletimin payidar olmadığı ve son TORK'iinde HCiRRiYETiNE kavu\$- madığı bir o'iinya katiyen ve katebeten benim diinyam olma- yacaktır. Muslim, gayri miislim biitiin diinya bunu boyle bilme- li, ve de ash hatırlından ?ikartmamahdır.

Biitiin bu duygular ve en halisane dileklerimle TURK diin- yasının yiiziiniin giilmesini Cenab-i Allah'tan (C.C) niyaz eder; Biitiin kalbimle mazlum kardeşlerimi selamlarım.

Allaha emanet olunuz.

1CHAN ERDOGAN

Türkler ve Hui müslümanlar İslâm'a saygısızlığı protesto ediyor
Poliside dövüp Cin yolu
götürmeye ve

Polisde dövüp Çin yonetiminin temel unsurları olarak gördükleri şeylere de hasar verecek işgal etmeleri.

Doğu Türkistan'da "Cinsel Alışkanlıklar"
adlı İslâma hayaszcâ saldiran kitabı

protesto eden Türkler eylemlerini daha sonra Çin yönetimine karşı sürdürdü...

Çince "Şeytani Ayetler", "Cinsel Adetler" in gözaltında tutulan yazarın halıtan özür dileydi. Ke Le ve Sang Ya müstear isimlerini kullanan yazarlar, "Misiyiman kitleler", açık bir mektupta, kitaplarını Çin'deki Misiyiman kitleinin biyikliği, çogunluğunun duygularını rencide ettiğini öğrenmeklerinde pişmanlık du yup üzüldüklerini bildirdiler. Hint-İngiliz benzerleri "Şeytani Ayetler" yazarı Salman Rüşdi'den farklı olarak bu iki Çinli yazar, sözkonusu tamsamen şirketin ve ihtiialı şirketlerin para kozenemek istediler. Hükümetin 1996'da 100.000 tane "Şeytani Ayetler" kitabı satılmıştır.

Cek Lütar / one) aux dégildirler.
Xianjiang'ın başkenti Urumqi'deki Mişümán protestosu açıkla İma ettiğinde Politik fikirlerle özerlikle şiddetlendi ve eyalette Çin İdaresine yönelik bir çok konudaki hoşnutsuzluğu su yüzüne Çıkardı. Protestocular bölgesel parti komitesini, bölgesel halk kongresi daimi komitesini, bölge sel danışma komitesini ve bölgesel disiplin komitesini ve hükümet binalarını etmisişler.
Sonuç, bütün Çin de, ni, çok sayıda "silahlı"

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gönişmeye ve onlara "çin sel Adetler" kitabı un yazarlarının cezalandırılmasına konusunda yapılan işlem hakkında bilgi vermeye gittiğinde /de/ giündeme geldi. Bu noktada kitabı neden olduğu salduñ veya 'kitaba, yayncılırlar ve yazarlarına karşı takınulan tavrı nusunda küçük bir tar ma oldu. Fakat asıl p

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<p>«ii ft® g i s t</p> <p>9 o B ^ «§ !</p> <p>J § : § J 111</p> <p>• § > 2 5 b i 3</p> <p><i>It? - * ³ a l a l i</i></p>	<p>T & - c </p> <p>akac mer eyal kon dik let .</p> <p>h VO < 9</p>	<p>sayıda çalışma ve istişa- re yaptığı" yönünde te- min etti. Yin Keshing, bu- numla birlikte, "Çesitili nedenler yüzünden Kong- re de bir Hui yail yar-</p>
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amirlerini sürekli dikkate almalarını zorunlu kılan sistemin hiç gerçekçi olmadığı ve bir kriz anında çok hassis sonuçlar doğuracağı açıklık kazandı. İktidar yapısı içinde Müslümanların gerçek temsili problemi, Qinghai eyalet parti şefinin Whampça Askeri Akademisi Oqinghai'lı delegeleri ile

Kizil Cin ve Hac

Isa Yusuf Alptekin

en* bir Kurban Bayramı diha geride buakirxan
TuHem Inin If lada buhindugu durum* kuaci goz
atilmasmada fayda mQtU&i etraekteyta.

BugQu yimflyooa yakm MQsIGman TQrk, Ruiya'da ve
C»nde caret altıda bulunmakta, Hac fdrizalaruu eda et-
mekte muahrura buhinnmaktdirlar! Bu kardeflerimldn
baynm yapmalannan dQjOnmek bile mlnknQn degUdlr,

Doju TQrkistan TQrkleri'nin, diymda buhinan aknb-
Iariiun divetleri ile yurtlan dijina f ikmalanna mQsaade edit-
mekte oldujundan; onlar bu fcraU ganimet bllekere Haca
niyat etmeye ve blnlbr zorfukhria ancak bir kac yttz kls
Mekk'e ubjabiknektedr. •

Kizil ?in hcdumed yurt dqina fikan TQrkler 30-5C
dolar ddviz vermektedir. Bu para Ue yola f ikilsmiyacagiu
bileu soydaflarxuiz, yaolaruu, dig dOnyada para eden Ipekll
e?y*lar ahaakt, bunlan glitkileH yerlerde atmak suretiyo
yol-panlam tcmn etraeyi dQjQnmektedirler. GefikleH
hudut kapilannda bu ejyalar alikonulmakta, Hac yolcusil
Musliran Turkler, bitmez, t&cenmez yollarda akd almaz
raiijkihltar kajdajaaktadalar.

. Bu hac mevsiminde, ucuz olsun diye ^in-Rusya-Ro-
many-Bulgariitan Ozerinden trenle TOrkiyeVe gelen vc
Turkiye'den Mekke'ye giden 400'e yalan Haa namzedlnln,
yaolannda getirdikleri e\$yalar giknrflerde alikonuldugun-
dan. bu »yadjar*mz bOyQk ukintilarlar karji karjiya kal
i~ udr.

bilegimiz judur Id: • v.'

Oafim Gzdeki yd, hflkuraetraizln ?In Halk Curahurfyet
ile gelijen dostlik mOnaaebetleri mu vachesinde DoguTf
kistan TDiklerin Haca gitmek gfbis asgari dini haklanra
aygi gisterilau ve her yd bin miktar haa namzedlnln, ye-
ten kadar ddviz verlimek luretiyle Haca gitraderner res-
men musaade edflsin. Bu husuta yalnrz TOrkly: hukurae-
tinden degil, diger Islam devletlerinden de Kizl Qin hfkumu
meti nezdinde tejebbQste buhinnalaruu bekliyoruz,

"Bu vesile ile; BdyOk TQile MUletinin, Islam dflnyasmm
gefmiq -. Kurban Baymlannan tebrik eder, onlardan; esaret
altdakii yuz mOyonMtlinan TQikDn yakm bir gelecek-
te hQniyet ifinde bay nun yapmalari if in dua etmelerini,
maddil ve minevi yaidanbruu edigememelerin rica ediy-
rura.

HAC KAFİLELERİ YOLA CIKTI

J Turkistanli haa adaylan penman oldular



Hava yoluyla Harm glde-
cek olan 535brkek473
kadın hacı adayı Alulirk
Havallmam'ndan fiki? vapa-
cak. ,

İstanbul'dan Hac'ca gi-
decek olan hacı adayları ge- ride
biraktığımı pazar giimi 107 ni.
h'rie Vatan Cadd.-si ve cskadar-
Harem'den ya- kinlan tarafından
ugurlana- rak yola fiktilar. İstanbul'dan yola fikan 107
Sabahn erken saallerinden otobUalUk kafUede 3 bln 680
Itbarek kalkis yerlerlndc klgı bulunuyor. 2
Inplanma

ya baglayan han adayları vc
yakinlan vedalsmalan- nm
ardmdon >aal 10.70'da hareket
etmeye baslidilar. Yakmlannm
gozyaslari lie ugurladiji haci
dayalnri aynlmann UzinUsi ile
har- r- gitmenln sevinirl lür
arada ya\$adilar.

HABUR KAPISI

bln 112 erkek. 1560 kadim bur'dan fikig yapaeklar.
bukindugu kaOlc 17 Agus- los Ole yandan Krzil ('in'- den
larlhnde Habur smir kapuindan llac'a gllnick Uzere ge fen hafla
Tirkiye'ye geler. Tirkstanlılar fikif yapaeklar.

Diger yandan bu yil lava elliñindeki vozlardan az olmasi
yolu ile de 535 erkek 173 kadın sebebiyl eyalam atmak isU-
haci adayı 18-20 Aguslos diler
larlhleri arasmada AÜUirk Fakat giimrlik mevzuali do
Havalimanndan fi- kis laryisiyla kendllerine lain ve
yapaeklar. Cu yil Istan- bul'dan rimeyince zor durumda ka lan
toplcm 3 bln 680 ki;l karayolu ile TiL'ksUnhlar'i vaUunda 5imiz
hacca glli. 107 olobusle yola. kndl Imkanariy Mekke'ye
fikan adaylar 17 Aguslos'a Ila- gdndvrdller.

1

Cin Halk Cumhuriyeti İstanbul Başkonsolosu Wu Keming ve Konsolos Han Yong Shaenk, Zaman gazetesine yaptukları özel açıklamada "Cin'de Doğu

DOÇ. SULTAN MAHMUT KAŞGARLI
İst. Üniv. Fen-Edb. Fak. Öğrt. Görevlisi

D oğu Türkistan Türkleri, 1951-1955 yılları arasında "Ülke-

Torkistan adı verdikleri bOkv
fge Cjn'in §incang bClgesidin"

f Top^mj^HHn(otonomb6lgemikh'adiDo^Tork-;
Istahf'tiif olmossayguristanotsun" talebinde bulundular ama Kwl
Qiny6netimilbutalepleTinde istar eden binlerce TURkistanlı'yiagir
Sekildecezalandirdi: Hapsetti, tildtlrdil. Lakin, ŞarkiTURkistan adorn
yilddnberl^d^adiklari ^tba-

v fUfifil! , aen \ unu&rmak da mamkta dekiMr- f » - "1
onuTsiddili^oide deziltofe r?W eVn<in..

“DoruTorkii

da Türkistan tarihini inceleyen tarihçiler ve Türkologların eserlerinde defalarca vurgulugı gibi Türkistan, Türkler'in eski anayatanının tarihi, coğrafi, siyasi adıdır. Wilhelm Bartlod 1902 senesinde: "Türkistan, Asya'nın batı merkezi kısmında büyük bir bölgemi işgal eden, eski den, beri Turfan veya Türkistan denilen memleketi kılın ise Türkler memleketi demektir, bu ülke batıda Ural nehri ve Hazar denizi, doğuda Cin hattı, güneyde İran ve Afganistan, kuzeyde Tobol, Tomsk vilayetleri arasında" demiştir (x).

"14. yüzyıla kadar Büyük Türkistan in doğu kısmı olan Doğu Türkistan'a Uygur

Büçok devletler son asırlarda işgal ederek kendi memleketleriyle birlestirdikleri topraklar için "eskiden benimdi" kelimesini kullanmakta biraz utanç duyarak gerçekleri itiraf etmeye mecbur olmaktadır. Sovyetler Birliği de Batı Türkistan'ı 19. yüzyılda Çarlık hükümdarının işgal edip bir müstemele haline getirdiğini iftar etmektedir.

Acaba Doğu Türkistan'ın adı Doğu Türkistan değil, Sincang ise bu topraklarda milattan önceki devirlerden itibaren simdiye kadar yaşayan ve bu güzel toprağın sahipleri olan Uygur Türkleri başta olmak üzere başka Türk boyaları kendi topraklarına öz ana dilinde bir ad

leri tarafından kurulan başkenti Kasgar (Ordukent) ve Balasagun olan Karahanlılar Devleti, 1514 senesinden 1675 senesine kadar devam eden başkenti Yarkent olan Saidiye Devleti, I. Mançu-Cin istilasından sonra Doğu Türkistan Türkleri'nin Cin-Mançu zulmü ve hükümdarlığına karşı ayaklanmanın neticesinde kurduğu Bedevlet, Yakup Bey'in Kaşgariya Devleti (1863-1877) bunun açık delilleridir.

20. yüzyılda ise Doğu Türkistan'da iki defa Türk devleti kurulmuştur. Bundan ilki 1932 senesindeki Kumul halkı ayaklanmasıandan sonra bulutluk Doğu Türkistan'da Cin mezalimine karşı silahlı mücadele neticesinde kumulan Cumhurbaşkanlığıdır.

deylet, ancak bir-iki gfln iyaaamisur' diye yalan sfylemijelerdir. Mcdeniycin, klltfllrln ve insan haklarun bu kadar ilerlediği günümüzde böyle bir gayriciddi siyaseti takip etmek insanı şaştan bir olaydır. Hak ve hukuktan mahrum bırakılan Doğu Türkistan'da bu çeşit yalanları gazetelere yazarak, gerçekleri söylemek isteyenleri cezalandırıp halkın ağızını olamadılar. Unutturmak da mümkün değildir. Çünkü Güneşi balık ile sıvamak mümkün değildir. Yalan her zaman yalandır. Gerçekleri yalan ile yok etmek imkansızdır.

kapatma imkânını zorla elde etse bile, hür, demokrat rejimdeki Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde bu hiç mümkün değildir.

Doğu Türkistan Türkleri, 1951-1955 yılları arasında "Olkiemizde Manju" In b-tUasi netcesinde kurulan glncang (Yenl Toprak) adı ni degistir. Otonom bdl-gemlzhn.adi Doga Tflrkistan, his olmazsa Uygurbant olsun" talebinde bulundular, ama Krai Qin yfineti-mi, bu talepleri ide israr eden binlerce Tflrkistan'yi agir jekilde cezalandırdı. Hapis etti, dldflrdı. Likin, şarkJ Tflrkistan adım, balkunizm kalbinden silemedi. Yflzydlardan beri haitadıkları ?abalarara ragmen bu mflbarek ismi unutturmaya muvaffak

(x) *Enslkopediçeskiy Slovar. Petersburg, c.85, s.194-304*

f alt^ asuda' tejbubfflge Dpgu _ ;5?gHi5?/kistanTgrlden HocaNiyazJtei. Bas-

£ S a b i t f o ^ n b l
1 a ^ olan

yıllarında yapılan ikinci Mançu-Cin istilasından sonra 18. 11. 1884 tarihinde İstilacı Mançu-Cin ordusunun komutanı Zo Zung Tang tarafından, istila edilen toprak manastındaki Cince Sincang, yan Yeni

hip değil miydi? Bu toprağın adı Sincang (Yeni Toprak) ise, eskiden böyle bir toprak yok mu idi? Veya gökten miindi?

Tarihten beri Uygur Türkleri kardeş Türk boyaları ile beraber Orta Asya ve Doğu Türkistan'da hizylik deyletler

"Doğu Türkistan İslâm Cumhuriyeti"dir. Bu cumhuriyet yaklaşık bir sene ömrü sürerek Rus-Cin işbirliği neticesinde Ekim 1934 tarihinde yıkılmıştır. İkinci si ise Cin'in müstemlekeiik ve zulüm siyasetine karşı Do-

giitTOrkisUufin kuzey bfilgc-sirek ve Altay coreyan eden ayaklanmaları, neticesinde za-";jfer. Ifaziaralc32.11.i^4s©-

r^jOrlderl"

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, Uy-i/ScUsri feik^ alisk^ glduk-
juden i lan kendi adetleri geregince

:<?v

Doju TURV'uan HUKUMETI eski Gencl Scerteri Sayin Isa Yuuf Alpttkh Beyefent'sinin aimi ve Iradesi lie, unnm* Turc Mi9iyet?iterinden, det-un jairimiz Nryazi Yildinn Gen?os-manogki'nun gayretler saycsude, m hayamoa kazandirdi Man "DO-SI TURKISTAN'IN SESIV adidicrgi-hn? Qnc? saysi? fcmi; bulunuyor. Geiek multevi, ireckse basks, kaliteti itihirile degcrl br sUrell yaym vas-findik "DOGU TURKISTANIN SE-SI" admidan da anh;ilacagi Dzerc, Gin esirci alonda inim him hleyen Dogu' Turk it TORKLERININ bitmekten filetini TGrk ve Islm ileml il mejhur "loan Haitian Evrensd Beyannamsi"-ne hua aonq buluun ve hsanlav kolejine karfi tavr almi; gbtUnen ba-o dihyasma duyurnv? gyesetye ya-yimlanmaktadır. Su scbepe derg TU(k)e, Arap?ave Ingiltzce olmak Oze-re Of dilde ?ijismaktadır.

Dogu TSrkutin'min! liderl durumunda bulun, Dogu TURkistan TurklOlunOn davasini sender dir, bik-madan, usanmadan, yorulmadan ve yilmadan herkete anlatmaya ?ali;an pek Muhterem Is Yusuf Alptekh Beyefendi; "OONCO" ADIM" admi ta; i>an ba;makaleshde, deigim bi ay-i ti vesilesyle, 5*1 gyesini Mr kcre dala okuyuculanna ve Efskr-i umu-; iuryeye izah etmektedir:

"Dogu TQRktan'in Sesi* elhizde-; ki bu nUshasiye G?UncU adimmi atm- buhijnuyor. Onun yUrimge yeni ba-; iayan s&rbQz bir cocuk;edisiyle atugi her adim, bizleri ne;ctendiriyor, sevin-ee ve g-ura gark ediyor. Tokeleme-s'ndep <ur;mejhden, bar baba jefka-dyc/v?Jerimiz titriyor. Heradinda caha y... buyGmesi, dala?abuk ve bU-; yiik adam Ur aonati i?hpUrklOk, IsISlik, in alik dugusyu uijyan yGrekle-; dc derm aksoedalar birakmasi i?in el ve gdnul birligi ile dualar ediyoruz."

"Birinci ve ikinci aylanlarda Islam ilcmine ve hurdUNuyayla; union Dogu Turkisini in Sesi, ulatigi her yerde 20k müsibet yankrlar uyandirmaktadir. Yuri i?nde de son derece musbet kar-;ilan bu mecmua ile mahkum ve mazlum soyda;lanmzin isakal ve Bur-riyei duygularint canh tuimak ve bu uguda maddi ve minevi gil?lerimzl seferber etmek ;iarirmzdır.

Okyuculanmız ve dostlarimiz;unu bilmelidir ki, "Dogu TURkistan'in Sesi" ?iki; i birtakim fedari-kirlklara dayanmakadir. Elimlzd buyuk bar sermaye olmadigi gibi, arkamizda buyuk sermayadarlar 'da yoktur. Bize once Cenab-i Hakka, sonr-a siz degerli okuyucularima, dostlarimiza, dinda;Urimiza, Olkuda; anmiza gjvtncrek yola ?uk. Allah' in ve sizle-• rin sa yes ride daha onUrca ve yQzlerce sayi ?ikaracagimizi ummatkayitay."

"Dogu Tiirkistan bugin maddelen je minen imha edilniek ichlukesi ile ! kar; 1 kar;iyi bukinmakadir. Kizil Oh bir urafun aziz Tirkie'e mize dosluk jesd,' j/^sparken, diger larafun mil-;yonu. AfGhli?yi Dogu Turkisian'a ta-;imakta ve mukaddes atalar yurdumu-;zu bir Gh ilkesi haline gecirme? ?ali;makudir. Aym zamanda u;ak ruhlu,

Melln HAS ER IO Ij?7 yen) to » Dogu Turkistan'in Sesi

Ozde Dogu TURksun'li Mr takim adamlar vasiiasi ile TOrkiye'de ikamer eden Dogu TURkistanlar arasma nlfak luhunlari sa;makudir.

OtOn buntara ragmen, Cenab-i Allah'a gDvenlyoniz ve ltdkal hakkm-, da Dmhliyiz".

Say in Ahmed Kabaklı Iso, daha Un-co TercUman gazetesinde yaimlani,, mi; bulunan "Elem Tarlasini A< Pi-rind" adi yazisinda, Edr TDrkcrin yaninda yer almasi gerekdgVralde klm? -ugulu, kim baat?ma her ikisi de hrbydan, hatia dfnsi-, kim sosyalbt, kim kapitSs ami lksli de emperya-lis blrukns gil?terh icskhde perfin bir hale gelmi; gOrilnen IsUrn SICmlh, bu yO* davam bir ucundan tutmaga davet etmektedir.

"Esir Tork dilnyast, destan yazilmamii, mOcadelsi yopilmami, Hz, Muhammed Uyneytinde kurartisincin bekleyen bir davadir. Onu i?in, Hz. Muhammeti voluridaki bOtOn Arap kar-de:ler!.MagripTic Uicri, Studi, Fas-ti Tunusu, CezayirR, Ubyali, Fil-bintili, Pakbuni, OrdinQ, Efgani, Irak-ili, Iranli Suriyeli ger?ek MiisIQmanları minevi crhaa fagiriryoniz"

DoS. Dr. Mchmet Saray, Dogu TURkistan TURkleri'nin tarih macerasini anlatug yazismin, bu sayida yer alan ikha bSIOMonde, Dogu TURksun'an 1978dc Qnliler tarafından lga-ni batı kaynaklarma ve vesikalara dayanarak heclemektedir. Ciddi bir ta-rinjih, objekdf bir gdzle degerlen-;diridi bu vesikalarin ubhinden 51-kan netice, Qin'in Dogu TURktan'i; gal hadbesinde Rusya'nin tahrif ve desteghini oynadigi me?um rolfi bir kere daha gozler online sermesi itibS-riye dikkat fcikcidir. Nitcikm Sayin Do? . Dr. Mehmet Saray in ger?ek min-nada Urafisiz ve Ilmi makalsinde, Do-gu TURkbun TORKlugUnUn; 1933 te ka-;ni cant phasahna elde ettigi biiklalin-;lerin Orken Sovyet Rusya'nin Gin o si-rada i? miicadeleriyle sarsilmi; bulundugu cihcte, be sefer bizzasahne-;ye ?ikmak suretiyle, Dogu TURktan'i; gal ye onMnlrcce Tiirk'a katlcumcs, "Trk alemin'in en biyuk du;nam" nm kirm oldugu ger?egini, TGrk vatan-;larinin idraki bakimmdan ibret verici Mr hadseder.

Bu makale, bir taraftan TOrk Sic-minh du;manligi bahshde Garlik Rus-yasi ile KomUnit Rusya arasmada bir yana; birligi oldugunu gdzler onDne scerken, diger larafan hrso'yan bas-alemim'm, MGsluman TGrk millcinc ya-pilan zulum ve haksizlik kar;isimda na-sil goz? bagli, kulagi nkali oldugunu da bir kcre daha tarihi dciiilcirele b-;bat etmektedir:

"Iki emperyal devletin (Rusya ve Gh) Dogu TURkistan'da oynadik-;lari bu kanli oyuna, ikinci DGINya Har-M'deki siyasetlerci icab yahniz Ingiliz ve Japon basinmda kisaca yer verilmi;

diger biltQn medcnl dGnyldan hi? bir protesto sesi duyulmamisti."

"Nihayet 1949da Gh'dekl I? mcG-;cideley kazanan komQnbt kuwoller Dogu TURktan'i yemiden i;gal ederez, Itdkil urchartari Mnller? TGfk'U Ulidir-;mli; lcr WMnhblero Brk'Ddo mcme-;l>ot tcrl etmik mcburyicilnde birak-;mildir. Rtu kuwetteri de ger?ekli-;diginden komUnbt G'n Dogu TURktan' da Marksbt reRmi tarm mSnisiyle yerle;trebilme? l?ln, mllyet?llk, hQriyet ve btikISI gibi ulvi duygulari TCrklerde yok etmok gasyesle aman-;siz bir tcrl klaresi kurma yoluna gir-;mijitir."

"Dikkat; deger kl Dogu TURkisan-daki egldn hayau gayet like! bir ?kiide devam etmesine ragmen TURktan minevi variklamV komabyabllm-;terdir. BQtGn bu kStb ;artlara ragmen pas direnme ilede hllriyet mOcadele-;terin devam ettmektedirler."

Birk? yil Once ailesi ile Mrlikte dogu TURkbun'dan gb? den Sayin Iklil Kurban Beyefendi, "Sincang Is-mihh YGz Yilligi" adim ta;yan yazisinda, Ghilerm TURk adam haritadan sltpe gayretlerine isret etmektedir:

"18 Kasim 1884'de Gh imparatu-ru'nun bir direktif ile bu topnaklarin adi, Glnh 19. yiliyle olarak 'Yeni Toprak' minSina gden 'Sincang'a ?evridil.

I;tc 0 mc;um gunlrcrdn bu yana, yOregimizo han?cr gibi saplanan bu' 'Sincang' sozUzun bi Dogu TURkistan'-;liar her duydugumuzda, vatanmizin o xi ge?mi; aklimizda kara bir golc, i?imizde derin bir sizi olarak canlanz. BSylece ylz yilda beri 'shcang' vc DOGU TURKISTAN' diye Ifadc odic-ten iki kader arasmada OLOM-KALIM muCadesiesin i yapsmaktaiz."

Iklil Kurban Bcycfendih a?ik-;lamalarindan anladigimiz gSre, komU-nizmin "HALKLARA OGZORLOK" sloganla kapilan bazi saf Dogu TURkistanlilar, Mao'nun Dogu TURkistan' i;bzker bir bblge olarak tscl dccegim samimiyede inanm;lar ancak 0 zavallilar "kulaklarina ho; gelcn propagandalar temelinde yatan emperyal gayerleri duymadiklariindan dolayı dU:tukleri flaklet girdabinin acisini haph ve kamplarda ?ekml;lerdir."

Do? . Dr. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu ise, ba;inda bulundugu Milledcrasari Bir Islimi Kurulu;"Solan, "Islim Ta-;san'at ve KaiOr Ara;itirma Mer- kez"?li; alimlarindan bahsetmek- tedi.

Dogu TURktan'dan yurdumuza gb?

etmi; - bulunan Sultan Mahmut Ka;gari de, "Dogu TURkbDn ?chlre". nden Turfan' i tanitmaktadir.

Muhterem Salt Bilgi? Beyefendi

"Bizi GoiOn Ibret Alin" ba;ikli yazi-

sinda, Dogu TURktan davasini bir yan-

dan TURk DONYASIN umumi meseleri

arasinda ete alirkent. bir yandan da du-

yan, dO;llnen akli eren her TURk vattndajim, TURk gen?ilghn bugUnkO durumu, esir TURklero yapilin mezallmh ijigmda degerlendirmeg davet elmektedir.

"12 EyIOl Oncesinde, milliyetfl gen?terin terdp ettkleri, komCr.l-?In mahiyetlin anlama miUnglerne, Isunbul'dakl Dogu TURkbun'I karde:terl-> mb 'Atel GORON IBRET ALIN'yazi- II pankartlarla kauldila.. GUmkU onlar, Kizd? « KomOnbt Rusyahin zu- 10m ve entrikalarindan kurtulmak l?h TURkiye'ye Utica etm;lerdi. Vatanlari Kizil Gln' lygalneydil"

Salt Bilgi? Beyefendi, aynca, Idea-list dava adamı vasfdakl TURk mIII-yet?llerhe, Isa Yusuf Alptekh ileye-fendi'nh Bmek ;ahsivctlnnden Ilham al-malannı da usviye etmektedir:

Insan hayat l?h kisa sayilma- yacak bu zaman l?erhlide, onun mef- kuresl btikatindedek! ?ali;malarinda aerie miktar aksarna ve hycyan nok- sanligi gOrmrtlm.Gcn? nesllerh ?a- li;mabrinde b; bOYt dava adammi Smel edimelciri gerekir.

Gen?lerimiz, onun hayat seyrlinden, JlkUsilne olan ajkmdan alxakları dñemli dersler vardir."

"Kimm TURkerl Kirk Yildir SOR-;Gnde" adli yazida, Kirim T&kOnOn acikli macerasi anlabilmekmudur.

Prof. Dr. TURGoklu Gbk-Alp, TURk Tarihi Yen! Bat;tan Yazmak Zaruett? adim ta;yan yazisinda, TURk On zaman ve me kin !?Indeki zen gln hayat ve devlet tccrUbcsine l;arot etmektede:

"Bizado bugUne kadii yazilan mill tarlh kitaplarinin, kanaamizca en bU-;yuk eksigi, sbtemll bir ;ekilde TURk?U bir gdrUkce yazilmami; olmasidir." de-mektedir.

Do? . Dr.Abdillkadir Donuk be, Tarihi Sosyalizmin Fikir Babaian" adli seri makalesinde bu ieinci bBQ-Q- mQnde Nang Mang'i ve onun sosyal kanunlarini incelmektedir. N.Eber-hard'a gore;

"Bu kanunlara uzaktan bakilacak olursa, hakikaten fakir halkm sclim- ti i?h yapilmi; gibi gortnUyor" ise de "durum asinda kafsiyyen bbyle degil- di. Bu kanunlari yapmaktan makat, bo;almi; olan devlet hazinesini lek- rar doidurmak. Bunden ba;ka o za- man kadar ikddarda bulunanlann elinden Iktidan almak."

Milid ilk yilannnda (M.S.8) tOriO entrikalarla Gh tabhna oturan Nang Mang adli me;hor demogoddan bu yana sosyalistler hep ayindir.

Ergenkon Gbkbayrak da, "Sari Tehlike" adim ta;yan yazisinda, dOn-yanm dikkatini, G'm tehlikesi ?ck- mege ?ali;pektadır:

"Su halde Dogu TURkistan mese-lesi, zahirde gOrildUgU gibi sadec Dogu TURktanlilar ilgilenenlere mahallli bir davadan lBShret olmayip komu; ve dlnda; memleketciler yakin dogu memleketcilerl, bUtOn hOr dUySmn, hatti bOtOn hsnligin mukadderatni ve dQnya sulhUnO yakindan alikadar eden kbklU ve aktDel bir meseleldir."

Dergide birka? gQzel ;Ilr de yer

(Dmmi 8. Sayfad)

"Dogu Tiirkistan'm Sesi"

(Bnitarafi 2. Sayfada)

almaktadir. Hasreti mahlasiyla yazar Dogu TURktanli ?air,

Menhg halinan sorsan bir garibi bi veten dir men

Vcten dilsuzl yc mfl; taki didar-i

Hoton dir men

misraliyili Oz vatanmdan ayrili;im

iztiraMni dile geo'rmektedir.

Mehmet Emin lugra "SIL-

KIN" adli siirinde TURkLUK; u;urunu to-;rcnnOm etmektedir:

"Men Mr TURk men, uiusum TURk, oymagim TURk!

Acun i?re konglUmdcki amrakim TURk!

Kaygu.sch? her i;imdc oriakim

TURk!

Sanm TURkLUK, ay-yilduzluk bayragim

TURk!

Ev Turk oglu! Uygan,sBkh,?»w>

Babalann kaydak bolsa ; undak bolgil irti; kibi dolkunlamp kaynap yurgil

Erklikhngh yolu Ozrc kadem koysil.

Bu iki Dogu TURktanli, ilrc TURkiyel soyda;lan Hihcy OrtURk u ate; gibi misralariyla cevap vermektedir:

"Eriyeck domir o?aglar gSya;larim

dincecek

HOr oldugum mutlu gOnlcr hepsl gcri

getecek

YUreginikan ate; clbct bir gUn

sNecek

Selim salip yellir ilc yUrgelmi daglama

Dcmircir gam tUkcnir TURkistanlim

agiam

MUdelvaranayuritan esir olmu;

garda;a

Yazilacak dcstannmr her agaca her

u;a

Bayram olur 0 gUn bize bayram olar

her ku

Selim salip yeller ile yOregimi daglama

DCmlr err gam tUkcnir TURkistanlim

agiam

Doga TURktan'm Sesi'nh cn kisa zamanda makes bulmasi dilegiyle ba-;nlardfcrim.

China, Russia to renew trade

I FRUNZE, Soviet Kirghizia, June 27 (R) — The Soviet Union and China are to resume trading links across the frontier in central Asia for the first time in more than 20 years, according to government officials here.

They told visiting journalists that a border crossing point between the Soviet Republic of Kirghizia and the Chinese province of Xinjiang would be reopened for cargo July 1.

Begeliev Sopobek, head of the Kirghizian state planning organization, said there would be no passenger traffic across the frontier checkpoint at the village of Ribachi in eastern Kirghizia.

The volume of trade would, initially at least, remain small and consist largely of Soviet supplies of petrol and diesel fuel in return for leather goods, he added. In April Peking and Moscow agreed to reopen trading links at two places on their vast Far Eastern frontier, but no mention was made of a similar accord for central Asia.

The resumption of cross-border commerce has been seen as evidence of a thaw in Sino-Soviet relations following serious tension for more than two decades.

The two countries began moves to mend their relations last year and have held talks in Moscow and Peking on how to tackle differences over issues such as Afghanistan, Indochina and Soviet troop levels along the Chinese border.

Negotiations on renewing border trade predated these general talks. But their relatively swift conclusion was seen by Western diplomats as indicating a wish on both sides to make tangible progress in improving links.

The attitude of officials in Frunze, the Kirghizian capital, to the new frontier crossing point suggested, however, that there are continuing reservations about the future of Sino-Soviet ties.

All appeared keen to play down the significance of the new commercial links and Assambek Tokombaev, chairman of Kirghiz television, said the opening ceremony July 1 would be given no official media coverage.

This appeared to support the view taken by many Western and Asian diplomats in Moscow that the Sino-Soviet dialogue has run into serious problems and that Kremlin leaders have scaled down their hopes for future progress.

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Sino-Soviet trade gets a boost

KASHGAR, China, June 4 (R) - China and the Soviet Union have agreed to open two crossing posts on their long central Asian border to make trade exchanges easier after a break of more than two decades, according to a senior official in Kashgar.

The crossings, at Turugart near Kashgar in southern Xinjiang and at Yining 700 kilometers further north, will handle state-to-state and not local trade, Deputy Commissioner Eisa Shakir told foreign reporters earlier this week. He said the agreement provided for cross-border exchanges to begin July 1.

A similar crossing point is being set up on the two countries' northern frontier, in Heilongjiang province, which Chinese officials say will handle only local trade.

Soviet sources in Peking said overall Sino-Soviet trade is set to rise by some 170 percent this year to about \$800 million. News of the stepped-up exchanges is a further sign of the limited thaw in relations between the two Communist giants, frozen more than 20 years ago after a bitter ideological dispute.

Vice foreign ministers from the two sides began talks late last year on ways of normalizing relations, with little sign yet of having found common ground.

China objects to several million Soviet troops along its border, to the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, and to Kremlin support for Vietnamese action in Kampuchea.

It says these obstacles must be removed before tension can be defused. The Chinese have nevertheless allowed a controlled thaw in sporting, cultural and now trade exchanges.

Shakir, speaking to visiting reporters last Monday, said: "We used to have trade (between Xinjiang and Soviet Kirghizia just 120 kilometers away, but it stopped when the polemics began between the two countries.)"

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China concedes a religious resurgence

By William Sexton

Newsday Asia Bureau

Peking—The Cultural Revolution's turmoil drove numbers of Chinese youth to believe in God, the government official who oversees all state-approved religious activities in China said last week, but he added that he thought they were mistaken.

Xiao Xianfa, director of the state Religious Affairs Bureau, also indicated there is little chance Peking will allow Pope John Paul II to visit China in the immediate future. He accused the Catholic church of "unfriendly practices," including "interfering in our internal affairs in secret channels."

In contrast, an eight-person delegation from China's Protestant Church was permitted to travel to Hong Kong this week for a meeting of the World Council of Churches. The official Xinhua News Agency said the group was headed by Christian Council Chairman H. K. Ting, a former Anglican bishop and World Council vice president.

In an interview, Xiao, whose bureau controls Buddhist and Moslem church activities as well as Christian, agreed with Catholic and Protestant churchmen who have been reporting that there are now more Christians in China than when the Red Guards set out to destroy religion in 1966.

"During that period, young people had no way of telling right from wrong," Xiao said. "They couldn't tell what the future might bring—tomorrow they could be accused of some crime and even arrested.

"Some turned to drinking and some to stealing or causing disturbances. Others sought help from religion.

"As far as I'm concerned," Xiao went on, "religion is not a truth which young people should seek! They should have the noble ideal to build China into a powerful and prosperous nation. That is what we hope for young people. But we won't obstruct or oppose them because it's their right to believe as they wish." * * . He said he had no figures on present church membership because of the government's desire...not to involve itself in religious peoples constitutionally-guaranteed rights. But in 1949 when the Communist regime was established, he said, there

were about 3 million Catholics and 700,000 Protestants—along with 100 million Buddhists and 8 million to 10 million Moslems. He said that the Islamic population is believed to have grown to "maybe" 13 million.

"After the 10 disastrous years brought about by the Gang of Four," Xiao said, "the result was very serious and influenced every aspect of China, causing ideological confusion." Xiao, who was appointed to head the religious bureau after "various administrative assignments," suffered himself during the Cultural Revolution. He was sent from Peking to Chairman Mao's home province of Hunan to tend cattle.

Xiao, a middle-level official whose small bureau is part of the government operation dealing with ethnic minorities, spoke up at a time when Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping's regime seems to be tightening up its ideological controls to meet worsening economic conditions. He emphasized, however, that religious freedom is "a long-term and fundamental policy."

"History has proven such a policy correct and it is supported by both believers and non-believers alike," he said. For the better part of the last two years, churches, temples and mosques have been reopening in cities across China. Moreover, all the major faiths except the Catholics have resumed training priests. The first Protestant seminary reopened in Nanjing last month. Bishop Michael Fu of Peking indicated recently that work was still under way on re-establishing a Catholic seminary. He said one of the problems was assembling a faculty after the disruptions of the Cultural Revolution.

Xiao reiterated Bishop Fu's previous objection to Pope John Paul's radio speech addressed to China from Manila where he was visiting last month. Most who heard it in Manila considered the speech remarkably conciliatory toward China, including even an exhortation for Chinese Catholics to help build their country and renouncing any interest on the church's part in political or economic issues. Xiao, however, insisted that the Pope clearly indicated "he wants to maintain relations with Taiwan" and "didn't show any respect for our point of view."

The official declined to specify the nature of "secret" activities directed by the Catholic church against China. He may have been referring, however, to recent visits by overseas Chinese (ethnic Chinese) churchmen to a number of Catholic communities in south China which have refused to affiliate themselves with the state-sanctioned Chinese Catholic Church. Chinese authorities apparently view this as an effort to stir up opposition to the regime.

Asked what would be required to obtain permission for a visit by the Pope—as two cardinals were permitted to do last year—Xiao said: "The most important thing for the Roman Catholics to do is to have a deeper understanding of our problems and change their attitude." /n

Newsday Photo by WUIUm Sexton
Religious Affairs chief Xiao Xianfa

MiSAFIR YAZAR

YeniAlibeg Hakim'in hatirasi flnUnde taziml
; egilir

Fakat, onun bu gorevifazla bmUrlli olmaz. Onu gene merkeze Uruxr'iye Qagirirlar. Alibeg, gene bir yil kadar iutuklu buhinur. Ve nihayet, 1944 senesinin giizUnde gerl, memleketine yollanir. Bu sefer Alibeg Hakim, Manas bol- gesi Kazak TURklerinin idarecilerinden biri olarak tekrar 'eskl vazifesine doner. ! " "

1945 senesinin Ubaharinda Alibeg Hakim, Kulca (lie) 'fla ve Altayda devam etmeye olan milli ayaklanmaya des- tek olmaya karar verir, onun 19 m de silahlı mUcadeleye j'ge9me; hazirligi yapar. Bu ugurda muhtelif hazirlıklardan sonra' 6.6.1.945'de Kizilozen deresinin 'bati tarafindaki <?in karakoluna hlicum ederek resmen silahlı savaşa ba§lar.

/ Alibeg Hakim, 1945 senesinin sonunda Manas Savan' - .-I in kaymakami olarak tayin edilir. Bu sefer onu iki kazaya kaymakam ve bu bolgenin aym zamanda milis kuwetlerinin .kumandani tayin eden Qinli degildi. Hur."§arki Tiirkistan /Cumhuriyeti" hUKiimetidir. Alibeg Hakim yeni vazifeye tayin edilirken ona "§arki Turkistan Cumhuriyeti" nin 18 Nolu istiklal madalyasi veriliyordu. Onun "§arki Turkistan Cumhuriyeti" hin esas kurucularindan oldugu belirtiliyordu, Ve dogrusu da oyle idi. CJUnkU, Alibeg Hakim, Altay ve lie' - den sonra Manas bolgesinde silahlı mucadeleyi ba§latan §a- histi. .

Alibeg Hakim, Manas-Savan kazalarının askeri ve mulki amiri olduktan sonra, bu bolgedeki ismi Qince olan butun. kaza ve nahiyyelerin admi degisitmisti. Mesela: Savan'm admi (Uypazar), Ancikay'm adim da, (Ormanbak), §iy- kangzi' mn admi(Kalaba) olarak degisitirmisti. v. Alihan Tore, Sovyet HiiKUmeti tarafından ka9irilarak, "§arki Tlirkistan HukUmeti" kukla haline getirildikten sonra Alibeg Hakim de Osman Batur gibi buna kar§i 9ikmisidir. Kendilerirde kar§i 9ikmis 'olan Alibeg Hakim'e Ahmetcan Kasim idaresihdeki kukla "§arki TURklstan HUKiimet" bir siiru cazip teklifler yaparak onu karanndan caydirmak iste- mi§tir. MeselS; Tarbagatay vilSyeti valiliginin tekUf etmisler- di, Sovyetler Birligiriin §avesek'deki (Tarbagatay viliye- tinin merkezi) konsolosu bizzat gelerek Alibeg Hakim'i ka- rarmdan caydirmaya 9ali§misidir. Tabii Alibeg Hakim, kararmdan caymamisidir. Sovyetler Birliginin kuklesi haline gebhi§ olan "§arki Tlirkistah Cumhuriyeti"ne kar§i savaşa ba§lami§tir. Bundan sonra, Alibeg Ifakim Urum9i'deki Dogu Ttirkistan HiiKUmeti Maliye Bakam Canimhan ve Dogu Turkistan Hukiimetinin Genel Sekreter Yardimci Sails Beg vasitaslye Milliyet9i ^in Hiikumetyle temasa ge9erek, Dogu TURklstanın tarihinde ilk defa olarak kurulan "8. Kazak ■Tugayimn" te§ekkiliinde biyyukrol oynamisidir.

*'Alibeg Hakim; 1947 senesinin Aralik aymm 11. ind¹ gUnii saVa§ta maghip olarak Manas nehrinin batı tarafindan dogii tarafina 8000 ki§ilik bir kafileyle smiri ge9erek kukla V§arki TURkistan Cumhuriyeti" ile olan alSkasim tamamen ■ kesmisidir. Bundan sonra Alibeg Hakiin, bir 90k siyasi faali- yetlerde bulunmisidir. Urum9i'de kurulan Kazak Itirkleri aydmlari' tarafindan idare edilmekte olan "Savle " dergisi- nin ve "Sfivle" matbaasim destekleyicilerinden biri de All-' beg Hakimobnu^tu.

> Alibeg Hakim, 1949 senesinin Nisan ayında Urum9i'nin 60 kilometre kadar batı tarafmda yani Ko§ti denilen yerde-



Alibeg Hakim'i kaybettik (i9os - 1985)

#HasanQRALTA

A LtBEG Hakim hakkında Batida 9ikmis olan kitapL ** orhindogum yeri olarak Dogu Turkistanın Urum§i yetinin Manas kazasi gosterilmekte. Aslmda Alibeg Hal Dogu TURklstanın Tarbagatay vilaleyitinin Altm Emil gesinde 1908 senesinde dogmusidir. Tarbagatay'dan nas'in Alibeg Hakim 1933 senesinde gelmisidir. Manas rinin batı tarafindaki Kizilozen denilen yere yerlesmis Alibeg Hakim, 1947 senesinin sonuna kadar bu bol kalmustur.

Urum^iye bagh Manas kazasma geldikten sonra 25 ya§indan ba§liyarak Alibeg Hakim, Mill! hareke fiilen i§tirak eder. Ilk olarak, o bolgedeki Milliyetgi ki lerden Yunus Haci' nm yardimci olarak vazife alir. < olarak kurulan "Ultti Porgav Ujumi" yani, "Mileti M faa Cemiyeti"nin kurucusu ve idarecilerinden olur. Bi miyetin gelismesinde ve milliyetfi haremelerin niive; masrnda Alibeg Hakim'in bUytik payi olmusidir. A Hakim'in faal olarak <;ali^masunn Qinliler tarafından edilmesinin neticesinde, Alibeg Hakim buyiik para cez 9arptirilmiştir. Alibeg HakimTe beraber agir para cez 9arptirilan ikinci §ahis Muhammetcan Molla idi.

. Alibeg Hakim, 1940 senesinde Muhammetcan 1 dahil bir 90k milliyet^iyle beraber tevkif edilir. (hapiste tutulmasi 18 ay devam eder. Bir miiddet, ha buhindurulduktan sonra Alibeg Hakim ve diger U9 yi ^Ja.TURkistanli, siyasi kursa tabi tutulur. Onlara sab: ak§araa jadar siyasi ders verilir. Yani onların beyinle kaninak Jstenir. Bundan sonra da, bu grubu top la 1 Dogu TURklstanın giiney tarafim dola§tirirlar.

18 ay tutuklu kaldiktan sonra Alibeg Hakim t Manas kazasma gonderilir. Beyni yikanmr? sandiklar ve §in-§i-§ey'in Ruslarla arasi a9ilarak merkezi Qine lanmasi vesilesiyle peyda olan idari degisiklik seb< Manas'a gelen Alibeg mahalli idarede vazife ahr.

AlibegHakim'i kaybettik

(Bagtaraflı 2. Sayfada) rlnl

toplama?ti, « (Bu toplantıya sadcde Osman Batur He Ca* nimhan Haci dlkkat 9eker dly umuml tasvip Uzerine ISU* n etmemi;lerdl). Kazak Tiirkcleri Her! gelcnlerln bu top* lantunda bir 90k mlihl karalaralmmi\$ti.Bu kararlardan sonra Alibeg Hakim, sirasiyle, Osman Batuv ve Canimhan Haci, Isa Yusuf Alptekln, Mes'ud Sabrl, Mehmet Emin Bug* ra ve TUngeen Generali Macung-Cang, Amcrikian konsolo* suyh g6ri\$mu\$ ve mUgterek cephe kurma iqlnde anla\$mej* lardrr.

Allbeg Hakim, 23.12.1949'da KoklUK dagmdan harekct ederek Gobi Gdlunden ge9itinden sonra Himalaya yama9* lanndaki Gas Gd denilen bolgeye gelir.

Allbeg Hakim, Gas Golden 1 §ubat1951 gUnli dU\$mann anı saldirisi neticesinde hareket ederek, Himalaya daglarinui 0 dehgetU soguguve havassligi vo ayni zamanda dti\$man taklbile ugra\$sa ugraşa her gun bir ka9 ki\$lyl de §e- hid vere vere 1951 senesinin sonunda Ke\$mlrin mrkezi Srlnager Şehrine gelmigtr.

Ke;mlr'e geldikten sonra yeni bir hayat ve bamba\$ka bir mUcadele safhasi ba\$lamışti. Para yoktu. Dil bllmiyor* duk. Bu agir vaziyet altında Allbeg Hakim, Gobi Qdlunden yol bularak suya kavugturdugu gibi ve Himayalarin yolsuz ge9itcrinden ge9erek selamete 9ikardigi gibi yeni imkfin- lar i9in tekrar mUcadeleye ba\$lamı\$tr. Bulduyu Imkanlarla mektuplar yazdmyor ve durumumuzu anlatiyordu. Netico* de, Delhi'deki Amerikan Elgiliginin de araciigiyia "Dunya Kiliseler Cemiyeti" ve Ke\$mir Hi\$kiineUnln yardımını sagla* mr§ oldu. Kendi gapinda Allbeg Hakim ve arkadaglarin Kefmirde gdsterdi\$ faalyetlerden Hindistan'daki solcular rahatsız olmaya ba\$lamı\$ti. Mesela, onların "Biltiz" adm* dakl organi bir 9okuyduruma ithamlarda bulunuyordu.

Allbeg Hakim'in Tiirkiye'ye gelmesi maalesef bazi kirm* seler tarafından engellenmek istenmiştir. Bu yizden de Allbeg Hakim eh son olarak, Kegmirden 12 Temmuz 1954 giini hareket ederek 29 Temmuz 1954 glnU Tuzla'daki Kizi* lay Kampi'na gelmigtr.

Allbeg Hakim ve kafesi 5.9.1954 giini Manisa'nın Sa* lihli kazasına yerlegtirilmigtr.

Muhacrligin agi gartları altında her §eye bagindan baglayan Allbeg Hakim'in bir 90k zor vaziyetlerle karg* lagtgi muhakkak. 0, karakterinr, hlg uygun olmayan tica* retie de megkul olmak ve bundan 9oluk gocugunun nafa- kasini gikarmak mecburiyetinde kalmtgit. Bu durum yani bambagka bir hayattan, yeni bir hayata baglama igi kendi bagina tetkik konusudur.

Butun imksnsEliklara ragmen, Allbeg Hakim miimkun oldugu kadar Hirkistan davasiyla megkul olmaya devam et- mig. Bu ciimleden olarak, Salihliye geldikten bir ka9 gun sonra, uzerine Hirkistan haritasi ve ay yildeli bayrak igle- nen Hirkistan kegesini hediye olarak goturerek Tiirkiye Cumhuriyetinin o zamanki Reisicuhuru Celal Bayara Tiirkistaniilar adina, Tiirkistanlilar Tiirkiye'ye kabul etmig j oldugu i9in tegekur etmigtr.

Allbeg Hakim'in tegebbi\$uyle Salihlide "Hirkistanlilar Kiiltir ve Yاردımlama Dernegi" kurulmugtr. Allbeg Hakim, 1960 senesinin Mayis ayinda Formoza'mn Bagkenti ! Taipei gehrinde toplanan "APACti" denilen "Asya Miller* lerinin Anti-Komunist Ligasi"nn toplantisina davet edilmig- tir. Bu toplantıya Tiirkiye'den Allbeg Hakim'den bagka davet edilenler arasında, Osman Kapanal, (Eski DP. Bakanlartn* da) Nazi 1 Tlabar (Eski DP. Istanbul Milletveklli) vardi. Fa* kat, 27 Mayıs lhtilali dolayisiylc onlar gidcmediler. Onlarin yerine, adi ge9en toplantıya Tiirkiye adina Ulus gazetesinin j yazarı Prof.Ahmet §Ukri Esmer katilmigti.

Allbeg Hakim'e toplantı katilmasi hakkindakl davet, "APACL"in o zamanki Bagkani Dr. Ku Cheng Kang tarafın*, "dan 14.5.1960 taribili mektupla yapilmigti. Bu mektupda 1 Allbeg Hakim'in hangi maksatla, ne i9in Formoza'ya davet ediimeye olundugu uzun uzadiya bahsedilmigti.

Allbeg Hakim, Formoza'ya vardiktan sonra Maregal Can Kay §ek'le de gdri\$rek onunlu Dogu Tiirkistanın is* tikkali meselesinde konugmug, fakat, bu konugma snasinda pan Kay §ek'in sdmurgecilik hususunda Mao'dan eksik ta* rafi olmadigim anlamsakta gecikmemigl. Adi ge9en toplan- tiya igtiraki sirasmda Allbeg Hakim delegelere Dogu Tiirkis* tanm istiklaliyle ilgili bir bjldiri de dagitmigtr.

Allbeg Hakim, Mil\$iyet9i Qin idarecilerin Dogu Tiirkis* tan hakkindaki sdmurgecilik siyasetini bir defa daha gordiik- ten sonra, "Kei Gin, Sari Qin ve Kizil Rus, Beyaz Rus hep- si aynidtr" diyerek onlara iligini kesmigtr. Geride birak* tigimE cumartesi giiniine kadar gene Salihll'de mUtevazi fakat inangli hayatim siirdiren AH Beg Hakim 77 yagindaydi.

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China cautious, Russia optimistic on border talks

PEKING, Feb. 6 (AFP) — China will be cautious and the Soviet Union optimistic when officials of the two countries sit down for border talks in Moscow on Monday after an eight-year interlude, diplomats and analysts said today.

"It's unlikely any progress will be made in this first week of talks," an East European source in Peking said.

"The immobilization of the Chinese political apparatus prevents the Chinese negotiators from taking the smallest initiative."

Peking's caution stems from a political crisis in China, whereas Moscow will be satisfied with any step that contributes to rapprochement between the two countries, Western diplomats said.

The Jan. 16 resignation of Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, triggered the most serious political crisis for 10 years, marked by a power struggle between reformists and conservatives.

The future of China's open-door policy and who will succeed Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping is also uncertain.

The Chinese side will be satisfied that the talks took place when they were supposed to and will dwell upon the general nature of Sino-Soviet relations," a diplomat said, quoting official Chinese sources.

China and the Soviet Union share a 7,500-kilometer border, along which violent clashes have claimed the lives of several dozen troops in the past 20 years.

The Chinese side in the talks is to be led by Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Qian Qichen, since 1982 China's chief negotiator in talks about normalizing its relations with the Soviet Union, and the Soviet side by his counterpart Igor Rogachev, a China specialist.

The border talks were suspended by China after Soviet troops entered Afghanistan in 1979.

The resumption follows Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's offer in July to recognize that the international boundary runs along the middle of the Amour and Ussuri rivers instead of along the Chinese bank, which would concede to China sovereignty over a few disputed islands.

The Soviet position, described as a "real opening" by East European diplomats in Peking, was followed by the announcement of the withdrawal of a number of Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia.

China says Soviet military strength along its border is one of three obstacles to normalization of relations between Peking and Moscow.

The others are the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan and of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea.

China says there are 100,000 Soviet troops in Mongolia but Western experts reckon there are about 60,000.

The first series of Sino-Soviet border talks between 1964 and 1979 failed to produce any results.

China describes as "unequal treaties" 19th century agreements that cut its territory by one million square kilometers in Manchuria and by 500,000 sq kms where the Chinese province of Xinjiang meets the Soviet republic of Kazakhstan.

Arc L. Weiss 11 SCC 1987

Si-6-Soviet talkS⁷61a<ked out

MOSCOW, Feb. 10 (AFP) — Soviet and Chinese officials were continuing talks on their two countries' common border here today, although the negotiations have been shrouded in total secrecy since they started yesterday;

The only information officially released by either side has been the announcement that the Chinese delegation, led by Deputy Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, had arrived here Sunday. Such blackouts are common during Sino-Soviet talks...

The last talks on the 7,500-kilometer border ended in May 1978. China later said it was breaking off further contacts in protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979.

The main dispute concerns the part of the border to the northeast of Mongolia, along the Amur and Ussuri Rivers. The other section, southwest of Mongolia, forms the border between the Chinese province of Xinjiang and the Soviet republic of Kazakhstan.

Major clashes took place along the northeastern sector in March 1969, and some 240 Soviet soldiers and 800 Chinese were reported killed.

Moscow has played up the new talks as a major step in the normalization of relations with China, a policy initiated in 1982 and

reaffirmed by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in a speech in Vladivostok last July.

Gorbachev then proposed that the northeastern section should run along the middle of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers, which would mean that the Soviets would hand over a number of river islands to China.

However, the Chinese reportedly rejected a similar proposal when it was first made in 1978.

Soviet optimism has been boosted by a three-fold increase since 1983 in trade across the border, and by the resumption of transport on border rivers.

Russia pardons 140 dissidents

MOSCOW, Feb. 10 (R) — The Soviet authorities have pardoned 140 political dissenters in a wide-ranging review of prison and labor camp sentences imposed for anti-state activities, an official Soviet spokesman said today.

Gennady Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry's information directorate, told a news briefing that all the prisoners had either applied for pardons or promised not to continue their activities upon release.

arab news

SAUDI ARABIA'S FIRST ENGLISH LANGUAGE DAILY

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ion 1 L • N. Yemen 1.5 Y.R. • Oman 100 P* Pakistan 8 R • Philippines 16 P • Qatar 2QR • Syria 1 L • Sudan 50 PT • Thailand 40 BUT • U.A.E. 2 Singa

Century-old Marxism won't solve problems

China leaders set to bury communism

PEIPING, Dec. 7 (AP) — China said today that orthodox Marxism is outdated and cannot solve Chinese problems, a direct repudiation of the ruling Communist Party's founding philosophy. (Editorial on Page 8).

A front-page editorial in the party newspaper *People's Daily* proclaimed the thoughts of the Communist ideologues Karl Marx and his associates Friedrich Engels and Vladimir Lenin to be obsolete in the 1980s.

"Marx passed away 101 years ago, his works are more than a century old," the editorial said. "Some were his visions of that time, after which the situation changed greatly. Some of his ideas are not necessarily appropriate."

It said, "there are many things that Marx, Engels and Lenin never experienced or had any contact with. We cannot depend on the works of Marx and Lenin to solve our

modern-day questions."

The declaration was the latest sign of what foreign observers have called the party's slow, methodical reinterpretation of basic orthodox Communist principles that have helped shape the world's most populous country for the last three decades.

"When they say things like this, they are clearly trying to find a theoretical justification for what they are doing," said one Western diplomat. "It goes beyond what they've said before in terms of directness," said the diplomat.

The editorial coincides with an ambitious effort by senior leader Deng Xiaoping to remodel China's economy, encourage private enterprise, woo foreign investment and promote competition.

Some conservative party members are known to be uncomfortable with such steps

because they seem incompatible with fundamental Marxist tenets and could be interpreted as a shift to capitalism.

The editorial appeared mainly directed at criticizing those people, whom it said cling religiously to Marx's 19th century economic theories without regard for present realities.

"The economy is a vast sea, there are many questions that are not written in books," the editorial said. "They require us to investigate reality to find solutions."

Marx, considered the founder of modern-day communism, held that capitalist economies suppress the working classes, forced to sell their labor to a rich minority.

The philosopher envisioned that workers would rule, private enterprise disappear and all exploitation wither away in a society where everybody shared wealth equally.

"Using some theories of Marx and Lenin to define an abundant, rich modern life can only impede the advance of history," the editorial said. "As the successors of Marx, we have the obligation to develop and enrich Marxism."

The editorial reflected Deng's vision of what he calls "socialism with Chinese characteristics."

Deng, who emerged as senior leader two years after the death of revolutionary Chairman Mao Tse-tung in 1976, has reversed most of Mao's radical exhortations and directives.

He dismantled Mao's people's communes, and replaced them by the so-called responsibility system that allows China's 800 million peasants to grow crops individually and go into private business.

Contradicting Mao's egalitarian ideals, Deng's associates have decreed there is nothing wrong with a society of some rich and many poor, and that eventually everyone will become well-off.

The material quality of rural Chinese life has sharply increased under Deng's direction with many peasants multiplying their incomes-

m.4 ,m •>* w-w , -m

Türk Irklı

NSANLARI cepitli gruplar
altında toplamak için yapılı-
lan çalısmalar çok -sü-
larchılık kadar uzanmaktadır.
Bilim adamların böylesee
yeryüzündeki toplumlukları
belli kalıplar içindede

Türk tarihi üzerine araştırmalar -

orta boylu, beyaz ve kumral güzel yüzü kuvvetle boyaz, erkân vâdiîlerini tasvir eder. Bu tanîme Tâkîlerin makânlarıdır.

URBAŞI Sayı: 263 Antropoloji, rütasemni onus-
nukten kendisine misteryal olarak fert-
lerin vicudanın dit we lg yapısını alır.
Bu esasa dayanarak insanların teknarı
aynır.

Etnolojik, etnografi ve etnolojii
kültürel alanlarında ise esas bilim-
bilim ferd değil, cemiyetit. Bu bilim-
bilim ferd we sekil, Buraların disindan olarak deri,
deri asaplıdır. Buraları teleninler de ince-

Ural-Alasya dili grubu içerisinde
Fluvial (Flaleria), Taucuların Ural-
dalları; Moğollar, Tongzorur ve Takt-
ler'in ise Alasya dahili olusutardıkan
beri sınırlıtekdedir. Ayrıca Ural-Alasya
dili grubunun olusutardıkan bu kavimlerin
tadında TURAN Kermidki olarak İdm-
lakımlı adı verilir. (Böyük, 1992)

BİLK İŞESEFAL İRK
Bir çok şebeke...
Kısaltılmış bir isimdir. Bütün
toplumun sınıflandırılmasına
Brakicefal, kafatasılar
hücrelilikte ve Mesecefal
tipik olarak boyutlara göre
ayırılmıştır. Bu grubların
her biri üç tane alt grubu
var. İlk alt grubu, yani
nasırıksız bir gruptur.
Bu grubun adı, İLK İŞESEFAL İRK
dir. İLK İŞESEFAL İRK
grubundan doğanlar
genellikle yeterince
uzun süre yaşamamaktadır.
İLK İŞESEFAL İRK
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grubundan doğanlar
genellikle yeterince
uzun süre yaşamamaktadır.
İLK İŞESEFAL İRK
grubundan doğanlar
genellikle yeterince
uzun süre yaşamamaktadır.

Küller göremeyiz. Ni' kennis-
förm. Takt topikumkuma wollen ge-
unutarka başta hissen komus cerim-
onial bir addı. Küren bir örtülü anas-
metindeki. Bu komu da önceli yaz-
larumada ki akrabalarla bir kez anılm-
asımdan içim o cemasiar arasında
tasmasın içim o cemasiar arasında
anthropolojik ve etnolojik yönünden de-
benzerlik bulusmanasını genetikmekte
TANIT' nun "Zayıf Çalıka" ve
tanit. TANIT' nun "Zayıf Çalıka" ve

Buraya kadar ırk hukusunda tasnif yapan bilinen değerli konuların esaslarını açıklamakla devam ettiğimizde Tatar-Karimler olaraq bilinen Ural-Albay adlı grubun Kursiddeki kürsüsünden Tutan keşfetmeden dahi bilinçli bir şekilde ırk hukusundan yararlanılmıştır. Bu grubun içeriği ve işlevi hakkında bilgi vermek istedim.

Bu tunceli gone yapan tek sans-
lamandır. Santral meydanı ve lis-
sanlı dairesinde olurken Gözdeçen Mo-
colla, Tütke'e akrabası, Halbodi
Şoğulları ve Türkler'in yatakları
bakmadık. Bütün gelişimimde Türkler il-
olup, tarbiye gelişimimde Türkler il-
olup, tarbiye gelişiminde Türkler il-
olup, tarbiye gelişiminde Türkler il-
olup, tarbiye gelişiminde Türkler il-

Turk tarihi uzerine araştırmalar-5 -

Tiirkler basil basina bir irtktir. Mogollar veya baska irlarla bir yaknligi diisiiniilemez

MOGOL-TURK ilişkisi ancak kompleksitlige olmalan husus incelenirse agikhga katus. Bu iki Ulke tarih-i-i bilhassa Yahudi ruhbanlann et-kisinde kalmışlar, Tiirkiere karşı olan milU duygularının etkisiyle diger dini kaynaklarda bahsi gegen hurafeleri nakletmişlerdir. Hun, Avar (Apar), Gok-TURK, Uygur ve Mogol Imparatorluklan doneminde gorilmektedir. Bu irtibat sonucu oiarak kliltirel ve lisaniyat acisindan birbirlerini bUyilk ol-gude etkilemişlerdir. Bunun tabii sonucu oiarak zamanla bir gramer yakinligi hasil olmugtur.

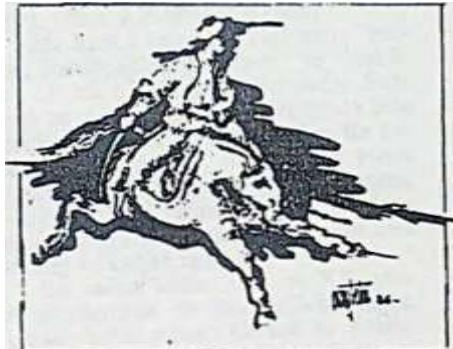
KULTUREL etkilegim sonucu dogan bu yaklaşımi Mogol-TURK oiarak de-gil, biitin diinya tarihinde degişik irlar arasmada gormek mümkündür. Dilciler, toplumlann tarihi ilişkileri içerisinde nsani yonden irtibatlarım gozoniinde bulundurmadıklanndan koken oiarak higbir baglan bulunma-yan kavimieri »kraba irlar oiarak gruplandirmışlardir.

Tiirkler başlı başma bir irtktir. Mogollarla veya başka irlarla en kiigik bir kavramak kolaylaşacaktır. Yahudi ve Arap yakınugi dirjUnUlemez. Tiirkler binlerce yıl efsanelerinin en dnemlilerinden olan komşulan ile 90k siki bir siyasi ve kULTIREL ilişkili kurmus, bunun sonucu oiarak da irtibat arasında irtibat kurulması daha oncede hallnde bulundugu topluluklara belirttigimiz gibi. "Tiirk korkusu"nun bariz kendisinden 90k şey verirken, Ahd-i Atik'i tefsir topluluklarında etki-sinde kaldigi olmuştur. Bu tarihi ge-lişimin kacmilmaz sonucudur.

Defalarca hatirlatmamiza ragmen

ULVI PINARBASI

degil, araplik duygusundan kaynakian- diğeri gergegi lizennde durulmaya deger bir hususuyettir. Arap dincileri Hiristi-yah ve bilhassa Yahudi ruhbanlann et-kisinde kalmışlar, Tiirkiere karşı olan milU duygularının etkisiyle diger dini kaynaklarda bahsi gegen hurafeleri nakletmişlerdir.



Bu hususta 90k' ^eşitli omekler bulummasına ragmen bir ornekle vazi-yeti goilarla veya başka irlarla en kiigik bir kavramak kolaylaşacaktır. Yahudi ve Arap yakınugi dirjUnUlemez. Tiirkler binlerce yıl efsanelerinin en dnemlilerinden olan "Ye'ciic-Me'ciic" hadisesiyle lurkler arasında irtibat kurulması daha oncede hallnde bulundugu topluluklara belirttigimiz gibi. "Tiirk korkusu"nun bariz kendisinden 90k şey verirken, Ahd-i Atik'i tefsir yoluyla siden dincilerin bazı "Me'ciic-iiTURKler'in atası oiarak gosterirken, baziları buna "Ye'ciic"U de ilave ederek her ikisini TURKler'in atası oiarak nakletmek yoluna eitmişlerdir.

"Ye'ciic-Me'ciic" bahande yalnız bu kadaria kalinmamış, Tevrat'a daya-nilarak bazi yakiştırmalar yapılmış ve TURKler'in atası oiarak Togarma, Ti-ras, Ye'cUc, Me'cUc olmak Uzerde ay-n menselere dayanan dort ayn ata kaydedilmişdir.

Tiirk irlarının Avrupa ve Asya iiizeline yaptığı buyiik ve devamlilik arze-den islalannnn sonucu dehşet igeri-sine dUşen maglup miilletler baŞari-azliklannn intikammi TURKler'i Ye'cUc-Me'cuc taifesi oiarak nitelene- le almişlardır.'

Bu cereyanlar sonucu hurafelere dayali yeni bir edebiyat tiiri geliş-tinildi. Huistyan-Latin edebiyatında Tiirkler normal insan olgulerinin dişi-na 9ikilarak gosterilmeye baslandı. Yeni model TURK tasvirlerine "yam- yamlik" ve "canavarlık" kavramlandı

ger9ekler delilieriyle ortaya gikarildik- tan sonra ağıkhga kavuşturulabilir.

Tiirkler tarinin her doneeminde yalnız kalnrı? nadir tophilulkardan biri-adır. Bunun sebebinl tarihin derinlik- lerinde aramak gerekir. Milattan on- ceki yillardan guniimiize kadar TURK irlarinin onUnde egilmek zorunda kalan Asya. Avrupa ve Afrikam bir9ok memleketlen kendi tarihi yenigilerinin sancisini Tiirkiere 9amur atma husu- sunda ve tarihi ger9ekleri saptirgia konusunda i^birrigi yaparak 9ikartmak yoluna gitmişlerdi. Bunun en basit ve 891k dmeği Haglik taassubunda gdrUlebilir. Tarihin degişik zamanlarin- da birbirerieye vahsi bir 9ikar mucade- lesi veren Avrupalılar kar§Uarında TURKler olunca eski diişmanliklanni unutarak yekviicut olmuşlardır. Bunun sebebi araştınlrsa, mutlak surette eski devirerde TURKlerden tokat yemiş topluhiklann lşbirliği yaptığı goriiUr. Ha9h zihniyetini yalnızca dini birlük oiarak gdrmek tarihi bir yanligidir. Din kisved altmda eski Tiirk dU\$manligim şuurlatmdan a9iga gikması Ha9li zihniyetini dogurmuş ve hifilen devam et-tirmektedir.

Bu dU^Unce tarzi ilim gevresine dahi siravet etmis olup tarih, antropo- loji, ecnotoji ve lengUistik sahalarda il- ml agik lam alar yap an bilim adamlari- nnr gogu kendisini bu yanlis zihni- yetten kurtaramavarak TURKler konusunda ilmi tefsirleri halen devam etmeye olan safsatilan niesnetsiz ve yanlis yoranUarla ortaya atmaktan ge-kinmemiştir.

Imparatoriuk doneeminde ise yanlış tarih anlayışı ve imparatorlu- gun bUtlUlgUnU saglamak dU\$Unesi ue takip edilen "Osmanlılik" siyaseti TURK illm adamlanni Tarihi hadiseler- de realitenin dişina iterken, imparatoriuk bUnesindeki Yahudi, Ermeni ve Arap cemaatlerinde uyanmaya başlayan milliyetgilik akumina engel olamamıştır. Bunun neticesi oiarak ortama gore aleni veya gizlidenden gizli-ye TURKler aleyhinde rivayetler ve tahrif edilmi? belgelere dayali isnat- lar ortaya atUmi^, iglerindeki tarihi kinlerini boylece kusma yoluyla git- miglerdir. Ermeni cemaatlerinin aley- himizde ba\$lattigi "barbar kavim" kampanyası, Yahudi ve Arap toplu- luklan adına ilim ve din adamlannn safsatasi olan "Ye'cUc-Me'ciic" hika- vesi hen bu duvtinun iirUnUdUr.

**surasını tekrar etmeden geçmeyece-
ğim. Bugün için yeryüzünde hiçbir
irkın ve dillin sâf olduğunu bahis konu-
su edilemez. Boyle irl ve diller bulun-sayıdı
• dişa kapali yaşamalarından - 90k iptidai
bir yaŞanti siirdilren toplu- luklar olması
gerekldi. Son yillarda ortaya gikartilan en
iptidai topluluk-lann bile irl ve dil oiarak
sUf olma- dikları, safliklamn yitirdikleri
belir- lenmistir.**

Llsami smiflandirmada aym gruba dahU edilen URAL-ALTAY (Turhan) kavimierini Ckir edinmek bakimindan sematik bir sıralama i9erisinde gos- tereşim;

**URAL-ALTAY
KAViMLERI**

FIN KAViMLERI

Turkler bash basma bir irtktir

(Bastarafı 4. Sayfada) detaya inmemiz gerekmek. Aym cUm- camur ?tmak kabil olmu\$tur. Ne varki bu leden olarak tip itibanyele "Nesnas" diye safsatalarla korukoriiine inananlar tarihin tanimlanan canavara da benzeti- . len Turk derinliklerinde en eski Qin, Arap, Acem irki bu olgUlerle gore; "gcengel gibi tirkaklan", vesika ve kayitlanni ince- leme Uizumunu "canavar gibi di\$len, "dev geneli", biitiin hissetmemi\$lerdir. Bunlarm di\$inda iki viicudu "Killarla kaph" bir yaratik olarak yazarin nazari- yelerine bakildigmda tasvir edil- mektedir. Ilim ve din adina Re\$idUddin tarihi vesikasi (!) TURkleri yapılan saf- satalann yeni bir halkasiru Anadoluya gelmeden mongoloid vasiflardan olu\$turma- si bakimindan ibret vend bir dolayli olarak degi\$iklige ugrami\$ ol* dugu iftiradir.

tezini ortaya atarken, Marsigll nazariyesinde "Nesnas" olgUlerine gore "yiizyir- mi Turkler Anadoluya yerle\$tiplen sonra beyaz ar\$in" veya "bir kari\$ " olarak gos- terilen ve irk in vasif- lanna haiz bir topluluk hUviyeti canavar olarak tasvir edilen Turklerle atilan ka- zammi\$tit denilmektedir. Aradaki bu iftiralar bununla da kalmamis, bunlann tarihi yer ve zaman mefhularının farkhligi yanisira "yamyam- hk" yaki\$itirmasiyla dahi eserlerin ne derece cid- di ve il.ni bir yenibir hurafe ek- lenmi\$tit. Bu isnatlarla hUviyet ta\$idi\$i konu- sunda fikir verir. gore TURkler hem insan le\$i, hem dehayvan Eski tarihi-vesikalar tekik edilirse TURklerin le\$i ye- mektedir. Avrupali yazarlar daha en eski tipinin Mo'ngollukla' hi^bir alakasi ileri j* giderek U^yiizyUdan sonra aym iftira bulun'ma- rdigi anla\$ihr.

Bunlann di\$mda olarak oncede etmi\$tit. Bu iftirayı sikilmadan atabi- len oelirrtigimiz siyasi ve sosyal sebep- lerden Avrupali'lar XL yuzyilda Antakya dolayi TURkler konusunda siire- gelen Haqli muhasasasi esnasmda yakaladikla'n Tiirk zihniyeti geregisi olarak TURkler san irttan casuslanni pi\$irerek yediklerini yine kendi gosterilmek sure- tyle medeni kabiliyetten kaynaklannda belirtmekte* dirler. (Bkz. yoksun ol- duklan esasi vurgulanmi\$tit. J.F.Michaud eseri)

Boyle bir istismar konusunun Avrupalilar tara- fmdan ele alınmamasma her\$eyden on- ce hissen imkan yoktur. Son yillarda kaleme almmi\$ olan ilmi eserlerde bile Turkler, Mongollar ve Tunguzlar'in ak- raba irlklar olarak gosterilmeleri gele- nekSEL Avrupa anlayuj ve goru\$ tarzi- nm devammidan baska bir\$ey degil- dir.

TRIH boyunca Tiirk irki- ni gitti\$i yerlerde olu\$- turdugu bUyiik medeniyet- ler ve bunun etkisi alt in- da kalan milletler gdzdnU* ne alinirsa Avrupai dU\$Un- ce tarzmin bi'dat bir dii- \$Unceden oteye gidermeye- cegi ortaya qikar.

Aym iftira silsileandan biri olan "Ye'cUc-Me'cUc" taifesi ile Turkler arasmda kurulan ve Mongoid bir tip olarak tasfir edilen, "Kitab-i Mukad- des" in de bazi bolUmlerinde ki "Gog- •Magog" isimli \$ahislarla irtibat kurul- mus ve bu konuya ilgili olarak Yahu- di, Hristiyan ve Musliiman kaynaklar- da ki biitiin efsaneler tahrif edilerek Yahudi ve Araplarca TURk irtkma isnat edilmijitir. Ba\$langicta bu konu uze- rinde geni\$ bilgiler verildiginden fazla

ileri sUrebbecek kadar ileri gitmi\$t;r. _ Bunun en bariz omegi Misirda gUzel sanatlann geli\$mesinde cok buyUK rol oynayan "Tolun" ve "Baybars" gibi Turk hUkUmdarlanm "Tiirk" olmayip, bu medeniyeti meydana getirdiklerin- den dolayi zamanla TURklesmi? olan • Hind-Avrupalilar dan olmasi lazim gel- " digini ileri sUrmU^tiir.

Avrupalilarin bize dU\$manliklan- ni hi^ki.nse inkaredemez. GUNiimUzde daimi dost ve dii\$m?nlilikler sozkonusu olmadigi iqindiplomasi yo\$arla bizi et- kisiz kilmi\$lar, hadiseleri iyimser a'i- dan bakmamizi saglamislardir. Ancak Avrupalinm bize dU\$manlik besliyen kesimi kamuoyu olup, bunun temelin-, de Hristiyan-Islam <;ati\$malari ve yUz- lerce yillik mUnasebetler i\$igindaki ha-, diseler yatmaktadır. • -

Avrupa ve' Avrupalilar kendilerine ■. benzemeyen her\$eyi medeniyet di\$i saymaktadirlar. Boylece hem kendi- . lerini UstUn goriyor, hem de kendi di\$inda kalan toplulman a\$agilama yoluna gidiyor. Turkler kar\$tsinda . olu\$turulan kamuoyu ve safsatadan oteye gidermeyecek gUIUn?IUKte ki iftalar bu dU\$Unce tarzmdan kaynak lanmaktadır.

Bu iftiralar ne derece gU!Un<; olur- sa olsun di\$imizda bulunan kitleler ve cemiyeterin kafalannda bir s\$iru isareti birakir, zihinlerde bir istifam , dogmasma sebep te\$kil eder. Zihin-' - i lerdeki bu istifamlan yokedcbilm<!. ' i^in gUnUmUze kadar aleyhimi/d.- sin* ' lenenleri ve tahirf edilen beige e sa'ir \ malumatlan incelemeck, yanli\$ilik ve tahrifatlan gozler onUne sermek TURk- IUK ve TURk Tarihi a^isindan onem - arzetmektedir.

Boyle bir ^ali^mada oncelikle \$u hususlar dikkate alimmla ve detayli olarak ortaya konmalidir;

- a) TURk irki dUyamn ana irklarm- dan birini olu\$турmaktadır. .
- b) San irka mensub olan Mongol- * larla TURkler arasmda bir yakmlik soz konusu olamaz. TURkler beyaz u-ka mensubduriar.
- c) "Oguzlar" (TURkmenler) Tiirk- * lerin atasidir.

d) "Ye'cUc-Me'cUc" taifesi i. TURkler arasmda hi^bir baglanti yok- .. tur.

e) TURkler "Orta-Asya"da diinya- * nui en eski medeniyetini kurmu\$tur.

f) TURkler "te\$kilat?" bir toplu- • , luktur

V

Z tMatt

23 TEMMUZ 1989 PAZAR

KULTUR.-SANAT.

Dogu Turkistan'da milli filmlere ilgi gösterildigini belirten M.Emin Bey:

“Film sektoru Cinlilerin tekelinde”

RCportaj: SCleyman finS

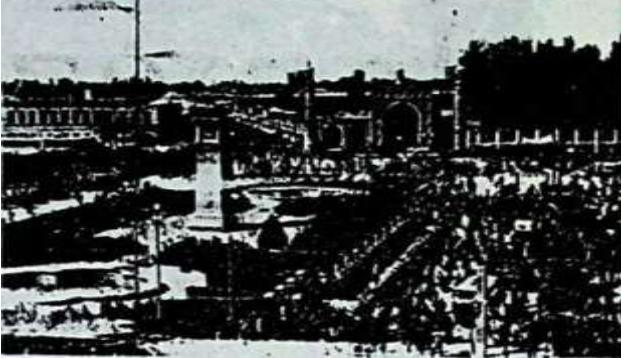
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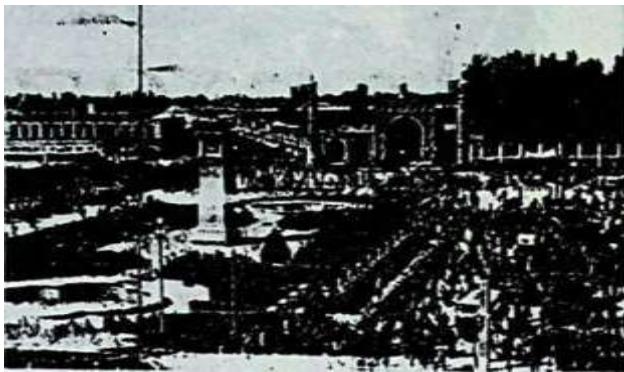
6# nnnn

■ U kabr" dOaurianyla, ya M-ilerineri kanilar veya olur oitiaz ycrire dinsizlik propagan-f~ JU sokari. Tabi bunlan da ■-dara en iyi jckilde dialog .aasayallasvaylatdarab suratife gerfclkjritirir. Ba do-run koariliniz] ilk ulimiyyi bajladiklan Qlkderc de bulyedir Ruya'da, Cln'de de...

Yakin bir zaman ifnde memltaimh-fileH bir kafij hikyesinden sonra-iliica edip yerinen M(bated Emin Bey, komdisterin propaganda ana olarak en fok rjsbet coikleri filmcilik ijini yapiyordu. Keodis- bin Uy gur TOrku olan Mehmed Emin Hazret, Dogu Tdkistan-daki "Tann Dag" Oddy'u'oda senaryo yazan olarak vazife yapiyordu. Yaznju oldugu senaryolaridan firdindn fUm'i haline getirilincinden baska bu daldal fiddier de  son filmi linamalarda gOsterilircen TOkiye yolunda bQriyere kafsi.

Mehmed Emin Bey'cikfin-* "Dogu TORUstan da aana-tm ju andakj durumu oedir?" dive sorduk. Harrell: "Dogu Tdkistan, tarihlen berf anal kaynagidir. BQJQn ddn-yadakj TOrk kavmkeri Ifnde t IS mnham adegece Dodu TOrk-latan Uyguranna vadir. Iff makamk lera edilmed Ifin her bir Iki nat Qztr-rgifi mat sQre gerddktir.

Diger "TOrk kabOderinde makam jar ama, bfiyle tabmi hallnde makam yoktur. Turkye'-i makam durumutu blml-vorum. tran'da bide vedi ma-



Mehmed Emin Harrel, ginvardir. 1980 yudson sonra Ukrin kfndi propegaodilmi ya'aoeyhahayati anlalan, tarifcrobabilmek if sanai etkinliklerin manlar yaumluya bajlandi. Hatta bam romanlar Tdkla-rek, "Biz, KUldr harcketterine tan'da elki gfiatir. Karahan lan veriyoruz" dyibelime-ler tdalettel anlanan "Saltuk Bug-

maz, 1939 yilinda kurulan Ti-yentan (Tann Dtg) Film Slld-yosundu 46 film peklli. Bunu Ifinde adaece ala uoesl Tdkle-rin yazdigii senaryolarla fekilen Film. Difrit tanesini ben yazdim.



Solda Dofiu TOrWstan'dan bir gOrOntO (Kaxgar). G>te Mehmed Emin Bey.

dki Umlerin konularun ge-S.Onal - Cinliler kodikri nell'Ue rtlinh propagandaBin Ifinde gfsiterilea (Umlerde ab-yapan nikkile oldugu MUmrU UU Uidckrc dikkat ediyorfar ar mi? -

M.Emin - Cinluerdecskiden beri ahlak bakimindan fok has-

suur bir millel. Fakai son zamanlarda bazi bof olmayan gfsiOn-O-

kr de fok ikmak degil. Yine de MiF fok yerde aSiMbecen sahneler makaslaniyor.

S.Onal - Sincmalar aeylrd loptamada tekvlyon 0* yan-

M.Emin - Dogu TOrkiaUnlar (Umler) fok seviyor ve bu

sebepten dolayi sincmalar do-

yuUr. BumunedaleriinDbajm-

da Dotu TOrkitan halkinin odertmen (derdi) Mr millet of-

genler. Aynca lehliyizova da

yagu degil ub. Video iac da-

ha yaci geldi. Sinemalarda aym

filmde binebjedzb'Uet saliliyor.

TOrk halu Orellike milli (Him-

leri o kadar fok seviyor ki ba-

tepten aym film! ondat fazla sey-

reokleri oluyor.

S.Onal - Sincmalar belli-

halkin gclrlinc (fire ucuz mu?

M.Emin - Biliyorsunuz, ko-

ndmst dleller protagandaya

fok

finem verir. Bunun ifin de bl-

leiler hayat janlanra gfire pahat

diktar. M.Emin yediginden ifin-

ginden keaitrek burralara y-

sintan tevk paralan, aym (ekilde

kaphra) da veril meklidir. TaM

finem iftvcQ kkkaplar da bu se-

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S.Onal - Sadec Dogu TOrkh'Un'da

sonra Ptkln'e gSndcrlip

M.Emin - Tdkr artisillerinin ben bunya kafarken sine

oynamasua ragmen, cbcue on-malar-

yanlih reklami yipdiroydu. Süm-

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WATERFALL: A beautiful waterfall, a natural treasure of China

Merchants thriving in Silk Road city

By Roger Crabb

KASHGAR, Chinese Central Asia (R) — To get rich quick in Kashgar, it is best to become a commodity merchant...and that is official. But if you are a farmer and can make enough money on the side after filling your state quota, you can also make good money by building up a private herd of livestock.

"When the gang of four were in power in Peking, there was total collectivization of agriculture and trade," said Eisa Shakir, deputy commissioner of Kashgar prefecture. One or two goats or donkeys were permitted but that was all. "Now we have no limits on how many animals you can own — if you can raise 100, or even 1,000, then that's fine."

Shakir was speaking to the first group of foreign correspondents admitted since the 1949 Communist takeover to this highly sensitive garrison city, about 4,000 kilometers west of Peking and just 120 kilometers from the Soviet border.

He said private enterprise boomed again in Kashgar after the pragmatic Deng Xiaoping won power in China in late 1978 and reversed Mao Tse-tung's collectivist policies. So who are the richest people today in this ancient city, once a key staging post on the fabled Silk Road between China, India and the Mediter-

ranean/

"I think the richest are the businessmen, some can even afford to buy lorries," Shakir said. "By this I mean the professional traders, completely dissociated from farming." Shakir said most of the daily commodity dealing in the area was handled by private merchants, who cram the bazaar with a bewildering array of exotic goods from spices to pantyhose.

"They know the demands of the market, they have contacts in Shanghai and Peking. They can cable their contacts and get goods here in 10 days. If you went through bureaucratic channels, you could wait up to a year."

Would it be true to say Kashgar's private sector was one of the most significant in China? "You can assume that," Shakir said with a smile. He added that there were more than 10,000 professional traders in Kashgar, up to 3,000 working fulltime and others combining trading with farming.

He said there was greater plenty here than in the Soviet Union or parts of Eastern Europe. "Last year I went to Romania and Yugoslavia and I saw some of their markets. They were drab." He added: "The briskness of our market and trade is due to new policies set out by the party and government. If you

go to the counties (in the surrounding countryside), business is even brisker."

Shakir, a former peasant who "joined the revolution in 1950 a few months after the Communists' Civil War victory and studied for two years in the central party school in Peking made no secret of his contempt for the rigid collectivist policies of Mao and his disciples.

Shakir said Kashgar's historic bazaar was closed down altogether for more than 10 years in the 1960s and 1970s. All those engaged in trade were labeled speculators. "Only the state stores remained open, everything had to be bought through state outlets and many goods were not available."

Outside the city, though, trading continued according to age-old tradition, he said. Was revival of the bazaar one of the most significant effects of Deng's freer economic line? "Oh yes, people love it." "When the new policies were proclaimed in late 1978, they were at first afraid to stick their necks out. It took time, the bazaar was not revived until 1981."

Are there any restrictions on trading in Kashgar? "If you were a profiteer, or dealt in drugs, then yes, but so far there have been no such cases," Shakir said.

Arab News

U jw. >ni

Kashgar is a lively relic of the Silk Road

By Michael Parks

KASHGAR. China (LAT) — Ahmat the saddle maker had traveled two days across the rocky Taklimakan desert on his little donkey cart to sell (our new hand-tooled leather saddles and what he boasted were the "world's best bridles," a claim he knew would be challenged.

"A bridle must be both beautiful and very practical, strong yet delicate," Ahmat said, beginning his sales pitch at Kashgar's Sunday bazaar to more than a dozen horsemen who I gathered around, inspecting his work. "A saddle has to be made with care that shows respect for the rider and the horse. These, my friends, are the finest you can buy."

Ahmat, 51, a craftsman whose family has been making saddles, bridles and halters for seven generations, soon found customers, mostly Kirghiz tribesmen from Kizilsu in the nearby Tianshan Mountains, which form part of the Sino-Soviet border in Central Asia.

The bargaining, however, was fierce and went on for some time before each sale. Ahmat demanded prices that even he later conceded were nearly twice the goods' value, and in turn was offered only a third of what he asked. He pointed out the

high quality of the leather, the strength of the stitching and rivets, the beauty of the polished brass and the skill of his work. The potential buyers picked away at defects, real and imagined.

In the end, Ahmat's sales for the day were good — three saddles and more than 20 harnesses, halters and bridles.

"I always find buyers at the Toshiketarwaz market in Kashgar on Sundays, and buyers always find what they want," said Ahmat, whose wife, Mayenur, 46, was buying several lengths of colorful silk from the cloth merchants to make dresses for herself and their daughters, clothes for two grandsons and spices that are hard to get in their village on the southern edge of the desert. "On Sunday," he added, "all roads lead to Toshiketarwaz."

The roads to Kashgar's Sunday market were crowded before dawn as the first of about 100,000 people began arriving on horseback, donkey carts, trucks, tractors, bicycles, even camels for what is probably the largest open-air bazaar left in Central Asia.

From the high Pamirs, the Tianshan and the Kunlun mountain ranges come Kirghiz and other herdsmen, sometimes traveling a week to bring their horses, sheep, wool and skins to sell. From northern Xinjiang, China's westernmost province, there are Kazakh herders. There are also Tajiks, Uzbeks, Tatars, Mongols, a few ethnic (Han) Chinese and occasionally some traders who have never over the Karakorum Mountains from Pakistan.

But most, like Ahmat, are Ughurs, a Turkish people who farm the oases around the Taklimakan desert and constitute about half of the province's population of 13 million.

They come dressed in high fur hats, along sheepskin coats and tall boots. Many of the women wear brown or white veils. Their faces are dark, their eyes deep-set and searching. Most of the men have beards, which range from full and black to wispy white.

They bring with them the horses, donkeys, sheep, goats, cattle and camels they hope to sell as well as carts laden with cotton, wool, doth, carpets, lumber, vegetables, fruits, fertilizer, pots and pans, traditional handicrafts and manufactured goods from factories as far away as Peking and Shanghai.

The Central Asian bazaar — the word means market in Persian — is an integral part of a centuries-old but changing way of life. It not only matches buyers and sellers in lively commerce, but it is also the place where friends are met, news exchanged, meals eaten and children introduced to the outside world.

"We come only once a month or so because we live so far, but when we come we make a good trip out of it," said Ahmat, who has no family name. He is known in his village simply as "the saddle maker," as were his father, grandfather and great-grandfather.



"We visit relatives," lie siul, "lake mu midday meal with friends, stop at the mosque in town, shop for this ami that and hear all the latest gossip."

I hat is about the way Marco Polo, the Venetian adventurer, found the bazaar when he stopped in Kashgar in the 13th century, and the way merchant-travelers described Kashgar even earlier, when it was a major junction along the old Silk Road from China to medieval Europe.

"We have a very long history — more than 2,100 years — as one of the principal crossroads of Central Asia," Mamutov Kurban, the commissioner of Kashgar prefecture, said, recalling how virtually every caravan stopped here on its way into or out of China. "This naturally gave us one of the largest bazars in the whole region, with a section for everything."

But the decline of the Silk Road as sea routes to the Far East were discovered and shifts in trading patterns after the 15th century diminished Kashgar's importance, according to Chinese historians. Although it remained a regional commercial and cultural center, as well as a gateway to Chinese Turkestan, as the region was then known, Kashgar — and its famed bazaar — gradually shrank as the flow of traders and customers decreased.

The ancient city of Kashgar, about 25 miles west of here, was abandoned because of repeated spring floods from melting mountain snow, and virtually all the ruins were washed away.

The greatest blow to Kashgar and its bazaar, however, was a series of what are now officially described as "leftist errors" by the Communist regime in Peking. The Sunday market was ended, the merchants' shops in the bazaar around the mosque were taken over by the state and buying and selling of almost everything except vegetables and eggs was outlawed.

"We thought the market contradicted socialism, and so we closed it all down and tried to make everything go through state channels," Li Denglue, one of Kashgar's deputy commissioners, recalled. "As a result, everyone suffered. Production dropped because there was no way to sell things people used to produce."

"Things people used to buy at the bazaar were no longer available. The state had no way to plan and organize the production of the thousands upon thousands of things people had been making and selling and buying, but it took us some years to realize this... We had taken away something, the bazaar, that had worked fairly well for centuries, without anything better to put in its place."

With China's recent rural reforms encouraging a return to household farming and family-run businesses, the market was

two that they have been able to buy their own trucks and build their own warehouses.

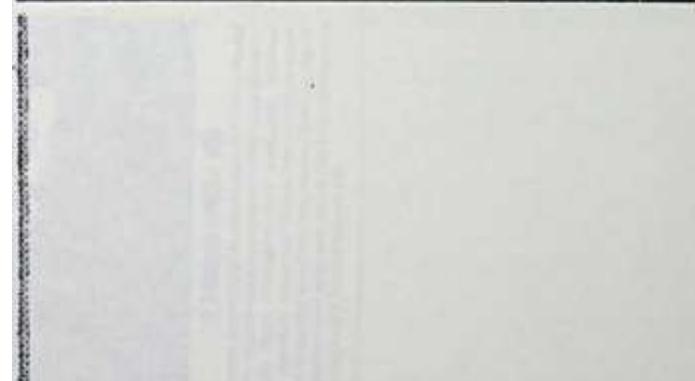
Seeing a rare Westerner wandering by, one of Ilte cat/KI dealers called out in Russian, though no Russians have been here since China closed the Soviet consulate in Kashgar in 1952, and brought out his best rugs. Sitting cross-legged on one of them ami sipping tea, he reminisced about the changes in Kashgar over his (til plus year.

"These have been hard times," he said. "The Chinese brought their Civil War out here in the '40s. later they quarreled with the Russians and then they had their Cultural Revolution and closed the bazaar and, (or a month, even the mosque.... Things are better now, and they are correcting their mistakes."

Such frankness would be rare in most of China, but Kashgar seems quite another place. It may simply be its remoteness. It is so far from Peking, in fact, that television programs are shown a week late. It takes that long to fly videotapes out from Peking and dub in a Uighur sound track.

Or it may be the knowledge that the economic and social system Kashgar has developed over the centuries works well enough and should be the basis for future growth.

"We have strong traditions of our own, a sense of our own history and, of course, our (relief in Islam," said Kaili Kurpurji, a leader at Kashgar's Al Kali Mosque. "We live first of all by the Qur'an. I hat does not mean we live in the past, but the future must take account of the past. Our traditions are strongly rooted, and our faith in Islam is great."



D Bom Türitistanlı inlî yarın M. Emin Hazret, ailesiyle birlikte



swij

D Dogu Tiiristanli iinlii yazar M. Emin Hazret, ailesiyle birlikte Turkiye'ye signdi

Cin/den hürriyete kaçtılar

•SKKVKT KAHAKI

E tr Dogu Turkistan UavaM'nm XS y.iym-
tlaki yilmar mucabuh. Dogu Tiirkisan
I luikiincti I ski CiciK'! Schkroier v< luikiye'
dcki Dogu Tiirkistullilurit Lulcri Isa Yusuf
Alpicken'm, o her zamauki kibar, beyc/cml'i
>esi, heyyecandamnyordu lelefonun obiir
ucunda...

"Scr.w'i Kecyfendicigim!" dive haylavlan
Imabi Jyle siirdum vordu "Siz*... evnccccfiniz
dncnili hir haberim ve dolayisyla bir ivliranham
var... Dofu rürkisan'imizin von devirde
yelciliyti en buytik yazarlarimi/dan biri olan
Mehmed tmrin 1 lazrl beg, hammi e 2 yocugu ile
hir-likle, gizlice islanbulumuzu uoldi, kendisi yok
iniihim hir yahsiyicilr ve son nuslakil 1 urk Kal'csı
ulan Turkiyemi/c illieen cl nich- derdin- dedir. Hu
kunuda yekiliplerle guriyup, liu kar- deymizine
yardimci olmanizi istirhum cdiyorun..."

Har illiee olayina yardinti olmak elbelleki von
derece kriiik bir iyi... illieacinn niyclimn ne
oltugunu peyneu kestirmek mOinkin degidi
elbel Uiruk ornegiule oltugu gibi, lynn sonu
amiyanc labire "yapanoglu" yika- bihridi... Ama
illiee istcindge gian sovdavuum- zin kefili, hakkiva
"Dcvlel Adami" ulan isa Yusul Alpiekin Bey'di
Gcrck csir, grck bur biilin Turkisianilarin uniidi,
bnderi kisucu "isa Efendi'si olan Saym Alpiekin
de, dyc kolay kolay kimseye kclil olmazdi...

Kalamini iynden birkay samyedey geeyn bu
duyuncelerden sonra, Isa Hey'e verecigi- iniz
ccvap, elbelle ki. "Rivamz bay lizredir. Size hizniel
iyi elden ne gelirse yapilacaklir" olacak...

Ve birkay sa.il sonra misalir edildikleri bir
hemchyri evinde, Dogu TURkisanli 39 yasm- daki
unlu ya/ar, senurist, ya'r Mehned Lnniil Lazreuve
ailesiyle karyi karyiva geldik Tam' kisa hir Mire
sunra da 41) yillik dosimi.. asina kaynatlik Dogu
Turkisanli haniiinlerin an'nevi kiyafclim giyniinii
olan cyi Fcr/ide Ilanun'in gdzlerindeki korkuya
aidirmad.ni. km Merlwa be oglu Mustafa' ya siki
sikisa sarilan, Turkiye'ye kavuyniauin
nuilulugunu yayayan, iinlii edebiyaiyi Meh- med
limiti I lazrel, imee kendini lannu bi/e...

Ilalen Gin csarelende biilunan ve <,'inli- rin
"Yeni Kazanlimy lopruk" anlaimma gelen,
"Sinkiang Olonom Bdgsi" adini verdikleri

Anayiurdunn/ Dogu liirkisan'in llolen
Vilayeli'ldde, 1931 yilda dogmilytu. Ilk
yoekluk ve genyilk yillarda, Kii'c'm eSa-
relmekti Anayuil'a "Tiirk" kelimesini kill-
laniluiasi yasaklı "Kijlii Devrimi"nin Tiirkler
lizenndeki zulmi, biiilin yiddciyle devam
ediyorud ve Iki "Kil canavar" Gin ile Sovyet
Rusya arasindaki "Tiirkistan' yeme savayı"
biilin yiddelile devam edi- yordu... Ailesiun
Inilin yapabildigi. Gmlilc- nn asinuslasyon
polikasun il merdiveni olan, her lurlii modern
cihazla donatilmiy vc cazip hale gelinliuiy G'in
Okulu yerine, kiyiik Mehned l.mini, okul
vagina gcldigindig bakihsiz eski bir bmadha hi/niel
yap.in Uygor Mcktcbi'nc verinek olmuyiu. Ilk ve
oria lahsilini Uygor niekleplcrinde yapan
Mehned I min, 19 yayina geldigimdc. rah- nielli
babasi oim kaiyimiai uiuity ve okulvla meeburne
ogrlcilcilerden lar,li veyler siyle- nyuli:

•SOIIIKIT HASUYOR.

"1972 yilinda Urumyi'deki Sinkiang Uni-
uersitesi Fdveyiylakulctesine girdim. Uygor Dili
ve Udebiyali Hblimi'nden 1976'da mezen
uldum. Mezun iiltlugunu yil ukulun tiirine sin-
finda difrencl oianianium Fcrzide ile lamy-
liin. Fcrzide (ulea Vilayelinden... Ililen ile
Gulca'nn arasi 2 bin kilumclrc... Ama kader
karyilaylinuyl bi/i... Kendisine bunlari sbyt-
niem niunikun degidi ama, kararunu verniyi- tim.
Onuna evleneeklim ve inayallah onu da
beraberinde Aziz Tiirklycmize getirceeklim
birgin... 1976'dan 1982senesine kadar "Sinkiang
Medcniyel" adh Dergiun Yazi iyeri
Mu'durugu'nu yaplim. 1979 senesinde Fcrzide
okulu hilirinde evlendi. Ii siralarda durina- dan,
usamadan I iirkyci'ye hangi yolla gidebi-
lcceffini diiyiniyi orдум... 1982-1983 yillannda
IVkin Sinema Insliisi'nde dfiri- nini gürdü...
ilk yneugumuz kiz oldu. Adini Merliaba kuyduni.
Hu Tiirkiyemeye gizli bir selamdi adela... ikinei
Yavruniuzun, oglumu- zuu adi Muslafadır...
Mustafa hem YicelVV- gamberinizin, hem de son
nuslakil Deilelimi/iii. liirk) einlzin
Kureusunu adi- dir. 1984 yiluidui heri de Gi'
Halk Cumhuri- yell liyanyan Film Sliidyosu'nda
Senaryo Yazari olarak yahymakladim.
Millellerarası Kestivallerden bazilarinda Gin 11 a
I k Cumhuriyeli ni temsil ellim. Ama hep yalmz
gonderiyorlardı hen. Goeuklariini, ailemi

liarakamazdun... Filmlerim sinemalarda giisli-
riyordu. Silr kilaplarun, rumanlarim, senar-
yolarim "Sinkiang Taylar Neyriyal" lara fmdan
hasilmiyli. Kiseasei meyhur
ulmuyum. Han Urumi'deki Sinkiang
illifak lisesinde Idebiyal Muallimidi. Ma-
yimin yanmda eserlerim yamlandikya kalem
hakki da ahordum. Mali durumumuz differ
voydaylanmiza giire son derece ivydi ama..."

O K I N C I S INIF VATANDASIZ

Iyle "ama" dan sonra Mehned l:min HazrcTin
dudaklarindan dokulenler:

"G'nlilere gore ikinei simf valandaylik. O
diinaya bilinen Ginll sinsiliji iyinde korkun Inr
asimilasyon pulifikasi uvguluvorlardı. lurklerin
mullim bir inemuriyicle, gureve gel- rilmesi
niunikun degildi. O gu/elim. o nimbil Tiirkisan
inprakları, gdylillerin milvonlarea yinlive peyki-
y yekiliyor, liirkisan'da alum denemeleri
yapihyordu. Yani hu liukleri crilme, soylarim
unullurna, sonra da vulma pulifikasi siirdigim
miiddeleye, belki hir dojl, yucuklarim degil, ama
Inrularimiz kirm olduklarim unulakeak ve
yigilcicecekli... alan zalcn kaybedilmiyii ama
bbylccc soyumuz ve mensub oldugumuz yiice
dinlmiz de kaledile- cekli Tiirkisan'da..."

Vc Mehned Hinin Hazrci insabirlailmck-
ledigi Turkiye'yle Vuslal' in hikayesiue geh- yor
sira...

"Uilirsizsin, islam Konferansi Teykilal'mn bir
yan kuruluyu olan Kahilatil Alemi-islami
(Dunya Islam Birfigi) diye hir kuruluy var. Hu
lurduy son villarda Dunya ya yirin giirunmeve
yalyan Kuril Gin'de, malidul sayida misliimian-
larm liaccad gldnermesi ve bunun gibi konu-
larda biraz ekili oldu. Mancti haski yapli G'"
Uevleli'ne... jyle hen hir firsalm bulup, Hu
kuruluyun (icnel Sekrelerine kendimi ailemi
haeva davel ellirdim. Savin (icnel Sekreler
Abdullah Oifler Nasipin. 4 defa adima dav- liey-
gtindermesine ragmen pasapori vermedi- kr... Hu
arada llanimimin -Sovyet simlari içinde kalan
Ilali I iirkisan'da, kardeyleri uldu- jumu
helircerek, 5 yilden heri Sovyet Kusya'ya
gidehilmek iyn pasapori miracaalı piyoyr- duk.
Israr talcph-rimiz karyisinda, ailece pasa-
purllarını verdiler. Pasapori aldiklan sonra ilk
defa Tiirkiyemeye gclme nkrimi haniminia zylim.
G'k cndiyelendi ama svvinmiyli. Iliybir

vakininu/a ve akrahamiza hissellirmeedei ev
eyvalanmu/si sallik. Sonra da Smveller HirljSi iyin
vi/e aimak uzeri IVkin'e gidivefumi/i sov- ledik
akrahalarla.. Ickin'de Sovyet honsilos- lufii diyinda
gi/ice Hulgarsilan. Konianva ve lurkive
konsolosluklarma da ofrayip vire alilik. Aslinda
Uruini ile laykenl arasi 7(111 kilometre... Y ani I
gunluk sol... Ama pasapori- larini/daki I,(viresole I
iirkisan sinirmdan yikniak isiesek. Iienien yakalay
aaeklarili. Omni iyin yolu 9 gun urallik ve Manyurva
Simm'ndan Kusaya geylik. Ilurda lurk Kon-
soloslugundan vi/e jlhileefiim kimseiiii akina
gelmediyi in, simr giirevhli-ri ineevl- mediler bile
pasaportlanmija... 17 ISul>ul 19X9'da giriy
yapligim Sovveller Hirligi'nde, laykenl. Ilulara, I
romre ve Mmaala hayla olmak urene 1 irk lloge-
lerinde ilaylik. Ilani- niunun 3 yaymda aynldigi
ahlalarim, agalarim lutluk. 3 ay yakim hurrarlari.i
kiliyil. I Mavis 1989 giinii Moskva'lvavluk. 4 gun
de oraila kalikhian sonra Irene Komanya'nn
laykenl ilikrey'e geldi. Hukrey'e lurkive'ye nasil
geleliileeginegir suryulunk, hisleiee' den islanhul'a
otuhii varmiy. Hileleri alilik Akyama dugru bindik
oihiuse... Arid, sahaba fiirkive'ye varaaeklik...
Hulgarsian'i geee geylik... Ama hir yerde yinegiuiur
ag/inu/j geldi. I ols obolusii durdurunca yok korknk.
(am. Turkiye'yv ulay, ieakken hayimiza hirvey
gehnesin diye... Aina ineger olohiis yanliy yola
girmi. O'lise birar riyvel verinek hirakilar... lyle
yimid lurkiyemizdeyir... Mlah nasili ederse kalmak
niyelindeyiz ha arı valanda..."

• IIKYIX AMMI- ziiu I m:..

Erlci sabali f.igaloglii/mlaki Istanbul I innyiel
Mmliflrgii Hmasi' mla, I niyiei Miidiira I luuli
Arilah'nin iKlasuul.iy i/ Unlu bir yazar olmasiia
lagiuen. Kii'c'm Gm* tie hir polls ineiniruna bile
M>III sorua hakki olinayau Melunet I nun
lla/rel. babaeen (avril llaindi Arvlah'nin chili
opiyor. iu- nayla inizalathgi 2 eseruti lakilim
etliivoi Arti'hya ve lurkive ('iimliuriyeli
valamlayi olmak isletiligi, o gu/elim Uvgur
^ive-yle anlaliyor... Sonra tla yaylaruuin
yutlutiulai- ken, kulagina egilip >u ciimclei
fisildiyor:

"Kalemimi liundan sunra Ki'il Gin Me/ali-
niyi anlatik iyin kullanacaaifiin. F'er yavin-
lamaya deger ulursanz size vereegeim arir
karindayim..."

A. L. N.

With poplars, elms, dates and mulberry trees

Hardy Chinese beat back Gobi desert

By Roger Crabb

TURFAN, Chinese Central Asia (R) — Step out from the shelter of the tree belt at the "five star" farm commune and you come face to face with Turfan's age-old enemy — the Gobi desert.

Turfan is an oasis of 10,300 square kilometer clawed out of the surrounding isolation by countless generations of hardy Uighur peasants living here on China's last frontier.

If children can splash naked in the clear streams running alongside Turfan's popular-lined streets, if the houses have cool, shaded courtyards behind the sun-baked mud walls, it is because out there in the Gobi (it means gravel in Mongolian) there are 426 underground canals hacked out at unimagined human cost.

And if Turfan county earned 42 million yuan (\$21 million) last year from agricultural produce — including China's best long-staple cotton, internationally-prized dessert grape and the succulent melon — it was at the price of a never-ending campaign of tree and bush planting to keep the voracious desert at bay.

Two European missionaries visiting Turfan early this century described it as "a green island...lapped by grit and camel instead of ocean water."

At present, human endeavor seems to hold a slight edge. "We regained 1,330 hectares in the past 20 years," said Turfan county government official Chen Junkun.

But the threat is always there. This spring, hurricane force winds whipped up a sandstorm which affected 30 percent of Turfan's agricultural crop causing damage estimated by Chen at 10 million yuan (\$5 million).

"In the old days, before the tree belts, everything would have been wiped out," he said. People here can still remember having to break out through their roofs after houses were buried in sand.

Turfan county is one of three in the Turfan

depression, 2,500 kms west of Peking in the wastes of northern Xinjiang province.

Virtually all the depression, which covers 50.0 square kms is at or below sea level. At minus 155 meters (510 feet), Aydingkol lake, South of Turfan city, is the second lowest spot on earth after the Dead Sea (392 meters).

It is also one of the hottest with air temperatures rising to 48 degrees Celsius in June and July. The heat on the desert sand and shale can exceed 75 Celsius, enough to cook an egg in minutes.

Rainfall here is minimal — 16 mm a year. When it does rain evaporation is such that, as Chen said, "there are long intervals between the drops."

The region's water comes from the melting snow and ice on the Tianshan mountain range to the northwest. But the springtime torrents sink into the desert, and it took human ingenuity on a gigantic scale to bring it back upto the surface.

Two thousand years ago, the people of the Turfan depression began sinking strings of wells into the Gobi, some as deep as 90 meters (295 feet), and linking them with subterranean canals.

Today, peasants maintaining and extending the system still work with picks by the light of torches.

Now they use concrete pipeline sections to strengthen the tunnels but, said Chen, "there have been casualties — dead and injured."

This system of 972 canals stretching 2,700 kms supplies Turfan and the neighboring counties. Since the Communists came to power in 1949 local engineers have built more than 3,000 wells, 10 aqueducts and 18 reservoirs. They now provide adequate water supplies for our region," Chen said.

But all this would not help the farmers if there were not windbreaks to stop the crops and soil blowing away. The tree-planting program began in earnest 20 years ago, and consists of four distinct stages. First is a trunk

belt 5.7 kms long and up to 200 meters dec

Then come tree belts around fields groups of fields. The greater the prevailii wind, the smaller the plot enclosed. Chen sa that in these two projects trees planted sin> 1962 cover about 2,000 hectares (5,0i acres), mosly poplars elms, desert dates ai mulberry trees.

The third line of defense consists of san anchoring bushes which now cover an adtional 1,000 hectares (2,500 acres), mostly desert areas just in front of the tree bel Local officials plan to expand their u because they need no irrigation.

Commune Director Muhammad Akl explained: "The trees in the belt will get o and these will take their place. "We'll fell tl old ones and win back a few more mu fre the Gobi."

Muslims in China face no obstacles to religion

BY Roger Crabb

KASHGAR, China (R) — A man cannot be a good Communist and a good Muslim because "the Prophet Muhammad gave us only one heart," said Kassim Karajin, chief imam of Kashgar in China's heavily Islamic far western Xinjiang Province.

Karajin, who officiates at the Id Kah Mosque in this ancient city close to the Soviet, Afghan and Kashmir borders, picked his words carefully. He was giving a rare interview to foreign reporters in the presence of local Communist officials.

He said Peking no longer put up practical obstacles to religion as during the 1966-76 Maoist Cultural Revolution when imams were humiliated and mosques vandalized and used as factories or warehouses.

"Although the doctrine of the Communist

Party is not in conformity with Islam, China now tolerates its practice. I am personally confident that under the party Islam will continue to be practiced in China," said the 80-year-old white-turbaned imam as he sipped tea in his mud-brick home.

He said the post-Mao authorities had taken practical steps to ensure this, listing official permission for a 20-strong annual pilgrimage to Makkah, distribution of some Qur'ans, and the founding of an Islamic institute in Urumqi, Xinjiang's capital, to train aspiring clerics.

Like their elders, the clerics would receive state salaries. "So, as the younger generations get ready to take over from the old, we have no fear for the future," the imam said.

Was there not a contradiction between practicing Islam and belonging to the officially atheistic ruling party?

"None of us is Communist, so we cannot say," replied Imam Karajin, watched closely by officials. "The Prophet Muhammad gave us only one heart. Either you believe in this faith or that faith. Either you believe in Islam or in communism."

But some government officials seen by foreign reporters in Xinjiang claimed to be Muslims. Their status meant they must at the very least be working closely with the Communist Party.

Mehmet Amin Hadj, deputy chairman of the Islamic Association in Urumqi, is also an official of the Xinjiang government's religious affairs bureau. He said he was a practicing Muslim, had been to Makkah, and worshipped at the mosque when not too busy. Otherwise he prayed at home.

His role, he said, was as a bridge between the government and religion. But was he himself a party member? "That's my personal affair," he said with embarrassment. "I'm here to introduce religious affairs. No comment."

The present leadership under Deng Xiaoping has relaxed the severe restraints on Islam and other religions in China. The 1982 state constitution enshrines the citizens' right to practice, or not to practice, religion.

Xinjiang, one sixth of China's entire land mass, contains 13 million people, of whom seven million are officially Muslims. Most of the rest are Han (ethnic Chinese) who settled here in the past 30 years. Islam was introduced to Xinjiang by Silk Road traders in the ninth century. Now it is clear even to foreigners that after years of repression Islam is blooming again.

There are now 12,000 mosques in Xinjiang, officials say, and some 15,000 clerics. On one farm commune near Kashgar there are 43 mosques, one for each production team.

Imam Karajin said between 4,000 and 5,000 people each day, and up to 15,000 every Friday, attended prayers at the Id Kah Mosque at the hub of the old city.

"During Ramadan, we have more than 50,000 a day," he said, adding that three quarters of Kashgar's 200,000-strong Muslim population observed the ritual fast.

But the imams have had to compromise with the authorities by delegating to the state the social tasks such as education and setting marriage law which traditionally were their j domain.

The minimum age for Muslim girls to marry in Xinjiang has been set at 18 (compared with 20 elsewhere in China). Communist officials say this is still much later than the age of 13 or 14 at which girls were married before the Communist takeover. Polygamy has been outlawed, even for imams.

Muslim couples are under no obligation to limit their families, though the Han here, as elsewhere in China, are pressured to have just one child.

"But Muslims are subjected to official propaganda explaining that, to have a child, you must be responsible and able to raise it satisfactorily," a Xinjiang government official said.

Xinjiang glaciers larger than thought

URUMQI (Xinhua) - The Xianshan mountains, extending from west to east across the central part of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, have more than 8,900 glaciers with over 900 billion cubic metres of water reserves, more than double the previous estimate.

This was made public by scientists at the region's geography institute after two years' research based on topographic maps, aerial surveys and expeditions.

The irrigation of 60 per cent of the region's farmland depends on glaciers and snow which melt to form streams and flow down the mountains in the warmer seasons. The main cities, enterprises and factories in Xinjiang, as well as half of its population, are distributed along the mountains.

Meanwhile, The Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regions is to establish 13 more nature reserves in the next two years, according to a JV of the Iocaj.gftverm^NJ.

The projected 13 nature reserves will cover an area of 2.06 million hectares.

This will bring the number of nature reserves in the region to 28, covering a total area of 9.31 million hectares.

Wild camel
The planned nature reserves will include a wild camel and red deer reserve in the northern part of the Tarim basin, a highland wild animal reserve on the Pamirs, designated to protect argali sheep, and a lake protection zone in the northern part of the Junggar basin.

The other new reserves will be located in the western, northern and eastern parts of the region to protect such rarities as beaver, European black poplar, bunoe ash, Siberian larch, Korean pine, Chinese juniper and other plants and animals.

Xinjiang boasts more than 3,500 species of wild plants and nearly 600 animal species. Its bird species account for 31 per cent of the country's total and mammals 34 per cent. Twenty plant and 43 animal species have been listed by the State for special protection. About one-third

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Xinjiang boosts cultural budget

URUMQI (Xinhua) — The People's Government of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region has decided to add four million yuan to its 1984 budget for building and improving cultural centres, libraries and other cultural facilities.

The region's total allocation for cultural development this year has increased by 22 per cent over last year. There are, in addition, funds allocated for special projects.

The regional government has increased its budget for cultural development annually in the last few years. There are now 35 public libraries, 15 cultural relics collection centres and over 3,000 movie-projection teams in the region, which represent rises between 10 and 60 per cent over 1980.

Xinjiang also has five galleries for folk arts and 1,200 bookstores, which form a network of book distribution throughout the region. In addition, all the cultural centres in the region's 93 counties and cities have been expanded.

*Arab News
15 JAN 1991*

Mosque helps China's Muslims gain prosperity

By Janet Snyder



YINCHUAN, China (R) -- Bao Jingui saw members of his Chinese Muslim community off on their pilgrimage to Makkah, the dream of a lifetime, the other day.

As they left by train, the pilgrims said they could not have afforded the expensive month-long journey to Islam's holiest site even as recently as five years ago.

Bao's Hui Muslim minority group makes up one-third of the 4.5 million population of Ningxia region in China's remote north. Long an economically disadvantaged group, Huis like Bao are determined that the community will prosper.

His South Gate Mosque in April set what may be a precedent by forming a company to help market goods to Islamic customers overseas.

"We think the mosque can help promote the factories. After all, many foreign dignitaries and businessmen come to our mosque every year," Bao said.

The mosque will act as a much-needed link with the outside world, he said.

Yinchuan, the capital of Ningxia, was closed to foreigners until the early 1980s.

Still a backwater, regional authorities are eager to lure foreign trade and investment. Ningxia's chief industrial advantage is an abundant supply of coal, so unlike other parts of China, it rarely suffers power shortages and resulting work slowdowns, trade officials here said.

Bao, a 61-year-old layman acting as the mosque's chairman, retired from construction work and devoted himself to the Muslim community after recovering from lung cancer in 1975.

A frail-looking man in woven Islamic cap and goatee, his great energy and warmth make him a charismatic figure.

His Yinchuan South Gate Mosque and Muslim Civil Economic Exploitation Company is the marketing arm of three factories, 80 percent of whose 7,300 employees are Hui Muslims.



Much of the 10 million yuan (\$2.12 million) invested in the factories was collected from the faithful. The rest came from bank loans, Bao said.

"Our mosque not only carries out religious activities. We also have to invest to get more money to help the Muslim community," Bao said.

The state-controlled factories, in Yinchuan and Wudong in Ningxia region and Xian in neighboring Shaanxi province, remain separate entities but have joined forces to boost sales.

Their main products are pressure gauges and other instruments, many of them for use in oil-fields.

So far their biggest customer has been a Pakistani power station, which bought two million yuan (\$425,000) worth of equipment from them last year.

Export sales for the three factories are about 70 million yuan (\$15 million) a year, said Deputy Manager Ge Ruifeng. Total sales were about 200 million yuan (\$42.5 million) last year.

Ningxia foreign trade official Li Jun said his province was trying to stress its Muslim background to increase trade and investment with Islamic countries.

"our region is partly Muslim, so our government is trying to encourage local Muslims to make contact with Islamic countries," Li said.

A trade exhibition which Ningxia staged in Singapore recently attracted a big response - 12.33 million dollars in contracts — much to Ningxia's surprise and delight.

Most of the business came from Islamic customers, Li said.

The hottest items were Islamic in inspiration, such as the prayer rugs for which Ningxia is famous.

"We were invited to start up an Islamic Chinese restaurant in Singapore, among other things," trade official Li said. "I definitely think our being Muslim was a big advantage."

MISAFIR YAZAR

Kazak Türkleri'nin lideri Alibeg Hakimi kaybettik

^ Do\$. Dr. Ahmet Bican ERCİLASUN

^••OZEL memleketimizin hir ve temiz havasim teneffis 'eden biz Turkiye Tiitkleri; aramızda kahramanlar yaşa- digrnin; yakin yiUarin, 90k yakrn yillarin muthi\$ hadisele- rinin kahramanları yaŞadiginm farkmda degiliz. Sovyetler Birliginde, £inde, Afganistanda, iranda, Irakta, Yunanis- tan ve Bulgaristanda cereyan eden muthi\$ olaylarm ipinde buhimmu\$, Turk siyasi ve askeri tarihinin yakin paglarina ait bu miihim olaylann on safinda yer aim pek fok kahramanlar dan bin de 16 Kasim 1985*16 kaybettigiraiz Alibeg Hakim'di. Bugun £in boyundurugu altmda bulu- nan Dogu Turkistan'da 1940-1950 yillan arasında cereyan etmi\$ olaylajda Alibeg Hakim, en ondeyeralan liderlerden bkiydi Biiyiik Kazak Kahramam Osman Batur'un ba\$Iatti- gi kabul edilmesi kararlaŞtirlir ve 29 Temmuz 1954 gunii Istanbul's isyanlar sonunda 15 Kasim 1944'te Rulca'da Altay.Tar- bagatay gdinerek ikinci vatan to pragma kavuŞuhir.

ve tli vflayetlerini ipine alan topraklarda "Şarki Tiirkistan Cumhuriyeti" kuruldu. CumhurbaŞkam Alihan Tore, Altay destanı bir tislupla kaleme alınan bu miithi\$ gdpiin kahramam vilayetinin valisi ve askeri lideri Osman Batur, Urumqi Alibeg Hakim; Amerikan, IngQiz, Rus, £in yazar ve ilim vflayetindeki Manas-Savan kazalannm hakimi (kay- makam) ve adamtarinn yazi ve araŞtirmalanna konu olan yakrn tarihimizin askeri lideri Alibeg Rahimbegoglu yani Alibeg Hakim'dff. Rus ve biiyiQc lideri, 31 yil Turkiye'nin Salihli kaza- smda yaŞadi ve £in arasuidaki peki^meler ve mucadeleler i9inde Şarki Turkishn birka9 giin one aramızdan ayreddt Qocukhi- gumun efsane Cumjuriyeti'nin ya\$tilmasi 19U1pe- 'b savaŞlar verilir. Rus ve kahramaraiun misafirperver otagini ikram ettigi Turkistan Kizil £in ordulannm tophi tiifek- 1.; upaklarla takviye edilmi\$ pilavim yeyip eliyle sundugu kmuzu i9erken bana "sen tam ordulannakar\$i 6 Haziran 1945'te 14 tufekle harekete ge9en Turksun" deyi\$ini hip unutmadim.

Alibeg Hakim, 20. asırda belki de destanlara konu olacak bir miicaddenin i9ine giri- yor. Fakat Kizil £in siiriilerinin Dogu ti'nin Manas-Savan kazalannan hakimi AhbegSenden bir muddet Tiirkistan'h 9ddrge gibi istild etmesi Qzerine guney cephesini once vefat eden sUah arkadaŞim Hamza Upar'la birlikte \$imdi, korumak i9in FaraŞehir'de yerleŞmi\$ bulunan biiyiik kahraman, beş yillik 0 mukaddes Turk cumhuriyetinin onlerinde ay yildizh kuwtele- rile birlakte vatam terketmek zorunda kahyor. 23 Aralik bayiak, kasketlerinde ay yildizh rozet ta\$ian iiinformali Şehitler 1949'da Kokliik mevkiinden hareket edilerek ve Lop Nor ordusuna katildm. TaŞidigm hir- riyet ve istiklal ulkiisu binlerce goliiniin buz tabakalan iizerinden gepOerek Gobi'nin U9S11Z kilometreyi aşarak Altay'a ve Tarbagatay'a, Manas suyuna ulafti. bucaksız ve susuz kum pollerine dalinir. 20. asrin destan go- 9& Ikinci ratanm topragih- darahatuyu!

Cafilenin baŞında Alibeg Hakim, arkasmda atlar

ve develer üzerinde pocuklar ve kadmlar.onlarm da arduuk yaya olarak kizgm pofleri gepmege paliŞan erkekler... Deve- lerin viicutlarından su 9ikardiyor, koyunlar kesilerek kan- lan ipQiyor. Gdzlerde scrap 28 giin yolalindiktan sonra 961 ' bitiyor ve Gas G61 mevkiiine geliniyor. Dii\$man peŞlerinde- | dir. Artik binlece ydlik vataran guney hudutlanna gelmi\$- lerdir. Vatandan ayirmak veya komiunist zulmii altmda me9hul istikbale nza gostermek. Alibeg Hakim gu9 bir karar mevkiiindedir. Cafilede bulunan herkesle, hatta aile fertle- rile tek tek konufur, herkesin kararında serbest oldugunu ! soyler. Bir kisim donmege karar verir, Alibeg Hakim ve adamları Himalayalara tmnanmaga başlar. £6 Kin U9SUZ bucaksız kumluklanndan \$imdi insam u9uran firtinabriyla, yusddik9e insam oksijensiz birakan havasiyh Himalayalara tirmamlir. Cafilede bulunanların birpogu dayul gibiŞiŞerek I ve padayarak 6 Kir. Kar ve tipi altmda aylarca suren bir yol- culuktan sonra Ke\$mir'e gelinir. \$imdi yabanci bir memle- kette yalmz ve kimsesiz insanlar vardir. Alibeg Hakim'in 9eŞitli mercilerle kurdugu temas sonucu cafilenin Turkiye'- ye bkiydi Biiyiik Kazak Kahramam Osman Batur'un ba\$Iatti- gi kabul edilmesi kararlaŞtirlir ve 29 Temmuz 1954 gunii Istanbul's isyanlar sonunda 15 Kasim 1944'te Rulca'da Altay.Tar- bagatay gdinerek ikinci vatan to pragma kavuŞuhir.

Godfrey Lias adh ingQiz tiafmdan "Kazak Exodus" adıyla 15 Kasim 1944'te kurulan Sarld TirW**on Cumhuriye- miicaddenin i9ine giri- yor. Fakat Kizil £in siiriilerinin Dogu ti'nin Manas-Savan kazalannan hakimi AhbegSenden bir muddet Tiirkistan'h 9ddrge gibi istild etmesi Qzerine guney cephesini once vefat eden sUah arkadaŞim Hamza Upar'la birlikte \$imdi, korumak i9in FaraŞehir'de yerleŞmi\$ bulunan biiyiik kahraman, beş yillik 0 mukaddes Turk cumhuriyetinin onlerinde ay yildizh kuwtele- rile birlakte vatam terketmek zorunda kahyor. 23 Aralik bayiak, kasketlerinde ay yildizh rozet ta\$ian iiinformali Şehitler 1949'da Kokliik mevkiinden hareket edilerek ve Lop Nor ordusuna katildm. TaŞidigm hir- riyet ve istiklal ulkiisu binlerce goliiniin buz tabakalan iizerinden gepOerek Gobi'nin U9S11Z kilometreyi aşarak Altay'a ve Tarbagatay'a, Manas suyuna ulafti. bucaksız ve susuz kum pollerine dalinir. 20. asrin destan go- 9& Ikinci ratanm topragih- darahatuyu!

China's leaders strain to project new image

"SLfPec . flit?

C By GUY DINMORE
HINA'S not so-young leaders are rolling up their sleeves and sweating it out with shovels and wheelbarrows to dig irrigation ditches.

It is part of a campaign by the Beijing leadership to project a kinder, gentler image at home¹ and abroad — some 18 months after shocking the watching world by fiercely crushing pro-democracy demonstrations.

"It's the spirit that counts," jutted Communist Party chief Jiang Zemin as television cameras filmed him and other Politburo members digging a ditch on the outskirts of Beijing this month.

"There's definitely a new approach," said a Western diplomat. "But we don't see any real change in substance yet."

Since the army suppressed mass pro-democracy demonstrations in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in June 1989, the Communist Party has succeeded in enforcing stability over its restless urban workers and students.

"China enjoys political, economic and social stability," is a constant refrain in official speeches.

Chinese leaders are on the move across the country, digging ditches, cuddling babies and even showing a new readiness to discuss human rights with the West.

On December 26, China's reclusive senior leader Deng Xiaoping confounded rumors he was seriously ill by surfacing after a long absence as the communist elite gathered here for a central committee meeting.

The 86-year-old Deng is still widely regarded as China's most powerful politician despite his official retirement and pressure from veteran hardliners who reimposed their authority after the army crushed pro-democracy protests in June, 1989.

State television showed Deng, looking well for his age, smiling and waving as he voted in local elections.

GOOD NEWS

Officials have said privately that by withdrawing from the



DENG: changing style

limelight, Deng intended to show that his protege, Jiang, is China's man of the future.

Deng's re-emergence into the spotlight could be good news for reformists, one Western diplomat said, adding: "It's all part of the power struggle. But we don't know enough."

Earlier, as part of the leadership's apparent drive for a kinder public image, Song Ping, a sprightly 73-year-old

Politburo member, pushed a wheelbarrow uphill at an irrigation ditch.

Premier Li Peng made a speech, sometimes inaudible as he jabbed the air with the microphone. Deputy Premier Tian Jiyun looked uncomfortable in dark sunglasses.

The Politburo — thanks to state television associated in the minds of many Chinese with armchairs, meeting halls and mugs of tea — had stunned viewers by dancing.

Li and Jiang, both closely linked to the June 1989 crackdown, raised their arms, bent their knees and danced in the open air with performers from the Muslim region of Xinjiang.

A public relations exercise to improve China's image overseas was launched in early November.

A high-level conference, again with Li and Jiang attending, was intended to "better present China to the rest of the world," the official New China News Agency said.

"Leaders at all levels and in all

departments should attach great importance to this work and place it on their daily agenda," it commented.

Since then, foreign diplomats and journalists have noticed distinct changes in style, especially on the sensitive issue of human rights abuses in China.

Nordic ambassadors visiting Tibet were allowed a brief meeting with the region's most prominent political prisoner, Yulo Dawa Tsering, 61, a Buddhist monk jailed for campaigning for Tibetan independence.

NEW WILLINGNESS

It was the first time in recent history that China had allowed foreign observers to meet a political prisoner.

Officials have shown a new willingness to discuss human rights without launching the usual tirades against what they see as Western interference in China's internal affairs.

Trials are expected to start soon on the alleged behind-the-scene organizers of last year's democracy movement.

It remains to be seen whether

they will be open to foreign reporters and observers.

Many Chinese intellectuals are sceptical about the new public relations exercise, saying it is an attempt to mask serious divisions within the leadership as the party attempts to make the transition from the era of Deng Xiaoping to that of Jiang, a 64-year-old Soviet-trained technocrat.

"The donkey has exhausted its tricks," said one writer reaching for a Chinese adage to describe how a proverbial donkey had only one trick to ward off a tiger — braying loudly.

Li, best remembered by many Chinese for his declaration of martial law in Beijing in May 1989, has kept up a frenetic pace in meeting foreign dignitaries and touring the country.

Last month Li visited Yanan, the font of communism where the party made its base after the historic 1934-35 long march and where he spent part of his childhood as the adopted son of future Premier Chou Enlai. (Reuters, Beijing)

Riyadh Daily
21 Dec.
1990

166

Ningxia mirrors Muslim culture and heritage

Ningxia, known as China's land of Muslims, has long been overshadowed by its neighbors because of its small size and population.

Squeezed between Gansu, Shaanxi, and Inner Mongolia, the region with an area of 66,400 square kilometers, has less than half the population of Beijing.

Officially the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, is one of the few models for an area which accommodates, harmoniously, both Chinese and ethnic minorities. The autonomous region is home to many Chinese Muslims, known as Huizu. In fact, a third of Ningxia's population are Hui people.

History has it that Han people, who started an extensive irrigation system as early as the 1st century BC using a network of braided channels of the Yellow River, created a distinctive culture. However, the cultural heritage of the region has undergone a long period of mutual assimilation and mutual development between the Han and the ethnic minorities, particularly the Hui who first migrated in large groups to the area during the Tang Dynasty (618-907).

While Buddhist sanctuaries such as the Gaomiao Temple - in Zhongwei County which has striking architecture with unique motifs, shaped like a flying phoenix - still attract followers,

mosques are everywhere. And the Ningxia Islamic Institute, built with funds from Arab countries, perhaps best illustrates how Muslim culture and heritage has been preserved and developed with modernist and reformist approaches.

As one of the smallest administrative regions, the little-known Ningxia is making big strides these days. With remarkable progress, people in the region now pursue a better quality life, though many traditional

aspects of the people's life remain unchanged.



PASSION FOR FASHION: A woman in Ningxia trying on a pair of earrings at a street market. Hui women are more fashion conscious than their men. A new fashion in Shanghai's shops is certain to be in Ningxia's markets in a week's time. Ningxia is known for its tasty foods. Photo on left shows dried spices and seasonings on sale in the free markets. (Photos: Courtesy China Daily)

Türkistan'ı yaŞadıK.

25 Mayıs 1991 günü Kayseri Spor Salonu'nda, Doğu Türkistan Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği tarafından düzenlenen "Doğu Türkistan Gecesi"ne kaulma mutluğuna, bir tesadüf eseri sahip olduk.

Malatya'nın Doğanşehir İleci'nden, Kahramanmaraş'ta ikamet eden Doğu Türkistan'dan gelen Mülletçi Dostumuz Turguncan Uygurtürkoglu'nun daveti üzere Kahramanmaraş'a, oradan da Kayseri'ye gittik. Kayseri Atatürk Spor Salonu'nda düzenlenen gecenin izleme imkânına kavustuk. Geceyi izleyince gözümüz çarpan ilk olay solanda sergilenen birlik ve beraberlik tablosuydu. Şöyle ki Kadın, erkek, genci, yaşlısı, Kırgız Türkmeni, Dogulu, Baştı, Azerbaycanlı, Ker-

küküsü, Kasgarlısı hepisi bir yerek, bir yumruk gibi olmuş Türk Bayrağı altında bilesmişti. Albayrak Gökbayraklı kucaklaşmış, diğer Türk devletlerinin bayraklarını gölgeleri altına almışlardı.

Misafir olduğumuz gece de birçok mutlu olayla karsılıştık. Bunalıdan birincisi Türkistan davasını bayraklaşturan, davasıyla birlikte kendi de bayraklaşan eşsiz insan, değerli onurlı Isa Yusuf Alptekin beşyordu ile tanışmamız oldu. Kendisiyle başbaşa oturup Türkistan sofrasından yemek yedi, hatalarının dinieme mutluğuna eristik. Kendisini dinleynince hayranlığımız kat kat arttı. Allah vergisi zekasına inanımez irade gücüne hayran olduk.

İstanbul Üniversitesi Or-

'Doğu Türkistan, davası sahipsiz'

HABER MERKEZİ

Gagauz Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanı Giorgi Nikaiaoglou'nunda 'kaulduğu top' lanuda Aydinlar Ocağı Başkanı Prof. Dr. Nevzat Yalçınata, M.C.P. İstanbul İl Teşkilat Yönetimi Kurulu üyesi Mehmet Pak ve bazı dernek yöneticilerini birer silkran plaketi armagan ettiler. Doğu Türkistan Cumhurbaşkanı Isa Yusuf Alptekin'in de yaptığı konuşmadada "Türkün Türk'ün başkası yoktur" dedi. Boluculuk faaliyetleri hakkında da konuşan Alptekin, "Türkçeye uzanan eller kırılan, gözler kör olusun" dedi. Müzik ve Folklor gösterileri ile devam eden toplantı, Doğu Türkistan davasının Isa Yusuf Alptekin'in kişiliği ile birleşerek bir gurur abidesi haline geldiğini söyledi.

Dışişleri Bakanlığı Doğu Türkistan Cumhurbaşkanı Isa YUSUF ALPTEKİN'ün 90. yaş günü ve Doğu Türkistan'ın 50. yılı, Türk Edebiyatı Vakfı tarafından yapılan töplünden elde alındı. Türk Edebiyatı Vakfı Başkanı Ahmet Kabaklı, Türkiye'de Doğu Türkistan meselesi hakkında pek çok yayın yapıldığı ve konunun sık sık gündeme getirildiğini belirtti. Toplantıda söz alan Gazeteçi-Yazar E. Gözər'de, Isa Yusuf Alptekin'in devlet adamlığı ve şahsiyeti hakkında örneler vererek, Doğu Türkistan davasının Isa Yusuf Alptekin'in kişiliği ile birleşerek bir gurur abidesi haline geldiğini söyledi.

Yüce Allah'tan riyazımız esaret altında yaşayan bütün kardeşlerimizin bir an önce bağımsızlık ve istiklale kavuşması, kendi bayrakları altında hür olarak yaşamalarıdır.

İnsallah bu günler yakındır. Rusya paramparça oldu. Demirperde dağıldı. Duvarlar yıkılırken Çin de içinde kaynamaya başladı.

Bu kaynaya Çin'i bitirecek insallah. Böylelikle kardeşlerimize yaptığımız işten ve habbetleri birbirlerine karşı zulüm son bulacaktır.

R®^isr

Metin Güneydin
A. Vahap Kaygın
DOĞANHİSA

Unutramayacağımız, bir başka olay ise, geçenin erte-

Yeni Dergünce Sayı: 502
Ankara 14-6-1991

si günü Türk Mutfağı Araştırma ve Uygulama Gurubu'nun sunduğu Türk Müziğinden örnekler, Ali Özaydın ve ekibinin sunduğu Kopuslu Türk Dünyasından Sesler, Rıza Bekin, Mehmet Rıza, Sabır Abdullah Köse ve M. Sabır Karşılık gibi, bu binmeyeen davannın Kahramanları bir arada olmakta.

Bizler ne kadar Şanslıyız ki, Türkiye'de doğmuşuz.

Türkiye'de doğmanın mutlu-

lüğünü yaşayan kardeşleri-

mizden istediklerimiz ise esa-

ret altında inleyen kardeşle-

rimizin duygularını payla-

şımları, onlara maddi ve ma-

nevi olarak destek olmaları,

yadum ve sefatle yaklaşma-

landır. Milli Birlik ve ber-

berlik pekiştirmenin tek yo-

lu bu olsa gerek.

Bu büyük millet kimere

kucak açmadı ki? İnsanlık

adına nehir yapmadı ki? In-

şanallah bir gün gelir, bizler

de soydaşlarımızla birlikte

kucaklaşma mutluluğununa

erisiriz.

Yüce Allah'tan riyazımız

esaret altında yaşayan bütün

kardeşlerimizin bir an önce

bağımsızlık ve istiklale ka-

vuşması, kendi bayrakları

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Unutramayacağımız, bir

başka olay ise, geçenin erte-

New Chinese drive to curb birth rate

BEIJING (R) — Amid fears that the world's most populous country faces yet another baby boom, China's leaders on Thursday ordered a new nation-wide drive to cut the birth rate.

"Population control work must be considered as important as economic construction," the central committee of the ruling Communist Party and the state council said in a joint directive carried by the official *Peoples Daily*.

"In recent years, our population has increased at an annual rate of more than 16 million, which is about the population of a medium-sized country," the directive said.

"This has caused difficulties and put great pressure on economic construction, social development and the lives of the people."

The statement said China had successfully trimmed its birth rate from 33 per thousand in 1971, before the state launched its official "one child per family" birth control policy in urban areas, to 21 per thousand in 1990.

But it said the country of 1.1 billion was threatened with a new population surge in the coming decade as baby-boomers born in the 1970's begin having children of their own.

Chinese experts have warned the population could hit 1.3 billion by the year 2000 if the growth rate gets out of hand.

China's provincial and local governments must do more to educate the population about contraception, the directive said. To help them, the state will double spending on population control over the next five years to two yuan (35 US cents) per person.

The minority nationalities, which make up less than 10 percent of China's population and include Tibetans, Mongolians, Indo-Chinese tribes and the Muslim Uygurs of the far west, have so far been largely exempt from official limits on population growth. This has been partly due to fears in Beijing that strict population control among these people would lead to unrest.

Beijing;*, cautions

»v. | iv. w&'iwwy#

border province

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BEIJING (R) ' i n a clear sign Beijing is concerned a break-up of the Soviet Union could stir unrest across its borders, China's vice-president was quoted on Sunday as calling for socialist unity, in remote Xinjiang province.

Wang Zhen urged the army and people in northwest Xinjiang, bordering the Soviet Union, to rally around the Communist Party Central Committee and closely follow the socialist, ' road, the official New China News Agency reported.

In a veiled warning against unrest, he said China had successfully quelled anti-government riots in 1989 in the Muslim-dominated region, fa-

China was politically united and stable, and its economy was also developing, Wang said.

The Soviet Union is in turi moil,, after ,a failed coup last j week. /y: , ' I

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s / 99 /

China firm gets loan for oil search •

ft

BEIJING, June 29 (AP) -- A leading state bank issued a \$1.2-billion loan to explore the Tarim Basin oilfields, believed to hold China's largest untapped oil deposits, official reports said today.

The Bank of China signed an agreement to make the loan, denominated in dollars, to the China National Petroleum and Natural Gas Corp., the China Daily newspaper said.

The signing ceremony yesterday, was attended by Premier Li Peng. The paper quoted Li as saying that exploration of the Tarim Basin, in China's far western Xinjiang Uygur autonomous region, will be important in implementing the nation's economic program for the 1990s.

He also said that foreign technology and investment will be needed, but gave no indication that the government has dropped its refusal to let foreign explorers have a share of any oil they discover.

Chinese oil companies have known that the remote, arid Tarim Basin holds oil for nearly four decades, but have been slow to develop the region because oilfields in eastern China were more accessible.

But those fields, especially the Daqing oilfield in the northeast, are running low and China's national oil company has stepped up exploration in the Tarim. It also has begun extracting small amounts of crude..

The China Daily said the basin is thought "to represent the future of the nation's petroleum industry." unless it is developed, China could become a net importer of oil by the end of the decade.

Chinese officials estimate the basin holds more than 18 billion tons of oil, about one-seventh of the country's reserves. Western experts caution that not all of the oil may be recoverable.

They also note that it will be expensive to bring the oil to market. There is no rail link to the mostly uninhabited basin, and it takes about a week to bring the small amounts of oil being pumped now to the nearest refinery.

Foreign oil companies say they are interested, but want a share of the oil found in return for any significant investment. So far, they have played only a small role, selling equipment and sending technical advisors. A group of Japanese companies has promised loans.

China's Communist rulers have always been reluctant to let foreigners share in the country's natural wealth, and have restricted foreign oil exploration to regions with relatively small deposits.

One of the Communist Party's greatest heroes in 40 years of socialist rule is Wang Jinxi, or "Iron Man Wang," who led oil workers in developing the Daqing oilfield in the 1960s without any foreign help.



Beijing looks northwest

By Wo Guoqiang

BEIJING, Aug. 25 (Dow Jones) -- In northwest China's Gansu province is the Yuncheng oil field, in production for 52 years and the oldest field in the country. There, new deposits are being tapped to rejuvenate the oil field.

In an area called Lanzhou, a combined oil reserve of 100 million tons promises an output of 200,000 tons of crude a year.

Oil -- along with natural gas, coal and hydropower -- promises to bring to the northwest what it has long been denied: prosperity on a par with eastern and southern China.

In economic development, China's vast northwest has paled beside that of the east and the south where, spurred by foreign investment, the economy has

been growing at double-digit rates annually in the last decade.

In a strategic shift, modernization efforts to develop the area are ex-

China's central government is launching a scheme to develop a mineral-rich desert area in Gansu. The plan aims to turn the area into the country's energy production base. Northwest China, traversed by the ancient Silk Road, accounts for nearly half (43 percent) of the country's total landmass.

In the forefront of these plans is the far-reaching program of oil development started in the 1980s. More than 200,000 oilmen have marched into the Gobi desert, surveying and drilling for oil under adverse conditions.

Recent discoveries promise an oil reservoir that could replace eastern China as the country's major supplier of oil.

After five years of intensive surveys, an estimated 30 billion tons of petroleum reserves have been found in the Tarim Basin, in the central Asian region of Xinjiang.

The basin is as large as Burma and embraces the Taklimakan desert, the second largest desert in the world after the Sahara.

Twenty high-yield oil and gas wells have been sunk in the northern and central parts of the basin. Producing oil since 1989, Tarim turned out 150,000 tons of crude in 1990 and is expected to pump one million tons this year, says Qiu Zhongjian who is in charge of oil development in the Tarim Basin.

In eastern Xinjiang, more than 100 million tons of oil reserves have recently been discovered in the Turpan-Hami Basin. In northern Xinjiang, new oil discoveries have also been made in the Jungar Basin, which is as big as Czechoslovakia in area.

Jungar is home to the Karamay oil field, the first oil production base built after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, which still has large reserves after 25 years of production.

Until recently, oil development was limited to the eastern edge of the Jungar Basin, where Karamay is located. However, last May, an exploratory well sunk in the heart of the basin recorded an oil reservoir as thick as 40 meters. Karamay, meanwhile, has been expanding production mainly from new discoveries on its

peripheries.

In 1990 the oil field pumped out 6.8 million tons of crude, ranking fourth in China after the Daqing, Shengli and Liaohe oil fields in the east.

In Qinghai province, which borders Xinjiang on the east, 16 oil fields and six gas fields have been discovered in the vast Qaidam Basin. They brought up the basin's oil production from less than 200,000 tons in 1985 to 800,000 tons last year.

Further to the east, around the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border, a 3,200-square-kilometer area with rich gas reserves has been found. Explorations have determined that it is a super-large gas field with reserves of more than 100 billion cubic meters.

Feasibility studies

have been done on developing the field. The

resources, Beijing is switching its existing Chongqing oil

field in the area is ex-

pecting to increase coal production to over 1.4 billion tons a year by the end of the century, China is opening the Hunting Mine in eastern Gansu, which is expected to produce 14.59 million tons of quality coal a year after construction is completed in 1995.

In a bid to increase national coal production to over 1.4 billion tons a year by the end of the century, China is opening the Hunting Mine in eastern Gansu, which is expected to produce 14.59 million tons of quality coal a year after construction is completed in 1995.

The central government has also approved the final blueprint for the construction of China's largest coalfield -- the Shapotou-Dongsheng field which straddles Shaanxi and Inner Mongolia.

The plan involves the construction of 12 separate coal mines, a number of coal washing plants, two railways, the coal-fired power plants and a highway. Covering 25,573 square kilometers, the coalfield will ultimately turn out 60 million tons of high-quality coal a year.

Meanwhile, efforts to tap rich hydroelectric resources in northwest China are continuing. Along the Yellow River, a number of hydro-power stations are under construction, including the Liujiaxian in Qinghai and the Daxia in Gansu.

With a combined generating capacity of 1.9 million kilowatts when completed by 1995, these power plants will meet the growing need for electricity in the northwest.

These projects promise to spur economic development in northwest China. "While the national GNP is expected to quadruple between 1980 and 2000, Xinjiang's will hopefully register a five-fold increase," says Song Hanliang, a top official of the Xinjiang regional government.

Many more projects will follow these ones; Tong Dalin, a respected economist, sums up: ■ "China's modernization drive started on its eastern coasts. It will be fulfilled in its western areas, including the northwest."

‘Türk’ kelimesi ve bunun anlamı:...

Dr. Enver MAHMUT

İnşâda olsa da, hâlde onları, inşâ, yâzâ, ona da ona da
mujâlîjânî, sîndîkî türkolojîde orak bir gorus yok-
tur. Şimdî Türk diye alandırınmış didde konuşan
kabileler were irtak lâzımdır birbirâc bin yıl önce ya-
samışlar. Bunların kabile adları pek çok olmasın-
na rağmen çopusu gümülmâze kâdar münâfaza
olunamamışlardır. Tarihte, yalnız ekiâden yuzan
olan, Çin, Hind, Rum, Roma, Fars ve Mâsr gibi
devletler temasta bulunan bazı Türk kabilelerinin ad-
ları muhâfa olunmuşdur. Bunların arasında Türkî
kâlemesi de ayrıca bir yer almaktadır. Bir soy adı
olarak Türk kâlemesi turâne ilkin buntürk şeklinde
i.Ö. dörtinci yüzyılda yaşamış olan Makedonya-
lı, İskender zamanında râsiyânamâkatdır ve bu bun-
turk kabileleri (buwan yani boy turk diye isimlendiril-
bugunki İran Azerbaycan), ayrıyan Kura nehri bo-
yunda yaşamış oldularına daır; sóz edinmektedir.
Yâzâ, İ.Ö. kâncı yüzüylâda alt Ermeni kaynaklarında ise
istiklîlerin başta bir ad Apahark olarak gösterilmek-
tedir ki bu Apahartlarin memleketi bugünkü Türk-
istan'ın konusuna olma katır diye sóz edilmektedir
Apahark kâlemesi eski türkçemizdeki apa "büyük"
urk "Türk" kâlemesinden baret olup, "büyük Türk"
anlamında olduğu spâcık gorunmektedir. 1.5. be-
ğünç yüzüylârdan başlayarak, Türk kâlemesi Tu-kö
veya Türkî sekülerlerinde Cin kaynaklarında sık sık
ristânamaya baslanmaktadır Tu-kö veya Türkî ke-

kilde kullanılarak karibe gitmiş Aşına ve bunun neslinin yönettiği kabile birliklerinin bir araya gelip, VI-VI¹ yüzyıllarda kalkınmaya ve VI-VII² yüzyılların ortalarında büyük bir Türk kaganlığı kurulmasından doğrulan dojñiyabagli olmaktadır. Aşına kelimesi motolojiktono veya şato "kurd" kelimesinden gelmektedir. Bu kelimenin başındaki a-ha- rfi, Çin dilinde sayçı, Burnett gösteren bir ekle olarak kullanılmıştır. Boyelikle Aşına "sayısal" anlamda doğu getirmektedir.

Hakkıken, Türk soyuna ait olan tüm halklar Romallar, Keçiler, Daklar^{3,4}, ekî halklar gibi, kederlerin kurdum örediklerini inanmaktadır. II. duyuasında bu görüşe onlu roman bilginci Mirceas Elia'de'nin belirttiği gibi İyancutopie "kurd költü" adı verilmektedir.

459 yılında Aşına adlı bir kumandanın idaresinde yakapık bez yüz aile (uruğ) Orta Asya dan Alley Dağları civarına yerleşiyor ve tam bir yüzyıl içinde büyük bir güç sahibi oluyorlar. 532 yılında kuduya juan-juan adlı kabileleri yenilgi uğratıp, kundukan sora 565-567 yıllarında etlaflı adlı kabileleri Pemir Dağları tarafına konvoyerler. Bu tarihden başlayarak, Türkler Avrupa ve Asya bozkırlarının sâlibi olmak için dava etmeye başlıyorlar. Arası-

da alt olan Avşar (iv erler),
kayınak erler), Hazzanlar (kaz et-
tişah ettilerken sonra, büyük bir İmparatorluğu ve Iran sunarım
Hanehanından türmeni ola hanımlı
unda Türk kaganlığı büyük bir is-
gemiştir. Tarihte bu imparatorlu-
ğılı adıyla tanınmış olup, içine Ka-
nek, Kıpçak, Bulgar, Hazar, Karlık
boylarını alımı ve kendine özgün
fıabesini kabul ederek, bize dire Ünlü
rini yâdeder olarak bırakmıştır.
VI. Çin yüzülm sonunda Türk k-
im sunuları Banda Bizans İmparatorlu-
ğının sınırlarını ve hatta Hindistan, Doğu Çin i-
uzanmaktadır. Kuzey sınırlarını
male bellitirilen münakatı olmamış
onemli bir delildir. Hakkında, işte
meriem, (İskitlerin (seti). Sarmalı
tersse Bulgarların ve nibahet TÜ
tesbit etmek zor bir işdir. İskit, Ç-
ve Fars gibi ekiden yazılan olası
varları tamamnamış, bu yazından
malarında bu mesleden
birakmamışlar. İkindeinden, Türklete-
de devlet kurarak yazma vesikal

kk.	kk.
Ku-	Ku-
dili-	dili-
ka-	ka-
lan-	lan-
bu-	bu-
dīg-	dīg-
rū-	rū-
bāk-	bāk-
tūs-	tūs-
dīg-	dīg-
Bin-	Bin-
mee-	mee-
gin-	gin-
N.	N.
kak-	kak-
ren-	ren-
dili-	dili-
Ma-	Ma-
tab-	tab-
ket-	ket-
an-	an-
da	da
ola	ola

Turk kelimesinin etimolojisi ve başka bilgiler arastırılmıştır. Sonuç olarak, Türk kelimesini oluşturan birbirinden farklı kökenlerin varlığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu bilgilerin birçoğu, Türk kelimesinin etimolojisini açıklamakta kullanılmıştır.

A. N. Konorov'un ya
nında cephî turfo görülu
libarən. İlqemmeyəcə
truya padışına Turgut a
44şyan Trolus adı k
ardılar. Trolus adı öz
her şeyi kendisi tarihh
şeyi kendi ölçüleriyile ol
ojisini başka soyret bl
arkan "kadın tannıca
kabile birləşməsi"; baa
irkun kəlmələrinəndi it
şəhərin birinci Türk asır
grəncərin öncəsi adı k
-i lugu-at-Turk adı k
si "geliçü kudretli hərə
urunda son sekilde gəz
Türk kələməsi dərənələndirilə
anlamda isə bir genel a
anlımda Türk kələmə

ca), Türk halkı (popo-
lum) dar veya ö-
kullanılmaktadır. veysa
kadar uzanan müsra
elli milyon civarında
minden birbirinden ç-
in ve birebirlen konus-
ularak ta kullanılmış
ve dili alıcıları için kullanı-
lı (germanic), Uygur-
cice (semitic), Semit-
lerince karpılmıştu.
Kislatince karpılmıştu.
Turkaklı kelimeleri tur-
kuları (tarite-urukçel-
turco), Türk ingilizce
(limble si popose i t-
limesi geniş veya genet-
makinidir. Bu bakımın
Türk asılı türkolog-
sel: Türk hukukları ve
sinin kullanımları yer-
tamlamışlığı aykırı olup

- Karadeniz - Romani
Topluluğunun Yayı-

in Moğolistan ve Çin İsterini bir arazeye sahip, ayasına yürüdü. Orta Asya, doğu ve batı kültür bakanlığından Roman (romanic), Cee-
nian (ugro-finc), Hamit (hamit), gibi Türk kelimesinin köküne
reç, İngilizce 'Küştüni' Tur-
kice, rusça 'Kazak'ı, İngilizce
eskü etmektedir. Mezopotamya
(Tartus), Türk halkları (popula-
re The Turkic Lâ and people)
urceye denildiğinde, Türk kâ-
(turcik) aniamnamda kullanıldı.
İndi Sovyetler Birliği içinde
bulundur. Türk yemeğine Turki (m-
dilleri dilimli gibi) turkisi
kızıldır ve Türk keline yapışır.
D, hic te uygun değildir.

vuya da kabile birlikleri de olsamı dur VI – VIII.
yüzylinderde Türtlerin kendileri yazıp bırakmış olalar
mehmet Orhun-Enissey yazılarında da bu h

bugünkü Türkiye Cum
huriyeti ve Balkan Ya
şayan ve ortak bir dile

Anadolu İlahiyatı

Y.O.D. 28-6-1971

About complicated hard modern situation
in Eastern Turkestan

Just from very beginning Peking sticks to to the policy of assimilation of the Eastern Turkestan people by increasing the number of Chinese (till 100 million inhabitants) in this region. And today they are approximately true^his notorious policy. In last year december Peking allocated one and a half milliard juanes for oil development, formed a 10-thousand geological troops and sent it to Tarim in connection with the discovery of 60 milliard tons of oil in Tarim hollow. Besides, near to Korla town the region of the nuclear proving ground, they formed a military headquarters on mastering Tarim and widely opened the doors for Chinese.

At present too much Chinese gathered in Tarim from neighbouring provinces Gansu, Ninsa, Tsinkhai, Tibet. Chinese come even from Taiwan and Hong Kong. They are fixed up well, there are particular conditions there for them Earthquakes, accidents, calamities deprived south Chinese provinces of shelter, made them homeless and beggars. That is why they freely and directly come to Xinjiang. Millions of soldiers, demobilized from army, almost half of them, also transferred to the objects of special importance. According to the american broadcast, annually 250-300 thousands of Chinese move to Xinjiang.

On the 11 -the March 1990 200 thousand Chinese as a special group arrived to the north region of Tarim. After ceremonial and solemn reception they started working with enormous number of technics and thousands of bore installations.

This invasion Chinese broadcast called "attack at Tarim oil". Peking ordered Baiungol Mongol autonomous region to fatten 300 thousand sheep up. 84 thousand hectars of ancient uighur land, pear gardens are confiscated /* and passed to the group of invaders.

There is situated the most ancient Uighur historical monument "Thousand caves" and one of the central ways of the "Silk Road".

In this province there live 2,5 million uighurs. In fact, these people are sacrificed to this "special group", which confiscated houses, food, gardens and fields. Peking is not satisfied even with this, last October these strange Chinese were given wide opportunity to build oil-extracting installations and to be engaged in private activities.

The chairman of the province Shan-See (Inner China) making use of this decision, collected some means from People and spent them for oil extraction. Now he has settled down in Urumqi and in the 17-th of December 1990 he formed Heardquarters.

Nowadays Chinese from other provinces of Inner China are going to move to Xinjiang.

In Eastern Turkestan there extract Cara Mai oil which is famous everywhere.Peking established full control at Cara Mai from the 50-s.According to information from Peking (Peking broadcast),46 rnillioi tons of oil have been pumped from Cara Mai to Inner China.

At present in Turfan lowland and in the eastern part of region much stockpiles of oil are discovered.Immediately 30 thousand Chinese workers have been transferred to this district.Crisis in Persian Gulf caused a big demand for oil in this part of the world.

On the 15 of January,this year,in Urumqi there was an extended session of the Party Comitee of Xinjiang,where a decision"of a new attack on Xinjiang oil" was made.It is well known,that Eastern Turkestan is famous for its gardens, vineyards .Only Chinese are owners of this property,of the land,of the technics.lt may be corroborated by the following.Placed on the territory of Eastern Turkestan "production ar- mies" include 170 state farms.They possess 15 million mu (8 million hectars) of fertile soil,2 million 600 thousand mu of tract of forest, 6 million stock -breeding farms,14 thousand enterprises.These farms yielded a profit of 6,05 milliard juanes.If we calculate it in per heac of the population it will exceed 1100 juanes.Uighur peasants till no-wadays do not have any technics and are to work by hand.

Last November 200 thousand peasants from Khotan villages started field work without spades and pitchforks .They conveyed 3,5 million ton:- of land by mules.

The world puolic is quite well aware of the nuclear weapon tests at the ancient Uighur land.

Installation of the proving ground in Takla-Makan and nuclear tests were detrimental to health of the people.There appeared mass diseases among the population:cancer of liver,lungs,bowels,woomb.More than 210 thousand people died because of the cancers.Authorities conceal these facts and don't appeal to international health organizations struggling with cancers.We are not going to speak about all the ecology tragedies,the dissatisfaction of the local population with Peking policy,about birth-rate.Recently we learned about dreadful fact: one day Chinese gave uighurs a blood transfusion,took the blood from 50 thousand Chinese and gave uighurs a blood transfusion against their will, (the 21 of October,1989,Urumqi).It is so called company of chan- ging,which causes indignation among uighurs.

Is it possible to stand all this:Chinese robbery treatment of the national property,vicious mockery at fates of the national minorities?

In 1985 for the first time peoples of Eastern Turkestan went out into the streets,marchers expressed their dissatisfaction.

On the 18,19 of May 1989,in Ummqi,there was held a 20-thousand people's demon3tration,where people demanded abolish violence.But Chinese authorities used the force and organized the provocation,roughly violating human rights.lt caused .indignation among marchers and they had to attack the Party Commitee building.After that,authorities began to revenge them quite openly.During 3 months more than 13 thousand people were arrested.All the participants of the 1985 demonstration also were arrested.

Among the heads 8 people were imprieoned Cor indefinite period and secret trial over 400 people began.According to some information, in connection with the company of cleanning,a list of 30 thousand "economical criminals" was compiled.One of the heads of all these "criminals" deputy chairman Tokhty Sabir (uighur) was relieved of all his duties and his case was passed to the court.At the beginning of the 1990 the cleaning" became more embittered:in March the Kashgarians rose in arms against Chinese violence in Coon Loon insurgent people Chinese authorities sent 200 thousand soldiers,who suppressed this village and another 10.This news was published by the foreign broadcasts.Hearing this,the soviet uighurs asked about help to the Peoples Deputies of Lru USSR in their telegram.But there was not answer.As a result 2 thousand uighurs were shot,27 thousand uighurs were imprisoned,12 thousand religious persons were convicted,more than 200 monques and medresses were closed or taken under the control.And now dissatisfaction is growing among the people.

As it is seemed from above,Pekin is not going to solve the problems politically,but just the opposite,lead the policy of pressure for non-chinese of the Eastern Turkestan.

Leading Great Power Policy,Chinese authorities refuse the people of Eastern Turkestan their right to their history,they deny uighurs independence in historical development.The following fact eloquently proves this:during 1988-1989 Chinese annihilated 400 thousand document;¹ and different materials concerning the history of uighurs.But this is not all, on the 2 of February 1991,in Urum,; there was held an imposing meeting under Van Anmao's leadership,which was attended by 1 6 creative workers and 5 historians from Peking.At this meeting Turgun Almas's work "the Uighurs" and other two works on uighur classic literature were exposed.During the meeting,the 2 secretary of the Party Commitee Ganabil,expressing official point of view,declared:"These works on the Uighurs' history caused serious harm to the national

policy of the Communist Party of China,to the unity of the state and ideas of Mao Tsedoung.All this proves that Chinese authorities still continue leading the policy of the 50-s,the policy of suppressing national self-awareness of uighurs,annihilation of the thinking part of the culture figures of our people.

The facts,presented in this material,are taken from illegal newspaper "The Voice of Eastern Turkestan",which is published in Alma-Ata for a rather long time.

■r*



TO THE WORLD ELECTORATE CONGRESS OJ? ALMA-ATA

Dear congress participants \

Today you've gathered together in the capital of Kazakhstan Alma-Ata to talk frankly in terras of nuclear catastrophy, which threaten all the mankind. Availing myself of this opportunity I'd like to draw your attention bo the disastrou situation in the neighbouring with Kazakhstan region - the Eastern Turkestan. I'm sure, many of you are aware of the fact, that at the beginning of the 60-s ex-head of the Chinese government Mao Tse-Doon said, '.hat China should have nuclear arras even if "all the Chinese turned out to be naked without trousers", keeping on producing it. The goal was attained, Altai uranian deposits had become basis, and Tarim valley - proving ground. Mao set his plans in secret to the then Xinjiang secretary Wang Enraao : " The most expensive capital in China are Chinese themselves. Therefore while nuclear arras are distributed in Tarim not a single Chinese must stay there. They should be settled in the north of Tian-Shan - Jungar valley which is rich with natural resources and waterway. As for Wang Enmao, he carried out dictator's plan much more complete than "the reddest sun" could Imagine.

Two years later after this secret commission,there was the out of doors nuclear test of the first ohinese atomio bomb. Since then for twenty five years there were twenty seven nuolear tests in the open air of the Eastern Turkestan. In consequence, as Mao supposed,among the population of Khotan,Jarkend,Aksu,Kuchar,there oocured cancer

2.

and other diseases of lungs,liver,bowel,As a result more than 210 thousand people died'in this region.When 300 people were tested at the Medical Institute of Urumchi on suspicion in leukaemia among them there turned out to be only one Chinese and all the rest 299 - uighurs.

Much people suffers from leukaemia and more and more of them die because of this illness in my Motherland, the Eastern Turkestan.

This all occurs through the following : firstly,China is not capable of stopping,diminishing death-rate among ill people; secondly,Chinese government hides everything from the world public.

Moreover China doesn't any funds for local authorities to take some measures easing people's sufferings.In 1989 local ministry of health requested Peking to set aside 10 million yuan for fighting against the disease, but Peking allocated only 5 million • As a result thousands of people died. With this my appeal I earnestly request you,the Alma- Ata Cogress participants, to pay attention to the most stressful conditions in my Motherland-Eastern Turkestan, where people experience all the terrible consequences of nuclear weapon tests.

Chinese emperor said i "For being friends with far off countries it is necessary to annihilate neighbouring ones".

Thus, under the pretext of this slogan Chinese hawks pretend to be friends with everybody, sacrificing my compatriots to this friendship. Let not my compatriots be killed, expose their crime, which I told you about in this

short appeal# Help the Eastern Turkestan i

Yours truly

Jusupbeck Mukhlisy,

Uighur waiter, former XUAR

Academy of Sciences Member,

former XUAR Political Consulta-

tive Council Member, former

XUAR Central Museum Director.

Alma-Ata

No - to Lobnoye proving ground t

No - to all the proving grounds l

No - to testing a human being by a state !

Muslims In Inner Mongoli a

CIIF.NG DKG AN

rpilF.RE arc 1,500 Muslim herds- * men in ihc Alxa area of the western pari of ihc Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Most of them hve m -MC oases and border areas of lour communes. What is their life like/*

Oasis Muslims

A number of Muslims inhabit the Qinggel Tu Oasis, a green spot in a large sea of sand dunes. It is a land without trees, animals or vegetation except the saesaoul plant, a thorny bush eaten by camels.

The oasis is the center of a commune of 3,297 square kilometers and 2,268 people. It raises goats and camels. Ma Taoda, 53, is its secretary. Of the commune members, 937 are Mongolians, of whom 181 are Muslims.

Hide are no mosques. People gather at one of the family homes in their neighborhood -for worship. Th<y® 'o not drink or smoke, and do not marry non-believers. They dress and speak as Mongolians. Arabic words are found in their greetings. Some words, such as grandfather, father, sister-in-law and sister, are of Turkic origin.

A typical Muslim herdsman's family in the oasis is that of Yousuf Ceren, 63. He has ten daughters, seven of them married. The three still at home help with the herding. A hospitable host, Yousuf Ceren offer^ guests milk tea and often slaughters a* goal for a meal. The

eighth daughter, Siqin Gaowa, is a junior middle school student away at Ihtyan Hot, the capital of the Alxa area. The family herds 950 goats for the commune but has 30 of their own and two camels.

Yousuf Ceren reads the Koran well. He often recites whole chapters for guests. Recently he said, with a touch of complaint, "We are minorities among minorities. Though we have lived here fur generations, we rarely see visitors who can talk with us about Islam."

The Huis of Kaliar

A larger group of Muslims live in Aolongbulugo, a commune between the Han Ula Mountains and the desert. There are 716 Mongolians here, 317 of them Muslims. This area is called Kahar and its Muslims are known as the Kabar lluis.

Kabar has two mosques, one in the Aolongbulugo commune called the South Mosque, ruined during the "cultural revolution" and now being restored, the other in the bayimmiren commune called the North Mosque, which was not damaged.

Djumah (Friday) is the day of worship. Herdsman come on their donkeys from 30 kilometers away to worship at Suliman buyinjirigcle's home.

The Mongolian Muslims belong to the Khuffiyya sect. During the Minor Feast (Ramadan), the Major Feast (Korban), Rajah (7th lunar month in the Arabic calendar), and the Prophet's birthday, they gather around the mosque with sacks of flour, bottles of cooking oil, and sheep. The animals are slaughtered by the men and the flour kneaded by the women. After an abundant meal the men wash and attend the service together. Then they go to the Muslim cemetery to sweep the graves.

Pasturcland Muslims

Out on the grasslands one finds Muslim herdsman living in yurts surrounded by green pastures, wild* flowers and (locks of sheep. In one of these lives Aisha bat. 46. and Ins

China's Muslims

Islom seems to have appeared in China during the Tang dynasty (618 907) brought by Arab merchants from Central Asia. It became important in the Yuan dynasty (1271- 1360) and later inspired rebellions against particularly the Qing court.

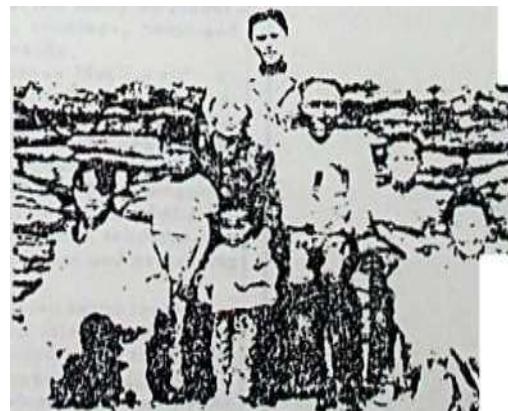
Today there are 15 million Muslims in the country. These include o number ol nationalities in Xinjiony such as the Uygur. Others, scattered throughout the country, an* called the Hui, though they generally spook the Han language and tu< lolly seem little different from the Huns.

The origins of the Hui O'e complex. Merchant' horn Central A: ia, many ol them Muslims, were called hui hui. Gradually Muslims came to tie called Hui, whether they came from the west oi wore Han converts (this does not apply to those in Xinjiang, however). Most of them know some Arabic and retain a few Turkic words

family. He has five boys and three girls, the youngest eight months and the oldest twenty, a girl who studies in a middle school in bayan Hot. The family herds for the commune. I hey themselves own four camels, lour donkeys and 82 sheep. They go to the mosque only for the Minor and Majot feasts, for it ts far. On

Djumah they worship in their yurt

Aisha Bator and his family.



A Better Deal for Chinese Muslims ^

TIK- China Islamic Association which claims to have a membership of about two million out of the 13 million (latest official figures) Muslims living in China, has extended an open invitation to religious and cultural organisations of Muslim countries to send a delegation of scholars and social workers to visit China. Such visits, this Association thinks, "will pave the way for re-establishing brotherly relations between the Muslim community in China and the rest of the Muslim world."¹¹

This move of the Association is in line with the latest actions of the Chinese government which indicate that the Muslims in China are now getting a better deal

as compared to the Muslims living in the USSR.

The China Islamic Association which seems to have started playing an active role only recently, was established in 1953 at Beijing (Peiping), the capital of the People's Republic of China. Articles now frequently being published in the Chinese newspapers and magazines indicate that the change which is described as the "smashing of the Gang of four" has provided the Muslims with more religious freedom and the Islamic Association more opportunities to be an active and effective body organising social and cultural activities for the Muslim community.

* The post-"gang-bf-four" era has given new and better status and respect to religion and the religious minorities. The most significant change in this

pc. ^ is the July 1979 constitutional amendment which altered the criminal laws providing punishment to those who practiced religious rituals. The amended criminal law which was enforced from first of Jan '80 provides that "any state functionary who unlawfully deprives a citizen of his legitimate freedom of religious belief or violates the customs and folkways of a minority nationality to a serious degree shall be sentenced to a fixed term of imprisonment up to two years."

This change, according to an article published in the Feb. 80 issue of the official magazine "China Pictorial" is in accordance with *the constitution and the basic policy of freedom of religious belief which was unfortunately "trampled" by the gang of four and Lin Piao. During this period the article says "many mosques were closed", but today all the mosques in China are being opened again. In Xinjiang, Uygur autonomous region where many Muslims live, 1900 mosques have been reopened. Chinese Muslims' political status has also changed, in the organs of power at all levels there are Muslim representatives. In accordance with the constitution, autonomous regions, Zhou and counties have been established in areas where minority nationalities, including Muslims, live.

material life of Muslims has also greatly improved. Education has been popularised. The traditional Muslim festivals of Eid-ul-Fitr and Eid-ul-Azha have been declared legal holidays. Special festival supplies are made available to Muslims in communes to celebrate these festivals. The last Eid-ul-Azha was celebrated with great festivity. Eid prayers were offered in all mosques in Beijing and other cities. The biggest congregation was held at Dongsi Mosque, Imam An Shilwei lead the prayers and delivered the Khutba which was attended by the envoys and members of the diplomatic missions of the Muslim countries. On November 1, 1979, the China Islamic

Association arranged a reception which was attended by more than two hundred diplomats and foreign Muslims experts working at Beijing. Imam Haji Abdur Bahri Ma Songting recited verses from the Holy Quran and Shan Xiaxi, vice-President of the Muslim Association, made a speech extending Eid greetings to all Muslim brothers from various countries. Shan Xiaxi made touching references to the concept of Muslim brotherhood and traditional relationship of the Muslim community of China with the Muslims of other countries. He recalled that Islam came to China as early as the time of the third Caliph Uthman ibn Affan, the record of history shows that it was 25th of August f.51 A.D. that the first Muslim envoy arrived at Changan, capital of Tang (now Xian), and in an audience with the Chinese emperor he presented to the Chinese people the message of Prophet Mohammad and the Holy Book "Quran-ul-Majeed."

Chinese Muslims have a glorious tradition, they are preachers and traders from Arabia, ----- and

other countries and made an excellent living in this country to flourish as a community and spread the message of Allah. From 651 A.D. to 1280 during the Tang and the Sung dynasties many Muslim envoys remained to come to China and were followed by traders through the Silk Routes and the sea.

Many Arab Muslim merchants settled down in China during Song dynasty and married Chinese girls thus they became the first generation of Chinese Muslims. They received education in the Chinese language and many of them through their intellect, knowledge, and excellent manners and moral standard, got respectable positions and high offices in the royal courts during the Song dynasty. They converted many local elite to Islam, and thus through marriages and preachings the Muslim community continued to grow. Li Yansheng, Pu Shouqeng, Pu Shouqeng are among those who earned great positions as advisers with the King in the late ninth century. Those devoted Muslims through their influence built many mosques and institutes of learning which became the centers of Islamic preaching in China.

During the Mongol conquest in the 13th century and immediately after that a great number of Muslim merchants and soldiers, Arabs Turks and Persians continued to come to China and they spread

and all over the land. Chinese Muslims have to their credit a glorious role which they played in the first-ever struggle against the tyranny of the Yuan rulers, in the late 14th century, which is known as the peasant uprising. During the whole of the 13th century the number of Muslim migrants to China increased tremendously and besides being teachers, scholars and traders they engaged in agriculture, thus commanding great influence in vast areas of the country. With their traditions of waging jihad against forces of evil and the misrule of tyrant kings, they joined the peasants and provided leadership to their uprising. Their services in this struggle provided them with great eminence and high offices in the new emerging Ming Dynasty. The early Ming emperors gave instructions to protect believers in Islam and built mosques as a mark of gratitude to the services of their Muslim companions.

It was in the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. that a great number of Muslim celebrities emerged on the social, intellectual and political scene of the Chinese national life. One of the famous Chinese navigators Zheng was a Muslim who organised the biggest fleet of the time and is reported to have sailed on seven expeditions, visiting 35 countries of Asia and Africa between 1405 and 1433. Another great Muslim of the time was Hai Rui, a legend of righteousness. The Ming emperor appointed him Chief Justice and earned great name in the history for enforcing justice honestly and strictly.

During the 1415 and 15th centuries many outstanding statesmen, military figures, scholars, poets and scientists emerged from their ranks.

Since the 16th century the Chinese Muslim scholars of the Huiyiqizan, Hadith, and Islamic jurisprudence have left numerous writings and translations, Wang Dajiy, Ma Ziluj, Llu Xhi and Ma Fachu are known as the "four most distinguished scholars" of this period. Sheikh Jingzhai, Sheikh Ma Liangjun, Sheikh Pang Shigan and Prof. Haji Ma Jian (who died in 1978) are foremost among the modern scholars who made great efforts in spreading Islam and protecting the Islamic culture and traditions.

Christians and Buddhists are also being treated well, the Muslim too now have a fair deal in contradiction to. The treatment meted out to them in Russia and after the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and the continuous massacre of Muslims there by the Russian troops. Muslims in China can hopefully expect even better conditions and more freedom in religious and cultural affairs in future.



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(Courtesy: Muslim International
News Features Alliance)

OJLA > 03

By Robert Macpherson

Islam and Ming emperors

By Dr. Fawzia Mai
Special to Arab News

Many of the estimated 80-100 million Muslims in China have long believed that the emperors of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1636 A.D.) were Muslims. But Professor Hikmet Ming-dao Ma is the first to research the subject and put it into print. His book, *Study in the Religion of the Imperial Household of the Ming Dynasty* was published three years ago by the Chinese Muslim Cultural and Educational Fund in Taipei.

Though professor Ma analyzes about 24 different aspects of the Ming dynasty, he concentrates his efforts on the founder of the dynasty. Emperor Hung-wu, researching his place of origin, his life history prior to his ascendance to the throne, and the religion of his cousin, generals and palace officials. His conclusion: They were all Muslims.

Using simple architectural facts, Professor Ma proves that the "temple" where Hung-wu trained as a "monk" was really a mosque housing a nest of revolutionaries. His later "wanderings" were in fact a four-year tour of Muslim provinces for political propaganda purposes.

As soon as he acceded to the throne, Hung-wu had the "Jing Jueh" Mosque built in Nanking, writing a famous "100-word praise" to mark its opening. This historical speech praises in no uncertain terms Prophet Muhammad and Islam.

This was not all. Hung-wu built and renovated mosques all over the country: In Beijing alone, four mosques were renovated and another five erected. Even within the imperial palace, the daily five prayers, complete with athan, were held regularly (according to Ali Akbar's *China Travels*).

Though Chinese emperors traditionally kept a large number of concubines in the inner palaces, besides the 81 official wives, none of the 16 Ming emperors, as well as the two uncrowned princes, had more than 4 wives each. Queen Ma, Hung-wu's wife, never had her -ji bound according to the Chinese custom. Neither did the Muslim women of China since deformation of the body is contrary to Islamic teachings.

Using anthropological methods, Professor Ma studied 12 official portraits of Chu Hung-wu, which he borrowed from the National Palace Museum in Taipei. He concludes that Hung-wu had a mixture of Mongoloid and Negroid features, and therefore must have had North African, maybe Sudanese ancestors that migrated to the Middle East and later came to China.

He reformed a number of social customs, the most interesting being a decree forbidding the making and drinking of wine. Later emperors completed the picture: Yung-le awarded the right to slaughter and trade in cattle and sheep to Muslims only. Wu-tzong forbade altogether the raising, trading and slaughtering of pigs in



FOUNDER: The book's cover features a portrait of Emperor Hung-Wu, founder of the Ming Dynasty. The forehead and nose are Negroid and the eyes Mongoloid. The shape of the head is brachycephalic. This portrait is kept at the National Palace Museum in Taipei.

1519 A.D.

Many historians argue that Hung-wu persecuted Muslims, basing this allegation on the decree that forbade Muslims to marry within their own race. Professor Ma on the contrary sees this as a clever means of multiplying the Muslim population within a short time, since non-Muslims would have to convert before marriage. Historical censuses support his view, in fact.

The question that stares the reader in the face, and yet was left unanswered by Professor Ma is obvious: Why did Emperor Hung-wu and his heirs not declare themselves openly to be Muslims? Why did they not simply make China an Islamic state?

Professor Ma may have tried to answer it indirectly. He tells us that the Islamic concept of religion was totally contrary (and still is) to the traditional Chinese philosophy and customs. They could not possibly have accepted a caliph as their spiritual and political leader.

It is hoped that Professor Ma or other Muslim scholars will carry out further research into the subject. If it can be proved that the Ming emperors were Muslims, then this must have been the best guarded secret in Chinese history, and China missed the chance of becoming the most populated Muslim nation in the world.

CHINA, China (AFP) - More than 1,300 years after Islam first came to China, the nation's 14.7 million Muslims finally have their own university, a family operation that is as high on hopes as it is low on money.

Xian Muslim Liberal Arts University, chartered in July as one of China's few private colleges, operates out of a former home for retired cadres in the gray south side of this ancient capital city.

In less than a month, it enrolled 200 students, two-thirds of them from Xian which has a large Muslim community. It also recruited 38 professors, many of whom quit jobs at established campuses to teach here.

Courses in Arabic, English and law are part of the first-year curriculum, together with an extramural program specializing in business studies. There are also plans to admit some foreign students from next year.

"For 1,300 years Muslims have been longing for such a university," said Ding Yan, a lawyer and the university's vice president.

Mrs. Ding's husband, Wu Jianfu, a Communist Party member and former senior cadre in northwest China's Ningxia region, is president. Their British-educated son, Wu Yu, gave up plans to study in Canada to become the law lecturer.

They declined to take a reporter on a tour of the classrooms, saying they were getting a coal of whitewash.

Most of the school's financing has come from bank loans and the Wu Family's own bank savings, said Wu Yu, adding that the university is open to donations from any interested states or benefactors.

It has also come up against the poor-average standard of education that has dogged Chinese Muslims for generations, Wu Yu added.

"For example, there is a Muslim middle school in Xian, but very, very few of its graduates have been able to get through the gates of any university in China," he said, citing low-grade teachers as the prime reason.

Islam first came to China beginning in 631 with Arab, Persian and Indian traders. They married local Chinese women along the southern and eastern coasts, with their descendants, moving inland.

Those descendants today are called "Hui," devout Muslims who look Chinese, speak Chinese, even worship in mosques that feature Chinese-style courtyards and pagoda-style minarets.

More Muslims are to be found in northwest Xinjiang region, where Turkic-speaking Uyghurs dominate.

Muslim unrest in China flared in the 19th century with serious rebellions in the northwest and southwest that led to massacres by imperial troops.

Chinese Muslims suffered again in the Cultural Revolution (1966-76), persecuted by Red Guards because of their faith and, in many cases, backgrounds in business.

The elder Wu recalls being imprisoned for 222 days during the Cultural Revolution, making seven self-criticisms in front of Mao's portraits, and hiding priceless editions of the Qur'an under the floorboards at home.

Predominantly Sunni, China's Muslims made a rare show of strength in May when they marched in several cities to protest *Sexual Customs*, a Shanghai book maligning Muslims.

The book was quickly banned by the authorities.

Arabs News 4 August 1988

SSCB ve Çin arasında bölünmüş Türkistan'da yeni arayışlar...
Yeni Düşünce
Sovyet Orta Asyasından Xinjiang'a bakış

Azad-Ayye RORLICH

ÖRİA ASYA'DAKI EİTNİK GRÜPLERDEN BAZILAHİNİN BÖLGESEL DAĞILIMI

benimle olsan, sanırsın. Kırıplı, nı a
nılık Özbekliğisinin bu şekilde yönetim
lamasına karşı koymak, hiç olabilse

Tansiyel olarak yardımcı olacaktır.
Hem Kazakistan hem de Xinjiang

Etnik Grup	SSCB da Yerleşimleri Topum Sayısı	Kend. Birliğinde yanya da Cümhuriyette Topum Sayısı (Topum Adası %)	SSCB Sınırları yanya da yeni nida Yasa yanılar (Cumhuriyet olmada da) (Topum Adası %)
		1978	1980
Kırımlılar	303.324	92.3	100.0 (100%)
Kırım Tatarları	8.558.000	86.7	81.2 (91%) 3.000 (Alqanlılar)
Uygurlar	1.986.000	96.5	97.0 (97%) 25.000 (Alqanlılar)
Batı Türkler	3.027.913	98.3	98.6 (98%) 400.000 (13%) 300.000 (Alqanlılar)
Uygur Türkleri	210.602	—	100.0 (100%)
Batı Türkleri	15.391.000	94.6	1.500.000 (100%) 18.000 (1%)

neğin Özbekistan'ın bu şekilde yorumlamamasına karşı koymak güç olabilirken fakat Xingtao'a karşı (ve şimdilerde) Özbekistan'ın ekonomik maneviye (ve teknolojik) önemini deşifre etmek, öncelikle önde gelen ekonomik menfezlerin (ve teknolojik) bilinmesi gerekmektedir. Özbek ekonomisinin durumu - "İhracatçı" şartının altında yeniliğin öne çıkan kazanımları olarak Özbekistan'ın işkarpasındaki etiolojik problemlerin pozisyonunu ve bu konudaki (kamuoyunun dan kaynaklanan) meydani okumalarını basitleştirir. Özbek liderliğinin, problemlerle den başlarına gelenler bulmaya yönelik kendi arayışlarının (ve dardının) içine gireceğini de tarihi iliskilendirir (bir imkân arayışına sevk eden bir otorite de has muhtemel görüntüyör.)

Tanrıları olanak yardımcı olacaktır.
Hem Kazakistan hem de Xinjiang petrolü ureten bölgeleri, Tengiz, Kazakistan'da en geniş petrol kayalarından birine sahip; Taksi Tengiz'in kaynaklarında ise Xinjiang'deki bölgelerde Karşıçay ve Tarim gibi akarsuların döküntülerinde Tengiz'deki benzeri yapılar gösteriyor. Hazırda aynı Xinjiang'ı petrol cağızlarından olup da delleşeyen İşkreme, arastırma ve incelenme ile ligili bilimler konusunda müjdelek menfaat ve ihlaliyein eyle almak, gövdelemek üzere Tengiz'i ziyaret etti. Kazakistan'ın başındaki çoktan hıdâyeleri, Tengiz'in İngiliz mühendislerinin, Çinli misali modern, özellikle Romanya kaynakları, Kuzey-Kore'ye ve Kuzey-

inde fazla bir etkisi olamamıştır. Ota
saya olarak da anılan Türklerin, İç As-
ya, Ota Asya veya İmparatorluk
Anayurtu doğesinin enin, yapısında
hakim unsur tarihi İslam dini tara-
fiyan bireylerindirimiş olan akraba
Türkler, oruçlular. Bunuńska berber,
politik sanat, ayrı (yağın) zorunlu
ibrakumsı olan Ota Asya etnik grup-
larından birbirine bağılılığı, bu grupla-
rın soyço-ekonomik ve kültürel kalıcı-
ma düzeylerini, siyasi soyçalıgelmeli-
miş etkilevi ve bugün burjuvazilerin co-
guna "bolşevik millet" kavramı uy-
gunluğunu bulmuştur.

Geçen yüzlerden, haberlerin yarısı
ve genelde Kazak, Kirgız, Uygur, Ö-
zbek ve diğer Orta Asyalıların, Partinin
ve Moskova'daki hükümetin idenliğinin
ideolojik ve dia-politik lig'i ve manafa-
ten birbirinden şöhnelerin Sovyetler Bla-
tılı'ının sunulan ötesinde yaselenen ak-
rabalarının misafir etkinliğini gösteriyor.
Dünya, Ota Asya'ya kendilerini sunan
dışındaki akrabalara ligi gösterecek
iznine sahip bulunmuşlardı.

Ota Asya Cumhuriyetlerinde yaşa-
nan son gelişmelerin tarihsel nesne-
mükemmeliğidir. Sovyetler Birliği de-
sindeki Ota Asyalılar yine de, "İki-
yönlüSELLER YER YATIRIM" oturaya okum-
durulmuş. Bir yandan, hatta Moskova-
nın onlara batınlığı belirlemek için yak-
laşım var, diğer yanda ise, Sovyet si-
nirfanı, Kazakhstan'ın ve Özbekistan'ın gibi
cumhuriyetler tarafından dikte edilen
maliyeden nesbet eden bir yaklaşım

Kırgızların pogonuluğu Cin Halk Cum-
huriyeti Xinjiang Uygur Özerk Bölge-
sinin Kuzi Su İlannıda yoldurulması
durumda. Bu nezdenden ki, Sovyet Kir-
gız yayınladı (szemle) Kuzi Su Kir-
gitasının bir yıl boyunca bir diktat obs-
trükeleşmesi hiç sağıntı dolabı. Halkıuk
edebi-sosyo kültürel Kingz gazetesi,
Kirgızistan Madaniyyet, Sovyet Ota
Asyalıları Cin Ota Asyalıda yaşa-
yor. Kirgızların akrabalık bağlarının dikkat
çeken bir makaleye bas yen vermiş-
ti. (Bu Kirgızların aynı sayısındaki bir bier-
ci makale (ise) yaklaşık 97.000 kişilik
bir nüfusa sahip olan Kuzi Su Kirgız-
larının edebiyat üzerine odağılmış-
tı. (Bu Kirgızların aynı sayıda çok Kuzi Su Ede-
bindeki gürültü ve güneyindeki Ferengi
Vadisi'ne kadar yılanın bir
"memlekette" oturan Nagman boyu
syov'ıch Kirgızistan Madaniyyet, daha
sonra bir söyleşide, (bu kaz) Çinli bir
şahıllim adamın taramıldan kahverenle
olmak ve Kirgız kültür ve edebiyatını in-
celeyen bir makale yayınladı.)

Xinjiang Özbaşkeri, Kirgızlara ki-
yasla daha küçük bir topluluğu, nüfus
yüzdesi olarak sadexe 18.000 ci-
varındır. Bunda da, Xinjiang Uygur
gur Özerk Bölgesi'nde iki karafla iliskili
kumurmasına yönelik gibi getirilen Öz-
bek cumhurbaşının idenliğinin ligisi, salt
bir "etnik-kültürel bölgesel" formelli-
ne devşirildiğinde açıklandı. Birkaç gün
ay önce gerçekleştirilen, Özbekistan Hü-
kümetinin Xinjiang idenliği cümmü-
riyetlerini ziyaret etmesi yönünde yar-

KAYNAKLAR: A. Bennigsen ve S.E. Wimbush, *Sovyet İmparatorluğu Müstahcenleri. Bir Shin Akıbeti*, Sovyetler Birliği Meseleleri Hakkında, Londra, s. 275-76, 292-93.
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1979, s. 147, 159 ve 195).

bır kişi Kıtakının yaşam ömrüne bir not
değil, bassetxanın Xinheng' da resmi
(yazı) olarak kullanılmış Arapça ile (di-
zemlemmiş) bir resim ile de sağ. (6) Böy-
lœs, Çinliler veya Alma-Ala'da yasa-
yan Kazaklar için çok büyük anımlı
çan Makatır'ın şölye, Sovyet okulu
cülerine Xinheng' da bir Kazak tıplu-
myun varlığı gösterilmektedir. Bu
topluşuk veryn hâlinde yokken
farkındır. "Kazak ethnosc." Sovyet Ka-
zaklarının kavram (şeysiinde) bir ya-
2. "Kırgız Türkleri Küçük-Sıvılık Kıpçakların Chir-
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5. M. Kebatov, "Kazak qırıqları,"
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6. "Kazak mutyanyası da Tenger," *Kaz-*
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Riyadh Daily

23 October 1990

~w:o^y -----
**China *£«/.
executes 12
criminals**

BEIJING (R). — Twelve criminals, were executed after a mass rally in northwest China's frontier region of Xinjiang, according to an official report reaching Beijing on Monday.

The Xinjiang daily described how three of the condemned men had tied up a family, robbed them and then sprayed them with submachine gun fire, killing an 11-year-old boy. - A ■

Two of the gunmen were Han Chinese while the third was identified as Abulaiti from one of China's ethnic minority groups.

Another criminal was named as Yumiti Yibulayin, also from an ethnic minority, who had beaten a prisoner to death in jail.

The 12 were executed in the Xinjiang capital of Urumqi on October 13, the Xinjiang daily said. It did not give the names of the other eight.

According to earlier reports, police recently smashed 500 'counter-revolutionary gangs' and arrested several thousand people in Xinjiang which historically has been riven by ethnic conflicts.

"The situation of Xinjiang's public order remains very brave.

Another peak in the crackdown must be whipped up," Xinjiang television reported in August. China's official media have reported the executions of hundreds of people this year in the biggest crackdown on crime since 1983 when human rights organizations estimate more than 10,000 criminals were condemned to death.

Riyadh Daily

16 December 1990

*Beijing
clamps
down on
religion*

BEIJING (Agencies) — Authorities have closed 50 mosques and banned the building of 100 new ones in an area of China's northwest where separatists fought an armed rebellion this year. - J..) ■■

The Xinjiang daily newspaper said authorities imposed strict constraints on religion after "earnestly drawing lessons from the counter-revolutionary armed rebellion in Baren township" in April.

"(The government) closed down 50 superfluous mosques and, at the request of the masses, decided to stop more than 100 new mosque projects," said the newspaper in a report monitored by the British Broadcasting Corporation!

A further 50 unspecified religious facilities were closed, the report said.

In Manila Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng on Saturday condemned the political upheaval that tore down the Iron Curtain, saying it had "only brought chaos" to Eastern Europe.

Speaking at a press conference here shortly before he left for Laos, Li said China, a major power and the world's most populous nation, "will stick to the socialist world," he said.

Schifter's China visit crucial

BEIJING, Dec. 17 (UPI) — A visit to China, as well as tigering concerns in Tibet, Xinjiang by Washington's top human rights watchdog and other remote Chinese regions, comes at a crucial moment as the hard-line government prepared highly political pipsecu- . At the top of Schifter's agenda; however, is Beijing's apparent intention to forge ahead lions of key Triananmen spring dissidents. -

The visit by Rtyhpdrd Schifteru Assistant. Sec7 . dents it bbtieyes?w're core agitators.in the Tia- rety of State #6, Human-Ri^its and-Human= -; - nanmen -spring protests - thr most serious tarian Affairs, highlights-key differences in the---- challenge-to-the-Gommunist- Party in its four ways the-U.S. aid Chinese governments view decades of absolute rule. civU ahd legal rights.. •

At least.a;dozen;key4»ssidents.v^ve been ^"-Schiftec was to arrive in Beijing Ihtebodya ■ charged in rebent weeks with 'agitating coun fora three-day {working visit and diplomatic terrevolution^ propaganda;" 'a serious crime exchangeiU.S. Embassy officials said,... . ^ . punishable by long prison terms. •*

A visit by¹ a Ranking U.S. official'marljs.-a . bittersweet victory for China, which has .been pressing Washington-to end a year-old-barfori high-level exchanges but surely would have .the.CgOvement,- preferred, an economics or trade official over . ■ y . I one responsible'for human rights.

Being^harged with k crime is tantamount to j The ban on exchanges was part of a package conviction in China;¹ where defendants areex- of political and economic sanctions imposed pected to eamJeniehcy byiconfessing their er- by the U.S. Congress after the government- rors, expressing remorse and implicating oth- ordered Beijing "massacre that'crushed China's ere."

nationwide.^ defiocracyr^pioyemenL' in early' .Schifter's visit.putsintolsharp focus the po- June.1989<> { .-i Jitlcized nature 'of China's Socialist, Jegal sys- Schifter's vis^t-suggesfe Washington isfeas', tern, which the. government maintains" is just ing the-, ban ont-.exchaiget^ even'while main-''7 even while acknowledging its usefulness for tainihg the sarisfipos areisfillin effect,, and 'controlling public behavior and thinking, comes iri the whkerof the European Com'munP, , U.S. legal scholar. J&pme Cohen said ty's October decision to lift; all sanctions but" . Schifter's visit complicates:abattle he believes those banning military exchanges. . - ■ .1 is being fought among China's leaders over

The trip was&vranged during Chinese For-. hovy to convict they"cptinterrevolutionaries" eign Minister Qiairi Qichen'S sanctions-busting that.sparked the 1989 protests they now revisit with President Bush,.inWashington last py- gard as a "counterrevolutionary rebellion," month. .:- They must befighting like hell,""Cohen

U.S. officials said Schifter planned to ex- said last week in Beijing. 'One of the advan- j plore many questions about human rights in . tages of having an autonomous judicial sys- China, with an emphasis on the authoritarian tern is that politicians can hand over hot prob- crackdown that followed th6 'Beijing massacre —• -lemsand wash their hands of them "

Two jailed dissidents.- editor Wang Juntao, 32, and .economisiuGhen Ziming, 38 .-lace. i trial on the additional and more serious charge . \ of conspiring ,• to o.v.erthrow i which Cari 'carry a.dead) sentence;

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H4 TUESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1990

ବିଜ୍ଞାନ

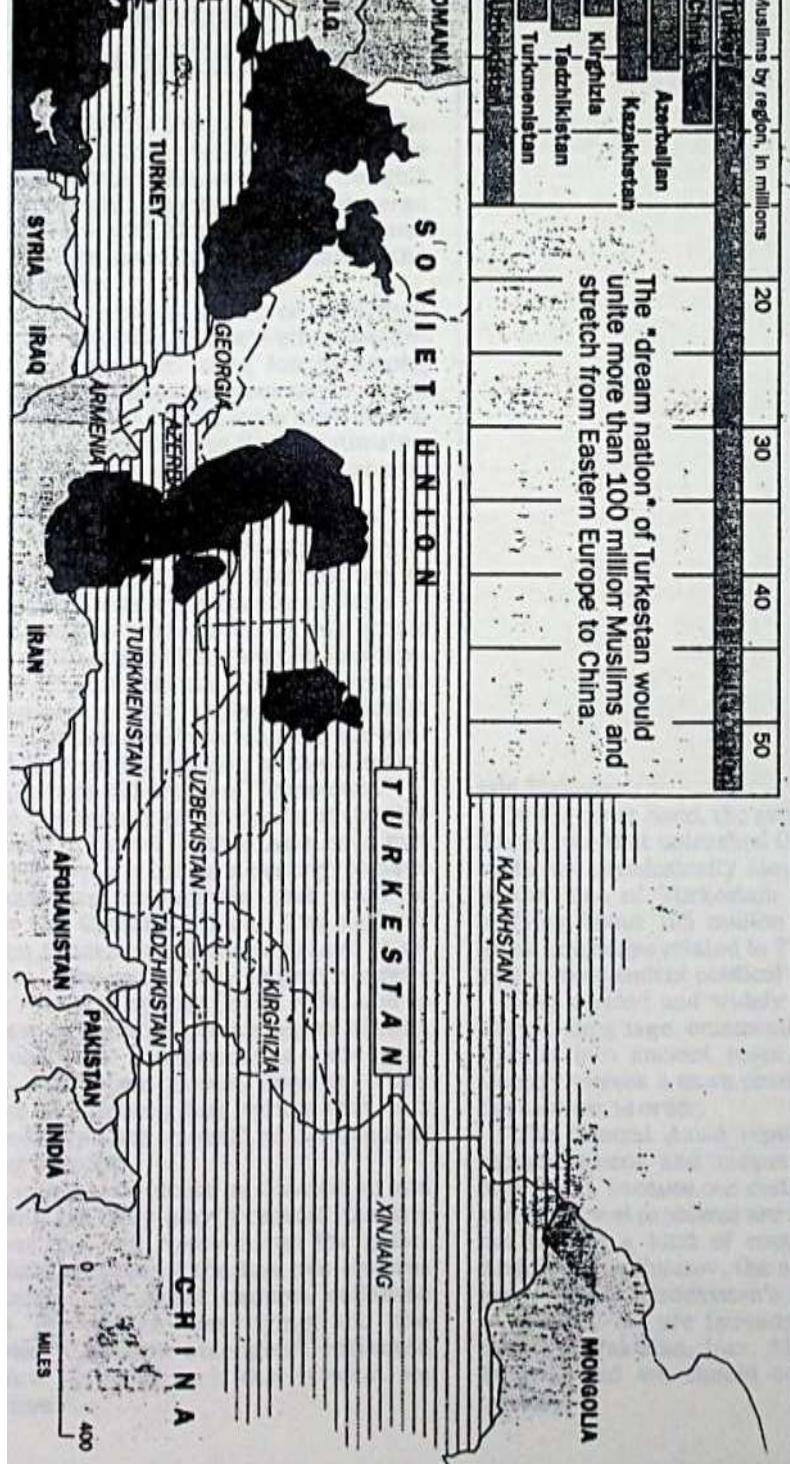
Case Study/Turkestan

A Mythical Empire May

LOS ANGELES TIMES

P E C I A L • R E P O R T
E E K I N G A N E W W O R L D

Be on the Verge of a Bloody Civil War



£4 Ethnic clashes mar the f dream of a Muslim £ federation in Central Asia.

TA SHKENT, Soviet Union—In the remotest corner of the world, on the plains where Tamerlane and Genghis Khan once ruled, an empire is on the verge of civil war—with the potential to transform the map from the Middle East to the gates of China. ^{-v-} _{y.*}

Z Pitting Kirghiz against Uzbek, against Meshketian, the new ethnic battles of Central Asia are being fought among places most. Americans have never heard, of. Yet more than 1,000 people have died in the clashes, according to Soviet estimates; and more death and destruction appear inevitable.^"

• ^{**}The world should prepare itself for . . . the bloodiest ethnic, cultural and civil conflicts," warned Valeri Tishkov, one of the leading Soviet experts on such strife. ..^{I*} But even as each group in this ethnic crazy quilt arms itself for war, an unprecedented effort is also under way to unite all the peoples of the region in a Muslim federation that could stretch from Europe; an Turkey to the far side of the Himalayas—the age-old dream of "Turkestan."

The Communist governments of the five republics of Soviet Central Asia have met together to plot a common destiny; so have the dissident movements that want to throw the Communists out. The region's Muslim fundamentalists have joined in an Islamic Democratic Party to promote religious rebellion against Soviet rule. And to the east, in China's Xinjiang region, Muslim Uighurs seek independence—and new links with their Soviet cousins. They staged an uprising last spring that was quelled only after an airlift of thousands of Beijing's troops.

As exotic and remote as Uzbekistan and Xinjiang are, they play a central role in a process that will ripple across the globe: the disintegration of the last two empires on Earth. "All great empires collapsed when the center was dying and the periphery became stronger," reflected Tishkov. "It looks as if that is what we have now."

| said Tishkov.

On the other hand, the same loosening of Soviet rule that unleashed this internecine strife has paradoxically also given a boost to the idea of Turkestan: the dream of unifying about 135 million Muslims who speak languages related to Turkish under a single, independent political umbrella.

Long divided and widely scattered, the Turkic-language communities are now tapping into ancient roots of a common identity to seek a more prominent place in the new world order.

"The Central Asian republics will find rapprochement and cooperation in their own union, because our cultural, economic and ecological problems are too close for us not to find a kind of cooperation," said Abdul Rahim Pulatov, the ebullient chairman of Birlik, Uzbekistan's main nationalist group. "We are (already) close to the people of Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan and Turkey, and we should cooperate more closely."



o , The collapse of these empires could destabilize large parts of the world. The Soviet Union sprawls from Scandinavia to Iran, from the Balkans to Alaska. China, * the world's most populous country, is the key to stability in all of East Asia. Both still boast huge armies with giant nuclear arsenals.

An independent Soviet republic of Azerbaijan, for example, would threaten the safety of neighboring Armenia and the stability of Iran, whose population includes 14 million ethnic Azerbaijanis. Or an independent Uzbekistan under fundamentalist rule could

align itself with Muslim Iran, posing a new challenge to the West

• • And if the Muslim republics of the Soviet Union slide into war—against Moscow or against each other—the effect on neighboring areas and on the often-prickly relationship between Moscow and Beijing could be dangerous and unpredictable.

On one hand, the peoples of Central Asia are in conflict as never before in modern times. Some of the conflicts are touched off by squabbles over scarce resources: In the mixed Kirghiz-Uzbek city of Osh, more than 300 have been killed in ethnic clashes over land. Others are over questions of identity and political power; the Tadzhik minority in the ancient caravan cities of Bukhara and Samarkand is increasingly resentful of the more powerful Uzbeks. c4; . "We are lucky that it hasn't exploded," • •

Will those mutual bonds prove stronger than the forces for division? Pulatov and his followers, will be among those who determine the answer.

Birlik, the Uzbek word for "unity," is just one of a handful of new pan-Turkic or Islamic groups in Soviet Central Asia. Its principal goal is an independent and democratic Uzbekistan, whose 20 million people make it the most populous of the area's republics.

But Birlik's long-term dream can be viewed on the faded blue wall of its headquarters, an old mud-brick house with uneven wood floors and high ceilings in the ancient Muslim quarter of Tashkent. Prominent among the posters, charts and anti-Russian banners is a simple map of the area from Turkey to China. It shows no borders. "Turkestan," the caption reads. Pulatov, an artificial intelligence specialist at the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, acknowledged that a united Turkestan is a long way off. "It's utopia at this stage of development," he conceded. "Common people just do not understand it"

Still, the dream is shared across the spectrum of Central Asia's nationalist groups, Islamic and secular alike. Its appeal is straightforward. First, it would bring together peoples now on the world's periphery who meet the criteria of a viable nation-state—a common language, culture

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and religious heritage. (Except for the 4.2 million Tadzhiks, who speak a Persian dialect, all native Central Asians speak distinct but mutually intelligible Turkic dialects.)

"In the West they speak too much about the common European home," said Mohammed Salikh, a member of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet and author of the bill declaring Uzbekistan independent "Why not speak about a common Asian home?"

Second, a united Turkestan could be a world powerhouse in terms of numbers and resources. The Soviet Union's five Central Asian republics together are roughly two-thirds the size of the United States and account for more than 15% of the Soviet population. Their pastures and agricultural fields are among the richest in the country. "Even today people eat better than they eat in Moscow," said Firuz Kazemzadeh, a m:
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* 'At the market, you see tomatoes, lettuce, apples and, oh, the best melons in the world. Turkestan can survive without the Soviet Union.'

. FIRUZ KAZEMZADEH
Yale historian

Yale historian who spent this fall in the region.

"At the market, you see tomatoes, lettuce, apples and, oh, the best melons in the world. Turkestan can survive without the Soviet Union," he said.

In neighboring China, while Xinjiang's 14 million population is comparatively sparse, its landmass is four times the size of California. Underneath its barren land lies one-third of China's coal reserves. And the discovery of massive oil deposits in 1989 has prompted claims that the region will be the next Klondike. . '

As far away from their roots as they are in time and distance, most of the 15 distinct ethnic groups of Turkestan have not forgotten their ancient ways.

' The Muslim Uighurs of China, for example, still use the Arabic script of their

Islamic faith; many also observe the Muslim prohibition on alcohol and pork. By custom and by language, separatists feel closer to their ethnic brethren in distant Turkey than to the Chinese among whom they have lived for centuries.

"The romantic idea of pan-Turkic nationalism is widely discussed among intellectuals and the young," said Justin Rudelson, an anthropologist who spent two years in Xinjiang and is among only a handful of Americans who speak Uighur. "There is also a strong Islamic revival."

The idea of Turkestan is not new. Before the armies of the Russian czars swept through Central Asia in the 19th Century, much of the region was loosely united under the semi-feudal rule of local princelings known as khans.

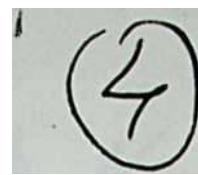
Ironically, the rifts that now exist among the peoples under Soviet rule are a result of Communist policies more than historic divisions. As the new Soviet Union's first secretary of nationalities, Josef Stalin imposed what some scholars describe as a . Russian version of apartheid on Central Asia. His chief aim was to prevent an Uzbek rebellion from escalating into a pan-Turkic uprising.

Stalin dispatched ethnographers to the troublesome south to divide it into smaller republics over which Moscow would have tighter control. The results are today's Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and Tadzhikistan.

China did the same thing. In response to tumultuous rebellions among China's Turkic groups in the 1930s, as central power was collapsing, a Chinese military governor summoned Soviet advisers to classify its ethnic peoples, including those in Xinjiang.

"The concept of who these people are today was established by the Soviets and the Chinese from the top down in the 20th Century," Rudelson explained. "What's happening now is that people are asserting who they are from the bottom up, based on their identity a long way back."

The Communists' effort to replace ethnic identity with nationalistic loyalty to the Soviet and Chinese states did not work. Although the Turkic groups absorbed many of the modern ideas of economic and social progress, they did not abandon their ancient cultures. Indeed, it is the combination of old culture and modern tools that



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gives the separatist movements their special force.

The seeds of Turkestan are not limited to intellectual debate and a handful of militant movements.

The longstanding ethnic links among the Soviet and Chinese Muslim republics are being reinforced by new contacts, and traffic—the result, ironically, of the common push in both China and the Soviet Union to modernize.

The first major highways along the ancient silk route linking Xinjiang and Uzbekistan were completed in May. Under new government-approved contracts, Chinese Uighurs have begun building light industries in neighboring Soviet Central Asia. And, because of the shortage of consumer goods at home, Soviet Muslims who have gained greater access to China over the past year are now traveling regularly to Xinjiang to buy out local shops.

The links and infrastructure of a future Turkestan are already being established.

"The whole plan is to re-establish ties with Soviet Muslims and Pakistan for trade purposes," explained Rudelson. "They really need each other to develop economically, and they have similar commodity needs."

Turkestan might not end up "being a single nation-state like the countries of Europe," Kazemzadeh noted. Instead, it might pull the Turkic Muslims together into a "brotherhood"—an entity unlike anything seen in modern times: a system of culture, religion, laws and economics that holds sway across traditional national borders, beyond the reach of any central government.

oever it's done; ^the-'dismantling' of the world's last: empires would be

H even more complex than the first wave of decolonization after World War II. These are adjacent and integral parts of the realm, not an ocean away, as India was from Britain and Indochina was from France.

Nor are the imperial regimes represented simply by a few thousands colonial settlers. Since Russia annexed large

;*/ chunks of Central Asia, millions of ethnic Russians have moved there. <<<

Kazakhstan, by far the largest of the Soviet Central Asian republics in land area^

H would be the most contested; its 6.8 million ethnic Russians outnumber the 6 -million^

V Kazakhs. .r.'i . . **.fff .

V Similarly, since the Qing Dynasty consolidated Xinjiang's oasis-city-states in the 17th Century and absorbed the region in 1884, some 6 million ethnic Chinese have moved in. They are now half of Xinjiang's population and -a potentially powerful obstacle to Turkic aspirations.

Xinjiang's oil discovery now makes it.. . even more vital to China, evident in never plans to relocate thousands more Chinese.

■ to the desert region: ■• - * < v .

•In other words, neiUier Moscow nor; I Beijing is likely to give' up' easily. And, because of the numbers and the strong ; conflicting cultures, the process is going to, be unprecedented in complexity—and pos^ sibly in bloodshed. A,-

—■“ , "In terms of nation-building, it's going Gf } be like nothing we've seen in this, century; ■\ or, in terms of proportions in this part of ■ the world, in history," predicted Rudelson.

"If the centralized powers of the Soviet Union and China break down, you're going to have a competition for power a grabbing of power. The historic divisions among people are going to re-emerge in striking ways, in ways people, bbth in the region and outside, have long forgotten.

"There's a real possibility it could wreak havoc in the whole area," he said. •

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UNESCO scientists say China's Muslims enjoy religious

By Bruce Shu

BEIJING, Aug. 25 (AFP) -- Leading social scientists from Pakistan and Turkey say that after a two-week road trip to China's remote far west, they are satisfied Muslims there are free to practice their religion and culture.

The statements fly in the face of reports of religious unrest behind recent separatist riots in the muslim-majority Xinjiang autonomous region and official calls there for aggressive action to quell Islam's "anti-socialist" influence.

"We visited people in their homes and had frank discussions with imams and in bazaars," said Professor Ahmad Asan Dani, director of Pakistan's Center for the Study of the Civilizations of Central Asia.

"We are perfectly satisfied they are free to worship," he said.

Dani was scientific leader of the first expedition in the 10-year UNESCO Silk Roads project, which included scholars and journalists

from about 20 countries.

The group left the historic eastern terminus of the trade route, Xian, on July 20 and traveled nearly 10,000 kilometers (6,250 miles) through the Gobi and Taklamakan deserts in Gansu province and through Xinjiang.

The journey, which was arranged and supervised by the Chinese government, included visits to rarely seen historical and archaeological sites and ended Aug. 17 in Kashgar, China's westernmost outpost and scene of separatist riots in April that left scores dead.

Muslim members of the expedition attended Friday prayers at a mosque in Kashgar and witnessed a traditional wedding ceremony, Dani said.

Turkish historian Isenbik Aricanli Togan, a Central Asia specialist at Washington University in the United States, said that Xinjiang's Muslims had preserved their ethnic identity and had an intimate knowledge of their history. She

said she believed the Uygurs, the main ethnic group in Xinjiang, did not feel restrained in carrying on their traditional culture and religion.

"When I asked a man about one of our 17th-century historical figures, he lit up and said he was a descendant from the same tribe," Professor Togan said, adding that she had spontaneous talks with people in remote villages and in bazaars.

She said she spoke with the local people in Turkish, a language very close to that of the Uygurs.

When asked whether she detected efforts by the Chinese authorities to suppress the area's culture and impose "mainstream Chinese values, the historian said she would need to spend more time in Xinjiang to draw such a conclusion.

China, which has five main ethnic groups, is dominated by the Han Chinese, who make up more than 90 percent of the population.

Since the 1949 Communist takeover, the government has said it sought to wipe out millennia-old Han arrogance and discrimination against ethnic minorities, but has tried to instill socialist values of its own in minority areas.

Communist crusading reached its peak during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) and has been revived after April riots in Barcn village outside Kashgar in which officials say 22 people died. Travelers in the area said the death toll was three times higher.

Last month, the official *Xinjiang Daily* launched a virulent editorial against Islam's role in "propagating anti-socialist ideas and advocating splitting."

It condemned "a small group of splittists" for using their religious influence to interfere in administration, culture, education, marriage and family planning, accusing them of cooperating with "hostile foreign forces."

The paper urged the authorities to ban obligatory religious education, forbid the construction of new mosques and open special schools for young people who "support the Communist Party and love the motherland."

Because unbiased and informed reports from Xinjiang are difficult to come by, the exact extent of Muslim separatist sentiment in the region is difficult to gauge.

But according to the *Xinjiang Daily*, supporters of the separatists responsible for the Barcn riots collected donations of 13,000 yuan (\$2,750), grain, horses, explosives and motorcycles for their cause, the creation of a "republic of East Turkestan."

Sixty percent of Xinjiang's 14 million people are Muslim, the majority of them members of the Uygur ethnic group.

KURBAN KODAY ve HİZMETLERİ

"Kurban Koday, Ankara'dan aldiği görevi her turlu gii^ şartlar altında yapmış ve bu ugurda şehit olmuş bir Türkistanlı olarak millî tarihimize hak ettiği şereflî yerini almıştır."

A. Şekirir TURAN*

Kurban Koday Türkîc ilc Dogu Türkistan Türkleri arasmdaki kopruii saglamlaştırmaya 9alişan bir miicahittir. Daha once bu kbpriiyii Kaşgar'da Ahmet Kemal llkul ve Hoten'de Ismail Hakki¹ Bçylcr kurmuşlardır. Turn araştırmalanma ragmen Kurban Koday'in Türkîye'ye nasıl ve hangi tarihte geldigine dair bilgi bulamadım. Kurban Koday 1918 yıldında Dogu Türkistan'ın Hoten vilayetine bağlı KERIYA kazasında doğmuştur. Türkîye'de öğretmen okulunda okummuştur. Bu bilgiler tamdxklannin anlattıkları olup, resmi kayıtlarda rastlamak mümkün olmuştur.

O zaman İstanbul'da okumakta olan arkadaşı İbrahim Mutlu'nun yazdigma görevi • Dogu Türkistan'ın kurtulmasından bahsederken, "Bu ugurda şchit veya gSzi olacağım" soyler. 1944 yıllarında Ein'de Mehmet Emin Bugra, Mesut Sabri ve Isa Yusuf Alptekin Beylerin milli ve siyaset faaliyetleri biliniyordu. Ayne Dogu Türkistan'ın Ili, Altay, Fov9ek vilaytlerinde finlilere karşı Milli miicadelc başlamıştı. Bunu duyan bazı gençler, bu mücadeleye katılmak ister. Bunun 19m Dogu Türkistan meselesini bilen ve olayları takip eden MEMDUH ŞEVKET ESENDAL'dan yardım istemiştir. Bilindiği gibi Esendal biyyiik insan, -i- leriyi görebilen bir devlet adamı ve Dogu Türkistanlı hamısı idi. Bu yiizden bir 90k Dogu Türkistanlı genci Mehmet Emin Bugra'nm mücadeleşine yardımcı olur umuduyla evinde banndırmış, okutmuş ve yetijirmi?.³ Bu gç^lcr arasında o ortamda 9ali;abilir diye giivendigi Kurban Kodajⁱⁱi Dogu Türkistan'a göndermek i9in. se9mişti. Kurban Koday Escandal'in sağladığı bu maddi ve diplomatik imkânlarla 5nce Bagdal'a gitmiştir. Bagdattan da hi9 bir miilki ve siyaset engelde karşılık madan ^in'e oradan Dogu Türkistan'a gelir.

Kurban Koday'1 1948 *enesinde Dogu Türkistan'ın başkenti Orumqi'de Mehmet Emin Bugra'mn evinde g6rmiş tim. ^ohbclcrinde Uygur şivesiyle Türkîc Tiirkîyesini kanjtirarak tatlı bir dille konuşuyordu. Ortaokul hazırlık sınıflarına git-tığım sıralarda öğretmenliğimi de yapmıştım. Dersle

*Kullur Rakanlığı MUjavırlı

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rindc Tiirkîc'yi ve İstanbul'un giizcligini an- latırdı. Bu Şekilde Tiirkîc'yi her fırscatta dilc geti- ren Kurban Koday o giinlerde YALKIN admda dort sayfalık bir gazete 9ikanyordu. Fok zor şartlar altında 9ik'ardığı bu gazete Dogu Türkistan'la Tiirkîc arasmdaki baglan kuvctlcndirmek, kultiirel alanda birleştirmek. fikrini işlerken, ozellikle Alaliirk'iin fikirlerine yer vermek i9in gayret edi- yordu. Bu gazetenin Atatiirk'iin bir resminin de bu- lundugu 29-10-1948 tarihli niishasi elimizde mevcuttur.⁴ Aym zamanda bize okutmak i9in "Ulusal Tarihimize Ana Hatları" isimli bir ders kitabı hazırlayıp bastırmıştı. Kitabın ismi i9indeki fikir- ler Kurban KODAY'ın yapmak istediği iş ve var- mak istediği gayeyi 90k 891k bir jekilde ortaya koymakta idi. Bu kitabı Ein'liler tarafından top- latılacak senen KODAY, on tedbir olarak kita- bımlı bizlere ve 9evresindckilere ucretsiz dağıtmıştı. Bu kitabı öğretmenimin bir hatırlası olarak ki- taphımda muhafaza ediyorum. Kurban KODAY'ın yazihanesi okulun yolu üzerinde olup kapi, pence- resi caddeye bakardı. Yoldan ge9en tanidıkları ve bizleri 9agmp masamın üzerinde devamlı duran gramafondan Anadolu tilkülerini dinlöttirdi. Benim en 90k dinledigim liirkii "Ey siirmcli siirmeli" turkiisi idi. Bu liirkii Isa Yusuf ALPTEKIN Bey'in kurdugu "Yaş^ar. Umig" (Gen9lcr Birligi) Cemîye^ ti'nin halk tiirkileri 'boliimu tarafından Uygur Tiirkîyesine adapte edilmiş söylecniştı.

Kurban KODAY'ın öğretmenlik yaptığı ve gazete 9ikardığı yıllar yiiksck öğrenimini Tiirkîye'de görmüş olan Mesut SABRI Bey'in Genel Vali olduğu senclrc rasıllar. 1.1.1949 senesinde Mesut SABRI Bey'in yerine BURHAN'ı Genel Vali olarak atadı. BURHAN Genel vali olunca YAL- KIN Gazetesini kapatarak Kurban KODAY'ın okul- daki görevine son verdi.

Mehmet Emin BUGRA'nın yardımii ile YURT isimli bir gazete 9ikartmı;sa da Gudde ve Dogu Türkistan'da meydana gelen siyasi olaylar yiiziinden uzun omurli olamamıştır. 1949 senesi yurdumuzun yönetimi Kızıl (^inlilcre leslim cdilince diğer arka- dajlan gibi Kurban KODAY da c^ini ve 9ocuklanm bırakarak yurdutrkçimci 19m yola gitti. İlindis-

lan'i Dogu Tiirkistan'a baglayan hudut kapisi "Kokai" a gelmi\$ii. Oniimiizde \$in askerlriyle yurdu terkctmek zorunda kalan silahsiz kijiler bi- rikmiji. Bunlann ifinde liammilar ve bcnim gibi 90cuklar da vardi. Aynca bazilanmn agir-yiikleri ve ticari mallan da bulunuyordu. Herhangi bir tch- like aninda fabuk harcket etmek imkanlan yoklu. Cinliler hile ve 9e\$illi .< vaatler'e liderlerimiz olan Mchmet Emin BUGRA ve Isa Yusuf Beycleri si- lahsizlandirmak i9in "silahlarimzi vcrip gc9in" diyorlardı.

Mchmet Emin BUGRA ve arkadajlan i9in iki sc9ertek vardi. Birincisi 9arpisarak hududtan gc9ip canini kurtanp silahsiz ki\$ileri \$inlilcrin kur\$unlanna tcikcdip oliimune sebcp olmak, ikinci se9enck ise kendilerini ve yakinlanni tehlikeye a- tarak halkim kurtarmakti. Mchmet Emin BUGRA, arkada\$lanna "silahlan vcrin" anlaminda mcktup yazdi. (Bu mektub'un, bazi kijilcice bilmcdigim scbeplerle fotokopilcri bana gonderilmi\$tir.) \$inliler, silahsiz kalan M. Emin BUGRA ve I. Yusuf ALP.TEKIN Beycleri I ve yakinlanni yakalayip goturduler. Boylce silahsiz, savunmasiz yuzlerce ki\$i camni rkurtardı. .KURBAN .KODAY. Bu. kar- ga;aliktan yaranlanip ^geriye donmu\$tu. Konurauz di\$i oldugu ajin . lidclerimizi ..ve.:ibizim* kurtu- lujumuzuburada anlatmaya luzumgormuyorum; -

KURBAN. KODAY'm §AAIADETI:, Aradan yillar - ge9tikten: sonra Ankara'da M. Emin BUGRA'nm 9ikardigi "TGRKISTAN SESI" dergisi- nin. (1956, Sayi. .1, Sayfa 30) sayism dav Kurban KODAY'm Dogu Tiirkistan'daki faaliyctcri ve ;ehadeti ile ilgili > bir haber ve yorum yaymlandı. Yani Kurban Koday, Ankara'dan aldig gorevi her turlu gu9 \$aitlar altmda yapmi; ve bu ugurda..;chit olmu; bir Turkistan'll olarak mill! tarihimizdc hak ctligi Sercfli yerini atmışlir.

Dogu Turkistandaki hurriyet mucadclcsinin. o veya .bu ^ekilde her 9e;it imkansizliklara ragmen devam - edipgeldigi birgc^eklir. Bu gergegi Avru- pa ve: Turkbasimnda yer alan • habcrler dc doğrulamaktadir.

• Bunlarla beraber, \$in'deki siyast degi;kilikler Dogu Turkistan mesclcsine ycn bo- yutlar kazandirmi\$tir. Bgnjm goruniirdekLbclirtisi kismen de olsa -din hurrivetidir.- Bu hiimvetten va- rrarlanmak jjin^inf cserlereJhtiyag^duyan..Dogu Tiirkistanlilar.ilketapta Suudi Arabistanda. ycrcs\$en yurua\$lanndan,jardim.talcp^elra4tir.

Bu istek doğrultusunda,,Suudi,Arabistan hiikiimcr Rabetcl-islam^-yasitasjyle J)ogu

Tiirkistan'a 1980 den beri bir islam kardc\$ligi goziyle bakip oraya Kur'an. ve ba;ka dini yaymlar gdndermektdir. Aynca .Dogu TQ^istyid|^djirmiu- nu ycrinde, goriip, incclcmck,~gaycsiylc,,I)ir,^ekip gondermijtir. Bu ekip. KURBAN-^KODAY^in hemjehrisi olan RAHMETULLAH TORKISTANI da bulunmasimn . Dogu _ Turkistanbakimindan ta\$iyacagi mana . ilcrisi i9in -9ok..buyiik ojacaktir. \$iinkii, Rahmetullah -Turkistam Suudi Arabis- jan'daki^ Dogu Turkistan'a yardım.,eden yurttashlar ifinde hizmcfleri olduka g6ze, 9a.rpanlardand.1r. Suudi ArabisUn_huk.umclin-L-J/c-joradaki. Jhemseh-rilerimizin bu, ulvi faaliyellcrini.diger.buyuk. karar- larin rnujdccisi. olarak-kabul- ediyoruz.

• Kurban KODAY ve onciilerinin TORkiye ile Dogu Turkistan arasmada kurdugu bu saglam koprii zaman zaman kapanmifsa da hi9 yikilmarm\$tir. Son zamanlarda bu kopriiden Sayin eski Meclis Ba\$kammi^ Nccmeddin KARADUMAN, Saglik Ba- kanimiz Saym Halil §IVGIN, Sayin Prof. Dr. Ba- haeddin OGEL ve arkada;lan ile .Sayin Irfan Gnver NASRATTINOGLU ge9mi\$lerdir. Yinc yakmlarda Kultiir ve Turizm Bakanligi Millt Tolklor Ara\$Urma Daircsı Ba;kam sayin Kamil, TOYGAR, ,Ba\$kan⁶ Yardxmcisi Saym Ilayrcddin .TVGIN ve Turk Kilturunu Arajtirma Enstitusu Ba\$kam Sayin Prof.

Dr: ^ukrii EL^IN Beycler:de; bu.;ki)pruden gC9tiler. Bunlann 90gu Dogu ^Tiirkistan'i ttamUcr-yaymlar.ve konu\$malar. yaparak kdpruyu <•. gcnici;letmeye 9ali\$iyorlar.

Bu durum kar5isinda .Autiirk -Turkiye'sine ycrlcjen, okuyan Tiirk-Islam sentezi gdril\$undeki . Tiirkistanlilarla.Suudi Arabistan ve .diger •memlcket- lere ycrle\$en, okuyan, zengin olan hcm\$chrilcrimizc mujterck bazi kutsal gorevler dii\$eccktir. Bu gorev .gc9mi;te.Kurban KODAY'm elc aldig, §ehadeti delayisiyle yanda kalan 9dm gorev dc olabilir. Boyle, kutsal gorevler. i9in §imdiden. hazirlilik olup, umut i\$igi yandigi an nc- rede olursak olalim bu gorevi beri veya biz yapanz diyecek durumda olmaliyiz. \$iinkii aziz yurdumuz Dogu Turkistan halki bizden bunu bcklemektedir.

■ 1. Ahmet Kemfi Ilkul: Dogu TORklsUn-Kajgar'da Ilk Maarif TejklUti ve Inkilabi. Tfrk Kulturu Dergisi. Ankara 1964 'Sayi' 19, sayfa 82

2.ibratilm Muthu: KURBAN KODAY.

TQRkstan Sea! Dcrgtsl Ankara 1956 sayi 3-4, sayfa 40.

(3)* BflyOk Insan Mcduh \$evket Esencl Afgan- stan'da BQyOkel'i Iken, o tarhlerde Afganlsan'da bulunan Mehmet Emin Bugra lle-dostluk kurmu\$tur. Bu dostluk Dogu TQRkstan da vastly la daha kuvvetlcnml; olarak sQrmQjt0r.

' , (4)- YALKIN Gazetesi Ankara -'Mill! kQflphane'de 'Ve bende olup, kismen Kirimli yaaa llalcan Kirimli'da da vardir.

' Cin liderleri Cin Seddinin dtesindeki azinlik
milletlere endiŞeyle baktalar' Colina MacDougall bildiriyor.

Financial Times adli ingiliz gazetesinin 31 Ogak 1990 tarihli
sayisinda yayınlanmıştır.

Ceviren Enver Can

Sovyetler Birligindeki gesitli milletler
arasında, glasnost, yani 'agiklik' politikasının sınırlan
aşarak, gittikge artampta olan gerginlikleri dikkatle izlemekte
olan Cin yöneticileri, kendi hududları içindeki azinliklar
(Jzerinde de endiŞeyle dUsUnmekeler. Pekin'in Dogu (Sinciang
Uygur Ozerk Bolgesi) TURkistandaki yağlı, ama katilaŞmis yöneticisi
Vang Enmao gegen hafta etnik gargaŞalıklar ve 'kargı devrim ayak-
lanraasına' karşı yeni tedbirler almigtır-.

'Karşı-devrim ayaklanması' deyimi komunist partisine kargı
yapılacak protesto hareketlerine verilen kod ismidir. Ama Pekinin,
Dogu TURkistanda demokrati tarafdan gösteriler yapılmasından daha •
da oteye gidecek olaylar vuku bulmasından korkmasına sebeb verdır.
CUnkı) tarihe baktığımızda bu Dike. MUSLUMANLAR (TURklerin)
Cinlileri bozguna uğratacak ayaklanmalanna sahna olmustur.

nin

Cin komunist partisi /gegen yaz Demokrasi isteyen göstericileri
silah gUcUyle bastirdıktan sonra ve simdiki, kemerleri sılmaya yone-
lik sert ekonomik politikası nedeniyle, zaten bagi derttedir.
Ama Cin liderleri, buna rağmen Dogu Avrupa Ulkeleri ve Sovyetler
Birligindeki cumhuriyetlerde vuku bulmakta olan hadiselerin kendi
hududları içinde sigamasını Sniemeye azimli gort)nt)yorlar. Bilindigi
gibi Sovyetler Birliginde Rus olmayan milletler genel nUFusun
yarısını oluşturuyorlar. Ama Cinde ise azunlik. '-v'" fakat 7
faizi

teskil ederler.

in vatanlan

Ama bu azmlik milletler/Cin Halk Cumhuriyetinin batı ve kuzey
taraflarımdaki geniş bölgelerdir. Bu halklar: Müslümanlar (TURkler),
Mogollar ve diğer milletlerin Sovyetler Birliği hududları içinde
kalan milletlerle tarihi kULTUREL bağları vardır ve Cinlileri
sevmezler.

Bu bölgelere, Sovyet blokivle/^zunfhudutfcjolması ve ig gUvenlik
nedeniyle çok sayıda askeri birlikler yerleştirilmştir. Dogu
TURkistan ve ig Mogolistan (Cin Halk Cumhuriyetinin ydnetimindeki
Mogol Orank Bolgesi) halkın simdiki Sovyet imparatorluğunun efləri

gin yoneticileri tarafindan verilen statistik bilgilere gdre, Dogu TURkistandaki 13 milyon nufusun 6 milyonunu Uygur TURkleri tegkil etmekteler. Uygurlar, ginliler tarafindan 'Uygur Ozerk BSIges;- .. <(Urkx+i, : e/icAf~r

olarak adlandinlan Dogu TURkistan/nufusunun yarisini" ^/ Kazak, Kirgiz, Uzbek, Tatar TURkleri ve Tagiklerle- birlikte ginlilerin sayisini gegerler. (Bu sayilar gin ydnetimi tarafindan verilen statistik bilgilere dayanir. Aslinda, Dogu TURkistandaki gin askerlerini ve para military olarak bilinen silahli giftgileri de saydigi mizda Dogu TURkistandaki ginlilerin sayisi TURklerden daha fazla oldugu soyleniyor). Dogu TURkistanin dogusundaki Gansu ve Ningsia vilayetlerinde de Hui olarak bilinen Muslimanlar vardir. (Hui lar gin'e islamiyeti goturen Arab tUccarlannin ginlilerle evlenmelerinden tUREyen halk oldugu tesbit edilmigtir).

ginliler, tarihten beri Orta Asya (TURklerden) halklanndan korkmuglardir. gengiz Han ve onun Mogol devletlerini bu konuda misa olarak gostermek kafidir. . . ginliler, TURk saldinlan kargasinda Seddi gin'i inga ettiler, ama hedeflerine ulugamadilar. Bunu ondan sonraki saldinlar isbatlamaktadir. gin ordulan, Dogu TURkistan gin hududlan igine alinarak pasifize edilmedikge daimi tehlike arz eder gorUGunden hareket ederek , bu topraklar Uzerinde defalarga savagtilar. Ama gin ordulan, fakat gin imparatorlugu en gUGLU oldugu anlarda bu(TURk)yurdunu kendi pengesi igine ala bilmigtir.

[^] Biringi gihan harbinden sonra[Dogu TURkistan] gin Cumhuriyeti yonetili' mine pek de tab! olmayan askeri diktatorler tarafindan yonetilmigtir. Bu arada (1933) bagimsiz ' Dogu TURkistan islam Cumhuriyeti' de ilan edilmigi. Ama 1949 da komunistler zafer kazandiktan sonra, Pekin Dogu TURkistani kendi kontroluna almig... ve ondan sonraki yillarda bu Ulkeye gck jayida ginli gagmen getirip yerlegtirneye baglamigtir.

1950 li yillann ortalannda[^] Dogu TURkistanin nUFusu 5 milyon civannda oldugu zaman, Uygurlar 3 milyon 500 000 kigi ve ginliler fakat 200 000 kigi givannda idi. Ama, ondan sonra irk, din, dil, kULTUr ve sima itibanyla Orta Asyalilardan (TURklerden) tamamiyla farkli olan ginliler yeni kurulmakta olan sanail sektorUnde galig[^] f,f44tn«.k Uzere Dogu TURkistana getirilmeye baglandi. Bunun haricinde, muabbed hapse hUkm edilen sayisiz siyasi tutuklular da Dogu TURkistana getirildi.

Bugun, ginin azinliklar yagayan diger bdlgelerinde oldugu gibi, Dogu TURkistanda da yUksek mevkiler ginlilerin elindedir. 1949 dan sonra DoSu TURkistana gok sayida ginli gdgmen yerlegtirilmesiyle Ulkede halkın hayat seviyesi duZelmemekle birlikte gele^{n<2} sel ekono- ^{c/Cx.} mik yapı bozulmugtur.

Ginlilerin domaya dayanan tanm politikasi Ulkenin asrlardan beri 'uygulanmekte olan sulama sistemini mahv etmistir, gollesme etrafa sigramiştir ve Lop Nor bolgesinde yapilmakta olan nÜkler silah dene-meleri geniS bolgeyipirletmigtir. Kultur ihtilali doneminde, Uygurlar gezalnmis, dinlerine hugum edilmiş ve gamiler yikilmistir. Son yillarda, bazi camiler yeniden inşa edilmiş ve belli OlgUde kULTUrel serbestlik verilmis ise do, Cinliler halkm sevgisini elde edememesilerdir. 1981 de Kasgardaki ciddi gatismalar ve ili (Gulca) sehrindeki kargagaliklar ba^ta olmak Uzere, son senelerde Cinliler ile bartakim gati^malar patlak vermisjtir. 1989 Mayis ayin⁻³ daki bir hadise Dogu TURkistan Muslimanlannin (TURklerrin) ne kadar militant oldugunu gostermektedir. Gegen Mayis aymda, Fekinde demokrasi hareketi devam etmekte oldugu zaman, gostericiler, Ginli-lerin garni mimarisi ve dekorasyonunu cinsel agidaan agiklayan bir kitabim elestirerek Dogu TURkistamn baskenti Urungideki komunist partisi binasma saldirdilar. Bu itiraz hareketi Ulenin her tara- fmada yanki yapti. Bu olay, Ginlilerin dUnyadaki islami hareketin etkilerinden muaf olmadigini gosterir.

Gimdilik, Gindeki Mogol Ozerk bolgesijdaha az hassaiolsa da, bakide Dogu TURkistan kadar tehlike arz ede bilir. Son haftalarda, Gin hudutlarmin kuzeyindeki Mogolistan Halk Cumhuriyetindeki Mogollar aniden harekete gegerek Ulkenin yOnetiminde soz sahibi olma taleblerini ileri sÜrmektedirler. Bu geligmeler Gin Halk Cumhu-riyeti agisindan da tehlikeli ola bilir. Sovyet Ordusu 1924 te Mogolistan Halk Cumhuriyetini kurduktan beri bu Ulke Sovyetler Birli ginin en sadik peyki oldu ve 1960 li yillarm basmda patlak veren Gin- Sovyet anlagmasligi yillarmda/bu Ulke Gin Halk Cumhuriyetindeki Mogol Ozerk bolgesinden tamamyila tacrit edilmisti. Ama son yillarda glasrtost, yani 'agiklik' politikasiyla birlikte McGollar bannakla-nndan diSari gikarak, daha gok seyahat etmektedirler, ve ticari ve kULTUrel iliskilerini gogaltmaktadirlar. Son haftalarda, Mogolis- tan Halk Cumhuriyetinin bagkenti Ulan Batorda demokrasi talebyle iki defa gosteri yapildigi haber verildi. Mogol Ozerk bolgesindeki Mogollann sayisi Mogolistan Halk Cumhuriyetindeki kardeglerine oranla 50 faiz daha goktur. Bu Mogollar da, Dogu UURkistanlilar gibi KULTUr ihtali devrine Ginlilerin zUlmUne maruz kaldilar. Gerci bu bolgenin adi Mogol Ozerk Bolgesi ise de, aslmda ozerklik fakat sozdedir. 200 seneden beri Ginlilerin gogleri neticesinde bugUn bolgedeki Ginlilerin sayisi 15 milyona ulsmistir. Rialistge duSUndU- gUMUzde bu Mogollann hudut otesindeki (Mogolistan Halk Cumhuriyeti) kardeSleriyle birlesmeleri mUmkUn degildir. Ama milli hareketlerde rializmin her zaman gegerli olmadigi da bir gerpektir.

Qin esaretindeki Tibet, bagimsizlik iddiasini uluslararası platformlara goturen bdlgedir. *gin* ydnetimi Tibetlilerin bagirnsizlij mUcadelelerini silah gUcUyle bastinb gelmektedir. Ama, gindeki en nazik bdlgelerden biri olan Tibetin Sovyetler Birligindeki etnik gUruhlar arasında vuku bulmakta olan kargasaliklardan doğruda: dogru etkilenmesi beklenmiyor. Tibetlilerin Mogollarla (bir zaman- lar Dalay Lama Mogollarm da dini lideri idi.) kULTUREL baglan olmasma ragmen bu bolge cugrafi agidan tegrit olmus durumdadır. Tibetin, kuzey smirlanndaki Mulumanlarla (TURKLERLE)mUSTEREK yonleri pek yoktur. Tibetliler, dini liderleri Dalay Lama vasita- siyla Pekin yoneticilerini uluslararası baski altında tuta bilirle:; Ama, Sovyetler Birligindeki glasnost, yani 'agiklik*' politikasının kivilcimlari sigramakta olan gUnUmUzde *gin* Halk Cumhuriyetinin igin- deki en

September 25, 1990



BY LEONA SUN—THE WASHINGTON POST

The Sunday bazaar in Kashgar attracts as many as 100,000 people, who buy goods from silk to camels.

Ancient Silk Road Oasis Restive

By Lena H. Sun

WnMnHo. 1 Pu. 1 Fw-Lin Scitlt
KASHGAR, China—liver since Chinese security forces quelled a bloody Moslem uprising in a town near here five months ago, authorities have cracked down on this strategic northwest province of Xinjiang, arresting thousands of people, tightening Communist Party controls and closing Islamic schools accused of promoting separatism.

While the government has, on the surface at least, taken firm control of the situation, its actions in this once famed oasis on the ancient Silk Rond appear to have only engendered stronger anti-Chinese sentiment. Conversations with Uighurs, the ethnic group that makes up the majority of the population here, as well as with Han Chinese and others who have traveled to the region, reveal a deepening resentment of Chinese rule.

"If people fight the Chinese, I like that," said a 24-year-old militant whose anti-Chinese comments reflected the sentiments of many people here In Xinjiang. "If I die in that fight, I'm very happy because Xinjiang Is Turkestan, not China," he said, calling for a return of the semi-autonomous Eastern Turkestan Republic that existed briefly before the 1949 Communist takeover.

Xinjiang, like the region of Tibet to the south, is important to Beijing in part because of its strategic location. China's largest province, oil-rich Xinjiang Is about three times the size of France and shares borders with Mongolia, the Soviet Union, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Beijing tests its nuclear weapons in this region of vast deserts and stark mountains, and has set up listening posts to monitor the Soviet Union.

Although the history, religion and culture of largely Moslem Xinjiang are vastly different from Buddhist Tibet, both regions present the Chinese authorities



"If people fight the Chinese, I like that.

If I die ...

*Vm very happy
because Xinjiang is
7hrkestan, not
China."*

—Xinjiang inilunl

with ethnic populations that seek to be free of Communist rule. In both Tibet and Xinjiang, tensions are growing not only over suppression of religion but over regulations restricting the growth of families and economic disparities between Chinese and ethnic groups.

Beijing has employed tactics here similar to those used in Tibet to maintain control of the increasingly restive populations. In fact, Fu Qianyou, the new commander of the Lanzhou Military Region, of which Xinjiang is a part, is a former commander of the Chengdu Military Region, which is responsible for Tibet.

Clearly concerned about further violence here, where at least seven clandestine separatist movements are operating, Beijing maintains 16 army divisions in the Lanzhou Military Region, with about 8,000 men in each division.

But the crackdown here has come at a sensitive time for Beijing, as the Chinese leadership has been trying to improve its image abroad and break out of international isolation caused by the army's crushing of a democracy movement in the capital last year. Furthermore, Beijing has been trying to build up ties with Middle Eastern countries, having established relations last month with Saudi Arabia, home of Islam's holiest shrines.

In official interviews and the state-controlled press, Xinjiang authorities describe the area as having returned to normal since the April uprising.

•Here in Kashgar, China's westernmost city, and in the provincial capital of Urumqi, the Han Chinese, the dominant majority in most parts of China, and the ethnic minorities now go about their daily business with a minimum of interaction. But the complex ethnic mix in the area makes upholding central authority difficult.

Xinjiang's minorities include Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, and Uzbeks, considered to be the most rebellious groups in the country. The Uighurs, a Turkic people, are mostly Sunni Moslems who share more religious and cultural ties with Moslems in the Soviet Central Asian republics and the Middle East than with the Han Chinese. Uighurs, a tiny portion of the country's total population, are the largest ethnic group in Xinjiang, making up almost half of the 14 million population.

Tensions between the Chinese and ethnic groups have marked relations for the last two centuries. During the 1966-76 Cultural Revolution, Moslem practices, such as

Vanti-Chinese Sentiment Grows in Xinjiang

KASHA Alt. From A13

rc forcibly suppressed, mosques were burned I religious leaders imprisoned. A partial libilization of Communist Party policies in the ly 1980s, however, fueled renewed anti-Chin- : protests.

In April, ethnic tensions erupted into violence cn armed rebels in Daren, 25 miles north of shgar, stormed the main government building, d five policemen hostage, and proclaimed a iy war to restore the Eastern Turkestan Re-)lic.

Official accounts said 22 people were killed, luding six policemen who were mutilated, in at the government termed an "armed counrcvolutionary rebellion."

•Western diplomats, Chinese and Uighur ir say the death toll was much higher, th... days, authorities had closed the entire lion to foreign journalists and only recently med it to a few reporters.

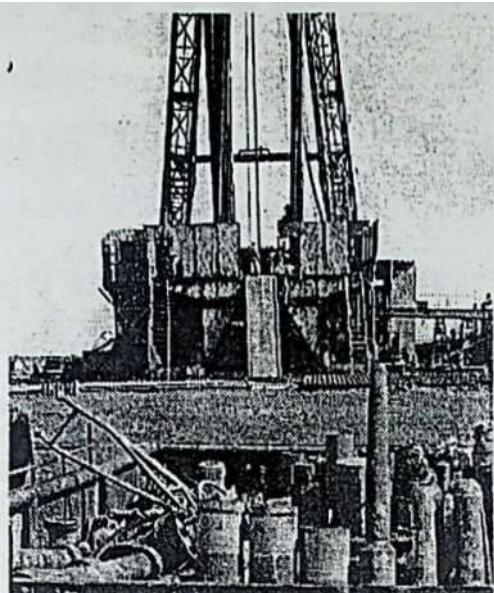
At the time, Chinese officials said the protest s an isolated event, but Xinjiang officials now knowledge that the anti-Han sentiment was rc widespread and had reached the neighborcounlies of Kuqa, Xayar, and Xinhe. Among Han Chinese, the incident exacerbated fears i violent minority uprising.

It was anti-Han in sentiment and did shake up nc Han Chinese, who were in a panic for some c.," Maimct Sayim, director of Kashgar's Mi- itics Affairs Department, said in a recent in- view.

Since the uprising, authorities have increased ty controls in grassroots organizations, tight- :d management of mosques, closed what they cribcd as illegal religious schools and ongthened education about atheism among ly members, according to interviews with cials as well as news reports in the official r' press.

n .dition, the government has launched a or crackdown on criminals and what author- s called "splittist elements," arresting thou- ds of people, the officials and press reports I.

Residents are being required to view an ex- dion "of the Daren uprising, complete with tographs of mutilated corpses, that has been t around the region. Foreign journalists who cd to sec the exhibit in Urumqi were pre- ted from entering, but students at Xinjiang



BY IRINA SUN—THE WASHINGTON POST
Restless Xinjiang Province is on oil producer.

University were all required to sec the exhibit during the first week of school.

Religion has come under special scrutiny be- cause Chinese officials claim that Moslem rebels are using mosques to organize and plan their attacks on the government.

The official press has accused "a small number of national separatists" of using the pretext of revitalizing Islam to spread "religious mania... . Trying to win over youngsters from us, they set up illegal schools to teach religious scriptures and instill separationism in students."

Already, seven clandestine separatist organizations, such as the Eastern Turkestan National Salvation Committee and the Eastern Turkestan Popular Liberation Front, are operating in the region, authorities have said. Most are believed to be based in Istanbul, where many prominent Uighur separatists live.

At the same time, Beijing is afraid that spillover of Turkic nationalism from neighboring Soviet Central Asian republics will make Xinjiang even harder to control than it is now, especially since a second railway was recently completed that links up with the Soviet Union.

For the moment, Xinjiang appears stable, but Beijing still shows concern. Communist Party chief Jiang Zemin, accompanied by Gen. Yang

Baibing, visited Xinjiang in late August, touring military installations and stressing the importance of unity. Earlier this month, Foreign Minister Qian Qiclicn traveled to Turkey, where he reportedly discussed links between Uighur exiles and the underground separatists in Xinjiang. Chinese sources said.

There are a number of factors contributing to the tensions.

Officials go to great lengths to portray the tension as part of a struggle over national unity rather than a clash between Islam and communism. Some imams, Islamic religious leaders, who receive monthly subsidies from the government, repeat the Government's position. "This is not a minority problem nor is it a religious problem," said Umar Kara Aji, an imam of one of Kashgar's mosques, in an officially arranged interview. "It is, because of social scum who are using religion with the intention of opposing communism," he said.

But Uighurs and Hans say other factors, such as recently implemented stricter family planning policies and growing economic disparities, also add to tensions.

Until last year, minority families in Xinjiang were not subject to China's family planning re- strictions of one child per couple. But in May 1989, authorities began limiting the number of children to two per family in the cities and three or four in rural areas.

Family planning officials acknowledge that there was initial resistance. "Many people were against it because they thought children were given by God, and the state should not interfere," said a local family planning official named Gulnisa, who is a Uighur.

Government officials said the population control policies have overwhelming support from , minority groups, but several Uighurs disagreed. "Uighurs are afraid that because they are a minority, if they are not allowed to have as many children as they want, they will eventually disappear," said one young Uighur woman.

Economic disparities between Han Chinese and Xinjiang's minorities have added to the anti- government resentment here. Although the eco- nomic reforms of the last decade have fueled growth along China's coastal regions, landlocked Xinjiang has fallen behind.

In some parts of southern Xinjiang, 70 percent of the people still lived below the poverty line of 200 yuan, or \$42.50, per person a year in 1988, according to one official report.

Strangers in Their Own Land

Beijing tightens its control over the ethnic minorities of Xinjiang

By FRANK GIBNEY Jr.

The regional exhibition center in Urumqi is usually devoted to showing off the latest tractors. But these days the main attraction is a display of knives, guns and homemade bombs. Scattered among them are explicit photos of the bloodied, dismembered remains of police and rioters who were killed during a massive outbreak of violence in the town of Baren last April. It was the most explosive clash in a decade between Muslim Uighurs and Han Chinese authorities in this remote corner of western China, and even today, six months later, no one knows exactly how many died in the fighting. But the Chinese government hopes the exhibit—which warns that the "struggle against splitism" must be carried to the bitter end—will make clear the bloody price of rebellion. "We must never underestimate its danger," Wang Enmao, Xinjiang's longtime leader, cautioned at a recent Communist Party meeting.

In a country whose leaders are determined to maintain stability, Xinjiang stands out as a place where trouble always seems just around the corner. Though open outbreaks of violence on a scale with Bar-en's are still rare, signs that ethnic unrest could turn into organized rebellion have prompted the government to tighten controls. As a result, Uighur resentment is running high, over everything from new family-planning regulations and restrictions on Islamic studies to rumors that Kashgar's private markets will be closed to make way for office buildings. Meanwhile, talk of huge new oil and mineral discoveries—which could turn Xinjiang from one of China's poorest provinces to one of its richest—is exacerbating the age-old Uighur concern that the Chinese are bent on limiting their future.



FRANK GIBNEY Jr.—NEWSWEEK

Government restrictions have sparked widespread resentment: *Uighurs at a street market*

While the symptoms may be new, the conflict between the Chinese and Xinjiang's minorities goes back dynasties. The wild, expansive desert province is 2,500 miles and a world apart from Beijing. Since the Communists took over in 1949, they have used isolated Xinjiang as a gulag and

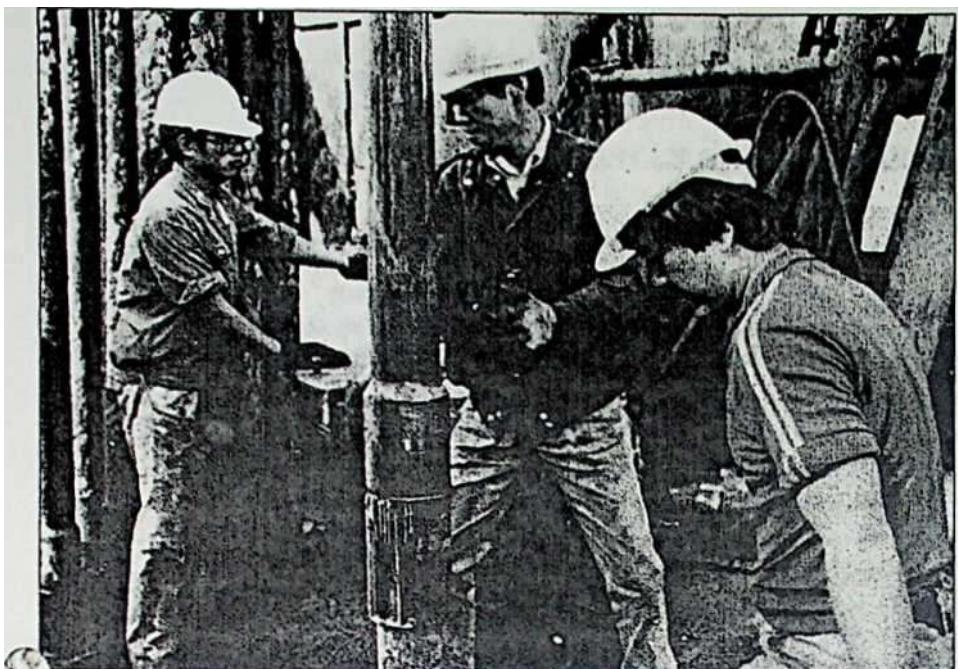
a nuclear testing ground. They have also moved several million Han Chinese there and injected billions of dollars into the province's economy. But Xinjiang's 6.8 million Uighurs—the largest of China's Muslim minorities—have never broken the link with their ethnic roots in Turkey. For the most part, Chinese don't mingle much with Uighurs, either, except to do business or enforce the law. At the Sunday bazaar in Kashgar, the ancient hub of the Silk Road, thousands of Uighurs show up every week. But few Chinese bother. On a recent weekend one Han shopper used a handkerchief to shield her mouth and nose from the dust and earthy smells of the market—a sight that brought laughter to an old Uighur potato seller.

Bloody siege: In recent years, however, such benign animosity has gradually given way to fury. There have been riots in Kashgar, Urumqi and other cities over everything from segre-



GAMMA-LIAISON

Forced to choose between 'Marx and Allah': *Muslims in Kashgar*



FRANK CIBNEY Jr.—NEWSWEEK

Exploiting the province's natural resources could bring it new life:

gated dormitory housing to isolated murders. In Urumqi in May 1989, 100,000 people burned government offices and trashed cars over publication of a book that discussed the sexual practices of Muslims. The Baren incident added a gruesome chapter to an already sordid legacy. After a fight broke out in a market near a mosque, a crowd of hundreds stormed the town hall. Weapons were brandished, hostages were taken and, according to locals, scores of people killed. The bloody siege finally broke two days later, after the arrival of more than 1,000 troops—including an elite rapid-deployment force from another part of China.

Nervous about arousing further tensions, the authorities are trying to keep a low profile. Troops are hardly in evidence on the streets of Kashgar or Urumqi. But they are there: one recent Saturday several platoons of armed police jogged through a predawn vegetable market near their barracks, only two minutes from Kashgar's 1,000-year-old Id Kah Mosque. The Red Army, has 16 divisions stationed in Xinjiang, commanded by one of China's toughest generals. "It's their place and they're not going to take a chance on losing it," says a Western diplomat in Beijing.

But, as even government officials acknowledge, they are up against a new problem. The Baren incident, these officials say, was to have been part of a coordinated uprising in a string of towns from Aksu to Kashgar and Hotan. Police stumbled onto the plan, forcing the plotters to move prematurely. "This incident was not isolated," says Maimet Saim, deputy director of mi-

A World Apart

Outbreaks of violence threaten to spark a full-scale rebellion.

U.S.S.R.

MONGOLIA

AFGHANISTAN

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Urumqi V*

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i:\Tqrjm.

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PAWSTA Hotan

Xizang

nority affairs in Kashgar. "The black hand of the instigators reaches far." The government pins responsibility for the uprising on separatists based in Turkey, where the Aysa Beg, an aging Uighur who fled China to Turkey in 1949, lords over a band of as many as seven groups. All advocate Eastern Turkistan independence and their heroes are the leaders of the Independent Turkistan Republic, which enjoyed shortlived autonomy in 1946. Back in Xinjiang, Chinese and Western sources estimate there could be as many as 1,000 armed rebels in the border area near Kashgar. Early this year, security forces even discovered a desert training camp. There is also increasing evidence that Afghan mujahedin are supplying weapons via the Wakhan

corridor, and that various homegrown rebel groups have bases in Pakistan and support from as far away as Saudi Arabia.

Even so, Chinese policy is doing more to stir up resentment than are any outside agitators. Beijing's most significant announcement came in January 1989, when the government announced it was restricting Uighur families to two children in urban areas, three if they lived in the countryside. (That is more generous than China's urban limit of one child for Han Chinese.) Now, after soft-pedaling the new policy for a year, enforcement has begun. In Kashgar, the penalties range from salary cuts to the denial of health benefits. In Zepu, a small town to the south, the penalty for exceeding the limit is 800 yuan—or nearly twice the average yearly income for the region. "If our children are limited, we will disappear," says an Uighur health official in Urumqi.

Religious crackdown: Many Uighurs regard the family-planning rule as an assault on Islamic beliefs. They are not wholly mistaken. As far as Beijing is concerned, Islam is, if not the driving force behind Xinjiang's ethnic unrest, at least an effective cloak for separatist activities. Officials of the government's religious affairs bureau admit a crackdown is in progress. "In the past [we] emphasized freedom of religion and ignored the freedom to be atheist," says Maimet Saim. These days, the government emphasizes protecting the right *not* to believe. Religious schools not backed by the government have been closed. No new mosques are being built. And Uighurs complain that permission to make the pilgrimage to Mecca is restricted to those over age 50. As a recent People's Daily editorial put

it, people must choose between "Marx and Allah."

Asked if he believed in Allah, a government religious affairs official simply snorted, "I believe in reality." It's clear, however, that the government's campaign is not working. Friday afternoon prayers at the Id Kah Mosque are jammed with young and old alike.

In the years ahead, Xinjiang is likely to go through some fundamental changes. Although the government is resistant, foreign companies are eager to develop what may be one of the world's most expansive oilfields, in the Tarim Basin. This month Chinese officials announced the country's richest gold strike, along the northwestern border with the Soviet Union. And rail workers recently completed a new line, scheduled to open in 1992, that will connect China with Europe via the Soviet Union. The gradual breaking down of the region's isolation and the income from the exploitation of its natural resources could bring new life to Xinjiang—or cause China's leaders to exert even more control.

DOGU TURKISTAN AYAKLANMASININ DEGERLENDiRiLMESi

1BASHN IBJILMIMSII

1949 yilinda Kizil Ein tarafindan i\$gal *cdi\cn(Lintilerece Sinkyang adi verilen)* 25milyon MUslıman TURk'Un ya\$adi- gi Dogu TURkistan da 50 TURk'Un şehit edilmcsile ba\$layan kanli isyanin itlm Ulkcye yayildigi haber alinmis ve Pekin HU- kUMetinin TURklarin tlzcrine onbinlercc <^in askeri gOnderidi 6grcnilmis\$tir.

Olkcnin gUncy bOlgesindc Ka\$gar şehrine bagb Artu? il?esinde bir cami in\$ati yUztindcn fiktigi One sUriilen ayak- lanmann OzUndc halkin hUrriyet ve istiklal isteklerinin yaltigi gozlenmi\$dir.

Sovyetler Birligi, Mogolistan, Hindistan, Afganistan ve Pakistan ilc srni komusu olan Dogu TURkistan da TURklarin yOnctimde daha fazla soz sahibi olma istekleri Rusyada oldugu gibi gin'ide endi\$eye sevk etmis .dolayisiyla kendi top- raklannda Ozgtlrc insanca ya\$ama gibi hakli feryatlar hayvanca bastinli\$ kurşun sikilmi\$ ve yUzcerce tURk genci Ggren- cisi ve fikir adamlan tutuklanmi\$ gdzaltina alinmis\$, Ogrctmcnler ise sUrgUne gonderilmis\$lerdir.

gin'in Kuzey batismda ycr alan TURk yurdu Dogu TURkistantanda mcydana gelen ayaklanma ve bir yildir sUrc gelen gOstciler 9inlilerin iddia ctiklcri gibi bir gurub bozguncunun veya yabanci gU^erin tahrirkleri nelicesinde meydana gelen mevzi bir olay dcgildir.Aksine 25 milyon TURk toplumunun topraklannda i\$galci olarak bulunan gin rejimine olan hofnusuzlugunu ifade eden isyandir.

Ingiliz Reuter AP ajanslannin batili gazetelerin ve Dogu TURkistan Gunlugu adh gazete ile radyosunun aynca bOlgeye girip 9ikan ziyaret9ilerin gOstciler ve ayaklanma ile ilgili yorum ve a9iklamalan ve olaym dUnya kamoyundaki yan- kisi bu gosterilerin protesto niteligidenden ziyade toplumsal milli bir hareket oldugunu a9ikca ortaya koymaktadir.Nitekim olaylar yahniz Kaxgar da degil Ulkenin diger bolgelerinde Aksuda,Ku9arda, Uriim9ide, g0v9ekde, Hotende,Karamay ve ili şchirlerinde de olmu\$tur.ve bugUne kadar tazeligini ve ciddiyetini koruyarak devam etmektedir.

Edindigimiz Gzcl bilgilere gore 2 -3 Ni san 1990 gUnlerinde Ulkenin kuze\$ dogusundaki lli ile gov9ck şchirleri ara- smda yol boyunca telefon ve clktrik direklerinin hepsine "Şarki TURkistan Cumhuriyeti"," Şarki TURkistan'aHUrri- yei"," ginliier yuruumuzuaii gitsin" gibi ifadeler sloganlar yazilnu\$ur.4 Nisan 1990 tariidi şincang Gunlugu gazete- sinde ise lli bolgcsinde aynlik9i faaliyetlerin bastinldigi, Ogrenciler tarafmdan olu\$turulan"Kurtulu\$ OrgUtU"nUn 90ker- tildigi kaydedilmi\$tir. Bu resmi liaber, bOlgede 9ikan olaylann mevzi olmadigu, bUtUn Ulkeye yayildigu ve gin ydne- limine kar\$i milli bir hareket oldugunu dogrulamaktadir

Dolayisiyla Dogu TURkistan'daki oylan "Gdsteri""Protesto hareketleri" gibi basit kcimelelerle smirlandirmak dogru degildir....Bu harcket,a9ik bir şekilde gin'c kar\$i OzgUrlUK i9in yapılan milli bir ayaklanmadir...

TURklarin ayaklanması sadcce dini degil,aym zamanda milli bir nitelik ta\$imaktadir..gUnkU gin yonetimi kendisi i9in stratejik bir noktada bulunan bu bGlgcde TURklerin etkinligini bastirmak ve azmliga dU\$Urmek i9in gin'in i9lerinden sU- rckli olarak ginli gd9men aileler ve sabikali ki\$iler ycre\$tilmekte ve sayilan be\$ milyonu a\$an bu g0f9men aileler yone- tim tarafmdan 9e\$itili ekonomik vaallcrle dcsteklenmekte ve bolgeye g09 te\$vik edilmektedir.

Dolayisiyla TURklerin ayaklanması diger bir a9idan bolgeye sistemi olarak yerle\$tilen gin g09menlerine kar\$i milli kimliklerni koruma harckti tajunaktadmBilhassa bOlgenin idari. Parti vediger ticari organlarmda ginlilerin birinci de- rccede gOrev almalan da halk tarafmdan milliyeti duygulan a\$agilanmasi olarak degerlendirilmektedir.gUnkU 25 milyon MUslUmUn TURk toplumu hor gorUlmektedir. Dini inan9larma saygi gGsterilmemekte,Ozel kurslar kapatilmakta.yeni cami ve mescidlerin a9ilmasma hacca gidilmesine bilhassa TURkiye'ye gelmelerine enge\$ olunmakta ve diger dini ve milli hususlarda seyahat hUrriyeti kisitanmaktadır.Yani Ulkenin i\$gal edildigi 1949 yilmdanbuyanaTURkler kar\$i gUDUlen ginlilc\$tirme siyaseti halkm dikes ini kabartmis\$tir.Kisacasi son aylarda meydana gelen gOsteriler TURklerin kabaran 0z- gtIrUk duygulan ve isteklerinin aruk saklanamayacak bir noktaya geldigini gdstermektedir.

Aslmda meydana gelen bu kanli isyan 1949 yilmdan bu yana yillardir sUrcn gerginligin bir sonucudur.Zira 1949 yilmdan bu yana gin'c kar\$i yUzcerce ayaklanma olmu\$,binlerce gosteri yapılmış ve OzgUrlUK ugurunda onbinlerce yUzbin- lercc Turk şchit olmu\$tur gin yonetimi her ayaklanmanm ardmdan"Yabanci gii^erin taliriki"ni dicle getirmektedir.^in kaynaklanna gore ayaklaxunalarda srni komusu Sovyet Rusya vasitasiyla yapılan anti gin propagandasmm bUytik bir elkisi vardir

Ancak şunu kesinlikle ifade edelim ki, D. TURkistan'da meydana gelmiş tUm ayaklaxunalarda ne S.Rusya ilc (KGB) gOrclilerenin nc de Pentagon ile (CIA) yetkililernin lesirleri yoktur. 50 TURk'Un şehid olmasıyla ba\$layan ayaklanma, TURkistan TURkleri"nin kendi gU9leriyle, kendi insiyatfleriyle yapılmıştir...

D.TURkistan'da nUklccr dcnemelcr yapildik9a, "Atom ReaktOrleri" inşa edildik9e, ginlile\$tirme siyaseti uygulandik- 9a, D.TURkistan'a ginli g09men akini durdurulmadik9a buisyanlarmUnfexitvebazendetoplu olarak tczalU edcek- tir...gin anayasasmm vatanda\$lik haklan D. TURkistan TURkleri'ne te\$mil edilmedik9e, dini ve milli Orf ve adetlerine saygi g0stcilmedik9e ve fSTIKLAL vcrilmedik9e bu ayaklanmalar sik sik olacak, mUcadelemiz bir tek TCRK kalmaya kadar devam cdcektir... DOGU TURKISTAN GOgMENLER BERNES! ve DOGU TURKISTAN VAKFI

£in Izlenimleri: 4

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Qin Turkistani (Sinkiang) Gozlemleri

Prof. Aydin YALQIN

Qin izlenimleri yazı dizimin, bundan onceki bolumlerinde Qin'e geligimizi, Pekin'deki temaslarmızı, yaptığımız konugmaları ve bize verilen genel bilgileri anlatmigtım. Daha sonra Qin'deki ekonomik ve reformlarla, kamu yönetimi alamndaki bazı degigilikleri, Qin'in diga agil-masi, tarimin ozellegtilmesi, üretimin artigi, ve milli gelirde son yillarda gozlenen artigin ne-denlerini anlatmigtım. Bu genel bilgileri doğrulayan bazı somut ornekleri, gehir, bolge, igletme ve fabrikalari ziyaretimizde gorduklerimi, bize anlatıtlahları okurlara ağıklamigtım. Doğu'daki Pasifik Okyanusu kiyilarmdaki son duragımız Kanton'dan sonra asıl Qin'i bırakarak, Orta Asya'ya, Qin Turkistam'na ugtugumuzu söylemig ve bu yazimda Qin'lilerin "Sinkiang" (Yeni kazalmış topraklar demekmig) adı verdikleri, bizim Qarki Turkistan, yahut Qin Tiirkistam dedigimiz bolgedeki bazı gozlemlerimi anlatacagini söylemigtim.

"Ana Yurda Hoşgeldiniz!"

u dizinin ilk yazısında, İstanbul'dan Qin Hava Yolları ugagiyla ayrıldıktan sonra, Arabistan Yarımadası'nn Guneydogu'sundaki Sarcaha ugradığımızı ve buradan sonra, beg saat ugarak Orta Asya'ya ulagtimizi ve ikinci durak yeri olarak, Doğu Turkistan'ın merkezi Urumqi'ye indigimizi söylemigtim. Ugakta tamgımız Türk vatandaşlığı olmug bazı uygur Türklerinin, eski memleketterini, hisim ve akrabalarım ziyaret etmek igin Turkistan'a tatilé geldiklerini de anlatmigtım. Bunlar daha Pakistan stmrleri iginde ugarken, beni uyarmiglar, biraz sonra "Turkistan bagliyacak" diye, üzerinde ugmayla bagladığımız karii dagları göstermiglerdi. Nitekim Sarcah'tan sonra beg saat ugarak, karii dagları eteginde kurulmuş olan, Sinkiang'ın yanı Otonom Uygur Bolgesi'nin merkezi Urumqi'ye indik. Uygur Türkleriyle birlikte Urumqi Havaalamı'nn transit salonuna gectik. Uygur yol arkadaglarımıza, "Anavatana Hog Geldiniz!" dediler ve hep birlikte yolcu salonunda bir grup fotoğrafı çekelim dediler. Yandaki resimde gorOldugu gibi, duvan bagtan baga kaplıyan yağlı boya resmin onunde poz verdik. Meşerse bu resimde karii dagları yamacındaki orman ve gavrilıklar, Urumqi toprakları imig ve gorulen ulu daglar da, bizim "Tanri Daglarımız" imig. Qinlilerin Tiyan-Qan dedikleri silsile, Urumqi'nin guneyinde dogudan batuya uzanan, Tanri Dagları silsilesi. En yüksek zirvesi

5.500 metreye yakın olan bu daglar zinciri, gerekten tanrisat etki yapan, gdrkemli bir doğa pargası idi. 'igte gezimizin sonlarına yaklagirken, Qin'in, Viet-nam'a gok yakın olan Guney kiyilarmdaki Kanton'dan havalandıktan sonra, butun Qin kitasını kuzeye doğru keserek yeniden, Urumqi Havaalamı'na ikinci kez inmig olduk. Bu ikinci geligimize kadar, aradan iki hafta geçtigilgin, hava daha da sogumugtu. Bu arada kar yagdigim, otede beride duran kar birikintilerinden anliyorduk. Kanton'un sicak ve rutubetli tropikal ikliminder. hemen sonra, Orta Asya'nm kuru sogugu ile yüz yüze gelmigtik. Qahsen Orta Anadolu iklimine aigkm kigiler olduğumuz igin, bunu hig yadrigamadık. Hemen



Anayurda hoşgeldiniz

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yunlulerimizi bavuldan gikardik, paltolarimizi giydik ve atalarimizin binlerce yil once kopup geldigi bu topraklarin yabancisi olmadigimizi, kendi kendimize göstermig olduk. Bu gekilde atalarimizin Anadolu'yu yeni yurt olarak neden segtiklerini, neden batidaki bu toprakla-n sevip benimsediklerini de, dugunmeye baglamigtik.

'Begsaatlikjetyolculu^u, iklim deşigiklişı ve hava- nin kararlı akgam oluşu bir an once yemek yeyip otele yerlegmemezi gerektiriyor ve ertesi gun programi igin hazırlanmamız igin gok az zaman bırakıyordu. Dogu Turkistan'da gok az kalabileceşimiz igin, program da-, ha da yoşunlagmigtı. O akgam yemegini, Otonom Uygur Bolgesi yönetiminin dig temaslarla görevli muduru Cumahun Beyin davetlisi olarak yedik. Yemekte Sin- kiang'm (D. Turkistan'in) iktisadi sorunları hakkında birr ze bilgi verecek Planlama Dairesi muduru olan bir yagli Qinli görevli de vardi. Cumahun Bey bizimle TOrke konugtu. Kendisi gegen sene bir kag haftaligina Tur- kiye'yi ziyaret etti igin, bizim lehgem'ize kisa zaman- da aligmig ve bizim kullandi^imiz kelimeleri, gayet rahat bir gekilde ifade ederek, meramim akici bir bi- gimde bize anlatıyordu. Zaman zaman Qinli Planlama yonetisicine Qinli mihamandanmiz Bay Kuang iie, Urumgi'de bize refakat eden uygur mihamdar §6h- ret Bey, konugulanları ozetliyorlardı.

Cumhun Bey konugkan, hog sohbet, bilgili bir yonetici. Bize Uygur otonom bolgesinin, gelecegiyle il- gili gok iyimser ve Omit dolu sozler soyledi, bilgiler verdi. Urumgi, 1950'lerde ufak bir gehirdi. Fakir, ten- ha ve hareketsiz bir yerdı. Qimdi nufus 700 binin us- tune giki ve Urumgi, bir gok fabrikalan olan kalabalık, hareketli bir gehir oldu. Uygur halkı da buna paralel olarak gelisti. 1950 baglannda uygur nufusu 3 milyon kadardı, gimdi 6 milyon oldu. Son yillarda ulkemizde yeni yeni madenler kegfedildi, petrol bulundu, demir, .?'v> bakır, kurgun, altın, gumug, aliminyum, manganez,

¹ krom ve komur bakımından zengin yataklar bulundu- şu anlagildi. Gelecek kugaklar bundan yararlanacak- lar, halk fakirlikten kurtulacak diye konugtu. Sinkiang'in Qin'in batrya uzanan bir penceresi oldu- djuna de^indi. Pakistan'la Karakorum daglanndaki Gil- git gegidinden gegen kara yolunun agildigim, turizm ve ticaret alanında canlı bir hareket bagladişim belirt- ti. Sovyet simrina dogru demiryolu ingaatina baglan- digim, Sovyet demiryolu gebekesine baglandiktan sonra, trenle Turkiye'ye gitmenin zor crfmiyacagim soyledi. Olkenin turizme agildigim, bir gok yabancim Turkistam ziyaret etmeye bagladidjim hatirlatti. Plan- lamaci da tarim alanındaki geligmelerden soz etti.

lum, kolelik donemi, feudal toplum" diye bolumlere ay- rilmig ve bu kronolojik siraya uydurulmug marksist evrim teorisine gore, Sinkiang tarihi ziyaretgilere anlatilmak isteniyordu.

Olkenin gegitli bolgelerinde bulunan tarihi eserler ve kalintilar, bu sira iginde sunulduktan sonra, asil Qin - le Sinkiang arasındaki tarihi baQIarin, gok eskilere dayandiQmi anlatmaya ydnelik bir tarihi harita dikkatimi gecti. Burada M.O. 500'uncu yilda Qin toplumu feudal toplum oldu deniyordu. Qin'in birliQinin kuruldu^u Han Hanedam dorieminde M.O. 60'inci yilda kuzey- de ve batida bulunan Hun devletiyle savag giki. Hun- lar yenildi ve Sinkiang, Han yonetimine gecti diye anlatan renkli harita, Sinkiang üzerindeki Qin iddiasi- m tekrarliyordu. Bu harita, Altaylardan Karadeniz'e ka- dar uzanan bolgede kurulmug, iranlilarin Afrasiyap dedikleri Sakalar'dan sonra, aym bolgede kurulmug olan Hunlarin, bugunku Uygurlarin ve Turklerin ilkko- kenini olukturdu^unu söylemiyordu. Zaten Qinlilerin bu bolgeye "Yeni kazamlan topraklar" anlamina gelen, "Sinkiang" adi veriglerinin, hangi tarihi olaya dayandigini anlamamiza yardım eden bu harita, ade- ta uygurlara "Qinle bu bolgenin iligkisi, iki bin yil gibi uzun bir zamana dayanıyor!" demek istiyordu.

Qinin, Sinkiang'la batiya ulagmaya galigiti, bu tarihlerden sonra geligen, Onlu "ipek Yolu" hakkında verilen agiklamalarda daha iyi anlagiliyordu. Muzede "ipek Yolu" goyle anlatiliyordu: Bu yolu Qin'deki bag- langig noktası Qang-Aan (Xian)'dir. Yol bundan sonra Kuzey Qin'de, Sinkiang'a yakın Kansu eyaletine ge- ger, oradan Sinkiang'daki Hoten ve Kaggar gehirlerin- den sonra Afganistan'a, daha sonra iran üzerinden Akdeniz'e varir. 2 bin yil onceki Qin ipeklikerinin Suri- ye'de bulunmasi, bu canli donemi hatirlatmaktadır. Bundan sonra, Orta Asya'daki Gokturk egemenligi- le yeniden ozgurlugune kavugan bu topraklar, Gok- turklerin Batı'dan Araplar, Dogu'dan da Qinlilerin saldirilarıyla yikildikleri M.S. 8'inci yuz yilm ilk yarisi- na kadar Turk egemenligi altindaydi. Bu ddnemde Orta Asya'ya kadar gelip orada Baktiriya Devleti kuran Buyuk iskender, bu bolgenin, Greko-romen uygariQiyla temas kurmasini sagliyan bir tarihi olay yaratmig oldu. Prof. Zeki Velidi Togan, uygur yazismin bu ddnemde geligidini, ipek Yolu ile bu bolgede budizmin, hristiyanligin yayilmaya bagladrtjim belirtir. Urumgi Mu- zesi'ndeki anlatimlarda da, 618 yilinda Qin'deki Tang sulalesi doneminde, Olkenin yeniden birietirildi'i ve Sinkiang'da, yerel bir yoritetim kuruldu belirtilmek- tedi. Bu olay bizim Orhun Krtabelerinde, Turklerin Qin yonetimi altına giriglerini, bundan Tonyukuk ve Bilge Hakan'in gabaliyeliyle, nasil kur- tulduklann anlatan yenigidir. M.S. 735 yilinda diktirilen Bilge Kagan kitabesinde Turklerin Qin Egemenligin- den kurtulug oykusunu anlatilir. Muzedeki agiklamalarda Uygurlarin, 744-840 yillari arasmada Mo^olistan ve bugunku Sinkiang topraklarında bir devlet kurdukları belirtilmektedir.

IX. Yuzyil ortasindan itibaren, Orta Asya'nm sur- atle Muslumanlagmastyla birlikte, ilk MuslOman Turk

Urum?i Muzesi'nde Tarih ve Etnografa

Sabah kalkti^imiz zaman ilk gdrecegimiz yer, Urumgi Tarih ve Etnografa Muzesi idi. Bina gehrin or- talannda, genig bir.alanda kurulmug buyuk bir muze kompleksi idi. Girigten itibaren Sinkiang'in tarihinde- ki agamalara gore, muzenin tertiplendigi dikkati geki- yordu. Marksist tarih tezine uygun olarak, Sinkiang tarihi, gayet mekanik ve uniform bir bigimde, **ilkel

devleti Karahanlilar'in doneminin baglamasina, muze agiklamalarnda deginilmektedir. Bu donemde devlet hayatinda ve kamu hizmetinde uygulanacak ve gegerli olacak onemli sozlerin, bilgi ve kurallarin toplandiQi, Kutadgu Bilig eserinin yazari, Yusuf Has Hacible, Divani Lugati Turk adli ilk ansiklopedi ve Turkge lugati yazan, Kaggarli Mahmud'un, bu bolgede yagiyani bu- yuk alimler oldu\$u belirtilmektedir. Daha sonra Ka\$- gar'da ziyaret edecegimiz, Ka\$garli Mahmud'un turbesinin resmi de muzenin duvaripda asili bulunmak- tadir. Daha sonra Cengiz'in resmiyle birlikte Qagatay Devleti hanedanlarindan bazilarmin resim ve isimleri verilmektedir.

Muzede uygur doneminin unlii yazar, du\$unur ve \$airlerinin yazma eserleri yamnda, muzik aletleri de te\$hir edilmi\$tit.-Ut, darb, kanun dombelek ve kemen- ge gibi, Anadolu'da da benzerleri bulunan bir gok gal- gi aleti sergilenmektedir. Muzenin aym zamanda bir etno\$rafya miizesi oldugundan soz etmigtim. Bu nedenle elbise ve kiyafetlerle birlikte, bir gok ev e\$yasi ve ev aletleri de, bu sergide gosterilmektedir. Yukliik, yorgan, gilteler, yatak odasi egyalari, mutfak egyalari da Anadoludakilerinin hemen hemen aymdir. Duvar- larda gure\$ resimleri, bizim Kirkpmar ve baska ilgele- rimizdeki gureg sahnelerini hatirlatmaktadır.

Muzede Mogol, Kirgiz ve kazak gadirlari (yurdlan)da kurulu olarak sergilenmigtir. Bu "yurdlarin" genigligi, kullamgliligi, iginin zerafeti, ziyaretgileri etkileyecek bir bigimde canlandirilmigtir. Gene Kaggar'da ziyaret ede^imiz en eski caniilerden olan idkah Camii'nin de bir maketini, burada gormug olduk.

Qin'le Dogu Turkistan'in tarihi iligkilerini vurgulama- ya onem veren bu muze, bize epeyce gey ogretmig ol- du. Daha agagida, bizzat uygurlardan ve yerli halktan duyduklarimizla, bu muzeden ogrendiklerimizi yan ya- na getirdigimiz zaman, uzerinde durulacak bazi sorun- larm bulundugu izlenimi edindik.

Otelde, lokantada, yolda rastladigimiz ve ayakiis- tu bir kag cumle konugtugumuz insanlara, "Uygurmusunuz?" diye sordugumuz zaman, devamlı olarak "Muslimamm" diye cevap verigleri dikkatimi gekti. Halbuki bu konugtuklarimizdan bazilarintn uygur, bazilarinm kazak, bazilarmin da kirgiz kokenli oldugunu, daha sonradan o\$rendim. Mesela adresini istanbuP- daki bir Kazak ileri geleninden aldigim iiinlu bir kazar gin yakin akrabasi bir hamm, tesadufen ziyaret etti\$imiz bir yerde kargimiza giki. Onun da verdigi cevap "Muslimamm" oldu. Bu da bize tipki Sovyet Orta Asyasi'nda oldusu gbi, burada da dinin, milli ve kulturel benliklerini koruma ve belli etmede, etkili bir unsur rolo oynadigim gosteriyordu.

Hall Atolyesi ile Pazari Ziyaret

Urumqi'de otelin Cist katindaki odamizdan da gor- duQumuzgibi, epeyce fabrika kurulmug; Tanri DaQia- ri'na do\$ru bakmca, yukselen fabrika bacaları, Sinkiang'in endustriyel yanları bulunduQunu da anla-



tiyor. Fakat biz 19 Ekim Pazartesi gunu ogleden sonrasim bir hall fabrikasim dolagmaya ve pazarda bir gezinti yapmaya ayirdik. Hall fabrikasina aslinda atol- ye demek daha dogru; gunku halilar elle tezgihlarda igleniyor. Yukardaki resimde de gorulece\$i iizere, motifler, renkler ve tipler, Orta Asya modelled. Hatta Anadolu halilarini da hatirlatiyor. Tipki bizdeki tezgahlardaki gibi geng kizlar galigiyor. Atolyede miidur Qinli, teknik get ise Uygur Turku idi. Bize Qinli mudir bilgi veriyor ve mihmandarimiz Turkge'ye geviriyyordu. Miidur Sinkiang'da hall yapimi iginin, iki bin yillik bir gegmigi oldugunu belirterek agiklamalari- na bagladi. Fabrika 1960'larda faaliyete gegmig ama, fazla geligmemig ve atil kalmig. Asil 1979'dan sonra geligmeye baglamig; iggiler galitikleri olgude, yaptik- lari ige gore, ucret almaya baglayinca, verim artmig. Ortajama ayda 130 Yuan aliyorlarmig. Halilar, son zamnlarda Japonya, Amerika, Avustralya, Almanya pi- yasalarinda iyi mugteri buluyor ve gok ihracat yapiliyormug. Qaliganların büyük bir kismi Uygur Turku. Qinliler daha gok yeni kurulan fabrikalara yerlegitirilmigler.

Urumqi'de gene aga^idaki resimde de goruldu^u gi- bi bir agik hava paziyla, turistlere satig yapan bazi magazalari dolaktik. Ostu camli bir tavanla kapli, bu agik hava pazi, arap harfleriyle de belirtildiCji gibi, aslinda bir meyve ve sebze hali durumunda, Arap harf- leri yazi, "Dunkuruk Soda Pazari" diye yaziyor. Ku- mag madeni egva ve oteki fabrika mallariyla, imalathane egysi satan kapali satig yerlerine, "Milli Mallar Soda Sarayı" adi verilmig. Agik hava pazarin- da dukkanlar ve satig yerleri, 6zel girigimcilerin ve da- ha gok uygur Turklerinden oluguyor. Kapali yerlerdeki



Dunkuruk Soda Pazarı

saticilar ise, devlet fabrikalarinin urun ve imalatim satiyor ve maagli satici memurlarla galigiyor ve gogu da Qinli. Pazarda da uygurlarla bir kag cumle konugtuk ve Turkiye'den geldigimizi soyledik. Aynlirken, "Allah'a Ismarladik" yerine, uygurlarin dedigi gibi, "Hayir Hog" deyip veda ettik, selamlagdik.

Urumgi kalabalik Qinli nufusuyla dikkati gekiyor. 1950'den sonra gelen Qinli gogmenler, bu gehirde nerdeyse yerli halki azinlik durumuna dugurmug ve yerli halk bunun farkinda ve bir miktar gikayetgi. Konugtumuz Uygurlar, "Tiirkistan'da zemin gok, adem az, Qin'de zemin dar, adem gok" diye konuguyorlar. Basilar Qinlilerden soz ederken "ademicikler" diyor. Konugtumuz yerli halk, 1980'den sonra, nisbeten rahatliliklarim, baskilarin azaldigim soylediler.

Kaggar'a Ugugumuz

Ertesi gunu sabah, Urumgi'den Kaggar'a gene bir Rus yapisi jetie, Tupolev ugagiyla ugtuk. Hostes mesafenin 1.080 km. oldugunu soyledi ve iki saat yolculugumuz var dedi. Uzun sure "Tanri Daglarmin" karlarla ortiil tepeleri ustunde ugtuk. Hostes bu dag- lar Sinkiang kulturunde, gok onemli yeri olan, kutsal daglardir diye bir agiklamada bulundu. Gergekten Turklerin "Gok Tannsi" bu daglann Ozerinden dun- yaya hukmetriigtir. Avrasya Kit'asinin tarihinde bu dag kulturunun, yayla hayatmin, Otukan Ormanlari'nin oy- nadigi rol, Orhun Kitabelerinden de ogreniyoruz.

Kaggar'a yaklaginca duz luk, yayla ve ovalar bagliyor. Kaggar civari, agaglar, yegil bahgeler ve etkili top-raklarla gepegevre. Kaggar tipik bir Orta anadolu gehri, Qorum, Nigde, Aksaray diyebilirsiniz. Ugakta gene bir hayli Qinli ve subay var ama, Urumgi gibi degil, epeyce de yerli halktan, uygur kaggari yolcu ve kargiliyan vardi havaalamnda; Orta yagli bir Uygur hammi kargi- liyanlar, goz yaglari iginde, kendisine defalarca sari- linca dikkatimi gecti. Ne oluyor diye sordugumda, etraftakiler, onemli bir ameliyattan sonra Urumgi'den evine donuyor da ondan diye bana bilgi verdiler.

Kaggar'da bizi igil igil gakir gozlu, beyaz tenli, uzunca boylu bir uygur geng, Kurbanoglu Curetkar adli bir

rehber kargiladi. Kaggar'in nufusunun 200.000 oldugunu, halkmin %80'inin Uygur oldugunu belirtti. Kaggar'da da hava epeyce serindi ve yerlerde kar kalintjları vardi. Qehir ve gevresi epeyce sulak bir ara- ziyle gevrligmig, tipki bazi Anadolu gehirleri gibi, gegitli ybnlere dogru akan gur gaylan var. Kaggar gece epeyce karanlik, sokaklar fazla aydinlatilmiyor, zaten ana caddelerinde, bizirri aligkin oldugumuz bigimde, bol ay- dinlatilmig magazaVitrinleri diye bir gey yok. Qehre geg vakit geldigimiz igin, turistlere ayrılan Seman Oteli'- rideki odamiza gekildik. Gece tipki Anadolu kasaba- larindaki gibi, kopek havlamlari ve egek anirmalari sesleri duyarak, gergekten Ana Yurt'da oldugumuzu da- ha iyi hissettik! Oteldeki kat sorumlusu memur kiza, "Uygurmusun" diye sordum, aldigim cevap "Elham,- dulillah Musliman!" dedi. Ben de "Elhamdulillah" diye cevap verdim, kargilikli gulugtiik. Otelimiz basitti, ama rahat ve temizdi. Kaloriferleri yanmadigi igin bi- raz oda soguktu. Fakat tipki bizdeki gibi kalin bir yor- gan ve ustine de kalin bir yun battaniye ortmug olduklari igin, sabaha kadar gok rahat uyuduk. Sabah erkenden kalkip, Kaggar'in 50 km. kadar batısında bulunan Kaggarli Mahmud'un turbesine gidecektik.

Kaggarli Mahmud Turbesi.

Otelde "Marko Polo Reise" ve "En Voie de Marco Polo" diye grup isimleri olan, kalabalik bir Alman ve Fransız turist kafilesi vardi. Tek tuk de Amerikan ve ingiliz turistlerin konugmalan kulagimiza geliyordu. Sabah erkenden Otelin bahgesine indigimiz zaman sag ve sakali kirlagmig, fakat oldukga ding ve konug- kan bir Pakistan'ii bana neredensin diye sordu. Ben de Turk oldugumu soyledim Ve kendisinin burada ne yaptigim sordum. Ben macera seven yabanci turistle- ri gezdiren, birturoperatoruyum dedi. Dun akgam bir grup ingiliz ve Amerikalı turiste, Pakistan'dan otobusle geldiklerini soyledi. Yolun Sinkiang kisminin asfalt ve oldukga iyi oldugunu, fakat Pakistan'da kalan daglik kismin, yer yer gok kotO oldugunu, ingaatin devam et- tigini, sik sik otobusten inip, uzun mesafeler yurumek zorunda kaldiklanni, bunun macerayı seven yabanci turistleri hig rahatsiz etmedigini, aksine bundan hog- landiklarini anlatti. Bu yoldan Pakistan'la Qin arasin- da kig aylari mustesna otobus seferleri yapildigim, bu eski "ipek Yolu"nun, yeniden ticari yol olarak kulla- mlaya baglandigim, bu yolla, Sinkiang ve Qin'e, bir gok Pakistan'li tuccarin geldigini soyledi. Gergekten Otelimizin lokantasinin bir kogesinde kalabalik bir Pakistani! grup yemek yiyordu.

Ekimin sonlan olmasina ragmen, hava gunegli olunci, insan Dogu Turkistan'in sert ve serin ikliminden rahatsiz olmuyordu. Minibusumuze sabah dokuzda binerek, bir saattan fazla batiya dogru yol aldig. Qinli forumuz, bu yolin Pakistan'a giden yol oldugunu soleyince oteldeki Pakistan'ii tur operatoruaun anlatiklan beni daha gok ilgilendirdi. Yol Orta Anadolu'da- ki bir il yolu gibi, yer yer, dere ve sel yataklannm kavgak

noktalarında, kdprQ takviyesi yapan kara yolları ekipleriyle kargilayıormuguz hissi veriyordu. Nihayet bir sure sonra yol daha da daralarak, kuzeye doğru ayrıldı. Yolda sırı sıra pamuk gevşemelerin gec- tişi arabalardan başka bir trafıge rastlamadık. Tek tuk askeri jeep veya kamyon gorduk. Yol iki yan kavak aşıklarıyla sıralanmış, etrafında pamuk, buQday, piring, yonca, misir, sebzeler ekilmemiş tarlalar olan, bir yerde inerkezine geldi. Burası me'erse Kaggarlı Mahmud'un Hicri 464 Miladi 1072 tarihinde yazmış olduğu Dīvān Lugati Türk'de adrgegen Upal kasabasıymış.

Daha sonra kuguk bir koy geçti. Etrafta avluları duvarla gevrilmiş, koy evlerini geçtikten sonra, yol bir yerde sona erdi. Burada otomobilden inip, bir tepeye doşru tırmadık. Tepede ulu ve yağlı kavak adımları, yamalarında pmaları ve akarsuları olan, Kaggarlı Mahmud'un turbesinin bulunduğu geniş bir bahçeye geldik. Turbede çok yağlı bir kavak aQacının altındaki pinarın adını, "Qeqmi Zulal" olduğunu, kabrin arkasındaki tepenin adını "Hazreti Mevlana Cebeli" olduğunu, turbenin bekçisi Abdül Resul her biri hakkında, eskiden beri söylenen efsaneleri anlattı.

Bekçi turbenin hatırı defterine birkag cumle yazmamızı istediler. Bizden önce birkag yıl ewel buraya gelen, Ankara Belediye Başkanı Mehmet Altınsoy'la Anap Milletvekili Halil Şivgin'in da yazılımı gösterdi. Turbe bir yıl önce restore edilmeye bağlanmış ve burayı Qin Bagbakam ve giymi Komünist Partisi Genel Sekreteri olan Zhao Ziang'da ziyaret etmiş; resimlerinin buyultulmuş olarak duvara asıldırmış igaret etti. Kendisine üzerinde "Lailahe illallah, Muhammedin Resulullah" yazılı bakır tabakalarından hediye etti. Deftere de, Kaggarlı Mahmud'un Türk dili, tarihi ve kılıtu-ruğın onemine degenin kısa bir yazısı yazdım. Turbesindeki kabri bagında ruhuna bir fatiha okudum. Turbenin geniş avlusundan etrafı baktım. Batıda çok uzaklarda, üstleri bembeş karlarla kaplı, duvar gibi yüksek bir dağ silsilesi gorunuyordu. Bunlar hangi dağ- lar diye bekçiye sordum. "Orası Pamir yaylasıdır, Rus- ya ve Afganistan o dağların arkasındadır" dedi. Avlunun guneg kısmında, etrafı yıkılmış toprak duvar- larla gevrilmiş, yer yer mezarlara kalıntıları bulunan, Mahmudiye Medresesinin harabelerini gördük. Dokuz yüz yıl oncesi, buralarda Kaggarlı Mahmud'dan ders alan, "Medrese-i Ulum" talebelerini dugunduk. O an, Yahya KemaPin unlü güri aklına geldi; kendi kendi- me yavag sesle tekrarladım:

*"Fer almişken iuluu kibriyadan,
Bugun bivaye kalmış? her ziyadan,
Bu şehrın farkı yok bir tenk-nadan,
Neden nur inmiyor artık semadan?*

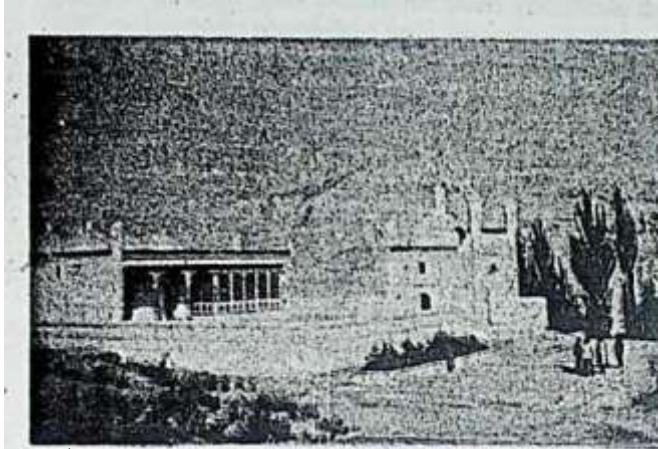
*Tecelliğah iken binlerce rinde
Melamet sondu şarkı her yerinde,
O devrin gergi son sohbelerinde,
Nefesler dinledik Sazi Rıza'dan.*

*O yerler igte BaQdat igte Amid,
BugOn her guleden mahrum camid,
O yerden son gelen yolcu Hamid,
Haberdar olmaz olmug Maveradan. ■*

Lise Edebiyat derslerimizde okuduğumuz, All Canib'in kitabımdan ezberlediğim ve anlamam girmeye galığı Qim bu giir, Şarkı, İslâm'ın ve Türk diinyasının dramını dile getiren, lirik, fakat huzurlu bir şiirdi. Satır satır ağırlanması çok yer alacağının igin, genel anlamam kısaca getiriyorum; Bir zamanlar doğan gürülteden etrafı ııkı sagan İslâm uygarlığı, İslam şehirleri, bugün artık terdeki ııkı yıklımıtı yiQinlan halinde; Bu yerlere artık eskisi gibi; nur inmiyor, etraf karanlıklara bo^ulmuş; eski den binlerce genç kaynaklığı fikir ve felsefe ocaklarında, artık kimsenin sesi duyulmuyor, kimse konugmuyor. Her ne kadar son zamanlarda, Rıza Tav- fık gibi halk edebiyatı diliyle yazan, Abdulhak Hamid gibi, divan ve tasawuf uslubuya giir soyliyeni rastlıyorsak da, bunlarda eski felsefi derinlik kalmamış. Şark dunyası, asırların gerisine gomulup kalmış diye Yahya Kemal bu giirinde hayiflannmaktadır. Doğunun artık dunyaya ııkı sagan huviyeti kaybolmuş, karanlıkla gomulmuş diye üzuntuye kapılan Yahya Kemal' in Kaggar'ı, Doğu Türkistan'ı ve hele Kaggar'lı Mahmud'un ziyaret ettigimiz bu turbesini de görmesi- ni çok isterdim. Ba^dat ve Diyarbakır'ı gerek oraları Batıda yagadığı Paris, Cenevre gibi ga^dag uygarlığından gehir merkezleriyle kargilatıran bu gairimizin, o zaman hissettilerini ben de aynen, D. Türkistan'da ve Kaggar'da hissettim. . . .

Turbe donugu, Medresenin altındaki Azig Koyunun ıgenden geçen yol kenarındaki bir ev onunde durdu. İerdeki köylülerle biraz konuşulup, yagamlarım yakından gorelim, hal hatır soralım dedik. Evin toprak duvarlarla gevrilmiş kapısim açık, iç avluya girdik. Avluda bütün aileyi toplu halde bulduk. Anasının adı Tuna, Babasının adı Kerim olan, Oğul Kasım, bize etrafı dolanan gocuklarım adalarım söylemiş: Nur Memet, Ahmet Can, Kızlar ve Atı-gul, Hace-gul. Hammin adını söylemedi, biz de sormadık. Qocuklann Os-tu bagi dokuluyordu, gerek fakir oldukları belli idi. Evin avluya açılan kapısim bitigi Qinde ustu kapalı, balkon gibi, iki basamaklı merdivenle gikilan hayat kısmında, geng bir kız gitmeye uzanmış, yatıyordu. Dugmug aya- gi incinmiş ve hasta olmuş; gecme olsun dedik. İgeri gi- rin bir gayığın diye çok israr ettiler, fakat zamanın olduğu ıigin kalamadık. Onlara da Türkiye hatırları olarak üstünde ayetler bulunan, bir bakır tabakla, bir nay- ion torba Antep fistığı hediye verdik.

Kaggarlı Mihmandarımız Ciir'etkis, bu fakir köylünün durumu kargasında etkilendigimizi gerek, bu yeredeki tarım ve koy hayatı hakkında, bize bazı ilginc bilgiler verdi. Hükümet yeni ekonomik reform uyarınca, köylülere, atalarından kalan toprakları geri vermiş. Şimdi köylüler, bunları istedikleri bigimde ekib bigiyorlar. Yalmaz çok ufak pargalara bolundugunu gerdum, gümüş bu tarlaların, fazla bir verim getirmedik Qini, yollarda sıra sıra girdigimizde pamuk guval-



Kaggalı Mahmud'un Turbesi

lari yigili.egek arabalarindan anliyorduk. Halkin ancak kendi kendini besleyecek kadar bir urin kaldirdigi, pamuk urununu de gehirdeki alim merkezinde satip, bir miktar nakdi kazang saglama gabasinda oldugu gdruluyordu. Yukarda da belirttigim gibi sulak topraklarda, pirlirtg, misir, yonca gibi urunler alarak, arpa bugday ekip, kig erzakmi tamamliyarak, atalari gibi geginmeye galigan bu fakir uygur koylerinin, bir zamanlar Orta Anadolu'daki koylulerin yagamina benzer bir halleri vardi. Fakat mihmandarimiz, son yillarda koylulerin, yeni reformlar sayesinde, gok daha rahat ve mutlu bir hayata kavugtuklarim anlatmaya galigiyordu.

Kaggalı'da Camiler ve Pazar

Kaggalı Mahmud'un turbe ziyaretinden sonra, Kaggalı'ın kenar mahallelerinde kalmig, XVII'inci yuzyilda yapilmig Abak Hoca Camii ve turbesiyle, Kaggalı'ın en eski camii olan ve gehrin ortasındaki idhak Camii'ni gezdi. idhak Camii'nde ikindi namazi igin, kalabalik bir cemaatin toplandigi saatda, camiiye, geldigimizden, igini pek goremedik. Fakat dikkatimi geken nokta, kalabalik iginde genglerin de epeyce yiiksek bir oran tegkil etmesiydi. Mihmandarimiz Ciir'et, bana okula giden gengler arasında da, namaz kilan ve orug tutan kitlenin yiiksek olduqunu soyledi. Kendisi Saglik Koleji'nden mezun olmus ve doktor gikan bir Uygur kiziyla-yeni evlenmis oldugu igin, okullardaki durum hakkında, epeyce bilgi sahibiydi. Tarih dersinde ne- ler okuduklarmi, Karahanlilar, Selguklular, Osmanli- lari okuyup okumadiklarim sordum ve biraz da hafifce smadim. Bu konulari tarih kitaplarinda ve derslerinde okuduklarmi, yalmz yetersiz olduqunu soyledi.

Gene Urumqi'deki gibi, iiistii damla kapali, fakat etrafi algak duvarla gevrlili, agik hava pazarmda bir hayli dolagtik. Tiirkije'den gelme teknstil mallarina rastladik. Esnaf ve diikkan sahipleri, daha dogrusu tezgah sahipleri arasında, kitap okuyanlara sik sik rastlamam benni meraklandirdi. Ne okuyorsunuz diye sordum. iki geng diikkan sahibinin elinde iyi basilmig, "Diinya Edebiyatı" adli Arapça harflerle yazilmig kitaplar vardi. Bir bagkasmda, "Uygur Halk Efsaneleri" adli bir ki

tap vardi. Geng bir delikanli ise, Kur'an-i Kerint okuyordu. Turk ve Miisliiman oldugumu anlatmak ve kutsal kitabimiza ilgisinden hoglandigimi gostermek igin, "Allah Razi Olsun" dedim. Etraftakiler de sevin diler ve "Rahrnet" dediler. Ankara'dan geldiQimizi soyledim, "Bell Beli, Tiirklye Turklye".dediklerini : duydum.

vA-:::-

Kaggar'da dikkatimi geken qnemli nokta gu oldu.

Koylii topragini geri almi, gehirde de ticaret gelene- gini kaybetmiyen Uygur halk, diikkamm tezgahmi ye- v,niden kurarak, iktisadi bagimsizhgina yeniden kavugmug. Halkin fakir oldugu, hayat diizeyimin, Qin'- in oteki bolgelerine kiyasla, daha diigik oldugu goze garpiyordu. Ama hig olmazsa halk devletin kolesi ol- maktan kurtulmug ve iginde, evinde camiisinde, kah-. vesinde, goreceli de olsa, ozgiirlugunOn bir kismina • yeniden kavugmug. Qok akilli, bilgili ve uyamk bir geng olan, Kaggalı rehberimiz Cur'etin anlattiklarindan ve benim etraftaki gozlemlerinden gikardigim sonug bu oldu.

Dogu Turkistan'in Kaderi

Qinli'lerin Sinkiang, bizim D. Tiirkistan, yahut Qin Turkistam dedigimiz bolgede edindigimiz bilgiler, gozlemler ve ogrendiklerimiz, bir derginin sinirli sahifele- rine sigmiyacak kadar, genig ve zengindi. Bu nedenle burada dikkatimi geken, en onemli noktalara deginmek zorundayim. Diyebilirim ki, 1967 yilinda Sovyet Orta Asya ve Batı TCirkistana yaptigimiz ziyaretten gok da- ha ogretici, gok daha kalici pek gok yeni geyi bu ge- zim de de ogrendim. Bir kelimeyle ozetlemem gerekirse,.bu seyahat boyunca, benim Turk tarihi hakkında daha once ogrendigim, dugundugum geyler, gimdi yakindan gordugium bu topraklar ve onumuze serilen Asya Cografyasi sayesinde, daha somut, daha anlagilir bir hale girdi. Altaylar, Tanri Daglari, Ka- rakurum, Tarim Havzası gibi soyut yer adlan, tarihi yazan ve yaratran ana etkenler olarak, zihnimde koge taglari olugturdu.

Bu sayede Turklugun gegmigini, biraz daha iyi anladigimi samyorum. Qin simrindan Balkanlara kadar uzanan, "Avrasya" adi verilen, bOyuk bir kit'anw ortasinda obek obek gemitli bolgelerde, daginik yagayan Turk halklarmi, yani Turk dOnyasini dugundum. Birinci Diinya Savagi doneminde romantik Turk milliyetgi- liginin, konuya bakig tarzim hatirliyarak, toplam nufusu bugunT50 milyona yaklagan bu kalabalik insan top- lulugunun kaderi hakkında, daha realist bir bigimde du- giinme imkam buldum. Kulturumuzun ve tarihi mirasimizin onemli bir pargasmi olugturan bu bolge- leri gorup, gezmek, insanlanya konugmak igin, Qin makamlarmin ve Milletlerarası Anlayig Dernegi'nin, bana vermiq oldugu bu imkan ve firsat igin, nekadar tegekkur borglu oldugumu anlatamam.. *

Qin donugii Qin Hava Yolları'ndaki yolculugum es- nasinda tesadufen tamtgigim, Turk vatandagi olmug, geng bir Uygur Turku'nun anlattiklariyla ve ondan 6g- rendigim bazi bilgilerle, Dogu Turkistan'la ilgili yazimi

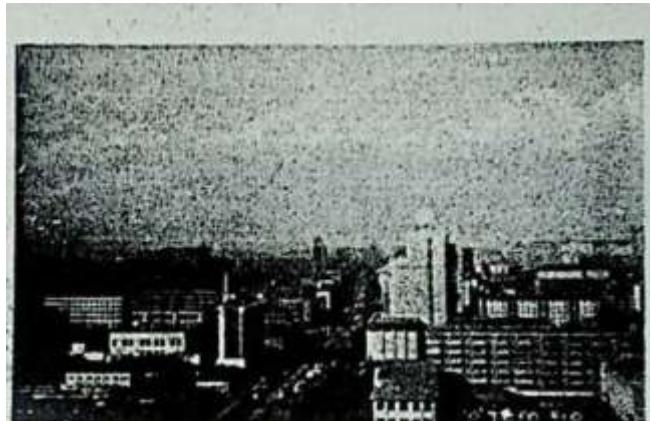
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bagiamak istiyorum.

Sovyet Orta Asyasında oldugu gibi, Qin Turkistamnda Ida Turk kokenli halk, tarih bilinci, milli kultur uya-mgi nedeniyle manen dipdiridir ve ayaktadir. Hele yeni yetigen gengiik, yillar suren komunist yonetimin bas- kisi ve Marksist ideolojinin kafa yikamasi gabalatina kargi bagariyla direnmigtir. Her iki bblgede de gogUn-. lugu olugturulan Slav ve Qinli halktan, gok farkli fair ulu- sal benlige sahip olduklan bilinci, buradaki insanlarin kafasinda tazeder, gOgludur ve belirgindir. Atalarinin asirlar boyu, Avrasya kitasinda onemli roller oynadi- ginin, dunya tarihinde en eski uygarlardan birine sahip olan bir halk kokeninden geldiklerinin bilinci igindedirler. Yakin gegmigteki kara talihlerinin ibresi- nin, yavag yavag degitigi bilinci ve inanci halkin ve ozellikle geng kugaklarm dimaginda giderek yerleg- mektedir.

Uygur gence Orhon Abidelerindeki Qinle dostluk- tan soz eden bolumleri hatirlattim. O da bana arala- rmdan giktigi halkin ve son yillarda sik sik ziyaret ettigi ata yurdularindaki geng kugaklarin dugunceleri hakkin - da, yorlarmig..Nitekim Kaggar'da otelde rastladi^imiz, turistlerle ge'zen bir geng Uygur Turku, bana yaklagarak, Urumqi Universitesi'nde meydana gelen bir ogrenci elindeki ingilizce kitabı gosterdi. ingilizlere Turkge og-hareketinden soz etti. Qindeyken boyle bir gey duy- mamigtik. Hele Sinkiang'dayken, kimse bize bundan soz etmemidi. 1987 baglarinda Qin'deki bazi univer- sitelerin ogrencileri arasında bagliyan, ozgurluk ve de- mokrasi istemini dile getiren gdsteriler sirasinda, Urumqi Ilniversitesi'ndeki Uygur ogrenciler de goste- ri yapmiglar. Bu gosterilerde dile getirmek istedikleri ug istek varmi. Birincisi, son zamanlarda gorevinden alimp, Pekin'de pasif bir ige tayin edilen eski Halk Mec- lisi Bagkam ismail Ahmet'in igine ve ulkesine geri yol- lanmasi; Qinlilerin, Sinkiang'da nukleer denemelere son vermeleri; bir uguncii istek de, ulkenin etnik yapi- sim degitiren, Qin gogune son verilmesi imig. Bunu bagka bir kaynaktan kontrol etmem mumkun olmadı; Qunku artik Qin'den ayrılmigtim. Fakat o siralarda Ja- ponya'da bulunan, meslekdagim, Dogent Mete Tun- goku ile sohbet ederken, o da Japon gazetelerinde, Uygur genglerinin gostetileriyle ilgili haberlerin giki- gim dogruladi.

Bu olaylar gunu gosteriyor ki, Sinkiang'da halk, butun Qin'de oldugu gibi, "Kultur Devrimi" gibi gilginlik- larin sona ermesi, Komun sistemi gibi gayri insani uygulamalarin durmasi kargasinda, son derece mutlu- durlar ama, Qin-Uygur halklarinin dostlugu ve kargi- likli anlayigigm golgelenmesi igin, bazi gikayetleri de devam etmektedir.

Uygur genci bir nokta üzerinde daha durmugtur. Bu da sik sik uygur etigiminde alfabenin degitirilmig olmasidir. 1962'de latin alfabesi diye bir gey uygulamiglar, eski uygur alfabesi bu gekilde korelmig. 1981 'de ise uygur okullarinda bu sefer Arap alfabesi okutulmaya baglan- mig. Gergekten yetigkin bazi egitim gormug uygur ay- dinlari bile, arap harfleriyle yazilmig bazi yaziilar sbkup bize okuyamadilar; Qince harflerden okuyup, tercume



Urumqi'den genet bir gdrunug

yoluyla ne oldugunu anlattilar. Bu arada Turkiye'den giden gazete ve kitap olup olmadigmi, bunların egitim gormug kimseler tarafindan okunup okunmadigim, an- lagilip anlagilmadigmi sordum. Okullarda batı ulkele- rinin yabanci dilleri de ogretildigi igin, latin alfabesi bilen geng kugak, Turkge metinleri gene de okuyabili- ligidir. Nitelikle son zamanlar' da yorlarmig..Nitekim Kaggar'da otelde rastladi^imiz, turistlerle ge'zen bir geng Uygur Turku, bana yaklagarak, elindeki ingilizce kitabı gosterdi. ingilizlere Turkge og- retmeyi amagliyan bu kitaptan, bana bazi harflerin fo- netik okunug gekillerini sordu ve not etti. Turkge metinleri anlayip anlamadigim sordum. Gerek okurken, gerekse konugurken, Anadolu Turkgesinin %65-70 kadar kendi konugutklari dilin aym oldugunu soyledi ve Turkgeyi konugarak ve okuyarak izlemek ve anlamakta fazla zorluk gekmedigini belirtti.

Yalmz asil Qin'de deşil, ozellikle Dogu Tiirkistan' da da devrin degitigi, ulkenin dig dunyaya agildigi, bagka memleketlerden gelen turistlerin bu topraklar- da gezilecek, gorOlecek pek gok yer bulundugunu gor- meleri onlarin hoguna gidiyordu; belli bagli gehirlerde, rahat, konforlu otellerin yapilmaya baglanmasi, Turki- ye ile Qin arasında hava seferlerinin baglamasi, Turk- iye'ye gog eden yakinlari ve akrabalariyla Uygurlarin daha sik temas edebilecek bir hale gelmeleri, ulkede- ki havayı bir hayli degitirmig goriinuyor, Uygurlar, ge- lecege Omit ve iyimserlikle bakiyorlar. Cumahun beyin bize verdigi yemekte yaptigi konugmada, ulkenin, ik- tisadi alanda da, kalkinmanin egiginde oldugunu vur- gulyan sozleri, hem ulke iginde ve hem de Turkiye'ye gog eden uygurlar arasında da paylagilan bir ortak ka- naat. Turkiye ile Qin'in iligkilerinin siklagmasi ve uzun vadeli dostluk baglarmin kurulmasi ve guglendirilme- si, herkesi memnun eden bir geligme. Turk vatandag- ligina gegen uygur gencinden, Turkiye'de iglerini geligiren eski Uygur kokenli kigilerin, kogullar daha da geligirse, ata yurtlarinda bazi yatirimlar yapmayi du- gOnuklerini duymak, gok sevindirici bir olay.

Urumqi de gok kisa gorugebildigimiz Uygur Bilim- ler Akademisinden Prof. Mehmet Mincanulu, Turkiye ile egitim ve kultur alanmda daha siki ighbirligi igin, durumun musait oldugunu, Turkiye'den kitap ve dergi aldiglarmi, bilim gevreleri arasında kargilikli ziyaretle- rin, daha da •artirilmasinm yararli olacagim belirtmig- tir. Uygur halkinm gimdi daha rahat ve mutlu oldugunu, gelecege buyuk umitle baktigmi o da dogrulamigtir.

INCELEMELER

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DOGU TURKiSTAN DA BUGUNKU giN iDARESt

Erkin ALPTEKIN

Mao'nun oliim linden sonra iktidan illerine alan Qin Kazak Turkleri, l'i de Mogollardan olu§- maktadir. Geriye kalan 10 iiyeyi (pinliler teşkil etmektedir. Merkez Komitesinin iiye sayisi 56'dir. Bunların 13'unii Uygur Turkleri, 4'iinii Kazak Turkleri, 2'sini Kirgiz Turkleri, 2'sini Mogollar, 2'sini Qinli Musliimanlar ve geriye kalan 33'iin ise Qinliler oluşturmaktadir.<3> Mahalli hiikiayetteki 9 Bakanligm 5'ini Qinliler işgal etmektedirler.w Dogu Turkistan mahalli Halk Vekiller Kurultayi Daimi Komitesinin 16 iiyesinin 9'unu Qinliler oluşturmaktadir.<5>) Dogu Turkistan Turkleri, nifus itibanyle bugun Qin Halk Cumhuriye- tinde iiipiincu durumdadırlar. Buna ragmen, Qin'in kaderini elinde tutan Qin Komiinist Parti si Politbirosunda, Politburo Daimi Komite- sinde ve Merkez Komite Sekreterliginde bir tek iiyesi yoktur.

12, 23 ve 26 Aralik 1985 tarihinde binlerce Dogu Turkistanli Turk talebe, Hoten, Ka§gar, Uriimci, Pekin ve Sanghay gibi Şehirlerde sokak gosterileri tertip ederek, Dogu Turkistan Turklerine oz yonetim hakkinin verilmesini, Pekin tarafmdan atanan Qinli yoneticilerin yerine Turk yoneticilerinin sepilebilmesi ipin demokratik sepim hakkinin tamnpiasim, Dogu Turkistan Tiirklerinin somuriilmesinin onle- nebilmesi ipin ekonomik sahada muhtariyet verilmesini, Dogu Turkistan Turklerine karşı uygunlanmaya . başlanan mecburi dogum kontrolünün kaldmlmasmi, Dogu Turkistanli Turk ogrencilere ilke ipinde ve di§ iilkelerde daha iyi egitim gorme imk&nlarinin saglanmasim, sup işleyen ^nlilerin cezalanni Dogu Tiirkistan'daki pali§ma kamplandnda tamamlama işlenimin derhal durdurulmasim, Dogu Tiirkistan'a fın gopmen akinimn durdurulmasim ve Dogu Turkistan'da yapilmakta olan Atom denemelerinin yasaklanmasim istemi§lerdir.<2>

fin yoneticileri, Turk talebelerin yapmi§ oldugu hak taleplerini yerine getirecigine, §imdi onlan pil yavrusu gibi memleketin dort k6§esine dagitarak, geldikleri koy, nahiye ve Şehir simrlarimn di§ma pikmalarina izin vermemekte, halkla temaslan_6nlemekte ve mektuplan sansure tabi tutmaktadır.

Asbnda Dogu Turkistanli Turk talebeler bu taleplerinde haklidirlar. Qunku, Turkler hala Dogu Turkistan nufusunun %60'im teşkil etmekteyseler de ulkenin kaderini elinde tutan ySneticilerin %90'i Qinlidir. Meselfi, Dogu Turkistan Parti Komitesinin Ba§kam "Son Hanliag" adlı bir Qinlidir. Politburo'nun 15 uyesinden sadece 3'unu Uygur Turkleri, l'ini

Qin yoneticileri, sirf istatistik maksatlar ve Qinli olmayan milletlere eşit hak vermiş goziikmek ipin Dogu Turkistan Turklerine bazi makamlar vermek zorunda kalmıştır. Ama bu onemli makamlara getirilen Turklerin hip bir selahiyeti yoktur. «Eger bir Turk lider, kendi milleti lehine bazi taleplerde bulunmuş, kararlar almiş ve alınan bu kararlar da Qinlilerin menfaatine ters du§mii§se;bu lider derhal gorevinden alınarak, "Terfian" Pekin'e siргune gonderilmektedir. Bu siyasetin kurbani olan son Turk lideri, Dogu Turkistan mahalli Hukumetinin eski Reisi Ismail Ahmet'tir. Ismail Ahmet, 1979 yihndan beri Dogu Turkistan Turklerine gerpek anlamda Oz Yonetim hakkinin taninmasmi, Dogu Tiirkistan'a daha fazla Qinli getirme işlenimin durdurulmasim ve Dogu Turkistan Turklerinin kendi ulkesinde elde edilmekte olan zen- ginliklerden daha fazla yararlandinmasim talep etmekteydi. Onun bu israrlı talepleri Dogu Turkistan'da Turk ve Qinli yoneticiler arasmda anla§mazliklann pikmasma yol apmi§ti. Bu anla§mazliklann buyumesi uzerine 1981 yilinda Qin'in kudretli adamı Deng Xiaoping bizzat Dogu Tiirkistan'a gidip uzla§tinci rolu oynamak zorunda kalmıştı. Fakat Ismail Ahmet'in bu taleplerinden

vazgepmemesi iizerine Gin yoneticileri, onu gQrevinden alarak "Terfian" Pekin'e surmiiglerdir. Azinlik Milletler Bakam olarak atanen Ismail Ahmet, Pekin'de gbrugtugii bazi Dogu Turkistanlilara pekinmeden hip bir selahiyeti olmadigmi ifade etmigtir. Ismail Ahmet'in yerine atanen Tomiir Davamet ise koyu bir Qinci olarak bilinmektedir. Nitekim Tomiir Davamet'in mahalli hukumet reisligine atanmasma kargi olan- Dogu Tiirkistan Tiirkleri, hissiyatlarini gu misralarla dile getirmiglerdir:

Kulhuwallahu Ahat Allahu Samet
Pekin'e gitti Ismail Ahmet
Reislige atandi Tomiir Davamet
Geri kalan igler Allaha emanet.

Gin Komunist Partisi'nin eski Genel Sekreteri Hu Yaobang, 1986 yihnda Urumpi'de yapmig oldugu bir konugmasinda, Gin'de sadece Milletler Birligi'ne gerekli enemi veren Dogu Tiirkistanlilarin yiikseltilmesi gerektigi vurgulanmishti. Qinliler, Milletler Birligi soziinden sadece Qinlilere korii koriine itaat eden kimseleri kastetmektedirler.

Keza, Dogu Tiirkistan'da hakim, savci ve polis mudiiru olarak gorevlendirilen Tiirklerin de hip bir selahiyeti yoktur. Turk asilli hakim, savci ve polis mudiirleri, milliyetpilikle damga- lanmak korkusundan, supu sabit olan bir Ginliye ceza veremektedir.

Yardimcisi daima Qinli olan bir kurulugun Turk asilli sorumlusu, yardımci olmadan yaba'nci uyruklu herhangi bir kimseyle gorrigememekte, onlann izni olmadan hip bir karar alamamakta ve alinan karan da tatbik edemektedir.[®]

Bunun gibi dur. umlar, gimdiki Gin yoneticilerinin, halefleri gibi "Makam versek de selahiyet vermeyelim" siyasetini Dogu Tiirkistari'da hala filen devam ettirmekte olduklanm bariz delilleridir.

TURK HAT.KIN KKONOMIK DURUMU

Gin yoneticileri, Dogu Tiirkistan Tiirkleri- nin ekonomik durumunun diizeltilmig oldugu- nu ileri siirmektedirler. ^inli yoneticiler, Qin'in ham madde zenginliginin %85'inin Dogu Tiirkistan'dan elde edilmekte oldugunu itiraf etmektedirler. Buna ragmen, Tiirkler pok agir ekonomik gartlar altında yagamaktadirlar. Dogu Tiirkistan'da kig ortasmda ayakkabisi olmayan, iiistii bagi pejmiirde ve yatacak yeri olmadigi ipin sokak ortasmda koyun postuna sarilip yatip kalkan Tiirkler rastlamak mumkundur.w - -> Dogu Tiirkistan Tiirklerinin ekonomik durumunun hald asgari gepim gartlannin

altinda olmasimn baglica sebebi, Qinlilerin tabii zenginlikleri devamlı olarak CJin'e tagiması ve Dogu Tiirkistan'daki petrol, uranyum, altın, gilmiig gibi kaynaklari bizzat kendi kontrolii altında bulundurup, bu tabii zen- ginliklerden elde edilen kazanptan Dogu Tiirkistan Tiirklerini yararlandirmamasidir.

Bugin Dogu Tiirkistan'da yalnız Karamay bdlgesinde yilda 6 Milyon Ton ham petrol elde edilmektedir. Dogu Tiirkistan'in diger bolgelerinde elde edilmekte olan petroliin miktan bu rakama dahil degildir. Qinliler, Dogu Tiirkistan'da elde edilmekte olan bu petroliin gelirinden Dogu Tiirkistan Tiirklerine beg kurug dai vermemektedir.

Ginliler, son yillarda Dogu Tiirkistan'da yetigirilen at, katir.ve egek gibi hayvanlan da Gin'e tagimaya baglamiglardir.

Ginli yoneticiler, hayat gartlanni biraz diizeltebilmeipi Dogu Tiirkistan Tiirklerine'ne serbest ticaret yapma hakki tanimig olduklarmi ileri siirmektedirler. Ama Dogu Tiirkistan Tiirkleri, bu serbest ticaret yapma hakkini, kendilerinde daimi bir ig yeri apmamak ipin, Qinliler tarafmdan kullanilan bir taktik olarak telakki etmektedirler.[®] Gtinkii ticaretle meggul olan bir Turk otomatikman igsizlik katagorisinden pikanlmaktadir.

Dogu Tiirkistan mevcut ig yerlerinde paliganlann pogunlugunu Qinliler olugturmak- tadiri Mesela, Uriimci civarmdaki 2.00.000 endiistri iga pisinin %90'ini Qinliler tegkil etmektedir.<¹⁰> Yine Uriimci civarmdaki bir traktor fabrikasinda paligmaka olan 2100 iga pinin sadece i3'iinii Tiirkler tegkil etmektedir.<") Uriimci'deki tekstil fabrikasnida paligmaka olan iga pilerin %99'unu yine Ginliler olugturmaktadir.^{^2)} Kaggar'daki dokuma fabrikasinda paligmaka olan 12.000 insamn sadece 800'iinii Tiirkler tegkil etmektedir.^{13>} 1986 yilinda Giiney Dogu. Tiirkistan'daki Poskam gehrinde apilan petro-kimya fabrikasinda paligmaka olan 2200 iga pinin tamami ^inlidir.<m

Bunun gibi, Dogu Tiirkistan'daki biitiin igerlerinde paliganlann pogunlugunu Ginliler tegkil.' etmektedir, Bu yuzden Tiirkler arasmdaki igsizlik orani Qinlilere nisbeten pok yiiksekthv - ! ..-

Gin yoneticileri, topargin > kollektiflerin elinden alinarak piftpilerin kendi mesuliyetine verilmesi, kota belirleme igleminin kaldırıl- masi ve piftpilerinden almmakta olan verginin diigirulmesinden sonra Dogu Tiirkistan. Turk piftpilerinin durumunun .eskisine kiyasla bir hayli diizelmig oldugunu iddia etmektedirler.

• Dogu Tiirkistan Tiirklerinin %85'i piftpidir. Eger bu* yeni uygulama ile bazi • piftpilerin ekonomik durumu eskisine kiyasla biraz duzel- migse de, pogunlugun durumu ipler acisidir. • x §yleki| yeni. uygulama ile 'Dogu

Tiirkistan'daki Turk piftpilere, yerine gore fert başına 1 ila 10 Mu yer dagitilmiştür.(1 Mu yer 667 metre karedir.) Bir Mu yerden azami 250 Kg. bugday elde edilmektedir. 100 Kg. bugdayin serbest piyasadaki fiati 40 Yuan'dir. 250 Kg. bugdaydan ise takriben 10 Yuan gelir saglanmaktadır. Qiftpi bir Mu yer ipin 65 Yuan masraf etmektedir. 1 Mu yerden elde ettigi net kazanç ise 35 Yuan'dir. 1 Mu yerden 35 Yuan kazanırsa 10 Mu yerden 350 Yuan net kazanç elde eder. Eger bir ailede 5 kişi varsa, piftpinin kazandığı bu 350 Yuanla bu ailenin gepinmesi mumkiin degildir. Qunku, ortalama bugday ihtiyaci 750 Kg'dır. 750 Kg. bugdaym fiati ise 300 Yuan eder. Bu durumda, piftpinin yilda, kazandığı 350 Yuan'dan geriye sadece 50 Yuan para kalır. Dogu Tiirkistan'da 5 kişilik bir ailenin yıllık ortalama yag ihtiyacı 200 Yuan'dır. Bunun daha eti, sebzesi, meyvesi, giyimi ve kuşamı var. Dogu Tiirkistan'ın Hoten, Yarkent, Kaşgar, Turfan ve Ili gibi şehirlerinde yaşamakta olan piftpilerle yapılan görüşmeler sonucu elde edilen bu hesaba göre, Qinlilerin bu yeni uygulaması, piftpilerin poguna hip bir fayda sağlamamıştır. Aksine giiney dogu Tiirkistan'da yer yer aplik hikiim siirmekte oldugu, Hoten civandıda yaşamakta olan 1700 Turk piftpisinin başını sokacak evi dahi olmadığını, bunlann Taklamakan poliiniin kumlarına gomiiliip yatıp kalktıgi, gezen yıl bu yoreye gönderilen Dogu Tiirkistan Halkla İlişkiler Dairesi yetkilileri tarafından da bizzat tesbit edilerek mahalli hikiimet reisi Tomur * Davamet'e de duyurulmuştur. Ama biitiin yetkileri elinde bulunduran ^inliler şimdiye kadar hip bir tedbir alma yoluna gitmemiştir.

Bugün Dogu Tiirkistan'da dogup buyuyen Tiirk pocuklann %80'i gereklı olan temel gidalanm alamamaktadırlar.

^in yöneticileri, Qin'in peşitli eyaletlerinde yer yer hukum surmekte olan apligi onleyebilmek ipin son yillarda diş ulkelerde gittikpe daha fazla gida maddesi ithal etmek zorunda kalmışlardır. Masa 1986 yıldada diş ulkelerden takriben 8 milyon ton zahire ithal edilmişken, bu rakam 1987'de 14 kusur milyon tona ulaşımıştır. Ama, bu ithal zahireden Dogu Turkistan Türkleri yararlanamamaktadırlar.

Dogu Turkistan piftpilerinin belin buken diger bir olay ise Tiirklerin "Hajer" olarak adlandırıldıkları iücretsiz mecburi hizmettir. Buna göre, Dogu Turkistanlı her Turk yılda 1 ila 1,5 ayim komunist partinin kendisine vermiş olduğu mecburi bir işi ücret almadan yerine getirmek zorundadır. Ama Qinliler, kanunda belirlenen muddete aykırı olarak, başta piftpiler olmak üzere Dogu Turkistan Tiirklerini yılda 5-6 ay arasında ücret odemeden mecburi işlerde paliştırmaktadırlar. Zamanmin pogunu adeta bir esir gibi

palişmakla gepiren Dogu Tiirkistanlı Tiirk piftpileri, tarlasında palişacak zaman bulama- maktadırlar.

EfilltM

• ' V

Bu yeni uygulama ile, ne kadar iiretirse o kadar kazanacagini hesaplayan Tiirk piftpileri, Dogu Tiirkistan'da eğitim mecburiyetinin de olmamasından faydalananarak, pocuklarını okula gönderme yerine, tarlalarda paliştırmaya başlamışlardır. Okul miidiirleri, öğretmenleri okula gelmeyen talebelerini aramaya göndermektedir.

de öğretmenlerden

pocukları mezun olduktan sonra iş bulma garantisini istemektedir. Öğretmenler bu garantiyi veremedikleri ipin piftpi de pocugunu okula göndermemektedir. Öğretmenlerin, okula gelmeyen tatebe peşinde koşulan doiayısıyle sınıflar öğretmensiz kalmaktadır. Halihazırda, 40 kişilik sınıflar yan yanya boşalmıştır. Eger, Dogu Tiirkistan'daki Tiirk niifusunun %85'inin piftpi olduğu gözoniinde bulundurulacak olursa, oniimiizdeki yillarda Dogu Tiirkistan'da egitsiz kalacak genplerin sayısı da bir hayli yiísek olacaktır'

Fin yöneticileri, Dogu Tiirkistan Tiirklerine kiiltirel serbesti verdiklerini ifade etmektedirler. Fakat Dogu Turkistari'daki neşriyatın sadece %16'sı Tiirk lehcelerindedi<^> Bu %16 yi teşkil eden Tiirk lehcelerindeki neşriyat da Komiinist Partisinin sıkı denetimi altında olup, sadece propaganda maksatlı ipin hizmet etmektedir. Eger kazara bir Tiirk aydını, milli konularda bir yazı yazacak olursa, derhal "Miliyetcilik yapmak", "'Qin'deki Milletler Dostlugu Bozmak" ve "Kiiltirel Dejenerasyona" kapılımla suplanarak ağır cezalara parptımlı makta ve bu yazımı basan derginin yaylanması da derhal yasaklanmaktadır. Bu yuzden Yarkent şehrinde yayımlanmakta olan bir edebi dergi gezen yıl kapatılmıştır. Bu yiizden, pek çok Turk aydını, yıllarca pekmiş olduğu maddi ve manevi sıkıtlardan kurtulabilmek ipin, her satırına iki Yuan hakkı alarak Qin Komiinist Partisinin siyasetine uygun yazı yazıp gezipme yolunu sepmişdir.

Bu kultiirel serbesti perpevesinde, Dogu Tiirkistan Tiirklerine zorla kabul ettirilen Qin fonetigine uygun olarak hazırlanan Latin alfabesi yururlukten kaldırılmıştır, yerine Arap alfabetesinin tekrar ihdas edilmesi, son 20 yıldan beri Latin alfabesiyle eğitim gören yüzbinlerce Tiirk'u son derece zor durumda bırakmıştır. Bunlar şimdi Arap alfabesiyle basılan gazete, dergi ve kitapları okuyamamaktadır. Dolayısıyla ^ince yayınlara itibar etmektedirler. Arap alfabetesini öğretmek ipin apilan kurslar da ihtiyaca cevap verememektedir. Bunun bir neticesi olarak bir digerinin yazısını okuyamayan, ancak Qince yazıma ile

anlagabilen aile ifi fertler turemektedir

Qin ySneticileri egitime Snera verdiklerini lien siirmektedirler, fakat Dogu Turkistan'da Turkler arasmada okuma yazma bilmeyenlerin sayismm %75-80 arasmada oldugu tahmin edil- mekstedir.<¹⁷>

Turk focuklannm okullardaki yuzdesi, halkm nufus yuzdesi ile orantili degildir. Turkler Dogu Turkistan nufusunun %60'm tegkil etmelerine ragmen, ilkokullardaki orani %52 ve ortaokullardaki ise %32.5'dir.n@ Bu oran yuksek okullarda %53'tur.

Her yil binlerce Qinli talebe dig ulkelere tahsil 19m yollanir. 1985 yilmda yurtdigina yollanan Qinli talebelerin sayisi 20 bindir. Bunlann sadece %20'sini £inli olmayan talebeler tegkil etmigtir.<¹⁹>

Dogu Turkistan'in ucra kogelerine okumak i?in buyuk gehirlere gelen talebeler, talebe yurtlan olmadigi igin yatip kalkacak yer bulamamakta, bulanlar da 90k fakir olduklan i?in kirasmı odayememektedirler.

Yuksek egitimdeki ogretmenlerin ancak %26'si Turkтур.^'Gerisini tamamen Qinliler tegkil etmektedirler. Ogretmenlerin 9ogunlu- gunu Qinliler tegkil ettigi i?in, yuksek . ^3gitimdeki derslerin 9ogu da ^ Qincedir. Dolayisiyle yuksek okullara girmek isteyen Turk talebelerin 90k iyi Qince bilmesi gerek- mekstedir. Egitim, Turk lehcelerinde olan okullardan mezun olup, yuksek okullara kaydolmak isteyen Turk talebelerin Qincesi iyi olmadigi i?in girig imtahanlanm kazanama- maktadirlar. ^ocuklanna daha iyi bir egitim vermek isteyen , ebeveynler, * bu yuzden 90cuklanm ku9uk yagtan itibaren Qince egitim yapan okullara vermektedirler. Qince egitim yapan okullardan 9ikan Turk talebeler, kendi ana dilini dogru durust konugamamakta, konugsa bile meramim anlatamaraakta, meramini anlatabilmek i?in devamlı £ince kelimelelere miiracaat etmeye, orf-adetlerini unutmaka, ekseriya bir Qinli gibi davranmak- ta ve dolayisiyle Tirklerin tepkisine yol a9makstadır.

Alinan son bilgilere gore, £inli yoneticiler, 'fp. Dogu Turkistan Tiirklerinin "Kultiir seviyele- ^ rini yiikseltmek" bahanesiyle Turk lehcelerinde egitim yapmakta olan okullarda 5.siniftan itibaren butiin dersleri Qince yapmaya karar vermiplerdir. Buna sebep olarak da yuksek okullarda egitimin %75'inin Qince oldugunu, yuksek okullara kaydolmak isteyen Turk' talebelerinin Qincesinin yeterli olmadigim, dolayisiyle girig imtihanlannda bagahli olamadiklanni gostermiglerdir.

Qin yoneticileri, £ince egitim yapan okullari Turk lehcelerinde egitim yapan .. okullardan 90k daha cazip hale getirmiglerdir. Mesela, Qince egitim yapan okullarda tngilizce, Japonca ve Rus9a gibi yabanci diller okutuldugu

halde, TQrk lehcelerinde egitim yapan okullarda yabanci dil okutulmasma izin veril- memektedir. Aynca, Turk lehcelerinde egitim yapan okullarda ikmale kalan talebelere ikinci gans tanmmayip derhal okuldan uzaklagtinlmaktadir. Turk lehcelerinde egitim yapan okullann durumu da son derece perigandır. Ogretmenlerin kultur seviyeleri de 90k duguktur. Qince egitim yapan okullarda 9egitli konular i?in laboratuvarlar oldugu halde, Turk lehcelerinde egitim yapan okullarda bu tur geyler yoktur.

Turkoe egitim yapan gehirlerdeki okullarda ogretmen sikintisi, koy okullarinda ise (jgretmen fazlaligi var. Koylerden kendi arzulanya gehirlere gelip ogretmenlik yapmak isteyen ogretmenlere gehir nufusuna ge9me izni verilmektedir. Şehir nufusuna ge9emeyen ogretmenler hukumetin ucuz gida maddeleri satan magazalanndan faydalananamak- tadirlar. Bu yuzden butun ihtiyalarim serbest piyasadan temin etmek zorundadir. Ayhklan 90k duguk oldugu i?in ge9inmemekte ve bu yuzden tekrar koye donmek mecburiyetinde bırakılmaktadir.

DIM VE ISIAMIYET

<?in yoneticileri,1979 yihndan itibaren Dogu Turkistan'da 14 bin caminin ibadete a9ilmig oldugunu, 15 bin din gorevlisinin yetigтирildigini ve 150 bin nusha Kur'ani Kerim basildigini ifade ederek, Dogu Turkistan Turklerine dini ozgurluk tammig olduklanni ileri surmektedirler. Aslinda Qin yoneticilerinin Dogu Turkistan Turklerine tammig oldugu dini serbesti Islam aleminin gozunui boyamaktan bagka bir gey degildir. Bunun en a9ik delilini Oinlilerin din siyase- tinde gormek mumkundir. Qin Komunist Partisi Merkez Komitesi Mart 1982 tarihinde ulke 9apmdaki parti komitelerine gondermi? oldugu "sosyalist donemde dini problemlerle ilgili ana tutumumuz" adli gizli tamiminde ozetle gunlan ifade etmektedir:

"*Insanhk tarihinde din sonunda yok olacaktir... Qin'deki bii?in dini te?kilatlar once parti ve hukumetin liderligine boyun egecektir... Dini okullann esas gayesi parti yonetimini ve sosyalist sistemi destekleyen profesyonel din görevlileri yeti?tirmektr... Bu din görevlileri partinin din politikasma sadik olmak zorundadir... Din kurulu?lanmizm esas gayesi iilkemizin siyasi tesirini yaymada onemli roller oynamaktir.*" wn

1 Eylil 1986 tarihinde Amerika Birlegik Devletleri'nin Indianapolis gehrinde tertip edilen Kuzey Amerika, Islam Cemiyetinin 5.kurultayma katilan £in Halk Cumhuriyeti Islam Cemiyeti uyesi Ali Jing Jiang Amerika'mn Hur Avrupa ve Hiirriyet Radyosu muhabiriyle yapmig oldugu goriigmesinde ozetle

sunulan belirtmiştür:

"Qin'de 18 yafından kiiguklere dini egitim gerek evde ve gerekse okulda kanunen yasaktır. Islam tilkelerinin baskısı neticesinde bazi dini okullar asılmışsa da bprada İslamiyetten gok Marksizm, Leninizm ve Mao fikirleri okutulmaktadır. Bu din okullarında görevli öğretmenlerin hepsi komunist ve ateisttir. Gentler dini bilgiden mahrum olarak bityumektedirler. Diger okullarda din sanki utanılması gereken veya (Jin halkının alt tabakalarındaki insanlar tarafından benimsenmiş iptidai bir inançmig gibi öğretilmektedir. Bu durum öğrencileri dini inançtan hızla uzaklaştmaya baglamigtır. Esefle ifade etmek isterim ki, bu yuzden iki oglum da İslamiyetten tamamen uzaklagtı. Hükümet Müslümanların faaliyetlerini gok sıkı kontrol etmektedir. Qin'deki İslam cemiyetlerinde görev yapanların ekserişi komünisttir. İslam cemiyetlerinin 'Qin Müslümanları' adında tek bir yayın organı vardır. Butun sorumlu yazarların komünist olan bu dergide İslamiyete ilgili tek bir kelime yoktur. Komünistler, İslamiyeti İslam ülkeleriyle olan ilişkisini gelgitirebilmek igin bir arag olarak kullanmaktadır." &&

Qin yöneticileri 1986 yılından itibaren de "Halk rahatsız oluyor" bahanesiyle mikrofon- dan ezan okunmasın tamamen yasaklamıştır. Aslında "Halk" sözünden Qinlileri kastetmek- tedirler. Müslüman olan Doğu Türkistan Türklerinin mikrofonda okunan ezan sesinden rahatsızlık duyması mümkün degildir. Doğu Türkistan Türkleri alınan bu karara karşı ise de, korktuğu ifin sesini fıkaramamaktadır. Camiler ibadete afilmiş ama, yetişkin din adamları yok. Devletten maaş alan bir kisim din adamları camilerde afiktan apik Qinlilerin "Agabey Millet" olduğunun propagandasını yapmaktadır. Camiler son derece bakımsız. Temizlik işlerine bakan adam yok. Adam bulsa ödeyecek parası yok. Qin yöneticileri, son zamanlarda Doğu Türkistan'daki Müslüman- lar arasında nıfak sokmak ifin şimdiki Taşkorgan bolgesindeki Ismailiye, Yarkent Şehri ve etrafındaki Şiilerle sunniler'i birbirine karşı kıskırtmaya başlamıştır.

nOfİUM KONTROLU VE NflFUSPOLTtKASI

Bundan 4 yıl oncesine kadar Doğu Türkistan Türklerine karşı doğum kontrolü uygulanmıyordu. Fakat 1984 yılından itibaren Qin yöneticileri "azmlik milletlerin nüfus artışıma devamlılık sağlamak", "nesil kalitesini yükseltmek" ve "ekonomik eșitsizlikleri ortadan kaldırmak" gibi bahane- lerle, Doğu Türkistan Türklerine karşı mecburi doğum kontrolü siyaseti uygulamaya başlamıştır.^{0A}

Doğu Türkistan Türklerini eritmeyi hızlandırmak maksadı ile Qin yQnetic'ileri, eski bir Qin siyaseti olan Qinlilerle Tiirkler arasındaki evlenmeleri bütün gücüyle teşvik etmektedir.(24) Qinli bir kızla evlenen bir Türk erkeğine derhal 400 Dolar para yardımı yapılmaktadır. Köylerde faliş makta olan Şehirli Türk genplerine, Qinli kızlarla evlen- dikleri taktirde kendilerine Şehirde iş temin edileceği ve ayrıca 1000 Dolar para hediye edileceği vaad edilmektedir. Bu yanlış evlen- melerden doğan focuklar anneleri tarafından bir Qinli gibi yetiştirilmekte, Qin okullarına gönderilmekte ve nüfus kayıtlarına da etnik Qinli olarak gепirilmektedir. Doğu Türkistan

Turkleri Qinlilerle evlenen soydaşlardan nefret etmektedirler... Onlarla hif bir surette ! ilişkiler kurmamakta, onları aralarına almamakta ve tecrit etmektedirler. Bu ve bunun gibi psikolojik baskılara dayanamayıp Qinli eşlerinden ayrılmak isteyen Türk erkeklerine çok ağır şartlar konmuştur. Bunlann başında nafaka gelmektedir. Boşanmak isteyen bir Tiirk erkeği Qinli kansına 2000 Dolar nafaka odemez zorundadır. Orta halli bir Tiirk erkeği bu nafakayı his bir zaman ödeyemez. Bu yiizden bunalima surüklenip intihar etmeye olan Tiirk erkeklerinin sayısı da bir hayli artmıştır.

Qin yöneticileri, Doğu Türkistan'ı bir esir kampına fevirmek ifin başlatmış -oldugu kampanyayı biitiin şiddetitle devam ettirmektedir. Bugün Doğu Türkistan'da 19 İslah kampı vardır. Bu İslah kamplandaki mahkumlann sayılarının 500 binden fazla olduğu tahmin edilmektedir.c@ Qin'de mahkumiyet cezasma farptinlan ağır suflulann fogunluğu, cezalan- ni fekmek ifin Doğu Türkistan'daki bu İslah kamplarına gönderilmektedir. Doğu Türkistan'daki bu İslah kamplarına son 3 yilda gona- derilen mahkumlann sayıları ise 37 bindir.<26> Doğu Türkistan'da mahkumiyet cezalarını tamamlayan bu suflulara, bilahare geldikleri yerlere donme izni verilmektedir. Onlar "Bintuan" yani "İslah edilmiş fiftfi" adı altımda Doğu Türkistan'a yerleştirilmektedirler. Bu mahkumlara ailelerini yanlanan aldirma iznine verilmektedir. Doğu Türkistan'a yalnız bu usulle yerleştirilen 1 milyordan fazla "islah edilmiş fiftfi" olduğu belirtilmektedir.

1949 yılında once Doğu Türkistan'da ancak 300 bin kadar Qinli vardı. Qin'in resmi istatistiklerine göre şimdiki bu sayı 6 milyonu foktan geçmektir. Doğu Türkistan Türkleri ise bu sayının daha- yi yüksek olduğunu ileri surmektedirler. Her yıl takiben 200.000 Qinli Doğu Türkistan'a yerleştirilmektedir.tz⁷) Qin yöneticileri "mahrumiyet parası" vererek Qinlilerin Doğu Türkistan'a yerleşmelerini teşvik etmektedir.<28> Qin yöneticileri, 1986 yılında Doğu Türkistan'ı zdıaret eden bir batılı ilim adamina Doğu Türkistan'a gelmektedir Qinlilerin sayısını iu.f misline fikarmak

zorunda olduklanni afikya ifade etmi§lerdir. Qin yoneticileri, Dogu Turkistan'a gidip yerle§mek isteyen Qinlilere kiralik kat verilecegini vadetmektedir. Qin'de kiralik kat sirasi bekleyenlerin sayisi pek 50k oldugu ifin, Qinliler Dogu Turkistan'a gidip yerle§mek isteyen Qinlilere ^in'den aldigı ucretten daha fazla aylık odemektedir. Mesela ^in'de 60 Yuan aylık alan bir Qinli ogretmen Dogu Turkis- tan'da 75 Yuan, Qin'de 35 Yuan alan kalifiyesiz bir i§fi, Dogu Tiirkistan'da 50 ve Qin'de 90 Yuan alan bir meraur Dogu.Turkistan'da 124 Yuan aylık alabilemektedir.<³⁹> Qin Komunist Partisinin' eski Başkani Hu Yaobang gorevinden alınmadan once yapmı§ oldugu bir konu§masmda Qin'in kuzeybatı eyaletlerinin 200 milyon insanı rahat\$a banndirabilecegini belirtmişti.⁽³⁰⁾ Eger yerinin geni§ligi gozonunde bulundurulacak olursa, bu 200 milyonun biiyuk bir kisminm Dogu Turkistan'a yerle§tirilecegi muhakkaktır. Zaten ^Jinlilerin esas hedefi de budur. Ardi arkası kesilmeyen bu Qin akini Dogu Turkistan halkının devamlı ekonomik sikmti ifinde ya§amasma ve i§siz kalmasına sebebiyet vermekle kalmayarak onlann milli benligini de tehdit etmeye ba§lamıştır. Bu durum Dogu Turkistan Turklerinin uykusunu Apirmaktadır.

Qin'in atom deneme alani, Dogu Tiirkistan'in başkenti 'Urumci'nin 800 kilometre guneydogusundaki Lop Nor bolgesidir. 1964 yihndan beri burada 22'si yeriistu, 8'i yeraltmda olmak üzere toplam 30 atom denemesi yapılmıştır. Son deneme Haziran 1987 tarihinde yapılmıştır. Lop Nor'da gerşekle§tirilen atom denemeleri neticesinde etrafa yayılan radyoaktif maddeler, Dogu Tiirkistan'da karaciger, akciger ve cilt kanser- lerinin hızla artmasına yolaçmıştır.<^{3*}> Bazi kanser kurbanları, ozel tedavi ifin Pekin'deki hastahanelere gönderilmektedir.⁽³²⁾ Aynca, 50k uzun omurlli olarak bilinen Dogu Turkistan Turkleri arasmada 40-50 ya§larda olenlerin sayısı da kabarmaya ba§lamıştır. Son yillarda Dogu Turkistan Tiirkleri arasmada toplu olum Vakalan da artmıştır. Mesela ge?en yıl şubat-Mart ayları arasmada Hoten şehri ve atrafında beniiz bilinmeyen bir sebepten 800 kişisinin (Idiigii bildirilmişdir.)⁽³³⁾ Dogu Turkistan'dan gelen haberlere göre, son yillarda sakat doğan focuklann da sayılan bir hayli yükselmıştır. Ozellikle Tann havzasında yetişirilen meyve, sebze ve hayvanlarda radyoaktif maddeler pogalmıştır.<^M> Bu yiizden gejen yıl Dogu Turkistan'dan Hong Kong'a ibra? edilen meyve ve sebzeler iade edilmişdir.

SONUG

. Sonuf olarak, gin yoneticilerinin Dogu Tiirkistan Turklerine tanimij. oldugu s6zum ona siyasi', ekonomik, kulturel ve dini serbesti- tilerin hur dunyanın gozunu boyamaktan ba\$ka

bir §ey olmadigini belirtmek mumkundur.

Eger 6yle olmasaydı, 1979'dan bu yana Dogu Turkistan Turkleri bunca tehlikeyi goze ahp silahlı ayaklanmalar tertip etmemi?, direnmemi? ve sokaklara dQkuIerek (pin alehyan gosteriler tertip etmemi? olurdu.

£in'in unlu astrofizik aliralerinden Fang Lizhi 11 şubat 1988 tarihinde New York Times Gazetesinin muhabiri Edward Gargen ile yapmış olduğu goru§mesi sirasmda, §imdi Qin'de hukum surmekte olan serbestiyetin gerfek durum ile hif bir ilgisi olmadığını söylemezdi.

Turk okullarında egitimin 5.simftan itibarenincele§tirilmesi, kan§ik evlenmeye te§vik ve gin goymen akininin devam ettirilmesi Dogu Turkistan Turklerinin Milli benligini tehdit eden en büyük tehlikeledir. Eger dunya kamuoyu aril tedbirler alma yoluna gitmeyecek olursa, Dogu Turkistan Turkleri pek yakm zamanda tarih sahnesinden tamamen silinme tehlikesiyle kar§ı kar§iya kalacaklardır.

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IN THE NAME OF ALLAH,
THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE

The Fifth Conference of the Chinese Muslims

The Fifth Conference of the Chinese Muslims was solemnly held between March 10 and 16, 1987 in Beijing. Attending the meeting were 330 imams, scholars and representatives of 10 Muslim minorities, including the Huis, Uygurs, Kazaks, Kirgizs, Ozbeks, Tajiks, Tartars, Dongxiangs, Baoans, and Salas, from 29 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities. At the opening ceremony, a Qari student of the China Islamic Institute recited the first chapter of the Holy Quran.

It was an important meeting convened at a time when China is entering a new historical period. Its convocation marks a new stage for the Chinese Muslims. The assembly, at the mercy of Allah, is an encouragement for the Islamic circle and Muslims of various nationalities to take an active part in the promotion of socialist material and non-material civilization and is conducive to the management of Islamic affairs, the study of Islamic culture, and the development of friendly contacts with Muslim brothers in Arab and other Islamic countries. During the meeting, representatives deliberated the report on the work of the China Islamic Association since the Fourth Conference of China Muslims, discussed and worked out tasks ahead, amended and adopted the Charter of the China Islamic Association and elected the Fifth® Committee of the China Islamic Association.

Burhan Shahidi, Vice Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) and Honorary

Islamic Association attended the meeting and gave an important speech. Qiao Shi, Vice Premier of the State Council; Yang Jingren, Vice Chairman of the CPPCC National Committee; and Ismail Ahmed, Chairman of the Nationalities Affairs Commission met with the representatives. Also present at the meeting were Ren Wu- zhi and Muhammed Hanafi Wan Yaobin, Director and Deputy Director of the Religious Affairs Bureau of the State Council. Director Ren delivered a report on the government's policies concerning the freedom of religious belief.

Entrusted by the Standing Committee of the Fourth Committee of the China Islamic Association, Vice President Ilyas Shen Xiaxi made a report on the CIA's work. He pointed out that since the Fourth Conference of Chinese Muslims, the China Islamic Association has done a lot and achieved remarkable successes in assisting the government to publicize and put into effect the policies of free belief in religion, carry out religious undertakings, and handle other religious affairs. It has attached great importance to the training of young successors to Islam in China and made great efforts to run well the China Islamic Institute, which now has 126 students, among whom the first class, of 30 students will soon graduate after concluding a five-year term of college education. Meanwhile, the Association provided financial aid to Islamic institutes in Shenyang, Lanzhou, Xinjiang, Zhengzhou, Ning- xia, Oinghai, and Kunming which have successively taken in students to be trained as imams and mullahs. It helped reopen 20,000- odd mosques in the provinces and called

on the local Muslims to run their mosque³ in a democratic way and engage in diversified undertakings of collective production and social services* In addition, the China Islamic Association organized people in the Islamic circle and Muslims to enthusiastically participate in the promotion of material and non-material civilization and contribute their share to the realization of China's four modernizations *

Over the last few years, the China Islamic Association has published copies of the Quran, Hadith, Islamic scriptures, paintings and calligraphy, and the solar-lunar-Islamic calendars, which are warmly welcomed by Muslims all over the country, The Chinese Muslims, a magazine run by the Association, plays a positive role in propagating the government's religious policy, disseminating Islamic culture, exchanging academic views and experiences in Islamic work* Since the Fourth Conference of Chinese Muslims, seven pilgrimage missions have been organized with more and more Muslims' participation. The annual number of hadjis from various parts of the country surpassed 2,000 in the past two years. To ensure the pilgrimage a success, the China Islamic Association sent working groups to Pakistan and Saudi Arabia to go through the formalities for the hadjis, help them perform the rites of pilgrimage, and arrange board and lodging for them. The Association has established friendly contacts and conducted academic exchanges with Muslim countries in Asia and Africa and international Islamic organizations. In recent years, it invited and received Islamic delegations from more than 20 countries
and so

gions while sending 72 members in 25 groups abroad. Representatives to the Conference discussed and approved the report. They spoke highly of the work of the China Islamic Association.

Nu'man Ma Xian gave an explanation of amendments to the Charter of the China Islamic Association. The amended Charter adopted at the meeting stipulates that the aim of the China Islamic Association is to help the People's Government implement the policy of religious freedom, develop the fine traditions of the Islam, represent the legitimate rights and interests of the Islamic circle and Muslims, to run well Islamic affairs, unite Muslims of various nationalities to love the motherland and actively participate in the fostering of the socialist material and non-material civilization, promote China's reunification, develop and strengthen friendly ties with Muslims in other countries, and safeguard world peace.

A resolution was unanimously adopted at the Conference, which says that, after the conclusion of the Conference, the main tasks for the China Islamic Association are::

1. To further assist the government with the implementation of the policy of religious freedom.
2. To enhance the unity among the various nationalities and that among the Muslims and, on the basis of unity, , run well Islamic undertakings,
3. To bring about democratic management of mosques, establish and perfect rules and regulations, properly arrange religious affairs, and, according to the practical situation and possibility, organize production and social welfare service to increase the income of the mos-

cues.

4. To conduct religious education well and train qualified young successors for the religion of Islam. Cooperation between the China Islamic Institute and the local Islamic institutes should be encouraged, experiences exchanged, and the ranks of teachers replenished so as to raise the teaching quality and train talented personnel who love the motherland and have a comparatively high religious and cultural level.

5. To continue translating and publishing Islamic scriptures, run well The Chinese Muslims magazine, conduct researches in Islam, study and carry forward the fine cultural and moral traditions of the Chinese Muslims.

6. To continue international friendly contacts and cultural exchanges, further the existing friendship and cooperations with Muslims in other countries, oppose hegemonism, and defend world peace.

The resolution emphasizes that active efforts should be made to establish friendly ties with Muslims in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan and those residing in foreign land and help realize the reunification of the motherland in line with the principle of "one country, two systems".¹¹

The Conference called on Muslims throughout the country to unite more closely and, under the leadership of* the People's Government, make concerted efforts and go all out to run well Islamic affairs and contribute to the rejuvenation of China.

Through democratic consultation, the Conference elected 211 members to the Fifth Committee of the China Islamic Association. And at the first meeting of the

Committee, 80 were elected as the standing committee members, the tasks for the year of 1987 were fixed, and the leading body of the Fifth Committee was formed as follows:

Honorary President: Burhan Shahidi

Advisor: Mohammed Ali Zhang Jie

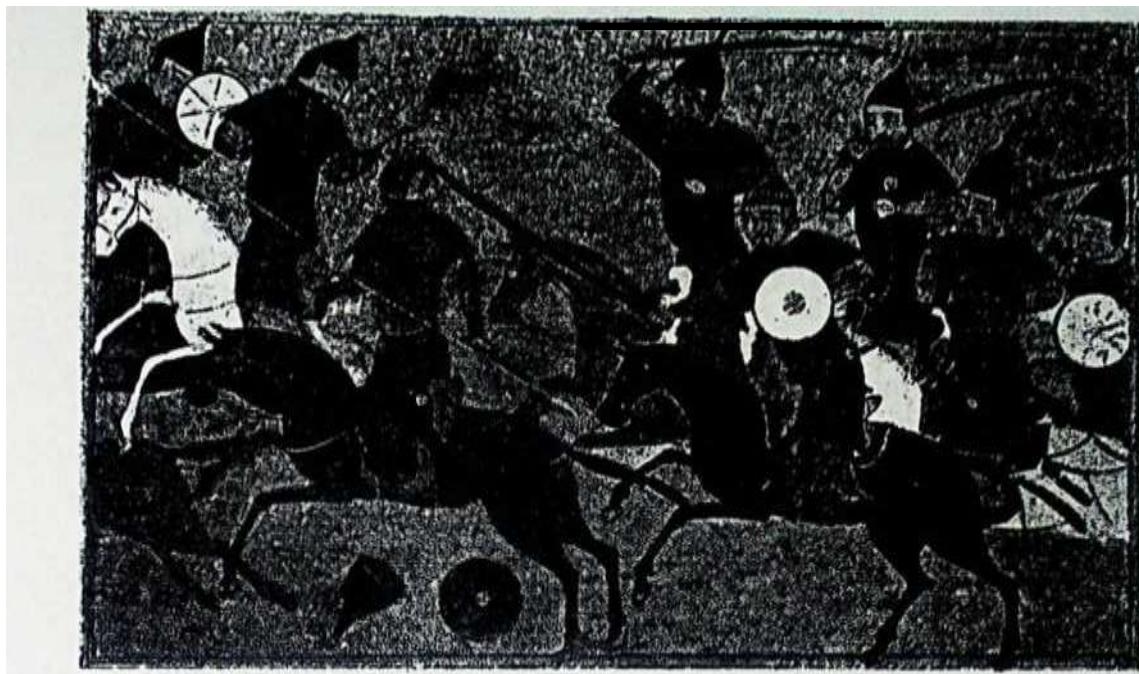
President: Ilias Shen Xiaxi

Vice Presidents: Kemaludin Bai Shouyi, Maulana Amuti, Salih An Shiwei, Godret Allah Ma Tengai, Abdul Rahim Ma Songting, Yahya Liu Pinyi, Hadji Husen, Shamsudin Ma Jincheng, Sulaiman Zhang Bingduo, Nu'man Ma Xian, Ahmed Wajidi, Maulana Abdulah, Han Mansur and Hadji Akbar

Secretary general: Nu'man Ma Xian (concurrently)

The Man Who Conquered Half the World

BY LENNARD BICKEL



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Cruel and barbaric, Genghis Khan created an empire that terrorized Christian Europe

In the high summer of 1228, the world's fiercest warlords gathered between the Toul Gol and Kerulen rivers in northern Mongolia. They formed a conourse brimming with colour and remorseless might: military leaders from Persia, China, Russia and central Asia – elite of the Mongol war machine, cruel masters of one of the largest empires in history – with cohorts of retainers, generals

and commanders in attendance.

Their purpose was two-fold: to honour the memory of their deceased leader Genghis Khan,[†] the architect of their empire, and to elect his chosen successor, his third son, Ogodai.

A serious fall from his horse had ended the life of Genghis Khan while campaigning in northern

* This familiar spelling is used. Recent translations indicate that Chingis Khan is closer to the original.

China the previous year, and his followers had secretly transported his body over desert and mountain to this sacred Mongolian site, not far from their meeting place. Luckless souls who met the royal cortege had been slaughtered on the spot, partly as ritual sacrifice and partly to keep the mighty leader's death a secret from the outside world until the funeral was over.

Once that was done, the Mongol chiefs and the sons and relatives of the emperor set about the business of electing the new ruler—a long and difficult duty owing to the rivalry between his four sons.

Another and far more pleasant task was that of recording the incredible career of the world's most feared conqueror. Night after night, in the white tents and round campfires, the old comrades and loyal followers of Genghis Khan recited and reminisced while scribes, writing in the beautiful, vertical script that had only recently been acquired from the Uyghur Turks, compiled *The Secret History of the Mongols*. This unusual document, part saga, part history, was jealously guarded in the court archives, and only members of the imperial family or the ruling élite had access to it.

Subsequently, sections were added, covering the reigns of Ogodei and his successors on the Golden Throne. When in the later part of the thirteenth century Kublai Khan, Genghis Khan's famous grandson and the patron of Marco Polo,¹⁴⁰

Polo, moved his capital to China, the precious Mongol saga was kept in the Imperial Palace in Peking.

There, more than six centuries later, it was to offer westerners a solution to one of the great mysteries of history: why, when the Mongolian armies were at the Adriatic coast, about to engulf Christian Europe, did they steal away virtually overnight and go back to Mongolia? In *The Secret History* lay the simple yet startling explanation of the Mongols' mystifying retreat.

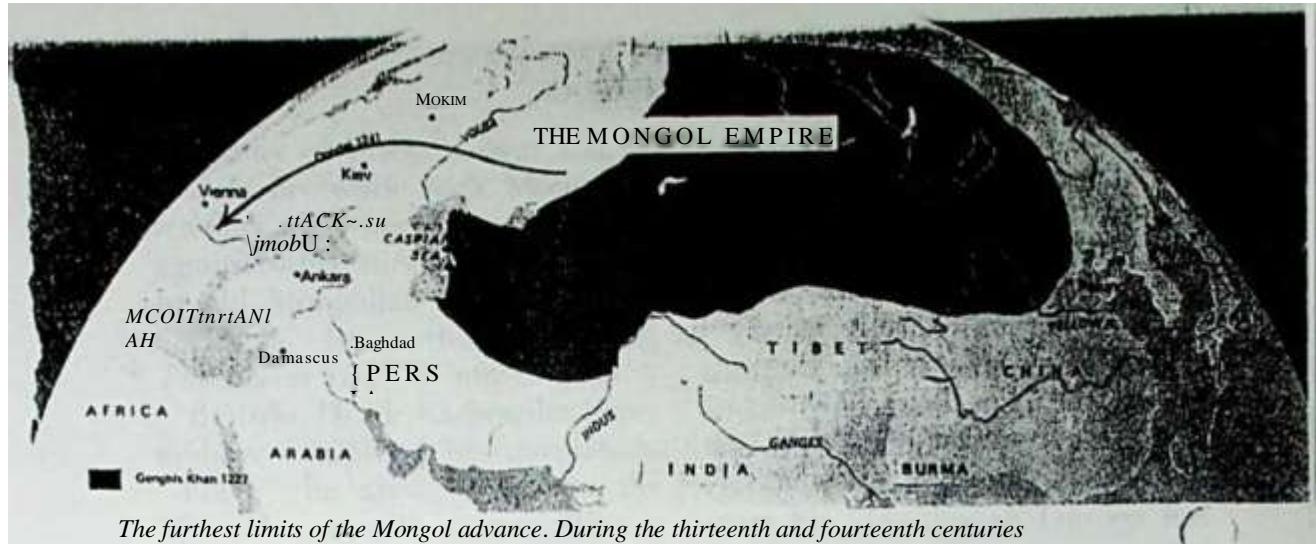
During the fourteenth century, the glory of Genghis's empire faded. By 1368 a series of uprisings in China had driven the last Mongol sovereign from Peking, and all that was Mongolian was derided as barbaric. Buildings, palaces, robes, art, documents were put to the torch. But *The Secret History* survived—after a fashion—because the new Ming court had a use for it.

To cope with the still troublesome Mongols on their northern border, the Chinese needed interpreters in the despised language, and *The Secret History* made an ideal textbook. Subsequently, scholars produced a text in which the Mongol words were transcribed phonetically into Chinese ideographs. Having thus turned the saga—in sound and meaning—into their own language, the Ming scholars discarded the original Mongol text as trivia.

After a while even the Chinese phonetic version was forgotten. It came to light again about 100 years

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ago, when a Russian priest who was also a sinologist rediscovered it in Peking. Not until 1908, however, was a printed version made. Scholars in Europe, Asia and America then began striving for a definitive translation. But reconstructing the original Mongol sounds from the Chinese phonetic transcription, combined with the often insurmountable difficulty of understanding the old Mongolian language, proved formidable. Nevertheless, translations did appear in various languages. None, however, was reliable or satisfactory.

Finally, in 1965, Dr. Igor de Rachewitz, Senior Fellow in Far Eastern History at the Australian National University in Canberra, pushed open a new door. Equipped with a knowledge of both Mongolian and Chinese, and a student for a quarter of a century of Inner Asian history, he approached technicians at ANU's big computer centre with a challenging enquiry. Could they programme their computer to make

a concordance of all the words in *The Secret History*?

The technicians agreed to try a roman letter version of the Chinese phonetics, made by a French scholar some 50 years ago, was laboriously typed on computer cards. A programme was devised which came as close as possible to recapturing the original meaning of words spoken by the Mongolian chieftains.

Then, in the cool quiet of the ANU computer room one day in 1967, technicians watched for seven hours as the computer's printer released fold after fold of paper, covered with roman letter renditions of the 38,000 alphabetically arranged words of *The Secret History*. <j>Painstakingly Dr. de Rachewitz set about checking the inconsistencies of the text by using his concordance—and so was able to correct the errors made by the Ming scribes centuries ago.

In 1970, Dr. de Rachewitz, invited to the Mongolian People's Republic as an honoured guest of their

Academy of Sciences, was able to discuss his work with Mongolian scholars and check his conclusions against other surviving documents in old Mongolian script. Back in Canberra, he started translating *The Secret History* into English.

By 1980, Dr. de Rachewitz hopes to have completed his translation. "Then," he says, "I believe the Mongol saga will be generally recognized as one of the classics of world literature."

A spell-binding mixture of poetry, mythology and hard-boiled reporting, the saga contains the oft-told tale of the Great Khan having been born clutching a blood clot the size of a knucklebone. According to *The Secret History*, the implacable Genghis kills an older brother for stealing a bird and a fish from him—a great crime in a poverty-stricken land. In one of the most moving passages of the saga, his mother, Ho-tilin, cries:

*From the warmth of my womb When he bro\e
forth fiercely Clutching a blach clot of blood
in his hand,
This one was born from me!
.ife a wild dog biting of) its after-
birth . . .
Lil\{e a lion that cannot master its
rage . . .
Lih\{e ci falcon attaching its own
shadow . . .
You have destroyed!*

diplomat and maker of alliances. Men bring their clans to his side against the enemy tribes and note "the fire in his eyes, the light in his face."

He is ruthless but not without compassion. When a childhood friend named Jamuga is taken captive after losing a tribal war against Genghis, the Great One offers to spare his life—though Jamuga has murdered 70 of Genghis's men by boiling them in oil. In a Homeric scene Jamuga refuses the amnesty and demands execution. Sorrowsfully, Genghis acquiesces and has his friend killed without spilling his blood, in accordance with Mongol custom for a nobleman, by being smothered in a roll of carpet and kicked to death.

By 1206, according to *Secret History*, Genghis Khan had asserted himself as overall chief of the Mongol tribes. His date of birth is uncertain but he was probably then about 40. Totally convinced that Heaven wished the whole world to submit to Mongol rule, he invaded wealthy, populous northern China at the head of the united tribes, burning any cities that put up a fight and slaughtering the inhabitants. Resistance he considered evil, a contravention of divine will.

Yet, just as he had been moved to offer mercy to Jamuga, Genghis often meted out generous treatment to those he defeated. Cities that opened their gates to the invading hordes provided Genghis Khan



Genghis grows quickly to manhood. He is strong and enduring; he is also shrewd and calculating, a



with hundreds of artisans, engineers and soldiers. Some enemies who impressed him with their brave bearing! were promoted over the heads of Mongol captains.

Though he could not read or write, Genghis imposed the Mongols' first written laws, a code of conduct known as the *Great Jasagh*. It provides savage punishment for wrongdoing—death for refusing work, for instance; for urinating in running water, for gluttony. But in a harsh land these were matters affecting community survival. And the code also set quite admirable ethical rules, like honouring all religions, sharing food, respecting the aged and the poor.

Under Genghis's leadership, the Mongols subjugated northern China, Persia, Afghanistan and great tracts of western Asia as far as Russia. Before his death in 1227, Genghis left instructions for his heirs to pursue the Mongolian goal of world conquest. In execution of his father's will, Ogodei led his mighty armies across Asia and deep into southern Russia. They took Kiev, defeated the forces of Poland and went on to ravage Silesia and overrun Hungary. By the end of 1241 they stood on the shore of the Adriatic. Europe's fate trembled in precarious balance.

Then, mysteriously, on December 11, 1241, the Mongols began to

retreat. Says Dr. de Rachewiltz, "If ever there was a day which Europeans should celebrate—irrespective of nationality, religion or politics—it is this one."

Most Europeans of the time counted their deliverance from the barbarians a miracle. But *The Secret History* offers an explanation that, in its way, is just as extraordinary.

The Mongols turned their backs on terrorized Christendom because they had to return to the sacred spot between the two rivers to elect another leader. Ogodei was dead. He had come to despise the traditional Mongol drink, made from fermented mare's milk, and had become instead a great drinker of wine from vineyards in the west. The cause of his death: alcoholic poisoning!

Western civilization was saved from annihilation by one of its oldest friends—the grape. Comments Dr. de Rachewiltz: "I can think of no greater irony in history."

And the modern lesson of *The Secret History of the Mongols*? "Simply to remember," says Dr. de Rachewiltz, "that Genghis and his heirs were men like other men, with their virtues and vices, generous and mean, not blood-crazed monsters somehow apart from the human race. Even in our computer age we do not understand the complexities of such men. That is why history matters."



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ILLUSTRATION: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS

MAN to friend: "What we need these days is a shortage shortage." -B. B.

M DEAST MARKETS

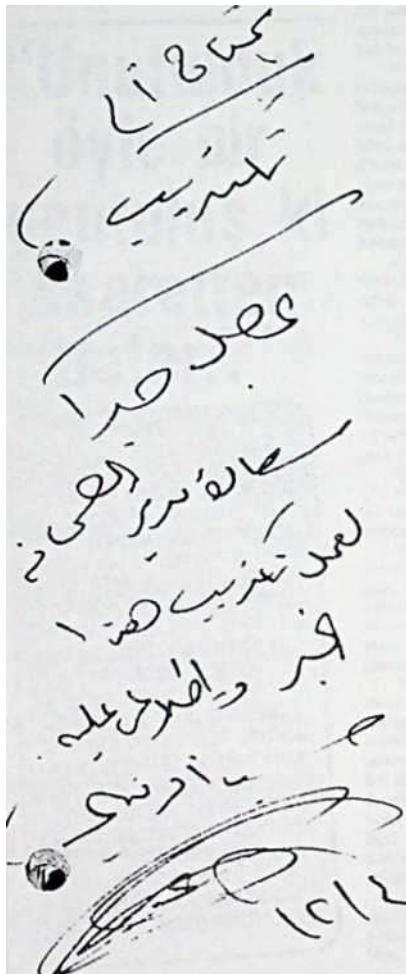
FINANCIAL TIMES

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China is allowing some 2,100 Moslems from the Xinjiang region to go on the annual pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia this year. The first pilgrims arrived in Jeddah on July 20 and they will stay in the kingdom till the first week of September when the haj finishes.

I

Last year Peking allowed only 330 Moslems to go on haj but since then China has been seeking a rapprochement with the Islamic world and has been showing greater tolerance to religion in general, especially Islam and Christianity. This year the Chinese were so keen that they set up a special passport office to process applications for the prospective pilgrims, mostly over 50s but including some young adults. The haj is not an easy experience for the Chinese Moslems. Foreign currency allowances are limited and this has kept numbers significantly down. The lack of diplomatic and air links with Saudi Arabia is also a major problem and adds to the cost.

Saudi sources have told MEM that Riyadh is seriously considering setting up diplomatic relations with Peking, a move which would delight the Chinese who have been trying hard to move into the Gulf states and markets for some time now. Success came when China set up relations with Kuwait, and in December last year a major breakthrough occurred when China and the UAE set up full diplomatic relations.

It is significant that three prominent Saudis, Prince Talal bin Abdul Aziz, the ex-envoy of Unicef, Dr Abdullah Naseef, secretary-general of the influential Mecca-based World Moslem League, which is part of the Saudi foreign ministry, and Dr Mohammed Ahmed Ali, president of the Jeddah-based Islamic Development Bank, have all visited China this year and have expressed great hopes for future co-operation between China and the Islamic and Arab world.'

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BAgLARKEN

“Unutulduk oyle bir unutulul ki Ssaretten beter..”

• i

• - 5 < - W - : • P
; ; Kizil Cln ve KomQnlst

- Rusya'nin
DoQuturklstarVda tatblkı.
ettigi yayiiimaci •
• politikadan ve insanligi
kutandiran !şkence ve
chnayetlerden. maddi ve
manevi tecavuzlerden,
"tahammulu mumkun
olmayan mezallmden,
; ; soydaşlarimizi,
C'dinda\$larimizi ve
hurrlyet a?iki Insaniik. -
alemlni haberdar etmek
ve' komunist tehllkesine
- v.karşı ikazlarda
bulunmak, davamiza
arka ckmalarim temm
; ; edebllmek Igln
ttelklnlerde bulunmak
ITtblzlerln kagmlmaz blr
; ; vatan vazifesldlr.

DoguUrkistan davasi ve bu divanin hizmetkari olan bndeniz hakimda bir kac cUmle ile dc olsa okuyucularin Hkir sahibi olmalarim istedim. Bu maksatla, bu yaziyi kateme aldim. Bir mksadim da; siz degerli okuyucularin DoguUrkistan davflsma isindirmak. Bunda muvaffak olabilirsekc'ndimi bahliyar addcdc bilirim.

1949 senesinde, aziz vatamam DoguUrkistan'ın komUnitist Qin laرافن istilSsim mUleakip ben ve mUcadelc arkadajim Mchmel Emin Bugra Bey, yUzlerce tutajimizla birlikle komjumuz ve dinda- jizmizden Kjm'ir'e ilicik Gaycmiz; DoguUrkistan'da devam eden silih veya silhsiz kurtuluj mUcadelenine parelcl olarak bur dunyada da bir kurtuluj mUcadeleni cephesi acmam. Bajta soydala- nniz dunya TURkUgU, dindalarimiz olan mUsUman milletler ve komjularimiz bizlerini yan DoguUrkisan'ı, DoguUrkisaniları unut- mujlard. Oyle bir unutuk, esRrceten beicr, fñj ijkencesi kadar kahredici..

Fakal bizi, Ümitsizlige dUjemden; esRct alndaki mazlOm ve mahkQm vatanimizin hakli davasim, bajta karde; TÜRKIYE TÜRKleri olmak. Uzere, bUtUn IslSm ilemine ve hUr dQnyaya lamtilmasinin lüzumuna inaniyorduk..

Kizil Gin ve KomU'ist Rusya'nin DoguUrkisan'da tatvik euigi yadymaci politikadan ve insanligi utandiran iskncce ve cinayctlcerden, maddi, mSnevi tecavuzlerden, tahammulu mUmkUn olmayan meza- limden, soydaslarunizi, dindaslanmizi, hUrriyet Sjiki insanin Slemiini haberdar etmek ve komunist tchikcsine karji ikazlarda bulumak d'svamiza arka ckmalarim temin edebilmek i?in telkinlerde bulunmak bizlerin kaeimlmaz bir vatan vazifesidir.

Şunları istiyoruk: BugUn Filistin, Kibris_ DoguUrkistan gibi Gin csarcindc bulunan Tibet nasil ki Bircmjii Milletler gUndcmine siki getirilmektedir. Dogu TÜRKistan mesclesi dc, onlar gibi millet- icrarasir bi mcesle haline getiriliip insanliga mal cdilmecler.

Bunlari temin cimck ve DoguUrkisan'ı kizil G'n es5rcitinden kurtarip milli istiklaline kavututmak icin, soydaslarimiz, dindajları- miz, komjularimiz dahil bUtUn insanlik alminin sevgi, himiye ve sempatisini kazanmaliyidik. Onlara yardimlarıyla DoguUrkistan dS- vasim yUrUccek, vatanperver, idealist, hUrriyet ve istiklal ajiki, milli- yrtci, liyakattl, fedakar, cesur, dUrUst, vefSkir, kUltUrlu mUcShid,... demanlar yetiylirmeliyidik.

Kisaci belirtmeye calitigimiz bu gayelcrimin, istek vcarzularimizin gccclemcis iin dc, disardia gayet genij, etraffi ve tesirli bir faaliyete girijmemiz lazim, hatta zaruriydi. DoguUrkisan'ı bUtUn cephecleriyle TÜRKIYE TÜRKleri'ne, Islam aiemine ve bUtUn d'Unyaya tannmak, faaliyetcimiz esasini teskil edecekli. Tanılma vasitalari ise, bilindigi gibi kitap, meemua, risale ve benzeri nejriyattan ibaretti. Roman, hikaye, piyesler, senaryolar hazirlamak sureliye sanat yo- luya DoguUrkistan'daki kizil Gin ve Rus istia, tecavUz ve mczali- mini tebarUz ettirmemiz gerekiyordu. Nejriyat faaliyetleri dijinda, konferanslar anna gUnleri, basin toplantilan, seyahatler tcrtiplme- mizin de gerekli oldugunu belirtmek isterim.

DoguUrkisan'da, iken, bu faaliyellerimiz icin, komjulanmiz- dan, dindajanmtzdan ve soydalarimizdan ve hUr insanlik Sleminden yakın, maddi, mlnevli yardım ve himSye gOrecegimizi Umit etmekte idik. Bu Qmitler yurdumuzdan ciktik. 33 senedir yaptigimiz seya-

hatlcr, ziyarctler, ricalar, istirhamlar aglama ve sizlamlarimiza ragmen, Umit ve bcl bagladiklarimiz hie birinden bekledigimiz yardimi gOremedik.

Bu 33 sene zarfında dOrt kitada, her birine bir ila sekiz defa olmak, Uzere 33 memleketi ziaret ettim. Bu memleketlerden bazilar- nin, krali, cumhurbaskam, parlamente reisi, baybakam, dijijileri ba- kanlar, dini ve milli rcisleri ve gazetecilcireyle gOrUjUm. Ziyaret tv' gím mcmlekctlerin devlet ve hUKQnt rcislcine multihalar takdim e tim. MazlOm DoguUrkistan d&vasma maddi, mOnvi yardimda bu- lunmalarim rica ettim. Yalvardim, yakardim. Bu mcmlekctlerin bazi- larma konferanslar ve basin toplantilan terpig ettim. Bunlardan baj- ka Hindistan'da, Irakta, Pakistan'da Somali'de, Mckke' de toplanan sekiz Asya, Afrika ve I slim konferansina katildim. Bu konfeyanslar- da da DoguUrkistan'in dert ve davalarini anlatip rica ve istirhamlar- da bulundum. Bu raaliyetlerimizden bazi faydalı neticiler almaya muvaffak oldumsa da, hie bir millcten ve devlette Hie tutulur gOzle gOrUjUy yardım saglayamadik.

BUTUn bir imkansizliklara ve zorluklara ragmen ytlmadik. GOUs gerip kurtuluj davamizi devam ettirdik. Fikir ve mUcadele arkadajim merhum ve magfir Mchmed Emin Bugra Bey, yaridimcim, vefSkir, vatanperver merhum Polat Kadri TurfInI veoglum Erkin Alpiiek'in beraber, yirmi sene reisligini yaptigim DoguUrkistan Goemeler Ce- miycti adina, baziları TÜRKIYE lehescinde, baziları DoguUrkistan leh- escinde, baziları Arapca, Ingilizce ve diger dillerde kitaplara nejretti. Bunlardan bajka, Gimlilar tarafindan DoguUrkistan hakkında yazi- mij, her biri hazine degerinde olan onlarca cilt kitap mevcultur. Bunlari TÜRKIYE ve DoguUrkistan lehescine ve Arapcaya tercUme etirime- yi arzi etti. Fakat madsesf imkOnsizhklar sebebiyle bu eserleri tc- min edip, tercUmerelerini yaptirip nejrettiremedik.

Bizim tcikik ve testiblerimiz gbre bugUnc kadar DoguUrkistan hakkında: Ingilizce 100, Fransiza 14, Rusca 19, Almanca 38, Macar- ca 7, Gince 15. Isvcccc Iolmak Uzere cem'ın 144 eser yazilmijlr Dikkat edilecek olursa DoguUrkistan hakkında TÜRKIYE'de Turk eser yazilmamış olduğu gOrUjUy.

Bu eserlerin tamamini temin edip, iclcrinde en eok mUhim telak- ki etiklerimiz Oncelikle TÜRKIYE TÜRKesine, Arapcaya ve DoguUrkistan lehescine tercUme edilmeleri milli bir zaruret halindedir. Yap- mak isteyip de maddi imkansizliklar yUzenden yapamadigimiz bu milli ve insanı vazifelerimizi hie dcgilse bundan sonra, az da olsa yap- maya calijacagiz.

Burada ju noktayı da belirtmek isterim ki, TÜRKIYE'de DoguUrkistan hakkında dcrlı toplu bilgi sahibi olan kimse yok dencek kadar azdir. HattO bilinenler de noksandır. GUNKU: DoguUrkistan, Turk mUnevercrinin, ilimcrinin hifzalarndan silinmij, unutulmij, can dUjimanitzm Ginlinin zulUm ve takakkUmUner terkedilmijitir. DoguUrkistan, talihsiz biranadir. GUNKU: Evlitlari tarafindan vefastlig'a, alakasizliga ugramijitir. Tarihi, kUltOrU, sanati olmayan mecul bir takim kabilclerin, dahi sabipleri cikip onlartn hUrriyete ve islikISle kavujmalarma calijan insanlar meveutken, bUtUn TÜRKlerin anayurdu olan DoguUrkistan'ın, kendi evlatları tarafindan unutulmij olmasi ne hazindir...

VARIN: Dogu Tiirkistan'ıı Dahlil ve Millette- rasasi durumu.

Doğu Türkistan Dramı

YAZAN: İSA YUSUF ALPTEKİN

Dogu Türkistan'ın Dahili ve Milletjerarasi Durumu



"...maras* men bu yurdun

an • jitin neslyim;

- Men Qlgnenen blr Qlkenin

Hak bagirdn seslym..."

AHMET CEVAD

Dogu Türkistan bUyUkLUK ittbariyle <^n'in cn bUyUk cyalcicleri arasında yer alır. Fakat cn az nUfus kcsactinc sahipliir. Alii yllz clli bin kare mil alamna ragmen, bej milyonun allindra (\$angay jelui nil- fusundan daha az) bir ndfus varid. Qin'den ve dij dUydan vok yUksek dag silsilcleri ile hemen hemen koparilmij bulunan cyalei, bir zamanlar Uzerinden gecen cski kervanlarin yerlerini deniz scyrUsefceni- ne birakıkları andan itibaren medeniyetin esas sceri dijinda kalmijur.

Modern Gin'de, belki de sadece Tibet istisna edilirse bir cji go rillmeyecék derecede Dogu Türkistan'ın lari hi m fiziki durumu jekil- lendirmijir. Tann Daglari, gUncye Tarim Havzası vc kuzyede Cun- garya Havzası olmak. Uzer, eyaleti ikiye bolcr. Datida (Ban TÜRKistan) Sovyet hududu ile devam eden bu silsile Afganistan hududunda Pa- mirlere kavujur. GUneyde Kuen-IQn silsilci Dogu Türkistan'ı Kcjmır ve Tibet'ten ve Dogu hududunda isc Allay dagları Mogolistan'dan ve Altindag ise esas Gin'den ayirir.

RUS TOCCARLARININ GEGITLERİ

Bu dag silsilcleri Dogu Türkistan'ı Hindistan vc Gin'den mahfuz ■■■ utmakla tekerpuslarla t*ma, sadaha kU?Uk Urmania tejkil etmij-v: lerdi'r, tJndokujunargCDIjlemeysiJtfeliUhassa' ll'i nchfi tfa- T <Esi ve bazi dag gecllceri F us tticcar vc gOcmfnlerine gefit saglamijur. 1930'da tamamlanan Türkistan-Sibirya (TURksib) demiryolu Dogu Türkistan'ın Sovyetler Birligi'ne dogru yOnelmesini hızlandırmijit. BOlgeye henUz esas Gin'den bir demiryolu gelmemektedir, fakat 1960'a kadar yapılmış duUjUnUlen bir hat Dogu Türkistan ekonomisi- nin Gin'le birejimsini kolaylaştıracakir.

Daglara iliveten Dogu Türkistan genij ve kurak cOlkUller vardir. 830 mil uzunlukta ve 330 mil genilikte olan Tarim Havzası'nın yan- dan fazlası cOldUr. Bu bojlugun ctrafinda nUfusun hemen VJ'UnUn yajadigi Hoten, Yarkent, Kajgar vc Aksu gibi vahalar vardir. Aym jckilde bir cOl kavjagi da Tann daglarının kuzyeyinde Cun- garya vadisinin ortasında bulunmakladır, fakat buralara GUneycOl- den daha fazla su dUjmcktedir. Burada da Dogudan Balya giden vc eskiden beri Ipek Yolu diye bilinen licaret Kitay (Kutubi) ham, Manas, Vusu ve cyalet bajkenti olan Urumci gibi vahalarla noktalannmij- tir.

BINICILIK VE SAVAŞ KAULIYETLF.RI En fazla dikkate jayan husus, kuzyele gUneye Dogu Türkistan arasındaki kUJUf farklaridir. BOlgenin cogunlugu TURkc konujan ve ta- rim vadisinde yerlcmij ciftteilike mcjgul olan Uygurlardan mUtejck- kildir. Bu grubun UstUnlUgU UnU tasik mahiyetinde 1933 EylU'nde Dogu Türkistan'ın ismi "SInkiyang Uygur Muhtar BOlgel" diye de- gijirilmijit. Diger bUyUK irk gurubu nUfusun yUzde onu civarında olan Kazaklar'dir. Bu gOcebe cobanlar Cungarya stplerinde yajarlar ve binidlilik ve savaj kabiliyetleri ile mejhurdurlar. UcUncU gelen Gin- liler ise sadece nUfusun yUz- e' altisini ve Kirgiz, Mogol, Tacik ve Sibo- lar ise kO(Uk fakat belirsiz guruplari tejkil etmekte ve bolgeye dagil- mij olarak vaimaktadırlar

gınliler dahl Uygur vc Ka/ak'lann lama bir gUvenini kazanamamij lardir. Tungan diye bilinen bu dOnmelcr 'ogu kez mUsUman mUca- liitlrcr mcrk/.i liUkUinclin IdaresInc karji birciçmijlerdir. Fakat irki husumetcir dini birligin Uzcrine ?ikarak cogu kez bu birlejmcler bo- zulmujtur.

DOGU TORKISTAN CUMHURİYETİ Yerlclrin, kendi kendilerini idare etme arzularını, Bati'da anla- jildigi mAnfllda •Milliycttliik' diye addetmek yanlij olur. Uygur, Kazak vc Kirgiz mucahitlerinden mUcjekekil guruplar zaman zaman ka- bine Uycleri vc ay yıldızlı bayragıyla beraber nastamam bir sOzde 'Dogu TÜRKistan Cumhuriycti' ilfn ctimjlerdir. Fakat komju Mogolis- lan'm akslna halkların gayri mUccanls olmasi hakiki bir milliycttli- gin dogmasim Onlcmijit. Pan IslAm ve Pan Turk hareketlerci kisa OmUrIU zaferler kazanmij, fakat sonradan liasim irk? gurupların bagdajmaz talcblcleri karjisında parcaimniju. Muvaffak olmuj ayaklan- malar arasında mscIA ondokuzuncu asırda Yakup Bey'inki ve Icinici Cilian Harbi'ndeki Kuluya ayaklanmamasi gecici olarak Uygur ve Kazakları Qin alcyhtarligi hislrcle birejtirmijlerdi. Fakat devamlı bir birlik liissi sağlanamamij ve mUterekolan hususlar, milliycttılık ilgi- li olarak kabul edilen bircilirici kuweii saglayamamijnr.

Iri dUjnlamlıklara ilAvcten Dogu Türkistan'ın Ginflifer kontro- lUUnU zorlajtiran fiziki engeller mcvcultu ve bunlar cyaleti hi; olmazsa iktisadi bakimdan Sovyetler Birligi'nc mcylectmcy zorluyordu. 1930'larda cyaletin esas Gin'c en yakin ticari merkezi, Bao-t'u'daki demiryolu duragindan ajagi yukari 1200 mil uzaktaki Kumlu idi. Ker- vanlar ivin bu cn az Uc aylık bir scyahat demekli. Motorlu vasitalar icin isc koto yollar ve tehlikeli gecilleri kullanan iki haftalık ectin yolculuk sadece luks ejya ve yolu scyrUscfcrini mUmkUn kiliyordu. Bu- nu mukabil TURksib demiryolu ile GOcek veya Kulca arasında 20⁺ niilden az bir mesafe vardi ve bakimli yollar batıya doğru ucuz tajit, kolaylaştıriyordu. Tarim vadisindeki Kajgar Sovyet tren irtibatından sadece oniki gUn uzaktı, fakat Gin'deki benzeri bir nokta ile arasında cn az 2300 mil vardi.

RUSLARIN HUDUDU A\$MASI Askerf bakimdan, bu irtibat jekli, Urucm'i deki ycrli idarecileri - haftalar, belki aylarca, merkezi hUkUmt kuvvetleri kuzeybatı Gin'deki daglik gecitler asana kadar (yagmalayici asilcırın) insafina terkedeler. Bu arada Rus kuvvetleri birkac noktada hududi ajipl Kajgar veya Urucm'ye birkac gUn icinde varabiliyor. Dolayisiyle eyalet idarecileri mahalli ayaklanmaları bastırmak için yabancı silahlara gO- lumenirken aym zamanda merkezi hUkUmtin kontrolundan uzak bir, Verde Qln hOkUjnyanligi idame etlirmek mUjkUU icerisinde idilef.

Bu yakin hususları kuvvetlendirici nitelikte, uzak siyasi gelime-ler de Gin'le Rusya'nın Dogu Türkistan'daki tcislerleri arasındaki farkı. Cin'i aleyhinc gelijlirmijir. Orta Asya icerisinde Garligm genijlemesi Mancu Impatorlugu'nu cOKUJUne rastlamijilir. Boljevik ihtilAJi if Asya Uzcrindeki Rus baskisim azaltmakla beraber bu uzun sOrmedi vc on sene icerisinde yeni Sovyet liderleri Dogu Türkistan'a bitijk Kazakhstan, Kirkizya ve Tajikistan'daki siyasi ve iktisadi gelijmeye hiz verirler. Buna mukabil 191 lde Gin Cumhuriycti kurululu ilckuv- vctli vc istikrarlı bir merkezi hUkUmt meydana getirmemijit. Arka- sindan gelen sivil harp ve yabancilarin toprak gaspi nizamsizligi devam ettirip, çevre bolgelerin Gin tarafından kontrolUnU tehlkiye koymuju. Dij Mogolistan'a 1921'de Sovyetler'in giriji ve on sem sonra Mancurya'mn Japonlarca istilAsi bu zayıfligim grafiç meşabe sine idi.

RUSLAR'A FESAT CIKARMASI Bajka bir kanjikhk dahas Ic Asya'da Qin kuvvetlerinin toparlan- masina mani oluyordu. Siyasi hudullar, haritalar Uzerinde kesinlikle Cizilmij olmasina ragmen hakikalte, fin-Rus sininmn her iki tarafın- da yajayan halkların benzeyijlcrinden dolayı tesbili imkinsizdi. Ili- veten bu ycrlerde milletlerarast hututlarin kesinlikle tesbitini mUm- kUn kilacak pek az tabii alameller bulunmakladır. GOcebe gruplar, iklim ve suya uyarak birbirinden uzak bajkentlerin rakip hUkUmrani- lik iddialarına aldimamakladırlar. Irk, din ve geleneklerin benzercili- gi, Mogol, Kirgiz ve binlerce mil Gin-Sovyet hududunu kaplayan diger guruplarda da oldugu gibi sininm iki yanında yajayan Kazaklar da oslinda bir halk yapmaktadır. En azindan bu yani-

^/cruL

Misafir Yazar

Prof.Dr. Aydin Taneri

Hocam Bahaeeddin Ogel

Prof.Dr. Bahaeeddin Ogel, Aiikaza'da topraga verilirken etrafima bakıyorum: Bir gece once, isianbul'dan ve Anado- lu'nun muhteeif vilayetlerinden yola gikip, O'na son vazifele- rini yapmak üzere geien meslektaglarmı ve talebelerini goruyorum. Kabristandan yine dogruca gehirlerası otobus terminaline ve Ankara garma görevleri bagina alelacele do- nen bu vefakar ve fedakar insanıların izdirapları yüzlerinden okunuyordu. Ancak, hocalarına kargı vaz*felerini yapmanın huzuru ile doriug yolculuklanın buruk bir tebeSSiimle gegirmig olmaliyidilar. Bu buruk tebessum, son vazifeyi yapma- mn verdiQi ruhl rahatlıktan ileri gelmig olmalıdır.

Turk ananesine gore, once "ana hakki" vardır. Sonra siraya "hoca" ve "baba" hakları geiir. Sultan Valed bunu goyle agiklar: "Ananm yeri tartigiimaz. Ondan sonra geien hoca. insamn manevi mimandır. Bu bakımdan yeri ba- badan oncedir". Ne mutlu Prof. Bahaeeddin O'gel'e ki, talebelerinin, meslektaglariin ve kendisini sevenlerin sevgi HSlesi igindeydh

Bahaeeddin Ogel. 1924 yilinda Elazijj'da dogdu. 1945'de Oil ve Tarih-Cografya Fakultesi, Tarih Bolumunu bitirdikten sonra akademik rutbelerini geng yaglarında aldi. ilmi arag- tirma metodu gu gekilde idi: Daha talebeligidenden ılıbarem oku- dugu kitaplardaki bilgileri ayn ayrı figlere yaziyor ve bunlari konulara gore tasnif ederek zarflara ayiriyordu. QaQimizda kisa denilebilecek ormrunde, sayigi pekgok olan dev eserler vermesinin sirri buradadir. 8u tasnif metodu ile herhangi bir konuda kisa bir surede bir kitap veya makale yazabiliyordu: "Tiirk Kultur'uniin Gelişme Qaglan" bir kag yuz sayfalik kitaptır. Ancak,larihimizin temelini te?_kil eden Hun-Gokturk Uygur donemferini hem siyasi, hem kulturel bakimlardan de- rinlemesine inceleyen adeta bir atom gekirde'i mahiyetin- aedir. Bilindigi gibi i'lim hayatında Fuad Kopruiu'nun, devlet hayatında Ataturfi'un temelini attıkları Tarih Tezi, Turk Mil- letinin 2500 yıldan beri devamlilik ve butunluk igersinde su- regeldigi esasma dayamr. igte Bahaeeddin Ogel'in mahareti burada ciaya gikiyor: Bakır bir saha olan Ortaasya galigma- lannda, Turk Tarihini; siyasi, igtimai ve iktisadi bakimiardan Qince, Mo^olca, Arapça, Farsça, Rusça, Almanca, Fransız- ca ve ingilizce eserlere dayanarak inga etmek.. Turk Mito- lojisi, Turk Oevlet Anlayigi, islamiyetten Once Turk Kultiir Tarihi, Buyuk Hun imparatorluğu Tarihi, Qince ve Turkçe Yayınlanan Sino-Tiircica, yuzlerce kamale ve son oniki se- nede ?u ana kadar dokuz cildi yayınlanan "Turk Kultiir Ta- rihiye Girig". Bu eserde Turk devlet yapısından tarim bilgisine, koy ve gehir bayatmdan

//V/Sai) / y ZJ

Hocamızın karakterine gelince, bunu iki bakımdan ince- lemek istiyorum. Birincisi, seqiyesinde ilim ve insaniyetin ba§- dagunılması. Fevkalade guglu bir ilim adımı olarak yerine gore hem miitevaziyi, yerine gore de ilmin verdiji kud- retle gergegi savunurdu. Ve bunları gahsiyetindeki yumugak- lik ve hoggoru ile meczederdi. Bu bakımdan, gerek sosyal hayatı, gerek derslerinde, latife ve espri unsuruna agırlık verirdi. Birgün, gocuklugundan beri elinde yetig'mig bir oQ- recisi "Hocam size yazdıklarımı okuyabilir miyim" dedi. Hoca dinlemeye bagladı. Qalıma bitince, "aragtırmanın mukemmeli oldugunu" soyledi. Ancak, "Saray Yaganlısı" baglı^i üzerinde durdu. "Musaade ederseniz bunu de§igtirelim" dedi. Biz de "hocam nigin degittirelim" de- yince, Bahaeeddin Hoca hafifge gulumsedı, "yaganti kelime- si suprunQye benziyor" deyince kahkahaları pattatmigtik. Karakterinin diQer yonune gelince: Turk ahlSk ve seciyesi ile istanbuJefepdiJj5i, §aHsiyetin-e sentez olmugtu. Bir Anado- lu gocuQunun metanet.ve.salabette sahipti. Bu tarafi eski istanbul'un adab-i muagereti ile butunlegiyordu. Talebeleri- ne ve yakınlarına muhakkak ve muhakkak "Bey" veya "Hamm" diye hitap ederdi. Eski istanbul'un ince nezaket kuralları, O'nun gahsina kristalize olmugtu. Makamında otu- rup herhangi bir gorevliye bana "falam gagir, buraya gelsin" dedi^ini duymadım. Profesor, dogent veya asista- nin odasına bizzat gider, ceketini ilikler, hafifge kapiyi vurur, "sizi rahatsız ediyorum" diye girerdi. Qikarken de, odamn digindategi edilmemesini ister, hizit adimlarla uzaklagirdi.

Prof.Dr. Bahaeeddin Ogel "misyon" adımı idi. idarı bir gorevde bulunduQum sirada Ankara Oniversitesi'nin gegitili fakultelerinde ders vermesini rica ettim. Yuzlerce kigilik- filerde seneleverce inkılap Tarihi dersi verdi. Anadolu'unun gegitili yerlerinde konferans ve sempozyumlara gitmesini rica ederdik. Bunları da vazife telakki eder, dakikası onemli olan ilmi galigmalarım birakır yollara dugerdi. Avr jpa ve Asya'da- ki kongrelerde Turk Tezini kiran kirana mudafaa ederdi.

Prof.Dr. Ogel, Osmanlimn son ve Cumhuriyet donem- lerlnln Koprulu, Uzungargili, Togan, Barkan, Osman Tu- ran, Danigmed, Kafesoglu, inalcık ve Kovmen zincirine mensuntur Bu khlierin hensi de

fS /Q^Ecg^oy /.rt-3

Tiirkiye'deki <Jirr



HanI 'yUrirken de, otururken de vU- cudunun mlntang'm Uyeslydl. 1948'dcn bcrI maa? ahrid (In'dcn Millcticmrası toplantilar da (in'l temsll eder, bunun l?ln (an Kay Sek'ten olduk'a yUklU blr Ucret kopmnr di. 1960 da Formoza'dan dontDklen son ra,' katiksiz TURK dUFmom mrcrzcler den blrl olma Milliyetclfl (In hesabma Pa kistan ve Arganistan'a ugrami;, daha son ra Japonya, Amerika Birlcsls Devlctlerl ve Avrupa Ulkclerlndc an Kay sek adi na politik temaslar yapmisti.

• O da uzattik'a uzatirdi.

Hatirlamamz I3zim: Hanl Ismlnl her ■ an'unizda aklimiza scbzce hall gelirld.

S' "a biz kabaktan ispanaktan fagn'im irok bulurduk adim- Yazja olarak " 9ali:tigi gazetey! her alisimizda «Acaba _ircme band polu kirdi, hand fami dcvir- dlyc lc gefirir, 8d patlatdird. Hanl blrlndc korkutsumuz ba\$imiza gelml\$, mescla liberal kapltalzmln. me seia • empcreallzmden yana olmam, me sea montaj d'mokrasl ve karma ckoно mlhn admu TURK MIIILvetflifl dlven bu Yumusak-.G. kendlni TURK Millvetflifl nln babasi IUn ettil halde. blr ceset ha V. Unde yigilip kalm?ti tistUmUze- t\$te onun gazctesInde 4,3 sUfun Utterne U? resmlil bir haber yayinlanmi?ti gejen gln™

Suydu ba?Uk:

«230 hanell Kazak Kent kuruldu* Derhal dkkkatinlz fektlgindn eml nlm. Ba?lik, nly «TURKstan Kent* veya «TURK Kent* degildi de Kazak Kent'l? Gerjl bu kente Dogu Tiirkstan'dan go? eden irkdaslanuz outuraçklardi ama, K—aklar Dogu TURKstan'daki tek TURK degllerdl kl.. Uygur TURKlerde vardi orada- Sonra tarh boyunca biz, Tatarcihktan, Uygurculuktan, Kaznkfilik tan, yanl kabileclllkten, yanl boUcUIUK- ten, yanl aymcilkant fekmem? mly .dk? Dogu Tiirkistan'daki Kazak-Uygur ihtiari asirlar boyuncu (In'l Islna yara maims miydi? Ve (In bu lhllifitfa fay- dananarak yikmami? nuydi devlctlerimi Agtf- O halde bu sitenbi adi nly «Kazak MOKent? tl? Ve mesclif Dogu TURKistan II- dcl Sayin tsu Yusuf Alptekn'l, top yekQn TURKistan davasi lie Uglli bjldrl- . lerinln lid satmmi bile safvalanna alma- yan ve buna ragmen kendlni TURK Milli yct?UlgtIn babasi IISe eden o adarain gazetesl nedn bu biilUcii haberl d8rt sli tun Uzerine yaynlayip, U? de fotografl koymufltu?

Bir TURK MIIUYET?sl olarak bun dan .

tQphelenmem gerekliyordu.'

Fotograflara dlkkatli baktim.

Her U? karedede de gUzUmtn isirdigi blr adam vardi. Bu adam, blrind kare- Vdc TURK bayragının altinda konu?raa ya piyor., Udnd, ve UplicnC, karelerde Vail Muavlnfilhat Taflroglu'nun koltuk altinda bplunuyordu.

■ Fotograflan blr kere de' pertavanda . Inceledim.

• ,

O'ydu—

Kendlsyle yillardan bed-Saudi Ana blstan, Pakistan, Blreflk Amerika, For mozaF ve Japonya'da ugraftiginiz blr (In adamiydi bu—

(an Kay SekTn adamuydi-.

'Aai DeU Han'dx.

/ IJ48'den berj (In Mini Medsl Kuo-

mlntang'm Uyeslydl. 1948'dcn bcrI maa? ahrid (In'dcn Millcticmrası toplantilar da (in'l temsll eder, bunun l?ln (an Kay Sek'ten olduk'a yUklU blr Ucret kopmnr di. 1960 da Formoza'dan dontDklen son ra,' katiksiz TURK dUFmom mrcrzcler den blrl olma Milliyetclfl (In hesabma Pa kistan ve Arganistan'a ugrami;, daha son ra Japonya, Amerika Birlcsls Devlctlerl ve Avrupa Ulkclerlndc an Kay sek adi na politik temaslar yapmisti.

Oradan Suudi Arabistan'a uzannisti.

Alplckn'l Suudi Arabistan'a gfrrae si yasakti. (inlkU Sayin Alptekn, TURKstan dan davasni satimyor, Rlyad, Formoza ve Washington'a usak durmuyordu. Ama DclII Han Turk dlfmam (ay Kay Sek'l adamı oldugu l?ln Rlyad'a glder, Ameri ka'ya yaslanarak nyakta durubllcn TURK dUsmani Krai Faysal'la da mrcrdmcgl ft- nna vercbillrd.

Dcll Han, Suudi Arabistan donUsiln da, Beyrut'ta blr dlger (In ajam olan Hamza Usar'la bulusmu?, oradan Formo za'ya u?mu\$tu.

Turklyc Cumhurlycti vatandajiydi bu adam.

Ama TURKie Cumhurlycti Ud yil 6n ce Formoza cl?lsnl kulaguidon tutup, di?an attigi ve MUUyct?!! (In dlye blr devlet tammadigini resmen U5n ettil halde, DeU Hanla Hamza U?ar Formo- za Mill! Mecllsl'nln Uycsl olmakta devam cdlyorlardL Son olarak ge'zen yil Formo za'ya gldip, (an Kay Sek'l yeniden Cumhurbjkam olmasi l?ln oy kullan- mijlardi.

Bu Ud adam Tiirklye'den Formoza'ya adam kafinoy (an Kay Sek'e yenl yenli casus adaylan sunuyorlardL

Kml (In, IsUlddan sonra Dogu Tilr- kistan'm a dim dgclflirmf Slnklang de- mijt. MUUyctfl (in tasdlk etmlfU bunu. Vc tabU mlllyetfl (in tasdk ettlgl Iftn Dcll Han'da l?lrik etmlsld. TURKie- den Form Formoza'ya kafirdigi focitkla «O topraklann adi TURKistan degll, Slnkl- ang'tin dlyor, o topraklar TURK topnrgi degll, (In topagidir) dlyor sonra sun- lan ifade ediyordu.

— Blzlm asil dU\$ammimm (Inllcr degl; Uygurlardir—

O arazoZ agizli adamrn gazetesln TURKFU blr politika uygulan Sayin Alp tektn'l habercrlnl yayuilamamaya Szcl blr dlkkat sarfederken Kazak Kentell- gill riportaji nln okuyucunun gdzUne dUrtercesne nresretig flmdl daha lyl an lafiliyor zannedcdrlm.

DeU Hanla Hamza Ufartn TURKie' den klmleri kafirdigu, (an Kay sek'l TURKie' de klmlere para dagitUgu, Kaz hfc?me'dekl deri fabrikoi ve Kazak Kentln hlkfycsln yann anlatacagun. BugUn, VaU Muavlnl Nihat Tahiroglu'nun bu ajanrn koltuk altinda ne aradi? soracak ve Kazak Kent Ism Inin, «Tflr kistan Kent* olarak degtyrlimesln lste ycceglm. Bu istek ycrline getrlrlmcndl takdlrde Muavln Bey'den fuphcleamck* to pi'ipiTW.

H? klnue unutmasln Id. Tllridye te kin ycr degl dir. Ve yalmz *Gccenln la ranligmda, hi?. Idmse gSnened* yapıldi - gi zannedUen ljerl degll, kafadan gefli- ljerl bUe blllnmektc, zlhln faoUyetclr bUe taklp edilmektedir.

i+hJ

Meteliksizin Fabrikası

hadiseler arasında

'DOñ JU bu kdjede doiyasu RIB Dell Han blzlm yenl tanidigmuz a- «lam degildir. Mılliyetpl Qln Devlet Bay kam General Can Kay \$ck'In TÜRKLYC'ye uzattigi parmak olan bu adanun faaliyet- lerini TÜRK mılliyetpl Ulgınl yakmdan Hgllen- dlrdgl lpln harcketlerinl dlkkatle taklp etmek zorunlugu duyulmustur, bu xoninlik duyulduktan sonra da ne yaptiyya blr blr tesbl cdllml?, hatta Mılliyetpl Cln baj- kentl Talpç Iclcvlyzonundaki konujmasi bile banda alinmuytu-.

Dell Han lpln artik pollse teslim ol- maktan ba?ka yapacak blr?ey yoktur ya- nl..

1 *stfn hang! para lie yapıldığı bill ne» 250 hanell Kazak Kent yatnimiyla -niden ye kolay kolay kurtulamayacagi kaleme dolanan Delil Han, aym za- Tfianda ?albell blr fabrikatfirdUr.

Dogu TÜRKistan lldcri ve Dogu TÜR- klstan'i Kurnarma Mill! Merkczl Bajkaru Sayui Isa Yusuf Alptekn'ln blr massasi bile yoktur aimm... .

— Peldyy, nasil olmu?tur da, bUtlm bajkentlerin yakmdan tamiyip saygi duy- ougu Isa Yusuf Alptekn, blr nTM«, ala- cpk parayt bulamazken, blr stradan adam arsanin 50k laymetli oldugu Kazil?e\$me'- de koca blr derl fabrikasını yaptırabil- rat?tlr? ■■■■■

Polla eger bi soruya cevap aramak ister.se ona — ?imdilik— ?yle blr Ipcucu veriyorum.

Me?ru gelrlile gUnlOk zaruri ihtiyap- lannibile zor kar\$ilanay Dell Han'u Kaz- lijejm'e de blr derl fabrikasi yaptimnak- ta oldugu- . duylunca tfaat gSzaltua a- t if, grip ptkanlar tesbt edillrken ?oyie blr olaya fahlt olunmufutri

27 Mart 1971 gUnU saat 13.15'te Ankara , pUkali blr araba Kazlipse?m Demlr- hane. Caddesl GcmalmaZ 'sokagma sap- . mi?, ve bu sokakta blr mlldet Dertedlk- ten sonra, bugiin fabrikla hallne gelen In- ?aatui ontindc frenlem?tlr.

BalatUrk, HUseyln Ramazan, Mir Ahmet ve Ahmet Ba?ürk ba?a?a olmak Uzcre 9 kl?l 15 Mart 1971 nk?ami saat 21-30'da Kayscrldci harcket cdlp, Ankara'ya gel- mylcrdr. 9 kl?l Ankara'da Uyandan A- kaym cvlnde kalm?tur. Akay, ?ln elplsln- den telefonla randevi alm? vc yapon? ?UrU?me sirasinda, 91ar, Kaysertdckl Tiir, klstanlar adma pln'c bagiliiklamu bit- dlrml?Icrlr. A?ur BalatUrk Ise elplye ay- nen ?unlan sylemljilr.

— Bahama Can Kay \$ck'i 90k ozle- dlk. Blzc yardım edin onu gormek Istyo- ruz...

Bu Ikil...

?lmdl Tolpc'h'e, Turkiye'dckl grrl- ?mlerln bdbUlcnc bobUrcne anlatig- dan cmnl odugum Cln clfls, 21 Mart 1971'de, yaiunda Muhammedi K1II9 oldu- Šu halde Konya'ma Ismail KUyilne gel- mil? ve Dogu TÜRKistanilar bu kUydeckl UeH gclcnlerinden Abdullah Sava? 10 bln lira verml?tur.

Abdulah Savaj, bu 10 bln Uniyi yiizU- ne 9arpmi?ür el?Inln.. Vc el?! He yanin- daklnl koyden kovmu?tur.

Bu ii!:

Cln effslnln Nigc'nln Allay koyfne ve SallhPye gldcrck para dagittigi tesbt edillml?tr.

Bu dortl.

Ve bUtUn bu faallyetlerden sonra De- ill Han ve Hamza Upar tarafmdan, ajagi- da Ulmlerln vercegelm TÜRKistanilar Cln'e kaymlmiillardir.

Gav Cl Ulral blr Ckt ajanunu refa- katinde Formoza'ya kapmlan Sgrendler ?unlardiri .

Istanbul'dan; Dell Han Canal lay og- lu AH Han Canal lay, Cemal Dlndar oglu Ali Muhamraed Dlndar, Kabln Oztirk oglu, Mustafa Oztirk, \$ahmcrdan Can oglu Abdulhe*-, ran. Salhll'den: Hamm Upar oglu / *-tah Upar, EyOp Kab- raman kizi - »* -er Kahraman, Sabadll - Dogru km A «« Oogru, Siddik PLLz oglu Mehmet Fillz. Adana'dom Mustafa Bardakpi, Imadettln Kencelculu oglu Mehmet Aydn Kencelculu (1)

TÜRLDE Cumhuryetli vatanda?i ol- duldan halde, TÜRLDE dekl TÜRKistanilar adma ve delege sxafiyila Cln'e giden- ler de ?unlardiri

Halle Alty, Enver Kopylglt, Sultan Gencebek (2) Atayban Blgln, Kabln Oz- türk, Uyandan Akay, \$Inat Dogru, Tole- gen Alanyall KabU Slimer, HUseyln Ra-

• ?lmdl bl ilsteysi mill] gUvenlik OR- ganlarunnn Uglslne summak ve blr me- teliksizin flnee fabrikatSr o!u?una, sonra da 250 hanell site yaptin?ma dlkkatli pek mekle yeUnecegim.

YARINs

BU 1\$TE

CAN KAY \$EK'IN

CIKARI NE?

1— Bu pocuk daha sonra dUmmUjtUr.

2— Gencebekln durumu ?imdi degijmlj- tlr.



Qln Sefaretlnden gsnderlea blr ca- ts hnm?tlr lplnden.

- Blr plft gdz gdmU?ur bunu_

Cb ajani, Dell Han ve Molla Canla blrllkte ln?ati uzun uzun tetlikl etml?, daha sonra blr Clnlyi gorince dnleri te- pelerlna pkan o vardakl Tfıriristanlila- nn ta? hUcunmdan kurtulmak lpln UpU blrden casusun arabanna atlayip leap- tni?Iardir.

Dell Han'u metelli kxzlzgl ve Fo» moza'ya yakmiji batirlamrsa fabrikamn null ported kendUglnde ortaya pik- caktir. ; .

.. Bo blri...

. Formoza -li Ctedea beri tfblrllgl yap- tigi bDlnen Dell]. Han*m yakm arkada?i Oroz, Konuadan, Esld Dogu TÜRKistan Ba?bakani, Dr. Sabri Bayku?un oglu Kmrcrm Bayku?un kaymvalded Ra- blit Yolda?can Be blrlkite 14 Mart 1971'de Kayserfe gelml? ve Kayseri'de Tfır- istanlian Qln elplglnden para almayla dvret etml?lerdir. Bir dvret Ozertine A?ur

Bunak\$a
bir politika

hadiseler arasında

Cən Kay.\$clc « blUyor Id,Krai fin', la yikilnuutır lştcnck ve Kml fln1 yik- mak I fin fahymak, Kml Qln'ln haritadnn slUnmesl onlamina gelmez. Kit'a (Inlnln bugiliiktt ytatUsimil degl\$cbllceglnen *8z ctmc If In, hcrjeyde once alfak ka- rakteril mllctlarası ylksc polilikonin Pekin alcyhnc diinUjturUlmcsl grecck mckte, yanl slyonlzmln bunu arzu. ctmc- si icabetmckedr kl, boyle blr diplomatik faulyctn buginkil diinya fartan 1- \$nde ba?latilmasi da raimkiln deglldlr.

Yanı Can Kay Şek'ln Kit'a Qlnhc hakim olabilmesl Ifln, Maoyu Pekin tahtina oturtan mlUctlerarasi kuvvetln, Mao'nun Hrkasxndan fckllp, Can Kay Şek'l des- • tfe'mcsl gerekcmckedr. Diiy়া politika- , n&zim rol oynayan legal ve Illegal organizasyonlar Cln'dcki statiyil degl\$tlr- meyl amafayan herhangi blr doktrnl VJjjil ctmeye yanaŞmadiklanna gore C*o Sck'ln Pekin'lc clc geflncls blr U- topyadir. '

Can Kay \$efc de bllmektdlr bunu...

Ve blldgi halde sembolik anlainda da'olsa Dogu Turkistan'xu İstklilini ka- bule yanaŞmamaktadir.

' Su dcmetkl'r bu : *

'KomUnlst de olsa, battfi czeli diij- . ' manuniz da olsa gclncler Cbldlrl. Dogu Turkistan gerfek sahilbnc, yanl Tiirk'e kalacagma komiinlst Irktalflannuza kol- 3in...»

Dogu Tirkistan'i Kurtarma Miliç Medial Balkam, Can Kay Şek'l bu kali tutumundan vazgcflmek Ifln, Milliyetfl Cln HQWUNet'lIn Hndlstan, Suudi Ara- blatan, Misir ve Tiirldye'deld diplomatik milyonlanya fe?iltl temaslarda bulun-. konuyu, Tirklye'ye gelen V-*U dlploraatlar ve mlHetcvdlillerne bQ- tUn detaylanya anlatmi?tir. Can Kay Şek'ln, Mao'ya karş] Jtblrligi yapma tek- Uflierne"blr, muhliha He cevap veren Sa- ym Isa Yusuf Alptekln, Formoza, Dogu rirkistan'ın Jstlkllln Han etmedgl tak- dird, biJyle blr Ittfakm vatan İhanetl an- lamina • gelcgegnl blldrlml? ve Mao He

taya fikucak, Dogu Turkistan lucalcsl- nln Blrlcfmlf Millctlcr'e hitikal ettril mesl kolaylnfacakti. Bu auretle Kml Cln In ve komUnlzmln takblh ve tcl'lIn inUm- kUn olacak, antUcomUnlst mticadle gUf- lenccektl. Boycllkle Kml Cln'l «Esrl mil- letcrin kurtmcisi ve mUslUmanlann dejis- tv» olarak tamyan blrfok gnyri mUslim ve mUslUman dcvltlerce Krai Cln- cm- peryallzml dahta blr onlafilacakti. 1

c) Dogu Turkistanhann morall yiik- iclecek, kurtulu? umutlan arlacak, Krai Cln'e karfi mUcadle azlmleri kuwtclne- cektl.

f) «KnpI Cln gltse bili Mulliyetfl 'Cln gelir» endlfesi ortadan kalkacakU.

d) Dogu Turkistanhlar, kurtuluf mU- ,

cadelesnc gerck Kml Cln'dcn gerck MU- Hyetfl Cln'dci ve gerekse biitUn dUneyadan olr destek bulamayinca umutlann Rusla ra baglamak tcmayuUndedir. İlalbuki Dogu Turkistan'i Kurtarma MIUi MccII- si'nln tkllflerl kabul edUseydl, Turkls- tanilar kurtulu? umutlann blr dcreed ye kadar Milliyetfl Cln'de gorcccc, hatta AUUlyetfl Clnln, Kit'a Clnlnc mulitemcl blr hiicumunda Dogu Turkistanhlarla ls- blrlgl hasil olacaktu

e) Aym zamanda Hndlstan, Pakistan, Afganistan, Suudi Arablstan, Misir ve Tilrklye'ye ilUca eden 20X00 Dogu Turkistanhnm Kml Cln'e karfi MUUyetfl Clnle lfblrUgl tcmln edUccekli

f) Harlfie, uygun blr yerde Dogu TUR- Ids tan HilKUmeti'nln kurulmasi gerfekle- fcBucekktL

GdriUyoyr Id, Can Kay Şek'l olunj- suz davraniflan MIUlyetfl Clnln dUftnan- laruu arthrmaktan bafka blr 4e yarama- mi?tir. •

— Pckl Can Kay Şek Dogu Tiirkis- tanidan avlamaya falijirken ne diifim- mtlftir mU diyorsunuz?

Hfblr taviz vermedgl halde kendisly- la beraber falifan blr • Ud Tiirkstanliyi Ueri sUrek TURkistan'ın İstklal İstctne- dglinc sSylemektedr mesela... Sonra, Cln'- dekl bUtUn milletlerln Formoza'ya bagh olduklan havasuu yaratarak Talpeh'tdd durumunu kuwtendlirmeyi yaTifmafır. tadir.

■ YukandaU knyiplanna karfi bUtlm kazana budur Con Kay Şek'ln.

Yeniden Kazak Kent'e donUyoruz.

Bu kentl gefitgmlz gUnlcrde 13tan- bul'dald Rus Konsoloslugumum lincl sek- , reterl, yanmda blr kadın oldugu halde ve rcsml orabasiyla zlyaret etmlftir. Kaza - kistan'ın kUffrik blr nUvesl olan bu kentl burada oltuturdukan ' Ifn kuruculan kutlayan Rus diplomat, nhayet Tiirl- yo'dekl gofmenlerl de parfalamann sevin- d Ifndo grcl d5mnOStUr.

■ Smdl Dell] Han'in hang] roll! oynadi- gi ve hang] merkezlerln 4be yaradigi or- taya fdayor zannederim.

Alien Bubarali oldugunu tesbt ettlgl- mlz VaU Muavini Sayın NUiat Tahiroglu' nu, Kazak Kent tomlnln tesdl edilmemesl konusunda blr kere daha uyanc, bUtlm Dogu Turkistanlinan, Dogu Turkistan'i Kurtarma MUUi Merkez'lnne Itaat etmeye ; davet ederim. CUnQ ne yapacaksa bu ■ - merkez yapacaktur ve C*o Kay Sekle bir Idfl de lyblrUgl yapsa bu merkezln, dola- 5: ymyla Dogu - Turkistan'ın İstklal mUca- -< deles! saptınlmaktadır.

idele etmekten. yilmayan blr merkez fan Kay Şek'ln onemlnln olmadigimi etmijlir. y Buna' da'kulak vrraemfltr Con Kay Şek... ■

T Temsll ettlgl devletln alcyhnc ola- rak kulak vermemijlir hem de...

Ve bu tutumiyla hfblr fey kazanma- miy, devamlar olarak kaybetmijlir. O ka- dar Id, Con,Kay Şek'ln bu bunak poltl- kasi' yzlzinden Formoza'nm mlDi brrllg bozulmuf, Con Kay Şek'ln oglu Amerika- ya gittilinde, * MUUyetfl ClnlUerln kur. funlara hedef olmuytur.

Can. Kay. Sek' in Dogu Turkistan MU- 11

MerkezPnlñ ?artalmi kabul etmerae- (e neler' icaybettigln kisaca fizetlezpek Is- • tlyorum: ■

r,

- a) MUUyetfl C*o hUkOmeti Alptekln • - In tekliflerin icabul etseydi, baŞta Dogu • - rUr Ids tan olmak lizeer bUtlm eslr TOrk- lerln.; JUrdye Cumhuryledln ve Islam ' dUyasanun sempatlsrd kazanacak, bUtlm dUyunda Formoza'nn Itiban yiiksecc- 'LV'

b) MUUyetfl Cln tarabndan İstlkldU lldn iedUeh blr TURk tlkeslnl esarc altm- .. da' tutmakta Israr ettlglinden. Kml Cln'ln empcryall blr devlet oldugu resmen or-

I

Somurulen kaynaklar

— 3 —

C^ortk komplnl, grec kaptatlslt bU lUn dUyasanun TUrk blrlglnc karn flafanmn scbcbyle TUrk Ulke >rlnde hilkCm sUren dcvcllerin yUk Milmcrlndek sun vatansver TUrk- genjlgtnln dlkkatlerino summayla jabja him.

Doha Snckl blr yazinuzda da taia ca bellitlgrlz gib, bugiin Sovycller Blrlgl, bubbat Istihsalnln V> 30 undan fazlası, bujday Istihsalnln %44't pa muk Istihsalnln %92 si komilf Isthsa I Inin %36 si petrol Istihsalnln •80 den fazlası handcmcr Istihsalnln %45 1 altin *~1hqlnln 50k onemll blr ksimini I3 \ altwdakl Turk topraklanndan clc ctmcklecllr. Yine Rus, kUmUr rczerveleri ln 50 si petrol rczcrvlerlnn % 90 1 dcmlr, rczcrvlerlnn V.40 1, bakir rezerv lerlnn %87 si ;lnko rczcrvlerlnn Vo38 si kur\$un rczcrvlerlnn VoSS 1 nlkcl re- zerverlerlnn S30 si blzlm topraklanmu da bupkunaktadir. Tiirkistan Rusya pa ^{sing} vrdlgi halde Sovyc- tefstU sanayUnh v.3 I Tur klsWi'da, %85-8. si eskl blr Slav schrl, olan Ivanova'dadir. Aym jclifc biitiin " Sovycller BlrUgl [pegnln V.90 1, Tiirkls tanda'dde eddligi halde Ipck sanayi Inin ancak S32 TUridstan'da V.81 I Rus topraklannda kurulmu tur.

Doju TGrldstan'a gdince;

En.cmln kaynaklann aijkladagina gore, sadece Tann Daglannin guncyln deld kSmQr rezerv en az 49 milyar ton dur. (In petrol Istihsalnln %57 si bu ta rhi TUrk topraklanndan clc cdllmektc (' Ir II, 1957 de Dogu Tiirkistan dakk pet

hadiseler arasmda

10I lifclmclcrinln yulm* IklsInden 1.500.000 ton petrol Isthsal olummujur. Dcmcr rezervinln 10 milyon ton oldu gu tnlimhr cdltmektdlr. 1982 do sadce Kumul vllycetndekl dcmlr^cllk fabrika smda 800 bln ton fellk 800 bln ton dbk me dcmlr cldc eddlmljlr. Dqgu TUrkls tandukl altin rezervl 37 milyon ton harp ekonomisInden alndnn daha billyk de ger Ifadc eden vo atom bombast Imilln* do kulamlan urunyum rezervl ls tom 12 trilyon klovalt saattir. Aym eslr TUrk Ulkesi kalay, wolfram, mollbden, manga nez, kurjun almlnyum vo fosfor rezer, vl bakanundan da dunya'da blrlnddr.

Unya petrol Istihsalnln %28 smi Kuzey Amrelka Sovycller dahil V.18 Inl Avrupa, V<13 unu orta ve gUney Aracrlka karjdamakta, gerl knlan V>30 u Orta Do gu don tcmln cdllmektdlr. Irak, Orta sarkta petrol Ir*isal eden 12 Ulke I(ln de dordiincu id-i ISgal ederken, kendl •retimlnn %90'm KcrkUk'ten elde et mcktedlr.

Boyle sonuz ImkSnlara sahlp bu bU yUk topraklann kendl ash saldpclrlnhn cgcmcnfigne gejmesl vo hudutlan Allay dan Kimpi Tann Daglan'ndan Balkanla ro kadar uzayan kudretli! blr devlet ol masi clbcete klmcslnl liojuna gUmeyo cektlr.

Turkoglu-
SomUUlcn bu mllli kaynaklara sahlp olmarun Uk jarti TURKLYC'yl yUcclt mek va yalmz lean itbarlyle dcgU, aym, zamanda duunc Itbarlyle de TURKLF- • mcktlr. Tekrar cdlyoruzr YUzdo yds Tlirk oldugun gUa cldnn senlndir.



CEHENNKMDEN KA?ANLAB ~

ARTIE DOG)§ECEK GtgLERt VE DOft)§ECEE ERKEKLERI KAI> MAMIŞTL TEE gARELERt VARDI: KAgMAK!. EaGACAK VE ISTIE- RAJ-IN TOREISTAN KURTULU? MUCADELESNI Y)Ro)TECEK Vi* GHLERt YETISITIRECEELERDI... - GELECEFIN YtfitYLER COCIS- TU SIMDI, BEBEETL... VE BU BEBEKLER, DEGt GUT.MESNt 46 LAMASINI BILE CNUTMUSLARDI.. TAEELAMALEAN gOLtJNt' GE- gpGREEN AEBABALAR TAEIP ETMİSTi ONLARI.. VE COftINT AR- nARALAR ALIP GfTORMIJSLERDt.. TiRKIYETK GfitNCFTE KA- DAB YTT.LAR GEgTI., VE TOREIYEDE YfZLERtNE BARAN OLMANDI GNALARIN...

ESDI MİLLİETLER İL VFTASI: 2

Ulkunun kudreti'

TURK MIÜCT'LİN TARİH BOYUNCA EN AX' 16 DEĞİŞİP IMPARATORLUK HNLLNC GELMESİ VE HEMEN HEMEN BÖTÜNLÜKTE KENDİNDEN KAT BE KAT (İSTİL DÜ'MAN) ORDULU RUUN ÖKİRLİK 'ERETHİ İKL PARALIK ELMO- SI YALRNU AAÜH'Uİ YARDMU VE YALRAZ VU. >U»MS GÜCÜMLÜZİ SONSUZLUĞU LİE İZAH İCDİLCİMCZ. ASİL FAKİTLER BTZE BU GÜC İLE İHLİ

T yardım itazandıran mefkürler. TURK MULTİ) gerek İslamlan önce, ve gerekse, WURADAN SONRA KENDİNLİ DILNYAYA ULZANI ! VERMEKLÉ, YANI DİNYAMM DÜZENİNLİ KURMAKLA GİREVÜ TELİLLİ CTMLİ VE BU ASİL DÜFİNCİDEN BİZ ALARAK ELHAN MİLKİYETL ! — KFKURAL PC'İNDİ KOJRAJTUR.

Amerika'nın İspanyol macerapı test) tarafından keşfetlenen yıldırca once bu kitalan koltugunuñ altındakl Grand JÖRK adalannan TURK denizcilleri tarafın - dan fethi dei Tererasende 600 TURK ya- ralının 20 bln agir nrhli İspanyol »o- • valycınlı kiliten geigirrasl de bu 'yUz- " "jelendri Timur-229 kıl'lı lie 28 bln kılıllı . jr Hint ordusunu, Ustellik 229 adnma «u [mır kurmak zorunluguñ ilşesinde pa- tudaki 25 bln iddülk Hıma Ordusunu yik mi? czm? , tflkctml?tlr.

TQRQQN topalidir bu...

Topali olmayan da bakanız ocler yap miftm

BÜYÜK eedadun Yddirun Gail, SO bñl id'ÜLK bñr Türk Ordusuyla ba'ta In g'Utere, Fransa, İspanya, Almanya, Avusturya, İtalya, Macaristan Polonya Belçika Bohemya ve Blzans İmparatorluğu ol Tak Uzeri butVi Avrupa Vi ezipl gejmi? Jr. Alpaslan GazTulu Si bñl TURK 200 bñl kılıllı Blzans .Ordusunu mnijlup et mcslna de gñ e bu Inane sebeb olmujut. FarUñl bñr gece t[İndc 72 par 'fa gemiyl karadan yÜrütüp denize İndr 'incsl. Barbarot'un topalar yelenken fcklp 'Afrka gÜscrinde dÜjman kovalaması > bep dilnyaya hakim oTmak ve dÜnya n1 zamun tests ctmck gib! bñr yUce, bñr asU, bñr soylu UlkUden Her) gelmekte- • dir. Dunyada Uc dersi İmparatorluk hall . ne gelin bñr millet daha gdttlerlemez. ken blzlm en kuwtell ordularla çarpıja farpiyi bu hedef tarihi 16 defa (1) ulap- mazmaz askeri dhamzidan fok miliQ ideal! milzile Uğill dir. Fatih, —jlmdllk— son imparatorluguñuzun kuzey hudutlaması *Alplerde dysamak Istemeseydil Menderes ^Dövrlİndc tamiratı Q; bu; uy sUrcn Bo Sazkcsen Hısanı doksan gündc yaptıra mazdi. Unutrayunz kl dÜnyayı bñr hU- kUmbara az goren Yavuzla, diñyamn 'b'QtQn bilkUmdarlanın TURKLİN memur lan olduguna söyleyen Sultan Sancar a- • i asrı da yiyyiyls vardır.

Hlfblri alal İjl de degildir bu yap? lanlann— .

Ama hepsi Inan; tfl InanfU Insan l\$1 r' y*gl adam, (ilkicil a dam lgfcilr. Bu (ilkii bÜtU Turkuyrulannan bñr bayrak slunda bñfleytiñlmesi ve esrl TURK top " raklanma kurtanımasından İbarettir.

■ Dun de yazdigimiz gibi miliçlerin bñr bilyik tñrlimli peylinden glittkler mQddct'e kudreti) oUacaklanna, aksı hal de bÇiyik devlet ba'kanınn kdpeginc gÙsterilen Hg) ve sayguya bile Uyık olu mayacaklamıa Inaruyor ve bunun tartı? masina girmey) bile satına buluyoruz. TURK BIRLIJINI kurmak Ifn kudretU • ve ecellkeiralg .mUyetal TURDyenIn bñr

hadiseler arasında

Ültimatomu kill gclmlyortn ve Ulc do lavapmak gerçeklyorta savu?iniz. Sava?, yajanaiau vo mÜH hayat Idame ettrme nñ tek ?rtidir. Ünn? nnajmmlnn Iso yorgun suva? (ilnnn dñlcnmesln singla mnk amnciyel lñzalanın vakil kozanma siizlc?mC'1 crdlr. DÜnyadın bñnnm hakim oldulu bit tek sanlycnln bñr varoldugu tin kabul etmlyoruz. Vo ?unu İddla cdł voruz ki, her ban? anala?masi yenil blr vavaym ba?langicim tc?kU ctml?, sava? nrzusu mcđeniyctln yuksesmeslnç cn bii yiik amu oln'u?ur.

Sulli ve sukunun hakim olduğu bñr dñlhyada ya?amak veya dilnyayı tulh ve ailkna kavu?turnak l[In \$al?mak İdco loj'erln cn lusonlsı olablllr. Fakat dunya sulhu adma hak ve iddalannuzdan vaz gecmcmizl do en azuidan lhunct olur. Kaldıklı bñyle bñr Ideolojln zaterine oyynmak, (ablatin, tarllin soysoyoljlnln kmiunlanya Insuna htñlm olan scvklobllyc kafa tulmuk demektr. Insandnn agoizml toplumlardan din, milliyet volai. vc allc fuurunu sokup otmak mUmkUn olamayacagina, Ustellik her fert, her mil let devamlı bñr UstUlilik Ifn slstcmU bñr raUcadelcnln İjhndc bulunduguna gore ban? dosyasi Utopyadir. Yahudl Marks din mÜyüt, vatan ve allc faktortlnU reddederek. (clsfcsln bñ dor yoldugun iñzlerine kurarken, moral degerlerin cmcl yctln bÜncysİndc sbkUÜp atılamayaca gun bellid herkesten daha lyl billyordu ama, kendil mlUetleh hlzmet etmek Ifn diñyamn en Utoptlk adami ve en kalın kafası olmayı da gÙze almı?ti. Yanlı ne llco Itbaryla tek bayrak, tek devlet, tek vatan kavgasım gilden teorik komiñlza bñr mllcfln dñnya hakimiyetl nami ta ortaya atılım? fcslcfl yalancılık vc • csetli dolandırdıton İbarettir,

Biiii bunlara ragmen Uisanligm kurtuluju tek bñr diñya devletin ku- rulu?unda gortillyorsa, bu devleU TURK kurnamı, TURK yönetmeli, backent dc An kara olmalıdır. ^UnkU buyuruculuk TurkUndur.

Kapllallst, slyonlst ve komilnlst malt feller sava? alcyhtn propagandanui do zuzu glltkfe artlıuyorlarla, bu, sava? tan korktulan Ifn degU, blzlm kavgac et karakterimzl deg?tlrmek İstedikleri Sñldr. Ama gene de meselS Mardn'de bñr meydan kavgasında 10 id?) olmactır.

Bñr TÜrk mlllyctflsl ban?t, anenk yenil sava?ann araa oldugu l[In seve bÜlr, aksı halde asla.

TURK mlUlyctflgl, gen{llge bÜyök bñr hedef gdstcrcrek bñ hedefe mutlaka ula?iirası gerekti gñl bltlap usanmadan telkin cedecik, felh rulinun mUli benil ge yçnlden hakim olmasun gçreflek?tre cektr. TURK MIÜETL l[In bu bedel lasa co TURK bñrligldir. Bu hedefe ula?ilmadi gi mfddet(e TURKliqUn tarhli fonksiyonu ; nunu lera cmesi soz konusu degildir.

(1) Ban tarih bilgilnlerinc gore, ki>rulan TURK İmparatorlukannan sayist 22 ye ulajmakdadır. İmparatorluk olma yan TURK Devletlerinlñ sayist Isc 100 U ge{ mektcdır.

DOGU TURKISTAN hadiseler arasmda

— 3 —

Istiklifl dlickfe Ue Istcnmcz. Isyan

cdlllr...

Baykaldinlir...

Harbedllr...

tsyan ctmck, baykaldirmak, harbet- mck IstlkJil

Istcmek demcktlr. Fakat bu .baykaldinlnn bayarisiz olmasi, belki yiizbln sebcplc Izah edillp, rauwaffaklyct slzllge belci yiizbln gerck?c gbsterlebl- Ur ama, ktlenln halinden memnun oldugu lddiasi bu tUrlii hcziimetcrlrin ne- denlerl arasnum sayilamaz. Ciinkii ha, ^ Inden memnun olan plolumlann Isyan ■ ttgl gorilnmcltylr.

-4? Su Dogu Turkistan mesela...

19 yilda 21 defa lsyan cderek ozgur ve bagimsue yaramak istedgini goster- mly, ve belci de maglup olagugu bile ruhuna h&klra olan Istlk'l alcyin : ylddetlendigln sagir bu kor ve kan- cik diinuya

Isbatlamak Istemiyyit.

, * Hcpslndc de maglup olmuytur ama.. Fakat maglup Tiirkler: olmasma, hatta bu kutsal isyan, mesela tsnsan Haklan Cc- mlyctlnn, meseld Birlreymly Milletcrin, mesela kendlnl dunyamin jandarmasi zanneden demokratik memleketcrin a- val aval seyrc'eciklerin bilmesine rag men yeniden baykaldirmasim onlcycme- mlytir.

19 yilda 21 defa lsyan r'menln nc demek oldugunu

Ugl 9eklci bir dmekte a;iklamak Istiyorum size:

Eger tUkifrugii mcmrl sanan Dub- 9ek'ln hareketi lsyan sayihirsa, pekoslo- vakyallar tarlh boyuncu ve 500 yil ara • lie ancak Ikl defa lsyan edcbllmlytir. Ve ^ Dogu TURkistan underlerlsyan edlnce ^ kendllerlnl blr Buyiikelsllik koltuguna satmarmy, canlan tcnlcrindn sikkadan

miicadleyl birakmamiylardir.

Mesela Hoca Niyaz Haci 1931

, b a t ' m d a Qln'e baykaldirmi, Ruslann ver dlgl ugak, tank vdiger 9cyltl harp ara? lanyla fLn ordularuu bozarak 1933 sonu na dogru MIII Dogu Turkistan Cumhuriyetl'n kurumuytur.

Hem de hangi yehrl baykent sejml? tir bllyor musunuz?

Biiyiik ecedadun Kiyygarl Mahmut'un dogdugu tarhl Tiirk yurdyu KSyar'i.

Ama TURk'in Tiirk topralannnda

htrolmasi, Sovyetler Blrligi'nln gelece- glnl tehdit ctigl !?In Eh'n eakan askeri ve teknik alandakl Rus yarudu art Uni- ■ ; mi?.., yeniden baylayan 9arpymalar so- nunda MIII Dogu Turkistan HUkQmetl dagmalarak 300 bly kyl tevkif cdllmlytir.

100 bly yehlt vermljlzdlr bu savay-

ta

Ve 100 bly yehlt vrdlgmlz halde, .Vietnam'da blr pl?e «ote git* denlncc velveleyi koparan ldr dilnyadan blr 8k- slirilkU ses bile gikmamiyyit. Dogu TOJ Jdstan Devlct Baykam Hoca Niyaz Haa ls 1942de zchlrlU gaz oacaklanma atilarak flldUriiralij, ama hlr oldugu lddla edllen, ashndu katiksiz blr yahudl tahak kilmU altmda bulunan Ball diinysindan

protesto yollu tek blr ses yllksclracmly- tlr.
1937dc gelien ve Kmlordu tarafin dan vahylec bastinlan kutsal isyanda lse tom 20 bin Tiirk yehlt cdllmlytir.

Soyle bir lykncncc lie oldUrilmUytUr bu 20 bin kahraman:

1) 300 Tiirkun iizcrlnne benzln dokil- lup, ateyc verilmlyllr.

2) 7 bln Tiirk, Yarknt lie Ycnlblsar arasindakl ?oldc yere ?aklip, Uzerlnden kamyon ge?rilmlytir.

3) 6 bln Turk Kdygar'da dlrl dlrl gtt miilcruk olduriilmiytiir.

4) 5 bin Tiirk, subaylann beynlno Sivi ?akmak, kuryuna dizmek erlerin bo yunlaridan tclcrle baglayip, bu teller- den elcktrik cereyam ge9lrmck suretyle oldurulmUy, gerci kalanlar yakilikmiyyit.

Sonra yu lykncncc metodlan uyu> laiuniyyitir

a) Kizgin demirle viicudu daglamak,

b) Daglamiy viicut iizcrlnne kizgtn yu0 dbkmck,

c) Viicudun 9eyllt yrlerine demlr 9ivlcr 9akmak.

d) Cinslyet uzuvlan 19lne domuz toll sokmak.

e) Serce kizgm demlr ?ubuk sokmak

f) Tırnaklar arasma 9IW yakmak,

f) Kiyan (-30) dercede buz blokla rm iiistiindc yatmnak.

g) Baym ve biittiin yucudun derlslnl yiizznick.

h) Viicudu kcskln U9IU demlr tarak lark' tnramak.

1) Agiz ve burun dellklerne kostlk ve diger yikici asltlcr dokmek.

1) Ellerl bagladiktan sonra sirta ga yet agir bir kaya koymak.

j) Ellerden tavana asmak.

k) Ozerlnde slvrl 9ivUer bulunan blr sopa lie viicuda vurmak.

l) Viicudu ljiyatincaya kadar kam?i layip, sonra bi?akla kesmek.

m) Viicutta blr dellk a?arak, dugilm lii bir Ip sokup, bunu Ikl gun sonra a?ik yaramm i9indc destere gbl surterck iy- kcnce etmek.

n) Miimkiln oldugu kadar uykusuz ayakta kalmalanni saglamak l?In kulak lanndan duvara ?ivilemek.

o) Parmaklan ve topuklan blrbllri nc Ignc, Iplik veya telle dlkmck.

6) Demlr kaziklar Uzerlne oturtmak

p)ntsani cescdln yamma baglayarak giinlcrc orada birakmak. r) Bayangi asmak.

s) Hamle kadlnlann lizcrlnne blzzat kocasun veya blr bayka mahkemu 9ika np, 9lgneterk iidliirmek.

Dogu Turkistanlann karyilayigi 1? kcncelerin blr kisnu budur. Ve Dogu TURkistan biittiin bunlara ragmen 800 mlyonluk blr kalabahgi lsyan etraekte devam ctmytir. tsyan halen devam et- mektedlr vc zafer TURk'iin olana kadar bltmcycckitlr.