

Doęu Trkistan'dan 200 soydařımız

Hacc'a girmek iizere Istanbul'

Emindnii Belediye Bafkam Tahir Aktař
MgifMstahli soydaslaruniza iftar verdi



Halil řivgin, Tahir Aktař ve Akkan Suver Doęu Turkistan'dan gelen kardeřlerimizle brikte gorliluyorfar.

*Sivgm: "Kardeslerimiz bizim misafirlerimizdir
yakm zamanlarda baslayan Turk-Cin
munasebetleri daha da gelisecektir" .*

GENIř HABERİ 8. SAYFADA

Türkistan'li için Kabe'nin yolu İstanbul'dan geçer



Bu seneki mübarek Hac'a ulaşmak için Doğu Türkistan'ın muhtelif havalilerinden soydaşlarımız İstanbul'a kabileler halinde gelmeğe başladılar. Gelen kabileler merkezi İstanbul'da bulunan Doğu Türkistan Gogmenler Derneğinin, Zeytinburnu, Sevakoy ve Oskudar Ornek mahallesindeki misafirhanelerinde kahyorlar. Doğu Türkistan Gogmenler Derneğinden verilen bflgiye göre önümüzdeki günlerde Doğu Türkistanlı kardeşlerimizin sayıları ikibine ulaşacağı ifade edilmektedir. Dernek yöneticileri gelen hacı adaylarının bu mübarek Ramazan günleri Derneğe karışıldığını ettiler.

Doğu Türkistanlı Hacılar. "KSbe'ye giden yol, İstanbul'dan geçer" diyorlar. İstanbul'da bulunmaktan ve nirkkiye'yi girmekten 90k mutlu olan hacı adaylar, İstanbul'daki bazı kuruluşlarca da yardım ve iftar yemeği veriliyor. Bu cumleden olmak üzere Eminonij Belediye Başkan Tahir Aktaş hacı adaylar İstanbul'un turistik yerlerinden Bogazigezdir-dikten sonra, Ayasofya Camii'nin önünde bir iftar yemeği verdi.

Ote yandan, bir süre önce Doğu Türkistan'a giden Ankaia Milletvekili Halil Şivgm'da Ankara'dangelişip Doğu

Türkistanlı hacılar kaldıkları misafirhanelerde aiyaret ederek yakından ilgilendi.

Bu arada Doğu Türkistan Gogmenler Derneği Genel Sekreteri Seyit Ahmet Bozkurt ve dernek yönetim kurulu üyesi Hizirbek Gayretullah verdikleri demeçte:

"Kızıl Çiğ'in işgalindeki Doğu Türkistan'da bulunan Türkler, bugüne kadar getirilen zulüm altında inlerken, QP devlet politikasının yumuşaması ve (Jin il'e islam alemine yakınlaşması dola'yisiyle din

hiiriyetinde nispeten yumuşama oldu.

Bu yüzden bir kısım Doğu Türkistanlı soydaşlarımız, Hac farızasını yerine getirmek için (Jin'den kalkarak kara yoluyla İstanbul'a da uğradıktan sonra Mekke'ye gitmektedirler. Bu meşakkatli yolu canla başla aşmaya çalışan Doğu Türkistanlı hacı adaylar (Jinliler sadece ve sadece 40 dolar vermektedirler.

(Jinlilerin uyguladığı maddi sıkıntılarla yola 91-

Tahir Aktaş; soydaşlarımıza iftar verdi

kan soydaşlarımız bir de 'Hirkiye'ye geldiklerinde gUmriik kapılanında gUmriik^Ulerin gadrine ugramaktadırlar. Biz dernek olarak Doğu Türkistanlı kardeşlerimizin yanındayız. Himizden geldiği kadar maddi ve manevi sıkıntılarını gidermeye çalışıyoruz. Gumruklerde ugradık^' sıkıntıları bize dile getirdi Onları, yetkili makamlara iletacağız. Haklarını korumayı vazife addediyoruz." dediler.



CERRAH MEHMET PAŞA CAMİİ KORUMA DERNEĞİ'NİN İFTARI

CERRAH Mehmet Paşa Camii Koruma ve İmar Derneği'nin vermiş olduğu iftar yemeği geçtiğimiz haftadır. Simiz hafta Pazartesi gecesi yapıldı. İftar yemeğine başta Ankara şivgin, Fatih Belediye Milletvekili Halil Şivgm'da kalabalık bir dayetli topluluğu kâtilid.

20 TEMMUZ 1973 CUMA



Esir Milletler Haftası ve Türk

Don olduğu gibi bugün de, dünyada facia oynamak tadir. Dun Cemiyeti Akvam (Milletler Cemiyeti) nasıl aym oyunu oynann? ve Car İlk Rusyasi lie Balkanlarda esir yaşayan Türklere karşı kulaklanm txkamij İse, bu gün de Birleşmiş Milletler Teşkilati ayrı sagirhka ku- IWISSJSSS laklaruu tikami? ve Esir Türklere kar?i batuan o vur- dum duymaz siyasetini, adeta Türklük filmi lie alay e- dercesine, ?ektigi istirabdan zevk alircasma devam et- tirmekte hi?blr mahzur gormemİştr.

Diin, devletin taviz verme esasina dayayanan hari- ci siyaset noktai nazan Cemiyeti Akvama cesaret veren bir unsur olmuştü. Fakat artık Birleşmiş Milletlerin İn •an hakTan ve esir milletler ifln kabul ettigi hiir ya?a- ma haklan hususundaki karan muvacehesinde ayrı ta vizkSr slyaseti takibe zannederiz sebab kalmamıştir. "u sebeble hukumeti ikaz etmegi mill; bir vazlfe sayi- ♦*uz*

Ancak ESİR MILLERLER denirken, Birleşmiş Mil- letlerin hangi esir milletlerl kastedtğini sarahatla orta- ya koymasi lazim geldigi kanaatmdayiz. Zira Birleşmiş Milletler anayasasi, hukiimetlerin dahi tçkilata İkayet cdilebOeceklerl kaziyesinl değışmez bir hiikiim olarak vaz'ederken, Turk hlikiimetlerinln Di? Turklerie alaka- lanmasnu da gozoniine getirmesi ve Birleşmiş Milletler- ESİR MİLLETLER Haftasında kastedllen esir milletlerin başında TURK İRKİNİN mevcut olduğunu ilan et- mesi lizun gellrdL İngiltere'nln haksiz olduğu kabul e- dilen RODEZYA'ya mudahalesl karris in da Birleşmiş Milletlerin biitiin teşku4tlan harekete getrillrken, Rusyada ve Ba'kanlarda temessUl edilmek istenen, İn- sanlık di?i muamelelere maruz bırakılan, İ?kence edl len takriben 90 milyon Türk hakkmda aym te?ldaltm kulaklanm sagir kalmasi dikkatli ?ekecek, hatta bu teşklattan bizlerl şiihphey dii?iirecek bir netlce 9ikar- mahgimiza sebab olmaktadır.

ESİR MİLLETLER Haftası, iylcmli? Biz İkinci cl- , hon nlrbinden sonra dünya'da Türk irkına mensub mil letlerden gayri milletlerin esir olduklanm hatırlamıyo- ' ruz. Bugün eger dünya Uzurlnde bir'esir millet gSster- mek lazim gelirse, bu millet şiiplicslz kendl oz vatanm i da esir ve cchenricim İiyatma maruz bırakılan TURK MİLLETİNDEN başkasi dcgfidlr. Şu halde ESİR MİLLETLER Haftası değıll, fakat esir TÜRKLER haftası olması lazim gelcn bu yedl giiniin admin değı?trilmcsi lcaab eder kanaatmdayiz. Dime kadar batih cografyaci- lar ve siyaset adamları tarafından yamyam İnsanların vatanı olarak takdim edilen Afrika'da esir herhangi bir x'etln mevcudiyetini İddia etmek, zannederiz ki miim K - değıldlr. Şn halde Birleşmiş Milletlerin kastedt- gi ESİR MİLLETLER hangileridlr? Afrika'da, Asya'da (Türkler hart?), Amerika'da, Avustralya'da, Avrupada esir milletler hangileridlr? Birleşmiş Milletler Esir Milletler derken neyi kastedtğini anlamak blzlm isin bu ?artlar altrnda 90k gu9tiir. 16. asirdan itibaren tarihlın en biyiik hapisanesi haline getirilmi? bulunan Sibir- ya, Orta Asya — Turfcun anavatam hatıratlara, romanlara ve blzzat siyasilerin miizakere zabıtlanna ge9mi? bir . esir pazan,blr cehennem mlsalidir. Dort asirdir anayurd lannada esir yaşamaga mahkum edilmiş Türkler durur- keti, dUnya'dablr ba?ka esir millet gosterilemezken, Birleşmiş Milletlerin ESİR MİLLETLER HAFTASI'ndan bahsetmesi, miis»akıl son Türk devletlnln 35 milyon Türk kiini 9ilcden 9ikarmaktadır.

Birleşmiş Milletler Teşkilatının bu Şartlar altrnda mtispet bir tçşkuat olduğunu kabulde Türk milletinin mazur bulundugunu soylemek her halde yersiz bir İsnad veya sebebsiz bir netice olmadığı kanaatmdayiz.

Evet bir esir millet meselesi vardır Birleşmiş Milletler Teskilati «9'n. Bu esir millet de Türk milletidir. Carlık devrinden bu yana temessil edilmek, milli haslet İ sondurulmek, orf ve adetleri yok edilmek, benlik- İcril ve sahsiyetlerl değıştrilmek istenen tek millet, Türk milletidir. Biz dünya haritasi üzerinde ve İ9inde Şimdi otuz beş milyonuz, yetmi? milyon olacağunuz yaşadığınız Şu yirmind asrın tezdalar ve haksizliklarla dolu zaman akimmda Türk milletinden başka esir millet bilmedigimizi soylemek isteriz.

Türk milletine biitiin bu haksizliklar reva goren- lerin, tarihin değışmez hiikmune boyun egmelerii za- mam elbette gelecektir. Ve elbette o gün hm9 ve kin ilc blenmi? intikam ?ahlanacak ve Türkte reva go- riilen bu İnsanlık dişi zulüm ve haysl - W9 kimsenin Şuphcsi olmasın. Ve W9 klmse ?uphe et- mesin İd, Türk blmuştur. Türk milled, TURK İria dünya iizerinden silinemez. Dünya siyasilcrine biraz geriye tarihe bakmalanm tavslye edecegiz. O mazi İd, İ9inde hi9blr irka nasib olmami? muhte?ein Turk haklmiyet Veyl o vakit İd, Türk'e zulmedenlcre.

Carter, msan haklan konusunda samimi degil

Dogu Ttrkistau'dan Sov- yetler Birliđi'ıws iltica ctmck mccburiyclinde kalait bir Uygur Turk'u, Birleşik Ainerika'nin Washington Post gazetesinde yayıifSanmak u z e r e Balkan Jimmy Carter'© 21.7 1978 tarihli bir miiracaatname göndermiş- tir. Washington Post gazteesi Yusuf AŞun Kasgari adli bu Uygur Turk'unin ABD Ba^kanti Jimmy Carter'a yazmış olduğu bu nuiracaatnamesini bugune kadar bilinmcyon sebeplerdci' yayımlamamıştır. Bunun iizeri- ne Yusuf A?un Kaşgari. diş iil- kelerde yaŞamakta olan» Uygur Tiirklerine muracaat ederek adi ge?en vazinin Tiirk irazctclcrin- d<?. ya.vinlanmasmn istcmiŞtir. Yusuf A<?un Kasgari Washington Post gazetesinde yaymlaromak iizere ABD Balkani Jimmy Car- ter'a yaznuş olduğu 21.7.1978 ta* rihli yazismi aynen yayirohyoruz.

«İnsan haklan
konusund? tek
taraflişimz»

«Saym Balkan,

Size hitaben yazmi? oldugum bu yaziyi Washington Post gazetesinde yayınlanmak uzere gonderiyorum,

Başkanlık vazifesinl devir aldigi- mz gOnden beri İnsan haklarım sa- vunmak i?in baŞlatmış olduğunuz mO- cadeleyi duyarak pek 50k memnun ol- maktayiz. HattS yakinda s6ylemiş olduğunuz -nutuklann birinde cAmerl- kan halkmin 200 seneden beri insan haklarım savunmak igin mOcadele ede geldİglni» beyan ettiniz. İnsan hakla- nm savunmak l?ln baŞlatmış olduğunuz mUcadelenln ilelebet devam etme- sl en bUyuk temennimizdir. Bu konu- nun sizden sonra Ba?kanlık mevklne oturacaklar tarafından da ele alınma~ si İnsanlık Alemi loin son derece fay- dah olacaktır.

Sayın BaŞkan, Ba?kanlık vazifesinl devir aldığımız gOnden beri İnsan haklarım savunmak igin yOrOtmekte olduğunuz mQcadeley! btitQn kalbim- le takdir etmekle beraber bunun tek

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mekte olnn bircok incmlckct vardır. Bunlnrm başmda Qln Halk Cumhurl- yetli ctelir. Maocuların Qln'dc iktldan ellcrlnlc ndjktan sonra kendl lialki ve azinlik mlletlerc knrŞi yUrUtmtl? olduğu gayrl İnsanl siyasetl tarlf ctmck mQniUUn degİldr. Hcle Maocuların hQr dQnyada Sİnklang/Uygur Otonom

Bdİgeşl olarak 'billnen Dogu Tİlrkis- tan'da yQriHmUs olduğu haksız, zu- 10m, l?knce ve katliam slyasetlnl an- latmak İfln ne kfigit ve ne de kalcın dayanır. Qinlilerln Dogu TOrkİstan halkına karŞi yUrOtmQ? olduğu gayrl insanl siyasetle ilgill olarak dis ba- smd bir hayll yazılar çıktı. Bunlar- dan .berdar olmanız gerckirdi Ama butun bunlara ragmen Qin Halk Cum huriyeh'ndeki İnsan haklan meselesi? le İlgill -'larak bugOnp kadar bir tek soz dal tmediniz. 1 Jan da anla- şilacagi gibi insan haKlanni savun- mak İrln yOrOtmekte olduğunuz sly- set sadece belirli memleketleri hedef almakta ve tek taraflı olarak devam ettirilmektedir.

Arzu ederseniz Mao rejimlnln Dogu Tiirk..-/.an'da yUrOtmUş olduğu kanli slyasetl bizzat mOjahede eden bin olarak bu hususta size blraz bli- gl vereyim.

Komunist Qin yönetimi Dogu Turkistan'da neler yaptı?

Maocular, Dogu TQrkİstan'i tama- men İstlcS ettikten sonra «inkilgp a- leyhtan unsurlan cezalama» kampan- yasmi ba?lattı. 1950 —• 1951 seneleri arasında devam ettirilen bu kampan- ya sirasmda 200.000 gOnahsiz Dogu TOrkİstanli tamamen yok edİldi.

Bir taraftap bu kampanya devam ettİrlİrkeri Mao rejİmi Dogu TİlrklS- tan"haTKiHi"Qc kfSm3' ayirdi. Buna «halki la?e He temlzlemew adi verİldi. Bu kampanyaya gŞre bir grup halk yanm tok, İkincl grup halk yanm a?, QCfncQ grup halk İse atfiga terk edil- dl. MeselS, QqQncO gruba dahİl olan Bay nahlyesİnden 8000 kl?l. Ka?gar'in Feyziabat nahlyesİnden 30.000 klŞl 1959 senesinde acliktan dlmtl?lerdir. Halbu ki, bunlan besleyecek imk^nlar vardi. KomOnİst ydnetİm bu slyasetl halen devam ettirmektedir.

KcmOnİst yfİnetİciler Dogu TQr- İkİstan halkmi tQrlil bahanelerie tutuk İamakta avlarca sorgusuz sualsiz ka-

da kendİslİnl mOdafaa İmkSlİi verme- mekte, mUcbbct hapİs vcya 010m ce- zasi ' vcrmkctc, Lundan da klmsenln haberi olmamaktadır.

BugQn dOnyada Dogu TOrkİstan halki kadar often pOfİten bahanelerle yok edİlinektc olan başka bir millet yoktur. Bu hususta size blrkag misal vereyim:

Mao putu dniinde egilmeyen cezalandirih

Dogu TQrkİstan'm Hoten ?ehrtn- deki nickteplerin Ogretmenlerinden bl ri basinda cikan yazılara dayanarak talebelerine atom bombasinin tehlike- lerini anlatir. Bunu duyan yonetİciler, «son tau bcleri korkutmak i?in ders vcr m-ssin, halbuki ta.cbeİenne atom bom basindan korkulmaması hususunda tel kinde bulunman, Amerika'nın kağıt arslan olduğunu anlatman İazimdi» di ye 1953 senesinde tuuklayarak 5 sene hapis cezasına mahlQm etmişİtir.

1968 senesinde gOzleri İyl gOrme- yen yađli bir Dogu Turkistanli rtlzgfİr- dan yere dO?raQŞ olan Maonur res- mine gormeden basmiŞtir. Bunu goren bir Maocu, «Sen nasıl olur da dahi- mizin resmini e>gnrcsin» diye adumi dOver. Mahkerae de bu zata Oc sene raahkOralyet cezası verlr.

Sayın Ba?kan, yukanda vermiş olduğum misaller denİzde bir katre dahl te?kil ctmez. Maoculann Dogu TQr- kistan'da yOrOtmO? olduğu gayrl insanl slyasetl anlatabilmek igin clİtler dolusu İktap yazmak gerekir. Burada Şu hususu bilhassa belirtmek İsterİm kl, Maocular bu kanli siyasetlerlnl sa dece Dogu Tİlrkİstan halkına karŞi de- JEU«ayni zamanda Tibet ve. Mogol hal- kına kar?i da ydrOtmektedir.

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İnsan haklarım savunmak istiyorsamz...

Eger slz İnsan haklarım adİİftne Şekİlde ytlrOtmck İstiyorsamz dlkkatİ- nlzi baŞkalnna degil. fakat Qln faŞİst İerİne teksİf etmeniz gerekir. Degil bu gOn azinlik milletlerln. hattı kendİ milletinin dahl İnsanca yaŞamasını İs- temeven komfinist yonctimin gayrl İn sanl siyasetine kar?i pikmadan dQnya-



GÜN 15İGİNDA

Ahmet Kabakli

YEŞİLAY'A SEJLAM...

1 **ilo 8 Mart arasi, yani .bu hafta, YEŞİLAY HAFTA-SI'dir.**

Mart 1920'de, iggal kuvvetleri'nin, TURk genflerini i\$ki ve uyugturucu maddeye aligti-rarak, mill! benlik ve insanhk-lanni kaybettirme tegebbUsleri Uzerine kurulan TORKIYE YE-ŞtLAY (Hilal-i Ahder) CEMİYE-TI'nin 59.kurulus yilindayiz.

Gengligimizin ruh ve beden sagliguu korumak ve aynea milli gelenek ve ahlakimizi kiil- tiirle, imanla ayakta tutabilmek i?in galigan Yegilay Cemiyetine, tegekkirlerimiz vardir. Lakin devlet, hiikiimet, belediyeler, iinversiteler, TRT ve basin tpla- rak malicubiyetimiz de olmali- dir.

Tiirkiye'ninyetkilileri kendi vicdanlanna sormabdirlar:

"Kamu yaranna" btiitiin demekler arasmda, ni?in en az Yegilay'a itibar edilmektedir; bu cemiyet neden iivey evlat- tir? Mesela devlet, hiikumet, gehir biiyikleri, bir telgraila ol- sun, neden Yegilay Haftasun kutlamazlar? TRT'de Yegilay'i tanitan programlar bir yana, bu haftamn haberi bile neden verilmez?

Yani bu yetkililer ve kurum- lar, Yegilay'm i^ki, uyugturucu madde ve insan sagli&mi harab eden diger kotii aligkanliklar- la miicadele etmesine kargi mi- dirlar? Bu miicadeleyi zararli mi, yoksa gereksiz mi buluyor- lar?

Ordumuzun se^kin emekli albaylardan inane ve dava ada- nu Genel Bagkan Selahattin Kaptanagasi ile giizide profe- sor, avukat, doktor, miihendis ve gazetecilerinin yonettigi Yegilay, biitiin kayitsizliklara ragmen giizel hamleler yapmaktadır. Buyukler i?in YEŞtLAY, eocuk- lar i?in KIRLANGig dergileri ve el kitapları gikarmaktadır.

Kisacasi her haliyle, kiil- tiirumiizun miicadelesini yapan Yegilay Cemiyeti'ne milliyetei ve MiislUman vatandagların say- gilari, gukranlari vardir. Milletın bagında yegeren miesseseler, hiikiimetlerdeki zaaf ve gaflete ragmen yagamaya devam eder- ler.

)pwtvpTWAAnvn<m

DofTTurkistan lideri Isa Yusuf Alptekin beg ay once, "Esir mi He tier haf- tosi" dolayisiyle gazeteleri, ge- zerken, özel bir arabamı carp- masi sonucu ugradı&i kazanın kink ve yaralardan heniz yeni yeni kurtulmaya baglamigtir.

Fakat vatanseverligin zir- vesinde, her yoksulluk ve hasta- ligi hi?e sayan bu degerli TURkistan lideri, Amerika'mn, UYGUR TORKLERINE KARŞI al- digi yeni bir gaflet karandan otiirri, siihatini yeniden sarsar iiziintilere diigmugtir. Ameri- ka'mn ve hur diinyamn "Insan Haklan Bildirisi"'ne aykin dii- gen bu yeni tutarsiz karan:

HUR AVRUPA VE HtfRRI- YET RADYOLARI'NIN • 1966' dan beri, DOGU VE BATI TUR- KISTAN'lardaki 10 milyonu ag- km UYGUR TUKLERI JgtN siir- diirdiigi RADYO YAYINLARINI 15/2/1979 tarihinden itibaren DURDURMUŞ bulunmasidir.

1960'da gayri resmi ve 16 yildan beri de resmi olarak UYGUR TORKLERI (leheesiyle) yapilan bu yayinlar Sovyet. Rus- ya ve Kizil gin boyundurugunda esir tutulan Musliiman Tiirk kardeglerimizin hiir diinya ile, yegane haber kopriisti oluyordu. Komiinizmin zuliim ve istila zmdamna kapatilan 10 milyon insan, ancak bu radyolardan al- diklan miisbet sesler sayesinde bir gun belki kurtulmak ve hiir insanlar arasma katilmak iimidi- ni tagiyorlardı.

Amerika, belki Kizil gin'le kurdugu yeni dostluk miinase- betlerini zedeler korkusu ile al- digi bu yersiz karardan otiirri, asil kendi prensiplerini ve tN- SAN HAKLARIEVRENSEL BtL- DIRIStNIN insan! maddelerini zedelemig ve (ignemig bulundu- gunu farketmelidir.

HUR Avrupa ve Hiirriyet Radyolarımm UYGUR TURKLE- RI SEKStYONU'nu vakit ge?- meden, yeniden faaliyete ge?irt- melidir. Biitiin Tiirk diinyasi ve hUR insanlık kendisinden buna beklemektedir. Inssuiigih temel haklan ve biiyik hiirriyet prensipleri gelge? siyasi cıkar- lara gignetilmeraelidir.

Hitmyet Radyosu'nun intihan -I-

TUTSAK loqu Yurkistan'in diinya vicdanma hltnc eden (ferynt eden. dcsnci belki da ha dogru olurdu) sbzciisU Isa Yusuf Alptckin'in Ikl linfta kadar onccclcl l>ir beyannmcsi licin mUlcUmizin bir acismi di!o gctldrl. hem de sii-rekll bir hastahgimizn tgik tuttu.

Kona \$u: Birlcgik Amcrik.Vnm Bali Auuanya'da kurulniug olan ve Sovyct Itusya lulsagi millctlerc iii- iap edeu «Kadio Liberty* (Hurriyet Radyosu) udiyia yaptigi radyo ya- yinlari vardır. Ukranyalilara, Rus tutsugi bagka bristly an milleilere vc Sovyet lulsagi Tiirk uruklaima. Ayn ayn Ozbek, Kazak, Kirgiz, Turkmen, Azcrbaycan, Talar ve Ungkurt iehceieriyle, (her ichye ifin 20 daklka) hu yaymlar «Hurriyet Rudyosu'ium* kurulduqu 1952'den bugiinc kadar siircgelmitir. 1960* da gayriresmi olarak (vc 1966'dan itibaren de resmi olarak) bu yayin lara Uygur Ich'esiylc de giinde 15 dakika yayin cklcndi. 15.2.1979'da Anicrika Hukiimeti Uygur ieliQC- siyle yapilan yaymi kesiverdi.

Bu suslurma harekelinin bir dc perdo arkasi var. \$oylc: Uygur Tiirkleri (dalia ziyadc Dogu Tur- kistan'da yagiyan ve Kazaklar v.s. gibi agiret Kuruluglnrma hagi ol- mayan. kent hayati yasiyan Turkcl- rc UygUf deniyor) Dogu Tiirkistan' da 8-10 milyon kadardir. Sovyctler Birlirii sinin icinde de 309.000 - 400. 000 Uygur yagar. Uygur Ichcosinde yayin baglar baglamaz, o zainan Cln'dc iktidarda olan ve Amcrika'- mn mutton sayilan ^iaug - Kay - \$ck feryadi baslirdi: «3u yavim suslurunU Amcrikahlar buna: «Sov yellcr smiri iginc do 400.000 Uygur var» diye karsihk vererck v«vi ni siirdiirdiilcr. Zaten bu yayinda ntabrik edici» hi? bir gey yokfu. Sovvot idareclleri dc blrka? kerc Amcrkalilara Tiirk lcli^eieriylc ya pilan yayjnlann kesi'mesi icin ri- enda, Jsrarda, baskida buhdular. Amcrika'daki soldi poliMkanlar da cksilmesinden yana» agirliklarmi kovdular. Bu yavmlarm tahsisaii kirpdn k'rnila kusa ccvrlidt. Yapil- lan yaymlar da giUlkec daha «*wa sabuna doVonmnz* bale getirild'. Ann. biicbiiUin kesilmedi. Ta, 15 Subai {rclincnvc kadar.

Amcrika'mn cski vc «sadiK» mnltefiki Ciang - Kav - fjick'in bu kadar ricalarina ragmen yapdron- <Sovl. Balkan Carter bu sefor K>7il C.in idarccisi Tone!' memnen ouok Iri" v^mvordi. Hattrli •ivarct avarmi'n bas^on^?! yerde kur

ban kcsillr. Iluuun gibi, Bagkan Car ter lam Tcng'ln Amcrkaya gelccc gi glinlcrdc Uygur TiirkclcrTni dun yadan liaber niabldiklcr tek ku.v- naklanni kcscl. Bbylccc Tong Amc- rikan topraklarina aynk b>>sarkrn, ko.vun ycrinc tnsan Hakiari'mn kur ban cdibncslylc kargiandi.

Aslinda Amorika IlukOrnctinc kurban olarak bir kovun kosiyordu. nc dc yahuz Uygur Turcleri'nin lin her alma hakkini. O aslinda kendi liindigi dab kcslyordu.

Isa Yusuf Alptckin, hakli ola ^ak diyorki: karan verirken A>'erika bukuinctl hightir sinir go- zclilincdnc, bzgiir haber almayi hak taniya, iusan Haitian Iivrensel I>c- yannamesi'nin 19. niaddcsmi 9ig- nemi? olmaktadır.^ Kendi tcurulug gayesine lauionien lers diigmus oi_ maktadır.... O zaman Cartcr'in be- yanlarmin samimi obnadigi ortaya 9iknmktadir»

Gercckten, bir yandau taviz kabul etmez bir prensip olarak in- san haklarma bagliliginn iddia eder ken, vc buna dayanarak bagkalan- ni yererken, obiir yandan, bir siya- si mcn'aal goriiir gonnez, kcndisi bu haklan hige sayarsa, gct9ektco sbzlcrcino itimadi yok ediyor ve bin dlgi dali kesiyor demekdir. Kizil idarcciler cntrikacilik, dbneklik ve insanlan menraat hesaplarl ugru- na t'eda elmek iglerinde. Carler'den vc benzeri batih politikacilardan d:iiina daha usta olacaktardir. HUR ljiinv'l'm, devlct adamian o sahn- dn kizillarla yangamaz. Onlar 191a us Uinliik ancak hak'ka sarsilmaz kaya gibi ba-jb kalmaktadir.

Amcrika idarceilcrinin tuttukla ri yol, davalarma ilmnet ede ede, vc dosilarmi feda ede ede, her an lamda kiigulmck vc crimpk yolu- dur. Bu gidlg bana bir Amerikan gairinin caidandirdigi durumu balirlatiyor: Bir genco sabaha kadar idare ctmck ii/.crc bir mum vc rilmis. O gen9, daha kcyllfi oisun diyo nurnnu ikl ucundan birden yn- kiyor. Sonunu dugiinmeden, ho.vrat- 9a savurganlikla mumu entiyor. Son ra birdenbire kendine geiyor. Dalia oniinde uzun bir gcco var. Am# mum crimi?, bir damlacik kalnug- tir. Alevi dc kucilmcktc, sonmek iizeredir. «Aman sonnicsln!» dl.ve titreycn clicrini siper ederek son igik dajulasim korumaya gahsmak- tadir. Amcrika idareciieri bu bale gclmeden once akillnrintn baglanna gclmesini Allali'tan dilerim.

Turkiyc'nin de trajedisi var. O da vann.



LSME

MTURK

Hurriyet Radyosu'nun intihan -2-

Diktat etUnlz ml? Noredo, ne
Dunwn TURKlstan Alcmindc
dai

uu. Dogu TURKtstnn'da degil,
konişu yerlerde dc) bir fclAkot olur-
s-i, czUcn blr hak, başı darda bir klm
so oluisa, soslnl y-ilksclden, proUxsto
odcn veya yardım lscyoa tek ad var:
Isa Yusuf Alptckln. Yalnız ondan sos
golly or. Bizdo blrgok zonglnler var:
onlann scsi qiknuyor. Blr<;ok kunun-
lar var: hepsi llglsz. Rcsmi maiennu
larclan, hole, uzak bir Ultima! haJln-
<Ic bile bir şey ummuyoruz. Milliyet-
yazarlar, mlllyetql gazeteier, za-
n>an zoman sUtunlarmda dsrtlerl
d.)-

le gotlriyorlar. Ama onlann yazdik-
Ian da, hemen dakna Alptekin'in ver
dig! bilglcrden kaynaklaniyor ve on
dan gikan teşebbllslerln yankisi olu-
yor. Alptekin, zcnghn ml. kudreill ml?
No gczcr! Orta haUL. Hatta sikmti
l?indc. 11 u kadar qok yere blrden
ve-
tişecek enerjlyi nasıl buluyor? G°<
dinamik, cok gene ml? Hayir. Sek-
sen ya?lannda. Safellk durumu
bozuk.

Blr iki a.y once. Qstellk agir bir tra-
fik kazasi geqlrdl. Yatalak durumda.
yino dtlnyanua qesltl yerlerindeki
rurkistanhların yardımına kosmak-
la mesgui.

Mcsela, Araerika'mn «Hiirryet
Radyosunun» Uygur lehqcslndekl ya-
yıniru blrden kesmesi lşlnd<x Bunua
tesirlal kuquutsemiyeUm. Kapkaran-
lik blr zindanda omiir boyunca va-
şa.maya mahkkn blr klmse lcln bir
noktadnn gelen işik no lse, o lehce-
yi konusan tujsak Tiirkler i?ln Gun-
do 15 daklkacsk siiren bu yayui da
o idi.

Yino mese'a, (burada aci talsi-
litLna girmiiycyim). tam buctinlercc.
kizillardan kacakar canlanm (ama
yalniz canlanm) kurtarabiimic b8.vii-
cek sayida blr l'iirk toplulugu var.
Şu anda onlar komşu blr lilkede a<j,
barmaksiz. soguktan ve hastaliktan
olmemek Iqin miicadclc lcindc, Yar-
dimsiz kişi gociremlyeceklerl niuhak
leak. Acolc yardım klmden ve nere-
^den gelebliir Onlarn Gq sifatlan
u-Ttirk olmak, 2—MQstlknan
,k, 3—Insan olmak. «TURK»
sifnt-

mdaa otiirii gelecek higblr yardım
yotifur. Tiirklye'de Ccubet
idareslnJn

hen-eye kesln engel. Muslti-
man \Amaktan otiiru gelecek yar*
dunlar >xjk kit. tnsanbk alemlnin
j'ardimlanSjqJia da kit. tŞte bu kit
Imkfinlardan. sorKZorreslne kadar
r.e

mumkunsc saglivafinspek lcln mfk-
luplar yszmak. cvlct ve hufcGmct
boskanlanni ve dunya ^rditn ku -
rumlanm barekete gecirmck

olan Imkfinlar sinin lşlndc son had-
dc kadar gayret sarfedcr. Sonrasi Al
lalm kalmıştır.

Alptekin'o gllkran. BaŞarisi l'in
dua otmek. Bunlarda beraberiz. Aina lş
bununla bltmiyor. Cevap bekleycn, ?ok nci vc
d(15UndUrucll sorular da var. MesclA, o bu
gayretlerdc neden bu kadar yapayalniz?
Neden (liiQ oi- nmzsa) liaska uruklardan diş
XURkle rln do boyle <^alişlanl yok?
RlcselA, Azeri TQRklcrin. moselA TaLarlarm,
niosola Tiirkmenlerln boylycsine qaii- şan
kimleri \-ar? BUenlniz var mi? Yoks.i. nğın
oimuyor? Ycnl yetlşon ku?aklar orosmdan
niqln bol sayida cikmiyor? Blr engel rat var?
Bir bo- zulma nil var? Gbe kitabinda 1951' d'
kizillara karŞi sava?an ve canla- nm kurtaran
Kazak'ların Irgitliz *a- zan bile hayran
birakan destanian yazilmıştır. bunlann
hayalta

Icalanlan Turklyc'de. Qocuklan ve torunlan
da var. Sayica epevee qo- galdilar. Ama
aralarında kaç kişi es- kl ruhu tajiMr? Kagi
qozulup gev- şedi? Kaqi «ilradl cfutbolcu?»
Hatta acaba icinde «Ecevlqii» olsnlan bile
cikti nn? Bunu merak edip ara<.tiran ve (dahn
oncmlisi) sebebini arlyan kim var?

Bunlan kimseyl itham otmek !■> cin
yazmiyorum. KotUmserlik duygu su yaymak
Iqln Iso asla. Gerçekleri bilelim ve gerçeklere
gore tcdbrll ve gayretll olalim dive
vaziyorum. Baskalarım lhmall. cereck bir
Tiirkcii'de yalnız blr turlu teslr n- yandirin
Kendl azraini ve gayretbil arttırmak.

Atsiz lie Zekl Velidl Togan am- sradaki
bir konufinayi hatirliyorura. Alsiz'in kendinc
has bir konuŞma sekli vardi. Bazan en elddi
ve act konulan bi'e bir ?aka uslubQ Iqlnde
dilo getirirdl. Ve en sovdiklerlne de en fazla
takilirdi. Bir gilm Togan ho. Cnya dcd.1 kl:
«Şu senin Tiirkistan- Ular da ne blqim
Insanlar vahu? Bo- yuna dodlkodu yaparlar!
Blr turlu a-niasaniazbr. blrlkte qalısınmazlar!
Sen de hiq akillanmazsm, onlarl top- lamak
Iqln uiTa?ir durursuni* Zekl Velidi hoca
durdu dllstndS, sonra o da kendine has
uslObla boynunu biik tii ve: «Ne yapayim,
bvnlm mlletlm bu!» dedi

Biz no yapahm? Once mHcltmll- rl.
kusurianyala blrlkte, seveccgiz. Sonra, Allaha
hamdodecegiz : Btlz Tiirk yarattigi icin ve
TiirkUgun ka. dcrindekl zcilora da ortak
eitgl lcln. Sonra gayret edcceglz:
Bn^kolanm hatalanm ve eksikllklerini kendl
le dakarligirnuia taralr edebilmck Iqln. Sonra
da dairaa dusunecok ve anya- cagiz:
hTilletlJr.ln kaderint karartan temel sobeb
ncdlr? Bunu cliizlctcek rilsim nedir?

t.

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7/V&tf./■)<££

Red Exploitation Causes New Wave Of Uprisings By Kazaks In Sinkiang

f~y&e C'/'l »*' tl/evA' y

3 Ccr . /M S~

fRevisionists' Conduct \ Subversion In Sinkiang

The Russians are carrying on infiltration and sub- version in Peiping-controlled Sinkiang, huge Chinese province in Central Asia, Peiping radio quoting Sinkiang chieftains has revealed.

Anti-Mao Tse-tung activities are prevalent among the minority groups in Sinkiang province, both Wang En-mou, first secretary of the Communist party in Sinkiang and Saifuddin, Red governor of Sinkiang province, admitted on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Communist "Sinkiang Uigur Autonomous Region." A ceremony was held at Urumchi (Tihwa), capital of Sinkiang province, Sept. 27, according to a Chinese Communist radio broadcast.

It said some of the 'subversive activities' were instigated by the 'imperialists' while the others by the 'revisionists', the latter meaning nobody else other than the Soviet Russians.

The Peiping regime, the Red Chinese radio broadcast said, had turned Sinkiang into an industrial base for the sake of waging war against the free world. The Chinese Reds are actively exploiting strategic minerals in the province, the broadcast also revealed.

A new series of anti-Communist uprisings broke out in the vast Chinese province of Sinkiang in October, a Central News Agency dispatch datelined Hongkong Oct. 31, quoted well-informed sources as saying.

Sinkiang is the Central Asian Chinese province adjacent to four of the five "Soviet Socialist Republics" of Russian Central Asia.

The dispatch said the uprising took place in the Red Kazak "Autonomous Prefecture" of Hi and Tahcheng when the Chinese Communists tried to force the people to send their cattle to inland provinces under a long-term exploitation program.

The report said the tribesmen were ordered to provide Kansu, Shansi, Shensi, Hupeh, Szechwan, Kwangsi, Tibet and Peiping city with 100,000 head or more cattle per month.

As this adversely affected the livelihood of the tribesmen, they sent representatives to the local Communist "government" requesting that the quota be reduced.

Considering the request a reactionary move against the Peiping regime, the Communists detained the representatives for interrogation, the dispatch reported.

Indignant at the Communist action, thousands of the tribesmen stormed the office of the Kazak "Autonomous Prefecture," and drove to mountainous regions a large number of cattle slated for transfer.

In suppressing the riots, the Communists arrested scores of youths and militiamen and all of them were termed missing, the dispatch added.

Revolts In Tibet

Three hundred anti-Communist guerrillas in Changtu, Sikang, a province between Tibet and China proper, joined forces with

approximately 200 local "Law Kai" people (who were forced by the Chinese Communists to join the so-called "people's communes") and staged an uprising against the local "public security force" on June 25 last, according to highly informed sources in Taipei.

The freedom-fighters withdrew to the mountain areas in the north before Communist reinforcements arrived. They killed all of the 200 local Reds while suffering minor casualties of their own, the sources said.

Exile By Force

Sinkiang and Tibet have become the main centers where the Chinese Communists conduct "reformation" of intellectuals.

According to a news broadcast by the Shanghai radio station, it appears that to get to be exiled to Sinkiang is the only way out for middle school students who fail to qualify for higher education.

SAY FA: 6 Kil

İSLAM TURK RABİTASI

Merkezi Mekke'de olan Rabitatiil filemi'l İslfım sor. defa Pakistan'da toplanan İslfım Olkeleri Dişİşleri Bakanlan Konferansma İslfım fileminin en mihim .. meselelerini ve bu arada esir Turkler meselesini tarn bir 'W^gSlfım kardegligi anlayişi i^inde getirmiş bulunmaktadir. ^jpaudi Arabistan'daki Ukaz gazetesinde bu konuda Qikan bir yaziyi Dogu Turkistan eski ba\$vekili muhterem Isa Yusuf Alptekin bey tercvime ettiriD ebndermiş. Biz de, Musluman kardeglenmize Isa Yusuf Alptekin beyle beraber şiiikranlan-mizi sunarak bu terciimeyi okuyucularuniza arz ediyoruz.

"DUNYA İSLAM BİRLİĞİ SEKRETERİ

MUSLUMAN TURKİSTAN DAVASINDAN BAHSEDİYOR"

Dunya İslam Birliğı (RabitatiilTalemi'l İslami) Sekrterliğı Pakistan'ın İslamabad fehrinde toplanan II. İslam Ulkeleri Di- fişleri Bakanları Konferansma İslam diinyasimn en onemli me- selelerini ihtiva eden bir muhtira vererek bunlann hal ve fare- leri hususunda goruflerini beyan etmiştir. Kendisi ile gbriiŞti- giimüz Birliğin Genel Sekreteri Şeyh Muhammed Ali El-Hare- kan bu konu uzerinde sunlan soylemiştir:

Muslumanların meselelerini İbzmek, istek ve arzularının, men- faatlerine uygun bir Şekilde gerçekleşmesini saglamak birliğin bařlica gorevlerindendir.

Bu gorevin gerf eklefmesi if in mezkür sekreterlik, DiŞiŞleri Bakanlan Konferansma en onemli dava olarak Şunlan sunmuř- tur:

Kudus ve Filistin davası, Liibnan ve Miislumanlan, Eritre Miislumanlan, Afer ve İsi, Afganistan, Hindistan ve Burma Miis- liimanlan, Tayland'daki Musluman azmhgi meselesi, Filipin Miislumanlan, Tiirkistan Miislumanlan, Bulgaristan Miisliimanlan- n, Bati Trakya Miisliimanları, Makedonya, Yunanistan'daki iisliimanlar ve Kibns davası. Bundan bařka İslam diinyasim __hdiit eden komiinizm tehlikesi ve bilhassa Afrika ve Asya'da *giinden giine artan HristiyanlaŞtırma faaliyetlerine cevap vere- cek İslami heyetlerin kuvvetlendirilmesi, İslam Ortak Pazan kurulması, İslama karŞi yapılan hiicumlara ilmi fekilde karfihk verilmesi gibi genel İslami davalar, tedbirleri ile birlikte aynca konferansa birlik tarafından sunulmuřtur.

—Turkistan Miislumanlan davası birfok Miisliimanlarca bilin- meyen bir davadır. Ekselanslan bu hususta bize bilgi vermek liitfunda bulunurlar mı?

—Turkistan batıda Hazar Denizi ile Ural arasinda, doguda Qin Denizine, kuzeyde Sovyetler ve Mogolistan, giineydelran, Afganistan ve Hindistan'a kadar uzanan topraklardir.

Giiniimuzda Tiirkistan siyasi bakımdan Qin Halk Cumhuri- yctine tabi 20 milyon Musluman niifuslu Sinltiang denilen Dogu Tiirkistan, Sovyetler Birliğinc tabi 60 milyonu aqhın Ball Tiirkistan ohnak uzerce ikiye aynhr.

İslam alminin c ok kiymctli bir par fast olan Tiirkistan, lari- hi bakımdan fetihlerve kalirumanlihlarla doludur. Bundan bařka İslam Him ve mcdniyctini yaymada dahagefen yuzyila kadar astr/arca biyyik hizmetlerdc bulunmuşlardır. Onlann ver- diğı cscrleri bugiin bile İslam diinyasi ifinde ve difında elle tu- tular bir fckildc gdrmcctyiz.

Bugiin İslami olmayan bir idare ctında bulunan Miisliiman- lar.Rus Qarlarının vahfi liicumlanna ugramıřlar, yohluk ve binbir tiirlii mahrumiyete veeziyete ragmen destanlar yaratarak gogiislerini diifmanlara siper etmişlerdir. Doha sonra gelen Kt- zil Rus ordusu da buralarda imha ve toptan yok etme hareket- lerinde bulunmuşlardır. Dogu Tiirkistan ise, gerek putperest Manfuryah Qin krallannm imha emeli giiden hiicumlanna, ge- rekse Komiinist Qinlilerin fok hotii ifkencclerine maruz kal- mişlardır. Doha sonra yapılan kiiltiir ihitalleriyle Miisliimanlan tasfiye hareketine yönelmişlerdir.

Tiirkistan'ın her iki yakasında yaŞayan Miisliimanlann 30 yildan beri yalnız diŞ alemle değıl, 'kendi aralannnda bile ilifki- leri demirperde geregi tamamen kesilmiftir. Bununla beraber buralara giden İslam heyetlerinin ifadelerine gore, komiinist idareciler gdstermelik de.olsa onlar if in bazi İslami gbriintiiler haciramlif hrdr. Bati Tiirkistandaki Miisliimanlann dunnu, dogudakilerden daha iyi gorinmektedir. Batıda din iflerini yii- riiten Moskova'daki Dinler Bakanhgina bağıli dini idare meka- nizması bulunmaktadir. Camilerin ve bazi dini okullann yone- timine burasi bakmaktadir. Taskent'te Imam Buhari Enstitiisi. Buhara Mir Arap Medresesi, bunlann bařındağelmekte ■ dir. Kur'an-i Kerim ve bazi İslami eserlerin basildigi,orayc giden İslami heyetlere verUen kitaplardan anlafihyorsa da, konu- lan agir baski ve yasaklardan dolayi, oradaki Miislumanların bu kitaplari elde etmeleri fok giif olmaktadır.

Dogu Tiirkistan'a gelince; buradaki Miisliimanlann gefmifte focuklan yařlandiracak fekilde Komiinist Qinlilerden gordiik- leri agir zulim ve iŞkenceler sonucu buradaki camiler, okullar, dini dernekler gibi İslami gbriintiiler yok edilmiştir. Herne kadar fimdiki (?in idarecileri Miisliimanlann ibadetlerini yapabil- meleri if in az da olsa serbestlik vermijse de Miisliimanlar ha la İslamiyeti ogrenmekten ve dini tercihlerden mahrumdurlar. • Qinli y one tidier İslami faaliyetlerden fekinmektedirler. Bura- da Kur'an-i Kerim fok azdır, elde etmek de fok zordur. Miisliimanlann din eğıtimi ise fok zayıftir.

—Sizce bunlar nasıl halledilmelidir?

—Birlik Sekreterliğinin Konferansa sundugu hususlar \$ un- la rdir:

1- Tiirkistan gibi komiinist idare altındaki Miisliimanlarla te- maslan s:klaŞtırarak dini inanflanni ve İslami vasiřlarım koru- malan if in yardimda bulunmak.

2- Sovyetler Birliğı ve Qin gibi devletlerle diplomatik ilifkisi bulunan iye dcvletleri teřvik ederek, bu hiikimeller nezdinde- ki hatırlarını ve itibarlarını kullanarak, bu komiinist dcvletlerin kendi smirlari ifindeki Miisliiman halka daha fazla iman ve iba- det hiirriyeti vermelerini ve simrlcnn difındaki Miisliiman ker- deflerle daha iyi miinasebetler siirdiirmelerini saglcmaya falif- malidirlar.

3- Bu kardef Miisliimanlara Kur'an-i Kerim ve kendi dillerin- de İslami eserler gondermek suretiyle din ve kiiltiir hayatlan if in yardimci olnak. Aynca camilerinin ve medrcyelerinin tamiri yenilerinin inŞasi if in para yardimi da yapılması gerekir.

29.5.1980 Ukaz Gazetesi (Suudi A ra bis tan)

* Kaba**T**li **GUN** **S** **ISIGINDA** «**ŞEVK U TARAB**»

Turk müzikisinde, her nagma gibi, bestelerin, fiyinlerin, ilahilerin isimleri de güldür:

Aim size savın Dr. Nevzat Atig'm idaresinde, Galata Mevlevihdnesi gibi, Frengistan'a komgu bir Islam ve tasawuf "gulizar" mda, Devlet Klasik Turk Musikisi Korosu'nun goniiller agan bagan ile icra ettigi iki ayin:

Ali Nutki Dede'nin "Sevk u Tarab Ayini" ve Dede Efendi'nin Saba-Buselik ayini...

Daha neler ve nasil mtisikili, giirli, duygulu, reng&renk bir sanat iklimi: Bestenigar'lar, Sultan-i Yegah'lar, Zincirbeste'ler, Devrihindi'ler, Agiraksak'lar, Senginsemai'ler, Yiruksemai'ler, Agirgember'ler, Qiftesofyan'lar, Devri revan'lar...

Bu mustki, sokagin guriiltisunden, ihtirasm, zulmiin giddetinden, olaylarin katiligi ve kurulugundan, girkinin her gegidinden kurtanp sizi, kendi iilkesine sokuyor. Havuzlu, fiskiyele, iri giiller, nakiglar, Idleler, serinlikler, kendine mahsus bitkiler, mimariler, pmarlar, ceyl&nlar, kugular dolu bir bagka iilkede...Yahya Kemal'in misraiyla diyelim:

"Gemiler gegmeyen bir ummanda" dinleyenlerine, giirden, sestem ve ahenkten yaratilmig bir igim siit veren memeleriyle, yeni bir hayat sunuyor. Yagama zevki, dirim kur-tarici, mesut edici hiiziin, velhasil: **ŞEVK U TARAB**...

Bilmem ki nasil anlatsam...Nevzat Atkg ile saz ve ses arkadaglan, bir gece, Galata Mevlevihdnesi gibi şeyh Galib'in ve Mesnevi garihi, Ismail .nkaravi'nin "miicevher gibi ruhlari tuten" o yerde, Ali Nutki Dede ve bii-yiik ogrencisi Ismail Dede Efendi'nin birer

"gainur" atmig olmamn ayibim bile dtigiin-medik...

Şunu gdrduk ki; o erigilmez medeniyetleri ve zevkleriyle onlar, kendilerini "toplular mezarlara" gdmek iateyenlerin hayat ve ihtiraslanndan, tera yenilik yikici devrim oyunlarmdan, zuppelerin gerrinden ve cahillerin.hing gikartma "gaba"larmdan gok daha uzurs dmttriUdiirler. Ebedi hayati bulmuglar;

"İdurecsgim" demek bogunadir.

| **TAKLA MAKAN VE BEYBOLA**

Bir bagka Turk musikisi, Turk oyunları ziyafeti de, "Istanbul Şenligi" (Festivali) dolayisiyle, buraya gonderilen "Dogu Tiirkisfan Halk Danslan Toplulugu" nun, Agikhava Tiyatrosu'nda yaptiklan gosteriidi.

Uygur, Kazak, Ozbek, Tacik Turkleri-

nin bu hareketii, zarif "Tiirkistanli" garkilan uzak vatan daglanmn saf nagma ve hasret dolu "bozrak"lanm bize getiriyordu. Bu "Uzak-şark" h oyunlar, raks'lar, her ne kadar "bale" haline konulmug, "modernize" edilmig olsa da, Turk insanmin nege ve huzunlerini, budist flemden igimize sinen o anlagilmaz el-kol, viicut hareketlerinin ritim ve ahengi, Anadolu'da hepsini kullanmaya devam ettigimiz sazlarla dile getiriyorlardı.

Bıi garki ve oyunları, bu "halk toplulugu"nu dinleyip seyredince anladik ki; Qinlilerin "Sinkiang" adim vermege galigtiklari Dogu Tiirkistan'da, o Uygur'lar, Kazak'lar vatamnda her nefes ve her sanat Turk'tur.

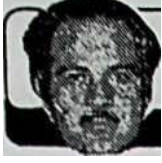
Bu dil, bu sanat, bu turkiiler, "iizum toplayan kizlar", "Dalang Sanem"ler, "Reygiil"ler "Giily&r"lar, "Ecem makam"lan, "Deppa"lar, "Beyobola"lar yagadikga, Tiirkistan'a binlerce yeni "fince" adlar da konulsa...O vatan ile bu vatamn (Tiirkkiye) baglan kopmayacak, ve gbziilemeyecektir.

Bu toplulugu Qinliler, yeni siyaset'leri icabi, buraya getirdiler. Sovyetlere kargi, iyniyet jesti yaptilar. Bu siyasetin, samimiye-te donugmesini candan dilerim.

Agikhava Tiyatrosu'nun binlerce seyircisi, sahnede oynayan ve garkilar soyleyen kardaglan ile butunlestiler. "tek viicut" oldular. Isa Yusuf Bey'i gordiim; seving yaglan dokiiyordu. 30 jnl once vatamndan vurugarak aynlan bu liderin, gimdi vatani ayagina geliyordu:

-Devran, daha bagka doner Saym Alptekin, dedim. Olaylar sabirhdir. Biz de sabirh olahtm. Tarih, nice Neron'lann yikildigim ve Ergenekon'lardan Osman hlarm figkirdigini gostermigtir. Allah'm tecellileri milyonlarca gegittir.

-Amenna, dedi.



ItOSEBASİ

Ergun Gttze

İKİ BtrYtrK HADİSE

i. stanbul festivalinde iki bUyUk hadise cereyan otti **İ** ve biz bu iki gok bUyUk hadiseyi yasadik.

Bunlardan birisi Dogu TURkistan folklor ekibinin gOsterisi idi. Kizil Rus tehdidi karjismda TURklUK aiemine karŞi yumujama politikasina gegen Kizil Cln, bir TURkistan ekibini nihayet TURkiye'ye gOndermiŞti. Bu ekibin icra ettigi musiki ve oyunlar TURk kUlTUrUnUn zerafeti. derinligi, gUzelligi ve zenginligi hakkmda anlamak istemeyenlere bile gerekli fikri vermiŞtir. Daha 6nce TURkiye'ye gelen Kizil C" savaj danslari ekibinin gbsterisi ile kiyaslamrsa TURkistan ekibi magara yanmda billur k6ŞktUr.

Muhterem Isa Yusuf Alptekin Beyin sbyledigi gibi her ne kadar elbiseler ve oyunlar biraz moder edilmiş ve ekibe ginli elemanlar katılmışsa da bUyUk TURkistan ruhu daima hakim kalmiştir. Sahnedekilerle seyirciler arasında h*' -astlanmamij bir diyalog tejekkUl etmij bir baglilik ve n. abbet haiesi meydana gelmiştir.

Bir gUn sonra yani Cumartesi akjami da Calata MevlevThSnesi'nde -ki jimdi Divan edebiyati mUzesidir- Sayin Doktor Nevzad Atlig'in idSlresin- deki Devlet KİSsik TURk MUZigi korosunun konserini dinledik. Bu konserde icra edilen eserler Ali NutkT Dede'nin Şevk-u tarab ve Dede Efendinin Saba-BQselik ayin-i jerifleri idi. Ramazan'da bir iftar sonrası Şeyh Galib gibi bir. san'at devini bagrinda tajiyan dergahin semahanesinde Dr. Nevzad Atlig'in korosundan Ust Uste Ali NutkT Dede ve Dede Efendi merhumların ayin-i jeriflerini dinlemek cidden buyUk bir hadise idi. Kaldi ki, Dede Efendinin Saba-BQselik ayin-i Şerifleri ilk defa icra ediliyordu. Semahanenin girij kismma koro, onların 6nUnesazlaryerleŞtirilmisti. Djnleyiciler hilal gibi koronun karjisinda yer almijlardı. Ayin-i jerifler TURk musikisinin zirveleridir. Ayin-i jerifler ajk, tefekkUr ve duygu gaglayamdir. Avin-i seriflerdeki ijikli maneviyatsan'ati ajan derinlik, ilahi gUzellik, tabiat btesi gercek bajka hig bir musikide ve pargasinda yoktur. Bu bakimdan ayin-i Şerifler dunya musikisinin zirveleridir. Guftelerinin ezberlenmesi zordur. Hele icralari gok zor olan eserlerdir. Ama Dr. Nevzad Atlig ve korusu bu gok r iŞi buyuk bir rahatlik ve ecdada İzyik olma muhabbeti ..e bajarmijtir. Şazların. seslerin teker teker tebrike 5Şy3n oldugu bir daha g6rulmuŞtur. Aslında Dr. Nevzad Atlig'in basardigi iŞ fevkaiadenin otesinde bir kultUr alevlenmesi- dir. Ba>ka memleketlerde olsa boyle buyuk hamleler yapan, boyle buyuk kultuir zaferleri kazanan insanlara madalyalar verilir, akademilere segilir, bbyle bir koro, bu kadar iyi hazirlanmij birekip itina ile muhafaza edilir. İki 3yin arasinda bahgeye gikiyoruz. Bahgede belki hepsi birer buyUk musiki}in3s olan mevlevT dedeleri yatiyor. En buyUk musikiyi sUkOtta bulanlar ise "hamujin" ismini almij. Mejhur mesnevT Şarihi İsmail AnkaravT hazretleri de meger burada yatiyormuj. Cocuklarımız hangi padijahm nerede yattigim, hattl bnunden gegtikleri tUrbede kimlerin yattigim biliyorlar mi? Galata MevlevThanesi'nin bugUnkU haai bile siyan-i jUkran. Eskiden burayi bir ilkokul olarak kullanmıŞlar ve Alman Lisesinin tasallutun- • dan zor kurtarilmij. Dede Efendinin Saba-BQselik ayin-i jerifi. hocasi Ali NutkT Dedeninkinden daha renkli. Amma, insan hangisini tercih edecegini saŞinyor. Aklima geliyor. Dogu TURkistan ekibini bu konsere getirmeliydi. Onlar nasıl ki Turkun sanat kUkUnUn ne kadar eski ve kuwetli oldugunu isbat ediyorlar. Burada da bu kbkUn nasıl zirvelejtigini duysunlar, iftihar etsinler.

Bu iki san'at hadisesinde TURk San'atinm ve kaderinin iki ucunugbrdUm.

Ve yine gUngdrnUj Car subayinin ju sdzU aklima geldi. "Rus komUnizmi ile Amerika mUcadele edemez. CUnkU Amerika'da bu kUlTUr yok."

Bu kUlTUr TURk'te var. Var amma, iŞte iki ucu. Dogu TURkistan ekibi ve Istanbul testivaline bir tac gibi giydirilmesi gerekirken gegijtirilen Devlet Klasik TURk MUZigi korusu.

Neyse ki gfinUl adami Dr. Nevzad Atlig "Bis" Tikparga olarak Turkmen kocasi Yunus Emre'nin GdnUl afakini tutan "Şol cennetin irmaklari" iiahisini icra etti de yamk bagrimiz merhemlendi, yumujadi, rahmetlendi. Birjehrayin yajadik.

Radiance, India

/ &

/ 9 ? £

Chin »

One of China's most turbulent "autonomous regions" is being brought under heel by a veteran soldier and Central Committee member Xinjiang, a vast, arid area peopled largely by non Chinese, has a long history of ethnic rebellion against the ruling Han Chinese.

Last year the situation became so tense that Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping travelled the 1,500 miles from Peking—on what was described as a routine inspection—to deal with a potential revolt by the Uighurs, Xinjiang's paramount ethnic group.

At the time, Uighur chiefs were quoted in Hong Kong paper as telling Deng: "we want self rule. We don't want to be dominated."

Almost half of Xinjiang

12m people are Uighur, Muslim of Turkic origin, who for at least 250 years have smouldered under what they regard as alien rule. Five million Chinese settlers and officials have been moved into Xinjiang since 1949, 250,000 of them border guard.

In April 1980, two Chinese killed a Uighur. In their fury the Uighurs attacked hundreds of Chinese and smashed their homes

Later in 1980, a Uighur-dominated court sentenced a Chinese lorry driver to death for killing a Uighur on the road. When local Chinese police and army units made mutinous noises, the sentence was commuted to imprisonment.

Xinjiang is not merely an ethnic hot spot. It borders four, worrying neighbours: the Soviet Union, Mongolia, India and Afghanistan. For years Russian broadcasts have urged the Uighurs and other ethnic groups to resist Chinese domination.

Xinjiang is also the site of Lop Nor, China's principal nuclear testing installation, from which the Chinese have launched their ICBMs.

Beginning in 1980 Peking has sent increasingly high-ranking figures to Xinjiang, but not until after Deng's visit last autumn was the unsteady situation finally taken in hand by transfer as First Secretary to the autonomous region of Wang Enshao, a Central Committee member.

Wang, who is 70, enlisted in the Red guerrillas with his father and brothers in 1927 and became political commissar of some of the Red Army's main units from 1949 and through the Fifties he held top political and military posts in Xinjiang and commanded its military region.

One of Wang's most effective acts, according to last week's official People's Daily, was personally to apologise to Uighur officials wrongly criticised in the past. This is supposed to have "deeply moved" the Uighur chief.

In Tibet, another autonomous region, the party has already admitted 25 years of misrule. In Xinjiang, too, the problem will remain Chinese chauvinism which views Uighur, Mongols, and other pastoral peoples as profoundly uncivilised, and ensure that all political and military authority remains in Chinese hands.

Not for the first time in his career, Wang Enshao is having a go at an intractable problem.



^ Ahmet
Kabaklı

GUN 1SIGINDA

QIN - MAQ1N

in bir tarih ?agında on yakın kom-
Şumuz olmuştur. Eski diinyanın yedi harikasmm
en hfrikasi olan Qin Sed- dinin Ttirkler'e kar?i
yapıldığı bilin- mektedir. Buna kar?ilik Qin'in
"Emper- yalizmi ve irk?iligi" da dillere dstandir.
Ni- tekim 8. asirda Orkun nehri kiyisma dik-
tigimiz Kul Ti&in Amti'nda:

"Cinlilerin hilekarligindan; Tiirk beylerini ve
zenginlerini siisler ve ipekli kuma?larla aldatarak
kendisine ?ektiginden, bey ogullarimizi kole,
temiz kizlarimizi cariyeye yaptigmdan, oldiirdugu
Turklerin kemikleri- ni dag gibi yigdigmdan" soz
edilmektedir.

Say in Evren, Pekin'de, o eski yakın kom-
Şunun bugtin hayli uzaklarda oturan bir to-
runu ve itibarh Tiirkiye'nin Cumhurba?kam oiarak
kar?ilamyor.

Qinliler gafil degil, eski dostlarmi da dtiş-
manlarmi daha iyi tamyar, en eski bir devlet
gelenegine sahipler. Evren'in yalnız Ttirki-
ye'yi degil, yerytizinde tek bagimsiz Turk devletinin
Cumhurba?kam oiarak biitiin dtin-

ya Tiirkltigtinti ve dolayisiyle, bugiin kendi
devletlerinin eli altinda bulunan 20 milyon Dogu
Tiirkistanli soyda?larimizi (Tiirkiye
Tiirkliigtintin atasi olan o mazlum insanlari) da
hi? olmazsa manen temsil ettigini de ?ok iyi
biliyorlar.

Pakistani giden Evren Pa?a, bize oradan,
Sovyetlerin yurt ve odaklarmdan atarak pe-
ri?an ettikleri Afgan Ttirkleri'nin bir kisim
go?menlerini getirerek, Tiirkiye'nin dtin-
yadaki soydaşlarına ilgisini belgelemi?, şan ve şeref
kazanmişti. Şimdi ise, onun gidi?i, Dogu
Tiirkistanli soydaşlarımız kadar ?ok sayidaki
Qinli Mtisliimanlari da sevin-
direcek... Anadolu'dan Atalar yurduna bir selam olacaktır.

SUFFE

Turk edebiyati, 1982'de nihayet bir sa-
nat ve edebiyat "Yilligi"na kavu?tu.

Beklenen bu eser SUFFE KULTUR
SANAT YILLIGI adini ta?iyor.

Bugtine kadar yalnız, Tiirk edebiyatmi
hakkiyle temsil etmeyen bir "Ztimre" de-
vamb "Yillik" lar yapıyordu. Millet-in haberi bile
olmadan, kendi kendilerine birtakim se?me'ler
yapıyor, bunu da her yıl "Tiirk ede-
biyatı"mn sanki biitiin verimleriyim?, şahe-
serleri imi? gibi piyasaya stirtiyorlardı.

Dunya kuruldu kurulah, Tiirkiye'ye sol'un
getirdigi taassubu (bagnazligi) hi?bir. devirde,
hi?bir ztimre getirememi?tir. ideolo-
ji i?in sanata bile dtişman olmuş, kottiltik
yapmi?lardir. Bazi degerli şair ve sanatkar-
larm yamsira, degersizleri ve be? para et-
mezleri de sirf solcu uydurma dilci, yikici ve tepesi delik
yenilik?i yaratiklar olduklari i?in bu "yillik" lara
abyorlar; gen?lerimizi ve ogre tmenlerimizi bu
yanli? "ornek" lerle aldat-
ma.ya kalkiyorlardı.

Buna kar?ilik, Necip Fazil, Arif Nihat Asya
M. Necati, Sepet?ioglu, Mehmet Kaplan Cemil
Meri?, Emine I?insu, Sevin? Qokum Mehmet
Şinari, Gtiltekin Samanoglu, Sezai Karako?, M.
Necati Karaer, ilhan Ge?er, Feyzi Hahci, Mustafa
Kutlu, Mustafa Mi- yasoglu, Yavuz Btilent
Bakiler, M. ilyas Su- ba?i, Bahattin Karako?,
ilhan Ezik, 0. Ltifti Mete, Y. Benekay, Ertugrul
Karako?, Suzan Qataloluk, Be?ir Ayyazoglu ve
benzeri ?ok degerli sanat&rlarimizdan bile
"Sanat Edebiyat¹ Yilligi" dedikleri ?eylere hi?bir
par?a almiyorlardı. Boylece, Tiirk edebiyat ve sa-
nati, sanki sol'dan ibaret bozuk dilli, boz-
guncu, fikirsiz, eksantrik bir edebiyatmi? gibi bir his
vererek gen?ligi tedirgin ediyor-
lardı.

Şimdi, Tiirk Edebiyatı, Tore, Dogu?, Kop-
rti, Mavera, Edebiyat, Akademi, Sizrati, Emel,
Qagri, Yoneli?ler, Hareket gibi, gen? ve yeti?kin
sanatkarlarm yazdiklari se?kin edebiyat dergileri
cikiyor. Yalnız Tiirk Ede-
biyatı Dergisi, "Sol" da
?ikanlann hep-
sinden daha fazla satiyor. Boylece
milletin istedigini ger?ek edebiyatm hangisi oldugu
anla?iliyor.

SUFFE KULTUR SANAT YILLIGI 1982
(Yerebatan Cad. Btiytik Azim Palas, No: 40, 9/A,
Cagaloglu. 1st.) i?te boyle bir bo?lugu
doldurmakta sol sag demeksizin, kiymet namina
derleyebildiklerini i?ine alan bir eser olmak
?ansma kavu?maktadır.

Edebiyat ve sanatta dtirtist se?ime bir
ba?langi? oiarak SUFFE yilhgmi tebrik edl-
yoruz. Gelecek senelerde, elbette, se?emedi-
gi degerlere de yer ayirarak, daha bir titizlik ve
geni?likle Tiirk edebiyatimn yeniden do-
gacak milli romantizmine yillar boyunca ay-
na olmasim diledigimiz Suffe'yi okuyunuz ve
tamtimz.



KOSEBASI

Ergun GOZE

İKİNCİ BİR AFGANİSTAN FACIASI MI?

Muhakkak ki "Türkiye'nin en büyük diljmanı komani2m"dir. Bu gün komünist dünya iki büyük ejder haindedir. Rusya ve Kızıl Çin bu iki ejder başını tekiil etmektedir. Bu iki basın -aym emperyalist duygularla dönere-birbirlerine dilşman olmuş bulunmaları dünya politik dengesinde çok mühim bir unsur olarak kendini göstermiştir.

Türkiye'nin ise, en yakın komünist komşusu Rusya'dır. Türkiye'deki anarjik hareketlerin Demirperde ge.isinden des- teklendiği de bir gerçek olduğuna göre bu komşumuzun durumu daha büyük bir ehemmiyet kazanmaktadır. Dolayısıyla Rusya ile arası açılan Kızıl Çin tabii bir milttefikimiz haline gelmektedir. Bu noktada Kızıl Çin ve Türkiye yakınlaşması kaçınılmaz ve faydalı bir netice olacaktır. Nitekim, Sayın Cumhurbaşkanımız Kenan Evren Kızıl Çin'e doğru ayın 13'ünde yola çıkacaktır. Kızıl Çin'e ilk defa ziyarette bulunacak Türk Devlet Başkanı Sayın Evren'dir. Ve Sayın Evren, Afganistanlı yurttaşlarımızın binlercesini Türkiye'ye getirmiştir ve milletin genelini de böyle kazanmış bir Devlet Başkanıdır.

Ne var ki, Kızıl Çin'le de aramızda bir mesele vardır. Senelerce yazdığımız gibi Kızıl Çinlilerin "Sinkiang" ve bizim "Doğu Türkiye" diye andığımız eski Türk topraklarında yirmi milyona yakın Türk yaşamaktadır. Tuhaf bir kaddedir bu. Rusya'da da milyonlarca Türk vardır.

Çin'de de. Ve Rus-Çin rekabeti başladı. gımdan beri her iki devlet hem Türkiye'ye hem de kendi sınırları dahilindeki Türklere biraz daha müayim hareket etmeye başlamışlardır. Amma bu yumuşamanın yeterli olmadığı da bir gerçektir.

Eski Doğu Türkiye Hükümeti Genel Sekreteri İsa Yusuf Alptekin bey de, büyük İslam aleminden Doğu Türkiye'deki Müslüman Türklerin meselelerine eğilmelerini isteyen beyannamesinde bu yumuşamaya işaret ederek junları söylemektedir:

"Kısacası, yarımsız ve desteksiz biraktıkları Doğu Türkiye Türk'leri Kızıl Çin ile Komünist Rusya gibi iki emperyalist ve Şoven devletin arasında çarpınıp durmaktadırlar.

Hal böyle iken, geçen yıl Kızıl Çin'in Ankara sefarethanesinde bir heyet bizi ziyaret etti. Kendileriyle Doğu Türkiye hakkında iyi bir fikirler alışverişini yaptım. Ve meselelerimizi ifade ettim. Heyet mensupları "Gerçekten Milliyetçi Çin ve Türkler (etesinin işbaşında bulunduğu dönemlerde Doğu Türkiye halkına haksızlıklar yapıldığını) Büyük Han Şovenizmi politikasının sürdürüldüğünü" kabul ettiler. Ayrıca "Önderlerimiz yapılan bütün hataları tashih etmek ve Doğu Türkiye halklarıyla münasebetleri sağlıklı bir zemine oturtmak istiyorlar" diyerek Çin'deki yeni merkezi

yonctimin tavrı konusunda teminat verici konuşmalar yaptılar. Aradan bir müddet geçtikten sonra Komünist Çin Başbakanı Cav Zi Yang ve Çin Komünist Partisi Genel Sekreteri Hu Yav Bang'a ilâhikte takdim ve mütalalarına arz ettiğimiz 31 maddelik bir muhtıra gönderdik. Ve iyi niyetlerinin ilk belirtisi olmak üzere muhtırada belirttiğimiz konular yoniinde icraatta bulunmalarını istedik.

Fakat buna henüz bir cevap alamadık.

Doğu Türkiye'nin talep ettiğimiz asgari haklara kavuşması mümkün olmadığı takdirde Çin'in ateş ve Şovenizm politikası sonucunda yokola... veya Çin ile Şecek ve tarih sahnesinden silinecektir. Bu ise bir milyar nüfuslu İslam klemi ve 20. asrın büyük insanlık alemi için büyük karası olacaktır.

Bunun yanında, eğer Kızıl Çin insafa gelmediği ve büyük dünya yardım elini uzatmadığı takdirde, eskiden olduğu gibi ikinci defa Rusların "Kurtarıcı kışvesi" altında zaten istila için fırsat kolladığı Doğu Türkiye'ye girmesine ve yeni bir Afganistan faciasının yaratılarak süper güçlerin denge kurmak istedikleri Doğu Türkiye meselesinden bir üçüncü dünya savaşına çıkabileceği konusundaki endişe ve korkularımızı da bütün dünya-ya burada ilan ederiz."

Sayın Evren'in gezisinin Dünya Barışı, Türk-Çin münasebetleri ve Türkistanlı kardeşlerimiz için hayırlı olmasını ümit ve temenni ediyoruz.

MM MM M m
at tesi m

Gunun Akss/en

TEKİN ERER

Dogu Turkistan

CUMHURBAŞKANIMIZ Sayın Kenan Evren, resmî ziyaret için Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'ne gitmişlerdir.

Bu vesile ile Doğu Türkiستان Eyalet Hükümeti Eski Genel Sekreteri İsa Yusuf Alptekin'in Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti yöneticilerinden bazı talepleri vardır. Türkiye ile arasındaki dostluğun geliştirilmesi için Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'ndeki, Türkiستان'e "Esir" muamelesi yapılması istenmektedir.

Alptekin, kardeşlik, soydaşlık ve inaani vebce olarak imha tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya bulunan mahkum ve mazlum Mosliman Doğu Türkiستان Türkleri nanuna Kit'a Çin'i yöneticilerinden Özetle şunları talep etmektedir:

1- Doğu Türkiستان hallini Çinileştirmek ve Türkiستان'daki Çinlilerle evlenmeye zorlamak gayretlerine son verilmelidir.

2- Doğu Türkiستان'ı sömürge gibi gösteren "Sinkiang" adı kaldırılmayarak yerine gerçek adı olan "Doğu Turkistan" famli kullanılmamalıdır.

3- Doğu Türkiستان'da en az 15 milyon Türkiستان nüfusu vardır. Gerçek sayıyı düşünmeden gidememeli ve köleleştirilmemelidir.

4- Bütün siyasi mahkumlar tahliye edilmelidir.

5- Keyfi tutuklamalara ve mahkemesiz idamlara son verilmelidir.

6- Doğu Türkiستان'daki idareler Türkiستان'dan ayrılmelidir.

7- Bütün camiler ibadete açılmamalıdır. Tatil edilen ve yıkılan camiler tamir edilmelidir. Her seviyede dini tedrisat yapan okullar açılmalıdır. Dini valilere alt mallar gayelerine uygun şekilde kullanılmak üzere Evkafa lade edilmelidir. Türkiستان'dan ve diğer Mosliman ülkelerden din dersi öğretmenleri davet edilmeli, halkın ihtiyacını karşılamak üzere "Kur'an-ı Kerim" ithal edilmelidir.

8- tmkfini nın nın Hacca gitmelerine bdn verilmelidir.

9- Doğu Türkiستان halkının igr ve uyuturucu madde kullanmasıyla ilgili siyasetine son verilmelidir.

10- Doğu Türkiستان'daki, uimimi kötöphaneler tekrar açılmayarak, Türkiستان büköklüklerini kfitli leme kampanyasına son verilmeli, Türkiستان tarihi ve kiltürü hakkında bilgi veren kitapların okunmasına izin verilmelidir.

11- Doğu Türkiستان okullarında dersler Türkçe okutulmalı, üniversiteler açılmamalıdır.

12- Türkiستان Diline Çince kelimeler sokularak bu dilde konuşma mecburiyeti ve tatbikatına son verilmeli, Çinceden dil olarak okutulmamalıdır.

13- Doğu Türkiستان'daki Uygur, Kazak, Kirgiz, Özbek, Tatar gibi kavimlerin ayrı ayrı milletlikleri gibi gösterilmesi siyasetinden vaz

geçilmelidir.

14- Eski ve göstererek edebi dilin kullanılması yasaklayan hükümet emirleri kaldırılmalıdır.....

15- Hükümetin tekeline bulunan basına hürriyet verilmeli, radyo, sinema data serbest hale sokulmalıdır.

16- Harabeye terk edilmiş olan Sultan Satuk Bugra Han'ın türbesi ve diğer boyk adam-1 anıtların liderlerin ve evliyaların türbeleri ve mezarları tamir ve ihya edilmelidir.

17- Halk Komünist Partisi'ne Öye olmaya mrlanmamalıdır.

18- Dış seyahata izin verilmelidir.

19- Milsadere edilen topraklar ve mallar megru sahiplerine iade olunmalıdır.

20- İksiz Moslimanlara da igr sağlanmalı, halen yörürükte olan gıda dağıtım karneleri hayati idameye yetmediğinden, bunların artını mat, gıda dağıtımında adam başına verilen 8 metre pamuklu kumaş ile yanm kilo pamuk istihkala

farlala tiwmalidir.

İsa Yusuf Alptekin'in 31 maddeden ibaret olan Doğu Türkiستان halkı için ileri sürdüğü talepleri Özetleyerek sunuyoruz. Temenni edilmeyen id, bu talepler yerine getirilsin ve binlerce yıllık tarih sahip olan Doğu Türkiستان Türkiستان'dan ayrılmaya sona ermesin.

But this time the apology came from unexpected quarters. The Committee for Better Transit Inc., zealous critic of such frustrating, toetapping hazards of commuting as bus-bunching and tardy trains, had suffered what in transit circles is called a serious performance lag. It had been six months since the committee's newsletter on M.T.A. outrages, Notes From Underground, last appeared in commuters' mailboxes. To correct the schedule problem the committee re-sorted this week to "note bunching," sending out a fat envelope with six monthly newsletters dating back to April.

The September issue apologized for the delay in service, attributing it on a strapped budget, a short-handed staff, and other priorities. Sound familiar?

Unlike M.T.A. delays, this one didn't hurt, said Stephen Dobrow, the committee's volunteer director. "The thing I find surprising," he said, "is how little of the material is stale even six months later. The problems never change."

a disparate group."

The real surprise was the turnout from the city's all-but-hidden colony of Uighurs, Uzbeks, Kazakhs and Kirghiz from Chinese Turkestan, now known as the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. The parent generation left the region, along the Soviet border, with the Communist takeover in 1949. Most live in Brooklyn and Queens, some in New Jersey and on Long Island.

Hungry for homeland sounds, sights and news, they embraced the performers backstage. Gulamettin Pahta, head of a seven-family Uighur association in Flushing, brought 20 Turkic Chinese and, he said, "could have brought 100 — but no more tickets."

On another night, Malyamu Nasai, who tossed her six long braids in Uighur and Uzbek dances, talked warmly with Abdullah Kwaja and his family, Uzbeks from Boonton, N.J. Mr. Kwaja, who prefers to ignore the Chinese-Soviet border, said 1,000 families were in his Brooklyn-based Uyghur American Association.

'From China's Borders ■ I To New York Shores

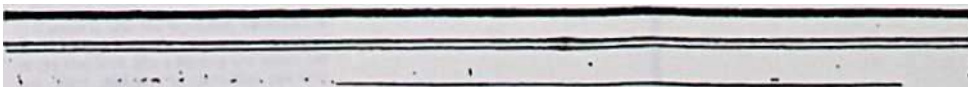
A hundred flowers bloomed at "Music and Dance of the Silk Route" performances this week at the Asia Society. There were New York Chinese-Americans who confessed ; near-ignorance of Chinese arts. There were unreconstructed Nationalist sympathizers. And on hand at the opening-night benefit were Mi Guojun, co-chief of China's delegation to the United Nations, and Consul General Cao Guisheng. Harriet Tung of the New York-and Hong Kong-based shipping family, benefit co-chairman, said she felt "proud of involving such

New Lehrman Campaign?

Those Lehrman-for-Governor television commercials were so ubiquitous that it was no great surprise when one of them somehow got on the air 20 minutes after the polls closed. Probably did it on its own, out of habit, a few people suggested.

In truth, it was nothing but a simple mistake, people at WCBS-TV said yesterday. From Mr. Lehrman's spokesman, John Buckley, came assurances that the commercial did not signal the start of the next campaign.

Clyde Haberman
Laurie Johnston



Along the ancient Silk Road

Rv XI

PUKING (CNF) — The ancient Silk Road used by 13th century explorer Marco Polo during his journey from Europe into the central plains of China has been reopened under the modernization drive, and tourists are pouring in.

The route, linking eastern China with West Asia and the Middle East, was pioneered more than 2,000 years ago by envoys of the Han Dynasty sent to explore the isolated western regions which today make up Xinjiang province.

The early explorers were followed by merchants from the East, who took their camel caravans through some of the most inhospitable country in the world to trade in what is now Pakistan.

They trekked over mountains and through burning desert sands where man and beast struggled to stay alive in temperatures of more than 47 degrees Celsius (lib

Many travelers were earned to their deaths when the mountain snows melted and sent flood water pouring into the valleys below.

Today, camel trains have been replaced by automobiles, trucks, motorcycles and pedal cycles as 20th century traders and tourists travel the Sino-Pakistan highway which links Kashi in Xinjiang's southwestern corner with Rawalpindi in northwest Pakistan.

The road soars through the Kunjirap Pass, whose name in Urdu means "bloody valley." The pass, through the Pamir Mountains, was first opened to Pakistani and Chinese traffic in 1952, but since last year visitors from other countries have been allowed through.

In the first three months after the pass was opened to all nationalities, nearly 7,000 visitors from 34 countries crossed through into China.

Previously, the only other tourist routes into the country were through Hong Kong or the east coast. Many of today's tourists



are young backpackers, attracted by the region's romantic image, rugged scenery and cheap hotels and lodging houses.

In the reverse direction, the pass is used as a short-cut by Muslims making the pilgrimage from China to Makkah.

The highway for 265 miles (425 km) on the Chinese side is surfaced mostly with sand and stones, but the government plans to asphalt it soon at a cost of \$27 million.

Xinjiang covers one-sixth of China's area and has a population of 13 million, comprising more than a dozen ethnic groups such as the Uygurs, Khazaks, Huis and Tajiks.

Popular tourist centers include Kashi (formerly Kashgar), Turpan to the northeast, and close to Turpan the 2000-year-old ruined city of Jiaohe.

Kashi has been a major East-West trading center since the 7th century, and today its huge and colorful bazaar attracts a non-stop flow of merchants and tourists.

The market area is a maze of narrow streets where traders sell a vast range of traditional handicrafts and musical instruments, Persian-style carpets, embroidered Uygur caps and decorated small daggers, which local people carry in their belts for cutting meat and fruits.

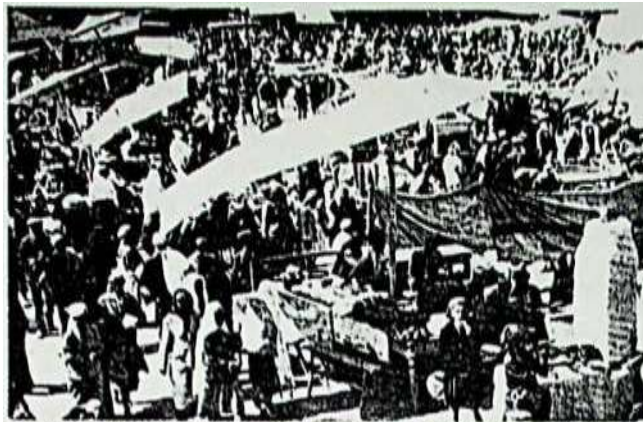
The weekend market draws thousands of people to trade animals, skins and clothing. In a clearing near the market, burly men take turns to test ride horses, while groups of camels are tethered nearby awaiting buyers.

In the city center stands the Aitinel Mosque, the biggest in China and a gathering point for thousands of Muslims during religious festivals.

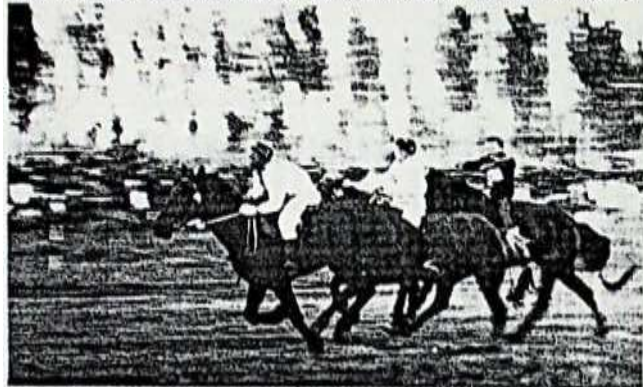
Turpan is near the legendary Mountain of Flame, a region marked by rolling red stone peaks that look like a blazing fire under the sun. Here, mid-year temperatures can soar to nearly 50 degrees Celsius (120 F.)

Eight miles (13 km) west of Turpan is Jiaohe, founded in the second century B.C. Parts of its walls remain intact, and tourists can visit the "graveyard of a thousand mummies."

1. it-



BAZAAR: An East-West trading center since the 7th century, the colorful Kashi Bazaar is now a big tourist attraction in Xinjiang. Below: Khazak boys get the thrill of the gallop.



can drink traditional Khazak milk tea, eat succulent mutton with their fingers, watch herdsboys racing their horses and listen to Uygur bands playing traditional music from more than 1,400 years ago.

Although the Gobi desert covers part of Xinjiang, the province has rich agricultural oases growing wheat, rice, cotton and fruits, including grapes. It has large herds of sheep, cattle and horses, and mineral wealth includes oil and coal.

Lack of efficient transportation has long been a problem in the development of Xinjiang, but gradually new roads and railroads are opening up more of the province, three times the size of France.

There are now 13,750 miles (22,000 km) of roads, some linking Xinjiang with the Soviet Union as well as Pakistan. Urumqi, the provincial capital, now has a 1,180-mile (1,900-km) railroad link to Lanzhou in central China, going on to the east coast via Xian.

A southern railroad was opened in 1944 to

link Turpan with Korla, and a northern line is being built to link Urumqi with Shihchi to the west.

The 312-mile (500-km) line will be completed in 1970 and will link up with a line running from the Soviet republic of Kazakhstan.

The east-west railroad through Urumqi is being increasingly used for freighting goods to Europe, saving an estimated 30 percent of the cost of shipping via the Suez Canal.

Air links also have been opened up through Urumqi. Regular flights connect the city with Belgrade in Yugoslavia and Bucharest in Romania.

The Xinjiang Air Company recently has bought four Soviet-built passenger aircraft and is to start flights to the Middle East and South Asia.

The aim is to expand Xinjiang's connections even further with the outside world, and to haul into the 20th century the links pioneered centuries ago by the Silk Road camel trains

Pe ing forces progress on Central Asian nomads

Robert M. Poole
 China (NGNS) — The old man in Jialik remembers a time, ago, when the grasslands of were lush and the world of his . . . seemed limitless. . . the neck of their horse, and fallow out together to visit their . . . lived in yurts, the felt tents still . . . throughout China's far west.



RARE GROUP PORTRAIT: Members of China's Kirgiz minority pose for a rare group portrait with the Celestial Mountain behind them.

And since the 1950s, the Han have established more than a hundred state farms and doubled the land under cultivation in Xinjiang.

"It was a land of swamps and deserts when we first came," says Tsao Wenchun, one of the first Hans to settle in Xinjiang. Tsao came in 1950 as a member of the People's Liberation Army, which helped establish one of Xinjiang's first modern cities, Shibeizi. "There were foxes, and wolves," Tsao recalls. "The agriculture was undeveloped."

Tsao and his comrades cleared the land and hauled timber from the nearby mountains to build houses. They had no plows, so they made furrows with sharpened cannon barrels. Because no horses or oxen were available, the soldiers got into harness and pulled the plows. "We were determined," says Tsao, "to turn this desert into a garden."

They think they succeeded. Today more than 500,000 Han live and work in Shibeizi, a place of poplar-lined streets, flower gardens, modern apartments, and factories. By the year 2000, a local official said, the population will reach 700,000 and the size of the city itself will double. "It will be like a new California," he says.

Hans.

The presence of the Chinese Army in Xinjiang is also a sensitive point. Since tensions between the Soviets and Chinese flared in the 1960s, Peking has kept Han militia and regular army troops stationed in Xinjiang, as many as 500,000 strong, according to some experts.

The army's primary mission is to guard the border, but soldiers also keep an eye on rebellious locals. On at least three occasions — in 1958, 1962, and 1981 — central authorities have called up the army to put down Turkic uprisings, a use of force deeply resented by Xinjiang natives.

Despite the assaults of the modern era, most Kirgiz and Kazaks manage to pursue their traditional ways, at least for now. On the road north of Yining, one meets wave after wave of Kazak horsemen, dressed in their distinctive white felt hats and flowing black coats. They ride tall in the saddle, cutting in and out of a sheep flock, displaying an easy grace born of long experience.

Their ancestors, some of whom rode with Genghis Khan, were feared throughout Asia, and for good reason. They were expert riders and fierce fighters who struck swiftly with lances, iron battle-axes, and heavy whips equipped with blades, the master of a gallop, a blow from which usually meant death.

After an attack the nomads would disperse, meeting once more into the safety of the mountains. Thus they lived through an uneasy cycle of conquest and submission with Russia and China.

Kazak and Kirgiz shepherds are supremely hospitable, even when an unwelcome American gallops up in a cloud of dust at dinner time, unannounced, with four or five other strangers. No matter. A choice lamb is plucked from the flock and presented to the guest, who agrees that it is acceptable. The host gently lays the lamb on the ground and lets it throb.

In addition to their traditions of hospitality, many of today's Kazaks and Kirgiz still treasure the outdoor life, living in tents and sleeping under the stars.

In the coming years, the pressures will mount for nomads to settle into industrial jobs as Xinjiang begins to develop its great reserves of oil, coal, uranium, beryllium, and other strategic minerals. All are considered essential to China's modernization drive.

The change has already begun in the Altay Mountains of northern Xinjiang. Where Genghis Khan once could gallop between clear horizons of grass, the hills sprout smokestacks and oil refineries, and convoys of tanker trucks choke the road.

Beside the road, a Kazak family on migration huddles with its sheep, keeping its livestock safe from the traffic, waiting to cross over.

Tiirkistan Meselesi

Do?. Dr. Abdilkadir DON UK

TORKISTAN deyince akh, hcmen TUrklcrin mcskun ol-
dugu yer gelir.

- Tiirkistan deyince akh, Hirk Ism Inin dogdugu yer
gelir.

- Tiirkistan deyince akh, orada iken ve da ha sonra
yayddikh 2 kit'a Uzerinde komşuhrma devlet kuruculu-
gu ya ninth, hak, adalet mefhumhnmn degerlcrini ogreten
insanhrm geldigi yer gelir akh.

- Tiirkistan deyince akla, tarihte ilk kanun koyucu mil-
let olmak şerefini kazanmış insanlar gelir

- Tiirkistan deyince akh, eski Tiirklin buglin de milli ge-
lenek h&lnde devam eden soz namustur telakkisinl ahlaki
bir meziyet kabul edenler gelir

- Tiirkistan deyince akh, millet sevgisi, Allah korkusu.
ve do&ruluk ilkeleri ile bezenmisinsanhr gelir

-Tiirkistan deyince buglin, Rus ve Qin'jn esaretinde ya-
Sayan mazlum insanlar gelir akh.

- Br de Tiirkistan deyince sakin ha, bu hususta hi?
konu\$ma, yazma, ?iinkli bunlari yaparsan sonra milliyet?
olursun, Tiirk?li olursun, ondan sonra da mimlenksin, diyen
fo\$tar gelir akh.

^ Bir de bakmiz Lenin ve diger Sovyet liderlerince Ttir-
Kistan deyince akh neler geliyor:

- Tiirkistan dlinya tarihinde Asya'nm Avrupa'ya kapisi
rolinU oynamiştir. şimdi Tiirkistan Rusya'nin Asya ya
kapisi gorevini yapmalidir. (Devami 6. Sayfada)

Tiirkistan Meselesi

vBaştarafi 4. Sayfada)

• Tiirkistan komUnizmin Asya'daki ileri karakoludur.

• Tiirkistan Sovyet Cumhuriyeti Asya'nm başka lilkeie-
rinde ihtilal fikirlerinin yoTeştirilmesi i?in temel olmuştur ve
bu halde kahcaktır. Bundan başka bir kanaat sahibi olmak
esasi br tarihi hata ohcaktır.

Rusya ile Islam arasmdaki savaşıhr Ruslarin lb. asir
ortasmda mUs 1 liman Kazan Hanligimw istilasi ile başlamiş- tr.
Rusya 16. asrdan 19. asr sonlarına kadar Astrahan, Kiron,
Azerbaycan, Idil bolgesi ve son ohrak HirkistanT JzaptetmişU...
Moskova "0?iincii Roma" ohrak ilan edil- cQkten soriradr ki,
Ruslar, islamiyeti ortadan kaldirma to- febbUslcrine başladihr.

Rusya, islam iilkelerini zaptettikten sonra da eski isiam
diişmanligim brakmamiştir. Yillarca mlkliimanlari hristi-
Vanlagtnmak icin her tiirlii ?areye

Rus liderleri, miislmanhrm durumlarını ve onlarm haleti
ruhiyelerini pek iyibilyorlardi. Bunun i?in de Bol- fevikler,
muslumanlar arasna girerek, "biz sizlere komiiniz- mi hediye
edecegiz" veya sizleri komiiniz yapacagrz" diyemiyorlardL

Once mUstimanJar yahn propagandalarla aldatildi, me-
seUi 3 Arahr 1917'de yayınlanan bir beyanname ile "dini ve
milli hayatın mukaddes oldugu" bildirilerek, taraftar toplama-
ya başardilar. Kurdukn br komiserlik de 26 şubat 1918'de
miisliimanhra şu beyanatta bulunmuştu:

"Yoldaşhr, braderler, miisliimanlar. Maddi ve manevi
kuwelerinizi tophymrz ve islam sosyalist ordusunun bay-
ragialtında tophnmak i?in acele ediniz".

Bundan <fa bir sonu? ahnamamasi lizerine, bir konuş-
masında Lenin şöyle diyordu:

"Bizim yapabileceğimiz tek şey, onlarm simflara bo-
liimmelerini beklemektir .

1924 yılında Rushr, mUsliimanlarh anlaştamak i?in, Taş-
kent'te ilk ohrak Allah'sizhrh din adamhri arasmda bir
minazara tertipleidiler. Alhhsrzlar, Alhh'i inkari br kenara
brakarak Lenm'in zamanm peygamberi oldugunu iddia et-
mişlerdi. Taraflar 4 aydan daha uzun bir zaman i?inde her
akşam "Lenin peygamber mi, yoksabundan da buylikmii",
mes'elesini munakasa etmişlerdi. Mlinazaradan br netice
?ikmamiştL Rushr Lenin'in peygamber oldugunu isbat ede-
medikleri gibi, bu mes'eledede bliyiik bir hats yaptikhrmi
farkederek, bu h\$stayi diizeltilemek i?in basına şu beyanati
verm i\$ler dir:

7 M

/98&

"Lenin gcr?cktc peygamberdir, Cakat peygamber sozii He
Isa, Muhammed ve bagkalari da kasdcUmektedir. Bu acbebtcn
bu bozulmus sozlln kulhnlmamasi taktik baki-
mindandahayerindedir."

Rushr 1926'da Islflm mcmleketlcrinde "Alhhstzlar Ce-
miyctlcri" kurdurduhr. Ilatfl Taşkent Oniversitesinde "Il- mi
Allahstzlik Fkkiiltesi"ni bUe kurdular. Ayrica bunhrdan ba^ka
218 adet Allahsizlik propaganda okulu var idi. Lfikin bu ccmiyet
ve okuDar halk arasinoa tesirli ohmadi.

Miisliimanhr Uzerinde bir netice elde edemeyen Rushr,
bunun lizerine şldete ba\$verdular. Din adamhrini tev- kK
ettiler, sUrdUler, bldlirdUler.Cfimllcr tahrip edildi, med- reseler
kapatildi, namaz kilmayi yasakhUar, hatta evinde giinlUk
ibadetini yaptigi tesbit edilenleri de cezalandirdilar, dini ntkah,
dini bayramhr, sUnnet dUgUnleri 1937-1938 yıl- hnda yasak
edildi. Yeni Kur'an-i Kerim niishalari basmak yasakhndi, halkm
elindeki Kur'an-i Kerimler tophildi. Kur'an-i Kerimleri yakan
komunistler "bakm, Allah olsa idi \$ayet, bunhri kurtarmaz
miydi" gibi sdzlerle de propaganda vajp iy<rh rdL

1928 yilindan sonra Sovyet makamlari hac i?in izin
vermedHer. il. Dlinya savaşımdan sonra gonderilen 15-20 haci da
bire propagandava\$aitau ohrak kuUamldi. Sovyet hacdari.
Mekke, Medine ve Arafat'da:

"IslSm Alhh yoludur, komUnizm ise Allah'm istedig
dogrultusunda hayat şeklidir; komunizm insanhnn vie- danhrma
tecaviiz etmez, o insanligmgelişme yoludur" diye propaganda
yaptiyorlardi.

Sovyetler AUahstzlik faallyed ile elde etmek istedikleri
netice şu idi: MUslumanlar Allah'a degil, komunizme; Hz.
Muhammed'e degil "peygamber,ohrak" Marks ve Lenin'e
inansmhr. Kur'an-i Kerim yerine Marks ve Lenin'in eserleri- ni
okusunhr, komunizm rejimini bir mutluhk ohrak kabul etsinler,
dini bayramhr yerine Lenin'in dogum gununU kuthsmlar, ayrica
1 Mayıs ekim ihtil&l gununU bayram ohrak kutlasmhr
istiyorlardi.

Bu hususlarda Sovyetler Ozbeldstan'da son iki yıl i?in- de
(1968-1970) 42.000 konferans vermişlerdir. 1971 'de
Turkmenistan'da 87.000 defa ve 1976'da ise 120.000,defa
islamiyet alevhinde konferans verilmiştir.

Esaret altındaki muslumanlar her gun ve her saat Soy-
yetlerin Alhh, Hz. Muhammed ve Kuran-i Kerim aleyhin- deki
hakaretlerini iştmeye mecburdurlar. Şöyle ki:

• Allah'i kim yarattı? Onu bizim hayaUmiz yarattı. Onu biz
yarattığımız i?in, yok etmek gerekir.

• Alhh herşeyden once geri kalmış halkhra tabht dişi
gohinu^lerin etkisidir.

• AUah'a inanmak, halkhrm birbirlerini anlamalrms ve
dunya sulhunun kurulmasma mani olur.

Teknigi icad etmiş ve geliştirmiş olan insanlar, dini
dogmahn ve Alhh'i yok edeceklerdir.

• Muhammed kendi şahsi ve kole sahiplerinin gikarhn i?in
yeni bir din yaratan kurnaz bir dohndiricidir.

- Muhammed Allah'm ResulU degil, Arap ileri gelenle-
rinin hizmetkfidir.

- Kur'an-i Kerim hukUmlerinin insan sevgisi ile ilgisi
yoktur.

• Kur'an ve onun emirleri koleUgi, hususi miilkiyeti, sosyal
adaletsizUgi ve saldirgan savaşıIari savunan gayelerdir.

• Kur'an karişik hikfiyeladen ibaret oldugu i?in, bir kimse
tarafından yazılmış ohmaz.

Sovyet ilim adamhn islflmi sahtelestirme gayreti i?eri-
sinde de bulunmu^lardir. Mesela, bir Rus yazarı Klımovi? Şöyle
yaziyor:

"Kur'an-i Kerim, Sure 2, fiyet 228'de, erkeklerin kadin-
lardan UstUn oldugunu zikreder .

Ger?ekte Kur'an-i Kerim de ise şdyle yazilidir:

"Eger onlar boşanmaya karar vermişlerse, Alhh isiti- ci,
Alhh bilicidir".

tŞte 16. asirdan beri Ruslarin her tiirLU baskisi altında kahn
Tiirklerin bugune kadar ayakta kalmasim saglayan gu?, yiice
islam dini obnuştur. Bu da isl&m'in kudretinl gosterir.

Mystic plateau explored

by Yang Xiaoping

Some 30 million years ago, when an ancient sea named Tethys dried up in the central Asian continent, a piece of land emerged, which later became the world's highest and youngest plateau, the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau.

who have been enthusiastic about research on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau since the 1970s," said Zheng Du, the research team leader and director of the natural geography research section of the Institute of Geography in Beijing.

Despite the hardships brought about by the vile weather at an average height of 5,000 metres, Zheng said the scientists almost achieved their goal this year.

The geological surveys discovered a boundary, a few hundred kilometres long, between Karakorum and Kunlun mountains. On both sides of the boundary — from Mazar to Kangxiwar, southwest Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region — the scientists found variations in rock type and structure, showing the geological ages of Karakorum's formation.

The glacier research group inferred the violent uplifting of Karakorum and the western Kunlun area started in the late Cenozoic Era, coinciding with the formation of the Himalayas, the highest mountain system in the world. Their conclusion refuted the view that Qinghai-Tibet Plateau is the earliest centre of glacier development in the world, for the mountains had not risen to the height of the snow line during the late Cenozoic Era.

extend from the mountain to the forest nearby," Zheng said. Previously, scientists believed that continental glaciers never stretched to the forests, but in western Kunlun, the glaciers extended to the forest at a height of 2,800 to 3,400 metres above sea level.

The expedition also found the climate and drainage system greatly changed since the Cenozoic Era. "As we drove along Longmucuo, we found lines left by the lake there looked like the stands in a stadium. Compared to the highest line, the present lake surface has dropped 155 metres," Zheng said.

The gradual descent of the lake indicated the drying out of the Karakorum-Kunlun area. "The area is quite contradictory," Zheng explained. "Though glaciers are abundant and active on the mountains, the mountain slopes are arid with "an annual rainfall of five centimetres."

The biologists and zoologists found some new animal and plant

species in the area. Most of the 20 fish species found in the area are typical plateau species, and most of the land animals are Eurasian and central Asian species. The forests in western Kunlun feature pines, spruces and cypresses, which all grow in mountainous areas. "On the slopes of western Kunlun, the scientists found alpine meadows for the first time," Zheng said.

In Memar Co, at 4,800 metres above sea level, with a grand outlook over glaciers in northwest Tibet, the scientists found many unique animals. "During our stay in Memar Co, we saw various wild animals come in rapid succession. On our way back, the large yaks walking in a line in the snow looked like a mountain slope," Zheng said. "So we suggested turning Memar Co into a natural protection area."

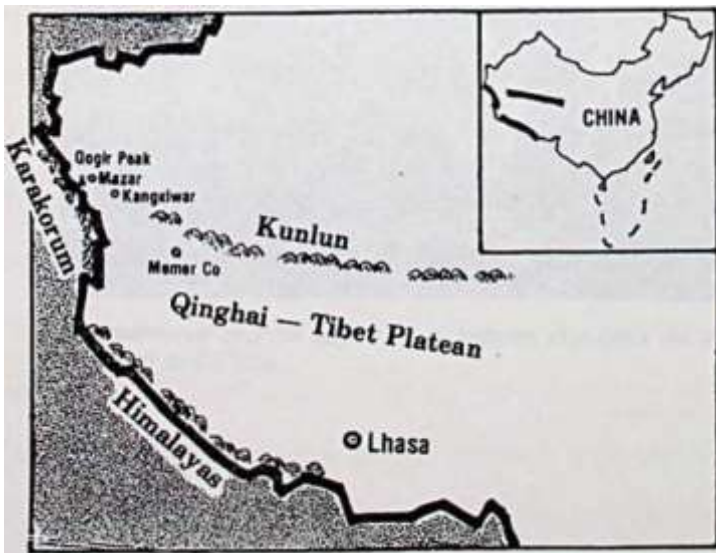
The scientists believe their research results will provide a scientific basis for exploring for natural resources and controlling natural disasters in the area.

15 years scientific expeditions launched by Chinese and foreign scientists to find the reasons behind the formation and evolution of the plateau in Northwest China. The plateau has greatly influenced the climate, environment and way of life in the area.

Karakorum and Kunlun mountains in the northwestern part of the plateau, an important area of study in the evolution of Tethys, had been an area which scientific expeditions had not gone to because of the high elevation and harsh climate.

The Chinese Academy of Sciences began a five-year comprehensive research programme, aiming to uncover the mystery of the area. Just returned from a three-month expedition covering 10,000 kilometres, the 50 scientists (from 15 research institutes, universities and colleges) are quite satisfied with the results.

"Most of the people on this year's expedition were scientists. The glaciers in the western Kunlun area are quite special. They



sketch by Yaoning



Scientists collect rock samples in Karakorum-Kunlun area

INAUGURATION OF KHUNJ

The inauguration of the Khunjab Pass for trade and civil traffic on August 27, is a significant milestone in the Pak-China relations and has ushered in a new chapter of good neighbourly relations, cooperation and mutual understanding between the two countries.

The formal inauguration was the fulfilment of the provisions of the boundary pact signed between the two countries in Peking in March, 1963, the boundary protocol signed in Rawalpindi in March 1965 and also the trade agreement signed in 1967. According to the 1967 trade

agreement the spirit behind the opening of the Khunjab Pass was to socially and culturally help re-establish the common identity of the two peoples and also to give added strength and new colour to the existing friendly and cordial relations. In fact the opening of Khunjab Pass for trade and traffic is nothing but the expression of their mutual desire for good friend-

ly and neighbourly relations

In speaking of the mutual desire on the part of the two countries, I recall how things moved during the course of many years towards the realisation of the objective set forth by the two countries to forge better understanding and friendly relations. I still remember, it was a cool rainy November night of 1962 when I received a call late in the night by Begum Aliya Mohammad Ali, wife of Mr. Mohammad Ali Bogra, the former Prime Minister of Pakistan who was then the foreign minister in Ayub's Government. Begum Aliya Mohammad Ali passed the phone saying the foreign minister wanted to talk to me.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Mr. Mohammad Ali Bogra was brief in his telephonic talks and wanted to know if the Press had received the joint communique issued in Peking wherein the two countries had decided in principle to hold talks on the demarcation of

the undefined borders between the two countries. "Come and collect it from me", was his request.

The following day, it was a first hand story everywhere not in Pakistan alone but in many countries including India. According to the communique the desire was expressed by Pakistan and China to settle their borders through bilateral talks.

The day the joint communique was issued the special envoy of the United States, Mr. Averil Harriman and the British secretary for Commonwealth Mr. Duncan Sandys were in Rawalpindi, to help India and Pakistan sort out their disputes, as they were interested to help India against China in the border dispute. It was in this context that the late President Kennedy had requested President Ayub Khan not to attack Kashmir as India was then facing the Chinese in Ladakh and the NEFA. Sardar Swaran Singh, the Indian foreign minister who was in Pakistan at the time to negotiate the Kashmir issue, as well as American and British envoys seemed dis-

appointed as Pakistan did not want to involve itself in other's affairs. Incidentally, the American ambassador in Pakistan, Mr. MacCohnoc who was carrying Kennedy's letter to Ayub Khan requesting him not to attack India. The ambassador was interviewed by me at the airport. But he neither confirmed nor denied of carrying the letter.

Thereafter things moved very fast. Many a hurdles were put in Pakistan's affairs, and steps taken by Pakistan to sort out the border problem with China were wrongly interpreted. But Pakistan was sincere in its efforts and meant nothing but good neighbourly and friendly relations with China.

In May 1964 I attended a press conference in Peking addressed by the Chinese foreign minister, the late Marshal Chen Yi. In this press conference there were some journalists from the Western countries. Marshal Chen Yi was put deliberately an embarrassing question regarding China's friendship with Pakistan despite the fact that Pakistan was member of two defence pacts, namely CENTO and SEATO, both meant against the Communist countries. Marshal Chen Yi paused for a moment and then replied "our relations with Pakistan were based on the mutual desire to promote bilateral, friendly relations and there is no occasion to doubt Pakistan's role". Marshal Chen Yi's assertions stood the test of the time and Pakistan played its role sincerely and the Chinese looked more than satisfied. The air of distrust and misunderstanding was removed. With the passage of time, the friendship between the two countries grew steadily to their mutual benefit.

BORDER PROTOCOL

Two decades later the two countries gave vent to their desire to forge friendly relations and cooperation in many spheres. The result was border protocol of March 1965 which proved to be a milestone in Pak-China relations.

No doubt the 1965 border protocol evoked varied reactions from various parts of the world. As expected, the Indians opposed it and were still opposing it. The U.S. State Department is on record as saying that the agreement serves in interests of Pakistan. Most of the British papers expressed themselves in favour of the pact, and some even voiced the opinion that the terms of the Sino-Pakistan border agreement constituted a triumph in diplomacy for Pakistan.

With the conclusion of the border agreement Pakistan and China



A traditional martial dance by tribesmen expresses the deep rooted friendship between Pakistan and China

ERAB PASS

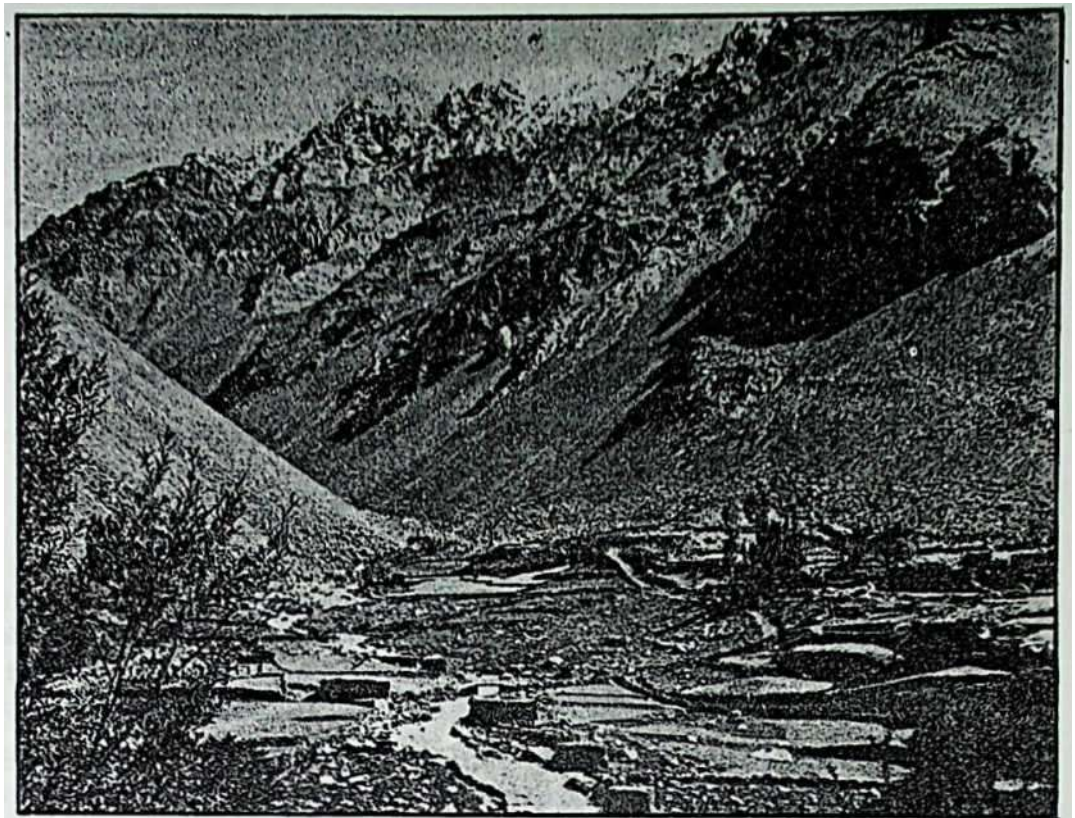
By SAYEED KHAN QAMAR

took another important step towards the restoration of the land trade route between Gigit and Sin- Kiang province through the historic silk route. Under the 1967 agreement, caravans from each country travelled through this route every year. The trade route was later diverted through the Karakoram high way completed with the assistance of China. As a journalist I have had an opportunity to visit Khunjrab pass on a couple of times and to drive through the Karakoram highway on a number of occasions but my drive to Khunjrab on August 27, 1982 was of a difference. It was on this day that the pass was being formally opened for trade and civil traffic.

KHUNJRAB PASS

Khunjrab pass is notoriously known for its hostile climatic conditions contrary to our expectations, the weather on that day behaved exceptionally well. There was no icy wind blowing, instead, there was a warmth in the atmosphere generated by friendly ties between Pakistan and China. This greatly added colour to the celebrations in which large number of people from both countries participated.

From Pakistan side a large number of people, including an eight member goodwill delegation to



Khunjrab valley

was headed by the federal Minister for Communications, Mr. Molyuddin Baluch, senior civil and military officials, and elite of Gigit and Hunza, took part in the inaugural celebrations. The nine-member Chinese delegation headed by Mr. Ismail Ehamad, Governor of Sinkiang also attended the function.

As the Pakistan and the Chinese delegations flew into Dillo, about thirty kilometers down the Khunjrab pass on this side of Pakistan they were given a rousing welcome by the people who had come there from long distance. Dillo, which is also the last check post in Pakistan, presented a festive look. It was here the members of the two delegations endorsed exit stamps on their passports and underwent custom regulations. The guests were served light refreshments and the sword dancers of the northern areas dressed in silken robes delighted the guests by their superb and traditional dances. Thereafter streams of jeeps, wagons, Suzuki vans, tractors and trucks carrying people drove through the Karakoram highway to Khunjrab where the main event was to take place. This journey was almost through a no man's land as there is no habitation in and between Dillo and Khunjrab because of the severe weather condition. There is plenty

or wild life on the snow mountains and this included Marco Polo sheep,

ibex, bears and snow leopards.

The Chinese on their side were equally happy and enthusiastic to celebrate the inauguration of the pass. Hundreds of Chinese, mostly from the province of Sinkiang had reached the top in vehicles. Among them included colourfully dressed beautiful women from Sinkiang. They danced and sang joyfully at the pass.

CEREMONY

As soon as the Federal Minister for Communications, Mr. Molyuddin Baluch and Mr. Ismail Ehamad of China reached the top they were greeted by the people with the slogans of Pak-China friendship Zindabad. They were garlanded and warmly greeted. A small police contingent from the Northern area presented a guard of honour and the flags of the two countries were hoisted. There were cheers, music, dances singing on both sides. Chinese on their side fixed crackers also.

In his speech the communications minister said that Pakistan greatly appreciated the invaluable assistance from China in numerous

projects designed to promote Pakistan's objectives of self reliance. He said bilateral relations between Pakistan and China had expanded steadily in all fields with each passing year. This reflected the keen desire of the peoples of the two countries for ever growing cooperation on the basis of the mutuality of interests. He appreciated the planners, engineers and workers on the Karakoram highway as it was due to them only that inauguration of the road for civil traffic between the two countries had been made possible.

The leader of the Chinese goodwill delegation Mr. Ismail Ehamad in his speech said that the Karakoram highway was constructed for peace and friendship surmounting great hardships and difficulties. He said the opening of the post would improve the border control and would facilitate trade contacts and meeting between the border officials which would help visits of relatives living in the two countries. This he said would promote trade and friendly relations.

The plaque of the inauguration was jointly unveiled. As the two leaders took few steps into the Chinese land, there was jubilation, handshakes and congratulations.

Fruits and sweets were served. Pakistanis served the red Hunza apples and dried apricots. The Chinese on their part also distributed Sinkiang's apples, watermelons, cookies, and peaches. Two big water melons were cut and small pieces distributed among the guests as it was considered a good omen. There were scores of photographs and T.V. cameramen on both sides, who preserved these memorable events in camera. As we motored down the Khunjrab pass the green and white flag with crescent and star fluttered side by side with the red flag with stars. This manifested the mutual desire of the two countries to develop friendship and understanding.

At a short distance from the Khunjrab Pass is a cluster of graves of the Pakistan army engineering personnel. They offered the supreme sacrifices in construction of the historic Karakoram highway, - the highway of friendship. They were killed in the course of construction work on the highway and lie hurriedly in their atony graves. Our hands automatically raised for prayers for their eternal peace. They died because they wanted us to drive smoothly on the highway which at one stage looked almost impossible.

DOĞU TÜRKİSTAN HATIRALARINDAN**KARA GÖZLER**

•'' > . * :

4// QEKERİM Ai QEKERİM
 AİLLARIM TUTSUN SENİ GOZ
 YA?İM DERYA OLUP DALIKLAR
 YUTSUN SENİ

(Bir Uygur Manisi)

İKLİTİ KURBAN

Yıl 1949. Mevsim sonbahar. Karla kari?ik yagan yağmur günlerdir dinme bilmiyor. Ortalığı kasıp kavuran acı bir riizg&r esiyor. Sızlanan dallardan dii?en sarı yapraklar gamura beleniyor. Türkistanda güzel mevsirai gök hüziinliidir. Tabiatıta bir matem havası var.

Stalin hiikiimetinin devamlı yardım vermesi, Amerika'nın da sa- vaştan korkması neticesi, milliyetçi Çin ordusu tamamiyle yenildi. Mao idareyi ele geçirdi. Türkistanda bulunan 200 bin kişilik Milliyetçi *Qin* ordusu Mao'yu destekleyen Rus tıltımatomuyla savaştan silah bi- raktı. Türkistanın kuzeyindeki savaş emri bekleyen Doğu Türkistan ordusu (1944 ten 1949 yılının sonuna kadar Doğu Türkistanın iğ kuzey vilayetinde ayaklanan Türkler Milliyetçi <?in ordusunu yenerek Doğu Türkistan hiikiimetini ve ordusunu meydana getirmiştı.) elem iğinde sustu.

Mehmet Emin Bugra ve İsa Yusuf Alptekin gibi halkın limit bağla- dıği liderler garesiz vatanı terkettiler. Yine Doğu Türkistan cumhuri- yeti liderlerinden Ahmetcan Kasımi, İshak Beg, Abdülkerim Abbasi- Delilhan gibi zatlar da uğak kazası siisii verilerek esrarlı bir ?ekilde dldiirüldüiler.

Boylece Stalin ve Mao işbirliğiyle Doğu Türkistan'da 1930 dan 1950 ye kadar ddküilen kanlar pahasına kazamlan hüriyet meyveleri «Azatlık ordusu» diye adlandırılan Mao cellatları tarafından ayaklar al- tma alındı. Ugursuz bir gecede ay-yıldızlı mavi bayrak indirilerek vata- nın bagırna bir hanger gibi kızıl bayrak saplandı. O gündün itibaren Türkistan'da Tarihiinde yaşadığı karagiinlerin hepsine bedel bir karan- lık devre başlandı. Füzuli asırlarca önce söylediği şu beytiyle sanki bi- zim feci kaderimize terciiman oluyordu :

«Dost h\ perva, felek bi rahm devran ki' suktln
Dert gok, hem - dert yok, DU?men kavi, tali zabun.»
Neylersin baht utansm!.,

TURkistan'in her kd?esine tt?ll?en Mao'nun yeşil gekirgeleri ilk giin- ler
gbrilnU?te edepliydiler, dilleri tatliydi. Ama bu onlarm gergek yizti- nii
gizleyemedi.

Size aklimda kalan bir vakayi anlatayim : Yil 1950. Aylardan Hazi- ran.
Mekteplerin tatil oldugu mevsim. Gulca'dan Nilki nahiyesine yay- ladaki
aileme gitmek igin yola giktim. Kiralanan at arabasmda tig be? kişi vardı.
Bunlardan birisi de Mao'nun askeriydi. Muhtemelen bir gd- rev igin olacak, o
da Nilkiya gidiyordu.

Artik gUn batmi?ti. Uzun, tozlu yollar boyunca bizde atlar da acik- miş ve
yorulmu?tuk. Yol ustiindeki Sultan Veyis mezan (Rivayete gore sehabi
devrinde buraya gelen bir. evliyadir. Bu koye onun adi veril- miş.) kdyiinde
dinlenmek igin atlan arabadan gdzdiik. Abral dagmin bir vadisine yerle?mi?
oian bu koy, dag bitkilerinin ho? kokusu ve serin havasi bizi rahatlatmi?ti.

Yikanmak igin Derede akmi? su yanina gittik. O asker sudan kuru- ya
gikmakta olan kurbagalardan kovalayarak birkagmi tepip ve avu- cunda sikip
ldiirdu. Biz sirt gevrip olmti? kurbagalardan uzakla?tik. Asker :

— Nigin korktunuz? Bu kurbagalarm sahibi var mi? diye sordu.

— Kurbaganm da sahibi mi olurmu?!.. Biz senin igreng hareketin- den
tiksindik. deyince asker, gururlanmi? bir tavirle,

— Oldurmeden yemek mtimkUn degilki (!). dedi. **

insan kiligma girmi? bu mahlukla konu?mayi liizumsuz bularak sustuk.

Bu garip surii Tiirkistan'da Turklerin kam pahasma, onceden ha
zirlanmi? bir hakimiyete sahip oldular. Bimu onlara Rusya hediye etti. Ama bu
kolay istilaya ragmen endi?eliydiler. Hirsiz kedi gibi ilitiyatla geziyorlardı. Hep
nezaket gosteri?indeydiler. Avlulari, sokaklan siipii- riyor, kadmlann sularmi
ta?iyorlardı. Zaten dil de bilmedikleri igin yerli hainler onlara terciimanlik
ediyordu :

— «Azatlik Ordusunu sevmeli ve onlara yardimci olmalıyız. Onlar bizi
azat etmek igin, bize hizmet etmek igin geldiler.n diyorlard:.

Ama gergek hiiviyetlerini daha fazla gizleyemediler. Takke diistii kel
gdriindii..

Mao'nun avaneleri halk iginde bu tutumlanyla gevreyi tamyor, her- kesin
maddi ve manevi gucunii ogreniyor, darbe vuracaklan hedefleri tesbit
ediyorlardı. Tahkikat bitince sirasiyla a?agidaki i?leri yaptılar :

Gczlyo goiulermck .

Yakalanmca halk ayaklanmasma sebep olab'ilecek lider durumun- daki kişileri, halkın sevgisini kazanmı? segkin insanlardan bir kismini geziye gdnderiyorum diye bati Cin'deki Şinen, Lencu Şehrine gdtlirdU.

Bunlar arasinda 1944 yilmda Milliyetgi <?in'e karşı Nilki ayaklan- masinin liderleri Fatih Milsllymi vo Gani Batur'lar da vardi. Bu zoraki davet bir. yil sUrtdi. Oiidan sonra hepsini. gogmen olarak Rusya'ya gdnderdi.

«Kar?i devrimcilcre oIum» *

Bu slogan ile siyasi, askeri glicli olan kim varsa «Pan Tiirkistw, «Anti Komiinist» suglariyla yakalayip oldiirdiiler. Bunlar arasinda be- nim aklmda kalan bazi meşhur kişiler şunlardır :

Mesud Sabri Baykuzu, Dogu Turkistan hukiimet başkam.

Osman Batur, Altay ayaklanmasimn lideri.

Kurban Kuday, tahsilini Tiirkiyede yapmiş bir gazeteci.

Zekeriya, Kazak Tiirklerinden bir general.

Abdul Gafur Sabri, Albay.-

Kurbancan, Albay.

Nasrettin Emin, Hakim.

Mehemmet Haci Musa Haci, Hakim.

Malik Haci, Tokuz Tarav Kasabasmdaki Mao'ya karşı yapılan ayaklanmamn lideri.

Abdurrahman Rahmanoglu, Mao'ya karşı gizli askeri teşkilatm lideri.

Orazkan, Nilki kasabasmdaki kazak boyunun lideri.

Cakanbay, Nilki ihtilalinin siyasi lideri. .

ibris, Mao'ya karşı Tikes kasabasmdaki ayaklanmamn lideri.

Bu tutuklamada biitiin karakollara dldirecegi insan sayisim belir- ten listeler gonderilmiştir. Bu plam kusursuz uygulayanlar taltif edil- miştir. Bunlardan Kazak Tiirklerinden Enver Cakulin adli bir hain, ili bolgesinde yaptigi katliam ile Mao'nun ozel alkışına layik oldu. O Tokuz Tarav Kasabasmm Polls miidurU ile yaptigi bir telefon konuş- masmda «Eger kesilmesi gereken biiyik okiiz sayisi yuzii doldurmazsa UQ dort ya?mdakilerden de kesebilirsin» demiştir. Bunun neticesi olarak 1952 yilmda Tokuz Tarav Kasabasmda Malik Haci başta olmak iizere 98 kişi kurşuna dizildi. Bu sirada Enver Cankulin Ili bolgesinde- ki halk mahkemeleri başkaniydi. O sonradan gorevi yiikselp Uriimgi ?ehrine gotiiruldu. Kiiltur ihtilalinde Rus ajam diye hapise atil提高 olarak ol- duriildi.

«Uge karşı» ve «Beşe karşı» meselesi

Biliyorum bu sozler sizin zihninizde hig bir gagnşim uyandırma- yacak, hig bir hatirayi canlandırmayacak. Ama bu ugursuz formilleri

duyan hor Ttirkistanli irkilir. QtnkU bu sihirli sloganlar nice canlar alnn?, nice ocaklar sbndUrmtl^tUr. , >

'''Mesele şbyle gelişti : «Hiyanete, israfa, hirsizliga karşi savaş» sloganıyla bir hareket ba\$latildi. Buna kısaca «tr<JE KARŞI» dediler. Bu normal; vatandaşlara şamildi. «Vurgunculuga ve vergi kagakiligina kar?i» maddeieri de eklerierek «BEŞE KARŞI» formUIU , elde edildi. Bu da esnafi, ticaret erbabim ilgilendiriyordu. «E, ne var bunda?» di- yeceksiniz.. Evet gortinli?te bir şey yok. Hem de gok saygi deger sozler Hatta bu hiiklimler her medeniyet, her din ve sistem igin gegerlidir.

Ama heyhat; tatbikat hig de oyle olmadi. Ne yazik ki htirriyetin diliyle konu?anlar bunu anlayamazlar — Komiinist terminolojide bti- tiin lligat ve mantik kaideleri alt list olur ... Zira aziz yurdumu miieb- bet esarete mahkum eden Mao ordusunun adi da AZATLIK ordusuy- du. Her mefhumda bir zihin*şoku gegirirsiniz.

Artik her şehirde, her muessesede, her okulda «U(?E KARŞI», «BE- ŞE KARŞI» toplantılan diizenleniyordu. Buna «ayin» veya «celse» de- mek.daha dogru olur samrim. Zira bir batil dinin ayinlerini andin yordu. Salonda bulunan herkes sug itirafma mecburdu. Buna «MESE- LE FAŞ ETMEK» diyorlardi. Bu celselerde hareket noktasi Mao'nun onlarca ayet mesabesinde olan bir soziydii. Mao «Her insan mutlaka kusurludur. Hatadan mlinezzeh olan dogmami? gocuklarla olmu? in- sanlardirw diyordu. Hal boyle olunca «sugsuzum» dernek sug oluyordu. Clinku temel fikire karşi geliyordunuz.

Ne kadar gok sug itiraf ederseniz Mao'ya o kadar sadik sayihrdi- niz. Susarsamz diisturu gignemi? ve Mao'ya isyan etmiş olurdunuz. Boylece bir gok insan «bu benim ihanetimdir» diye elindekini avucun- dakini Mao'ya verdi. Ama o hig doymadi. «DAHA, DAHA.» diyordu.

Bu paralan odemeye kimsenin serveti ve takati yetmedi. gunku bir kere itirafa ba\$lamışsamz artik hig olmayan hayali servetlerinizden de sorumluydimuz. Bu dram ancak bliim veya gildirmayla sona ererdi.

Burada bizzat ailecek yasadigimiz bir faciayi anlatmadan gegeme- yecegim. Bir «beşe kar?i» toplantismda benim dayim olan Metin Os- manOglu biitiin elindekini, avucundakini verdigi halde zandan kurtu- lamayarak devamlı sorguya gekildi. Nihayet «gizli servetini» gosterme vadiyle iki polis refakatinde evine donme imkanmi bulur — zira bir kere «BEŞE KARŞI» celsesine giren kişinin artik dişari gikmasi miim- kiin degildir. Yemesi, uyumasi hep nezaret altmdadir. — Eve gelince anahtar arama bahanesiyle oyalanarak keskin traş usturasmi kolunun yenine gizler. Ve gizli hazinesini(!) gikarmak uzere odarnn zeminin- deki kapagi kaldirarak mahzene iner. Daha polislerin yetişmesine fir-

sat birakmadan keskin usturayi girtlagma. bastirir. Oyle kanlar fijkirir ki bititUn duvarlar alkana boyanir. t?te bttyle, daha kirkma bile var- mayan zavalli dayim kendini kaybederek canina kiydi. Bu hayali sug- lardan karnyla yikanarak temiz gikti. Ama heyhat, kdr tuttugunu birak- maz ki hig utanmadan dltimtin arkasindan bir ferman yayinlayarak «Servetini teslim etmeden intihar etmekle devlete asi oldu» dediler.

Bu komiinizmin sug bastirma taktigidir. Hasta bir mantikla her seferinde «gllglU hirsiz ev sahibini suglu gikarir.»

Prof. Nimetcan, Dr. Şamil, iktisat alimi Esetullah gibi ilim adam- lan bu bel&dan hayatlanm gullikle kurtarabilmi? kişilerdir. Bu zevat kurulan tuzagi bildikleri igin oyuna gelmediler. itirafta bulunmadilar. Onun igin de asil ilan edilerek hapiste yatmakla kurtuldular. Olenin de kalamn da mallari mUsadere edildi. iŞte Mao'nun ilk hazinesini mey- dana getiren bu Şekilde toplanmiş paralardir.'

Toprak reformu

Mao'nun i?tahmi kabartan Tiirkistan'm geniş ve bereketli toprak* lan nasil da olmasin bir iskan hareketiyle Oin'li eline gegirilmesi gere- kirdi. Bizi azat etmeye gelen (!) askeri Uniformasi giymiş btittin aglan yerleştirmek l&zundi. Bu amaci yerine getirmek igin oyun «Arazi ican- m azaltmak, Toprak reformu yapmak» sdztiyle başlandi. ilk koy halki aŞagidaki halde smiflandinldi :

- 1 — Toprak agalan '
- 2 — Zengin giftgiler
- 3 — Orta giftgiler
- 4 — Fakir giftgiler
- 5 — Tarim işgileri
- 6 — Bozuk unsurlar (Mao nun Şuphelendigi dindar ve siyasi kişiler)

Bunlan da tekrar kendi aralarinda dost kisim, diişman kisim ol- maK: uzere iki guruba ayirdilar. Buna gore; «Toprak agalan, Zengin giftgiler, Bozuk unsurlar» dii?man, digerleri ise dost diye adlandinldi. Bu komunizmin her yerde uyguladigi «pargala yut» taktigidir. Once «duşman kesimin» mülkline el konularak «dostlara» dagitildi. Kendi- leri de halka hedef gosterilerek agir işkencelerle, doviıldı ve oldurUl- dular. Bu gurup ortadan kaldinldiktan sonra oyunxm ikinci perdesine gegildi.

Daha bol mahsul aimak igin modem tanm yapmaliyiz. Bunun igin de kooperatifleşmek gerekir, diye dost (!) gurubun topraklanna da el koydular. Veirmlı toprak NUNGQANG (giftgilik alam) adi ile Mao'nun askerlerine verildi. Meseia, yalmz Gulca Şehri etrafmda, QiNG NIEN

NUNG QANG (genglik giftgi alam), VU LING NUNG GANG (Ellinci giftgi alani) tesis edildi. Yorli halk verimsiz topraklara sikiřtirilerek kooperatifleř;tirildi. •

Ama hayret; evdeki hesap garřiya uymadi. tfretim birden bire dtiř- tU. thke gapmda aglik, kitlik bař gdsterdi. Kooperatifin ortak mail olan tarim aletleri, hayvanlar bozuldu ve kayboldu. Hirsizlik salgı ha- lini aldı. Artık insanlar olmemeđ iđin bir lokma diye gırpimyorlardı.

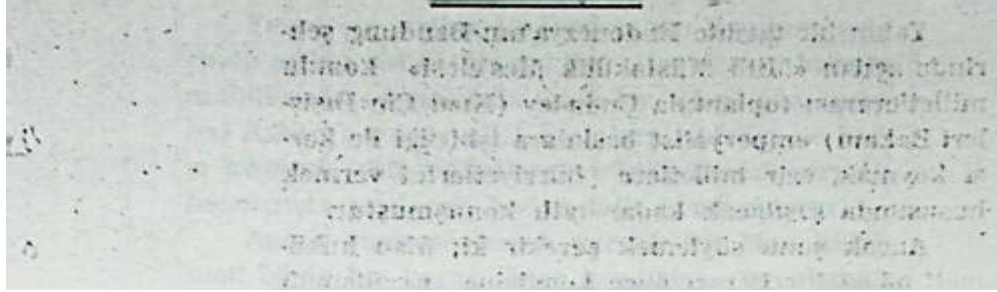
Bir glin Gulca nahiye sekreteri Tokay kdyU kooperatifin! tefti? iđin gelmi?ti. Atim kooperatif ahirma bađlamı? kendisi de bir tamřma ko- nuk olmu?tur. Sabahleyin kalktıđmda atmi yerinde bulamamı?. Niha- yet imdadma kořan seyisler ona atrni gostermiřler. Ama hayret, nasıl oluri, . Atta ne yele kalmıř ne kuyruk... Sekreterin cins kiiheylam yo- lunmuř tavuga donmtiř. řařirarak olayı koopeatif bađkamna arz et- mi?. Duruma vakif olan kooperatif bařkam giilerek;

«— Sekreter yoldař, atimn sađ kaldıđma řtikret. Gordugiin gibi bizim atlarm hiđ birinde ne yele var ne kuyruk.. Dunimu takdir eden atiniz ekmek, tlittin parasi olsun diye kuydugunu ve yelesini bir ađ gift- giye bađıřlamıřtir.» diye řakalařmiřtir.

Bu yıllarda ben de Mao'nun cezalandirmasma layık yař ve hissi-' yata girdim. Yani delikanli oldum. Artık beni de diđer kardeřlerim gibi bapisler, kamplar ve sargiinler bekliyordu.

GONCA GULLERi MiHRiCAN BEKLEMEKTEDiR.





HAPISHANE

İkili KURBAN

£in komiinisderi 1 Ekim'de «£in Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin dogum giinii® di- ye bayram ederler. 1955 senesinde «Sinkiyan Uygur Muhtariyetinin dogum giiniis de 1 Ekim'e raslatip, bu iki bayramm tantanasim beraber kutladilar. 1 Ekim'i daha parlak, daha cazip (!) davraniflarla zirveye gikarmak ijin Mao hiikiimeti, Tiirkistan'da kudurmu? bir siyasetin igerisinc girdi.

O yldardaki £in komiinstlerine gore, «Mao ve 1 Ekim olmazsa azmlık miI- Ieder higbir zaman biir olamazlarmi?. Onlar bize hiirriyet getirmi\$ler, bizim ijin 50k gile gekmi\$ler.» Bu sebepten ctarihinde hiirriyet didan gormeyen, esarete x ah\$mi\$ barbar, medeniyetsiz Tiirkler» Mao'ya, ebediyyen minnettar kalmalan vo misli bulunmayan bu hediye iigin her^eylerini (vatam, cam...) feda etmeleri lazunmif. Kisacasi Tiirkler, kendi iplerini kendileri geckerlermi^. Aynca Mao ?oyle diyor : wAzmlıklann topragi £in topragimn yiizde altmi^im, niifusu ise £in niifusunun yiizde altismi te\$kil eder. O sebeptendir ki, azmlıklar ile Qinli- ler arasindaki ittifaki korumahyiz. Evet, topraga sahip olmak iigin ileri siiriilen bu haydut mantigi benim de 50k ho^uma gitti...

Ancak gegen alti yillik zaman (1949-1955) gok iyi gostermitir ki, toren namma yapilan bu giiriiltiiler bir nev'i hiirriyet cenazesini alkiflamaktan ba\$ka birfey degildi... OrtiiImii\$ gergegi Tiirkistan halki iyi goriiyor ve konuyla ilgili' gizli iniicadele ifadeleri her yerde goze garpiyordu. Mesela, Dogu Tiirkistan'in \$hrinde aAhmetcan Kasimi Lisesin nin kapisma yapitlan bir ilanda \$u ifadc- ler yer almaktaydi : ■ . , ..



VATANDAŞLARIN DİKKATİNE!* , . i> ~

Yakin bir tarihte Endonezya'nın Bandung; Şehrinde
agılan Müstakillik Mes'alesi>> konulu
niyetlerarası toplantıda Cu-in-ley (Kızıl Çin D15I9- leri
Bakau) emperyalist baskılara işbirliği ile karşı koynak,
esir' milletlere hürriyetlerini vermek hususunda ?aşılacak
kadar tath konuşmuştur.

Ancak bunu söylemek gerekir ki; Mao hükümleri- met! böyle bir
karan önce kendisine uygulamalı değil midir? «Muhtariyet»
gosterişi içinde daha . r hürriyet tantanasiyle alki^lanan C^a
esareti altın- dun ilan edilen şey, hakikatte, hürriyetimize karşı
alinmi? bir tavir, değişik bir isim altında zikredildi- İcn ayrı
esirliktir!

Biz Türkistanlılar ne zamana kadar bu sözde da
ya?ayacağız? Bugün birçok esir millet hürriyet-
tine kavu^makta adx geçen toplantıda belirtildiği gibi dünyada
esirliğe son verilmektedir... Peki ya biz!? Biz Türkistanlılar.
ne olacağız.

• ;Kardeşler, gelin birlik • olalım! Hep beraber istiklal için
mücadele edelim! İstiklal hiçbir za- man elden verilmez,
sadece silah ve kan ile alur...

Çin müstemlekeçilerinin Slum Mao'ya ölüm!

«DÖÜ TtRKİSTAN GtZLt TEŞKİLATI»

astern

Mao hükümeti bu şekilde tepkiyle karşıla^acagı 50k iyi bildiğinden kol-
'tugunun altına gizlemi^ olduğu hangerini¹ önceden bilemi^ti; hapishane ve kamp-
lan gogaltnu^ti...
tkinci defa «Pantürkist» leri temizleme faaliyeti başlatıldı. Hatta bu iş o kadar hızlı gitti ki,
bir kısım beyaz Ruslar da, Mogollar da «Pan- türkista nami ile yakalandılar. O sıralarda ben
de baskı, zulüm ve işkence sene* lerini bitiren acılığı ile ya?adım.



Gengliğimin en güzel dönemini yaşarken, vatanın, igerimde derin bir sızı, dinmez bir
yara idi... Çok iyi hatırlıyorum, 1955 yılı 4 Kasım Cuma günü saat 21'de evde kitap
okuyordum. Bahçe kapısı fiddetle vurulmuştu. Okuduğum sayfayı katlayıp aceleyle
kapıyı açmak için avluya yöneldim. Ortak iyice ka* rarmıftı, göz gözü gormüyordu. Kapıyı
açtığımda iyi seğemediğim birkaç kişi biz* la geriye daldı. Ne olup bittiğini anlamak için,
cebimden bir kibrit çıkarıp yak* tim. Titrek ışık aydınlığında karşımda polis takımımı
buldum. Hiç ses gikar* madan beni onlerine kattılar ve ışık yanan odaya girdik.

.MhvJilrwato'.fJoffiw^.idfadiisf -nU: ...ihmjfozl
Evot,T.beninui atymilxl ,«sibe«»\$ jutoto.; i! swwKfws- **ana 7 mem yfat**
■ 'f ' Ellcriiu 'fenIdirh\rokfcfeplcriihi,8rml)lctnii'sotirQ'.r.j :3;j *~:d «£\$*; **vamped ur.n**
jurafer.v ti<3

u r . ^ & i i p s * « « » ■ £ ' j/ft xjqfWl
— Sen bilirsin...

ma son defa bakiyordum..

ja;-j

fadW&n mab IV:.T;2 ukba&fcO >:£w?ihi :f; <: .««?;&» win
: ia. iBa^pQlia:idfiaainiit< (€)idfta 4^taFr/r??^e^fi^A^
vilSyefleriacfan:- tripiintf»¹ siyfcı kjidij^] ^rgda*an r,v@ .Jaajiceden, wUnafa
fldi:
d^>:'kdfnn^na biffiouqsfe **gafTOL** wnetim *IuidL,j Ayagim-
daki gnlgavvpax\$a;5piapjd &T
ralamjwailanmfi BGhMgiMdUtt, ktfepfleyi; Sjtøj b^.-QipLinin geai?
retine verilerek hapise gonderildim. QigUl f-o-b-f r l Q-i-a 't-t-f-j n-. ■ > ^x-1 .
atfe

hazir scsini ilk defa lclqlqnym c^binjle djjjdum. «U» \$eklind.cki da? bi^koridora
girdik ,epeyce ilerledikten sonr'a, Icoridorun sbnundaki ^hucrelerden bmniif onxin-
de durdnk. £inli 50k sert bir sesle kapiyi a\$mam igin C.CTT.C
i. Rutubetten \$i\$mi\$
kapiyi agmam zor oldu. Kapinin agilmasiyla beraber, arkamda duran'Qinlinin tekme
darbesiyle hiicreinn ~~ertamh~~ -yntgilip¹ 3a3gEnr.~> '- "5 '-
Hxicre karanlikti. Ustelik bir idrar kokujkgenzma yakiyordu, kendinii ade-

Sonra kendimi oparlamaya gali\$mak ve bir sigara igmek igin guglukle dogrulup bir kibrit
gaktim. Alevin aydiubgiada i^uBniaegtbiLyordun}: .: JCo^ede⁷ lazunlik gjbLijir \$ajv.yerde
izroyitlcc- ye bir yxgrUjpi^ik..-Berbat bir., manzaraydi.... Ben- den noise daha birgoklftn bu
pisbk' igindejnmur tujretmiglar,... acx . gekrm^lerdi. SuglaQ peydiZ ffindi -Tyrftd^yfiilw^?
Rp.llci jMjjiaili'ip ftnlann l>p,pi

getUULi\$-.
lerdix. Bn i\$in-sonu nejeje yarac^uj^ ^ ^ n^-: -1%
Bu giine; kAdar.an^ . ihtil^i^^narn^ -dn^tpt^U^A. J^^eI<^^bw^ idJedo^ sag olarak
giktiklart nadi£ g^U«u^tifap<<Dw^cbftfiippjc4ftr2G ydUk:. kisa omrumun meaarx burasi --
cfecakj..; £etidelurakfakafinad na.fogpiyoqifta^ j&yak:Jbttjka<fcr aeimasuramydi?,-; ;
Boyieea <se*abi:?yoikTWOii?» »<adbgv^o»e.dab>^\$ii», - v^c..i?^?i- tRapmuv^Inlit dankiinm^
gurultiilii; sesfyle uya&digaxmliattrbyonuii, ruhi yor- gunluktan biraz uyumu^um. Siyah
elbiseli, soguk baki\$b ve oldukga girlsd yuz* lii nobetgi elindeki bit* kaee Sofcbayfc
vay & ktrabmady. KostLakaa Aimlta ila

knpaudi... Bu mahpuslann enbali ycinogi olmalıydı. Lahand baflaması ilavo edil- mi\$ xuisir unu gorbasi. İ^tabun yoktu, igmedim. Giincfin ilk lgiklariyo aydinla* nan luicremc \$ojrlo bir gbz gezdirdim, Boyu 3,eni 2 xntro kadardı. Ayrica spki sold, ..ko^elcrindo rutubetten basil, olan kirkayak boccegi geziyor... Duvarlann gimlenmesinden, yer yer' filizlencn inco otlardan,. hapishfinenin sonbaharda acc- leylo yapilxp bitirildigi anla\$iliyordu. tlstto kiigiik penccreden gok nz giine? i?igi sizmaktaydı. Pencrcrcnin alt kisnu iso, domir parmaklxklar ilo kdpatilmi?, aralik- laida dovtiye gczch nobot^ilerin 'govdolcri'gorunuydrdu. " •

. Aradan no kndar bir zaman gegti bilmiyorum, yine kapi, kilit giiriiltiilen • Ak?am ycmegi vcrliyor olmalıydı. Mcraklamp, agilip kapanan kapilan bir bir saymaya bajladim. Otuzuncu olarak bcnim kapun agildi. Nobetgi ycmck dagitiyor- du. Sabah verilcn gorbayi ignemi^ oldugumu goriincc sinirlendi vo kapxyi hizla garpip gitti.

Artık geco olmu?, sabaktan beri bir lokma bir ?cy yemcdigim halde no kar- nim acikiyor, ne de uykunx geliyordu. Cebimdeki sigara da bitmi\$ti... Kapinui agilmasiyla kncdime geldim. Elindeki elektrik fenerini igeri tutan £in'İinra «zo» (yiirii) diye haykiran sesiyle irkildim. Yerimden kalknrak oniine dictum. Cin'li tabancasnu biitun sogukluguyla kulagunm dibine dayami^ti. Avluyu gegip, kar\$ı binadaki polis' salonuna girdik ^in'li siyah boyali buyiik kapiyi agip bana eliyle «gir» i^areti yaptı. tgeri girdigim de kar\$ımdaki masada askeri tiniforma giymi? asik yiizlu biri oturuyordu. Onun, ' > • , ' .

— Otur! emriyle kaprain yamndaki iskemleye ili\$tim...

— Durumun nasıl?

— **iyi** •

.....

— Buraya nigra geldigini, sugunun ne oldugunu anlat! .

— Buraya kendim gelmedim ki..

— Suglu oldugun igin getirildin. Sugunun ne oldugunu sen daha iyi bi- lirsin!... ' •

— Hayir, bilmiyorum. Benim bir sugum yok..

— Nasıl bilmezsin? Sen panturkistlere alct oldiin. Onlar faaliyetlerinde se- nin gibilerden istifade ettiler. Ka?ker'den Gulca'ya bu amag igin geldigini bili- yoruz (ashnda Gulca'ya hukumetin karanyle donmu^tiim). Yaptiklanm agik- lar, sugunu itiraf cdersen parti seni affeder. £ok gengsin... Onlar senin toylu- gundan istifade edip kandirmi\$lar. Bizden taraf olursan partinin geni^ iltifatla- nna mazhar olursun. Samimiyetimizin kiymetini bil, bu firsati herkese tamma- yiz.. Dediklerimi yaparsan derbal hapishaneden gikarsra; yok eger cahillik edip direnirsen neticeden sen mesulsiin!... Diyerek soziinii kesti ve bana bir sigaTa ik- ram etti. Uzun sure devam eden siikutu yine kendisi bozarak, soziine foyle de- vam etti :

— En yakra akraba ve arkadaflannra isimlerini soyle! * ••

. ! : Ben; o undo nklima gelon, hukiimet nazanndan vonydiri zumreden
oldukga uzak olan on tano kadar ki^inin ismini aaydira; ;. i; .

— Sabit 'Abdurrahman vo Rahim Ha\$iin'i tamyormusun?

— Tamyorum ama onlarla pok samimiyo'tim yoktur.

Diycrek ccvav verdim. Sabit vo Rnhim'in sorulmasmdan, onlarm da yaka- lannu?
olacagmdan ^uphclondim. £iinkii her ikisi do 1949 - 1951 yillan arasm- da
«pnntiirkist» iddiasıyla hapsö atilirn?, bir 50k i\$kcncclerc maruz kalmiflardx.
Miinlennii^ olan bu vatanscvrlcri, kondi i^lerinde bile fiipheyo diifcn Mao'nun,
yeniden toplayip sorguya gckmcsi normal bir liadiseydi. ■

Bu sorgulamadan sonra ba?ka hiicreye nakledildim. Bu yeni hiicrede yalnız
degildim; yamnda 30 ya?lannda Muzaffer isimli birisi vardi. Her giin ikimizi de nyn
ayri sorguya gckiyorlardı...

Giinler ilerleyip aradan oldukga bir zaman gegtiginde Muzaffer'le aramızda- ki
samimiyet arlmıgti. Yava? yava\$ dertlejmeye ba\$lamı\$tik...

Ben, apar topar buraya getirildigimi, yapmadigim feylerle itbam edildigimi,
sonumun ne olacagmi bilmedigimi anlattun. O, 1950 yilinda «Toguz Tarav»
nahiyesinde faaliyet gosteren Malik Haci ayaklanmasina katkida oldugunu, bu yizden
iki yildir i\$kcnce gordugiinu, silah saklama suguyla yargilandigim uzun uzun
anlatiyordu :

— I\$te benim hikayem bu.. Silab falan saklamadun diyorsam da inanmi- yorlar.
Eger sen de inkar eder, ifadende israr edersen kurtulamazsm!

— Ne yapayim?.. tflcmedigim bir cinayet masab mi uydurayun?..

— Hayir, ben sana, kendini yalandan sugla demiyorum.. Ama durup du-
rurken getirilmezdin buraya. Bak ben de epey suglu sayilim...

— O halde onlara nereden olursa olsem silab- gikanp gostermek meeburi-
yetindesin oyle mi?..

— tflcmedigim bir sug igin buraya geldim, itiraf igin nereye gidecem!?!...

— Kendin bilirsin! Ben sana iki yilbk aci tecriibelerimi anlattim. Benim silah
meselesine gelince onu sonra konu?uruz.

Giinler sorguya gekilerek, baski yapilarak iimitsiz gegip gitmekteydi. Devam- li
olarak; «Faaliyetleriniz nereden yonetiliyor? Lideriniz, uyeleriniz kimler? Ka?ker'de
tJriimgi'de, Gulca'da anti ihtilal hareketleri nasil yuritiyorsunuz?..» \$eklindcki ardi
arkasi gelmeyen sorularm altinda sinirlerim iyicc zayıflami^ti.

Yine uzun sorgulamayla gegen giiniin gece yarxsmda Muzaffer beni becli-
yor buldum. Sikmtidan uykusunun olmadigmi, durumuma gok uzuldiigiinu soyledi.
Kar\$ilikli hiler sigara igtikf Arkada\$urun her firsatta iizerime dii\$tiip, is-
tcd:kieri ifadeyi vermeme israrla tavsiye etmesinden gok sikibyordun. O, kadar arkada?
oldugumuzu, inattan vazgegip her \$eyi agik agik anlatmamiztn ilcimiy. igin de hayirli
olacagmi soyleyip duruyordu:.. Muzaffer'in bu iyi niyet gosterisi,

Mr

ycrUo^ kh^jaud^.^ EJlcrimJo bnska Muzaffar ağzından Em yanuno
 dclil jirindo bnska dclil yok,, Vamiz KnB&crde «Muli»riycu
 »Wi«ja.s:"bfki*%f:"f~"w^ £» ^WIT-OTut.™ ^XKOUUWXSv -oncsaea «:«&
 tartisudagi bi "KlCk"nlinji toplnntjsiuda .» .urag ^OAsajicurna d*tguaai jsSsSkaam uavrtav .jmrX'jjfcailtx jasigtlracrvax
 n^ai^na^Xtkunala .» .urag ^OAsajicurna d*tguaai jsSsSkaam uavrtav .jmrX'jjfcailtx jasigtlracrvax
 — «Sinkiynu Uygur Muhtariyct bolgesinin tesis cdilmesi, mu3takillilfc;4ft^*
 ■“»* giido^lcw ka-

• a ^ r d i x ^
 , v * M gfyd lmih

lyico acikmis'oldugum'bir gunun'akşamında(ellerime'kelepeç,ayaklarım'demir
 zincir vurdular. Muzaffar, hüsnülü'bir'gözele' .antalya'd .ivibcm) ruz(19) .amr.

— Acaba, bunlar scni oldiirmek liazirligi mi yapıyorlar? ttiraf
 eSferscirt'ca- mVsag'Ic^A^Sdiii*^71^* sib caarona-^/@fcSirawr. r;r?r.uli
 « : -c* ttritfaraVI irr£^r_r^u <fcd-J vW&aU .sfedbo^Sf^iB

<arr>j.y .sdWdMVft^iCSv Sonne maul?A —>
 Belki vakit gccc yansim gepmi^tir... Bu karanligin me^unxiopuxiaj k^raj^iyol-

lerle dalmıstım... Kapı gürültüsü ve çzop sesi. Güçlkle yerimden kalkarak iler-
 lemeye çalışıyordum. Kapı önünde, üç silahlı nöbetçi. Ayagımdaki ağır zinciri
 seslendirerek a dım adım yaya^ca ilcplem^kteyim. Nereye? £>onspizluga.^ . Saatlerim
 sayili artik. Yiiregmiin eridifini bissettim. Nikayct iizuii biFkbridorun' sonunda
 big bilmcdigim' bii? Koluine giffllk. Yan karanlic bu ' salbnda biyuk'bir inasamn
 etrafma sfr^anmif bulufiari^on' ki?i 'kadar sorguctiilun deb\$Ctli baTa^lan'lle^kai^f-
 lajtim. l^aVetie^1 kapmin^mna^surulen' smdalyeye dltiunriaifil^istediler; tlk^1 sozu
 ya?li bir fin^il aldi : i.a

^ 4ir-
 — «Biz bu güne kadar gençliğine acidik ve suçunu itiraf etmeni bekledik..
 Kaderin bu gece belli olacak. Sayet her şeyi açık açık anlattırsan ölümün kurtu-
 lursun. Evet, hakkr&ala karar ^agziraclan ^gikacaklar'a^bbgli.^TElimizde^ yeterli de-

liller var» Hlverek ^oiui^eki^dBSyayi kanşbrmaya 'ba^ladiV'%inc bir <j:niTi :
 •: ... nzi-pBt'uha-i .acsp*av'«u T d -T .d rrv^*:a ^;:::«*wrns riS-f .•ii
 : •*■ — %lu^W.^IPJV5?r- « ,W;r?J mrfsrJv ^
 Bir ba\$ksi : v...i.

— Susmak;<plum, konu?mak hayat.demektir, jpna,gore dii\$un.. •* . - -
 :- 0 saatlerdeL,can ;-peki\$en duygulanmi burada anlatabilmem ,şok^..zor.. ..zaten
 beynim uyu\$mu\$ gibi ydi. TeferruaU -pek , habrlayamiyprum;. Karnm •. donmu\$, dim,
 ayagun buz. kesilmi^ti. ;Biitun guciimii toparlayar-ak.-: r...*.

— Konufacak. bir ?eyun; yokU^Diye; -ceyap ycrdim, Aibk .plumu goze al- mi^tim..
 Kalbim kafse, .kapatilmij yabani-'ku\$. gibi, kabuzgalarimi kuarcasma
 4.J 9.% + \ , * * 'C^7 vr-yr-l. ' ;>M -

(2) (Dertli yiircgin^jju'pinij. durur.-I; Gece :gunduz -durmaksizin oifsamda •
 • Yatagma; 8igmayan,TJiebir.misali,,-r.^- • JConakIayacak.-;birL.dur.ak[yok!;...
 ,
 Bu heyecan beni siiriikler durur Kanatlanm yorgun,^ bu sonsuzlukta .; Gokte

garpiyordu. Oturanlar, birden ellerinimasaya vurarakyorlorinden kalktilar. Hid- detlo iizcrimo yurudiiklerini goruyorumV. Q nnda dnynmalmaz birbliim ifltciyle kivrandigrau hissediyorum, vurulan tokmolarin acisiyla karanliklara yorun,..

Dayanılmaz La? aglanm kiskaci altrnda bir ara gozlerimi agtigunda ken- dimi bnjkn'bir hucrode buldum. Ustuin ba?im kan igindeydi. Acaba mezarda mi idim? Idrakim, fuurum durmuftu. sanki.. Gozumdo birtakim hayaller .canlam- yor, kulagimda bazi sesler ugulduyordu : «— Hayir, sen'olmcdinl Yafayacak- sm.. Oglum umidini kaybotmc! insanoğlu .dayanikli olmalidir. Sabret,, kurtula- caksml!..» • . , • (((.

Bunlan sccadcleri uzerino diz gokmiif, kedrcle kivranan annexn ve babam aoyliiyorlardi. Birden igirain aydmligim bissettim ve :

«— Aglama anne! Diyc-seslendim. Sizin igin yafayacagim.. Duanizi iizerim- den cksik ctmeyin!»

Sonra bu hayaller ve sesler yava? yava\$ silindi.. Dipsiz bir kuyuda yiiziyor- mufgasma yeniden karanliklara...

Yattigun yerden dogrulmaya gahfirkcn her yaniim sizhyordu.

Bu durum bir ay kadar deyara etti. Gulca'mn o tatli bahar havasiyle kendi- me gelmeyc baflnmiftim. Artik, limit ve genglik galip gclmifti. Gegen zaman zarfrada sabah-akfam kapimn dibine yemek birakan nobetgiden başka insan yii- zii gormedim.

Giin'er, aylar bir. bcklyifle gegiyordu. Bu yolun sonu oliimc mi, hayata mi gidiyor, kestiremiyordum. Her fey karanlik. bir muarumaydi. Ruhum galkantilar iginde kivramyor, zihnim daima aym hayalle dolup tafiyordu :

«Karanlik gccelerde, gokte pinl piril parlayan yildizlari birinden birine sig- rayarak hilali anyordum. Fakat, bir tiirlu bulamiyor, ouun parlakligma ulafmak igin yiiregim titiyor, sabirsizlaniyordum...» O hilali bir gun bulabilecek iniydim acaba?

1956 Senesinin serin bir Haziran sabahi mefum bir sessizlik. Yaz mevsimi- nin o berckctli kokusu bumumda tutiyor, uzaklardan dertli bir biilbiil nagmesi duyar gibi gonliimde bir intizar ile beklenen hiizunlii arzular...

Sabah namazmi kildim. Igitimdeki sikmtiyi dagitmak igin yiksek scsle Kur'an okuyup uzun uzun dualar ettim. Duami heniiz bitirmiftim ki, pencere- den gelen bir sesle irkildim. Bafimi kaldirdigimda aym ses ihliyatla :

«— Birader,, beni duyuyor musun?..» diye sordu. (Komiinist olmayanlar birbirine bu fekilde bitab ederler. Bilindiği gibi komiinistler «yoIda\$» tabirini kullamlar.) Bu bir Uygur yigitydi... Hapishanenin nobetgilerindenmif. Beni seyrettigini, kendini tutamayarak konufmak igin seslendigini anlatti. Bana bir paket sigara atti ve :

— Dostum sana da, bana da Allah bir giin yardim edccektir. Umidini kes-

mo diyerek dogruldu. O anda yanaklanndan sUziilen ya\$lar yuziime damlami^, gozya^larmnz blribirino kari?mi\$ti.

Dort duvar igindo yalmz yatiyordura. Tok mc^gulyictim, sigara igm,ck vo derin dcrin du^iinmckti.

Her^cyi cksiksiz vo derin du^iinmck igin komunizmin hapishancaindcn da- ha iyi bir iinivrsite, daha iyi bir egitim, kigbir yerde, higbir zaman bulunmaz.

Komiinistlcrin en korktuklan Őey agik fikir ve derin du\$iinccdir. Ama on- Iar no yazik ki, insanlan daba iyi, daba agik fikir sahibi yapmak igin gok zah- metlere katlamp, onlari boyle iiniversitelcre topluyorlar.

Hangi isteklerinc kar^i boyle hareket cdiyorlar? Bu soru iizerinde de derin derin diiŐunuyordum : Bu hareket komunizmin hayatidir, bunsuz o mevcut ol- maz. Bu bayat miicadclesi ne kadar hizlansa onlar kabirc o kadar gabuk yak- la^xrlar,

1957'nin 4 Őubat Sab giinii beklenmcdik bir ^ckilde umumx aflan yararlanarak giktim. Benimle birlikte Sabit ve Rabim de,kurtulmuŐlardi.

— Mahpusluktan kurtulduk!.

dedik, ama bu kurtuluŐun altinda nice iztiraplar ve azaplar gizlidir... Őiinku biz daba agik fikirli ve daha derin diifiinceli olmak iizerc 15 aylık universiteyi bi-

tirmiŐlik..



Kardas Edebiyatlar

Bir portre: „

£Llrt 2

■ /?82-

SOKAN
VELİHANOĞLU
(1835-1865)



IkUl Kurban

Şokan Kazaklar arasında moaern dQnyla lie alaka fcurdn, boylece edindigi bilgl ve du?uncelerle halkmin tarihine, kuituriine yen! blr gozie bakan irk mii-. newerier arasmdadir. Rus mekteplerinde gagina alt bilgilerl bgrenmi?, fransizca vasrtasiyla «Bati»nm Him .dunyasmi ve dii^uncelerini tammişti. Elde ettiQi bilgilerle. uzun zamandan beri derin bir uykuya dalmi?, kendi kabuguna gekilmr\$ Bozkir halkmi uyandırmak, gagainin bilgi ve kiiltur sevryesine yu'kseltmek istiyordu. Fdkat talih, bu asil insana gok kotii bir son hazirlamişti. Hayaf kirkliijina' ugradi. Geng ya?ta oldii. Fa'kat «ke?f ettişi», degerini herkesten once kavrayarak Him alemine tamttigi Manas Destani, Bozkir harkmin yenile?me hamlelerine, mill! kiiltur yolunddkı hareketlerine i?ik tutuyor.

Şokan (Qokan) Velihanoglu, Cengiz Han soyundandır. Dedeleri arasında meŞhur Kazak ham Atbay da vardır. Orta-Orda Kazdklarınm sultam Velihan'ın torunudur. iBabasimn crdi Şingis (Cingiz/Cengiz) dir. Asil adı Muhammed Hanefi idi. Atayurdu Kok^etavda seckin ve kilturlu bir zirmre icinre. demok/at bir g6rtt\$le bii'yudii. Biitun yaptikfarim otuz yıl gibi kısa bir 6mre sigdirdi. O. Kazak bbyunun tarrhgisi, etnoQrdfi, folklorcusu ve egitimcisi idi. Gengligi koyu bir millt atmbsfer rginde gegti. Tiirkiiler, desfanlor masailar ve hafk hikayeieri dinleyerek biryudu. Kozi Korpe? Men Bayan Suluv adli trajfk a?k hlkciyesini ilk derleyen Şokan'dir. ilk Kazak ressamlarından. Bazi masal ve hfkayeierin mevzuianyla ilgili red'rmler gizmi?tir. Ba?arili bir tahsil hayati vardır. Gelenege gore «han» gocuiju yedi milletin dilini biimeliydi. Onun igin \$o'kan .Rusgayi, Arapgayi ve butun Turk lehgeierini iyi ogrendi. Babasi onu 1847 yılında 12 ya?ında iken Ornbi/Omsk Şehrine goturup Kad6t Korpusutia yazdirdi. 6Şretmenleri ddha 14-17 ya?Iarirdaki bu delikanliya geieceşin alimi'gdzuyie bakryorlardı. Gene Şokan. bu siraidrda tarih ve cografya kitapjarmi biiyu'k bir ?evkle c/kuyordu.

1853 yılında Kad6t Korpusu'nu bitirip, Atli Asker Korneti (eskl rus ordu-surida suvari teymeniigji) iinvamm alır. Sfbirya Kazak-Rus ordusuna- 6. Suvari Aiayrna subay olarak tayin ediiir. Şokan bu askert gorevi yaparken biirokrat, ru\$vetgi ve mustemlekeci rus subayiarı tarafından gok baskiya Q^rar, sikinti geker. Gordugu zuliim ve adaietsizlik. iginde bir ezikifk yaratir.

Şokan, 1856 yılında M. M. Nomentovskiy ba?kanligindaki askeri-ilmT ara?-tirma gezisine katildi. Gezi gurubu Kirgiz yurdunda Issik Kol bolgesinde harita

(Devami s. 39'daV

Şokan'ın VoUhonoglu

gali^maları yaptı. Bu vesile ile Şokan'ın İltihali galişirmaları için* fırsatı gıkmı? oldu. Onun Manas'la ilgilenmesi bu yıla rastlar. Manas'ın safer yaptığı rıvıyet edilen III da^mdaki ?ehrin harafoelerini İnceler. Kirgiz boyunun geceresini; glirlerini, de- ymlerini ve Manas Destam'ni tesbiller eder. Bu yoco eserler, önce de syleldi01mlz gibi edeblydt dQny.asma İfk tamtan Şokan'dır. Destandan bazı kısıtları rusyaya gevlerek yayımlanmıştır .

1856 yılında Şokan, Qln-Rus İcareti ve hudut meselelerini halletmek için Kulca-Gulca Şehrine gfderek bu görevi ba^arıyla yapar. Buda Og ay kalır, sonra Omfoi/Omsk'a doner.

1857 de Ka?kar, A'ksu, Kulca'daki Tutkilerin Cin'e karşı ayaklanmalarını tofkip etmek için Atatav/Aladag Kirgizlerinin arasına gönderilir. İbu seyahati de bir kao eser yazmasına vesile olur. İstik Kol Saparining Giindelligi, (Isik Gol Seferinin GunlCigfu). Kitay imperyasına Batis Provİnsiyasi Men Kulca Kalasi (Gin İmparatorluQunun batı bolgesi ile KuJca Şebri), Kirgizdar Turali Cazbalar (Kirgizler hakkında yazılar) gibi eserleri bu sırada kaleme alınmıştır. Henüz yirmi ya?ında olan bir kimsenin böyle ilmi ve dnmeli yazılar ne^retmesi, Rusya. ve Almanya'da takdirle kar?ılamır. Şokan'ın tarih, coğrafya sahasındaki gali?- malarının ?obreti Petersburg Him cevrelerinin dikkatini geke, yirmi ya^ındaki bu dehayı 1857 yılının 27 Jpubatında Rus Co'rafya Cemlyet'nin asil uyesiQine se- cerler.

1858-1859 yıllarındaki KaŞkariye (Güney Dogu Turkistan) seyahati Şokan'ın i'm? gali?malarında yeni ufuklar açar. Avrupa bu güne kadar Ka?gariye cograf- yası, sfyas?. icrma? ve medenT durumu hakkında bilgi sdhfi degildi. İste bu meçul yurdun sırrını aleme açan Şokan'dır.

1 Ekim 1858 den 1859 yılının Mart ayı ortasına kadar Şokan. Ka?kar, ve Al- tiŞehr (GüneyfoQu Turkistan) i iyice araştıır. Halk arasında kendisine rus ajam denildiğini duyardı 11 Mart 1859 da acele geri doner. Şokan'ın Ka?kariye'den getirdişi malumat; derhal Almanya'da Almanca. 1865 yılında da Londra'da In- gilizce olardı basılır. Kazak alimi böylece Avrupada da tamırmi? olur.

Şokan ara?tırmalarına dayanarak haritalar çizer. İngilizce, Almanca ve özellikle Fransızca'yı iyi bildiği için, yabancı haritaları da inceleyerek ilim Ce- mfyeti ifyelerine DoQu Turkistan, Tanrı DaQları ve. Kirgizistan konularında kon- feranslar verir. Bu zeki ve >sevimli hatip Petersburg ilmi camiyasıyla gabucak dost olur. Bu ?ebirde eski dostu Dostoyevski ile kar?ıla?ır. EdelbT, felsefi, igtimaT goru\$leri aym olduğu için. samimiyetleri buyuktur.

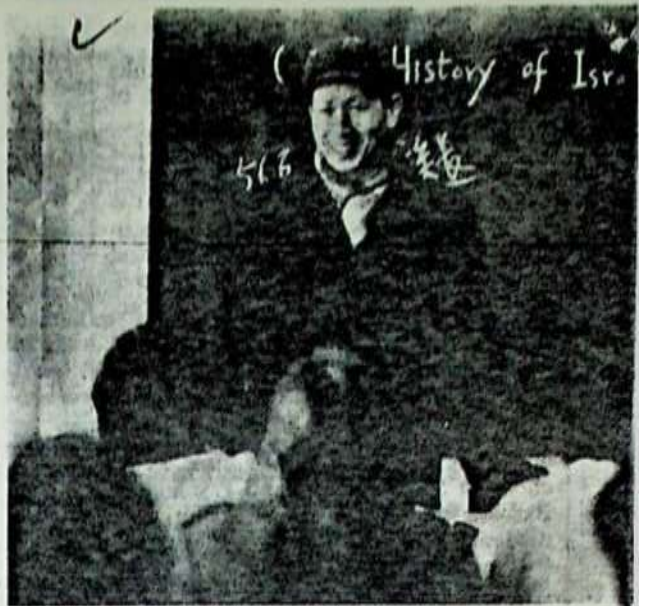
1864 yılında Şokan, Güney Kazakistan'ı Rusya'ya bajlamak için yapılan crskeri sefere girilir. Kazak halkını kana bulayan bu sefer Şokan'ın tuylarını urpertir. Sonra Şokan crskeri uniformasının atarok bir gurup subay ile geriye, Verni'ye doner. İ?gal komutanlığının şikayeti ile bunların gogu cezalandırılır. Bu zulumden kaga'n Şokan, Turk boylarına sijaSimr. Zaten a'kcijjer veremi olan geng alim masum milletin katline daha fazla dayanamayarak 1865 Nisanında elin- den obasından uzakta 30 ya?ında vefat eder. ■

Şokan'ın diğeri eserleri ?unlardır: Qungarya Ogerkleri (denemeleri. 1861), Kazaklarda Samanizm, Kazak Şecereleri, Kazak Silahları, Ablay Han.





Worshippers receiving Holy Communion at the Catholic Patriotic Church in Peking



New class in religious history at Nanjing

Religion

I Let a Hundred Churches Bloom

After 30 years of repression, Christianity rises again in China

► At a sunrise service on the Great Wall this Easter, and in the cathedrals and churches of Peking, thousands of Christians celebrate the Resurrection.

► In downtown Shanghai, a standing-room-only congregation of 800 packs the handsome brick Church of Abundant Grace. After a resounding rendition in Chinese of the hymn *Love Divine, All Loves Excelling*, worshippers listen as Pastor Li Wentsai exhorts them to "abide in Jesus" continually, not just on Sundays. The church is one of five Protestant churches in Shanghai, and more than 100 nationwide, that have just been reopened.

► It is Christmas Eve 1980 in the fishing and manufacturing city of Wuxi. As in 40 other Roman Catholic parishes in China, the local church is being rededicated after having been shut down for more than a decade. But because Chinese Catholics have been cut off from liturgical changes brought about by the Second Vatican Council, the crowd of 3,000 parishioners celebrates the Mass in Latin. The ceremony ends outside in true Chinese style with a crackling flare of fireworks lighting up the night sky.

► A peddler who lives in a rural area of Henan province claims that at each of three baptizing ceremonies in his commune over the past year, "300 to 400 people became Christians." The man belongs to a loose network of "house churches," which are growing rapidly, especially in farm villages.

► At the Nanjing Theological Seminary young men and women

sit in freshly repainted classrooms, learning the basics of Protestantism—along with English and some other secular subjects. The seminary reopened in March, with 47 students selected from 500 applicants. It is the first school allowed to train clergy since 1966. That year Mao Tse-tung's Red Guards not only closed the place and arrested the faculty but wrecked the chapel and destroyed four-fifths of the books in the seminary's library.

Even three years ago, such scenes would have been inconceivable. But today Christianity and other religious faiths in China are coming into the open again as a result of the Communist regime's decision to begin honoring a constitutional guarantee of freedom to worship. At the height of Mao's Cultural Revolution, 1966-67, virtually every religious institution and house of worship was suppressed. It was one of the most systematic attempts

ever mounted to expunge religion from the life of a nation.

Tens of millions—perhaps hundreds of millions—of Chinese adhere to the ancient faiths of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, which are cultural as well as spiritual forces. Islam has been deeply entrenched for centuries. Though China has been a special preoccupation of U.S. and European missionaries since the late 19th century, less than 1% of China's 1 billion people are Christians today.

Despite this minority status, reports of Christianity's renewal are coming in from every province of China. Christians already appear to be as numerous as they were before the 1949 Communist takeover. Stories of conversions and whispered claims of miraculous healing spread from village to village. Pastors and nuns, freed from "labor reform" camps, where many had been held for 20 years, are returning to their parishes. The Communist regime is returning confiscated church properties to Christian congregations. Frequently it even collects rent from occupants of such properties so Christian groups can begin to pay for repairs. Signs of Christianity are visible even in areas of Islamic Concentration. At Urumqi (pop.

1 million), the capital of the autonomous region of Xinjiang, Catholics are now worshipping under a temporary straw roof while they rebuild their chapel.

China is lenient toward religion just now because it is seeking respect and trade overseas and pressing hard for national unity to foster economic development at home. Describing the Communist Party's "united front" religious strategy, the top Protestant leader in China, Bishop Ding Guang-

Bishop Ding Guangxun



Bishop Fu Tieshan





Protestant church in Nanjing undergoing repairs from damage done by Red Guards

Spain. Even though Tang was appointed by the Vatican, remains loyal to the Pope and has so far refused to join the Patriotic Association, the government let him out of prison last year. It has also chosen to regard Tang as a bishop, mainly because so many Catholics in his diocese demanded it.

This February, when Pope John Paul II was in the Philippines, he addressed China and declared, "Whatever difficulties there have been, they belong to the past." Significantly, the Pope has not risked mainland disapproval by appointing a nuncio to Nationalist China, or naming a Cardinal to succeed the late Paul Cardinal Yu Pin of Nanjing, who went to Taiwan in 1949 with the Nationalists. The Pope pointedly refers to that island's religious hierarchy not as bishops of China but as "the bishops of Taiwan." Vatican insiders believe he would drop diplomatic ties with Taiwan in return for restored re-

had to respect religious faith. The common ground is patriotism, the wish that China should become stronger and more prosperous."

As in the Soviet Union, permission to print Bibles and pamphlets or even to open a church must be given by the state. Religious education of the young is limited to small-scale meetings inside the churches. The new religious freedom, in fact, is anything but complete. In some places the degree of tolerance seems to depend on how sympathetic local officials are to the policies of Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping. For every church that has reopened, many more are still used as warehouses or barracks.

Christianity is an attractive, often dynamic option, given the spiritual vacuum created in China during more than 30 years of official atheism, the failure of Communism as a substitute religion and the fall of Mao as its messiah. A third to a half of the reborn church congregations comprise younger people. Last year Pan Xiao, 23, a woman worker, wrote a poignant letter to *China Youth* magazine:

Is this the mystery you try to reveal? Is the ultimate end nothing more than a dead body!" The magazine has a circulation of 3.7 million. When the letter was published, it drew 60,000 letters in response.

At Nanjing University, one of six campuses with new centers for sociological study about religion, 1,000 students showed up for the first academic lecture on Christianity. Says a young woman worker in Peking: "Communist philosophy puts so much emphasis on struggle. What I like about Christianity is its stress on kindness in human relations."

To future-minded urban dwellers, Christianity seems attractive simply because it is the traditional faith of the U.S. and most modern industrialized European nations. Officially restored churches, most of them in cities, are supervised by national Protestant and Catholic agencies that work closely with the government's

Religious Affairs Bureau—separate denominations have been abolished—and Bishop Ding is the official head of all Chinese Protestants.

On the basis of 180 taped, in-depth interviews in China, Hong Kong's Chinese Church Research Center told TIME Cor-

respondent Bing Wong that there are to be appointed by a Pope in far-off Rome.

5 million Protestants in the more than 50,000 "house churches" that kept functioning during the Cultural Revolution. Chinese Catholics who, like Bishop Tang, and became the mainstream of Chinese Christianity. Protestants, accustomed to papal leadership, began worshipping in such homes, often at night, and sharing memorized Bible stories as well as hymns. Churchless Catholics sometimes joined these clandestine meetings.

The underground services fostered a truly indigenous form of religion that has finally freed Chinese Christianity from the control of foreign missionaries and thus strengthened its appeal to xenophobic Chinese. Bishop Ding has recently extended official recognition to all rural house churches and hopes gradually to unify them under his organization. Local house leaders, though, are understandably wary of joining any agency under close Communist supervision.

There are far fewer Catholics than Protestants in China, and their situation is complicated. Of the 41 Catholic bishops in the country, only eight were appointed by the Vatican. The remaining 33 were elected by priests in China without papal approval, and are bishops of the government-approved Chinese Catholic Church, known as the Catholic Patriotic Association. There is one notable exception to this schismatic situation: Bishop Dominic Tang, 73, a Jesuit trained in Portugal and

But the Chinese response to his Philippines speech was cold, and the "patriotic" Chinese bishops may decide to snub the Pontiff and reject the Vatican's overtures. Even if the status of existing bishops is worked out, the Communist rulers of China may not allow future bishops to



Hearing confession in Peking

cy and spurned the patriotic bishops. It is possible that most Chinese Catholics will continue to refuse to recognize the government-imposed religious hierarchy. Says one such Vatican loyalist in Shanghai: "Many of us grew up together and shared the sufferings of being Catholic. There isn't a single one who will go to a patriotic church."

The current policies could change swiftly, particularly if the party felt threatened by the small but dynamic Christian minority. In 1957, Mao declared, "Let a hundred flowers bloom." but the brief blossoming of free

speech that followed only led to fiercer repression. Indeed, some critics of the regime saw Mao's move as a ploy to lure dissenters into revealing themselves. Few question the current regime's commitment to limited religious freedom. But disillusionment with Communism or continued economic trouble could force Deng to change the "united front's" direction and crack down on Christianity again. The church has survived such a crackdown before, however, and its adherents vow that it will do so again. —By Richard N. Ostling. Reported by Richard Bernstein/Peking and Rosemary Byrnes/Hong Kong

Tckln ERER

y

Milliyetçi Qin'le ilişkiler

A.hmet Kabaklı, Milliyetçi Qin hilKUmctlnln dnvotllsl olar&k gogen ay Formoza'ya ynptigi ztyarçll "QIn-U Mn-gin'don ronkler vo seder" başlıgi altmdn "TercUnwn" da an* latti, Zevklc okudugumuz bu yazı dızlsl, blzc aym zamanda bu U Ik eye gcgmlgtı yaptıgınnz gozllcrf do hatırlatmıktadır.

BUnmeyercek kadar eskl bir tarihten bed Asya'da Turk-ler ve QinSler komŞu Idller. Asırlar boyu sullı İglnde, harp iglnde komŞuluklanni devam etlrdllcr. Kubllay zamanmda butiin Qin, Turklerin İdareslne gecti. Hallo Pokin! ilk BnŞ-kenl yapan Kubilay İlan'dır, Turklerin Asyo'mn Dojju'sun- da iki komŞusu (Jin ve Mangurya'ya "QIN-0 MAQIN" do- melori gok eskl larihler dayamr. İjlmıdı "QIn-U Matin" dzll Fonnoza'da toplnmıŞtır.

Bulıın dıinya'da gegerll olan "QIN" adı da.Usllln ylncl-lik sonatina sahip olmalarından dolayı bu Ulkcyc Turkler tarafından verilmiŞtir. QinBler valanlarma "Zangua" dcler. Bu ad "merkoz" demektir. Olkclorını dUnyonm merkezi olarak kabul etmeleri dolayısıyla bu adı aldıklarıı ifade odor-ler.

Kızıl Qin fideri yak in zamanda Tiirkıyc'yl ziyarçtı cıtl gınde bu husus kendısinc anlatılınca "Bize Qin adını Turkler tarafından verildiğini ilk defa duyuyorum" dcımiŞti.

Asya'da Japonya'nın hızla kalkınmasına "Japon Mud-zed" derler. Bize göre Dogu'da müzde yapan ilko Milliyetçi Qin'dir. Japon kalkınmasının birgok sbcepleri vardır. Birincisi, İklnd Dünya Harbinin gaBp devleti A.B.D.'nin yıllar boyu Japonya'da uskeri birlik kumlasını yasaklamasıdır. Sonra da her bakımdan biyyiik destek vermesidir. Halbuki Milliyetçi Qin, 1949'da Formoza'ya yoricŞmesindon ilibn- ren biyyiik gapta ordu beslemekle, bu yolda biyyiik harcama- lar yapmaktadır. Kızıl Qin'in Formoza'yi işgal tchdidl isc Demoklesin kilici gibi bu iilkenin ba'ında durmaktadır. 18 Milyon nüfuslu Milliyetçi Qin'in silah altındaki kuvvetleri 600.000 kiŞidir kl, Asya'da Rusya ve kızıl Qin'den sonra bu kadar askeri silah altında tulan başka momlekot yoktur.

Şiz, 1971'de Ug pailamento iyesi Dr. Fethi Tcvctoglu, Yılmaz Oztuna ile beraber Formoza'ya gittigimiz zaman, orada buyiikcl<ıfıgımız vardı. Tiirk-Milliyet<ı Qin İU;kilçri fevkalade miikmıml iŞByordu. Fakat bir miiddet sonra Nihat Erim Hiikumeti iklidara glinec bu devcllcc iliŞkileri keserek Kızıl Qin'i tanıdı. Vakia, A-B.D.'nin Kızıl Qin'i tammasından sonra birgok Batılılar o yolda karar aldılar. Fakat MilByetçi Qin'lo Ticaret ve kiillir iB^kilorini devam ettirdiler. Hatta A.B.D.'nin ticari ve kiillir miinascbctleri bu olaydan sonra daha fazla geliŞme gosterdi. 1971'de şc- yahat donii^ii Millet Medidnde giindem diŞi yaptığım bir konuŞmada hiikllmctimizi MilByetçi Qinkonusunda ikaz et- tikse de Erim Hiikumctino higbir tesiri olmadı. Ondan sonra da bu ayrılık ve kopmabizim tarafımızdan devam etliril- dl. Milliyetçi Qin sanki böyle bir red olayı olmamiŞ gibi Tiirkıye ile sıcak ilgilerini siirdiiriyor. Zaman zaman Tiirkı- ye'den yazarları ve parlamento iycilorini ulkesine davet ediyor. Nitekim bu ilk geziden sonra 1975 ve 1980'de İkl defa daha Formoza'ya gittik.

Sayın Kabaklı'mn verdİgl bilgilordcn ogreniyoruz ki, 1983'te Milliyetçi Qin'ln ihracatı 24 milyar dolara, İlhalatı 21 milyar dolara gikmiŞtir. İthalat ve İhracat arasında leh- lerine 3 milyar dolar fark vardır. Fert başına dii^en milli go- lir 2400 dolara yiikselmiŞtir. Her 100 kiŞiyc 79 renkli, 23 siyah beyaz televizyon, 62 lolefon, 86 motoaklct, 7 oto- mobil diiŞmektedir.

1949'da Qan Kay Şck Formoza'ya geldiği zaman bu; rada niifbs 5 milyonu. Sanayi diye hemcn hemen bir Şoy yoktu. 34 yılda bu kadar gUglıi bir devlet hafine gelml? ol- mak müzde saydmaz mı? .

Egitlme verilen önem ŞaŞırtıcıdır. Ylne sayın Kabaklı'- nin yazı dizisinde belirttiglne göre, MilByotgi Qin'cje Onl- versite ve yiiksek okul sayısı 1825'tir. GUnliik yayınlanan 31 gazete bir buguk milyon satıŞ yapmaktadır.

MilByetçi Qin'ln bu goUŞmcsı biitiini diinyaya ornek gosterilecek. bir hususu daha ortaya koyuyor: İŞtc Milliyetçi Qin, İŞte KomiinlŞt Qin!.. Birindo fert ba^ına dii^en mill! geGr 2400 dolar, digerinde 300 dolar...Bu milliyet- gıfıgın bir ulkedeki zaferidir. Zaten Diinya' AntikomUnlŞt tejkilatun merkci.de bu ilkededir. Bizim Milliyetçi Qin'den alacagımız pek gok ders vardır kl, sayın Kabaklı'- mn yazı dizisinde de buİufi bunlan goruyoruz.

"ipek Yolu"nun "Turancihgi!"

Dr. REHA O<3(JZTdRKKAM

İPEK YOLU dUlalnl (vo Marco Polo'yu da) televizyon- da İnjallah sdırcdıyorsurıuzdur. Du dialler Ana Yurdumuz, urhlmlzl ve (İpek Yolu) buglın de orada yajayan loydaj- lanmıi olanca canlılığı ile gbzlerimlzn Online scrlıor.

Unca yıldır bit, Turk Milliyetçilerli bu kardojlerimlzl ununumamız gcrektİglnl ya/ar, konferanslar verlr, ugrajır dumduk; fakat "İpek YohTnda yol alan Japon televiz- yon kamera, Turkiye halkına bu bilind ve scvgyıl kolayca- cik İjilayivrdıl. Hey glđl "Turanci" Japonlar heyf Olzlm İjl- mlzl birden İyl yaptınız, cllnU, aklimc saİolsun.

Dizl TRY'yo naiil olındı?

Bu dlrinln lunrandıgını birkag yıldır duyardım. Nlıan 1984'dc Cannes televizyon filmleri fcsUvaline (MİPc) git- ligimde hemen Japon'ann NIK Pavyonuna ko)um (NHK birim TRT'nln mukabllldır) Blr de baktım, duvarlarını baj- tanbaja "İpek Yolu"dızlslnlñ afıjlcıryle donatılmılar; ba>- kdjede de, "Alım Elbıscđl Turk Oegi" (ilmi adı "Alun Elbl- sclı Adam") poster!İ

NHK'nin Turkiye temsilciligini 1978 MİP festivalinde almıj, fakat o yıllarda TRT lie i; yapılacak hususunda itimadim sarsıldığından pek me;gul olmamıjbm (ayrica, NHK devlet kuruluju olduđu i'in, bana "exclusive (mUnha- sir) temsilidllk verememıjđ ki, bu halde bende zaman harcama hevesi birakmamıjđ).

Ama "İpek Yolu'nun milli İnanci nasıl gUglendireccğ- nl bildiğim İgin ugrajmayı giize aldım ve hemen pazarlığa giriştim. Saab bin dolar Uzerindcn anlajuk. Festivalde, pavyonları olmadıđı halde, TRT ekibđ de vardı: Yuçcl Qak- maklı ve arkadaşları. İpek Yolu'nu heyecanla onlara anlattım ve TRT'nin'bu dizilyl mutlaka alması İgin bana destek olmalarını isiedim. Bana canıyurcklen kauldılar. NHK ile yazılı anlajma zamam glinec, Japonlar orUr dilc- diler: "TRT'den geldiler, diziyi almaya talip oldular, bu durumda onlarla direkt anlajmak mcçburıyetindıycız" de- diler, fakat gene de Tokyo'ya donUjlerinde amirclryle da- njacaklarını soylediler.

Yurda ddndUgıimde, TRT Gencl MUđUrU Prof. Tunca Toskaya durumu anlattım ve Japon'ların verecekleri Ko- mısınonu TRT'ye birakacagımı, bđylelikle benim kanalım- la almaların mcmelete 5000 dolardan fazla tasarruf saghyacagım anlattım. İjirak ettJ. Tokyoyla telcxlcr gcklik. Fakat Japonlar kumaz ijadamı: "TRT ye dogru- dan dogruya satabiliyoruz, onun İgin Komisyon veya fiyat- on indirim sozkonusu degil" deyip giktılar.

Diziler nasıl degorlendirilmeli?

"[7arsm dyle olsun" dedim ve bu fevkalade dizinin benim onayak olmamla almıi] olmasma ve jımdı de gos- terilmeye bajlanmasına scvldim. Seslendirme de gUzel yapılmı] (1). Bundan sonraki bblumlcırcndc "Alun Elbl- sclı Turk Begini" de gbrcccgiz ve bajka millete mal edilmeden - cwekl bblumlerdcđđ gibi- Turk'un hakkı TURke ..vrilecek.

, "İpek Yolu" dizisinin gbsterilmesinde daha fazla sb- ' zlin gegseydi, junu teklif edcektim (bundan sonraki bi- l zımlc ilgili film ve diziler İgin'teklifim hıll gegerlıdır): Dizl bajlamadan ewel, o konunun birkag uzman ile bir rbpor- ;taj (soyleji) yapılr, scırcılınn diziyi daha iyi anlıyarak.da- İha bir Pglencerek scırcımcıı saglamr. Meseli, rahmetli Prof. İbrahim Kafesoglu (o zaman hayattaydı) Prof. Şa- haddin Ogel, Prof. Muharrem Ergin konujabilirdi (belki dizinin sonunda hıll bunu yapmak mlknkUn olur).

Marco Polo ve Turk kimdir? *1

Marco Polo dizisi İgin de aym.jeyler varit. Bu dizinin almmasına kın bnayak olmu^sa sagolsun.var olsun. lulyan yapımcılar, Haglıların vahjetini ve MUŞlımanlıgını alıcnap- lıgını jajılcaak bir tarafsızlıkla dile getirbilmiş, "Barbar" Mogolların gbriıjlcı de giizel bir fırsatu agıklanmıj. Yal- mız bu dizide, yolboyunca Marco Polo'nun rastladığı savaj- larm Mogol'dan gok Turk Kubilay Han'm maiyetinin ve ybneticilcr'in de Uypir Turk'U oldukları belirtilebilirdi.

Ya Kubilay kimdi?

Bu da bizi, bundan sonraki konulanmtza ^etiriyor! ta- rihimizde gbziimlcıncıden birakılmı] meseleler, yanm- yamalak anlajılmıj gergckler, hatta "Turk kimdr?" sualinin havada kalı]đı gibi ;eyler....

(1) Seslendirme İgin terciime japonlar, yer vj adlarını ya- baici diMekl gibi degil, TURkge jekliyle yapıHalılar. Meseli "Tıyen}an" dagları degil, "Tanrı Daglan" demeliler. TRT butiin terciimelerinde bu hatayı yapıyor. Meseli 'Merih" gczegecinin adını "Mars.'" diye terciime ediyor (basınımız da bunu yapıyor).

7SL. S'.ms

) xe-r c.^(y)un

SAYFA: 2

r



Ahmet
Kabaklı

QİN VE HACILAR

in hiikilinetinm "teerk" Dogu Turkhitan mil-
/ leti uzermdeki baskılan Mao giinlerinden sonra
oiraz azalmıştır.

/ Fakat bu Turk iilkesine, 20 milyona vare' ""inli
niifusun yerle?tirilmesi vo Dogu Turkistan'L. zen-
ginliklerini somiiren emperyalizm diinyayi diişun-
dlirraesi gereken stratejik ve asfcert
problemJerdir.

- - Hi? olmazsa Asya devletleri arasında Rusya ve
Qin niifuz bolgelerindeki iilkelerin "dzerk" du-
rumJarmi tescil edecek kongreler toplanraalidir.*
Asya'da somurge haline dii?en Miisliiman mem-
leketlerin durumları Islam zirvelerinde olsun go-
ruşulmelidir.

Somurgecilige karşi sava? verdigini ileri suren
bir dünya, 21. asu* e?iginde, buyiik komunist dev-
letlerin esiri olan Musluman Turkler'i yoksa bu
djinyadan saymıyor mu? Ozellikle Japonya, Pe-
kin'i Sovyetler'e kargi desteklerken komşusu
Tiirk-
ler'in haklarına riayet ?artmi onlardan istemiyor
mu?

Fakat, her Şeye ragmen £in devletinin Turk-
Muslumanlar'a karşi geliştirmekte oldugu yumu-
?ama ve ho?gdniirlukten memnun oldugumuzu be-
Hrtelim. Diinya Islam Birliğimn Pekin nezdindeki
bu tarz ^alijmalarına daha limit bagladigur da
soyleyelim.

şimdi Qin hükümetinden Dogu Tdrkistan Miis-
liimanları'nm Hac yapmalarıyla ilgili ricalarımız
vardır:

Pekin, Hac'ca gideceklere resmen izin
vereceğini
aqlkladigi halde, se?tigi bazı kimseleri dişmda, hi?-
bir Musluman'a Hac vizesi vermemektedir.

£ikabilenler, ancak Turkiye, Pakistan veya
diger

yerlerdeki akrabalarını ziyaret bahanesiyle o iil-
keler i<pn vize alabiliyorlar. Dogrudan dogruya
Hac ifin.vizo-. '3 pajapert verilmesi sam an, £in'in
yeni demokratik biinyesine de uygun olarak.

Vize almak isteyenler, biiyiik Qin kitas'ında bir-
?ok eziyet ve masraflara katlanmakta, sefalet
duşmekteler. Ostelik, mesela Turkiye, Pakistan vs.
konsolosluklarıyla dogrudan teraas da yapamıyor-
laj. Biraz iyiniyetle bunların diizeltilmesi zor de-
gildir. Ayrıca gidecekleri yerlerin ?ok uzak oldugu
duşlinulerek vize'ler en az 3 aylık tutulmalıdır.

az Td Uzakdogu'dan Karafi, Istanbul veya Mek-
Re'ye gideceklere u?akla 40, karayolu ile 200, 640

Tercüman

HAAAUIMI CAMAMIFA



Ahmet
Kabaklı GUN
ISIGINPA

giN IIALK CUMHURİYETİ'NE
MEKTUPTUR

ijiglorl Uokaru liter Turkmen QIn Halk I I
Cumhuriyoll'no gldiyor. Mao'nun siUbsinden zorla
kurtulon £In, ogir agir kondino goli- yor. KomUnist
kordogll, Sovyot Ruaya'mn da dUg- 'mnnbgi
hlmmotlylo, QIn. batiya agibyor; modonl Alomo
Bovimll olinaya galigiyor; yonl dostluklar ve ticaril
onlagmmlar kovabyor.

Qin'in nUfusu kador dostluk vo dUgmanbgi,
ticarotl vo her UrlU mUnasobotlorl do kalabalikUr.
Yilda 40 milyar dolarbk lthalat imkflru var. Eh, bu
lcorotton bizo do, 100-200 mlyon dolarbk bir par-
go dlgero, UpUp bagumia koyoriz.

Koca bir milyarbq Qin'i, yirmi yil uyuttuguna
ve keodi kaprislorino, hay&Uerine, iggUdUlorine
gOro idaro ettigino bakibrsa, Mao, ger^ekten deb-
gotli adamirug. Kendisine bir ilk ^ag, bir magara
dovri putu gibi toptirmig. A; ve sofil insanlan, doktrin
ve jir ofyonuyla uyutmu.

• Qin'in yeni bдорleri dAhil, bu kml firavun'un
ottiklerine, bUtiin diinya hayrotte...

; l' □'

H er neyse... Turkmen gldiyor... Qin Halk
Cumhuriyeti ile dostlugumuz kuwotlene-
cek. Biz, Mao devrinin, Dogu Turkistan
halkına ettigi mUthig zulUmleri unuttur gibi yapa-
cagiz... Onlar da, Mao barbarlaruun TURKlUge afti-
gi yaralon sarmaya oaligacaklar.

Qin'de gimdi iki uyamg hflldm: 1) Sovyet ikti-
lAabgina kargi tetikte olug... 2) Mao'nun agtigi
varakn onarmak... Bu b&bda gayelerimiz Qin Ue
• birlegiyor. §6yle Id; ••

* Hem Sovyetler'le mUcadele edebilmeleri, hem
de Mao devrinin fel&ketinL'onarmalan ifin Dogu
Turkiatan'a karsi cok iyi davranmalan gerekiyor.

Şu halde, esklden komgu olan ve birbirini iyi ta-
my an Tiirk ve Qin milletlerinin yeni dostluklar
kurabilmeleri igin, liter Turkmen, Dogu TURldstar^
la ilgili Kfin dileklerini kendilerine iktw'A olsa
gerekir.

a) Dogu Turkiatan'a dddi ve 90k genlg bir
HORRIYET tamnmabdir ve bu TURk Ulkesinin adi
derhal "Sinkiang"bktan pkarilip resmen de
DOGU TORKİSTAN yapilmahdir.

b) Cinliler, o ?ok UvUndUkleri "aselmilasyon"
yani yabanalan Qinilegirme politikasmdan vaz-
gegmelidirler. QUzudl, Dogu Turkistan halkı bu tu-
tumlanrıan nefret ediyor. Bu nefretTURkleri, Ri*
lann kucagma itmektedir. Nitekim, Dogu TURk.
tank iken, Mao zulmtinden kagip Rus admUrgesi
Bab Turkiatan'a siginan onbinlerce aoydagimiz
vardir.

c- Dogu Turkiatan'i iggal ve istilA edmj gibi,

6
* milyondan fazla Cinli yerlogbrilmigtir. Bu kantb
gOf arbk. durdurumab; ve 4ft memur olarak,
TURklerin bagrna tebelle? edilen Cinliler geri aim-
mahdir.

d) Dogu Turkistan halki ancak TURk memur-
lar, u'stabagilar, mUdUrlar tarafından idaro edilme-
bdir. TURk kUtesinin bagma Qinlileri koymak, en
"kdtU bir sdmUrgeciliktir.

e) Dogu Turkistanı aydinlar, "TURkgU, Isl&zn-
a, Panturanist, mUtegollibe., balk dUgmani" gibi
aiyaaı suglar kondurulmuđ olarak, hAlA hapishane-
lerde, isliih kamplannnda, kirbac albnda galigbnb-
yorlar. Bunlann serbest bimlnlmi>lan, msani afti-
dan gartbr. Turkiye'hin dostlugu da ancak bu iyi
niyetle kazamlabilir.

f) MUsadere edilmig mallan. arazileri, hayvan-
lan, TURk halkına iade edilmeUdir. Modem ki t
fok demokratlagma ve mUlkiyet teminab
baglamigbr, bu haklar, TURklere de tarunmabdir.'

g) Mao, Dogu Turkistan'i "Sinklang" adıyla
yalniz maddl sdmUrge degil, ayni zamanda bir ma-
nevt sdmUrge gibi kullamyordu. BugUn hAlil, TURk
Cocuklanna, "in bUyUkleri" tamblmakta, TURk
bUyUkleri tahkir edilmekte veya unutturulmakta-
dir. -..

h) TURkler, dinlerinde, kUltUr, edebiyat ve ta-
rihlerinde muhtar birakilmadirlar. Basin ve sdz
hUrriyetinin yamsira, IslAmiyet de tamamıyla ser-
best olmalı, Kur'an-i Kerim basibp dagitalmabdir.
Digileri Bakammiz, bUtUn bunion, sayin

Cin
yflneticilerine elbet habrlatacakbr... Ama biz yine
de TURk kamuoyunun dileklerini bir mektup yapa-

Prof.Dr. Ahmet CAFEROGLU' nun Hayati ve Eserleri

Osman F. SERTKAYA Brockelmann, Diels, Kosclunieder ve Istanbul Oniversitesi Edebiyat Schaedcr'in tnlcbesi olarak l>cş Fakiiltesi Yeni Tiirk Filolojisi kiirsii semestre Breslau Oniversitesi'nde profesorii Dr. Ahmet Caferoglu 17 tuikoloji tahsili yapmıřtir. 15. Ma-Nisan 1899'da Azcbaycan'm Gence yis 1929 tarihinde Breslau Oniver-Şehrinde dogmuřtur. Annecsinin ndr sitesi'nde F.Giesc'nin ybnetiminde Giihcr, babasuun adi Ismail'di. yaptıgi tezi ile "Dr" Unvanmi almiř. Orta tahsilini Ozbckistan'in tir. 1929 yihnda Tiikiyeyc donen Semerkand (1908), Use tahsiliiii ise Caferoglu aym yd Istanbul Oniver-Azerbaycan'in Gence (1909-1916) sitesi Edebiyat Fakiiltesi Tiirk Dili řehrinde tamamlanuř, ayiu yil Kiew Tarihi kiirsii su'nc dofent (miiderris (Ukrayna) Yiiiksek Ticaret Okulu'na muavini) tayin cdilmi?, 1938 yilin- da kaydobnuřtur. Bu okula ii? somestr / bu kiirsiiye profesor, 1946'dada M. (Eylil 1916 - Ocak 1918) de- vam eden Fuat Kbrpriilii'niin Oniversite'den Caferoglu, Rus ihtilali uzerine 1917 ayrılması iizerine bu kiirsiiini bař-sonlanna dogru Gcn- ce'ye d6nmiiřtir. kam olmuřtur. Gence'de Azer- beycan'mitkiklali i9in Fevkalade verimli bir alim olan hazirlanan ha- rekete katılan Caferoglu, Caferoglu'nun 350'nin iizerinde il- mi 1918 yi- Imda Azerbaycan'a gelen islam yayim vardir. O, bu fah^malan ile Or- dusu'na goniillii yazilmif ve muha- bir^ok beynelmilel teřekkiile iye rebelere iřtirak etmiřtir. (Riitbesi) top?u segilmi^tir. onbařisi idi.) 1919'da Baku Oniversitesi (25. Eylil) 1937 tarihinde Po- Tiirkoloji (řarkiyat) bolimune bir lonya Miisteřrikler Cemiyeti'ne iye, somestr devam etmiř, 1920 yihnda 1938 ydında Polonya ilimler Aka- Azerbaycan Cumhu- riyetinin Sovyet demisi'ne muhabir iye, 1944 yilm- da Ordulan tarafmdan istilasi iizerine Macaristan ilimler Akademisine bagk Tuikiye'ye gelmiř, ve Istanbul Koroa-Scoma Cemiyeti'ne muhabir Oniversitesi Edebiyat Fa- kiiltesi'ne iye, 1949 yihnda Beynelmielel kaydolmuřtur. 1924 yi- Imda Edebiyat Onomastik Cemiyeti'ne Tiirkiye Fakiiltesi'nden me- zun olan Caferoglu miimessiU se9ildi. 1953 yi- hnda Hiir ilahiyat Fakiiltesi kiitip.hanesine Ukrayna Oniversitesi (L'- memur olmuř- tur. 1925 ydmin sonuna Oniversitesi Libre de d'Ukraine) dogru Tiir- kiyat Enstitii'sii asistam tarafmdan, O na "Dr." iinvani veri- iken, AI- manya Diřiřleri Bakanhgi'mn lerek Hiir Ukrayna ilimler Akademi- ver- digi tahsifat ile Almanyaya gitmiř, a'ne muhabir iye se9ildi. 1953 yi- once W. Bang - Kaup, A. von Le Cop, linda (Centre International de Dia- Vasmer ve Westermann'in ta- lebesi lectologie Genera le, Louvain)'e ve olarak bir siimestr Berlin Oni- 1953'de Ural-Altay Cemiyeti'ne iye versitesi'nde, sonra F. Giese, Carl se9ilen Caferoglu Buenos Aires'deki "Turan" cemiyetinin de fahri iyesi bulunmaktadir.

Tiirkiyat Enstitiisi Mikliirii iken vefat eden Prof. Caferoglu (13 Nisan) 1955 tarihinde ispanya Hiikii- meti tarafmdan "De Alfonso X El Sabio" niřam ile taltif cdildi. Ca- feroglu kuruldugu tarihten beri de Tiirk Dil Kurumu iiycsiydi.

46 yih ařan meslek hayatında kesif bir ilmi mesai sarfeden Ahmet Caferoglu, 1932-1943 arası Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi Dergisinin 1932 den 1943'e kadar Derginin 1946- dan 1975'e kadar bařkanhgi altında Istanbul Oniversitesi Edebiyat Fakiiltesi Tiirk DiU ve Erebiyati Bolii- mi tarafmdan 9ıkanlan Tiirk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi bazi dergileri | sahipliđi, bařkanhgi ve mesul m.. ' diirliđiini de yapnuřtur. Bu derginin haricinde TM, TDAY, TKA, Bollet- tino, Annali, El, Onoma, Orbis, O- riens, RO, RIEB, MSOS, UAJb, NO,... vs. gibi yerli ve yabancı bir- 90k tiirkoloji dergisinde de makale neřretmiřtir. Bu neřriyatm bařlica- lan Tiirk dili tarihi; Eski Tiirk řive- leri; Tiirk onomastigi; Azerbaycan dili, edebiyat ve dialektolojisi; Ana- dolu tiirk9esi ve dialektolojisi; Tiirk kavimleri... vs.dir. Bu sahala- rm bir 9ogunda, bilhassa Tiirkiye dialektolojisinde, O onciillik yap- miřtir.

Caferoglu 1927-1928 yillanara sinda Yeni Kafkasya ve Azeri Tiirk dergilerinde Ahmet Uran imzasini kullanmi;tir. Ayrice Tiirk Kiltiirii dergisindeki bazi yazilaria Dr. Cafer Ahmedoglu, Dr. Ahmet Muhtar ve Dr. Ahmet Salmasli imzah yazilar onundur.

(

Eserleri

1

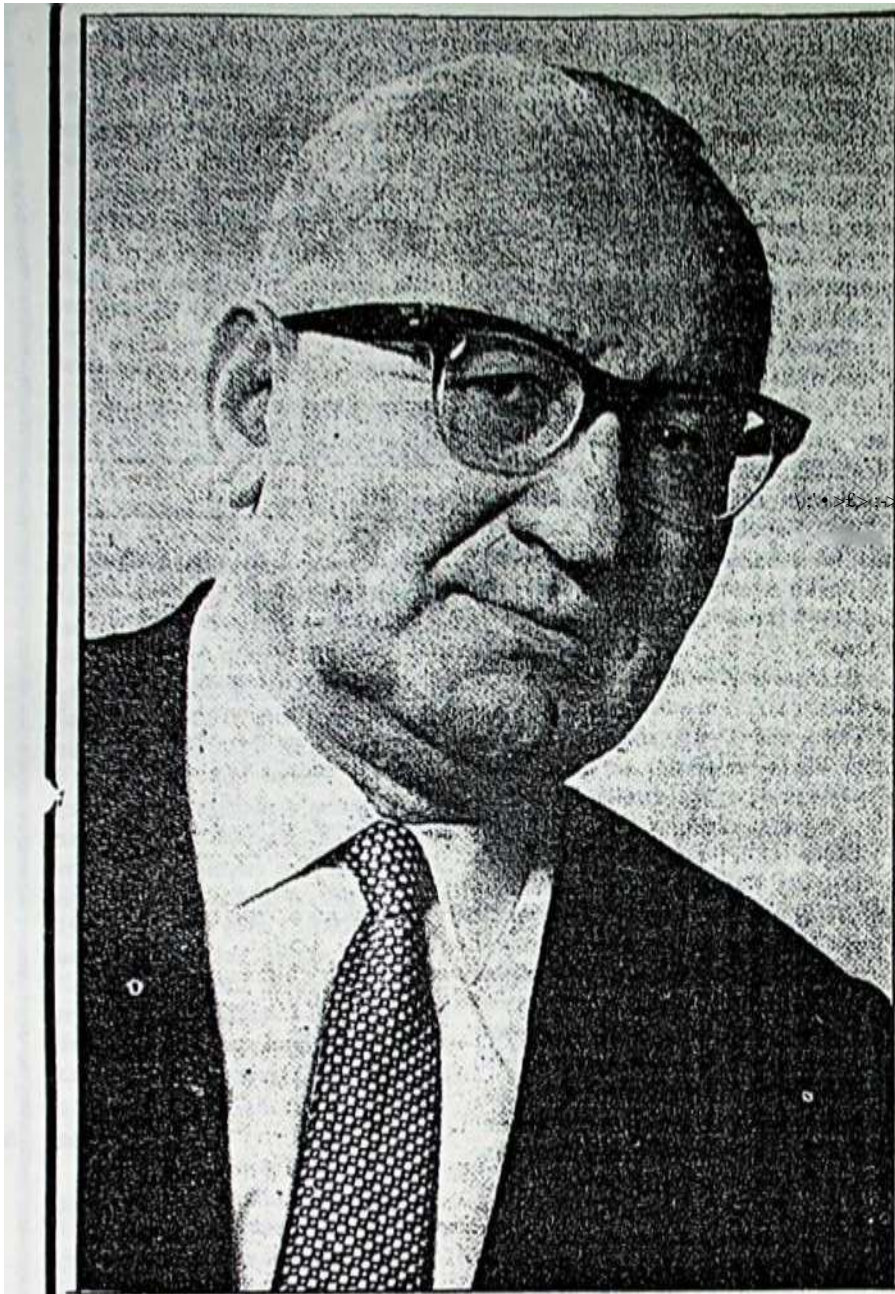
I - Uygur Sozlugu (3 cilt, 1934-1938), Anadolu Dialektolojisi Uzerine Malzeme (12 cilt, 1940-11941), Dogu Illerimiz Agizlarindan Toplamalar (1942), Anadolu Agizlarindan Toplamalar I (1943), Turic Dill Tarihi Notlari (1943), Siyas ve Tokat Illeri Agizlanndan Toplamalar (1944), I Giineydogu I Uerimiz Agizlarindan Toplamalar (1945), Kuzeydogu Illerimiz Agizlarindan Top- Uamalar (1946), Kuzeydogu Illerimiz Agizlarindan Toplamalar (1946), Orta Anadolu Agizlannd- dan Derlemeler (1948), Anadolu Agizlarindan Derleineler (1951).

J



Ahmet
CAFEROĞLU

(1899 - 1975)



Bir Yazisi :

Kafkasya Tiirkleri

Tanh boyunca milletlerin aki-
\$ma ve goqrii^une ge^it, vazifesi go-
ren Kafkasya, daha Hun ve Avar'-
lardan itibaren, 9e?itli Tiirk boyla-
rmi da yerleşmesine elveri\$li bir
bolge olmu\$tur. Go9ebelikten yer-
Iefik hayata ge9en bu Tiirk boy lari,
billiassa Sehpuklular iilkesinden akin
eden Orta-Asyali boylar ile birlikte
Mogol istilasi zamamnda, bolgenin

Tiirkle\$mesinde miessir olmu\$lar-
dir. Hele iran ve itil nehri yolu ile,
Kafkasya'yi istila eden 9e\$itli kiiltiir
akimlan, kurulmakta olan Tiirk
topluluklanna, miisait bir inki\$af sa-
hasi temin etmi\$tir. 0 kadar ki, sa-
yica dikkate alınmayacak kadar az
olan bazi Tiirk boylan, yiizyillar
boyunca, miUi kiiltiir sahasindaki
milli gelcneklerini ihmal etmeden,

suglum bir scdyycy saliiip olmu\$j* lardtr.

Tarili yadigAn olarak Kafkasya
smirlari ^crisinde, milli varfiklanni
bugiinc kadar muhafaza cdgelen Tiirk
boylan \$unlardır: /

I.Nogay Tiirkciri, 11. Kundur'-/
lar, 111. Kan^ayh'Iar,' IV. Balkar'- lar,
V. Kafkasya (Stavrupa) Tiirk- mcnlcri,
VI. Kumuk'lar. VII. Azeri Tiirkleri.

Nogay Tiirkleri

Bir siyasi ve kavim adi olan
Nogay kelimesi, Cengiz hanm biyyik
torunu Nogay'dan gelmektedir. No-
gaylar XIII. yiizyda kadar yani Mogol
istilasından önce, eski Kip9ak
sahasında gd9cbe olarak ya\$amakta
idiler. Fakat daha sonralan Nogay
kavim adi • Altinordu'nun bir kısmi- na
kumanda eden Nogay hanin ida- resi
altındaki boylara verilmi\$tir. Bu suretle
irti\$ irmagından ba\$liyerek ta Kirun'a
kadar yaydan, nispeten biyyik9e bir
Tiirk topluluğu, bu ad altında
birleştirilmi\$tir. Yanli^likla Kazan ve
Urfa yoresi Turk boyla- nna da zaman
zaman Nogay kavim adi verildiği
olmu\$tur.

Mogol tarih9ilerine gore No-
gaylar, Mogollardan önceki uzun
zaman i9erisinde hep Kanh, Uz,
Pe9enek gibi Tiirk boylanndan
sayilmi\$lardır. Daha sonralan A- zak
denizi ile Kinn sahasırmn ku- zeyinde
goriilmekle beraber, 9e\$itli >9 harpler
ve siyasi tazyikleri ile Ku- zey-
Kafkasya'nın tiirlii boliiimlerine
yerleşmi\$ kalmi\$lardır. I\$gal ettik- leri
saha a\$agi yukarı: Kara-Nogay,
Kizdyar, Bana-Yurt Acikulak, Ha-
savyurt, \$elkov, Kava, Kay a Sulin ve
umumiyetle muhtar ferkes eya- letidir.
Umumi niifuslan 100.000'- nin
iistiindedir.

Kundur Tiirkleri

Nogaylara pek yakin, belki de
onlardan kopma bir Tiirk boyu olan
Kundur'lar, kendilerine, suf ya\$a-
diklan sahamn Kara-Ormanlaria kaph
oluđu iizerine Kara, Aga9, adini
vermi\$lerdir. \$e\$itli tarihi hadiseler
yiiziinden, Kafkasya Tiirk toplulu-
gundan ayrdarak idil (Volga) del- tasi
ile Astralian \$ehrinde yerlef-
mi\$lerdir. Fakat yazih kaynaklarda
daha fazla Kara-Agae Nogay'lann-

ian sayihlar. Vumbcry K,undur udi-
u Kondur telaffuz şckline koyarak
Kuma ve Terek mnaklan boyunda
vaktiyle yaşaim\$ olan Nogay bo*
yundan fikartmaktadır.

Kazay ve Kas-Pulat gibi iki
topluluga aynhnaktadırlar. Nogay* ca
ile mQftcrek ses ve şckli bilgisi,
sozliik hususiyetlcrinc mulik olup oz
ana agizlaruu muhafaza ctrni?- Icidir.
Kuzey Kafkasya Nogay'Ian ile
mu\$terek bir dc folklorii vardır.

Karagay Ttirikleri

Otedcnberi Kuban lining mm
kaynak bolgcsinde oturan Kan^ay-
h'lar kom?ulan Qerkes'ler tarafın-
dan Dag-Tutan diye adlandırılmış-
lardır. 1922 yih Sovyet idaresince
muhtar eyalet ilan edilen Karafay-
ferkes bolgcsinde ya^amaktadırlar.
Saha Orcenikidze eyaletinin bir kis-
mini teşkil etmektedir. Yuzdlfimu
9.900 kni-2 olup batıda Azov (A-
zak) Karadeniz eyaleti, giineyde Ab-
haz, doguda Kaharda-Balkar, ku-
zeyde ^efen-Ingus muhtar cumhu-
riyetleri le 9evrilmiştir. Bu saha da
1939 sayımına göre 150.000 niifusu
banndirmektedir. Bunun 125.000'i
Kan^ayh'dir. Bu niifus binde 2 ar-
ti\$ oram hesaplamak suretiile 1979
de 226.000'e varmi\$ olmalıdır. Mer-
kezleri Battalpa\$ (Battalpa\$ink)
iken, Mikoyan-şahar'a tahvil edil-
miştir.

Menşe itibariyle Kuman'lardan
geldikleri iddia edilmekle- beraber,
Kuma bozkırlarından go9erek, Min-
gitav, yani "Tann-daglan" adi ver-
dikleri Elbruz eteklerinde, Kursuk,
Kuban ve Teberde ırmaklan boyla-
nnda yerleşmişlerdir.

XVI. yiizyıldan itibaren Kara-
9aylılar, Kafkasya'nın yerli ahalisi
hayatına kanşmiş bulunmaktadırlar.
Giircii ve Nogay'lara karşı
savaş-
mişlerdir. 1733 ydında Osmanlı
Devleti himayesine alınmış, 1812'-
de tamamıyla Rusya'ya terkedil-
mişlerdir.

Kalkasya milletleri tarihinde,
miicadeleleri ile yer almişlerdir.
Şeyh Şamil hareketına katılmış?
olmalarına ragmen Rusya idaresine
baş egmek meeburiyetinde kalmış-
lardır.

Eskiden Kuzey-Kafkasya'nın

Tcrski viluyeti ile çcrck, ^egerne ve >
Bnksann mnaklan boylannda
otunnakta idiler. Sovyet rcjiini bun-
ion, Ka bard a-Balkar muhtar eyaleti
saurian i9crisinc nlmıştır. Saha batıda
Kan»9uy, doguda çc9cn-Inguş
giincy-doguda, Osset ile, giineyde
Sovyet Giircistan muhtar cuniliu-
riyetleriyle 9evrilmiştir. Yüzbu^umii
12.560 km2. olup 450.000 niifusu
banndirmektedir. Bunun en knlaba-
hk boyu 200.000'i nşkin olan Kali
aula'lardır. 1939 niifus sayınuna göre
bunlan'n ancak 50.000-60. 000'i halis
Balkar'dır. 1965 sayımı- na dayanan
1970 tahmini ise 110. 000'dir.
Kcndilerinc Malkar adim daha iyi
yakiştirmektedirler. Bun- dan başka
kendi aralarında Taul, yani Daglı
kavim adını kullanırlar da vardır.

Bazılanna göre Malkar'lar ya-
hut Balkar'laraslen eski Kuban Bul-
gar Tiiiklerinden olup uzun zaman
bozkir hayati yaşahşlardır. Kafkas-
ya'ya gelişleri ise, aŞagi yukan XIII.
XIV. yiizyillara rastlamaktadır.

Diger bir iddiaya göre ise Bal-
kar'lar, aslen Hazar Tiiiklerinden ti-
reme bir boy olup, ancak X. XI. yiiz
ydlarda tarih sahnesine 9ikmiş bu-
lunmaktadırlar. Tariili ger9ek ne o-
lursa olsun, Balkar'Iann Kalkasya
topraklarında yerleşmelcri, W9 te
kolay olmamıştır. Bir taraftan Rus-
larla, diger taraftan da yerli Kafkas-
ya toplulugu ile aralarında cereyan
eden silah miicadeleleri, Balkarlan
o!duk9^ k:rpalmış veezmiştir.

Bugiinkii uurlan ile ~ ;":ar-
lar aŞagidaki beŞ kola ayrılır.

1. Bazergiy ve Bizingi, 2. Hu-
lamh, 3. Şegemli, 4. Urusbeyli ve 5.
Baksanh.

Ebedi bir yazı diK gelenegine
sahip olmamakla beraber, şive baki-
mindan tipki Kara9aylılar gibi Kip-
9ak-Kuman şivesi grubuna girmek-
tedirler. Dil ve ses bilgisi bakımın-
dan Kumuk ve Nogay agizlan ile de
ilgilişmektedir. Klasik edebiyatları da
gelişmektedir. Dil bilgileri, ki9iik
sozliikleri hazırlanmıştır.

Kafkasya Turkmenleri

Eski Stavropol vilayeti, Şimdiki
Sovyet Ordzhonikidze eyaleti sinir-
lan i9erisinde Kara-Nogay bozkırla-
rının kuzey taraflarında, koyler ha-
linde yaşamakta olan Kuzcy-Kaf-
kasya Turkmenleri, biyiik Tirkmen

boyunda kopma bir topluluktur.
Sayılan 1929 yili, umum Rusya sa-
yunına göre 7.000 civarında olmuş-
tur. 1970 yilnida saydاری 8.000'e u-
laşmıştır. O9 esas uruga ayrılmış(ır.
1. Şavdur, 2. Sbnfhaci, 3. Igdir. Her
birisinin ayrı birdamgasi vardır.
Kcndilerinc göre, özel yerli agizları
ohnakla beraber, Şivc bakunından ana
Turkmen Tirk9csinc bağlıdır- Iar.
Aralarında toplamp yayınlanan
malzcmcyç bakılacak olursa, klasik
Turkmen cdcbiyati, İrala yaşamak-
tadır.

Kumuk Ttirikleri

Azari Ttirikleri di?ında, Kafkas-
ya Turk boylanrun en kalabalığıdır.
Kuzey-Kafkasya ile Hazer denizinin
bati kıyısı boyunca, Azerbaycan
Cumhuriyeti smirlanndan kuzeye
dogru uzayın, nispeten darca muhtar
Dagistan Cumhuriyetine dahil- dir.
Kitle lialinde yrleştikleri saha ise:
Hasavyurt, Babayurt, Kizilyurt,
Buynak, Kayakent ve Kaytak eya-
letleri ile, Maha9-Kale 9evresindeki
altr kby gibi dagınrk bir alandan i-
barettir. Ayrıca azrnhk lialinde Der-
bent, Grozni, Bunyanask, izberbaş ve
cmsali gibi ^ehirlere de yayılmış-
lardır. 1925 yrli sayımında niifusları
160.000 ki^i olarak gosterilmiş^tir.
1970 i9in bu rakkam 390.000 olarak
hesaplanmıştır.

Milli geleneklere bağli, teamiil
hukuku esaslarına göre idare edilen
İxumuk'lar, hi9bir vakit yabancı i-
darenin nimetlerine kapdmami?, Şive
ve kiiltiirlerini biitiinii ile mu-
hafazaya 9ahşmışlardır. Aralarında
"6p Bulga" adim verdikleri, "iniece"
tiiriinden i9timai yardımla?ma dii
Mann an Savurma, Mi sir temiz-
leme, Orakla yardımlaşma ve emsali
gibi. Orf bakımından kararlar^tml-
miş hayat tarzı, Kumuk'Iann en u-
fak gerilige ugramadıklarına delil- dir.

Kumuk folkloru, tiirve tarz iti-
barıyla olduk9a zengindir. "Sanm, Yir
ve Takmak'larla beraber Beşik-
yir'Ian, sevilmektedir. Epope nr-
vinde en 90k ragbet gdreni ve rrh
okŞayam Aygazi tiirkiisiidir. (^iinkii
"Aygazi", Kumuk halkım azathgi
i9in can mi ve vanni miicadcle ug-
runa kurban eden, milli kahraman
tipinin en azizidir. Nogay Batmnur-
zan'ın hikayeleri de milli ruhun ifa-
desinden başka bir Şey degildir.

Ksingiyang Eyaletinde yagayan Turklerdzerklikistiyor

Qin de yo^ayan Uygur

• Eyaletteki nuklede santralin korunmfc-siyla gorevli Qin a\$^kerleriyle Turkler arasinda yer yer patipmalarin piktiQi bildiriliyor

• 12 milyon nufuslu eyaletin 7,5 milyonu Uygur Turku.

• Qin hukumeti ayaklanmanm buyOmfcimesi ipln bbl&edfe Turk nufusunun artasim onlemek , v^ciyla eyalette mli aileleri yerle\$tirmeye bapladi.

Tiirkleri ayaklandi

QIN Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin Kueybatisindald "Uygur Ttrkleri'nin" oturduju Ksingiyang eyaleti son aylarda, Ozerklik istegiyle

Saklanraa giri\$iminde bulunan Uygurlarla Pin hOkOnjet kuwetleri arasindkki art an mfcadeleye sahne oluyor. BOlgeye yalan. diplomatik ve Pinli kaynaklann lfadelerine gbre, Sovyetler Birllgi, Mogolistan, Hindustan ve Afganistan Ue suur kom\$usu durumundaki pin eyaleti "Ksingiyang"ta, eyalet nffusunun bQyfk gogunlugunu olu\$uran MOslOman Uygur TOrkleri'nin yb-

netimde daha fazla s6z sahibi olma istekleri pin ybnotimini endl\$eye sevkedyor.

Ksingiyang bblgesindeki huzursuzluk bu kaynaklara gOre yeni degil. Uzun yillardir pin Komdnlst Partisl Politbflrosu (lyelerinln sik sik bu eyalete ara\$tirma gezilerin- de bulunmalan, gczileri sirasmda Uygurlara blr takim vaatlerdc bulunmalan sonucu degi\$tirmeci. Pin kaynaklanna gbre Uygur TOrklerinin seslerinin yOkselmesin- de smir kom\$usu Sovyetler Birliqi vasitasiyla yapilan anti-Pin propa-gandasinn bQyQk etkisi var. Pin kaynaklan, birbirinden farkli dil-ler konusan insanlann oturdugu- nu gayet iyi degerlendiren Sovyetler Birliqi'nin ba\$ta Uygurca ol- mak Ozere ge\$itli dillerde radyo ya- ymt yaparak, Ksingiyang eyaleti halkim Pin Ybnetimi'ne kar?i oyakl^nmcy gagirdigim idcUa edi- yorlar.

Ksingiyang eyaletindeki huzursuzlugun pin Ybnetimini gok fazla rahatsiz etmesinin tek nedeni de, buradaki ■ Uygur TOrkleri'nin OzerkBk istckleri degil, pin'in NQkleer Ara\$tirma Merkezi "Lop Nor" ve srnin koruyan 250 bin Pin askeri de bu eyalette banniyor. Eyaletteki gab\$malara askerlerin kaydinlmasi gerektiginden sinir bblgesi korunmasinda sakatliklar olu\$uyor. Bu arada nQkleer merkeze gelebilecek bir tehlike de, Pin HOKOmet yetkililerinin ba\$hca endijelerini olu\$uruyor.

Ksingiyang eyaletin in resmi kayitlanna gbie, 12 milyon ntlfusu var ve bu saytnin 7.5 milyonum' Uygur TOrkleri olujturuyor. IslSm dinine inanmalan nedeniyle zaten inanglanndan OttirO Cinlilerden farklılik gbstercn Uygurlar, bir de ybnetimde daha fazla ibz aahlbl olmak isteyince pin Yttnetlml'nin de ba\$u agnyor.

pin yetkililerince dogrulanmayan iddialara gbre, gegtigimiz ay iginde bfllgede durumun son dere- ce kbtUle\$mesi Qzerine Pin'in en gflglQ liderlerinden Deng -Hsiao Ping, Pekin'den Ksingiyang'a olan 1500 kilometrelik mesafeyi katetti ve eyalet ybnetiminin Uygurlu ve Pinli ybneticileri arasindaki slyasi. geki^raeyi bnleyici bazi giri\$imlerde bulundu. pinli yetkililer ise, Ping' in "9 gttin" sOren bu son ziyareti- nin sadece "rutin" bir teftij gezisi oldugunu sOylemekle yetindiler. Oysa gcrek Sovyet, gerek diger diplomatik kaynaklara gbre madalyonun yQzQ gok farkli ve Ostelik Pirig'in ziyareti amacina da ula?- mi\$ degil.

Ksingiyang eyaleti ile diger il- ging bir lddia ise, Pin Ybnetiminin cogunlukta olan Uygur Tlirkleri'ni oastinnak igin bu eyalete Qikenln dogusundan sQrckli pinli -aile gbn- deriyor Ksingiyang eyaletine yer- lesmek, ybnetim taranndan ge\$itli

ARABIAN PANORAMA DU BY PETER BOXH'^L

Research into the Silk Roads

One cannot now (travel along the Silk Road, a) Marco Polo is alleged to have done, and (or many centuries before and after him many countless caravans and merchants did, because the road has been closed since 1952.

More frustrating to the would-be traveler is the fact that records of those who traveled along the 6,000 kilometer route, on which valuable consignments of silk and other exotica were carried (from the city of Sian, capital of China in the Tang Dynasty, are fragmentary to the extent, for example, that there is no real proof that even Marco Polo himself traveled beyond Persia. And certainly no comprehensive record now exists of any traveler who did make the complete journey.

Nonetheless many cultural and social studies have been made into the historical, commercial arteries across the deserts, steppes and mountain passes of Central Asia, the most recent of which I saw, in photographic form at the Zamana Gallery in London.

This exhibition, although expertly done, was however no more than a reconnaissance for a comprehensive, interdisciplinary study by scholars and scientists now being planned as part of a new UNESCO project within the framework of the World Decade for Cultural Development.

The project, entitled 'Integral Study of the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue' and headed by UNESCO's General Conference in 1987, and is to comprise 30 separate programs, including one which involves the compilation of an 'Historical Atlas of the Silk Roads', and another which involves Oman, somewhat surprisingly because Arabia was not directly on the route of the Silk Roads. The Sultanate is generously putting at UNESCO's disposal the *Fulk Al Saldimah* (Ship of Peace), which will sail from Venice in late 1990 with 30 scholars and scientists on board, and arrive at Osaka in Japan a hundred days later after visiting 30 ports in 20 countries.

Other associated projects are to be the sailing of a Chinese junk, the *Coachin*, from Cathay to Venice retracing the route which may (or may not) have been taken by Marco Polo on his homeward journey, and two overland expeditions: one from the Chinese capital Beijing across the Gobi Desert to Ulan Bator in Mongolia, the other from Odessa to Baku on the Caspian Sea.

The study, when it is completed in 1992, will culminate in two important international events in Paris: a conference to review the studies which have been undertaken, and an exhibition to present their findings to the public.

These two events will do much to fill in the gaps of our knowledge of what was once the longest, and perhaps the richest, overland route that existed.

The credit for the opening of the Silk Road westwards from China is attributable to Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty in the middle of the 2nd century B.C., although the road's extension to Europe did not occur until the 1st century A.D.

The story of Europe's first involvement with silk is interesting. In 53 A.D., the Roman legions of Marcus Licinius Crassus

had been pursuing the Parthians in the vicinity of the Euphrates River when, suddenly, the Parthian cavalry pulled to an abrupt halt and unleashed at the Romans a deadly hail of arrows. This in itself unnerved the Roman soldiers, but worse was to follow: uttering barbaric war cries, the Parthians unfurled into the dazzling sun enormous banners of silk. Terrified by this apparition, the Romans fled, leaving behind them 20,000 dead.

A few years later the Romans came to understand better the nature of silk as the first silk-bearing caravans began making their way from Ch'ang-an (now Sian) in China, across the deserts and mountains to the Mediterranean coast at Antioch.

To begin with the traffic was a mere trickle: some 12 caravans a year, about 100 merchants in each, and a mixed column of camels, horses too, donkeys, mules, even yaks in certain areas such as Tibet. The camels were reckoned to be able to carry 240 kilograms, and to manage 30 kilometers a day.

The hazards on the long journey were many, and even the security afforded by the Great Wall, built in 221 A.D., did not much deter the predatory Hun tribes, but the fact that the silk caravans were invariably well armed, and a number of fortified outposts were constructed along the route, a few days distant from each other, did much to reduce casualties in the caravans.

The Silk Roads reached their zenith, and at the peak of their prosperity, in the period of the

The manufacture of silk in China.

Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.), and by then China, whose silk traders had at first been badly treated in the West, had relaxed its restriction on Western-based merchants to the extent that they were now able to travel to the source of the silk trade at Ch'ang-an.

Ch'ang-an, the starting point of the Silk Roads, became prosperous as a result of this two-way trade, and both Arab and Persian merchants and agents were to be found there, and by the 8th century Ch'ang-an had become one of the richest cities in the world.

In 742 A.D., its population was estimated to be two million. It measured six miles by five, and was enclosed by a defensive wall, the gates of which were closed at sunset.

The first part of the route, well protected by the Great Wall, ran from Ch'ang-an northwards through the Kansu corridor to the oasis of Tun-huang in the Gobi Desert. Then, passing through the famous Jade Gate, it divided, giving caravans the choice of two routes across the formidable Taklamakan Desert.

Northwards, one route crossed the desert on a three-week journey to the oasis of Hami, then, along the foothills of the Celestial Mountains, following a chain of oases, to Kashgar. The southern route also had to cross the Taklamakan Desert, by way of Kholan and Yarkand.

From Kashgar, the road to the west crossed the difficult Pamir Mountains, and passing from Chinese Asia into what is now Soviet Central Asia, ran on, through Samarkand and Bokhara, into Persia, Iraq, and finally to the Mediterranean coast at Antioch. From there, ships would take the silk to Rome and Venice, or Alexandria, or, if destined for Arabia, south overland to Petra along the Incense Route.

Use of the Silk Roads petered out during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). The Chinese, in a period of introspection, retreated behind the Great Wall. It was a time when Islam was on the march to the east, deep into the Taklamakan region.

This however was not the end of the story of the Silk Roads, because in the 20th century there began many attempts to rediscover the 'lost' cities of the Silk Roads, and documents pertaining to it.

Some of the European explorers involved, such as Sir Aurel Stein, Sven Hedin, Von le Coq and Landon Warner, succeeded so well in their endeavours that they contrived to carry off valuable manuscripts and artifacts to the museums of Europe but, although it must be admitted that the Chinese were pre-occupied with internal dissension at the time, these acts of vandalism have not been forgotten and are not condoned.

The Chinese themselves are today extremely interested in research into the famous Silk Roads that depended upon their development of silk, and in 1982 rediscovered and uncovered a complete city and three villages on the Silk Roads in the south-west region of China. This was a good start to research on this once prosperous commercial route, and there is discussion now in Chinese government circles for planning a rail link along the Silk route to the Middle East on which the 15 million sheep required every year by the Muslims of the Middle East could be transported.

These developments and the wideranging studies now being set in hand by UNESCO will together ensure that posterity benefits as much as did those rich silk-bearing



Journey of goodwill and discovery

Tunku Abdul Rahman*

The object of my mission was to meet Muslims of China and to see China.

We were very well received and very well looked after by the Government of The People's Republic of China and we conveyed the goodwill of the people of Malaysia to the people of China. The Chinese government gave us the fullest opportunity to meet and talk with the Muslim people. Our itinerary was well arranged and we were given a warm welcome wherever we went.

We were also taken to the Central Institute of Minority Nationalities. This is an institute where the minorities are being educated in their own language as well as in Mandarin to unite the citizens of China; in other words "in diversity they could find unity" through education.

We were shown the important Mosques and one that impressed me most was Niujie Mosque in Peking which is 700 years old. Peking alone boasts of five Mosques. We also visited other places of interest such as the Summer Palace, the Forbidden City and the Great Wall. We were briefed on the status of the minorities, who are divided into 57 ethnic groups of which the Muslims alone account for 10 of the groups or 'nationalities' as they call them. These minority groups are given freedom to practice their religion.

We saw the industrial city of Shanghai which has a population of 11.5 million and several million bicycles.

There are five mosques in Shanghai and we went to the Dongsi Mosque where we performed our Friday prayers.

Our next trip was to Hangchow, famed for its scenic beauty, lakes, hills and gardens. There is only one Mosque there. The Muslim population there numbered only 4,000.

Then we went on to Canton which is a bustling commercial city with a population of five million, of which 4,700 are Muslims, there are as many bicycles as there are

human beings there. They boast of having the oldest Mosque in China, about 900-1200 years old, with a minaret that leans to one side for the last 800 years. They were pleased when I suggested that it should be entered into the Guinness Book of Records as the 7th wonder of the world.

We were briefed on the industrial development of China which has shown a marked improvement in the economic life of the people. Slowly but surely the per capita income of the Chinese people is increasing. One thing everybody is happy about is that the new leadership, which took over from the 'Gang of Four', has renewed the guarantee of the freedom of worship of all religions.

My meeting with the Prime Minister of China was very interesting and I was very impressed with his sincerity and frank approach to some of the aspects of life in China. One of the things he said is that the Chinese people are free to pursue their belief in religion or as he put it, 'like me are free not to believe in religion'.

All told our visit to China has been very interesting and fruitful indeed. At all the public functions our host lay emphasis that my visit would further strengthen the friendship between the Chinese people and Malaysia.

We were pleased and appreciative with the way we were treated and entertained. Every province we visited, we were given a warm welcome. Five Muslim leaders accompanied us and looked after us right from the moment we set foot in Peking to the moment we left Canton for Hong Kong.

I was very appreciative of the service rendered in China — no tips and presents are allowed. Each person, I understand, is paid not more than 40 yuan a month with free food. I thought I'd like to give the people who served me a present in recognition of their service but they refused to accept any. No one I met talked of money or business.

The Muslim community talked of freedom of worship. By that they mean that they are now free to go into mosques to pray, whereas under the Gang of Four they were not permitted to do so. I asked them what difference does that make to a Muslim. In fact we can pray anywhere and not only in mosques.

I reminded them that their duty is not only to enjoy religious freedom but to establish religious classes to give religious lessons to the young people.

It is very necessary for the young people to be given religious lessons so that they can keep up with Islam. From what I saw there, no such thing was being done.

I have invited their Muslim leaders to come to Malaysia and see what Perkim and Riscap are doing for Islam. I invited them to attend our intensive training course which Riscap holds from time to time but they objected to the presence of Muslims from Taiwan.

To overcome this political problem I offered to hold a course specially for the Muslims of China, because as a Muslim organisation we cannot bar any Muslim from participating in any religious activity organised in this country, either on account of race, colour or political creed, for all Muslims are

brothers and are equal in the eyes of Allah. They have asked for time to study my offer.

One thing that impressed me is that in all the big cities of China there are mosques and Muslim restaurants, even though Muslims are in the minority.

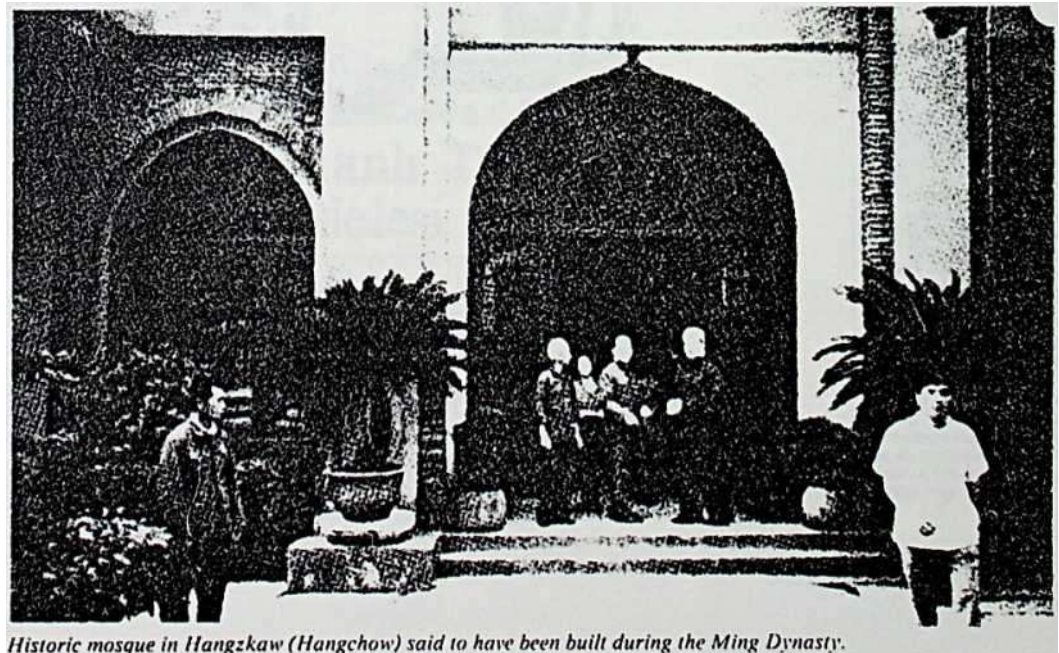
My journey to China was not only one of goodwill and friendship but of discovery as well. I must thank the Chinese Ambassador, Mr Yell Cheng Chang for having made it possible and for the kind hospitality my party of 11 received from the high officials and those who were assigned to look after us ■

Islamic Association conference

The second session of the Fourth Committee of the China Islamic Association closed in Peking on 20 August. The meeting called on Chinese Muslims to work under the leadership of the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) and the People's Government; to carry forward the fine Islamic traditions; to love the country and their religion; to unite with people throughout China; and to contribute to the four modernizations, the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and the great cause of the reunification of the motherland.

The meeting began on 13 August. Zhang Jie, Chairman of the China Islamic Association, delivered a work report. The committee members pointed out: The primary task of the Islamic Association continues to be to

*Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj was the first prime minister of independent Malaysia as well as the first secretary-general of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference. Tunku now heads the Malaysian Islamic Association (Perkim) and the Regional Islamic Dawah Council for South-East Asia and the Pacific. He visited China last May and this account of his visit combines the first report which he issued after his return with extracts taken from his weekly column in the daily *Star* (30 May 1982) reproduced in the latest issue of the Perkim magazine, *Islamic Herald*, Vol. 6, Nos 3 and 4.



Historic mosque in Hangzhou (Hangchow) said to have been built during the Ming Dynasty.

DctLui mi (^ucukiciu, iniiKicii uiucaacicsiuuagai vazgc^iuiyoi a Tiirkistan, Cin'in "yumupak karm")



K
»•
r-aederier.Iglamiyefincisidinem-e da dMgeda hikim dan şama-
* nizm'de; maddi varUlam dıgmda
laN bir vartgm kudretine insnms,
Onun mukaUt ve mOcazitim
r bekleme, O'nun iradesiy la tahia
a gikma vey a yokolma gibi pulpo-
i-reşdin lamamen digmda bir
v inangvekOlOrmanzumedisikkal
n geke. Bu degerier, teedikle Or-
3 hunAKdelerindebutnagiUgiyit-
UgirulOr.

a ISTIKLAL HOCAOHLERLERI

Bajimsiz CtoŞu Turkistan, 1760
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ve mild "lekrar kurmgutur, 14 yıl
yagayan bu devlet, Osmanly 60e-
limiyeteması geger ve ona tibi dan
* Oogu Turkisan devlelidif. Bu
ddnemde. bagla ingiltere ve Rusya
dmak uzere pek gok ul-

I«U_
Is4ro«. Or.Mesul Sabri
nelimi...
1950'do, yonidon Osman
Ba- lur ve Camm Han Haa
dire- niglori...
1953,1962,1965,1968
yilla- nndakl ayaklanmalar...
1936 ve 1938'dekl ayak-
lanmalar...
Ve, 1989-1990 yUlanndaki
ayaklanmalar...
Doju Turkistan. isliklal
Omid- ni kaybelmemigliir.

DOGU TORKİSTANTIN
BUGONO

Aksu, Kaggar'in dojusunda
ve Ooju Turkisian'm
Kirgizistan sininna gok yakm
tı. Tırkistan

ban, Gogligimlz gOnleido, pini O'na ve bOION oleannn ltyik
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on- gollomeel yOzİnden, vnzgogmo- mlgloidl.
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dOkOMO. İkl pin- U gOrevll, bir "Tork govenizml" liig degu.
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kgllylagon bir askorl bir- lik - milliyoligiligin dime- . dijlnl
muhimelon bir pin Alayr sov- anlaiyorlor.

kodildi ve ayaklan TOikloiln Dogu TORKİstan'da
go- gu "MOcadoleilno devam yagnyan TORKİlarln bdyOK
el- mok İgln dagiara gekldilor". bOKM Uygur TUtkO. Snyilari,
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İgin AksuVa gİren pin Birligi, TORKİstan'da, aynea, 000.000
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yeklli- lor keiln says 100.000 dvarmda Kirgiz TORKO
vermeklen kogm- makla yagiyor. Ancak, bu loplam
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sazelodiore kanaiil- di.



OSMAN BATIR

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gunoy- balida 4,700.000 Tibell
ve en gO- noyda 16.000.000
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yayilmig olarak yagiyor- lar.
(Yeni DO jineenln nolu: Pin-
deki Turk nOlus, 4b10'luk



pin'in bulun nukleer İan Oogu Turkistan'da ve
denome alanlan, kilalerasi
ballsik (dze (ICBM) silolari
ve Sovyetler Bİrl- fiini hodol

liayoll dnoim lialz bu bOU^{pn}
pin'don kopnmsna riza gflsİloro-
moyocoklorlnl agiklikla Undo
odl- yorlor.

Pokln yOnotml. Doftu
TORKİs- lon'm. Sovyoller
Olrlig'indeki "yi- kici umurlar"
laralmdan kujail- mi) okJufiunu
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TORKİslan'ıkutabfirriMlaolun
an

bu yikici unurlar da, SSCB'doki
Orla Aaya Cumhurlyelleri. Bu
yOzdon, gogon yilm şubal aymda
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dokl aynklnmmdn human sonra,
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dokl Tibol bdlgosno sGrđn odd-
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kİslın, Kazakİstan, Kirgizİstan gi-
bi Tork eumhuriyelerinde do
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bunun Dogu TORKİslan'i
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ydnolimlnl gok sod tedbir- lor
almaya -Uygur, Kazak, Kirgiz
TORKİslanln sOrgun odilmosine-
zorlayabilir. Tabii, bu durumda,
7,5 (voya 50) milyonluk bir krl-
enln loptuca ayaklanmasi risk! do
sdz konusu daeak.

Halen, Uygur askli pek gok
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bagkenii Alma Ala'da Oogu Tur-
kislan'm kurlulugu «?n (aalıyel 66s-
loriyor, Kazakislan'da yelisen •
eİjİlm goren- pek gok Uygur
Turku do, 1984 yilmda Pin-SSCB
smirindakl tedbirler gevgeyince
Oogu Turkistan'a gegerek yer-
alina girdiler ve lejkilalanmalann
guglendirdir.

Urung'deki Doju Turkistan
Universilesi bgrencileri do. 1989
Mayıs aymda Pekm'doki Ogen-
cuhalk harekellerini desiekleyen
gdسيرeli ledipledler. Ama,
Urung'deki Turk Sgrenciler.
"Pekln'dekl gosterileri
dosloklyoruz" derken. "pinll- ler,
Dogu Turkistan'dan delo- lunl"
demeyi do ihmal emediler.
(Pin'deki Turk uyamji ile ilgili le-
lerruall bilgi İgln Bknz: Yenl Du-
gunce 28 Tommuz 19891404 ve 4
Agustos 1989/405 sayilan)

1989 yazmda, panghay'dan
poslalan bir kilapla Turklerin
seks hayali le ilgili muslehgen
saylalar goruince, prolesiorlar
İsya- na ddnOglu (Soz konusu
"Cİnsel Alijkanlıklar" kilabinn
yol agin gi İsyan konusunda
lelerruall bilgi İgln Bknz: Yenl
Dugurtce 23 Haziran 19897399).
Agin derece- de lahrig dmu;
100.000 kiŞi cad- delerdo
araglan de-İdi ve aiege verdi.
Kondienni oleden ben "ealr"
sayan Turkler. bir do "fahlfolk"
damgasiyla kargila- gmea
Onerine gİkt her geyi yik- U.
Urung'İnin cadedetinden bmn-
do, bir Amenkall lutisli kargisna
alan oda yaglı bir Uygur dgreimn
Style haykiriyordu: "Dovugece-
İlm. Dovugecegim... Bunun bir
yolunu mullaka bulacagim... Ben
de belki olecegim ama. be- nlm
gocuklanm benlm ardim- dan
d&vdgmeye devam edecek- lor."
Zalon, bijlun Urung'i de ay- m
sesle mliyordu: "Pit pinİlleri
buradan atml". Pek gok pml,
ddvugmekienso kagmayi lercih
•III.

Gbrdon irak olanlar, gonul-
den de irak dnamah. Biz de
TORKuz. irakla kalanlar da.
Oogu Tuikistan'daki "Tİrk
uyanigi" devam ediyor. Bulin
Turk İllerimde oldu gibi. Bizden
lek say baslıyolar Turkian ma



keyle giyasi iligkiler Ca kurul-
mugiur. .

Yakup Han Bay Devlel'in
80- munden sonra. 1876 yilinda.
Oogu Turkistan lekrar pin-
Mangur. İslilasma ujamijiiif. Bu
larihen ilibaren. Otlililer
korkung bir imha ve
asimilasyon polilikasi uygula-
Turkislan'in isml ^Yenl
Somurge) olarak
ivegehir.kasaba. un- van,
makam. v.b. oimleri dahi de-
gigİnlerek Turk kiilluru yok
edil- mek islenmigtir.

Oaha sonra, 1934-1944 yilla-
n arasmda Rus istiiasma u
Jrayan Dogu Turkistan. 1944'ien
ibba/en lekrar Cm'in elkisi amra
glrmig ve 1949 yilrnda da
Komunisl pin ta- rahndan fiilen
İggal edilmigiir.

Doju Turkistan'in 19'neu
yuz- yida bajlayan mild
direniđi, yaga- digimiz yOzyilda
da bulunl gucu- le devam
elmektedir:

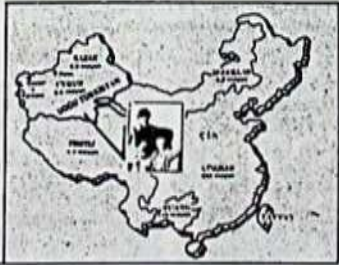
1933'la, Haei Hoca Niyaz
ayaklanmaai...
1940'la, Osman Balur'un is-
nkla ha'eketi...
1944-1945'le, Ali Han Tire

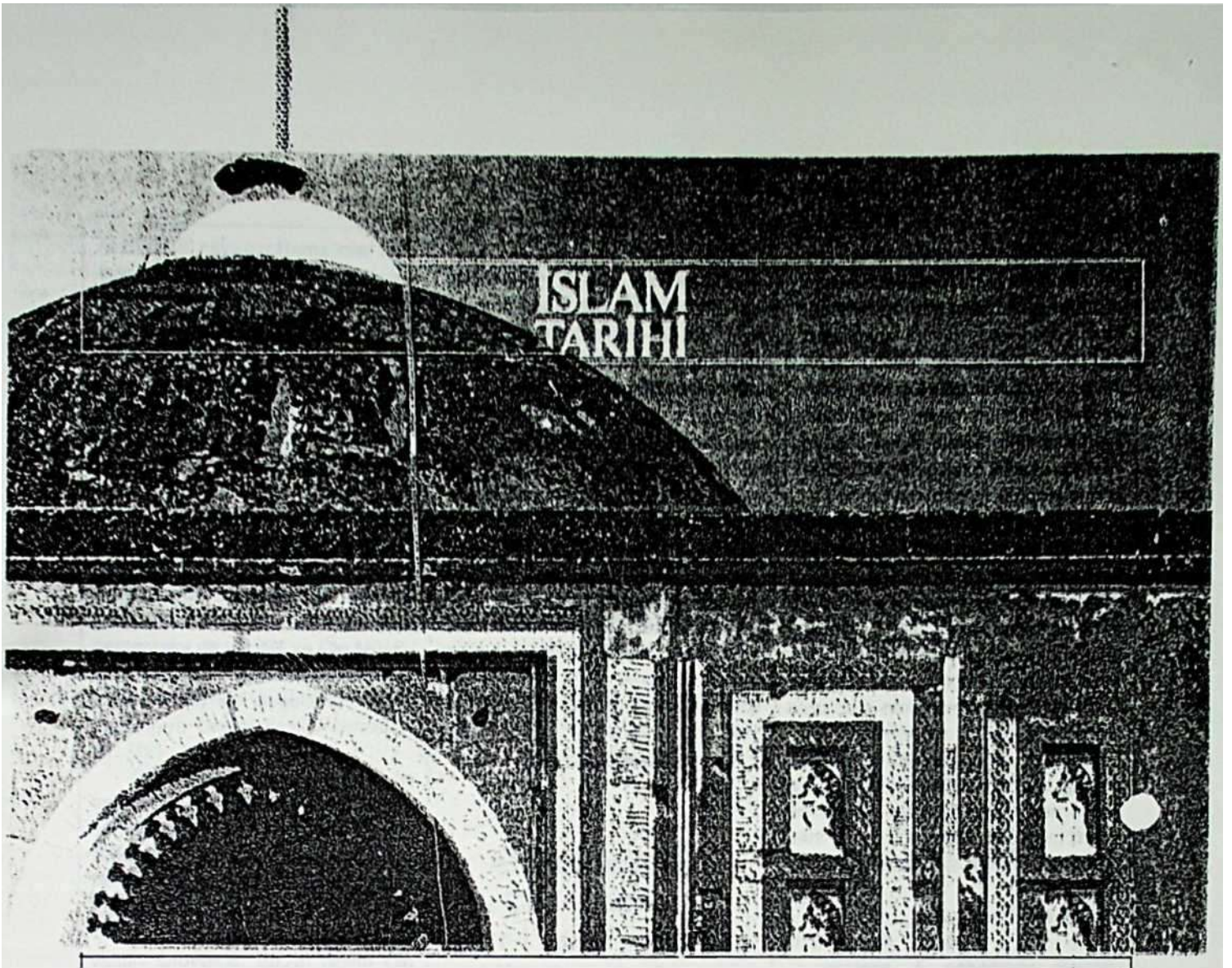
YHU



Dogu Tiirkistanli Turkler, istiklal mticadelesi verivor

Dogu Tİrkistan'in istiklal
mticadelesi, yaklagik 200yildir
devam ediyor. Aksu'daki
olaylardan sonra, Turkler
milcadclelerine devam etmek İgin
dagiara gckildiler. Fotoğrafta
gOrillenlr, dagiara gekilen
Tİrkleri takiple gOrcvlendirien
İinlimlisler... Haberi 12.
Sayfada





Sultan II. Abdulhamid'in İn siyasetine dair bir vesika

Doğ.Dr.Ihsan Sureyya SIRMA

İttihat ve Terakki sozcüleri Qanlı Musلمانların emperyalist batiya karşı olan meşru kiyamlarını putpereslerin isyam olarak telakki etmi?lerdi .

Arşiv kaynaklarının Türk ve dünya tarihi açısından ne kadar değerli oldukları, yeni bulunan vesikalar sayesinde her gün biraz daha ağırlaşmaktadır. Bu demektir ki, herhangi bir konuyu araştırdığımızda, imkansızlar elverdiği nispette, miftah argüvlerle yetinmeyip, konuyla ilgili diğer dünya argüvlerini de gözden geçirmeliyiz.

19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı - Qanlı ilgilendiren arşiv belgeleri de bu kabilden olup, maalesef tarihçilerimiz tarafından inceleme konusu yapılmamıştır. Oysaki bu ilgililerin araştırılmasında Türk tarihinin bilinmesi açısından faydalı olduğu gibi, bu konuyla ilgili kaynaklar da yok değildir.

İşte biz, bu mütevessit makalemizde sdzu gegen belgelerden sadece bir tanesi üzerinde duracağız.

Var gücüyle Osmanlı Devleti'ne yuWenen ve onu pargalayıp paylag ma fikrini (1) gerçekleştirmeye pe- ginde kogan Bati diiniasına kargi - ekonomik yetersizlikten dolayı- fiilli bir kuv'vetle gikamayan II. Abdulhamid, pasif bir mücadeleye girilmıştır.

Ermeni isyanlarını bastırma için Abdulhamid'e «Le Sultan Rouge» (Kızıl Sultan)(2) lakabını takan Bati, Osmanlı bünyesindeki azınlıkları, yani gayri-muslimleri isyana teşvik etmekle kalmamış, Anadolu'daki Musلمانlar arasında da bir ırk-gilik (racisme) cereyanı başlatarak, bunları İstanbul'dan koparmaya çalışmıştır. Bati emperyalizminin bu faaliyeti, sadece ekonomik üstünlük sağlamak olmayıp, meselenin kökeninde, Orta Doğu'da hıristiyanlığı yerleş-

tirme niyetini yattıyordu ki, bu XI. yüzyılda başlatılan hacli savagıların bir devamı idi. (3)

Bu somurgeciler, esas gayelerini gizlemek için, bilimsel araştırmalar yapmak bahanesiyle, yüzlerce ca-susu Orta Doğu'ya göndermişlerdir (4) ki, bunların çoğunu hıristiyan veya yahudi misyonerler teşkil etmekteydi. Bunlar, Anadolu'daki Musلمانlara, Osmanlı Devletini somur-geci, kendilerini de bu somuruden kurtarıcı (libérateur) olarak tanıtmışlardır. (5)

Sultan Abdulhamid, Bati'mn bu faaliyetlerine karşı koymak için, isyan çıkarmak istenen Anadolu'daki Musلمانlardan faydalanmak ve yardımlarını sağlamak gayesiyle, Hilafet merkezi olan İstanbul'dan uzakta olan Musلمانları, tarikat

geyhleri (6) veya özel temsilciler vasıtasıyla «Halife» sıfatı etrafında toplanmaya çalışılmıştır ki, onun bu siyaset faaliyetine pnnislamizm denmiştir. O bu amaçla, TGrkistan'a, Hindistan'a (7), Afrika'ya (8), Uzak DoQu'ya (9) , yani Qin ve Japonya'ya kadar (10) adamlarını göndermiştir.

AbdGlhamid, Qin'e gayr-i resmi adamlarını gönderdiği gibi, oradaki MGsIGmanlarla ilişki kurup, onları kendisine bağlamak gayesiyle resmi heyetler de göndermiştir ki, Enver Paşa Heyeti, bunlardan bir tanesidir

(11) . Onun bu faaliyetleri kısmen semeresini de vermig ve Qin MGslu-manları, onun adına, - kapisında Osmanlı Bayragı dalgalanan -Pekin Hamidiyye Üniversitesi'ni açmıştır. (12)

Bilindiği gibi, Qin de, 19. yüzyılın sonlarında, Batı Avrupa ülkelerinin somGrmeye galiglikleri yerler aramaya daydı ki, Hindu- Qin bölgesi somurge haline getirilmigti bile. İşte Uzak Dogu'nun ve dünyanın bu büyük ülkesinde, Müslümanlar da büyük bir yekun tutuyordu. Bizzat resmi Qin istatistiklerine göre, 1900 yıllarda, Qin'deki Müslüman nüfusu 70 milyondaydı. (13)

Budist veya diğer dinlerdeki Qinlilere nazaran daha guurlu ve aktif olan Qinli Müslümanların zaman zaman Batılı somurgecilere karşı isyan ettiklerini görüyoruz. (14)

Qu ana kadar bulabildiğimiz argiv belgelerine göre, II. Abdulhamid'in Qin Müslümanlarıyla olan ilişkisi, 1899 isyanlarıyla başlamıştır. Elimizdeki belgelerden anlaşıldığına göre, 1899 yılındaki Müslüman ayaklanmalarında, Müslüman olmayan Qinlilerin de iştirak etmesiyle, Qin'deki durumun, oradaki Batılı somurgecileri rahatsız etmeye ve onları endigendirmeye bağlaması üzerine; Avrupalılara karşı yapılan bu isyanları yatırtmak için, Alman imparatoru II. Guillaume. Sultan II. AbdGlhamid'e muracaat etmiş ve hatta onu bu yolda teşvik etmiştir. (15)

II., Guillaume'un teklifine muvafık cevap veren Abdülhamid, bu şekilde Qin Müslümanlarıyla ilişki kurmaya başlamıştır. Ancak bunu hemen belirtelim ki Abdülhamid'in Qin MGsIGmanları nezdindeki bu giri-

şimi, II. Guillaume'un istediği şekilde golumu; bilfihi oradaki MGsIGmanların daha doğrudan bir şekilde kılavuzlanmalarına sebep olmuştur. Bu durum, II. Guillaume'un gıda için kaşması; başlangıçta, AbdGlhamid'in Qin'de girişeceği hareketlerle maddeten destekleyeceğine söz veren Alman HGkGmeti, bu sözünden vazgeçmiştir. (16) Ve öyle anlaşıyor ki, Alman İmparatoru, Sultan AbdGlhamid'e yaptığı bu teklife plgman olmuştur; onun bu teklifi sanki, «Qin'deki dağlık MGsIGmanları teğkilatlandı» babında bir hatırlatma olmuştur. Yine elimizdeki belgelerden anlaşıldığına göre, AbdGlhamid, II. Guillaume'un arzusu dahilinde, Qinli Müslümanları yatırtmak şöyle dur-

**Abdülhamid Han
İn'i resmi ve
gayr-i resmi yollardan
tebligciler göndererek
orada, kapisında
Osmanlı bayragı
dalgalanan Pekin
Hamidiyye Üniversitesi'nin
açılmasıdır.**

şimi, onlara bu isyanlarında yardımcı bile olmuyordu. Onun gayesi, Avrupa Devletlerini Uzak Dogu'da meğgul edip, Osmanlı Devletiyle uğramaların temin etmektir. Bu yüzden ki Avrupalılar, Qinliler aleyhine Osmanlı Devleti'ni ve dolayısıyla, Qin Müslümanlarını - ki bu Qinli 70 milyon Müslüman AbdGlhamid'e baglılıklarını bildirmişlerdi- (17) kazanmak için, dini yorumlar yapıyor, Kur'an ayetlerinden deliller getirerek MGsIGmanların Ehl-i Kitab'ı bırakarak Qinlilere taraf olamayacaklarını kabul ettirmeye çalışıyorlardı. (18) Aynı maksatla, yani Qinlilere karşı Avrupalıları desteklemek ve Qinli MGsIGmanları ayaklanmaktan vazgeçirmek için -elimizdeki belge-

don AbdGlhamid'e karşı oldukları anlaşılabilir bir grup yani İttihad ve Terakki tarafından bir bildiride negredilerek; bu bildiride meselenin dini yönünde in bir yorumu yapılmıştır ki, bu makale emizde sbzG'ye karşı bildiri sunma istiyoruz.

Bilindiği gibi (19) aynen şu şekildedir.

UU 3mS heyetinin (20) bildiri,

« Hi er zaman olduğu gibi, cahil halk tarafından bakasınmın kara taassubunu, mevcut; iktidar lehine kışkırtan, Yildiz'in (2,1) ileri gelen bazı şahısların teğbbG'yiyle, bir kâğıt alim, cami karşılarında •, Kur'an tarafından Ehl-i Kitab olarak irak tanınan hristiyanlara karşı dinsizlik izleri tutarak Qin olaylarına atıfta bulunmaktangekinmemişlerdir.

Bu işsiz ve canice faaliyetlerin hergeçerle bağdaşmadığını, insan hakları konusunda dinimizin gerçek umdelerini ağagıda arz ederek Avri panmın gözünü onG'ne sermenin, bizim için mukaddes bir görev olduğuna inanıyoruz.

1. İslamın Hukukuna Göre Elgilerin Dolomulr. nazhi:

Hicretin 6. senesinde, Sevgili Peygamberimiz Hz. Muhammed s.a.s. yanında 1500 sahabe olduğu halde, Medine'den Mekke'ye gitmek istedi. Hz. Peygamber Mekke'ye yaklaşırken, oradaki idarecileri olan putperestlere, seyyahların gayesinin savag değil, sadece KŞbe'yi ziyaret olduğunu bildirmek için Hurrag adında bir elçi gönderdi. İVlekkeli karşılar, bu elçiye saldırdılar; ve ellerinden kâğıt mayaya muvaffak : olmasaydı, onu öldürceklerdi. Bunların üzerine Hz. Peygamber, aslen İVlekkeli olan akrabalar Hz. Osman'ın elçisi olarak gönderdi ki, Mekkeliler dinsizlik er onu öldürmeye cesaret edemediler; fakat haksız olarak onu tutuklayıp hapsettiler.

Bu işsiz muamelelere rağmen, bizim ulu Peygamberimizin, putperestler tarafından daha sonra Gg kez gönderilmeye mecbur kaldıkları elçilerine karşı u olan tutumu, çok daha degigik oldi. O, bu elçileri en bGyGk nezaketle kabul etmiş ve en güzel bir şekilde "igirlemiştir.

Hudeybiye (Mekke yakınlarında bir yerin adıdır) adı altında bilinen bu dini uygulama, kendisini gönderen milletin dini ve irki n^o a olursa olsun, bir elçinin mukaddes ve dokunulmaz olduğu hakkındaki işlami hükümler ve

Hız. Peygamber tarafından verilmemi? bir misalidir. Elgiye kartı kotu dav- ranmak Şoyse dursun, Hız. Pey gam- ber'in bu hukmu, ona saygı go storil- mesini ve hatta saldiriya uQrad i^mda onu korumayı bile emretmek(»dir.

2. Ehl-i Kitab'a kar?t (hir istiyen ve yahudi) takımlacak tavis ha .kkmda Kur'an-i kerim'in hukmu:

Onların mallarına kendi malları gibi, hayatlarına da kendi hayatları gibi saygılı olmak bitun Musli jmanla- rin gorevidir.

3. Muste'min (yani isİSr n Devle- ti'nde seyahat eden veya gt >gici ola- rak kalan yabancılar) he ikkindaki ' "kiim

Onlar islam adaletinin himayesi İtında olup, hayatları koru nmalidir.

Netice

Yukarıda zikredilen d .ini hükim- lere uyarak, Ehl-i Kitab'ı yani hiristi- yan ve yahudileri korurum iltiyz.

Kendi imammiz ve milliyetimizi koruyup, Kur'an'imiza dayanarak; incil'e tabi olup. medeni yyet ve iler- leme yolunda yurCiyen A vrupalı htris- liyanların yanında yer ; almamız ge- rekmetedir. Putperestlerin yanında yer alıp, vahyedilmi? d in salıklarına kufretmek, bizim dini kanunumuza aykındır. İslamiyet, I oarbarlık ve ■•ilum demek degildir!

Netice olarak, Sai ray'in gizli ve kotu te?viki altında, Q in barbarlığını destekleme zayıflığı gosterip, is- lam'la bagdaşmayan Muslumanları butun kuwetimizle kir ityoruz.

Bizim devrime haykiriŞimiz, turn medeni dünya tai rafından duyul- masını arzu ediyoruz .

Bizim en büyük arzumuz. Hu- kumetimizin, otuz mi lyon Qinli Mus- lumana vaizler gone jererek, putpe- restlerin Şiddetine ka rŞi, Qin'de bulu- nan hiristiyan ve y; abancıları, dinin emrine uyarak de steklemeleri ve korumaları için onlar • uzerinde dini bir tesir icra etmesini c |ormektir»...

Makalemize kc inu olan bildiri bu Şekilde sona eriyor .

De^orlendirme

İttihad ve Terakki sozcuları tara- fından İstanbul'da daŞitilmiş olan bu bildirido. Sultan Abdulhamid'o ve MOslumanlara karŞi Avrupa'nın tu- tulduju aŞikardır. Her zaman olduŞu gibi, bu din du?manları mesoloyi sap- tirmaya galiŞmişlar, ve Qinli Muslu- manların emperyalist Bati'ya karŞi olan me?ru isyanlarını, putperestlerin isyam olarak takdim etmek istemiş- lerdir. Bu bildirilerinde, kendi dinsiz emellerine İslam Hukukunu da alet etmek istemişlerdir. Bunlar, fiiliyatta İslam ahkammi yıkıma galiŞmala- rına ragmen, hakimiyetlerini surdu- rebilmek için dini alet etmekten, saf Muslumanları kandırmaktan, kendi lerinin medeni, gayrisinin gerici oldu- gunu tekrarlamaktan geri kalmışlar- dır. Onlargore islam. sadece bir kul- tur ve ahlak manzumesidir. Onun bir hayat nizami olduğunu unutturup, 1400 sene bncesme atmak isterler.

Yoksa ey İstanbul Ulema Heyeti (!) hiristiyanm, yahudinin Qin'deki haklarını (!) müdafaa etmek sana nr du^tu? Fakat Afrika'yi somurgelesti- ren Fransa'yi. Hindistan'ı kana bula- yan İngiltere'yi gbrmezsm. Qunkii senin akil hocaların onlardır. Aym ulema heyeti(!) ermenilerle birleşip. Sultan Abdulhamid'e Kizil Sultan dedi; ve diğer gayr-i muslim unsur- larla birleşip onu iktidardan uzaklaş- tirdi. Onun için her makam kapan alim; her Kur'an okuyan İslam dostu olmaz. Allah'a karŞi olan, O'nu nasıl müdafaa etsin ki?

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China is India's most important neighbour and friendly relations with it are in the interests of both. Basically both China and India are status quo powers. Both face similar problems of considerable magnitude, large population, poverty, developing economies and integration to name only the important ones.

In the early 1950s, China entertained grandiose ideas as a result of its traditional vision of itself as the "Middle Kingdom". Exposure to the realities of the outside world of technological advancement and provocation. In Ladakh some battles were fought earlier, it has opened its door to external influences and is taking itself towards market economy. It is likely that the political will, in due course, also keep pace with economic transformation.

1962 Hostilities Unfortunately, in the Sino-Indian relations deteriorating from Uhai- Bhair', to the state of hostilities in 1962, India's occupation of large tracts of Indian territory in the Western sector, particularly Aksai Chin, and ingress in certain other parts of the border with Tibet was certainly an unfriendly act.

It was also high handed with Indian patrols and reconnaissance parties. However, Indian reaction was not in keeping with its slate of military unpreparedness in the Sino-Indian border.

In the 1950s, any suggestion of analysing the military threat from the North was brushed aside. The Eastern Sector, NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh), for instance, was not even the operational responsibility of Eastern Command. It only had some Assam Rifles posts which reported to IGAR (Inspector General Assam Rifles).

In these circumstances India's reaction should have been low key until it had taken corrective measures. It had no forces for the Eastern Sector which, in any case, required training and wherewithal for high altitude warfare. Road communications had not been developed.

Mending Fences With China

• Lt. Gen A.M. Vohra •

All this would have taken a lot of time. Be that as it may, in the state of existing military preparedness in 1962, the adoption of the forward policy and more so the ultimatum to evict the Chinese from Thagla did not make sense militarily.

There is a point of view that the Chinese had certain internal compulsions to provoke hostilities. As events developed, it looked as if it was India that provided the provocation. In Ladakh some battles were fought and traditional external influences and is taking itself towards market economy. It is likely that the political will, in due course, also keep pace with economic transformation.

PVC. Shaitan Singh and his brave men fought to the last in the defence of Rczang La at the height of about 17000 feet in all the Chushul Sector occupied by Aksai Chin through which runs the Lahsa- Xinjian highway. It is a remote, very inhospitable high altitude area with poor accessibility from the Indian side. Secondly, with its present strength, the Indian forces can defend the country's territorial integrity and could also conduct a limited offensive foray, let us say, to cut off the Demchok- Radok section of the a force-raetioned highway from Leh and Poo in the Western Sector but it can not launch a major offensive.

Operations to recover Aksai-Chin would entail an offensive for which resources and infrastructure would have to be created. It is a matter for deliberation whether this would be a sensible course particularly as this would lead to a permanent state of hostility with China. The course of settling the boundary dispute through negotiation is a preferable alternative which successive governments of the country have been pursuing.

Reconciliation It was this spirit of reconciliation which prompted the Rajiv Gandhi visit to China in Dec. 1988. There was a good deal of

opKtsilion to the idea of the visit. It was stated by some that there, was no invitation to Rajiv Gandhi as such. Be that as it may, the visit was a success and proved that a situation of confrontation be con-verted into one of negotiation if one does not stand on false sense of prestige. Deng Xiaoping recalled and Jawaharlal Nehru's visit of 1954 and said, "We should... make a new beginning in our relationship. It is our common wish to forget the past unpleasantness- and look forward to a genuine start in improving relations has begun with your visit." There has been a thaw. It was agreed to develop relations in other fields to create favourable climate and conditions for a fair and reasonable settlement of the boundary question.

The joint working group has been reactivated and, at its first meeting at Peijing from June 30 to July 4, 1989, the parties reaffirmed their determination to maintain peace and tranquility on the border pending the settlement of the dispute. This has in fact been since and the border has been entirely peaceful. There have been other healthy developments in the way of exchange of visits by political, cultural and technical delegations. Steps are being taken to increase

In the realm of foreign policy also, China's stand is more equable rather than partisan. During his visit to Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal in Nov 1989, the Chinese PM Li Peng reiterated that the bonds of friendly between India and China had been strengthened. Ouestioned on the Kashmir dispute at Islamabad, he said, there was no change in China's stand of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Subsequently in his discussions with Pakistan PM's envoy, Iqbal Akhund, in Feb 1990, the Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qi Chen said that to create favourable climate and be settled in conformity with the principles of Punchshcll. In Feb 1990 there were reports that an agreement had been reached to cut down forces facing each other particularly in the North. This does not seem to have taken place so far. It is a logical step after the agreement to maintain peace on the border and should be pursued to implementation. Chinahashtinncondits deployment on the Sino-Soviet border as also on the Sino-Vietnam border and should be agreeable to doing so on the Sino-Indian border.

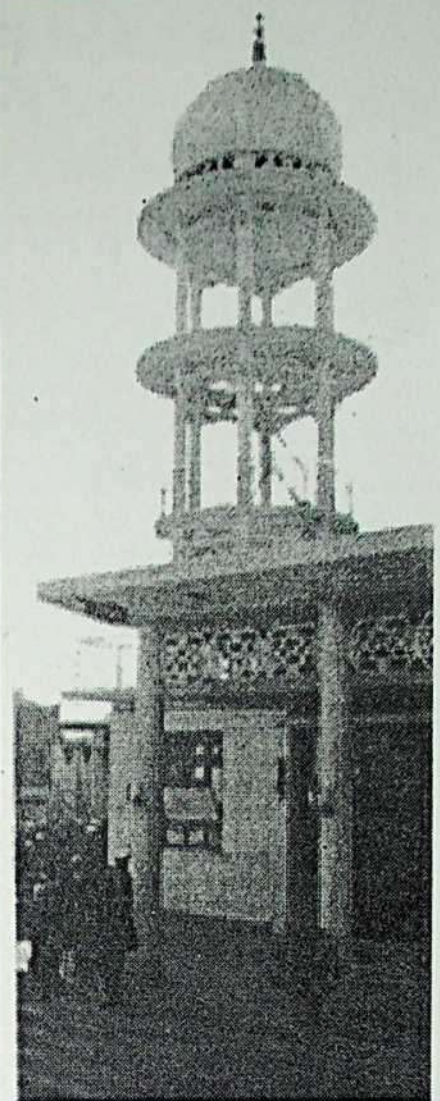
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HISTORIC: China has over 24,000 mosques and among them Xian's Great Mosque, seen above, holds pride of place as it was built years ago by Arab merchants. On right is a view of a mosque minaret built in traditional Islamic style.

Chinese Muslims hold banner of Islam aloft

By a Staff Writer

Islam made its advent into China as early as seventh century A.D. and is considered one of the major religions of the country. There are now about 17 million Muslims and 24,000 mosques in China.

In the capital city Beijing alone there are 40 mosques and you can see Muslim men and women walking on the streets in their distinctive dress.

Muslim societies have established eight Islamic institutes to teach the Qur'an, Hadith and other Islamic subjects. Moreover the Chinese Islamic Society has set up another institute and these institutions train Imams, Khatibs and Scholars.

According to the latest figures some 66,000 teachers and administrators are being employed in these institute. The Chinese Islamic Society publishes a magazine called: "The Chinese Muslim."

A majority of Chinese Muslims live in the northwestern part of the country. They have maintained good relations with Arab and Islamic countries.

The contacts between Chinese Muslims on the one hand and Muslim World League, World Islamic Conference, Al-Azhar University and other Islamic organizations on the other are aimed at promoting international peace.

The Chinese constitution guarantees freedom of religion and the government holds Islam in high esteem. Chinese rules and regulations also allow freedom of religion.

Chinese Muslims perform their religious duties, especially the five prayers in complete freedom. The number of Chinese pilgrims to Mecca is on the increase every year.

Muslim community in China cooperates with other ethnic groups in deciding major government issues. They also select their representatives to the National Council.

Many Muslims occupy high government posts in different fields. A number of Muslim professors, scientists and researchers have made significant contributions in the country's development efforts.

The president of the Xinjiang People's Congress, Tomur Devamet Muslim. Of the 37 members of the Standing Committee in the region are Muslims.

Though the Uighurs are the predominant Muslims of China, then many other ethnic groups like Kazakhs, Tatars, Tajiks, Uzbeks and Kirghiz. Most of them are settled in the vast Xinjiang province in northwest China. The Nui Jie Mosque, the oldest in Beijing, is 800 old. This imposing building combines Arabic and Chinese calligraphic decorative motifs.

The great mosque of Xian, which is believed to be built by Cheng Ho, a legendary 15th century naval hero and explorer, has been in almost continuous use since its construction in the 15th century.

Chinese Muslims have to their credit a number of historic mosques: valuable antiques in different parts of the country including Islamic calligraphic writings.

Chinese minorities hit by Beijing fallout

The many different ethnic minorities in China's far-flung territories, struggling to preserve their cultures in the face of demands for uniformity from Beijing and the majority Han population, face renewed pressure following the suppression of the prodemocracy movement. * 11

By Phillip Smucker
Compass News Features

LIJANG, Western China • Tucked away at the back of Xuan Ke's liny study is a 1945 photograph of himself conducting the Yunnan provincial orchestra playing - Schubert's *Marche Militaire* as the victorious Chinese Red Army rolled into this mountain village near the border with Tibet

Ten years later, when Xuan - an ethnic Tibetan-Naxi - was charged with 'counterrevolutionary' activities and jailed by the communists, the photographic record of "that occasion was of no benefit to him.

It also did not help Xuan's plight that his father, a Tibetan opium and jade merchant, had acted as an interpreter for American President Theodore Roosevelt and his son Kermit during a panda-hunting expedition to China before the communists came to power.

Xuan spent 10 years in prison and a further

11 years working in a factory . He still bears scars on his wrists, evidence of the time he was hung from the ceiling by his captors.

Like many others among China's ethnic minorities, Xuan, now a self-employed ethnomusicologist, did not escape the fallout from last year's crackdown by the Beijing government against the pro-democracy movement.

Xuan was called in by the local authorities in Lijiang to answer allegations that he was selling cassette recordings of tribal music to foreign travelers.

The government said it had exclusive rights to market the material. He was reprimanded and released after being warned to curb his discussions with foreigners about his years in jail.

But Xuan said in a recent interview that he has not given up attempts to keep alive local culture, which he views as being in great dan-



Tibetun-Nuxl women sell handicrafts to Western tourists in Lijiang.

ger. "In 1945 everything disappeared," he said. "Since then we have had one government, one religion and one music. They are all Red."

Nearly 2,500 miles (4,000km) from the political chill of Beijing and at least three days of grinding travel over rocky mountain passes up to snowy peaks bordering Tibet, the village of Lijiang is struggling to maintain tribal culture and live with restrictions imposed by cadres from the majority Han Chinese.

Even in remote ethnic villages isolated from most foreign influences, reverberations of the continued crackdown on dissent are being felt. Increased government restrictions have raised new doubts about the military and central authority.

Ethnic villagers speak cautiously with foreigners. "We have to watch what we say," said one government employee. "We live in fear of another Cultural Revolution."

The government claims that some minority groups in Yunnan Province have "fallen prey to hostile political and religious groups" working inside and outside the country, but residents said most of their information about the outside world comes from foreign radio broadcasts.

Some residents pass around recordings from the Voice of America radio network, describing the bloody overthrow of one-party rule in Romania.

Lijiang is much the same as thousands of other small towns and villages in China where there are nearly 90 million minority people in a total population of 1,068 million.

Some Western observers suggest that, while China has a firm grip on Han majority peasants, minorities along its southern and western borders pose a greater threat of potential unrest to the central government.

The strong Tibetan religious and cultural influence in Lijiang make some residents sympathize with the independence struggle in neighboring Tibet, led by the exiled Dalai Lama, winner of the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize.

In Yunnan Province the government claims to have made some economic and social strides in the last 40 years, eliminating poverty and ending the subservience imposed by ruthless warlords.

But villagers, while acknowledging some

economic gains, are quick to point out the harsh and often arbitrary restrictions they have been subjected to over the past four decades, most of them at the hands of the Han.

A senior Chinese official admitted in February for the first time that the central government has made errors in its policy toward minority groups.

"Mistakes made in carrying out policies toward the minorities may have engendered detrimental effects on relations among the nationalities," said Ismail Amat, Minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, addressing a Beijing conference on minorities.

In the 1960s and 1970s Lijiang, like towns and cities in Tibet, suffered the purges and destruction of the Cultural Revolution when soldiers smashed statues of the Buddha in front of horrified followers.

The Naxi people's shamans, or religious leaders, who once performed mysterious ceremonies described by American explorer Dr. Joseph Rock in the *National Geographic Magazine* before World War II, were stripped of their colorful garments and sent to work in the fields wearing Mao caps and tennis shoes.

Today, the most pressing problems stem from a government policy of economic retrenchment which comes at a time when disparities in wealth between the mountainous western provinces and China's east coast are growing. The central government is hard-pressed to fund innovative rural development schemes.

"Government propaganda does not always jibe with the realities of life on the farm," according to a source in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

The government keeps telling the farmers that they are benefiting from socialism, but all new policies are capitalist ones," he said, suggesting this contradictory rhetoric could work against continued stability.

Further fear of unrest arises from the presence of police and military forces dominated by the majority Han population.

"We must be careful not to stare at the police officers," said one local resident, adding that law enforcement is often arbitrary and based on the likes and dislikes of individual policemen.

But Chinese officials have warned against any re-emergence of minority freedom struggles.

"A minority of separatists have hoisted flags of nationalism and religious freedom in order to counter the socialist system," Prime Minister Li Peng told the nationalities conference.

After last year's pro-democracy uprising in Beijing, schoolchildren were forced to watch videotapes of the turmoil accompanied by official government explanations.

Despite the impediments to autonomy, the town appears to be experiencing a slow cultural revival - one spurred on mainly by locals opposed to strict central control.

Recognizing the potential of colorful minority tribes as tourist attractions, the government opened Lijiang in 1985 to foreign visitors. Travelers came to see the remnants of a matriarchal culture and the complex pictographs that village shamans used to communicate with their spirits.

One evening 16 aging ethnic musicians, many with flowing white beards, gathered in an ancient temple to play for a small group of foreigners.

Xuan, who organized the event without government assistance, pointed out that many ethnic music instruments had been destroyed during "the great Cultural Revolution" when their sounds were considered "devil music."

"There was no music, no melody, only rushing to the street to sing marches for the Red Army," he said, ending his introduction with a plea to foreigners to support local culture.

Yunnan, 24 minorities 'coexist with the Chinese But the picture-postcard image is often a facade

By Charlene L. Fu

KUNMING, China (AP) - Yunnan province's 24 colorful minorities are a public relations boon for Beijing, but the picture-, postcard image of ethnic groups happily dancing and singing is often a facade.

Many minorities face poverty, illiteracy and isolation. Some find their cultural existence threatened by years of forced assimilation by the surrounding Han Chinese.

The minorities in this remote, mountainous province of southwest China give the government little trouble compared to Tibetans and the Muslim minorities of Xinjiang, who have demonstrated violently for independence.

An old Sanyi woman selling hand-embroidered bags, seat covers and aprons in Kunming, the provincial capital, flashed a gap-toothed smile and proudly told a visitor she had setvedlffthe'tocal People's Congress.

Eve'd 4h'reihote'Mji&'g^ reachable only by a bumpy two-day bus ride across mountains, several Nakhi (Naxi 'm Chinese) people say, "We are Chinese first, then Nakhi."

"Yunnan's minority issues are the best-handled in China," said Shen Qirong, director of culture and education for Yunnan's Nationalities Affairs Commission. "Here, we are like a family."

"We have conflicts and arguments, but that's inevitable," he said; adding that most of the disputes were territorial.

Shen said none of Yunnan's minorities -- 40 percent of all those in China -- ever had demanded independence.

He acknowledged the ethnic groups in Yunnan did not like the idea of being under Chinese rule, but he said they did not have specific complaints.

Many minority people say what they dislike is, as they describe it, the superior attitude of Han Chinese.

"They look down on us. That's wrong," said Xuan Ke, an intellectual of the Nakhi group.

He said Han Chinese insult minority people by refusing to eat the local food, complaining of lack of hygiene and criticizing them for not bathing.

Still, Shen said, "We have fewer minority problems than the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe because, historically, we have been a multinationality country."

Nearly 50 percent of the Soviet Union's population is non-Russian, compared with less than 8 percent in China. Many minority people, especially in Yunnan, were assimilated into Chinese culture long ago.

Tibetans have been rebellious, battling Chinese security forces in protests for independence. On May 1, the Chinese lifted martial law in Lhasa, capital of Tibet, after more than

a year.

In Xinjiang province, home to 7.3 million Huis, 6 million Uygurs and several other Muslim ethnic groups, the latest violence occurred in April, when at least 22 people were killed in the suppression of a Muslim khirgiz "holy war" for independence.

Yunnan has major advantages over other parts of China in dealing with its minorities. The ethnic groups are comparatively small, ranging from 4,000 Dulongs to 3.6 million Bais. They also are scattered in a large area and separated from each other by rivers and mountains.

Instead of dealing with ethnic disturbances, the government of Yunnan issues propaganda brochures that show beaming girls in colorful traditional garb, women with odd headdresses working in the field or markets, and entire counties turning out for exotic festivals.

During the 1966-76 Cultural Revolution, minorities were persecuted and forced to give

Yi assimilated,

By Denis Hiault

CHUXIONG, China (AFP) - China's Yi people, undisturbed for centuries in southwest China, have gradually been brought to heel after 41 years of assimilation under communism.

Apart from a few, inaccessible mountain communities who greet visitors with stones and guns, integration of the Yi is well under way, according to Zhou Pinghu, a Foreign Ministry official attached to Chuxiong prefecture.

Further north, Tibetans are still struggling against assimilation. "But today, the Yi are a gentle and obedient people," official Yi Language Institute Director Pu Lian said here.

The Yi, "descendants of the eagles," live in rugged areas of Yunnan province, which borders Vietnam, Laos, Burma and Tibet.

Provincial authorities here face the daunting task of enforcing the central government's ideal of "unity and stability" among the province's population, which includes 24 of China's 55 ethnic minority groups.

There are some three million Yi in China, about 554,000 of whom live in the Yi nationality autonomous prefecture.

In Chuxiong and the village of Pujia, two hours by bus from here, the traditional figures of Qin Qiong and Yu Cigong are no longer alone on the inhabitants' portals.

The two spirits, believed to bring prosperity and happiness to the house, have been joined by new protectors: Posters of soldiers from the People's Liberation Army (PLA), including some on horseback.

As recently as 1974, the PLA crushed a protest in Yunnan by the Muslim Hui minority, outraged at being forced to eat pork in violation of their beliefs.

In comparison, things have been relatively easy

up their traditions, dress and language.

In recent years, China generally allows minorities to resume their old patterns of life: their own languages and wear traditional clothing.

In Dali, women of the Bai minority wear colorful strips of cloth around their head, bright red or pink aprons and carry the babies in elaborately embroidered cloths on their backs.

Planeloads of tourists fly to Xishuangbani in south Yunnan every spring for the water splashing festival, when the Dai people start their new year by dousing everything that moves with buckets of water.

The government gives minorities preferential treatment, including special food and lower minimum scores on college entrance exams. Minority couples are allowed to have two children, Chinese couples only one.

"We use special policies to amend past wrongs," Shen said.

but not crushed

for the Yi. The communist regime which came to power in 1949 spent seven years working to abolish "feudal practices" and "elements of capitalism among the ethnic people.

Traditionally, the Yi were divided into castes, from the masters, the "black loulous," down to the poorest members of the tribe who lived in a state of virtual slavery.

But now "the slaves have become their own masters," said Pu Lian.

The Pujia district secretary, Pu Fashou, outlined the benefits for the Yi of Communist Party rule: Government funding, compulsory schooling from the age of seven, the construction of a brick yard and several small hydro-electric plants - in a province where 40 percent of the rural population still uses oil lamps.

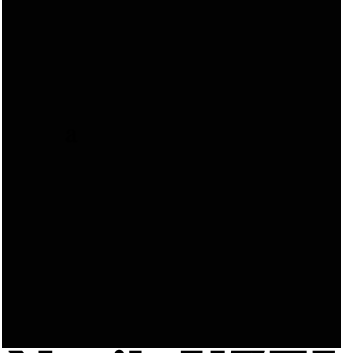
A disparity remains between the average annual income of Hans (\$85) and minority people (564).

Peasants often haul ploughs in place of draught animals and in Zhang Huchuang's coalmine working conditions recall 18th century Europe, as miners push wagons full of coal out of the mountain. On the other hand, Yi people and other minority groups have privileged access to housing at higher education and are exempt from the one-child policy of China's family planners.

It is now difficult to distinguish the Yi from the majority Han people. Many of the tribal people have abandoned their traditional black clothes for "Buddha's twist" hairstyles for more standard Maoist costumes.

The August "torchlight festival" has been resurrected after being banned during the 1966-76 Cultural Revolution, but the strongest Yi tradition remains the consumption of powerful yeast rice drink which burns the throat and brings tears to the eyes.

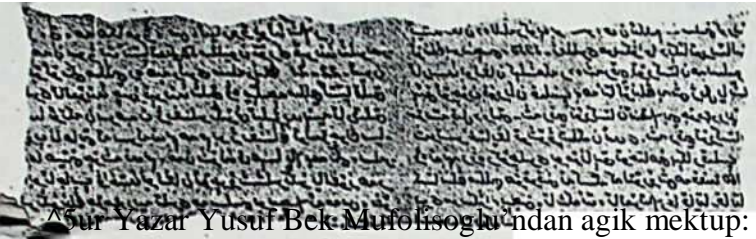
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'Birliğimizi hiçbir yabancı takdir değıştiremez!'

KAZAKİSTAN'ın Alma-Ata Şehrinde yagayan Dogu Turkistanlı Uygur Yazan Yusuf Bek Muhlisogiu'ndan Agik Mektup. .
"BirliQimizi hiçbir takdir degitiremez'

Dogu Turkistan igin en yakin komgu, Soy ve etnik ynden Turki kardeglerimiz, Kazakistan, Kirgizistan, Ozbekistan, Turkmenistan ve Tacikistan j Cumhuriyetlerinin Milli Liderlerine: Muhterem N.Nazarbayev Y.Kerimov A.Masalijov K.Mahkamov S.Niyazov Jen, Sovyetler Birliğindeki 50 Milfturk Kardeglerimizin Milli Liderleri olan sizlerin 21-22 Haziran 1990 tarihlerinde Alma-Ata Sehrinde.bakiki kardeglik ve pagdag MjllBirlikruhu igin?^
"de'ger'ekTegircifgirifz toplantilanmzi televizyondan izledim ve gok duyulandim. Bu toplantilarin siyasi mahiyetini tarn kavramaya galitim.

Ben o kanaattayimki, sizlerin bu fevkalSde bir zamanda gergeklegtirdiginiz bu gdrGgmeler sizlerin Liderleri j bir birligin gunumQz gartlarında oldugunuz Cumhuriyetlerin meselesi gerkelegmesi mQmkn mQ? Ben bun dan o derece endige ediyorumkl; bu gi-bi sizlerin yakin komgunuzve benim sev-sdzleri bahane ederek Dogu TGrkistan 40 h.alkmi gilah zoru ile bastira gel¹ mekte milyondan fazla Uygur, Kazak, Ozbek ve olan Qin diktatdrleri benim va¹ tanimda Tatar ve bagka Qarki TQrklerin milli bir defa daha "temlzllk" ya-par. Simdi bu ruh.u igin de o derece dnemlidir. Benim Qin Iggal idaresinln elinde yQzlerce bu sdzume Qin makamlarimrii ne tur bir "PantQrklist" ye "Panlala-mlt"m tavr takincaklarmdan kat'i na-zar, Dogu Turkistan hilki ezelden be-ri iki gdzu ile planlara moskova'nin de ha-f If (fgkirligi) yahgi" misali bu sQzu iyi an lamakta ve bunun bilincindedirler. ME alesef bunlar dz ana vatanlari Dogi TQrkistan igin hig bir gey verememek' tedir. Hatta dz ana vatamm dz isml I anmaktan korkmaktadirlar. Bunun se bebl; Sovyet makamlari' Qin-Sovye Dostlugu igin bu halkin milli namusi nuayaklaraltinaalmaktadirlar. Bu Sii{ kayotioriminbQyuk bir kısmi sizlerle if gllidlr. Ben burada gunu da dzellikia vurgulamak Isterim ki; buzum bu sakinj tilarimiz sizlere dogru olarak ulagma» maktadir.

Ben, bugQn yeri gelmgken slz-kerap Pigiidi "(Kayisi, Kaysiye baka-lerl de yakından Iglendiren Ulkem Dogu TURKİSTAN'ın kargilagmakta ol- i duşu btiyQk bir mesele Uzerinde dur- • mak latlyorum; Bu konu Iso, bugO- ne kadar "BOYQk" samlagelen sov- J yetler birliğinin vadettiği ulaslararasi] taahhUtlere, yakin komguluk llgkille- rine ve' evrenesel Insanklari Ile aala ; bagdagmayan, airf Qnlı Igin Dogu TQrkistan'i kurban edegelmekte olan bir mesele olup, bugQn bu durum

hor zomarkldon daha da bariz vo agik goklldo devam otmoktodlr. Sovygt makomlari glmdl 40 milyondan fazla Dogu TQridstan TQrkQ'nQn aoslml-1 lo (Qnllogltrlrllmoslno) agiktan agiga g6z yummaktadır. Bununla Ilgill do- • lltlor goktur. Fakat, bu husuata Ikl olayi drnok olarak hatirlatmak latlyo- rum.

Blrlncl oloy, 1950 yilindn Moaki- v'n'da DiktatdrStalln'In Qln Dlkmg- ttirO Mao llo yaptigi antlagmalarda- Dogu TQrklatan moooloolnl gln'ln mafaatlno kurban odlp, onun 5 yıl yagayan Milli Muatakıl Dovlotl; Dogu TQrklatan Cumhuriyotlnl kayitaiz vo 9nrt8iz olarak Qln'o lthok otmoodlr. Dogu TURKİSTAN'ın glmdlkl vatanpor- vor gUlurl, bu rozll antlagmanm Ip- tal odllorok, Dogu TURKİSTAN'ın mlill hukukunu yenldon lhya otmek Igin 1960*11 yıllardan berl-Moskova; Pd- kln, Tagkont vo Alma-Ata'a dafalaj'- ca mUracaatta bulunmuglarsa do bu taloplere kulak voron blrer "BeynoJ- mllelcl" gikmamigtir. Bunun sonucu olarak 1950 yıllarında 100 bin kigilik l'- gal Ordusu ile birlkte sayıları 370 bfnı dahi bulmayan Dogu TORKİSTAN'daki Qimlilerin sayisi gunumuzde 7 milyonu gegmigtir. Şimdl. ise. Pekin bu Qinli gdgmen sayisim bu yQzyilin sonuna ka- dar 100 milyona gikarak Dogu TurR- istan'i Qinlilegtirmek igin var gucu ile gaba sarfetmektedir. Bunun igin Qiji yf inetimi Dogu Turkistan'da en serl ve acimasiz Askeri diktatflrluk idaresi t^ - sis ederek, siyasi ynden Milli timizlik kampanyalari icra etmekte, ekonomik bakimdan ise "Devlet Talam"m uy- gulamaya koymaktadır. Gunumuzde Dogu TORKİSTAN'daki Qln Iggal Kuwet- lerinin kontrdlundeki temerkuz kamp- lari (hapishane-kamplari) nin sayisi 81 adet olup, bu kamplarda 100 bindep fazla Turk genci akil almaz igkencele- re- tabi tutulmaktadır. insanlik digi garj- lik larda yagamaya mahkum edilmig bu- lunmaktadır. Qin Iggal idaresi Dogli Turkistan'a Qinli gogmen getirmeyi O Devletine matuf degildir. Fakat bi- zim kadar ciddiye almaktadır ki, gegeh 1989 iginizde bugune kadar oldugu gi- bi yili igerisinde 650 bin Qinli gdgmen gunumuzde de TurkgulQk ve Pan* getirilip yerlegtirildi. Moskovp Qin'in turkizm akimlanm benimseyenler mev- igte bu dayanılmaz kitlesel ve irkgi culttur. Yakinda Alma-Ata'da varhgmı uygulamalarim ve milli zulumla- rim "Ottura koldek" (adi gibi) biliyor- sa da butun bunlara gdz yumarak se- yirci kalmayi tercih etmektedir.

Benim sizlerden birinci dilegim; yukarida anlatmaya galigtigim bu rezll Moskova antlagmalarimn butun gizli sirlarini agip, onun gunumuze kadar devam eden basikism Dogu Turkistan Qzerinden ebediyen sOkQpatmamiza ■ hakiki yardımlarinizi rica ediyorum'. İkinci dilegim; gQnumuzde Sovyetler Birliğinde yarım milyona yakin Dogii Turkisatanlı yagamaktadır. Bunlar, ekonomik, sosyal ve kOlturel haklar y dr nunden diger Sovyet Halklari ile ayrii haklara sahiptirler. Fakat bu hak ve im- tayazlar bazilarimn ileri surdugo gitj bu haik igin "BAHT" (gans) degildlq Bunlar Qzellikle gunQmOzde "Misir'in Padigahligından.Ken'an'in gadayliJ Ken'an'in gadayliJ misali bu sQzu iyi an lamakta ve bunun bilincindedirler. ME alesef bunlar dz ana vatanlari Dogi TQrkistan igin hig bir gey verememek' tedir. Hatta dz ana vatamm dz isml I anmaktan korkmaktadirlar. Bunun se bebl; Sovyet makamlari' Qin-Sovye Dostlugu igin bu halkin milli namusi nuayaklaraltinaalmaktadirlar. Bu Sii{ kayotioriminbQyuk bir kısmi sizlerle if gllidlr. Ben burada gunu da dzellikia vurgulamak Isterim ki; buzum bu sakinj tilarimiz sizlere dogru olarak ulagma» maktadir.

Bon slzlorden bizlm bu nazlk mil duyuguloramiza vo sikintilanmiza dze aloka gdstororok Sovyetler Brligindı yagayan Uygur TQrklorlnln Ana Vatai mmiz Dogu TORKİSTAN'm agir dordfn dorman olmasi Igin gorgok gagda las boynolmlleclllk lutufanniz llo ulusla- raraai dQzoydo yarıdımci olmaların can-u gdnOldon dilorlm.

Yusuf Bok Muhlsnogiı
Agustos/1990 Alma-
At^

China's planners face resistance in provinces

BEIJING, Nov. 18 (AFP) -- Economists mapping out targets for the next 10 years must face the harsh truth that restlessness in the provinces could hinder Beijing's economic and political agenda, analysts say.

A new five-year plan as well as a program for this millennium's final decade are in the works as the neglected inland provinces grow weary of their poverty and regionalism rears its head throughout the country.

The disgruntlement is no longer a matter of private rumblings. The *China Daily* today quoted some especially daring remarks by the theoretical magazine *Qiushi*.

It said calls by leaders in China's "vast, remote (western provinces), backward but rich in natural resources ... are too loud to be ignored by top decision makers who are pondering the part west China should play in the nation's eighth five-year plan starting next year."

The plan goes into effect on Jan. 1, and the countdown has begun. Rifts have begun appearing between the central leadership and the provinces, but also among the provinces, with some even beginning to erect protectionist barriers.

The grievances are not new, but have been

aggravated both by the economic crisis and the old guard's revival of centrist philosophy since the crushing of the democracy movement in June 1989.

One top Chinese official recently described the problem as a time bomb.

The tone of the remarks quoted today in the *China Daily* seems to back him up. Eleven of China's 30 regions and provinces are in the west, including Tibet, Shannxi, Gansu, Qinghai, Inner Mongolia, Ningxia and Xinjiang, and cover two-thirds of China's territory.

Ma Hong, a well-known economist and member of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, was quoted as speaking of "anxiety over the investment favoritism which has been shown during the 1980s for the east of the country."

Ke Maosheng, mayor of Lanzhou, capital of poverty-ridden Gansu province, urged Beijing to "proceed from its strategy for economic development and social stability to speed up the development of the western part and its opening to the outside world" in a veiled warning.

Persistent economic setbacks could add fuel to the separatist sentiment in Tibet and Xinjiang, for example, A/

The threat is more explicit still in the word on Zhu Anliu, the former mayor of Baoji Shaanxi province, who said: "It would be better if the central government were to give us favorable economic policies rather than charity."

Disgruntlement is not confined to the west.

The coastal provinces, having reaped great benefits from the dual policy of economic reform and opening to the outside begun in 1978 by senior leader Deng Xiaoping, are not exactly docile either.

They are eager to protect and cash in on their local advantages.

Guangdong and its capital, Guangzhou, tend to ignore Beijing, for example setting their clocks by the time in neighboring Hong Kong.

Guangdong Governor Ye Xuanping last year turned down a promotion that would have brought him to Beijing and instead dug in his heels in Guangdong, asserting his autonomy, especially over investment decisions.

He came out against taxes during a meeting of the Guangdong leadership in Beijing to ratify the five-year plan in early October, Chinese sources said.



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Making waves on maritime Silk Route

By Maha Bulos

On board the *Fulk-al-Salamali*: As the *Falk Al-Salamah* (Ship of Peace) makes its way across calm seas, the international scientists on board have sometimes been making their own waves during discussions between ports-officially. This sometimes stormy exchange of ideas and experiences is one of the important aims of the Maritime Silk Route Expedition, which began in Venice on Oct. 23 and will end in Osaka in early March 1991.

In one of the daily discussion sessions, Professor S.D. Bandaranayake, director of the Post-Graduate Institute of Archaeology in Colombo, Sri Lanka, even expressed skepticism about the use of the term "silk road."

The original concept, he explained, related to the abandoned cities and monasteries between Dunhuang and Kashgar in China, and to apply this specific phenomenon generally to contacts between East and West is an oversimplification of what was an intricate web of communications.

"It is dangerous to try to map the silk road," he said. "You can use it as a metaphor to talk about trade across the Indian Ocean, but there is no simple silk route. This metaphor is, however, very useful, and I think that UNESCO, by launching the project, has provoked a great deal of scholarly interest."

How his own field of study fits in? I have been long interested in studying cycles of development on a global basis. I think one of the main problems of contemporary historiography is why the rich and advanced populous societies of Asia -- China and India for instance -- failed to make the same social, ideological, scientific and cultural transformation that Europe did in the 15th and 16th centuries."

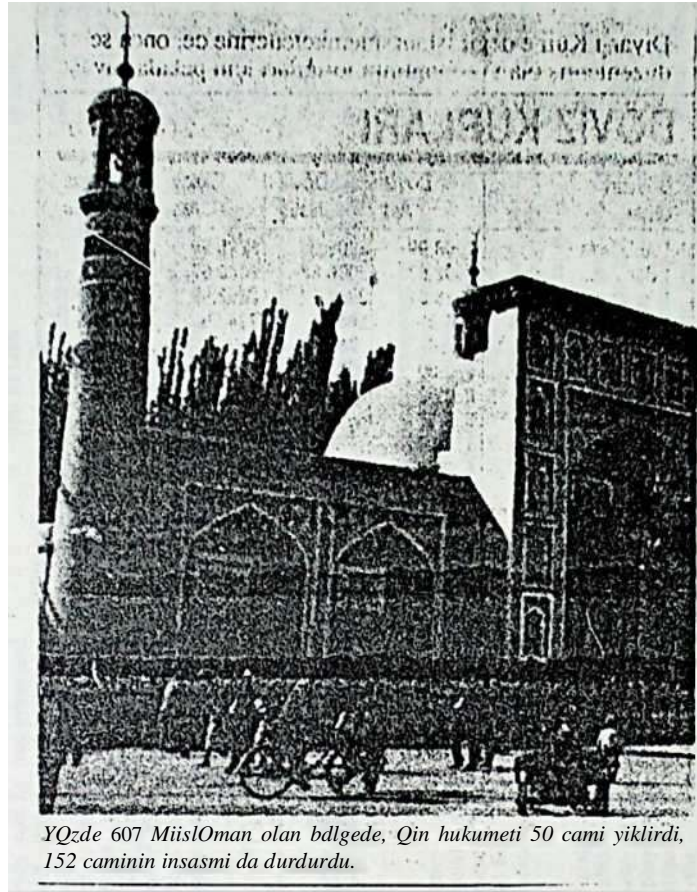
"In Turkey", Prof. Bandaranayake continued, "we had a fascinating glimpse of the potential contained in the Ottoman archives for studying that kind of problem. I was once in Afghanistan, and I found that, just like Iran, Egypt and Turkey, it had made great efforts in the 18th and 19th centuries to modernize but had failed. Why did these countries fail? Why are some able to modernize and develop faster than others?"

This question is not only academic, it is closely related to the problem of development and underdevelopment and deeply imbedded in the study of historical dynamics. And I think that by oversimplifying, by reducing the silk road to the occurrence of this dragon motif here and there, one conceals the real theoretical and scientific potential of the project."

Professor Bandaranayake is 'allergic' to the word 'influence'. "Some 19th and 20th century historians and archaeologists go to a country and say: 'These guys couldn't have done this themselves. This must have come from somewhere else'. Now the danger of using the word 'influence' is that you place more importance on the person influencing than on the person influenced. That is why I'm really not interested in what I call motif hunting -- seeing that this dragon motif came from here and was found there. That knowledge can be fascinating, even useful, but it diverts one from looking at the real historical dynamics."

(Courtesy: Unesco Sources)

Çin hükümeti 25 Ocak 1991 50 cami kapatıyor



YQzde 607 Müslöman olan bdlgede, Qin hukumeti 50 cami yıkıldı, 152 caminin insasmi da durdurdu.

50, cami kapatın; 1 tanesinin dejnşaati: durduran hukümet, gerekge olarak "camileri kendi emellerine alet etme isteyenlerin olduğu ileri siirdii.

■ İSLAM DUNYASISERVİS
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50 China mosques closed

Authorities have closed 50 mosques and banned the building of 1 (X) new ones in an area of China's northwest where Muslim separatists fought an armed rebellion this year.

The *Xinjiang* daily newspaper said authorities imposed strict constraints on religion after "earnestly drawing lessons from the ...counter-revolutionary armed rebellion in Beren 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 BBC.

A further 50 unspecified religious facilities were closed, the report said.

Authorities also replaced religious personnel, set up new departments to control religion and passed strict rules governing beliefs in the country around Barcn, near China's border with the Soviet Union and Pakistan.

According to an official count, 15 rebels, six policemen and one official died in the revolt.

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envoy underscored Saudi Ara-
guarding the welfare of Mus-
world. "This year about 2,000
ns performed the Haj and last
Muslims came from China,
economic and commercial
after its return to China
will continue as a com-
financial center.
China we will follow commu-
in while in Hong Kong the
regulations will continue.
diplomatic system will be
of China," he explained.
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China keen on joint



By Hasin Al-Binyan
Arab News Staff

RIYADH, July 30 -- The first Chinese
charge d'affaires to Saudi Arabia has hinted at
the possibility of establishing joint projects be-
tween the two countries.
"I have observed that both sides wish to set
up joint ventures either in Saudi Arabia or in
China and contacts have been made in this re-
spect," Sun said.
Adequate facilities exist
for joint ventures. "What we
need now is consulta-
tion," he said. "Our coun-
try's ability to finance and ex-
perience has increased."

China. He said Saudi Arabia exports
petrochemicals to other
countries.
"We set up a
bilateral com-
mission for expanding
commercial coopera-
tion and to use trade exchange."
the envoy said.
Sun said he fav-
ored trade exhibitions as an
effective method
to boost trade relations

iliti!!i!pfi!i!

Saudi investment

number of mosques in China. In
Xinjiang alone, there are over
20,000 mosques. Even some
Muslim countries cannot com-
pete with China in the number of
mosques, he said and added:
"We have the Holy Quran trans-
lated into Chinese language."
China and the Kingdom estab-
lished full diplomatic relations
last July.
The envoy said various
Chinese companies are ready to
cooperate with Saudi companies
in construction and mainte-
nance. China has sufficient man-
power in all categories, he
added.

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AHMET
KABAK

Gun İşiginda

«Derd Şok, hemderd yok...»

Dogu Turkistan HUKOmotl oskl Go-
nalSekrotori, bugUn «Dogu Tur-
kistanlar Cniiyotl BaŞkiu» vo
mUlyctgl «Hder» olarak yurdumuzun
zlynetl gtbl, isa Yusuf Alptokln, Fuzull•
nln Su nusraim 90k sovor vo tokrarlar:
•Deni 90k, hemderd yok, dİfiman

kavI, talih sebflrİh
Evcet, derdi gok'ur, dordin payla-
jan yoktur, dUjman korkung kuwotU
vo talih eziklr, tutsaktir. Du, bir vakil-
ler dUnyaya hUkmottikten sonra parga
parga yadellerde kalan, da vatam, eskl
k&lelerine yurt olan bUtUn eslr Turklo-
rimlze dll olan bir misradir. Fakat bu-
gUn hopsindon fazla Dogu Turkistanli,
canav&r agema dUŞml? TURkiUGUn bah-
tuu anlatmaktadır.

DdrtyUz yil .Cnee Bagdat, Hille, Kerbelift
gevresinde ya'omi? koca Fuzull, bugUn dogumuzda
Anadolu'nun de- vanu olan Ulkelerden, kendl Azeri
kar. dejerlerinden ba'layarak, Balkanlar ve Asya
TURkiUGinlInn vo Kizil Qln estri GbktUrk torunlaruun
hUznlmlil ve care- slzllglnl bir keramet yUceligi lie
sdyle- sln... Dogrusu, akil alacak deha eseri degUdle
•Isa Yusuf Alptekln, tamdigim en T soylu,
vefah ve en feragatl vatan, Xmilliyet 4Şiklanndan
birldir. Her konuŞmasi, dmlneyenleri oglatir. O ka- dar
yaruk, teslrl, samlml, dert yUkiU aesi vardir.
Fuzull'nln ju misraim biz belki jUrin kanatlan
UstUnde Ins an is- brabuun bir beiges! olarak okuruz.
Isa Bey, onda, Doju Turkistan TURkiUGUnlIn
fel&ketler beyannamesini bulur. O Oku- yunca sank!,
Fuzull, Dogu Turkistan'in bugtlnkU hall lgin
sdyleml? sanirmsiz.

Bu yazida onu anjzun, «Eslr MiUet- ler Haftasiz
dolayisyle verdi gl 90k teslrl beyanat lglndly. Zaten
bence isa Yusuf bey, 90k uzagumzda kalarak, esa-
retlerin en dayamlmazina bogulmu? •eskl vatam
TURkiUGU lie dtnyadakl 100 milyon eslr TURkUn bir
sembolU- dUr. O olmasa, konu'masa ve degerli
arkadagim Ergun Gdze bey yazmasn, sEslr
MULEtlerden haberimlz bile ol- mayacaktır.

DUnyada bu kadar kendl lglne ka- panmi?,
bdylesine fantezler, boj kav- galar lie avunan; arz
haritasindakl kendl bUytlk zneselelerinl birakip da
yok Vletnam'in, yok Laos'un kml asUerine bedava
degnekglilk eden gazeteciler, politkocilar olmak,
lnanuuz kl, hayra aliznet degUdir.
on lkl haftalik Fransiz dergisl l/Ezpress'l agin bakm
(diger, -V*Fransiz gazetelerine de) Fransa'- run yanl
kendl devletlerinl . Pasflk'te yaptigr atom patlatma
denemesini agiz dolusu ayipladiguu gdreceksiniz. Bu
cu

re til vo glrkln kuwet donomosl, bUtUn dUnyoda
tepkllor doguruyor. lkl yil Unco, dUnyanm on aofluk
mnhOku glbl bngrimua bustigimiz Kiul Qln Iso, onu
protosto cdon, sUzco ban'scvur. Insonl- yotgllerin(l)
ba'inda gollyor... Fakat lUfecn tsa Yusuf Alptokln'l
dlnlcytlnlz:

«— No İbret vcrld hadlsedir KI, Eslr Mlletler
İla/tast'm are/esinde, Kail Qln İUkUmctI, befbn
yilhk Tlrk yurdu DoQu Turkistan'da atom deneme-
leri yapmakta ve TURkler radyasyon dalgatannm
tehlrleryle boUufmakta- dirler. Japonya. Hndistan
glbl devlct- ler, kendl mUctlerl ilzcrinde iahrippl
dalgalor nefreden Kail Qini protesto ederken, Doffu
riirfeljfan TURklerl adu na, dihyomn h if bir
Ulkcstnden (yanl TURklyo'den osla ve Isl&m
Ulkcstnden, Amerika'dan da...) bir ses yikişcme
mfttr.*

Amerika, gayet O91k, hem malların goal? ve
ag Mao, Qu En Lay pazarlann- da sUrebilmck, hem
de yenl dostu Rus- ya'ya gUzdagi vermck igln Kuil
Qln'l ta- nimi? «dost» haline koymuftur. Ya biz nlgln
Kizil Qlnle dost olmu?, Ankara'yi ona agmifizdir?
Aramizda Dogu Turkistan glbl bUytlk bir hesap var
lken, o hesabi temlzlemciden, Mao dplomatlan- nrn
Ankara'da gUrUmcsİne nasil kat- lanmaktayrz?
Krzil Qln'de yapilan vc yapilmakta olan katll&mlar
İfn, Ankara'dakl temsUclerinden olsun nlgln ho- sap
sormamaktayiz? BUyle bir «mIU» Harciye'nin
dlvelerine akil erdlreblllo- no afkolsun...

E y hUr mlletler, ey İslUm flemi ve
TURklyemlzn yetklller! Şu Eslr
Mlletler Haftasinda olsun dInlo-
yinzl Kizil Qln'n Dogu Turkistan'da-
ki atom denemeler, notalarla protesto
edlmell... Bu sorumsuz dev İn Dogu
TURkistan TURklerine karji yUrUttUgU
katlifim ve asimlasyon hareketl artik
durdurulmahdir. Dogu Turkistan me-
selesi mutlaka Birlefimi? MULEtler'e ge-
Urilmelldr. Zira orasi kuwet. zor ve
hile He gaspedilmi? UzbeUz TURk vate-
mdir. Dost islml devletlerine de sesle-
nlyoruz.

«Dihya Isl&m Kongresh ve •Asya A/rka isl&m
Okeleri Konleransit gtl- demlerinde Dogu
TURkistan'a da yer vo- rilmelldr.

TURklye'nln radyolan, basini, okul- lan,
camlleri, bu acikli meseleye yer ayirraali... insanlgin
bir pargasr olarak, blzlm Uz kardejerlmlz olarak bu
eskl vatan TtrkiUGUnUn kurtulu'una yardım
edlmelldr.

Kizil Qln, her tarafta «mUtecavlz» ll&n edlmell...
BUtUn dUnyaya salmi? oldugu fltne lie birllkte,
ezdgl, yok et- (Devuni Sa: 7, 80: L.0e)

«Derd cok, hemderd yok

W (BitUnfi 2. aahlfede) tigl mUletlerin hakki, hukuku
da aran-
muliriir

Bu kavI dlymana, bu kem tallhe, İfİndeld 1
mania meydan okumaya gali- ?an Isa Yusuf beyI
tekrar dlnleylnlz:

eTemmuz ayımn son UglincU haftost (Eslr
Mlletler Haftasi) dlye U&n edit- ditfinden beri 14 yıl
gegmlj olduOu halde ne Rusya, ne de Qm estri
mUetlerden hlz W'Wn hlrlriyetlerine kavujuklan gfi-
rUmemiftir. Eeseje bellirelm W, Kuil Qi- vahfetil
altında tİUmle pmgelegen D TURkistan, İnsanhk
ilembin, Mils- İUman dİnyasinn ve TURMyemiz
e/fcd- rtmn al&kastndan uzak yajamaktadır.

Kizil Qln, Dojfu TURkistan'a ayak bastiffından
beri, T,UrkİUffUn mlstakU varlıOtru hatirlatan ne
versa yok«etmek lgin hunharca ve geytanca bir
siyaset takip etmiftir. DoQv TURkistan'da Qm
eulmUne karji mull kurtulu) hareketl- ne
girişebUecek ne kadar aydm, varlk- (i ve dIn adarra
varsa, heps İni dayarul- max ifkencelerle fehtl
etmiftir, Aynca bİrlri ardınca tertipledji 15 bUyUk
ha- reket netlcesinde 1200.000 kftfyi ievkif ve sonra
imha etmiftir...»

Soruyorum, Kml Qlnln bu vahŞet- ni dilnya
efk&rına duyurmak, son mİls- takil TURk devletl olan
blze degllse, U- me dU?mektedlr?

East Turkistan's Proposal to the World Muslim Congress

) Representative of Knst Turkistnu Mr. Ismail Cengiz* presented \ <i>e following proposal yesterday to the 8th World Session of (lie World ' Muslim Congress which Ts being held in Mngosn, TFSKs

> The full lex! of the proposal is as follows:

* "In this 8th World Session of the World Muslim Congress, for S the sake of the future of the (whole Muslim World we see that r it is the primary duty of the de- y legates and the spokesmen of the , Congress to make a deep investigation on the subject of "World } Muslim Minorities."

"From this point of view the World Muslim Congress who eva-

> luated the problems of Cyprus, Palestine, Kashmir, Eritrea, Phi- ^ lippines and South African states as a "basic problem" must also J^tuck into consideration the prob- lems of the nations and commu -) nities whose countries in which ' 160 million Muslims are living were captured and ruined by Communist China, Russia, Greece and Bulgaria.

" The Muslims of the East Turkistun who are in misery under the tyranny of Communist China have to put in front of the Congress the following humble reipt • esls just for obtaining the "ridlta" of Allah:

1. "The name of "East-Tur - kistan" with a population of 20 million under the oppressive rule of Communist China is being changed as "SINKIANG" and left to be forgotten. The name of East Turkistan is not SINKI - ANG but is EAS T TURKISTAN. For this reason the Muslim co - untrics arc kindly requested not to accept the name SINKIANG and to be decisive on this matter.

2. "Any kind of visit whether touristic or not is not allowed to and from East Turkistan. The Muslim countries are requested

to (tike steps for obtaining free visits and movements of the Turkistani refugees in order to visit their relatives in their ho - inehtnds.

3. "The Muslim faith and prays in East Turkistan have been abolished. The freedom of religion must he given to the 20 million Muslims in Turkis - tan in order to perform their prays freely. The Muslims of East Turkistan who are in a great need of our Holy Hook Quran must be sent to (hem.

4. "For the purpose of learning the affairs of the Muslims of the Oast Turkistan a dclega - lion of the World Muslim Congress must he sent to East Tur - kistan.

"We hope and pray to Allah the Almighty that the above de - mauds and wishes of the 20 million East Turkistan Muslims will be met with the sympathy of the World Muslim Congress in its 8th World Session and a decision will be taken. We pray to Allah that this Congress be useful and successful for the whole Muslim World."

2.7 }L*r/12£

Dogu Turkistanm istemleri Islam Kongresine sunuldu

GAZI MAOOSA: Dogu Turkistan Temsil- cisi Ismail Cengiz, B.ncl Ul&m Kcngresine versi:!*"-

SUNULAN ONERGEDE, DOGU THRKIS- TAN'DA 20 MİLYON TURK MİSLOMA- NIN KOMUNIST ESARETİ ALTINDA EZİLMEKTE OLDUCU VURGULANDI..



Dogu Turkistan Temsilcisi
ICHAU FPM/17

intigede. DUNyu Islam tzmliklut icinoc c.t mag. clur vi mazlCim aurunmmtta Otar, Kizil Qin Esiri Dogu Turkistan MuslUmanlarmm soruntarim ve istwnlcrini dile gainin-J^tir. Kail Cin- efe smcixilmeye gahjilan 20 ndlyctUuk Dogu Turkis- lur. Turk DevlUintn isrni- nin "Stnklang" olarak degis lit Hip unutturulnu.ya cult 5ildigim tr.lalan Ismail Cer. giz, Islfim Ulkelerinin ka rtihtlik gbsterertk bu uy- durmaca isjni kabul ctme- mtlerini istemi?, diger is temleri ise Su sekilde stra tamiStir:

"tklncisl, Dogu Turkis tan'a giris-cikis, ziyaret ve turistik gezi yasaktir. Bu takimtudan ts&m tlkelerl Kutal Cin nezdinde faaliyote gecerek; Dogu Turkistan'a gllris gikiSin ve turistik se. ychatlerin serbest birakil- mast saglanmali ve hUr cinyadeki Dogu Turkistan MUSUinan gogincnlerln Dogu TurkJitcn'daki akraba- Uirun (karjiUkli olarak) zlyaretleri saglanmalidir.

IRUncisU, Dogu Turkis- tan'eta islfiimi ibadet ve iti kat kisilltuumstir. Dogu (Uevami sayla < do)

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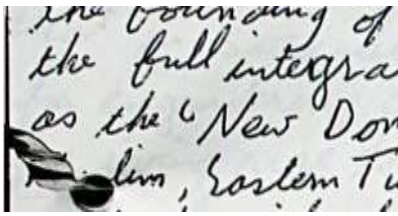
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Secret lies in Simla jit

Recipe that enables Hunzakuts to live long

This is the second and concluding part of a feature on the fabled land of Hunza in Pakistan. The first part which appeared Wednesday gave an account of the author's journey through air from Islamabad to Gilgit and from there to Hunza and other parts of the northern regions along the ancient Marco Polo trail. In the second part, the author describes the secrets of longevity for which the Hunza folks are famous.

By A.B. Rajput
Specially to Aroll, Wn v

KARACHI — The fabled land of Hunza and Nagar, Kins "be northern reach" of Pakistan has, for a thousand years, been a rendezvous of innumerable explorers, adventurers and pilgrims in a continuous trickle through some of the most precarious passes and tracks in the world.

The approach to this hitherto secluded and difficult area, wedged in between the Himalayas and the majestic Karakoram ranges, is comparatively much easier today with the linking of Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, by the 300-mile-long Karakoram Highway up to Chinese province of Sinkiang through the beautiful valley of Kaghan and over the 15,000-ft-high Khunjerab Pass. Easier still is the recently established air-link with Gilgit and Sardu, the two small towns in the northern region over the breathtaking spectacle of a good 200 miles of snow-clad mountain tops and the narrow, tortuous Indus River Valley.

The valley of Hunza is unsurpassed in beauty, and is a paradise on earth, surrounded by mountain peaks, soaring into blue skies. Its people, who belong to a race different from the rest of Pakistan, trace their origin to the Greek followers of Alexander and speak a language of their own, 'Brushaski' of unknown origin. The inhabitants are mostly followers of the Aga Khan.

About these people the gerontologists are fascinated to find that the normal lifespan of man there is well beyond 100 years unlike any other part of Pakistan or its neighboring nations. In fact, there is a local saying that a Hunzaman never dies unless he falls down from the mountainside into the fast flowing river, which happens quite often in that precarious land.

Various theories have been advanced about the longevity and vigorous youth of the Hunzakuts, as these people are called. Generally speaking, climatic factors, as well as environments, diet and physical labor all come into consideration. Besides, the normal fare of the Hunzakuts, like that of Vilcabamba and Abkhazia in the Soviet Republic of Georgia — who are also known for their longevity — is low in saturated fats. Meat and dairy products account for less than 2 percent of the calories consumed — and this is considered to help in delaying the onset of hardening of arteries.

All three areas being agrarian, the resi-



SHALAJIT: The high Himalayas grow some wild roots that help the local inhabitants prepare Shalajit which is believed to be the secret of their longevity.

dents are used to hard physical labor and simple living. Besides, the people of Hunza drink mostly the glacier water which feeds the streams and rivulets in this region and is rich in minerals, even gold-dust, and forms an excellent health-giving drink for every one in that area.

The diet of the Hunzakuts mainly consists of fruits, grains, leafy green vegetables, potatoes, peas and beans, besides fat-free yak's milk and buttermilk. Meat does not form an essential part of their diet and is eaten only on festive occasions. Similarly, very little animal fat is used.

Of cereal foods and bread, the Hunza people eat wheat bread, called Naan. Among fruits they consume plenty of cherries — both black and red — pears, peaches, apples and apricots. The apricots and apples are also sun-dried and used as food in various forms. Dried apricots are soaked overnight in water and ground into a paste-like jam. A delicious summer drink is also made of dried apricots and whole ground grain mixed together to form a gruel, known as Saltoo.

But the most important use of dried apricots and apples is that of a substitute for bread or cake during winter. The dried apricot or apple powder is kneaded into a thick paste, mixed with raisins and almonds, and baked into small round cookies of bread. This serves as an extremely rich diet along with the yak milk during good part of the long, freezing winters.

The people of Hunza also prepare a special grape juice for domestic consumption, commonly known as the "Hunza water"; but the more orthodox people have a much more potent preparation which is perhaps the most closely guarded secret of their prolonged youth and agelessness. This remarkable rejuvenator is called Mtalajit (or Salajeet), which is used by the Hunza people and has hardly been revealed to any one outside their secluded Himalayan dwellings.

Salajeet is a dark brown or coffee-colored moss, scraped from the surface of certain rocks above a height of 10,000 feet in this part of the Himalayas. It is collected only from those rocks on which the ibex (a species of wild goat) grazes when in heat. The moss is collected in small cups, either in the form of a dark paste or dark brown liquid. The former is known as Mahlahi (that which is collected

in the moonlight), while the latter in liquid form is called Aftabi (collected in the sun). Very small quantities of this stuff — about the weight of size equal to that of one or two black peppets, are mixed in a pint of hot yak milk and the concoction is taken as a drink before retiring during winter.

This is no doubt the most closely guarded secret recipe of the Hunzakuts, which keeps them lit and virile for well over a hundred years to go about like any normal, healthy

youth, to work fulltime in their mountain resorts, and even to many and rear children after seventy, eighty, or even ninety years of age.

In this sky-high secluded corner of the world, the Hunza people are eternally happy, having developed a highly positive attitude toward life. A wonderful feeling of peace prevails in this mountain paradise, where time appears to lose all significance and he is just one long span of tranquility.



WILD GOAT: A famed wild goat is associated with the production of Shalajit, an amazing rejuvenator of youth in the people of Hunza. Below, the fast flowing Indus River which is said to have taken Hunza lives earlier than their due.

"Şeytan Ayetleri" benzeri kitap, Müslümanları ayağa kaldırdı...

Çin'de Türbanlı Öfke

Günaydın objektif kaynayan Pekin'de

"İslamiyete saldırı!"

Çin'de yaygın yasadışı 14 milyon Müslümanın çoğunluğunu Uygur Türkleri oluşturmuyor. Kendilerine ait devlet bölgeleeri de bulunan Türklerin, İslamı bilimeyen Çinli yazarlar tarafından yazılan "Müslümanların Çinset Hayatı" isimli kitabı tepkileri çok sert oldu. Müslümanlar İslamiyete saldırı olarak nitelendikleri kitabın yasadıkları hakkında bu gösteriler...



- Bir grup Çinli Budist yazan, "Müslümanların Çinset Hayatı" ile ilgili kitabı, yaklaşık 14 milyon Müslümanın yaşadığı Çin'de büyük infial yarattı...
- Binlerce Müslüman Uygur Töko, Pekin'de şiddetli protesto gösterileri yaparak kitabın derhal toplatılmasını ve yazarlarının cezalandırılmasını istedi...
- Müslüman Uygur Türklerinin talepleri hükümet tarafından kabul edilmedi. Kitap toplatıldı. Salınan Rüşd'in "Şeytan Ayetleri"nin eşit olduğu bildirilen kitapta, camilerle ilgili "Çinli" benzetmeler olduğu belirtiliyor. *Yazarı 9 uncu sayıya...



✓ **Gösteriler, hıkkimeti sallıyor...** (9 uncu sayıya)

GÜNAYDIN

25 MAYIS 1989 PERSEMBE KDV DAHİL 300 TL

Müslüman Çinli kızlar meydanlarda

Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nde Müslümanların seks yaşamları ile ilgili olarak yayınlanan kitaba karşı gerçekleştirilen gösterilerde, Pekin'deki çeşitli üniversitelerde okuyan Müslüman kız öğrencilerin çoğunlukta olduğu dikkat çekti. Başlarında İrbaniyan'ya gösteriyi katılan Çinli Müslüman kızlar, 'İslamiyetin' kitabı olarak nitelendirilen kitabın hemen toplatılmasını sloganlarıyla istedikler. Çin hükümeti İrbani kız öğrencilerin bu talebini haklı buldu.

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Türkistan Türk adını ortaya çıkardığı yerdir



sempozyum'den sonra davetli Uer Kalyon Oteli'nde hem yemek yediler, heiri de video'dan Halil Şivgin'in

şahit seyrettiler. •

Onümüzdeki asır Türklerin asrı olacaktır

Prof. Dr. Gül'in
Ş Qandarhıoğlu:
"Tarihte Türk
olduğu kesin olan
ilk Türk devleti
Hun'lardır"

Bundan sonra sdzii Prof. Dr. Gül'ün gandarhıoğlu adlı Candarhıoğlu. • Türkistan'ın ok bilyik. oldugunu hatırlatarak Kitil'n meselelerine temas imkammı mevcut olmadığını ve bti'. sebeple Dlrkistan >: tarihini özetleyeceğim söyledi.. Türkistan tarih ile Dgill' olarak kısaca sunları anbtı:

"Biiyik Okyanustan Kadeniz'e kadar olan geniş sahada Türkler, arkeolojik kazılarda 2000 den yazı- li belgelere göre M.O. 4. asst-

dah. glinümüze kadar geditli isimler altında devletler kurmuşlardır. i Burası İpek Yolu 'Uzerinde oluşu ticari ve stratejik ehemmiyet dolayısıyla geydL Bu sebeple bdlgede devamlı siyasi ve ekonomik haklımlıyetler mliaa deled jolmıstır."

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I lara Hung-ho, Gdk-Türkleri T'u-chiie'. -.Uygurlara Hul-ho

Tded3terml"'^??SeRoff? takl br Qin'linin bile bu kelimeler arasmaklı benzerliğı farketigine İSarcı ettl. Gandarkoglu. bu kaynaklardan ikisine temas eder birincisinde Qin'Uer'In - ■ "Tu-chiie'ler Hlung-nu'larm gocuklarıdır. Disl kurttan tÜremi'lerdir" denUdİgini: ikincisinde de | "Hul-ho'nun ceddı. Hulng-nu'dur. Geleneklerine göre yiksek tekerlekli arabaya binerlerdi. Adetleri Tu'u-chue'lerinki lie aym İdl" denlijine dikkat. 'ekerek' Hrkistan'ın bnllerce ydlik. Tırk vatamoldugunu İml yonden İzah ettl. Gandarhıoğlu bundan sonra Türkistan da kurulan İ TURK devletlerini şöyle sınrar

Udi:

JTYi If-

"Tkrlihe Ulrkoldugu ke- sin olan Dk bilyiflt TURK devleti. Hun İmparatorlugudur ve kuruluğ tarih f a'ik degildir. Hunluların ineshur hakam İse Motun'dur. Motun zamanında İmparatorlugun sintr- lan. doguda Kore'ye, batıda Aral gblİne^ glineyde.Cin'deki Wei İrmagi Tİbet yaylast- 'Karakurum 'Dagh'n' hattma, Kuzevde ise Baykal gdİll İle Obi, İrtİg'In İgbn nebirlere kadar uzanmaktaydıf ... Hunlu bra... tabl olanlar arasuda ise Mogollar, Tibet- iUer; Tunguzlar ve •Cİnİlİlr rbuhınyordu. Yalnd .İc As- l'ya'da turk devletİndbaglı kavımlerln 'via. gehlr devletİk- 'lerlnn sayısı 26 İdl -v

Motun, 174 de.: OldUgU zaman BUyUK Hun İmparator- lugu kudretİnln en yllksek noktasmdaydv İdarlı ve askerli teğklatı, İc ve dig siyasetl, dİ- nİl ordu. Savag teknİgi ve sanati De UstUn vaafİfı. bir topluluk halİndeYdl. Tarihte bİ- lİnen bu UK Turk devleti kendİsİnden sonra İd İbtİtln Tİlkr devletlerİne 6rnek olmuğur. ■ Bundan sonra Hup. devleti. İCİnUerİlh .ıceğİtİlİ enİrkaları :İle Ayrupa. Hun devleti ve Ak yİbsn devleti olmak İlere İkl-

n«y dİye İkjre^ İonian

kuzey ve ^11- . devle tleiden Kuzey) 've 216 da.Giiney Hu Hun .dev- letİnln siyasi haklımlyı etl son buldu. . 1

IV. asv ortalarında kuru- . Un Gok Dirk Hakanlığı TURK < kİltUnİnUn en İyl temsilcisi i. . olmuştur. Gok-Tiirk Hakan- > Ugi "Dirk" sdzUn İlk defa . resmi devlet adı olarak kabul : etmekle bUtin bir mUlete garefİnl kazanmıgıtır. Dogu- daki Yakut TURkleriyle, batı- daki Ogurlann bir kısmının il digında Turk asıllı bUtin Tiirk kİtİleleri İdaresinde bİrİstir- İlmiğti. Bu kUtleler daha sonra gİtikleri yerlerde "Tiirk" a dm: ve Gok-TURK İdarlı, siya- sl, İktİsadi geleneklerİnl ya- gatmıglardır.

664 ten sonra Tİsbasken- tİnl kugatan Mukan Kagan km Asina'yi Qin İmparatoru Ue evlendİnce kuzey Cİn Tiirk hakimiyetine girdi. . Batıda da İstemi Yabgu ortagagm en bUyuk İkl dev- leti olan Sasan ve Bizans'ı Gok-Tiirk poUtikasİnım İzİnde yUnitmeyl basardı Boylece- Dirk devleti Dirk hakanlığı DUnya devleti durumuna geldi İstemi ve Mugan Kagan ,61İnce İmparatorluk 682 de İklye ayınlı 630'da da Cİn hakİmlyetİne gkdi. 682 de Kutlug ve Tonyukuk tarafı- dan yenİ devlet kuruldu. Bu devletİn bağına 692 de gezen Kappan Kagan "TURK tanİnln en DUYUyik fatihlerİnden birİ olmuştur." gekİlnde konu- gan Prof. Gandarhıoğlu "bU- yik devlet adamı" Kappan Kagan'ın gorİğİlerİnl gİyle Szetledi:

"1- Cİn'i baskı aTİinda tutmak; Boylece Dirk dev- letİnln huzurunu korumug ve halka yetecek. SİgUde tarun Uretİml saglanmİg olacaktı" "-2- gİn'de dagmık halde yagamakta olan Tiirklerİ.ana- vatan Otiiken'e gekmek. Bu suretle TURklerin yabancı hakimiyetİnİ kur Uraagi İbi Dirk Ulkesinde askerİ ve İdu: İ piğİlenmoyl hizİandra- caktı

"3- Asya kitasmda ne ka- dar Tiirk yagamakta İse, hep- sİnl Gok- •Dirk birİğine hağ- lamak"

Konugmasm da devamla Kiil Tigin ve Bilge Kagan za- manmda devletİn en gİlgu devrine vardİgİni ifade eden konusmacı 744 yilında idare- nln Uygurlara eeğİgİni ve "efsaneye gore Hun hakiim- darİnm kizi He kurtUn tiire- diklerini" belirtti. Bundan sonra hakanlan yagadikbri devirleri ayrı ayrı ele alarak 840 yilınaa Kugiz tarm devleti yikİtkarını Uygurlarm daha bogka isimler altmda

GAZETEMİZ Yeni DU- ŞONCE Ue Dogu Dlrkİs- tan Gogmenler Demegİ'nln bkİkte .tertiptemİg olduJsu ve gazetemİzln seri konie- randarİnmdan 3. sii. olan 'Tur- İds tan , Meseleler!' konulu sempozyumu muz gegİtigimİz hafta. İcİnde ■ Pazar gUnii İs- tanbul Gazeteciler.Oemlyetin- de biyik bir davetli topluğu ve gentler in katİmasıyka yapddL I

Gazetemiz sahib İ Akkan Suver'İnyonetigiserapozyu- ma MDP MilletveMli Prof.Dr. Yilmaz Altug;-ANAP Millet- vekili-Halil Şivgin'İ ftof.Qr.' .Gİllİcİn 'Qanaarİoğlu, Doc. •Dr. Ab'İiİkadr.Donuk; Seyit •Ahmet •BozIoirt, Selahattİn Yildiz, Dr. R.Oguz Tiirk- İran ve Hİk Bek.Gayretul- Av. Erdİnc katİidu, İ

Temsilcisi'nin
Prof.Yilmaz

Svyv

mpozyumı#

Dr. Yilmaz Altug ., oldu. Yil- maz . Altug .: korigraasmda TURkİstandakl-TURklerin bazı meselelerİne .temas' ederek, bkkag cyi^Bnce Dogu Dir- ' Ustana yaptıgı seyahat İntİla- lannı .anİattL -.Konugmasİn- da TUkleriİ İsyabrına da temas 'eden Altug "'Türkİs- tan'dald' asd mUcadele hİlal- put kavgasıdır dedİ_

Yenl.. dev le tier kurduklanna
IpMttotti.
Bundan NİM' kuruhn
KarthanUUr devlotl tamantn-
da TURklaln' Islamlta tampti-
fiuu ve om nki tiktya aarildt-
gun afiyleyenCandarhoglu
bdyliee • Yenlyag' TURklatan
UrhlJniax <V< jnl>
olduv4 •

Selahattin Yıldız: "Türkistan Türkler için var."

idaha-onra ktktUye TURk
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lerl *• Federasyonu' Bapkam
Selahattin -Yuda geldi. Ko-
nupmauna "TURUatan. .men*
aubu bulunmakla fUhar, ettl-
gknlz BUylik Tiirk MlUeUnln
oz yurdudur' pekllndekl söz
laivle baslavan Selahattin mmm y*nm@ yckim cupicrl e**k TM
YUchz TURkstan'in mesahasim llo UKoier arasindaki blr takun -
anhtarak Kappri Mahmud' - onhpahrchn kaynaklandi- caktormi bellrlcrok sozicrini
un ITURklstan UUrklar lcln Vguu.
gmatdmuta' VsazUnU hafc- 'XltoomT' ce

Dr. R Oguz Turkltan: "Türkistanla hasret

"bekliyorum"

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mSS! HızırBekGayretullah: "Türkistan'ı biz

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..rinde sex best bratam, hi? §iyga, aldu Sivgm konus-
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yenl yeni takanlar ve baklar hlenen politikann vunlip ol-
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VE Hirk , Millebnln imzasi -
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ANAP Temsilcisi Halil Şivgin: "Diinya

Hi . Türkiye'de atar"

Ataturklin lkazina -rag- mesinden ve afaki olupumun
.men bundan once eelen hit- dan kaynaklandigmi ifade et-
kUmetlerin dip TURkler mese- .tLV;; ' i ■
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.Kmm, Rodop, Bati Trakya, . belirten Halil Şivgin.
Suriye, Irak, Iran , Kafkasya, Uygur bolgeslnde ecclrdigi

"boldu"

■, r~ Sempczyumun
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Suver son sozU Dogu.TURkls-
tan Gbymonler Derengi ldarı
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ruz. TURldstan lkl ayri devlet!
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to bblllnmUptUr" dedl. ;

.GayrehiUah daha sonra i Diinya
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Jenln kaldigim eskl Osman-
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sonra Dogu Tiir-!
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Ikram etU. OzelUKle, SeyTt |
A'-met BozVurt ve. Hızır Bek |

Donuk: "1 yilda din
aleyhinde 120.000 ayrı
konuşma yapıldı"

Donuk: "1 yilda din
aleyhinde 120.000 ayrı
konuşma yapıldı"

Gayretullah'ın yorummak bu-
meyen evmhıplığı ile geçen
yemekte Ankara Milletvekill
Halil Şivgin video'dan Çin
Gezisi'ne seyrettirdi.

--Bundan sonra s8z alan
Do?.Dr. Abdulkadir Donuk'-
un yaptigi hararetil konupma
dlileycUer'arasmda heyecan-
la karpdandi ve degcrli Ulm
•adamimizm sozlerl defetorca
alk'larla kealdl. D09.Dr.
Abdulkadir' Donuk, czob
..konupmasuu gazetemizde
tam metln olarak buhcafcisi-
nB; :

Av. Dr. Tahsin Erdin?: "Rusya Qin'de ; hukuk yoktur";

Dahasonra Avukat Tahsin'
&dlm? soz atarak Dip TURk-
lerln ozellikle Dogu .TURlds-
tan TURklerinln sahlp oldugu'
"hak'lan antotU.' Dahason-
ra bu taklarln uygubmada
nasil lslsmar edildiginden
m bailer veren konupmacı
"Ginde ve Rusya'da hukuk
yoktur" dedL

Bundan. sonra s6z alan
yazaruna' Dr. Re ha Oguz
.Tiirkkanaon zamantorda Tlr-

Gegen hafta birinci btflttmunii yayinladigimiz (Jin-Rus ilişkilerinin bu hafta ikinci boltimttnti yayinliyoruz_

gin-Sovyet İlişkileri ve Dogu Tiirkistan

ERKtN ALPTEKİN

Tarih9ilerin ifadelerine gore; Sovyetler 10 yilda Turkistan'da 300000insam imha etmiflerdir



GecUŞ- mekte obm IUfklere paralol olarak, Bati ve Dogu Tiirkistan arasmdaki İlişkilerin de geUfmekte oldu- fiunu, fakat Bati ve Dogu TURklitan arasmdaki İlişkilerin dalma Ruslarla ginUler arasmda ilişkilerle bafih kakligmi, onlara mUstaki! hareket ctmenakkimn tan- ninmadigmi. bzelUkle Ruslarm cok eskil tarihlerden beri Dogu Tiirkistan halkma karsi İkyuzhi dyaset yitirtmUs olduunu belirterek, gaiRusyasyi'mnDofiu Tiirkistan halkma karşı yurilt- mışS oldugu UdyUzlii ayasetinden örnekler vermeye

EQEN sonbetimizde, SSCB lie QHC art sin da yet subayi Uriim'ldoki askorl okulu idare otmlıUr. Sovyetler Birliğinin bu 10 yıl zarfmda Dogu Tiirkistanda uygulam*} oldugu siyasot, buglin Afganlstanda yilirtmekte olduğu slyasetln- don hie de farkh deflİdİ.

İkinci DÜnya Sava'ı strasina Nazi Almanyasmm saldirui, SSCB'nln Dogu TURkistandaki teslrinln bİraz zaviflamasma yol- a<miŞtir. Bunu fırsat bilen Dogu HirkIstandaki gin Oencl Valli Şİng S1 Soy, kondi boŞmi kurtarabilmek maksadyie, MUUyct'İ Cin hUklimetiyo anlaŞarak, Moskova'dan, Dogu Tiirkistan'daki biitUn birliklerlni, mUsavİrlerin ve teknir 'e- rlnl gerl cckmednl talep ctmİstir. Cekllen Sovyet birUkV ..In yerine Milliyet;İ gin askerleri getmİftir. 1944 de Şİne Ş1 Sev gdrçvinden almarak yerine U Cung Ş1 adli mutaasip bİr

İlkU sohbetimizde, SSCB'nln Dogu Tiirkistan halkma tmis oldugu UdyUztti siyased bakkmda kisaca bİlgl ver'AA'i yalıŞalan.'

Tall de Dr. Sun Yat Sin başkanlıtındaki MilUyetyl gin, Qinde, Manyur-gin hanedanlıgınn hlikUmranlıgına son vere- rek, yerine cumhuriyet idaresim kurmuftur.

Yabancı boyundurugundan kurtulmak İsteyen Dogu TUR- kistan halki da 1931 yurnda Kurul fehrinde MilUyetyl gin İdaredne karfi buytik bİr ayaklanma tertip etmİftir. Bu ayak- lanma kısa zamanda Dogu Tiirkİstanm diger Şehİrlerne de sira- yet etmİftir. Neticede 1933 de KaŞgar'da Dogu Tiirkistan Cumhuriyeti Han edilmlUr.

Kumul ayak la nm asm in patlak verreasinden bİr sene sonra, SSCB, Kumul ayaklanmasum tided Hoca Niyaz Hacı'ya aslen Mogolistan HaDe Cumhuriyeti vatandası olan Cansin Dorga başkanlıgmda b'u: heyet gondeimİftir. Bu heyette Ruslar da yer ahnaktaydu Cansin Dorga baŞ kanhgındaki heyet, Hoca Niyaz Hacıya, Sovyetler Birliğinin, Dogu Tiirkistan'm Mogo- listan Halk Cumhuriyeti gibi mistakıl bir devlet haline gel- med icin yardm. etmeye bazir olduğunu bİldİrmİftir. Hoca Niyaz Hacı, Cansin Dorga vasıtasıyla gelen bu Sovyet yardim

Kırılmİftir. U Cung Şİ'nlnİktİdaragi". ' gelmez, taklp etmeye İadigi QinUlefirme slyaseti, Dogu Hirkİstanm İli vilayetin- de bUyUk bİr ayaklanmam patlak vermesİne sebebiyct verm- th-. Bu ayaklanmadan hemen sonra IU'de Alihan Tore baskan- lıgında Dogu. Tiirkistan Cumhuriyeti kurubnftur. SSCB Ali- han Toreye yardim teklifİnde butunmİstur. Dogu Tiirkistan da cok İyi donatılmif 100 bİn MHUyebİl gin askerİne karŞİ kndİ İmkaniyle karsi koyamayacağıni gozoİnde butunduran Ali- han Tore, SSCB'den gelen bu yardim teklifini reddedememİf- tİr.

Ne var kl, Sovyetler Birİgl, Alihan Toreyi tamamen kendİ tear! altına alabilmek i?in hareket etmİftir.

DOGU Tiirkistan Cumhuriyeti hiikİmetine yardim diye General Polinov, aslon Kirgiz olan General İshakbey Muninov ve Yarbay Mevlanov komutala- rujda 111 ye 3000 asker sevketmisUr. AUhan Torenln yanma mlisavir olarak Gorki Mhailov!?! vermİstir. Sovyetler BirUgi, IU'dekl askeri ve slvİl İŞ leri viirİt- mek i?in "Pervl Dom" ve "Vtori Dom" adlarındaki İki karar- gah kumuslardr. "Birind ev" manasma gelen "Pervl Dom"

SSCB her zaman Dogu Tiirkistan halkma karŞİ ikiytiz- İti siyaseti bir siyaset yuriit-



nunlaerine Sovyetler BirUgi, Uriim'ide muhasara altin- Tian Milliyetci Qin Genel Vahrine yardim teklifinde bu fun- mu 5 tur. Dogu Tiirkistan da patlak veren ayaklanmayı bastir- makta zorluk yeken Milliyetci Cin Genel VaUsl bu yardun tek- lifini momnuyiyetle kabul etmİŞtir.

NETICEDE 1934 yilmm ba'larmdan itibaren uyak, tank ve agr toplarla desteklenen 15 bin kadar Sovyet askeri Dogu Tiirkistan'a girerek, Dogu Tiirk- istan Cumhuriyetini dagitmo, ayaklanmaya kati- lanlan tutuklamı? ve bunların bİlyiik bir kmnmi kur- una dizerek, Dogu Tiirkistan'da 10 yıl sliren bir teror İdaresi kurmuŞtur.

Tarlhyilerin ifadelerine gŞre, Sovyetler BirUgi, bu 10 yıl' zarfında Dogu Tiirkistan'da 300 bİn İnsani imha etmİŞtir.

YRICA Sovyetler BirUgi, Dogu Tiirkistan'm Qinle olan iUşklalnı koparabilmek maksadyie, Kumul Şeh- rine'deblr zrhii tiiraen yeriefİrmİstir. Dogu Tiirkİs- tandaki askeri, siyad ve ekonmik İfieri tamamen kendi kontrolfil altına abnİftir. General MaUnkov ve

General Fİdin Dogu Tiirkistan Genel Valli olan ing S1 sey'in mUjavirUgine atanmİ'tir. General Ribalkln ve General Dyokof, Aksudaki gin askerlerinin komutanlıgına atanmİstir. General Safraniv hafta otmak Uzere, 20 kadar Sov-

Moskovadan aldigi emirleri "İkİnd ev" manasma gelen "Vtori Dom" a aktarmakta, bu ev de, taUmatları leraa etmekteydi. Pervl Dom'un baskanhgini General Vlademlr Kozlov, Vtori Dom'un baskanhgini da Albay Nazarov yapmaktaydı, ayu- ca, Albay Ivanov, UrazaU Daskenov ve İshafic İbrahimov gibi subaylar da burada gorevUydİler.

K> AZAK Uderi Osman Batur'un da İlhaklıyle 111 inkl- lapyilari Albay ve Tarbagatay vlayetlerini MilUyey- cl Cin askerlerinden temlzleyerek, Oriimyl'yl leh- dİt etmeye basladdar. Bu haU goren merkezİ Cin hİkİimet bUyik bir endive iylnde kalmİfti. . gin

Devlet Baskani giang Kay Şek radyoda bİr konus- mİparak Dogu Tiirkistan meselesini barifiyi yollaria hal- lebneye hazr olduunu bİldirmİftir. Aym anda, vasitaci roKİ oynamak Utedİglnl bİddİren Sovyet BirUgi, IU'de kurulan Dogu Tiirkistan CumhuriyeUn Roisi AUhan TSreyi, MUUyetyl gİnle anlaŞmaya zorlamİftir. AUhan Tdrenin buna razi obnaması sebebiyle onu ortadan kaldumİf Ur.

Neticede, MilUyeyci gin lie anlafmak zorunda birakılan IU İnkilapçilari, Dogu Tiirkistan Cumhuriyetini dagitarak, MilU-

ffl gln hİkİimetiyle koaUşyon hUklimeti İcurmak zorunda İftir. Ama IU bolgesi 1949 yiİina kadar tamamen Sovyet- ler BirUgİnin İSUUd altmda kalmİftir. (Sonu Gelecek Hafta)

■ \y\ '27-NOV-1990 15:47:50 .

CHINA -THREE REPORTED KILLED IN YUNNAN MOSLEM CLASH

HONG KONG, NOV. 27 (AP) - CHINESE PUBLIC SECURITY FORCES OPENED FIRE ON MOSLEM PROTESTERS, KILLING THREE AND INJURING SEVERAL OTHERS, IN A SOUTHWEST BORDER PROVINCE, A HONG KONG NEWSPAPER REPORTED TUESDAY.

TWO WESTERN TRAVELERS WHO REACHED HONG KONG FROM THE PROVINCE. YUNNAN, SAID SECURITY PERSONNEL WERE OUT IN FORCE ALONG AN IMPORTANT ROAD LEADING FROM THE PROVINCE'S CAPITAL, KUNMING.

THE CLASH WOULD BE THE WORST REPORTED CASE OF ETHNIC STRIFE IN CHINA SINCE APRIL, WHEN RIOTING BROKE OUT IN THE XINJIANG UYGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION IN THE NORTHWEST. LOCAL REPORTS PUT THE XINJIANG DEATH TOLL AT 50 CIVILIANS AND EIGHT POLICEMEN.

THE CHINESE-LANGUAGE ORIENTAL DAILY, QUOTING UNSPECIFIED SOURCES FROM KUNMING, SAID TROUBLE BEGAN ON NOV. 21 IN THE TOWN OF YUXI, 50 MILES (80 KILOMETERS) SOUTHWEST OF KUNMING.

MOSLEM RESIDENTS OF THE AREA WERE APPARENTLY UNHAPPY ABOUT THE WAY PUBLIC SECURITY AUTHORITIES HANDLED A DISPUTE BETWEEN A MOSLEM TRAVELER AND A HOSTEL ATTENDANT CONCERNING A COTTON GUILT.

MOSLEMS STAGED A MASS RALLY-OUTSIDE THE LOCAL PUBLIC SECURITY OFFICE, SAID THE PAPER. SOME OF PROTESTERS STORMED THE OFFICE AND "SLUNG PISTOLS FROM PUBLIC SECURITY OFFICERS," IT ADDED.

THE PAPER SAID POLICE OPENED FIRE ON THE PROTESTORS, KILLING THREE MOSLEMS AND INJURING SEVERAL OTHERS.

-ON FRIDAY, MORE MOSLEMS, CARRYING THE CORPSES OF THE THREE KILLED, HEADED TOWARD KUNMING, BUT WERE STOPPED BY SECURITY FORCES DEPLOYED TO BLOCK THEIR WAY.

PROTESTERS LATER TOOK SEVERAL COMMUNIST PARTY OFFICIALS HOSTAGE WHEN THE OFFICIALS ENTERED THE TOWN TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE MOSLEMS, THE PAPER SAID. IT DID NOT SAY WHETHER THE HOSTAGES WERE ULTIMATELY FREED.

TWO BRITISH TRAVELERS TAKING A BUS TO THE XISHUANGBANNA AREA IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE PROVINCE SAID POLICE FORCED THEM TO GET OFF THE PUBLIC CARRIER JUST OUTSIDE YUXI AND RETURN TO KUNMING.

THEY SAID THEY COUNTED MORE THAN 100 TRUCKS OF SECURITY PERSONNEL LINING THE ROAD FROM YUXI TO KUNMING. CHINESE-RESIDENTS AS REPORTING IT ON FRIDAY IN YUXI.

"WE SAW POLICE IN RIOT GEAR MOVING IN JEEPS UP AND DOWN THE ROAD," SAID ONE TRAVELER, WHO SPOKE ON CONDITION OF ANONYMITY. "THEY WERE CARRYING AUTOMATIC WEAPONS."

TENSIONS ARE HIGH IN CHINA BETWEEN THE MAJORITY HAN PEOPLE, WHO MAKE UP 95 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION, AND VARIOUS ETHNIC MINORITIES.

IN APRIL, CHINESE OFFICIAL REPORTS SAID MOSLEMS IN NORTHWEST XINJIANG LAUNCHED A "HOLY WAR" TO SPLIT FROM CHINA. DOZENS DIED WHEN CHINESE SECURITY FORCES CRUSHED THE UPRISING.

TIBETANS SAY THE TERRITORY SHOULD BE INDEPENDENT AND SCORES OF TIBETAN ACTIVISTS HAVE

**ON
CHINA LIFTED MARTIAL LAW IN LHASA, THE TERRITORY'S CAPITAL
THOUSANDS OF SOLDIERS FROM THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY RE
BILLETED THERE.**

YUNNAN, WHICH BORDERS TIBET TO THE NORTHWEST AND IS HEMMED IN BY BURMA, LAOS AND VIETNAM TO THE SOUTH, IS HOME TO 40,000,000 PEOPLE.

IN 1974, IT CRUSHED THE ULTRALEFTIST CULTURAL REVOLUTION, AND IN 1988 CRUSHED A MOSLEM REVOLT IN A VILLAGE CALLED SEPTAN. SOME FOREIGN ACCOUNTS SAY THOUSANDS WERE KILLED. LW

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CHINA-CHINESE POLICE FIRE ON MOSLEM PROTESTERS, HONG KONG DAILY SAYS HONG KONG, NOV 27, REUTER - CHINESE POLICE OPENED FIRE ON MOSLEM RIOTERS IN THE SOUTHWESTERN PROVINCE OF YUNNAN LAST WEEK. KILLING THREE AND INJURIN6 SEVERAL OTHERS, HON6 KONG'S ORIENTAL DAILY NEWS ^ REPORTED ON TUESDAY. . .

THE SHOOTING6 OCCURED IN YUXI DISTRICT ON NOVEMBER 19 AFTER DEMONSTRATORS SMASHED UP THE PROVINCIAL POLICE STATION OFFICE, SEIZED POLICE GUNS AND ATTACKED AN OFFICIAL WHO CAME FROM THE PROVINCIAL CAPITAL KUNMING TO HELP SETTLE A LOCAL DISPUTE.

A PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL CONFIRMED THERE HAD BEEN AN INCIDENT IN YUXI BUT DECLINED TO GIVE DETAILS.

"THERE WAS A SMALL DISPUTE. IT HAS BEEN NEARLY RESOLVED," THE OFFICIAL, CONTACTED BY TELEPHONE, TOLD REUTERS.

THE GOVERNMENT IN BEIJING HAD ORDERED THAT NO INFORMATION ON THIS INCIDENT BE DISCLOSED. HE ADDED.

A YUNNAN GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN DECLINED COMMENT AND SAID LOCAL NEWSPAPERS HAD NOT REPORTED ANY SUCH CONFLICT.

ORIENTAL DAILY NEWS SAID THE DEMONSTRATORS TOOK HOSTAGE A COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARY IN CHARGE OF THE AREA AND BLOCKED A MAJOR ROAD FROM KUNMING TO XISHUANGBANNA AT THE SOUTHERN TIP OF THE PROVINCE, PREVENTING CARS FROM ENTERING YUXI.

PEOPLE RETURNING FROM XISHUANGBANNA REPORTED THAT RIOTING HAD OCCURRED IN THE REGION OVER THE PAST FEU DAYS, IT SAID.

THE RIOTING BEGAN AFTER POLICE OFFICERS FAILED TO SETTLE A DISPUTE BETWEEN A MOSLEM AND A HOTEL EMPLOYEE. ANGRY MOSLEMS ATTACKED THE POLICE STATION AND SURROUNDED OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICES IN YUXI, ABOUT 80 KM (50 MILES) SOUTH OF KUNMING, THE NEWSPAPER SAID.

ANOTHER CONFRONTATION WAS SPARKED ON NOVEMBER 23 WHEN ARMED POLICE BLOCKED A GROUP OF MOSLEMS TRYING TO CARRY THE BODIES OF THE THREE KILLED DEMONSTRATORS TO KUNMING, THE DAILY SAID.

ABOUT 400,000 MOSLEMS OF THE ETHNIC HUI NATIONALITY LIVE IN KUNMING, A MOUNTAINOUS PROVINCE BORDERING BURMA, LAOS AND VIETNAM WITH A TOTAL POPULATION OF SOME 37 MILLION PEOPLE.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HUI AND MAJORITY HAN CHINESE HAVE LONG BEEN STRAINED.

IT WAS IN YUNNAN THAT ONE OF THE WORST ATROCITIES OF THE EXTREMIST CULTURAL REVOLUTION OCCURRED. IN 1974 ARMY UNITS CRUSHED A MOSLEM REVOLT IN A VILLAGE CALLED SHADIAN.

ARTILLERY POUNDED THE VILLAGE AND, ACCORDING TO SOME FOREIGN ACCOUNTS, ABOUT 5,000 PEOPLE WERE KILLED.

THE REPORTED INCIDENT IN YUXI WAS THE WORST KNOWN ETHNIC CONFLICT IN CHINA SINCE APRIL WHEN POLICE CRUSHED WHAT THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES HAVE DESCRIBED AS A "HOLY WAR" LAUNCHED BY MOSLEMS IN THE NORTHWEST REGION OF XINJIANG.

THE OFFICIAL DEATH TOLL WAS 22 BUT TRAVELLERS RETURNING FROM THE AREA SAID THEY BELIEVED TWICE AS MANY HAD BEEN KILLED. BV

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China-Moslems

Neun Menschen nach Demonstration gegen 'chinesischen Ruschdie'
verurteilt =

Peking, 11. Oktober (AFP) - Ein Volksgericht in Urumqi, der überwiegend von Moslems bewohnten Hauptstadt von Xinjiang, hat neun Menschen zu Gefängnisstrafen von einem Jahr bis zu lebenslanglich verurteilt. Das Gericht beschuldigte die Angeklagten, im Mai eine 'religiöse Meuterei' organisiert zu haben, berichtete die Tageszeitung von Xinjiang. Weiter wurden ihnen Diebstahle, Beschädigungen öffentlichen Eigentums und Störung der öffentlichen Ordnung zur Last gelegt. Die Urteile wurden im Berufungsverfahren bestätigt. Die Angeklagten hatten am 19. Mai den Sitz der Kommunistischen Partei und der Regierung von Urumqi angegriffen, gegen die Veröffentlichung eines inzwischen verbotenen Buches zu protestieren, das ihrer Meinung nach den Koran und den Islam verleumde. Das Buch trägt den Titel 'Sei, *uelle Brauche'.

Mehr als 150 Soldaten und Polizeibeamte waren bei der Protestkundgebung verletzt und mehr als 10 Fahrzeuge zerstört worden. Eine ähnliche Demonstration in Peking gegen den 'chinesischen Ruschdie' war ohne Zwischenfälle verlaufen. Die Proteste in Urumqi ereigneten sich kurze Zeit vor der Verkündung des Ausnahmezustandes in Peking, als Hunderttausende von Studenten sich dort für mehr Demokratie einsetzten.

In China leben offiziellen Angaben zufolge etwa 10 Millionen Moslems, nach inoffiziellen Schätzungen sollen es sogar 20 Millionen sein. Viele von ihnen hatten im Mai an friedlichen Demonstrationen in Xian, Shanghai und anderen Städten teilgenommen um eine Rücknahme des Buches zu fordern.

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ASIA ~ REUTER REPORTS ON MOSLEM PROTEST IN XINJIANB PROVINCE

By Guy Dinmore

URUMQI, China, Sept 22, Reuter - Moslem minority students in China's sensitive border region of Xinjiang have taken to the streets to voice their grievances, rekindling fears among Chinese leaders of resurgent separatist unrest.

Hundreds of students, mostly of "the Uygur ethnic group," marched from Xinjiang University into the centre of the regional capital Urumqi in June carrying banners and shouting slogans against the Han Chinese.

Local Uygurs said the protest was the latest in a long history of conflict between the Han Chinese and Moslem Uygurs, some of whom are inspired by religion and a /folk her O'J said to be in exile in Turkey, in their quest for more freedom.

"This was a very, very small incident - Just 300 students incited by a few outsiders, bad people, stirring things up," said University Vice President Ibrayim Halck.

One teacher said, however, tnafttiereTWere 600 students - "they filled the street" - and students claimed that more than

1,0 took part in the peaceful June 15 protest.

Residents said the demonstration reflected pent-up tensions between Xinjiang's mostly Moslem minority peoples and the Han Chinese, who control the vast northwest region of mountains and desert.

Students on campus said they were enraged by anti-Uygur graffiti in the university and opposed to plans by the authorities to put Uygur and Han student^ in the same dormitory blocks.

"Uygurs are the slaves of the Han Chinese," said one slogan, according to stuHefTtsT~TooBS 'Ttses "were also a sore point.

Xinjiang - which means "new dominion" in Chinese - is one of China's poorest regions, populated mostly by Moslem minorities, some, of whom trace their roots to Turkish ancestors.

Uygurs make up 45 per cent of Xinjiang's sornlTT^mi 1 lion people and the Han Chinese"40 per cent. Kazaks are the next largest group, according to official census figures. Thousands of troops are also stationed there.

The region is especially sensitive to foreign influences, strategical ly bordei^ir>9 Mongolia, the Soviet Union, Afghanistan and parts of Pakistani and Indian controlled Kashmir.

'RTots^erupted'^'rrnhe ancient silk route town of Kashgar in

1901 and Chinese troops later put down an isolated uprising by Hoslem^pe^sahts^'in nearby Payzawat county.

Two British reporters who flew unannounced to Kashgar last week were detailedfvpolice and put on the next flight out.

study Since the June protest, students have been given an extra week of "patriotic education" classes where they are told the doctrine and state policy on China's peoples, the He denied rumours the university vice president said, demonstration. He

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ASIA — cn — REUTER REPORTS ON MOSLEM PROTEST IN XINJIANG PROVINCE

"People want peaceful, stable lives and to earn money,"* Halick said.

Xinjiang leaders have recently made strong speeches denouncing unidentified agitators and foreign infiltrators.

"There are a very '^'few ThdlVItJUal's'TSi'dlHg'lV^darl<~c'orners engaging. in,,.conspiratorial activities to split the unity of the motherland,'" said Wang Enmao, who led communist troops into Xinjiang in the 1949 revolution.

"This ``small number of people'' were "scum and traitors"* and spread the lie that the minority Moslems were the slaves of the Hans, .Wang said.

A government official said China protected "normal'' religious activities but would not allow acts against "national sol idar ity_.car_r\ied out under the pretext of religion*''.

Asked why there was a flood of such reports recently, the versity vice president said "Tibet has its Dalai Lama (who lived in exile since 1959). Xinjiang has its Ayqa.«'J` Ay'^a^a'^^Oygur" who f^eH^'^TInTrang^dTIFrrig^Ti'e 'communist revolution. He now lives in Turkey and sends people into Xinjiang to_agi tate agajlnst^h^HaPj,. Hal ick said.

But'young'Uygurs in the crowded bars and bazaars of Urumqi's Moslem quarter had a very different reaction.

"Aysa is our people's hero,'" said one, factory worker.

"I hate the Han Ch ihese. . . Aysa is'our leader^' We want independence,'/ said, another.

Residents of UrumqT say this industrial city of more than

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CITY ARE WATCHES. HRUH8I &FF|tT*U-Y tifiH @EI#M8 JIHE, »UT JLEALLt OFERAtt a... ' THO
HOURS LATER, IN * ZONE CLOSER 10 ITS ROOTS.'

MILITARY FORCE AND SECADES OF PROPAGANDA HAVE NOT OUELLED THE
INDEPENDENT SPIRIT OF CHINA'S MOSLEMS, HOST OF WHOM LIVE HERE IN THE
WASTELANDS AND MOUNTAINS OF XINJIAN6 UYGUR AUTONOMOUS REGION.

is TURKESTAN,* A YOUNG UYGUR SAID, ON CONDITION OF ANONYMITY.
"THE CHINES^ LIKE TO CALL THIS PLACE XINJIANG, BUT IT'S THE LAND OF THE
UYGUR PEOPLE AND IT 16 TURKESTAN.*

UY6URS SAY THEY FOLLOW 'XINJIANG TIME,* PARTLY BECAUSE URUH8I! If .
TWO TIME ZONES NEST OF BEIJING, AND PARTLY FROM PRINCIPLE. ! * -

'BEIJING TIME? HE ONLY 60 BY XINJIAN6 TIME,* ANOTHER YOUNG MAN SAID.
XINJIANG MEANS •NEW BORDER." CHINESE ARMIES ESTABLISHED MILITARY

OUTPOSTS HERE DURIN6 THE HAN DYNASTY OF 206 B.C. TO 220 A.D., ANI
HAVE TRIED EVER SINCE TO SUBDUE THE PEOPLE MHO ROAMED THE PASTURELANDS SHAND
SETTLED THE OASES.

ANTI-CHINESE RIOTS OCCURRED THIS SPRING..INDICATING THE STRUGGLE VS
NOT OVER. T Vi

SEVERAL CENTRAL ASIAN ETHNIC MINORITIES LIVE IN THE XINJIANG ! REGION,
INCLUDING UY6URS, KAZAKHS AND KIR6IZ, MANY OF WHOM ARE OF , TURKIC ORIGIN
AND DEVOUT MOSLEMS. I *

MORE THAN HALF OF XINJIANG'S PEOPLE ARE MOSLEMS, AND SOME 1*
APPARENTLY HAVE FELT THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS ELSEWHERE.

IN APRIL, MORE THAN 2.000 PEOPLE IN BAREN TOWNSHIP, SOUTH OF THE
ANCIENT SILK ROAD BAZAAR CITY OF KASHGAR. PROCLAIMED A "HOLY WAR'S TO
RESTORE THE EASTERN TURKESTAN REPUBLIC SET UP BY UY6URS AND KAZAKHS IN
WESTERN XINJIANG IN 1944-49. j..

TRAVELERS IN THE REGION SAID THE RIOTS SPREAD TO THE NEARBY TOWNS OF
HOTAN AND KUQA. /■

LOCAL REPORTS PUT THE DEATH TOLL AT 50 CIVILIANS AND EI6HT POLICEMEN.
CHINESE OFFICIALS SAID, ON CONDITION OF ANONYMITY, THAT.
TWO NEGOTIATORS SENT IN TO SEEK A TRUCE ALSO WERE KILLED.

MANY SMALLER TOWNS IN XINJIANG HAVE BEEN CLOSED TO TOURISTS SINCE THE
RIOTS AND FEW F0REI6N JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO VISIT.i THE
ISOLATED RE6I0N GRADUALLY IS BECOMIN6 LINKED TO THE REST bp CENTRAL ASIA. \Z

A RAILWAY CONNECTING XINJIANG WITH A SOVIET LINE WILL PUT CHINA'S
MOSLEMS IN CLOSER CONTACT WITH RELATED ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SOVIET: r
UNION, MUCH AS THE OPENING OF THE KHUNJRAB PASS TO PAKISTAN HAS n 1
RENEWED TRADE WITH THAT COUNTRY.

SOME CHINESE REPORTS HAVE SAID REBELLIOUS MOSLEMS USED THE PAKISTAN
CONNECTION TO OBTAIN ARMS FROM MOSLEM GUERRILLAS IN AFGHANISTAN.

SPEECHES, COMMENTARIES AND VISITS BY HI6H CHINESE OFFICIALS
INDICATE BEIJING TAKES THE THREAT OF FURTHER UNREST SERIOUSLY. LO I

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V TELEVISION REPORTS SAID 6.490 PEOPLE WERE CONVICTED OF FOMENTING
REBELL I ON IH "THE "FIRST RALF WWO.

CHINA OFFICIALLY ADVOCATES FREEDOM OF RELI6ION, BUT UNOFFICIA
RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS IN XINJIANG HAVE BEEN CLOSED AND MOSLEM PRIESTS WHO
VIOLATED LAWS A6AINST PROSELYTIZING HAVE BEEN STRIPPED OF THEIR
RELIGIOUS CREDENTIALS.

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"WE SHOULD BE SOBERLY AWARE THAT THE MAIN DAN6ER TO XINJIAN6*
STABILITY IS THE DOMESTIC AND OVERSEAS SEPARATISTS WAVIN6 THE BANNER
OF AN INDEPENDENT EAST TURKESTAN," SAID TOMUR DAWAMAT, CHAIRMAN 0
THE REGION.

EVEN AFTER 40 YEARS OF COMMUNIST RULE, MOST MOSLEMS REMAIN A
WORLD APART FROM THE 4 MILLION MEMBERS OF tHE MAJORITY HAN CHINESE
WHO HAVE MOVED INTO THE REGION. (PTO)

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CHINA - 111 UNEASY TRUCE WITH MOSLEMS IN CHINA'S DESERT NORTHWEST

THEY ATTEND SEPARATE SCHOOLS AND HAVE COMPLETELY DIFFERENT LANGUAGES, DRESS, CUSTOMS AND RELIGIONS. TENSIONS SEEM TO BE HIGH.

TRAVELERS REPORTED SEEING CHINESE SOLDIERS DRIVE UP TO A GROUP OF YOUNG MUSLIMS IN A DESERT TOWN AND ATTACK THEM. IN MAY 1989, PEOPLE ANGERED BY A CHINESE-LANGUAGE BOOK ON MUSLIM HABITS DESTROYED COMMUNIST PARTY HEADQUARTERS IN URUMQI.

P..OF

THEY HAVE THEIR OWN PARTS OF TOWN AND YOU KNOW NOT TO GO THERE UNLESS YOU HAVE SOMETHING TO DO, AND YOU KNOW NOT TO STAY AFTER DARK. CHINESE WHO SPENT SEVERAL YEARS IN THE REGION. IT'S BEST TO AVOID CONTACT WITH THE UYGURS: THEY DON'T LIKE

----- SAID ANOTHER HAN, WHOSE FAMILY HAS LIVED MORE THAN 40 YEARS

THEIR OWN PARTS OF TOWN AND YOU KNOW NOT TO GO THERE UNLESS YOU HAVE SOMETHING TO DO, AND YOU KNOW NOT TO STAY AFTER DARK.

TWO CHILDREN MAY HAVE INSPIRED ANTI-CHINESE VIOLENCE. ABOUT 9 PERCENT OF CHINA'S 1.1 BILLION PEOPLE ARE SOCIALLY ALLOWED PRIVILEGED TREATMENT. THAT INCLUDES

FROM THE HAN CHINESE BUT IS

DETIES.

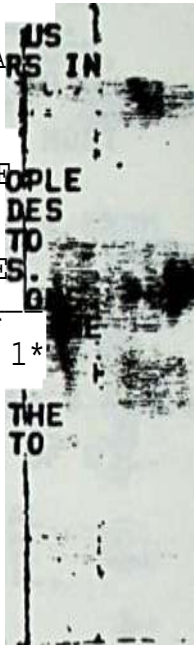
17 PRIVILEGES DOES NOT: IN ILLEGITIMES LIVE IN

DESERT MOUNTAINS IN TO FARMING, BUT HAVE 1

THAT ARE ILLEGAL AND VAST OIL AND MINORITIES

RECEIVE (PEOPLE RECEIVE UNDER DOLLARS) A YEAR BELONG

TITLE OF THE WEALTH GENERATED BY IRRIGATING AND MINING THE DESERT APPEARS TO HAVE REACHED THE MUSLIM MINORITY.



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ASIA - CHINA'S ECONOMIC FUTURE HINGES ON UNTAPPED OIL FIELD

WASHINGTON, SEPT. 9 (SPECIAL) - THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE BY ROBERT BENJAMIN APPEARS TODAY IN THE BALTIMORE SUN:

URUMQI, CHINA - THE TAKLAMAKAN DESERT IN CHINA'S FAR NORTHWESTERN XINJIANG AUTONOMOUS REGION IS SO VAST AND SO ARID THAT ITS NAME, IN A LOCAL DIALECT, MEANS "YOU GO IN, BUT YOU DON'T GO OUT."

BUT FOR THE LAST SEVEN YEARS, CHINA HAS BEEN POURING AS MUCH AS \$300 MILLION A YEAR AND AS MANY AS 10,000 WORKERS INTO THIS FORBIDDING PLACE.

THE HIGH-STAKES EFFORT IS AIMED AT EXPLORING WHAT IS WIDELY BELIEVED TO BE ONE OF THE WORLD'S LARGEST UNTAPPED FIELDS OF OIL - AND AT FIGURING OUT HOW TO EXTRACT THE OIL FROM THE DESERT'S FIERCE SANDS TO CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL AREAS THOUSANDS OF MILES TO THE EAST.

THE ANSWER TO HOW MUCH OIL IS BENEATH THE TARIM BASIN - A HUGE,

DETERMINING, JO

ISOLATED AREA THAT
GREAT DEGREE OF
AND THE ANSWER TO HOW TO
NEED TO END UP INVOLVING
THE WORLD'S LONGEST
PROJECT CUTS
LOT-STANQING POLICY*
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THE WORLD'S LONGEST
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UCER OF OIL IN:

CHINA'S
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CHINA IS THE LARGEST
PRODUCTION MARKET, AND
THOUGH, IS
INDUSTRIES.

THAN 5 PERCENT
ON COAL FOR ENERGY
S TRANSPORTATION

ASIA, BUT ITS TOTAL
OF THE TOTAL WORLD
ENERGY PRODUCTION. OIL,
ON AND FERTILIZER

THOUGH CHINA IS A NET EXPORTER OF OIL, ITS PRODUCTION FOR
SEVERAL YEARS HAS NOT BEEN SUFFICIENT TO MEET ITS OWN
INDUSTRIAL DEMANDS, RESULTING IN COSTLY ENERGY
SHORTAGES IN SOME INDUSTRIES.

WITH AN ANTICIPATED DECLINE IN OIL PRODUCTION IN THE DAQING OIL
FIELD IN NORTHWEST CHINA - NOW THE SOURCE OF ABOUT 40 PERCENT OF THE
NATION'S OIL PRODUCTION - CHINA IS EXPECTED TO BECOME A NET IMPORTER
OF OIL WITHIN A FEW YEARS AND TO HAVE TO RAPIDLY INCREASE ITS ANNUAL
OIL IMPORTS FROM THEN ON.

THAT IS A TURN OF EVENTS THAT CHINA WILL NOT BE ABLE TO AFFORD, MANY
EXPERTS THINK.

WITHOUT A LARGE SUPPLY OF OIL FROM THE TARIM BASIN. CHINA FACES A
FUTURE OF EVEN GREATER ENERGY SHORTAGES - SHORTAGES THAT IN TURN WOULD LEAD
TO SEVERE INDUSTRIAL CUTBACKS.

THE PRECISE ANSWER TO HOW MUCH OIL IS IN THE TARIM BASIN IS STILL
ABOUT FIVE YEARS AND HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS WORTH OF EXPLORATION
EFFORTS AWAY, SAID KANG MINGZHANG, A SPOKESMAN FOR CHINA'S NATIONAL
PETROLEUM CORPORATION.

HOWEVER, THE CONSENSUS AMONG MANY CHINESE OFFICIALS AND WESTERN OIL
EXPERTS IS THAT THE TARIM OIL RESERVES, WHILE NOT SO LARGE BY MIDDLE
EASTERN STANDARDS, COULD INCREASE CHINA'S KNOWN OIL RESERVES BY AS MUCH AS
30 PERCENT. AT THAT LEVEL, THE TARIM FIELDS COULD RIVAL THOSE OF ALASKA'S
NORTH SLOPE.

EVEN IF THAT AMOUNT OF RESERVES IS PINPOINTED IN THE TARIM BASIN, THE
AREA'S INHOSPITABLE WORKING CONDITIONS, DIFFICULT GEOLOGY AND TREMENDOUS
DISTANCE FROM CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL CENTERS COULD STILL MAKE LARGE-SCALE DRILLING
FINANCIALLY RISKY. (PTO)

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ASIA - TU CHINA'S ECONOMIC FUTURE HINGES ON UNTAPPED OIL FIELD

en.iTl^F2E^F!5I^u5li.It!.I^H! TARIH BASIN - WHICH BEGINS ABOUT 200 MILES f2H^T2^2LI^{HE} REB,ON S CAPITAL, URUMSI T FREQUENTLY REACH HORE THAN FE« SOURCES OF-WATER IN THE BASIN. AND EVERY OTHER ESSENTIAL FOR DRILLIN6 AND HUMAN LIFE WOULD MAVE T6 BE BROU6HT

ru!j^o,S^R.I,SLI^{HS} OIL EAST, 2.0D0-MILE-LON6 PIPELINE TO CENTRAL £2125,11 22RI^R SERIOUS CONSIDERATION. THE PIPELINE WOULD HAVE TO I??,V!52^E SEVERAL MOUNTAIN RAN6ES AND THAT COULD COST AS MUCH AS *6 BILLION.

JESPI^{TE} THE TARIM BASIN PROJECT'S NEED FOR MASSIVE INVESTMENT AND I2F.u.li??¹S>S 22ST ADVANCED OIL TECHNOLOGIES,. CHINA'S RULING STATE COUNCIL ??? 5fES,F^{TICKIN}B BY ITS LONG-STANDING POLICY OF ALLOUINS F?2FiS^N-Si^L f^{OH}PANIES To WORK ONLY IN THE COUNTRY'S OFFSHORE OIL COMPANIES⁰ RESERVINB ITS ASHORE OIL EXCLUSIVELY FOR CHINESE



ECONOMIC POLICY HAS A STRONG POLITICAL COMPONENT THESE DAYS. WITH CHINA'S DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION IN THE WORLD SINCE THE KILLINGS OF PRO-DEMOCRACY DEMONSTRATORS IN BEIJING IN JUNE LAST YEAR, THE 2!fcFrS^{UFFICIENT} SPIRIT THAT ENABLED CHINA TO DEVELOP ON ITS OWN THE DAQINE OIL FIELD - OFTEN CALLED 'THE DABING SPIRIT*' - HAS BEEN THE CENTERPIECE OF MUCH OF THE NATION'S RECENT INTERNAL PROPAGANDA.

BUT «S^{RE} THAN 30 FOREIGN OIL COMPANIES HAVE EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IN WORKING WITH THE CHINESE IN THE TARIM BASIN, MAINLY IN EXCHANGE FOR A SIZABLE SHARE OF THE OIL PROFITS. THOUGH THE FOREIGN COMPANIES HAVE BEEN REJECTED, THEY ARE HOPING THAT CHINA WILL RUN OUT OF MONEY, TECHNOLOGY AND TIME IN THE TARIM BASIN AND WILL TURN TO THEM OUT OF DESPERATION.

SOME FOREIGN EXPERTS THINK THAT IS PRECISELY WHAT WILL HAPPEN.

I FIND IT DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE THAT CHINA WILL BE ABLE TO FIND ENOUGH MONEY TO DO ALL THAT IT HAS TO DO IN OIL, GAS AND POWER," FRIDLEY SAID. *AS THE CHINESE ARE BACKED MORE AND MORE INTO A CORNER BY THE FINANCIAL NEEDS AND TECHNICAL CHALLENGES OF THE TARIM BASIN, THE FOREIGN COMPANIES WILL HAVE MORE LEVERAGE.*

IN THIS WAITING GAME, FOREIGN OIL COMPANIES' BEST ALLY MAY BE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN THE XINJIANG RE6ION, WHICH ACCOUNTS FOR A SIXTH OF CHINA'S TOTAL AREA AND, DESPITE A POTENTIAL WEALTH OF RESOURCES, REMAINS IMPOVERISHED RELATIVE TO CHINA'S EASTERN AREAS.

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CHINESE STUDENTS GO TO BRITAIN UNDER FRIENDSHIP SCHOLARSHIP

HONG KONG# SEPTEMBER 6 (XINHUA) - A TOTAL OF 309 CHINESE STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS HAVE BEEN CHOSEN TO GO TO BRITAIN IN .

^6fTrMfiE^ TO PURSUE

STUDIES AND RESEARCH WORK UNDER THE SINO-BRITISH FRIENDSHIP SCHOLARSHIP SCHEME# IT WAS REPORTED HERE TODAY

*THE SCHOLARSHIP HAS ESTABLISHED IN 1986 FOLLOWING A PROPOSAL OF PRO YUE-XONG, A SHIPPIER MAGNATE IN HONG KONG.

ITS TOTAL COST INVOLVE 35 MILLION POUNDS# WITH 28 MILLION POUNDS EVENLY SHARED BY THE YUE FAMILY AND THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OFFERED THE REST SEVEN MILLION POUNDS.

FROM 1987 TO 1997# STUDENTS RANGING FROM 350 TO 420 IN NUMBER WILL BE SENT TO BRITISH UNIVERSITIES EACH YEAR UNDER THE SCHEME.

THE SUBJECTS THEY CHOOSE ARE MAINLY IN SCIENCES# TECHNOLOGY AND ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT WHICH ARE EXPECTED TO HELP PROMOTE CHINA'S MODERNIZATION PROGRAM.

LAST YEAR# 336 CHINESE STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS WENT TO BRITAIN UNDER THE SCHOLARSHIP.

(XINHUA IN ENGLISH/SEPT. 6/88) gf

FIRST MINORITY NATIONALITIES ART DICTIONARY

NANNING# SEPTEMBER 6 (XINHUA) - THE COMPILING OF THE FIRST CHINESE MINORITY NATIONALITIES ART DICTIONARY WILL BE COMPLETED NEXT MONTH AFTER EIGHT YEARS WORK INVOLVING 400 PEOPLE.

THE BIRTH OF THE DICTIONARY WILL PROVIDE A STEPPING-STONE TO THE RICH N

COLORFUL TREASURE HOUSE OF MINORITY NATIONALITIES CULTURE AND ART# YANG XIUZHONG# THE CHIEF EDITOR OF THE DICTIONARY'S MUSIC SECTION# SAIGOM

THE MUSIC SECTION# THERE ARE FOUR OTHER SECTIONS - DRANCE# FINE ARTS# THEATRE AND COMPREHENSIVE SUBJECTS. THE 1000 PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS ACCOMPANYING THE 5500 ENTRIES REFLECT THE EVOLUTION OF MINORITY NATIONALITIES CULTURE AND ART OVER ABOUT 4000 YEARS.

THE DICTIONARY WILL COME OUT NEXT OCTOBER UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE CHINA ENCYCLOPEDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE.

(XINHUA IN ENGLISH/SEPT. 6/88) gf CHINA

ENCOURAGES PRIVATE HOUSING OWNERSHIP

BEIJING# SEPTEMBER 6 (XINHUA) - CHINA IS ENCOURAGING PEOPLE TO BUY AND BUILD THEIR OWN HOUSES# ENDING AN ALMOST UNIVERSAL PRACTICE OF HAVING THE STATE UNITS PROVIDE HOUSING FOR THEIR WORKERS, I \

AND THE GOVERNMENT WILL SET UP MORTGAGE LOANS TO HELP INDIVIDUALS PURCHASE# CHINA YOUTH NEWS* SAID.

THE GOVERNMENT SOLD 4.623 MILLION SQUARE METERS OF PUBLICLY-OWNED APARTMENTS TO INDIVIDUALS LAST YEAR. SALES WERE IN 212 CITIES AND 43 COUNTY TOWNS.

THEY INCLUDED 62,247 NEWLY BUILT APARTMENTS COVERING 4.203 MILLION SQUARE METERS AND 15,120 OLDER APARTMENTS WITH A TOTAL FLOOR SPACE OF 420,000 SQUARE METERS# THE PAPER SAID.

(XINHUA IN ENGLISH/SEPT. 6/88) gf

XINHUA ON SINO-SOVIET BORDER TRADE

BEIJING, AUGUST 29 <XINHUA> - HEILONGJIANG PROVINCE AND THE XINJIANG UYGUR AUTONOMOUS REGION) BOTH OF WHICH BORDER ON THE SOVIET UNION) ARE HOPING FOR SUBSTANTIAL BORDER TRADE INCREASES THIS YEAR.

HEILONGJIANG PROVINCE 1 ("NORTHEAST CHINA STRUCK TRADE DEALS WORTH 250 MILLION SWISS FRANCS WITH THE FAR EASTERN REGION OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE FIRST HALF OF THIS YEAR) SIX TIMES THE 1987 FIGURE) THE 'GUANGMING DAILY' REPORTED TODAY.

THE XINJIANG REGION IN NORTHWEST CHINA IS EXPECTED TO SIGN TRADE CONTRACTS VALUED AT 200 MILLION SWISS FRANCS WITH FIVE REPUBLICS IN THE WESTERN SOVIET UNION THIS YEAR) TEN TIMES THE , 1987 FIGURE) ACCORDING TO THE OVERSEAS EDITION OF THE 'PEOPLE'S' DAILY'.

UNLIKE TRADE BETWEEN CHINA AND WESTERN COUNTRIES) MOST TRADE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION IS IN THE FORM OF BARTER. THIS DOES NOT AFFECT THE FOREIGN CURRENCY SITUATION IN EITHER COUNTRY.

HEILONGJIANG SHARES A BORDER OF 3,000 KILOMETERS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. NOW) 30 COUNTIES AND CITIES AND 90 ENTERPRISES IN THE PROVINCE HAVE THE POWER TO TRADE DIRECTLY WITH THEIR SOVIET COUNTERPARTS

FOUR COUNTIES IN HEILONGJIANG - DR HINGGAN LING? RAOHE?

HUMA AND XUNKE - HAVE FORGED TRADE TIES WITH FOUR CITIES IN THE FAR EASTERN REGION OF THE SOVIET UNION.

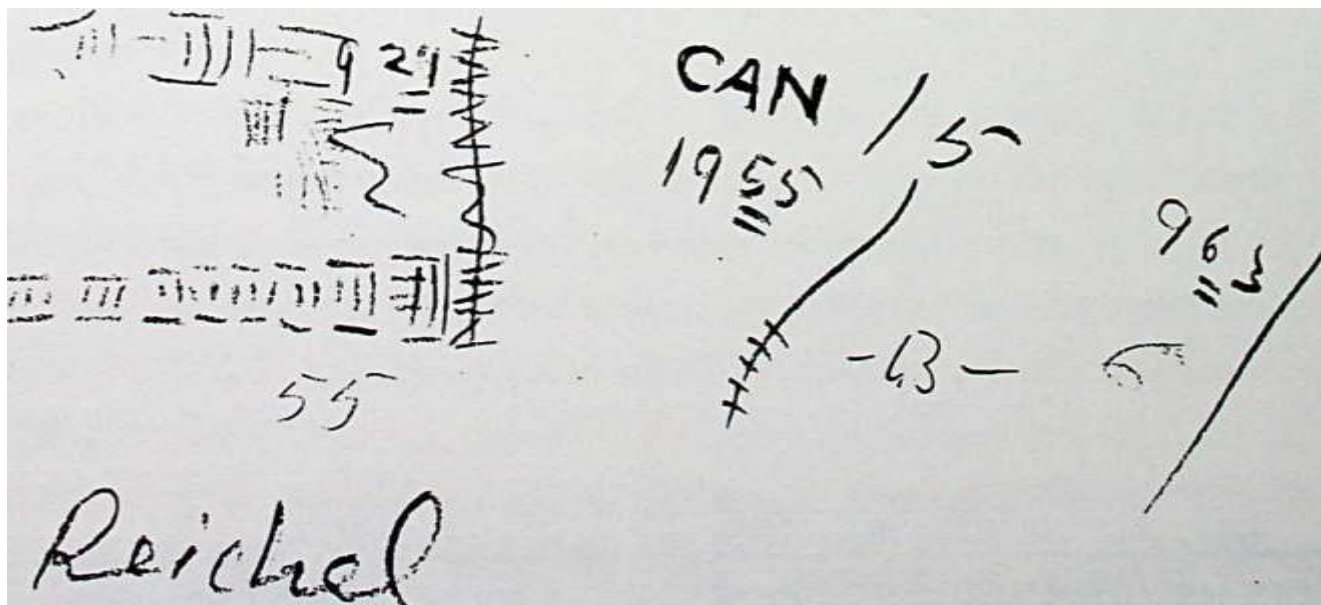
THEY HAVE LAUNCHED 45 COOPERATIVE PROJECTS WITH THEIR SOVIET PARTNERS. THESE COVER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION? FARM PRODUCT PROCESSING? TREE FELLING? FORESTRY PROCESSING? CONSTRUCTION? RMB PRODUCTION OF BUILDING MATERIALS? FARM MACHINES? CLOTHING AND FOODSTUFFS.

THE COOPERATION HAS TAKEN THE FORM OF JOINT VENTURES? CO-PRODUCTION AND CO-MANAGEMENT? TECHNOLOGY IMPORTS AND THE PROCESSING OF CUSTOMER-SUPPLIED MATERIALS.

SOME 10,000 HEILONGJIANG WORKERS WILL GO TO THE SOVIET UNION LATER THIS YEAR AND NEXT YEAR TO WORK ON ENGINEERING PROJECTS AND LABOR SERVICES.

A PROVINCIAL OFFICE WILL BE SET UP SOON TO COORDINATE AND MANAGE HEILONGJIANG'S BORDER TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

(XINHUA IN ENGLISH/B, AUG. 29/88) gf





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 UIRFT SOUJETUNION AUFTBTACHELUNG VON ETHNISCHEN UNRUHEN

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PEKING, 29. AUGUST (AFP) - DIE CHINEGISCHEN MEDIEN HABEN DIE SOUJETUNION DAVOR GEWARNT, IN DER REGION XINJIANG AN DER GRENZE ZUR SOUJETREPUBLIK KASACHSTAN ETHNISCH BEDINGTE AUSEINANDERSETZUNGEN ZU SCHUEREN.

IN EINER OERTLICHEN ZEITUNG HIESSEN ES, EINE KLEINE MINDERHEIT SOUHOHL IN CHINA ALS AUCH IM AUSLAND VERSUCHE, DIE EINHEIT DES VATERLANDES UND DER ETHNISCHEN MINORITAETEN IN DEM GRENZGEBIET YILI IN DER REGION XINJIANG ZU UNTERGRABEN.

IN DER VERGANGENHEIT HAETTEN DIE "KRAEFTE DER AGGRESSION" AUS DER SOUJETUNION, DEUTSCHLAND UND GROEBRITANNIEN INNER WIEDER VERSUCHT, XINJIANG DEN CHINESISCHEN REICH ZU ENTREISSEN, SCHRIEB DER STELLVERTRETENDE PARTEI-GENERALSEKRETAER DER REGION, JANBIL.

ER BETONTE, ALLE KONPLOTTVERSUCHE, DIE EINE SEPARATISTISCHE HINDERHEIT ANZETTELE, UM CHINA ZU SPALTEN, SEIEN ZUM SCHEITERN VERURTEILT.

DIE OERTLICHE REGIERUNG HATTE IN DEN VERGANGENEN WOCHEN NEHRFACH UEBER SEPARATISTISCHE UNRUHEN IN DER VON VIELEN HINDERHEITEN BEUOHNTE REGION BERICHTET, ABER NIEMALS SO DIREKTE VORWUERFE AN DIE ADRESSE DER SOUJETUNION BERICHTET.

IN JULI HATTEN DIE MEDIEN BERICHTET, EINE KLEINE HINDERHEIT HABE SICH GEGEN DIE CHINESISCHE BEVOELKERUNGSMehrheit DER HAN AUFGELEHNT. IN DEM YILI-GEBIET LEBEN UNTER ANDEREM HUNDERTTAUSENDE VON ISLAMISCHEN KASACHEN SOWIE UIGUREN. WAEHREND DER GRENZSTREITigkeiten IN DEN 60IGER JAHREN WAREN ZEHNTAUSENDE KASACHEN IN DIE SOUJETUNION GEFLUECHTET.

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ASIA - AUTHORITIES WARN OF SEPARATIST RIOTS IN MOSLEM WEST CHINA

PEKING, /AUGICTTREUTER ~ AUTHORITIES IN XINJIANG, WEST CHINA, HAVE ISSUED A "IUUUH WARNING AGAINST SEPARATIST RIOTS IN THE LATEST SIGN QF_E.TtiNJ.QUinRESXUN..THE MOSLEM-DOMINATED REGION.

'THOSE WHO CAUSE RIOTS WILL^TTTOND'effINEiy-R'8R-GEMERATIONS, CAST OUT BY THE...PEQP.LE.-i3F^AU-.~ETHNIC GROUPS ... AND PUNISHED ACCORDING TO THE,LAW,'.. SAID .A JPM.M.UNI.S.TL. PARTY DOCUMENT QUOTED BY THE XINJIANG DAILY REACHING PEKING ON WEDNESDAY.

THE DOCUMENT WARNED "6F '~' 'SfPARSYTST INFILTRATION * 1 FROM ABROAD AND SAID GROUPS INSIDE XINJIANG WERE 1'OUT TO SPLIT THE MOTHERLAND AND~DESTRaY ETHKn C UNITY'.. *

- 1'i ■ CfflxETTFUFT"A"CAMPAIGN AGAINST SEPARATISM BUT ALSO CRITICISED XINJIANG'S .SIX .MILLION HAN CHINESE SETTLERS FOR PREJUDICE AGAINST THE EIGHT MILLION CENTRAL ASIAN MOSLEMS, THE DAILY DATED AUGUST 4 REPORTED,!

'~IN JUNE, SEVERAL HUNDRED XINJIANG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS OF THE MOSLEM UYGUR ETHNIC GROUP MARCHED THROUGH URUMQI, THE REGION'S CAPITAL., _IN A PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION AGAINST PLANS TO MAKE THEM SHARE DORMITORIES WITH HAN CHINESE.

NO OTHER RECENT UNREST HAS BEEN REPORTED BUT MUCH OF THE REMOTE REGION BORDERING SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA IS CLOSED TO FOREIGNERS. THE STATE-CONTROLLED~M-DYA 'RARELY"BTVES DETAILS OF .ETHNIC CONFLICT.

WESTERN SOURCES IN URUMQI SAID NEW BIRTH CONTROL RULES IMPOSED LAST MONTH LIMITING MOSLEMS TQ. TWO OR THREE CHILDREN PER COUPLE HAD CAUSED RESENTMENT AMONG MANY CENTRAL ASIANS WHO WERE PREVIOUSLY EXEMPT FROM PEKING'S TOUGH POPULATION POLICIES.

THE AUTHORITIES HAVE CALLED ON MOSLEM CLERGY NOT TO OPPOSE THE BIRTH RULES, CLAIMING THAT THEY ACCORD WITH THE KORAN.

WANG ENMAO, THE REGION'S FORMER COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARY, TOLD A MEETING OF OFFICIALS IN JULY THAT GROUPS OF SEPARATIST CONSPIRATORS WERE"ACTIVE IN PARTS OF XINJIANG AND DENOUNCED THEM AS 'SCUM AND TRAITORS'..!

RAM'SETTLERS FROM EAST CHINA HOLD MOST LEADING PARTY POSTS IN XINJIANG, WHILE RURAL MOSLEMS IN THE SOUTH OF THE REGION ARE AMONG THE POOREST IN THE COUNTRY.

UMTLL"*THE'n-W?'COMMUMIST TAKEOVER, CHINA MAINTAINED ONLY LOOSE CONTROL OVER XINJIANG, WHICH IS GEOGRAPHICALLY AND CULTURALLY CLOSER TO THE MIDDLE EAST THAN TO PEKING. MANY XINJIANG UYGURS HAVE EMIGRATED uS. TURKEY SINCE 1949.

^*^WS^tS'NjM'yinJIANG^TS*^5AYZAWAT COUNTY STAGED AN ARMED UPRISING ^AGAINST JCRINESEvRULE, JRI THE EARLY ..1.980S WHICH WAS CRUSHED BY ARMY]UNITS. THE NEARBV. CITY OF KASHGAR WAS""PARALYSED-BY ANTT-CHINESE J-.RIOTING IN 1981.\

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(THE ABOVE WILL APPEAR IN THE FEATURES FILE.)

Die schweren Unruhen an Chinas Seidenstrasse

Vorbereitung

der Nationalitätenpolitik

von K. L. Fitting, 27. Jg. 1990

Entgegen mten offiziellen chinesischen S*dmassnahmen waren die schweren Unruhen in der strategisch bedeutenden Westregion Xinjiang Anfang April mehr als nur ein begrenztes lokales Ereignis. Die generelle Verh*rtung in der chinesischen Nationalitätenpolitik macht fiberdies einen Dialog mit dem Dalai Lama fiber erweiterte Autonomierechte f*ur Tibet ebenso unwahrscheinlich. B*ch wie die baldige Aufhebung des vor nonraehr Cast 14 Monate verhlngten Kriegsrechts fiber



• Erste offizielle Beschreibung

Die erste offizielle Beschreibung, was sich Anfang April an der alten Seidenstrasse in Chinas fernem Westen zugetragen hat, hatte ein osteurop*ischer Botschafter in Peking; sie ist eine wahre *Greuelgeschichte*. Die Regionalregierung in Urumqi hatte zwei chinesische Unterh*ndler in die von Kirgisen bewohnte Gemeinde Baren im s*udwestlichsten Zipfel von Xinjiang geschickt, am in dem Streit, der zwischen Einwohnern und Behörden um den Bau einer neuen Moschee entbrannt war, zu *ermitteln*. Doch der Versuch - so erz*hlten leitende Beamte des Ministeriums f*ur Staatssicherheit dem Diplomaten - nahm in der von Hass und Rachege*ulosten aufgeputschten Atmosphäre ein gr*ussliches Ende. Die beiden M*anner, ungl*ubliche Fremdlinge und obendrein f*ur Vertreter der chinesischen Staatsgewalt, wurden f*ur von fanatischen Muslimen auf grausame Weise umgebracht, ihre K*opfe abgeschnitten und in einem wilden Demonstrationszug auf Stangen f*ur den Ort getragen.

Ober das noch blutigere Nachspiel am 5. und 6. April, bei dem nach offiziellen Angaben 22 f*uhrende und bewaffnete chinesische Sicherheitskr*afte umkamen, nach Darstellung von Reisenden indessen mindestens 50 Menschen get*otet wurden, hat das Provinzfernsehen von Xinjiang am vergangenen Sonntag die verspl*etete amerikanische Version verbreitet und schwerste Anklagen er*obeten. Danach waren die Unruhen, die *hnlich wie im Fall des tibetischen Lhasa vor der Verh*ngung des Kriegsrechts vor fiber einem Jahr als «konterrevolution*re Rebellion» klassifiziert werden, das Werk «einer Handvoll von Gesetzesbrechern», die der unwissenden Bev*olkerung die K*opfe verdrehen und darauf aus sind, die Kommunistische Partei und ihre Regierung zu st*urzen.

Widerepruch

Dem durc* die offizielle Darstellung vermittelten Eindruck, dass die Unruhen in dem in die UdSSR grenzenden autonomen District Kizilzu, wo die meisten der rund 120 000 Kirgisen Xinjiang leben, nur ein begrenzter lokaler Zwischenfall waren, widerspreche Berichte von ausl*andischen Touristen, aber auch Meldungen in der Regionalpresse. Laut O*ngjiang Ribao, der amtlichen Tageszeitung, wurde zur gleichen Zeit im benachbarten Artush ein W*affen- und Munitionslager von Muslimrebell*en *berfallen; und im weit n*ordlich gelegenen Yili, dem Hauptsiedlungsgebiet der rund eine Million chinesischen Kasa-

chen, schlugen Sk*andale nach der gleichen Quelle «apararistische Organisationen». Noch f*ur den 12. April erz*hlten Augenzeugen von tumuhartigen Protestkundgebungen in der Provinzhauptstadt Urumqi, wo aufgebracht*en Uiguren - nur einem Anteil von knapp der H*lfte an der Gesamtbev*olkerung die bei weitem gr*osste der muslimischen Minderheiten unter den 14 Millionen Einwohnern Xinjiangs - gegen das Massaker von Baren demonstrierten. Berichte, wonach in gr*osserem Umfang mit Beginn des Aufbruchs Truppenverst*arkungen in und um das Krisengebiet eingeflogen wurden, fanden zwar keine offizielle Best*atigung, wurden von chinesischer Seite bisher aber auch nicht dementiert. Abgesehen von periodischen Zwischenf*allen herrschte *jahrelang weitgehend Ruhe* in dem im vorigen Jahrhundert von russischen und britischen Expansionsinteressen umklumpten Vielv*olkergebiet Ostturkestan, das schon durch ein Dekret des Qing-Kaisers 1884 in die Provinz Xinjiang (Sinldang, Neue Grenz) umbenannt wurde und H*ann 1955 unter den neuen kommunistischen H*errschern mit einer Fliche von mehr als der Gr*osse Frankreichs und Deutschlands zusammen in die *gr*osste autonome Region* der Volksrepublik umgewandelt wurde. Auch der i

kurzlebige Kirgisenaufstand Anfang der achtziger Jahre um die einst f*uhrende an t*urke Oasen- und Handeltstadt Kashgar, wo die s*udliche und n*ordliche Route der Seidenstrasse zusammenliefen, er*oberte nur sehr entfernt an die beiden grossen Sezessionsbewegungen, die es in diesem Jahrhundert gegeben hat. Das war 1933, als islamische Nationalisten f*ur einige Monate die T*urkestanische Islamische Republik Ostturkestan proklamierten. Sie fand eine Nachfolgerin in der Unabh*ngigen Republik Ostturkestan, die 1944 mit sowjetischer Unterst*utzung von uigurischen und kasachischen Rebellen im grenznahen Yili gegr*undet wurde und sich de facto bis 1949 halten konnte.

Funke der Secession

Erst seit Mitte vergangenen Jahres und besonders nach den Zusammenst*ossen zwischen muslimischen Widerstandskampfern und Truppen im sowjetischen Tadschikistan im Februar zeigt sich in der P*rovinz zunehmende Nervosit*at, dass der Funke der Sezession fiberspringen und der strategische Vorposten Xinjiang, eines der wichtigsten Rohstoffgebiete des Landes und gleichzeitig Standort des gr*osten nuklearen Testgelandes in China, ein zweites Tibet werden k*onnte. Sicherheitsminister Wang fang halte bereits im vergangenen August bei einer Reise durch die Region v*erschw*orerische separatistische K*raften ausgem*acht und bezichtigte «die USA und andere L*ander» des Versuchs, «unser Land zu spalten und zu unterwandern». Der Provinzgouverneur Tomur Dewamat, der aus unerkl*arten Gr*unden Ministerpr*asident Li Feng diese Woche nach Moskau begleitete, riefete dann am Natio-

CHINA - NZZ REPORTS...

naten VoOcskoogms kn Mkz *dm* anktagenden Roger dirda gegen dk Sowjetanjan and apracfa von den anheOvoUen Bnfrowm <ks nch global ambnteden abQrgerikhen libcraliimus*.

Die Namen der iieben separatistiachen Organi-
Htionen, die Chinas StaatssicbeAdt aufgespflrt hat,
von dem cKomhee zur Rettung Ostturke- tBans» bis
zur <^Jlianz ftrr do firiciei Oatturkesfan.

Mongol el MnyMinrei imd Tibet*, wcken alte
Erinneungcn; und et to nicht ausgcgeschlossen, dass
pantQrkiscfie Altnationahsta wie der 89jftH* rige
fro Jusuf AptekL der etnmal GeneralsekretAr der
Unahhngigcn Republik Oatturkestan war and
heute in Iatanbul lebt die Gunst der Stundc fDr ein
letztes Comeback zu nutzen versudien; ebenso ist
nicfat auszuschlicascn, dass islamische
RimtunwiHiitfHi FinfliMCK ausQben.

Verbitterang ttber Pridnw Umspringen mil den Minderaeilen

Den eigenflichen Nihiboden (hr Unruhe, Ver-
Wterung und SezessionsgelQste hat jedoch die
chinesische Minderheheapolitik geschaffcn, die dch
unter dem Schock der inneren *Anfldungs-
trshetnungen*, gegen den aicfa die koamunisd-
scfae Hemcfaaft mit Gewalt stemmt, nach einer
reladv liber&len Phase ebenfalls wieder verhArtet
hat Das macfat sich in emzclnen Eatschddungen zur
Beschrnkung der Religionsfreiheit und zur
VerschArfung der *GeburtenkontroUe* aucfa bei den
KfinderheitenstAmmen bemerkbar. So hat die
Regierung im MARz eine filr die Gebiete der Mus-
Kme einschneidende Verf&gung erlassen, die prin-
zipiell den Neubau von *Moscheen* untersagt, die
Grflndung von Koranschulen verbietet und damit
vennudich auch den jQngsten bludgen Konflikt in
Baren mitverureacht hat

DarQber hinaus scheint die FOhrung in Peking
unter dem Druck der Ereignisse weniger denn je
bereit zu sein, Ober eine *ErwcUentng des Autono-
miebtgriffs* nachzudenken, was auch die Voraus-
setzung ware, am die festgefahrcnen Fronten im
TibetkonfWa wieder in Bewegung zu bringen. Der
Vorsitzende der Staatskommission fQr Minder-
beitenfragen, Minister Ismail Amat selbst ein Uigure,
sagte dazu kfllrzlich in einem Interview, die Schafiung
eines aftderalistischen Sy- stems» in kein Weg zur
Ldsung von Natio- nalitStenproblemen sei und
solcfae Vorschlage lediglich darauf abzielten, das
Ijmd zu spalten. Unter diesen Bedingungen ist ein
Dialog zwi- schen Peking und dem Dalai Lama
ebensowenig zu erwarten wie Aussicht besteht, dass
das Kriegs-¹ recfat Ober Lhasa bald aufgehoben wird.

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Chinese Muslim unrest hits

ISLAMABAD, June 7 (R) -- A Muslim unrest in China's far western Xinjiang region has shut lucrative tourism with neighboring Pakistan through the fabled Silk Road, according to tour operators.

The road's annual opening for the summer tourist season has been delayed for more than a month, and Pakistani officials say they are unsure when China will allow tourists to pass through the 16,000-foot (4,877 meter) high Khunjerab Pass.

This is a tremendous loss to tourism in Pakistan's northern areas as well as to Xinjiang, an official said.

The official said he was unsure if the road will be open to tourists in Xinjiang.

separatist activities. Pakistani government's tourism division secretary Shahid Hussein said the Chinese authorities had blamed poor road conditions on their side for keeping the Khunjerab Pass, the world's highest border crossing, closed.

But private tour operators said the Kashgar riots were the real cause. Hussein said he planned to meet the Chinese ambassador in Islamabad in the next few days about the matter.

Another official, who did not want to be named, said the message from Beijing, "unavoidable," being responsible for the closure of what he said in Beijing had informed Chinese tourists that the road was closed.

Pak tourism

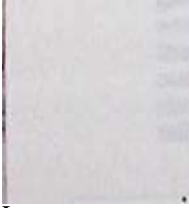
But he declined comment on widespread belief among diplomats in Beijing that the Kashgar troubles was the reason.

About 50 people, mostly Muslims of the ethnic Kirghiz minority, were said to have been killed in clashes with security forces near Kashgar in April, according to Western media.

The Khunjerab Pass, lying at the end of Pakistan's Chinese-built 756-km Karakoram Highway, was opened for tourists in 1986.

Last year, about 38,000 tourists crossed through the pass during six months it remained open, most of them Pakistanis, a tourism official said, with an average \$300,000 exchanged daily at the border at the height of the tourist season. One tour operator said his agency was asking tourists to fly to Pakistan from China after visiting Xinjiang regional capital Urumqi, which remains open to foreigners. Similarly the foreign tourists coming to Pakistan were being advised to fly to China because of the closure of the Silk Road.

A.N. Vane 8, 1990



Munich, July 12 - (NCA) - following article appeared in the weekly magazine FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW of July 12, 1990

Border republics strive to increase trade ties

By Ahmad RaaNd In

Central Asian republics are rapidly expanding.

China and the Far East, to depend on whether nationalist and religious unity among the Uighurs, an ancient people who straddle the border, will cause Peking in particular to apply the brakes.

On the Soviet side, cross-border trade is getting top-level support. "We want to improve our relations with foreign countries, free of control from the conditions of dictatorship from the centre. We have to be responsible to our own people to improve their living standards," Nursultan Nazarbaev, president of the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan, told visiting reporters recently. Following Moscow's lifting of trade monopolies held by central government bodies in May 1968, the republic set up its own trade organisation, Kazakhintorg.

Nazarbaev's comments, in which he criticised Moscow for environmental pollution in Kazakhstan and the continuation of nuclear tests at Semipalatinsk, demonstrate how the staid Central Asian communist parties are, for the first time, being pushed by grassroots opposition movements and weakening economic conditions to assert themselves against Moscow.

Russians and Kazakhs in Alma Ata see the key to economic reforms and prosperity as being improved ties with China, Japan and the Far East. Establishing diplomatic relations with South Korea, which was considerably advanced by the 4 June meeting in Washington between Soviet President KfirhaO Gorbachov and his South Korean opposite number Roh Tae Woo, is a long-standing demand of the Central Asian republics.

The key will be a rail connection. Currently, goods are carried by trade convoys to trans-shipment dumps 2 km inside China and reloaded onto Chinese tracks. Northeast of Alma Ata, the Kazakh capital, a railway spur from the Turkafo (Turkistan-Siberia) line to the Chinese border was completed by the Soviets in the early 1950s when areas of Xinjiang — now part of China's Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region which borders the Soviet Union — were under Moscow's control. But while these areas were handed back to the victorious Chinese communists in 1949, they declined to link the connection into China's rail system.

AayOchan MukhaxnbetkaHye, deputy head of Kazakhintorg, adds the Chinese were now working on the last 50 km section of the line — financed by Soviet credits given in 1988 — while the Soviets

are pushing the idea of a "Silk Road" tourist train. The proposed train would run from Peking, through Xian and Urumchi, across the border via the new railway to the Transcaucasus railway and the historical cities of Central Asia en route to Europe. The Chinese have not so far reacted to the idea, one official said.

Restiveness among the border populations, however, may make Chinese security officials reluctant about extensive contacts — though Soviet officials said they had detected no change in attitude immediately after the April uprising in Xinjiang town.

An estimated 5 million Uighurs live in China's Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. Another 300,000 Uighurs, displaced first by revolutionary unrest in 1948 and then by the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s, fled China to Soviet Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and Uzbekistan, where they were settled on collective farms. Like other Asian nationalities, the Uighurs are asserting their own need for autonomy and identity.

One of the oldest known Turkic-speaking people, the Uighurs established a nomadic empire in the 8th century — four centuries before Genghis Khan established the Mongol empire. In 1860, an Uighur uprising against Chinese rule was crushed with the help of Tsarist generals. Russia and China divided Uighur territory between them under a treaty in 1881, which the Uighurs still consider to mark the start of joint Chinese-Russian oppression against them. Since the early 1960s, some 4 million Han Chinese have moved into Xinjiang, displacing many Uighurs and causing deep resentment among them. "Nobody believes in the Chinese Government and nobody reports them. There is a lot of unemployment because the Han have taken the jobs of the Uighurs," an Uighur journalist in Alma Ata said.

Some 50 people were killed in Xinjiang during April after Chinese militia put down a revolt in the town of Baren near Kashgar, 240 km from the Soviet border. The Chinese blamed Muslim fundamentalists among the Uighurs for staging an uprising to set up an independent Otinese Turkistan. Otinese Premier Li PB^ conferred with Soviet leaders visiting Peking in April on how to deal with the unrest. Islamic fervour and pan-Turkism are ideals shared both by Soviet and Chinese Uighurs.

"If the Uighurs in Otina take up the idea of independence then we would support them, but here the Soviets have treated us well," said Karimov Ahmdzan, editor of the newspaper *Yero Ova/at*, which is published in the Uighur language using Arabic script. However, he added that the Otinese government has paid enough attention to the nationality problem. The questions are being asked but no answers are being given." The dozen Uighur journalists on the newspaper all fled from China to the 1960s and maintain close links with their relatives across the border — and all are bitter about Chinese policy towards Uighurs.

At a Soviet collective farm near the Chinese border, Uigur peasants now proudly emphasise their language, cultural traditions and religion. Although the Koran has not been translated into the Uighur language in the Soviet Union, it has been in Otina, and Soviet Uighurs use the Otinese Koran. In addition, many Uighurs also speak Arabic. They maintain their ancient *dan* system whereby the riders, led by the *Jagitbashi*, or chief rider, act as a council to resolve local problems. *Jagitbashi* Tuk-tasun Bbhan said he acts as judge and mullah and officiates over ceremonies. He remains bitterly anti-Chinese. "I know of the cruelty of Mao Zedong and how the Chinese are now swamping us. Xinjiang is a rich territory and that is why the Chinese want to control it," he said.

Both Otina and the Soviet Union fear any weakening of Uighur national identity, especially if they link up in the future with other Islamic fundamentalist or

countries After the April ¹⁹⁴⁸ both Kaahgar, • Chinese ~~report~~ reki the Afghan mujahideen hod supped the rebels with arms and the unrest WM led by an Mamie party. The same Mamie party is now one of me more prominent underground MmBm movements in Soviet Uzbekistan and T^Ddstan, and is demanding an Mamie confederation to bring together toe Central Asian nationalities. There are un-1 confirmed rumours tort the party is bufld-tog up Mnlā in boto Qvneae and Soviet Central Asia, as well as in Afghanistan.

What is dear h tori toe Ughurs are no longer prepared to be dominated by toe two communist neighbours who, in toexr view, have encroached upon their ancestral lands. The pottkal reforms in Moscow have hardly touched Central Asia, while Peking still relies on brute force to impose its will. If toe Soviet Union and China wish to tee peace and atabQity along their common Central Asian border, both will have to give greater national and cultural autonomy to their Ifighurs. ■

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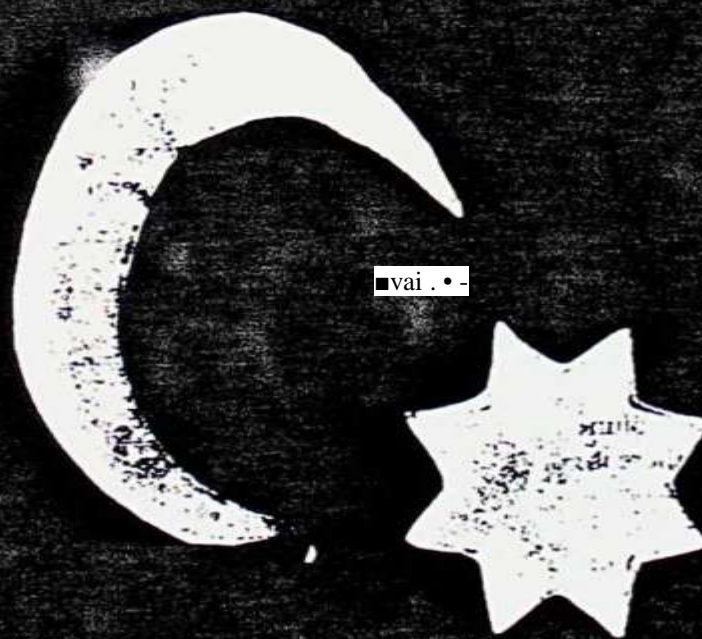
**BUSINESS:
HONGKONG GETS
READY FOR 1997**

ASIAWEEK

APRIL 13, 1990

TURKESTAN!

**From Istanbul to China,
Ethnic Turks Find
Common Cause**



*Raising The Flag Of
Azerbaijan*

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Demonstrator* in Turkey rally in support of their Azeri "brothers": Across Central Asia nationalism is on the boil

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CENTRAL ASIA

Turks Awake, Russians Quake

C When ethnic violence erupted in the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan in January, the thing that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev most dreaded was Islamic revival. For with it, he

Slavic heartland. But while it is well known that Islam prevails in the officially secular republics of Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan and Turkmenistan, it is much less understood that most of these people are Turks.

The Soviets are meticulous classifiers of people by race. The 1979 census detailed

104 ethnic groups, some so small it seemed absurd to count them (21 had fewer than 5,000 people). This is because Lenin's constitution enshrines the theoretical integrity of the "nationalities" and the legitimacy of their cultural aspirations. But the lists ignore with equal thoroughness the relation of each ethnic group to another. What the "census doesn't say is that the

knew, would come nationalism. Indeed, there were persistent reports that Azeri militants had crossed the briefly unguarded border with Iran to confer with long-divided kin — and had returned with guns and Korans. Such trouble was hardly unexpected: for many years the CIA, to say nothing of the KGB, has been predicting unrest in the Soviet Union's "Muslim underbelly," an enormous swath of Central Asia where the task of suppressing nationalism is potentially very difficult — and where the birth rate is much higher than in the

Muslima pray in Azerbaijan: Guns and Korans



12,456,000 carefully enumerated Uzbeks are a branch of the Turkish people, as are 6,556,000 Kazakhs, 6,317,000 Tatars and 5,477,000 Azeris. In addition to the 50 million Turks of Turkey, there are perhaps 95 million other Turkish-roakin people occupying 12 million square kilometres of "Turkestan" — as Turkic irredentists like to call it — stretching from the Balkans through Central Asia to the Pacific coast, and from the Arctic to the Antarctic. "Turks are indigenous to

Iran (where they number 8 million or 16% of the population), to China, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Cyprus, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania and Yugoslavia. Emigrants have settled in Germany, Sweden and the United States. More than 16 million ethnic Turks — mainly Uigurs

— live in China's Xinjiang and Tibet provinces. Says Istanbul-based Yusuf Donmez, author of *The Turkic World*: "They may call it Xinjiang, but we call it Dogu (East) Turkestan."

Adds Istanbul University history professor, Dr. Abdulkadir Donuk: "The Turkic peoples seem to be living outside modern Turkey." For decades nationalism has lain dormant among these scattered peoples. But Gorbachev's *glasnost* and *perestroika* have blown the lid off what could be an explosive reassertion of identity. From China to Cyprus Turkic nationalism is on the boil.

One binding force is Islam. Turkic peoples embraced the faith as early as the seventh century, though the majority converted centuries later. But, says author Donmez, the people are Turks first and Muslims second. "Some of us are Shia, others Sunni. But we're all Turks. When I think of the Azeri, I think of them as Turkish brothers." Despite efforts in Iran

split, says Donmez, "this doesn't matter." Soviet Muslims look to Turkey rather than Iran for leadership. This puts Turkey in an awkward position. For 70 years Ankara has discouraged pan-Turkic sentiments. And with its internal problems (see box, page 41) and economic headaches, Turkey

may explode is the Kremlin's constant nightmare. Only 52% of the Soviet population is Russian, only 72% is Slav. And — horror of horrors — as many as 80 million Turkic speakers may soon raise the flag of Turkestan. Nationalist aspirations were

has no desire for a showdown with Moscow. Meanwhile the rising tide of Turkic nationalism comes at a time when Gorbachev is beset on all sides with secessionist republics in the Baltic and Caucasian republics are more active in their attempts to overthrow Russian domination, the former republics, culturally even less committed, have the potential to destroy the Soviet Union. That current restiveness

VT927 Central Asia was colonised with Russians and Ukrainians, especially Kazakhstan, where Slavs today are 48% and Turks 41%. But the population of the Turkic-speaking republics is growing three times faster. Stalin forcibly relocated ethnic Turks from Georgia and Uigurs from the Chinese border to sparsely populated Central Asia. Indeed, he thought of it as a convenient dumping ground for obstreperous minorities.

LINKS

Bridging an Ancient Gap



Asia is linked to Europe physically as well as symbolically at Istanbul. The massive steel cables of two spectacular suspension bridges tie the continents together with endless streams of traffic. The Fateh Sultan Mehmet Bridge, opened in 1988, is the sixth-longest

span in the world (1,090 metres between the pylons). Sixteen kilometres west is the Bosphorus Bridge. Opened in 1973, it is the world's seventh-longest bridge (1,074 metres).

The 32-km-long Bosphorus waterway is nowhere wider than 2.1 km. The strait opens at its northern end into the Black Sea and at the other — the site of Istanbul — into the Sea of Marmara, which narrows into the Dardanelles be-

fore finally joining the Mediterranean.

For 2,000 years the outlying districts on the Asian side were reached only by ferry. Throughout the Byzantine Empire (to 1453) and the Ottoman Empire (to 1922) the suburbs on the Asian flank were prized as weekend retreats by the wealthy, but the population grew slowly. The Bosphorus Bridge opened suburbs for speedy commuting to the heart of the sprawling metropolis of eight million people. But now, say citizens, the bridge's nightmarish traffic makes it more of a bar-

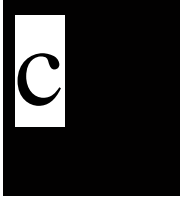
Traffic on the Bosphorus: Unking two continents



rier. The daily rumble of 150,000 cars, buses and trucks has pitted the road surface. The new bridge carries only 6% of the traffic of the old and has not relieved the congestion as it does not serve central Istanbul. But a planned freeway connecting main arteries will push the city limits north and open up new

DIRECTIONS

Asia or Europe?



In 1856, the Ottoman Sultan Abdulmead I broke with 400 years of tradition and moved out of the Topkapi, the palace

of his ancestors in the shadow of

Istanbul's Blue Mosque. Known to Europeans as the Grand Seraglio, the immense redoubt (now a museum) overlooking the Golden Horn is thoroughly



Schoolchildren in Istanbul: Identity crisis

Asian from the tip of its topmost turret to the depths of its darkest dungeon. Abdunne'd built the ornate Dohnabache Palace (also now a museum) in a style that would have graced the grandest boulevard in Paris. Its salons echoed to the strains of Chopin and courtiers dressed in a manner that would not have been amiss at Windsor.

The revolution that deposed Abdunne'd's successor in 1922 was even more keen on adhering to Western models. Modern Turkey's founding father, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, turned his back completely on Central Asia and exhorted his countrymen to look to

Europe. Arabic script was abandoned in favour of Roman letters. Everyone had to take a surname (Ataturk set the example himself). Islam lost its place as a state religion. The Kemalists outlawed the fez, the traditional headgear of the empire, and even banned Turkish classical music. There has been remarkably little cultural backlash in the seven decades since. The ban on music remains in force. Laments Levant Tayla, Associate Editor of the big weekly *Nokta*. The result, is the musk form of a bastard culture." It is symbolic, he says, of the Turks' identity crisis: are they Asian or European? Says Tayla: "Turks like to think of themselves as Europeans. But they are not."

Respected columnist Sami Kohen of the mass circulation daily *Milliyet* concurs. "The move towards the West was to make Turkey modern. Yet in many ways European culture is utterly alien and it is only the ruling elite that is highly Europeanised."

Banker Tunc Balci believes Turks are definitely European "because the European way is how we do things." Businessmen, politicians, military officers, civil servants consider themselves Europeans. But in Europe, says Tayla, he was treated normally until people found out he was Turkish. "Then their attitude would change. Europeans think we are Asians — and I think so too." Successive Turkish governments have failed to gain entry to the European Economic Community. Not wanting to seem racist, the English and the Germans say it is the level

of development that is the bar. Associate membership has been granted.

The streets of Istanbul and Ankara reflect Turkey's identity crisis. Women in chadors walk three paces behind skull-capped husbands passing girls in mini skirts. When *Nokia* published a story on pre-marital sex the magazine was inundated by angry letters from Turks accusing it of permissiveness. Says Tayla: "That story would not have raised a hair in Europe." Academic Cuneyt Ahunc perhaps best typifies the dilemma. He insists that Turks are European, not Asian, but he admits it is

[900,000 Germans now live in Kazakhstan]^ Unwittingly, he set ajime bomb ticking. It

gearuniler is language. Donmez ce?H Turkish "the cement of this culture." Difference in speech, he explains, is only variation in dialect. "It's all the same language." If applied to the further reaches of Siberia, this would be an exaggeration, but it is said that a Turk from Istanbul can journey across "the Turkic Crescent" to Tashkent or Alma Ata and be understood all the way. The politics of language is a major focus of discontent, and last year nationalists demanded that Turkic tongues supplant Russian as the official language. Powerful emotions are evoked. When Bulgaria ordered its Turkish minority to adopt Slavic names and stop speaking Turkish in public, some 300,000 refugees fled to Turkey. Many returned after the collapse of the government in Sofia.

The original Turks came from around Lake Baikal. Nomadic tribesmen began migrating perhaps as early as two millennia ago, spreading both west to the Black Sea and south, to China. Empires rose and fell. In the eleventh century the Seljuks extracted tribute from an area encompassing

modern Bulgaria to Afghanistan, including Persia and Arab Baghdad. The next century, squabble among rival sultans weakened the empire and marauding Mongols hastened its demise. Then came the Ottomans, whose empire endured for 600 years. Great traders, their caravans crisscrossed the Islamic world carrying silk from China, spices from India and timber, furs and slaves from the Caucasus. They bought ebony, ivory and slaves in Africa. In 1453, they sacked Christian Con-



Xinjiang armor: "East Turkooton"

the Turkish and Muslim world. The Ottoman sultans ruled, often capriciously and cruelly, until November 1922, when the last of them was exiled.

The next year Mustafa Kemal Ataturk proclaimed the modern republic of Turkey and launched a drive for modernisation. Staunchly secular, Ataturk urged Turks to think and act as Europeans (set box, page 36). But turning his back on the dismembered empire, the founding father frowned

upon contact with Turks outside his borders. His views, backed by Turkey's powerful army, largely prevail today in Ankara.

Donmez says it is this heritage that is still limiting Turkey. "Mustafa Kemal was a great commander and administrator, but his priority was the republic."

Despite Ataturk's famous "Turk Look West" command, many of his countrymen today are observing events in Central Asia with excitement. Says Donmez: "Fifty years ago there were feelings about uniting all Turks. Now there is fresh nationalism. Today all people are gaining their freedom. Why not the Turkic people?" Since Moscow loosened its grip, Turkic nationalism has become an emotive issue in Ankara and Istanbul. "The Turkish people are ready to help their brothers in Azerbaijan," says Donmez. "If they are given the opportunity, they'll go there and fight." Others call such sentiment an



A rally in Uzbekistan: Language gripes

mending help for their "Turkish brothers in Asia." "And why not," asks columnist Sami Kohen. "We have close links with the Kazakhs, the Azeri, the Uzbeks and Turkmens. We have the same songs, the same legends and the same poets."

"Some scholars, however, say Turkic solidarity is a myth. Centuries of mingling with Chinese and Russians has adulterated the Turkic people's ethnic purity. Furthermore, 70 years of Soviet domination has dulled nationalist fervour. Some feel that the wave of unrest in the Soviet Turkic-speaking republics is only a reaction to worsening economic conditions. Soviet Turks, they argue, are looking to Moscow to improve their lot rather than Ankara or Tehran. Various Turkic sub-groups have long histories of mutual hostility. If the Soviet empire unravels, these ancient animosities may boil over. Already Uzbeks

and Meskets have fought pitched battles, leaving 100 dead.

But not even the most Europeanised Turkish citizen can take away the model that Ankara holds for Central Asian Turks. Azeri demonstrators fly Turkey's flag and carry portraits of Ataturk. But so far there has been no attempt to enlist Ankara as an anti-Kremlin ally. And most scholars rule out a pan-Turkic nation. "It would be impossible administratively," says Donmez. "But there should be twelve independent Turkic republics... With

detente, trade between

Ankara and Moscow has tripled since 1987, so Turkey must tread carefully. Columnist Kohen says Ankara has no ambitions to form a Greater Turkey, "it tracks the policies of the present government and those of the future will be to keep to the Kemalist border policy and not turn expansionist," he says.

nation, Ankara seems to have set its sights on a regional leadership role. Turkey's State Minister Inan Kamran put it this way: "As the global bloc system weakens, a system of regional leadership will emerge, and Turkey will be the leader for technological, economic, political and military reasons. It is important that Turkey envisage this mission, prepare herself accordingly and accept it."

MINORITIES

Trouble at Home



Turkey, too, has minorities. And Ankara's historical legacy of ethnic relations is no better than Moscow's. In the early years of nationhood, the record is certainly grim. The once-large Greek minority was expelled after a ghastly massacre at Smyrna in

1922 (the Greeks had much to answer for,

too). The Armenian population was virtually exterminated about the same time. Armenians will never forgive the Turks, who deny the charge of genocide, saying it was war. Last month in Erzurum wreaths were placed on monuments to Turkish "martyrs" killed by Armenians.

The big minority now is the non-Turkic Kurds, whom the government calls "mountain Turks." Ankara allowed the few remaining Greeks, Jews and Armenians to promote

fighting for a separate state. Last month 21 people including two Turkish soldiers died in a new outbreak; six Turkish civil engineers were slain and Kurdish demonstrations rocked the town of Cizre. Since the rebellion began some 2,000 people have died. The government says the rebels suffered a setback in 1989 and will soon be suppressed.

Kurdish protesters in Turkey: Setbacks



Munich, April 11 - (NCA/EC) - following report appeared in the DIE MELT of April 11, 1990; titled:

Moslems begehren Huf: Peking schickt Truppen in den „Wilden W^sten“

Die Moslems in der Provinz Xinjiang (Xinjiang), in der die moslamiachen VoDtsgruppen der Uiguren und Kua-then some die kkineren Stimme der Thdachiken, Uibeken und Thrtsren leben, schwere Unmhen gemddet

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Autonomic und Handel?

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Infiltration kfinnen vir nicht Julden*

CHINA - NORMAL TRAGEDY

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Munich, April 11 - (NCA/EC) - following editorial appeared
 •in the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU of April 11, 1990; titled;

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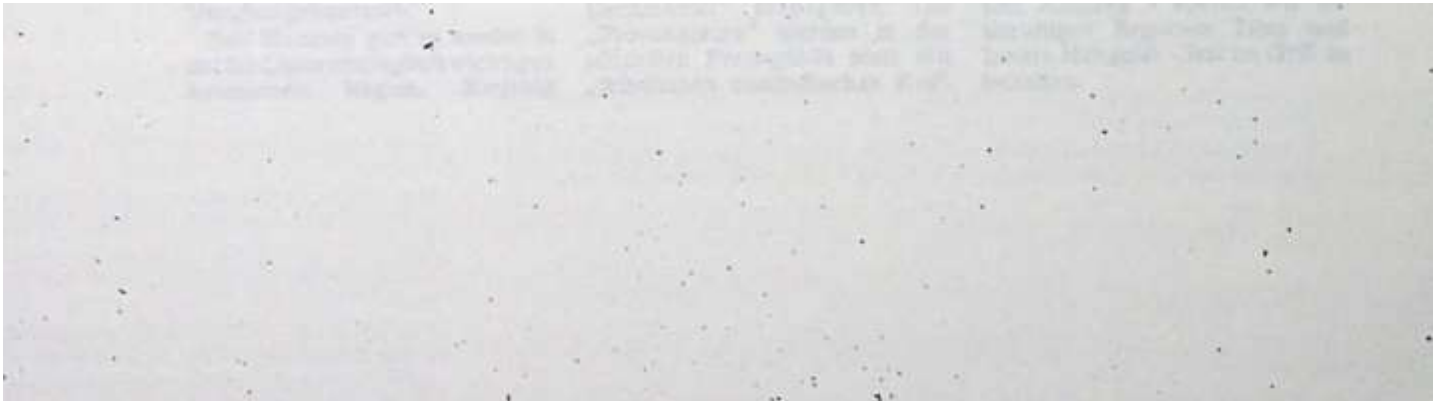
Normal© Trag6dle

⁴ Nun 1st winder miles normal In Kasch-
 ffar, aagte eln chineslscher Regierungs-
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China hat jene Halfte des gegenwfirtigen
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 Umgebung zur Industrie- wuste gemacht
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In Peking hat man schon zur Kaiser-
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 wie in einer klassischen TragBdie. gro

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Die „Spalterischen Aktivitäten“ Die Kaukasus-Unruhen wirken sogar bis nach China

Von unaprm Korrespondenten
Peter Achten

PEKING. In der Oasenstadt Kashgar im äußersten Westen Chinas es zu Unruhen gekommen sei. Die chinesische Regierung habe sofort reagiert und zusätzliche Einheiten der Armee und der bewaffneten Volkspolizei ins Krisengebiet gesandt.

Obwohl offiziell die ganze Angelegenheit in Peking als „Gericht“ und „schiere Erfindung“ heruntergespielt wird, ist nach verschiedenen Quellen daran kaum zu zweifeln. Über das Ausmaß der ethnisch und religiös bedingten Auseinandersetzungen jedoch herrscht Unklarheit. Seit Monaten

haben die Behörden der Autonomen Region Xinjiang und der Pekinger Zentralregierung die einheimische Bevölkerung - vornehmlich turkischstämmige, moslemische Uiguren - vor „spalterischen Aktivitäten“ gewarnt und zur „Einheit des Mutterlandes“ aufgerufen. Die Han-chinesische Zentralregierung berichtigt ein Übergreifen des religionsnationalistischen Klimas von jenseits der Grenze, der zentralasiatischen Sowjetunion.

Journalisten erhalten für die Autonome Region Xinjiang, einschließlich der Hauptstadt Ulumqi, seit Wochen keine Reisebewilligung mehr. Seit dem vergangenen Wochenende dürfen auch Touristen nicht mehr reisen. zumindest nicht nach Kashgar, der legendären Oasenstadt an der berühmten Seidenstraße. Kashgar, nur etwas mehr als 200 unwirtliche Kilometer von der sowjetischen Grenze entfernt, zählt über 100.000 Einwohner, die meisten davon moslemische Uiguren. Seit Beginn der achtziger Jahre ist es hier verschiedentlich zu Demonstrationen und Unruhen gekommen.

Seit Monaten gart es wieder in der für China strategisch wichtigen autonomen Region Xinjiang

grenzt an die zentralasiatischen Sowjetrepubliken Tadschikistan, Usbekistan und Kasachstan. Von den 15 Millionen Einwohnern der Region sind rund sieben Millionen moslemische Uiguren, dazu Minderheiten von Tadschiken, Usbeken, Kirgisen und Kasachen. In

Die Ideen des neu erwachten islamischen Fundamentalismus haben an der chinesischen Grenze nicht haltgemacht. Never liked it in der Region Xinjiang zu Unruhen gekommen. Die Führung in Peking ist jedoch entschlossen, das Gebiet im Griff zu behalten.

der „Xirjiang-Tageszeitung“ wurde bereits zu Anfang des Jahres vor ethnisch, religiös und politisch inspirierter Unrast gewarnt. Der regionale KP-Chef Song Hanliang meinte im Februar nach einer Inspektionstour in Kashgar und andern Orten der Region, man müsse die Kontrolle über religiöse Aktivitäten verstärken. Beim Anfang April zu Ende gegangenen Nationalen Volkskongress riefen die Delegierten aus Xinjiang zu erhöhter Wachsamkeit gegen „eine kleine Zahl von Separatisten“ auf.

Der Chef der Regionalregierung, Tomur Dawamat, hat sich kürzlich „entschlossen“ gezeigt, die „Saboteure“, den „Abschaum der Nation“, zu vernichten. In einem Mitte März in der „Xirjiang-Tageszeitung“ veröffentlichten Aktionsplan wird die „absolute Überlegenheit der Partei über die Religion“ in Erinnerung gerufen und jene werden gewarnt, die „Separatismus unter religiösem und ethnischem Deckmantel“ propagieren. Die „Provokateure“ werden in der offiziellen Propaganda stets mit „feindlichen ausländischen Kraf-

ten“ in Verbindung gebracht, ohne jedoch namentlich ein Land zu erwähnen.

Die Hui - so der chinesische Name für Moslems - sind die größte religiöse Minderheit Chinas. Sie setzen sich aus verschiedenen Ethnien zusammen. Sie leben in ihrer Mehrheit im Nordwesten des Landes, angeführt von den türkischstämmigen Uiguren. Chinas Moslems haben in der Regel mit nationaler Politik wenig zu tun. Doch bereits unter der Qing-Dynastie (1644-1911) kam es zu Auslandsreisen, die von den kaiserlichen Truppen blutig unterdrückt wurden.

Während der Kulturrevolution (1966-1976) unter der „ultralinken“ Religionspolitik Maos wurde der Islam, im Unterschied zu anderen Religionen, gerade noch geduldet. In der außenpolitischen Isolation jener Jahre nämlich wurden Länder der Dritten Welt und namentlich des Mittleren Ostens zu den engsten Freunden Pekings. Mit Beginn der Reformpolitik Ende der siebziger Jahre und der wieder eingeführten Religionsfreiheit wurden auch Pilgerreisen nach Mekka erlaubt.

Ideen des wiedererwachten islamischen Fundamentalismus haben in den achtziger Jahren nicht an der chinesischen Grenze in Zentralasien haltgemacht. Die Moslems in Xinjiang sind gut informiert, auch darüber, was gegenwärtig in den zentralasiatischen Sowjetrepubliken vor sich geht. Der starke werdende Ruf der Pekinger Zentrale und der offiziellen Führer der Nationalen Minderheiten nach „Einheit, ethnischer Harmonie und Patriotismus“ kommt deshalb nicht von ungeführ, ebenso wenig wie verschärfte Kontrollen und Truppenverstärkungen. Peking ist fest entschlossen, das strategisch wichtige Gebiet Xinjiang - ebenso wie die unruhigen Regionen Tibet und Innere Mongolei - fest im Griff zu behalten.



In fact, Xinjiang Muslims express hatred of both the system and the Han who administer it. During the protests last May in Beijing, students at Xinjiang University in Urumqi launched sympathy protests,

shouting "Support the Beijing demonstrations." But they also shouted "Han people leave Xinjiang!" On May 19, when someone posted pages from a Shanghai book detailing the sexual practices of Muslims, the protest turned into a riot, as some 100,000 deeply offended Muslims set them on fire. The summer before, after graffiti appeared at Xinjiang University suggesting that Uighurs should be made "slaves" and "prostitutes," Muslims staged a protest shouting "Drive the Han people out!" On a street in Urumqi, an elderly Uighur teacher recently accosted a young American traveler to denounce the Han people. "I will fight. There is a way, there is a way," he shouted. "I may die but my sons will continue the fight after me."

Many Han would rather leave than fight. In fact 11 years ago, 70,000 Han in the Xinjiang city of Aksu petitioned Beijing to send them back to the Chinese heartland. Many eventually returned to homes in Shanghai. As far away as the Han-dominated coastal city of Guangzhou, the ethnic divide is palpable. Han cabbies often refuse to take passengers to a tough Uighur

area. When two nervous-looking Han policemen walk into a Uighur sidewalk restaurant, a customer snarls in the Uighur dialect "Get the hell out of here!" The police walk away rapidly, wearing blank expressions. *

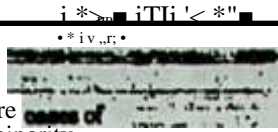
The leadership, however, appears resolved to stand and fight. In February, around the time of the riots in Dushanbe, Xinjiang party chief Song Han-liang toured the Kashgar area, then issued an ominous report: "Every place and work unit now has some hot spot. We must handle the problem while it is still in the embryonic stage." Sure enough, in March the Beijing leadership formulated a secret 6-point plan for rightening the balance over minorities. The plan

banned new mosques, while Xinjiang officials attacked "illegal Koranic schools" and requested that religious leaders "accept the party." And in a newspaper interview, Governor Turnur, who had earlier described separatists as "the scum of the nation," promised to "smash" nationalist frabotmirff*! --

Angry exchanges between the Han and minorities are an ancient feature of life in China. But the animosity may have reached a peak under the Communists. During the decadelong Cultural Revolution, which ended in 1976, ultraleftist Red Guards acting in the name of Chairman Mao Zedong destroyed thousands of mosques, temples and churches, and paraded Muslim imams through the streets of Xinjiang with pig heads dangling from their necks. As early as the 1950s, in order to develop the economy as well as dilute the Muslim majority, Beijing began sending Han Chinese to settle Xinjiang, and the Han population rose

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... about 40 percent today. The program initially eased under Mao's summons. In 1985, party General Secretary Hu Yaobang criticized the dominance of Han Chinese in the Tibet and Xinjiang governance. The secret 6-point plan declared that "leftist mistakes" of the Cultural Revolution had been rectified and should remain in the current regional Han will continue to rule the provinces.

“To be sure, there are political quiet in the minority regions. Mongolians harbor fears, if any, separatist agitators, and many of them have even forgotten the Mongolian language. Even in Xinjiang, which is larger than France and Germany combined, there are pockets of contentment in the eastern part of the province. American anthropologist Justin Rudelson recently completed an ethnographic survey in the eastern Xinjiang city of Turfan. Turfan is a lot less sensitive to the Chinese than Kashgar,” says Rudelson. There, they are not conscious of being Turkic.”

... evenly hampered by lack of funds. Last year Beijing decided to help poor counties develop industries—but allotted only about \$5 million annually to the project. The government has also offered proposals to improve road transport and grain production in minority regions. But the problems dwarf the proposals.

The minorities question is essentially a no-win proposition for the Chinese. Relaxing controls will free Muslims and Tibetans across western China to call for independence. But cracking down will only raise tensions among the already angry Uighurs, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and others. So far, Beijing's policy is a mixture of the special privileges granted in less troubled times and new acts of repression. But as authorities call for renewed vigilance against separatist "scum," it appears likely that continued minority agitation will be met with an even harsher crackdown.

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businessmen were dependence. The massed religious safe harbors of the Buddhist Tibet, won the Nobel Peace Prize, the defense education in the monasteries! In the province, where the Tibetan strongly pro-independence, the official newspaper's liberation Army pacifist welcomed them. They said: 'Monks are not ready to accept such sacrifices. Still, Beijing's attitude during the Cultural Revolution minorities now enjoy special privilege, including easy access to schools, broad travel rights and an exemption from birth-control policies that limit other citizens to one child per family. Muslims today can make the pilgrimage to Mecca—a privilege never granted in Mao's time. In southwestern Yunnan, on the border with Burma, authorities sometimes turn a blind eye to drug trafficking. "What can they do?" asks one Yunnan official, "in a minority area, and they want to keep everybody happy.”

Justin Rudelson recently completed an ethnographic survey in the eastern Xinjiang city of Turfan. Turfan is a lot less sensitive to the Chinese than Kashgar,” says Rudelson. There, they are not conscious of being Turkic.”
But among many WIMHIM, sharp ever to be dulled by government favors— Since 1649 the central government has put down Muslim revolts in Henan, Ningxia and Yunnan as well as Yijiang Li 1962, when Beijing tried to force the nomadic Kazakhs of the Yili region onto collective farms, more than 60,000 Kazakhs fled across the border into Soviet Kazakhstan. To this day many of the 900,000 Kazakhs who

stayed in Yili remain bitter. Early this month Beijing churned to have "comprehensively suppressed" an illegal Yili organization "bent on splitting the unity of the motherland.”

At the moment there are no clear signs that Beijing is trying to lower the heat of ethnic animosities. And though Beijing does seem to recognize that economic development will foster stability, it is

Han Chinese, Co Home

Two cultures clash, bloodily, in old Kashgar

'virtual backwater, Kashgatwas
once a major stop on the Silk Road link-
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Urumqi to Kashgar is late sis usual. Visi-
tors arrive at 8 qgar-freezing
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red-faced Uighurs.- engaged in
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%nd utensils. An silence falls over
n the drinking ;om flarg.
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Kashgar is a city^nfused
tension. After dinner the three Chinese
cadres leave for their hotel. "Xinjiang
society is very unstable right^tpw," says
pne. "It's not safe filer dark^pmetimeai|,
not in the daytime either." Rather than
walk the block and a half to their hotel,
they climb into a Landcruiser, lock the
doors and drive back. The next dhy,
another Han shows Tiow queasy Chinese
are about mishaps in Kashgar, where 90
percent of the more than 100,000
residents are Uighur. Inching through a
mazelike bazaar, a Chinese taxi driver is
extremely careful when negotiating
around Uighur children. "If I touch one
of them with my car," he warns, "both
you and I are as good as dead."

The government's crackdown on Mus-
lim activity has hit hard in Kashgar. Au-
thorities closed four or five unofficial Is-
lamic schools that were opened six years
ago. Muslims barely conceal their anti-
Han grudges. "The Chinese say we smell
like mutton shish kebab," says an Uighur
entrepreneur. "But if you talk with them,
you discover they don't know anything."
One reason such resentment hasn't
reached nation-threatening proportions is
because China's Muslims have no
central organization around which to
rally.

Kashgar is litter\$5-with 30-year-old
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ilin^Sjpd its^gipunds contain
nononymous Ruaandgraves. After the nft,
Russian diplomats Abandoned the const-
ate in 1962 and shut down fir important
gold mine, dynamiting the tunnel
now the Soviets ice back -ajpso is
influence they bring with them. Markets
crawl with Soviet Central Asians who
have taken advantage of liberalized
travel
across the border.. 'JjOur life is .better
back
home," says one of a pair of Soviet
Uzbek
brothers from Kirghizia. Another visitor,
an attractive Uzbek, told of how women
in
Soviet Central Asia shun the bulky
brown
veils worn by some Uighur matrons here.
"We're free, just like French women,"
says Goolpari Holmireza, two gold teeth
flashing in a smile.

Camels for sale: Such notions contrast
with Kashgar's medieval aura. The Sun-
day bazaar, said to be Central Asia's
most crowded, draws thousands of
Muslims riding donkey carts, tractors and
trucks. It seems that almost anything is
up for sale: shaggy camels, 12-foot fruit
saplings, Islamic texts and Korean-made
dresses brought in from Pakistan. But
modernization is tearing at the traditional
foundations of the community. Official
posters near the holy Id Kah mosque
warn that 800 shons in the Angereste

peal<Sjkc i Urumqi [the regional
stopjflafe move," says
textile
Hopor: "We can't leave; n& people have
stop on the Silk Road
come here for 350 years."

Anti-Chinese sentiment runs strong,
and minor incidents have been known to
trigger serious unrest. In 1981 Kashgar
erupted in riots after a Han shopkeeper
killed a Uighur who had parked a donkey
cart full of manure outside his shop. Later,
Muslim peasants east of the city raided a
military armory and attacked Chinese
with stolen weapons before being
suppressed. Racial friction is nothing new
to the region. A 71-year- old Chinese
woman hardly paused when asked to
describe the worst ethnic conflict she had
ever seen. "It was the Hui Muslim revolt,"
she said. "It was really bloody." When did
it happen? "That was in the 1930s, during
the Kuomin- tang time."

Weeks ago the bazaars of Kashgar
chattered with unconfirmed reports of an
outburst of ethnic unrest in Yili, hundreds
of miles to the north. No one was sure
what, if anything, had happened, but the
stories seemed to inflame the yearnings
for Turkestan independence. Rumors of
revolt against Han domination surprised
no one. "You hear such news from time to
time," shrugged a Han taxi driver who has
lived in Xinjiang for decades. "Maybe it
happened, maybe it didn't happen. Or
maybe it hasn't happened yet. "



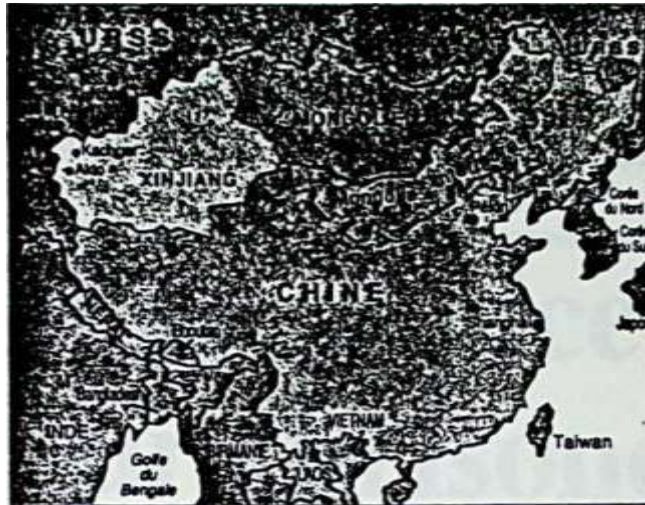
Isa Alptekin, the last surviving leader of East Turkestan, and his wife, Fatma. The fight is a lonely one for him and his community of 8,000 Photograph: Hugh Pope

CHINE
**Quand le Xinjiang
s'dveillera**

De notre envoi special iPikin

Les étudiants chinois sont paralysés par la police. Les ouvriers, réduits au chômage technique par la politique d'austerité, sont payés tant bien que mal. Mais voilà que Panmversaire du Printemps de Pékin est salué par un nouveau casse-tête, qui nuance l'affirmation du Premier ministre, Li Peng: « La Chine est stable. » Des troupes sont mobilisées dans le « Far West » chinois pour réduire une poussée de l'œuvre nationaliste chez les musulmans.

La Chine n'est certes pas un « empire éclaté »: elle est peuplée à 93 % de Han, d'ethnie chinoise. Mais 50 autres races — 80 millions d'habitants — occupent 60 % du territoire. De l'Inde à la Sibirie, les « peuples des frontières » tissent un cordon sanitaire entre l'empire et le monde extérieur. Fragile rempart. Au nord, la Mongolie-Extérieure se destabilise au galop. Une tentation pour les 3,5 millions de Mongols vivant sous tutelle chinoise.



Au sud-ouest, 5 millions de Tibétains vivent depuis un an sous la loi martiale. Au Nepal voisin, en marche vers le multipartisme, résident quelque 60 000 réfugiés tibétains nationalistes.

Au nord-ouest, enfin et surtout, le Xinjiang. Cette « nouvelle marche » chinoise est coincée entre le Cachemire — objet de conflit entre l'Inde, amie de Moscou, et le Pakistan, allié de Pékin — et l'Asie centrale soviétique, agitée de mouvements indé-

pendantistes. Début avril, les Kirghiz, cavaliers montagnards turco-mongols, ont manifesté contre les autorités chinoises. Selon une source chinoise, « il y aurait eu des morts ». Ces heurts, à Akto, à 100 kilomètres de la frontière soviétique, ont provoqué la fermeture aux Grangers de Kachgar, étape légendaire de la Route de la soie, dont la majorité des 100 000 habitants sont des Oulgours, population musulmane d'origine turque.

Avec 6 millions d'Oulgours, 1 million de Kazakhs, des dizaines de milliers de Kirghiz, Tadjiks et Ouzbeks, le Xinjiang rassemble la moitié des musulmans de Chine. Leurs cousins, leurs frères, sont en URSS.

Voilà un sujet de discussions pour le Premier ministre, Li Peng, avec Mikhaïl Gorbatchev, le 23 avril, à Moscou. L'ancien secrétaire général du PC chinois, Hu Yaobang, dont la mort, le 15 avril 1989, avait marqué le début des manifestations, est aujourd'hui rendu responsable, par certains « conservateurs » du Parti, du réveil nationaliste des habitants du Xinjiang et du Tibet, simplement parce qu'il avait reconnu les excès chinois dans ces régions. Il revenait d'un Xinjiang-Eden, capable de faire vivre 200 millions d'habitants, grâce à ses immenses ressources minérales et touristiques. « Si le Xinjiang est perdu, la Mongolie est indéfendable, et Pékin est vulnérable », rappelle un dictionnaire chinois. « C'est là-bas que va recommencer », confiait récemment un fonctionnaire chinois. Mongolie, Tibet, Xinjiang, trois ondes de choc qui pourraient infirmer la certitude de Mao: « Le vent d'Est l'emporte sur le vent d'Ouest. »

Jean Lederer du Sablon ■

Cachemire: le sentier de la guerre

New Delhi soupçonne le Pakistan d'aider les indépendantistes. Danger!

Le monde serait-il à la veille du premier conflit armé entre deux puissances nucléaires ? Depuis le début de l'année, l'Inde et le Pakistan sont engagés dans une absurde guerre verbale au sujet du Cachemire. Un nouveau sommet a été atteint, lundi 16 avril, quand le ministre de l'Intérieur d'Inde, Mufti Mohammed Sayeed, a confié à « l'Hindus of India »: « Une guerre offensive contre le Pakistan serait justifiée si elle permettait de libérer la région des indépendantistes. »

New Delhi et Islamabad sont entrés en guerre à deux reprises pour le contrôle du Cachemire. La région est à domi-

droit au territoire indien, à majorité hindoue. L'Inde a toujours refusé d'y organiser le référendum demandé par les Nations unies, en 1949. Or, depuis quelques mois, les séparatistes multiplient sur place les manifestations. Des militants armés, de plus en plus nombreux, revendiquent des attentats à la bombe. Aujourd'hui, les insurgés du Pakistan d'accorder une aide matérielle aux insurgés. De part et d'autre de la frontière, les unités militaires sont en état d'alerte.

Les raisons du conflit sont pas, on s'en doute, exclusivement confessionnelles. Il suffit, pour le comprendre, d'imaginer le Cachemire un État indépendant. Avec quels pays aurait-il des frontières communes ? Au sud, l'Inde; à l'est, la Chine; au nord, l'Union soviétique; au nord-ouest, l'Afghanistan; au sud-ouest, le Pakistan. Sur un plan géopolitique, la région est d'une importance primordiale.

À l'heure du compte, pourtant, l'Inde et le Pakistan pourraient être entraînés dans une guerre par la faiblesse même de leurs gouvernements respectifs. Celui de V.P. Singh, à New Delhi, prisonnier de son alliance avec les fondamentalistes hindous du Bharatiya Janata Party. Et celui de Benazir Bhutto, à Islamabad, qui ne peut sembler se désintéresser du sort de ses « frères opprimés ».

Marc Ebstein ■

Chinese police torture prisoners UN steps in

BEIJING, Sun (Rtr)

CHINESE police torture prisoners to extract confessions, killing or wounding many of their victims, a senior law enforcement official revealed in an unusual report on abuses of police power this year.

China had investigated 2,900 cases of "perverting justice for bribes, extorting confessions by torture, illegal detention and neglect of duty" from January to March, Deputy Chief Procurator Liang Guoqing, was quoted as saying on Saturday.

More than 490 "major" cases involved "deaths and injuries as well as serious economic losses," Liang told the new China news agency.

Liang reportedly told a news conference that dealing with such cases had helped protect "Chinese citizens' democratic rights" and build an honest government.

His report appeared to be the first official confirmation of widespread accounts of beatings and torture inflicted on prisoners after crackdowns on last year's democracy movement and Tibetan independence protests.

In Geneva on Friday, the United Nations Committee against torture asked China to provide more details of measures it said it had taken to stamp out torture in prisons.

The committee of 10 independent human rights experts told China that charges of ill-treatment of

prisoners were so widespread they could not be considered isolated incidents.

China ratified the UN Convention against torture in 1988. A Chinese legal expert attending the Geneva meeting said reports of torture in Chinese jails were "rumours and gossip."

Prisoners recently released from Chinese jails have described how electric prods, beatings, prolonged periods of isolation and abuse of women are used to punish and extract confessions.

The UN committee chairman, Michel Voyame of Switzerland, said a report presented by China was too vague and brief.

"We want to know what measures are being taken to prevent torture and to punish those responsible," he said.

It was not clear whether Liang's report was made in response to the Geneva meeting.

Sections of Liang's speech dealing with corruption were reported in official Chinese newspapers but not his remarks on torture or other abuses of power by police.

China's carefully controlled media have only rarely in the past admitted to cases of police torture.

A separate report by the new China news agency said 253 policemen and women had died in the course of duty last year.

In China's Far West

Arnold Hotlinger

Despite the customary reticence by the Beijing regime, rumors of unrest in Muslim areas of western China were circulating in the People's Republic as this issue of the "Swiss Review" was being prepared. Travellers reported dashes and possibly some deaths, the Foreign Ministry dedined comment, and foreign visitors were said to be banned from the region. The following article on Xinjiang Province was prepared for the NZZ several months before the latest indications of unrest had come to light.

The Uigurs are the easternmost of Central Asia's Turkic peoples. As such they have lived for centuries in dose contact with the Chinese. Around 500 A.D. they migrated from their Central Asian homeland to the Tarim Basin of Xinjiang (Sinkiang) Province, in the oases of which they slowly evolved into sedentary farmers and herdsmen.

The two deserts of western China, the Gobi and the Takla Makan, with their oases and the mountains and plateaus surrounding them, are bordered by Mongolia, what is now the Kirghiz Soviet Republic, a piece of Afghanistan, Tibet, and the Pakistani and Indian Himalayas. To Imperial China, these regions were a remote westerly glaxis that had to be kept under Chinese influence and not yielded to any foreign interlopers. Starting in the days of the Han Dyansty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), Chinese emperors repeatedly sent armies to this "Wild West" to keep it under their control. When the central authority was less strong, the emperors frequently appointed local rulers - often Uigurs - as their viceroys and satraps. But the distances between the western desert regions and the central Chinese empire were enormous; the desert tracks were difficult, and the small and large oases in which the Uigurs had settled were cut off from the central imperial areas by vast seas of sand and arid desert, while they were far more accessible from the eastern and northern steppes and plateaus. This geographic situation no doubt made it possible for the Uigurs of Xinjiang to maintain their ethnic, linguistic and cultural identity despite Chinese rule.

Uigur belongs to the Turkic group of languages, and is written today in Arabic characters. But the Uigurs have extended the usual 28-character Arabic alphabet by 13 additional characters, which enables them, in contrast to the Arabs and Iranians, to write short vowels as well as long vowels and consonants.

The Uigurs have been Muslims for more than 700 years. During the 19th century they built their mosques in Chinese style, with curved pagoda roofs and colorful decorative carvings, often containing dragon motifs. Older mosques are more in the style of Central Asia and Afghanistan, while moderm houses of worship are designed in the Saudi or Indian-Pakistani style. The Uigurs have also taken their irrigation techniques from Central Asia: underground conduits run deep beneath the desert surface, bringing groundwater from the surrounding mountains to the oases in the interior of the Tarim Basin.

Rows of rounded mounds, like oversized molehills, mark the underground flow of water on the dry surface. Poplars as windbreaks, huge quantities of grapes, peaches, apricots, cotton and maize flourish luxuriantly in the oases. The continental climate of the desert brings harsh winters with plenty of snow and temperatures as low as 20 degrees below zero C.

The Uigurs were not always Muslims. After a shamanistic period in Central Asia, they adopted the world religions which predominated in Xinjiang: Buddhism, which came from India across the Himalayas; the now-extinct religion of Manichaeism spread by the Persian prophet Mani under the Sassanid Dynasty; Nestorian Christianity, which spread across Asia as far as China after being condemned by the Western Church at the Council of Ephesus in 431 A.D., and the ancient Iranian religion of Zoroastrianism.

In Yar Khoto and Kocho (known to the Chinese as Jiaohe and Gaochang), cities in the great Turfan Oasis which were alternately residences of Chinese viceroys and Uigur princes, Nestorian churches, Zoroastrian fire temples, Manichaean monasteries and libraries and Buddhist stupas stood side by side. Relics and documents of all four great religions have been found in the ancient centers and sanctuaries of those cities. They reveal that the Uigurs sometimes wrote their language in Syrian letters, in the script of the Sogdianans (who during the ancient Persian Empire lived in the part of Central Asia later known as Bukhara), sometimes even in Tibetan or Mongolian characters and in Persian Pahlavi. It was only relatively late, after the Mongol hordes had swept across eastern and western Asia in the 13th century, that they adopted Islam and with it the Arabic alphabet. The Uigurs ofTered no resistance to the distantly related Mongols, and the princes of the house of Genghis Khan rewarded them for their collaboration by appointing many of them as administrators of the countless provinces of their vast empire.

During the 19th century there were repeated Muslim uprisings and massacres of Muslim minorities in the Chinese interior. One of these massacres prompted an uprising by the predominantly Muslim garrisons stationed in Hami and Urumqi, the provincial capital of Xinjiang. A Muslim warrior, Yaqub Beg from Kokand in the Ferghana Valley (which today belongs to the USSR), stormed the Chinese fortifications at Kashgar and Yarkand at the western end of Xinjiang. Czarist Russia, Great Britain and Ottoman Turkey recognized Yaqub Beg as the king of Kashgar, whereupon he concluded an alliance with the Ottomans and dreamed of a Turkish empire in Central Asia. But after his death China reconquered Kashgar.

In the first years following the Communist takeover in China, Beijing granted the Soviet Union important economic concessions in Xinjiang. A 30-year economic treaty gave the Soviets access to the region's rich mineral resources. In 1950 a secret agreement was concluded per-



The booth of a Uigur carpet merchant at the great Sunday market in Kashgar, one of the major cities in the Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region, also known as Chinese Turkestan.

deposits in the western desert areas. But subsequent tensions between the two Communist powers put an end to Soviet economic privileges in Xinjiang.

Since 1955 Xinjiang has been officially known as the Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region (and unofficially as Chinese Turkestan). Officially, the Soviets insure that all publications and announcements appear both in Chinese and Uigur; there are also many Uigurs in the government bureaucracy. But the admittedly limited experiences of a short journey through the region seem to indicate that, behind the Uigur officials, there is always a Han Chinese making the real decisions.

There is a tangible, only superficially veiled antagonism between the two cultures and peoples here, which sometimes breaks out into the open. "When you get to Urumqi," says a Chinese acquaintance, "you'll find yourself in a truly Han city." And indeed, modern high-rise apartment houses dominate the scene in the provincial capital. But behind them are the one-story mud houses of the Uigurs, with their interior courtyards and their mosques.

Near the city's main mosque, where Uigur, Arabic, Persian and Urdu books are sold, I quickly find someone to talk with who speaks fluent Arabic. He has been learning the language for two years as part of a course of theological studies, and has also been learning Persian for a year. Xinjiang is the land of Muslim Uigurs, he assures me. But in Urumqi, he admits, the Chinese are on the verge of constituting a majority.

According to a 1982 census, 13 million people live in Xinjiang; 45.48% are Uigurs, 40.41% Han-Chinese. The remainder consists of smaller minority groups: almost a million Kazakhs, more than half a million Hui, 117,000

Mongolians, 113,000 Kirghiz, 27,000 Xibes, 26,000 Tadzhiks, 12,400 Uzbeks, 9,000 Manchus and 2,662 Russians. The Har-Chinese point out that they are required by Beijing to radically limit the number of children they have, but that those rules do not apply to the Uigurs and the various minority groups. Chinese here often ask Uigur peasants how many children they have, and shake their heads when they hear six or seven. For their part, the Uigurs complain about the great influx of Chinese to their territory.

' During China's Cultural Revolution and the subsequent years, Muslim clerics in Xinjiang were persecuted, which aroused some resistance among the people. There were reports back then of Muslim guerrillas in the frontier areas, some of them trained and equipped by the Soviets. These days there is no more visible persecution of Islam in the province. Instead there is open competition between Uigurs and Han-Chinese for numerical superiority.

Comment from the 5kut3finijcr_3ritaiig

Guilt without Atonement

Fifty years after the fact, the Soviet government has finally admitted to the murder of some 4000 Polish officers in the forest near Katyn in 1940. The main beneficiaries of that admission are not historians, since the Soviets have admitted to nothing that has not long been common knowledge in the West, let alone in Poland, but rather the Polish people, not only because a neighboring great power has apologized for a wrong it committed, but especially because that admission, even if it has come five decades late, has liberated the victims from the anonymity veiling the crime committed against them, so that they can now be honored in their own country as the martyrs they are.

11/10/58

SINO — RACIAL BLUR SPARKS OFF VIOLENT PROTESTS IN CHINA'S FAR WEST

London, October 20 (Special) — The following report appeared in THE INDEPENDENT, OCTOBER 20, 1958

Animosity between Han Chinese and Muslims is never far below the surface in the "new dominion" of Xinjiang

Even in the most remote of the vast desert and mountain territory of Xinjiang, animosity between Han Chinese and Muslim minorities is never far below the surface. In a land where hatred between the two groups has often been fierce but usually unspoken, the atmosphere was so tense that posters went up around the campus stressing racial harmony and mutual respect. Police were called in to try to identify the handwriting and track down its author.

The damage, however, had already been done, rekindling the ancient racial and religious tensions that have always bedeviled Peking's efforts to rule its "new dominion" — the vast desert and mountain territory of Xinjiang.

Within days of the graffiti appearing this summer, hundreds of students, all of them Uyghurs or other Muslim minorities, took to the streets, shouting slogans against their traditional Han Chinese settlers.

Local officials are trying to calm tensions, but university authorities are forcing students and teachers to attend outdoor blackboard sessions with slogans exhorting unity between the Han and China's ethnic minorities. Officials have also warned that separatist agitators will be condemned for generations.

Outdoor blackboard sessions on campus have been covered with slogans exhorting unity between the Han and China's ethnic minorities. Officials have also warned that separatist agitators will be condemned for generations. "There are a small number of individuals hiding in dark corners, engaging in conspiratorial activities to split the unity of the nation," said Wang Enmo, a former soldier who helped lead the Communist army into Xinjiang in 1949 and has since dominated the region. "Such people, he said, could not be tolerated. That a relatively small number of accounts, no violent hue and cry should have provoked each strong reaction reflects the intensity of China's ethnic tensions."

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Chinese officials make no effort to conceal such racial tensions, describing it as the natural result of different languages. "The people must talk, but this does not mean they must live together," said Wang Enmo, deputy director of Xinjiang's Committee of National Minority Affairs. He said intermarriage was rare and, while not officially discouraged, was not recommended either.

A Turkic people with their own language, religion and history, the Uyghurs are Xinjiang's largest ethnic group, accounting for 45 per cent of the population. What makes their loyalty to Peking suspect and politically dangerous is that they have more in common with fellow Muslims across the Soviet border than with their compatriots in China.

The Soviet link is so strong that in the 1930s Xinjiang's ruling warlord turned to Moscow when he needed help putting down a rebellion. Thousands of Russian troops marched in and made the region a virtual Soviet satellite. A decade later, Moscow even helped to set up a short-lived independent state, the Eastern Turkestan Republic.

As in Tibet, such successes in shaking off Chinese rule, albeit brief, have set a precedent which Uyghurs still labour to eradicate. But, unlike the Tibetans, who look to the exiled Dalai Lama for leadership, Uyghurs have no clear focus for their aspirations. Some say they regard Aya Yusuf Aksegin, an ageing Uyghur nationalist now living in Turkey, as a potential rallying-point, but others dis-

miss him as an intellectual and so-called literary dilettante. Many Muslims resent the system installed by Peking but of their own volition from it. They accept, and even welcome, official recognition as the only way to preserve their own identity, but deeply resent what they see as an underlying inequality of opportunity and power. In half of the region, officials are drawn from minority groups, but almost all top positions in the party and administration are filled by Han Chinese. Any conversation on ethnicity is taboo. In 1949, Han Chinese accounted for less than 20 per cent of the area's four million people, but now they account for more than 40 per cent of the recently autonomous region's 14 million inhabitants. Peking has used it as a dumping-ground for hundreds of thousands of prisoners, turning Xinjiang into China's equivalent of Siberia.

The frenzy of Mao Tse-tung's Cultural Revolution, while less destructive than in Tibet, has left deep scars. Hundreds of mosques were closed or destroyed, and efforts to collectivise agriculture devastated the livelihood of nomadic herders, traders and small-scale farmers. The last serious attempt to challenge Han domination occurred seven years ago, when Uyghurs staged a brief and bloody uprising near the oasis town of Kashgar. Using arms stolen from an arsenal, Muslim nationalists set upon Han Chinese. Hundreds of people were killed when the People's Liberation Army crushed the rebellion.

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"We don't know if such incidents will be more or less frequent in the future," Mr Wang, the minority affairs official, said. "We must educate people in solidarity. Every country has a minority problem. Just look at the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia or even the United States. We are trying to find a good way to solve this problem, but it is hard to predict what will happen."



20/10/58

CHINA RESTLESS MOSLEM FRINGE WORRIES PEKING
MUNICH, JANUARY 31 - (NCA) - following nrtldt ippurad in
THE FINANCIAL TIKES, JANUARY 31, 1990

China's leaden have an anxious eye on the minorities beyond the Great Wall, reports Cottna MacDoogaD

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rebuilt and a modest amount of cultural
freedom encouraged, Me Hi truer are
deeply unpopular. In recent years there
have been regular outbreaks of inter-ra-
cial violence, with serious fighting in
Kashgar in 1991 and 1992 and distur-
bances in other centres such as Yining,
close i to frw SinoAovtet border. One erf-



mode list yes? show* dearly how militant the Moslem community In China can be. Last May, during the throes of the riotous crowd stormed party and totemic headquarters In Urumai, Xinjiang's capital, denouncing a Chinese book which had explained mosque

architecture and decoration in terms of Islamic art. The book, 'The Moslem Architecture of China', was published by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

wherever there was a Moslem community, a warning to Peking that it was not immune to the tide of Islamic revival sweeping across the world.

Currently China's inner Mongolian region is a teas sensitive but perhaps ultimately as threatening a problem as Xinjiang. The new and unexpected atafinVotiCQSIByiKBnSQrabtgger rate in government ecrases the border in the Mongolian People's Republic could

fluikt uS'feff*set up the communist regime, the Mongolian People's Republic has been Moscow's yt faithful satellite and lor the SO years of Sino-Soviet split, completely cut ctf^em- Inner Mongolia. With gtes- paet, however, the Mongolians are coming out of their shell, travelling more and widening their trade and cultural contacts. This, plus the news hum eastern Europe, predgtfated the two prode- Ammmrtrmtjpm jn UISP BatOT.

bonkally the Mongolian population

In China's Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, at 8m, outnumberes the Mongols In Outer Mongolia by 80 per cent. like the Modem peoples In Xinjiang, the Mongols suffered severely at the hands of ethnic Chinese in the Cultural Revolution.

But despite its Min* Inw^r ilntpnli has Utile autonomy. Prey to Chinese settlement for 800 years, today the Mongols' nrm prrmW»lv ewsimaed with eth-Mh' t tr*«T»ng ahmit IIG«~BWBtr tteally there Is no chance of closer union with Mongols over the border or ■180*9 teuaim auionomy.'tnxtveehsm Is not dws the arbiter in nationalist movements.

At least China's most troubled ethnic area, Tibet, is unlikely to be directly affected by thae erupting racial tensions, though it has the str-ongest claim of any to full independence. It has also battled the hardest for it, teeing cruel repression from Peking's communists ersfa uprisings guerrilla war.

But despite cultural links to the Mongolians (at ooe the Uim their spiritual patron) it Is geo-

graphically isolated, K baa little in com- "■On Will! the Moslem world on Its northern doorstep. Tibetans may find •Efi IB 'Rlt {I curare on China Interns- denally via the Dalai Lama, but Peking's main internal danger area asa tell-out spreads from the effects offl Soviet gkeaost is likely to

CRAIG SHARP THE FOLLOWING CONTRIBUTION BY FORMER NATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

CRAIG HARRIS IN ITS MARCH 10, 1991 EDITION,

UNIVERSITY DIPLOMAT LILIAN

Stimulated by
Central Asian
 republics of the Soviet Union and by expanded contacts with the Islamic world, Muslims in China show signs of increased restiveness under Communist rule. There may be as many as 50 million Muslims in China, spread throughout the country, but concentrated particularly in sensitive border regions, they find in religion both leadership and focus for long-held grievances.

It is no coincidence of course that the activities of the Islamic Movement of China, the largest of the groups, have been concentrated in Xinjiang, Tibet and the border regions.

The Central Asian Uyghur is particularly active in Xinjiang. Indications have appeared there for some time.

In 1988, a report was published that Mahon protested against the Han Chinese rule.

Medkhatil, a leader of the movement, is both a religious leader and a political figure. He is the author of a book on the subject of their struggle.

After the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Dalai Lama in 1989, the Chinese government's attitude towards the Muslims has become more cautious.

What he means to do about China is the subject of a book she contributed to the *Mime Eat*. She

By Lilian Craig Harris

separatist activities under ethnic or religious disguise."

Chinese Muslims have a history of opposition to central authority. In the 19th century, revolts devastated large areas of China and finally weakened the Qing dynasty. Their brand of Islam has strong elements of millenarianism and has been described as proto-Shiite.

China's Muslim Tatars in 1949

Of a more recent date, in 1953, a local attack on a mosque in Yunnan took nearly 1,100 lives.

Indigenous minority groups in Beijing have attempted to draft Islam into national service. China tries to use its Muslim citizens to promote political and business ties with Arab and Islamic countries.

Third World credentials. In 1953, the Chinese government awarded the title of "Friendship Ambassador" to a group of Chinese Muslims.

In 1990, a group of Chinese Muslims was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

In 1978, a group of Chinese Muslims was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. This was the first time that a group of Chinese Muslims had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

For example, the Islamic Economic and Technological Corporation has three offices in Egypt alone.

Removal of repression or violence against Muslims in China would likely be much more difficult for Beijing to conceal and could severely damage both political and economic ties with Islamic states.

Through the years, China has sometimes championed both the Palestinian cause and the Afghan

Meow wan. Of course, the Chinese government has always been cautious about the Muslim issue.

The official Chinese news agency predicted that "a new era of Islamic revival is beginning to dawn in the Muslim world."

China's Muslim Tatars in 1949

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China's Muslim Tatars in 1949

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China's Muslims: Unrest Is Growing

By IJHnn Craig

LONDON— Stimulated by an event* in the Central Asian region of the Soviet Union and by expanded contacts with the Islamic world, Muslims in China show signs of increased restiveness under Communist rule. There may be as many as 50 million Muslims in China. Spread throughout the country, but concentrated particularly in the border regions, they find in both leadership and focus for long-held grievances.

There is no evidence of out-of-control activities of Chinese Muslims. Beijing seems poised for a crackdown which is certain to include restrictions on foreign contacts.

The Central Asian autonomous region of Xinjiang Uygur is particularly vulnerable to separatist aspirations; indications of unrest have been apparent there for some time. In late 1988, travelers reported violence when Muslims protested at alleged racism by Han Chinese resettled in their areas. Last May, Muslims in both Xinjiang and Bailing marched to demand punishment for the author of a report alleging sexual misconduct by pilgrims to Mecca. Their battle cry: "Punish China's Rushdie."

After the declaration in February of a state of

separatist activities under ethnic or religious disguise." Chinese Muslims have

a history of opposition to central authority. In the 19th century, revolts devastated large areas of China and fatally weakened the Ch'ing dynasty. Their brand of Islam has

imposed restrictions on religious practice. Active opposition was repressed but continued to smolder. Muslims set up a short-lived Independent Islamic Kingdom in Henan in 1933, organized attacks on local authorities during the Cultural Revolution and staged a revolt that took nearly 1,700 lives in Yunnan in 1974.

Faced with such an apparently indigestible minority group, Beijing has attempted to draft them into national service. China tries to use its Muslim citizens to promote political and business ties with Arab and

Third World countries. Since the early 1930s, the Chinese Islamic Association has sent scores of friend-

ly letters to the U.S. and other countries.

Muslims suffered severely during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s. A post-Mao revival of the Qiyam Association

aged. For example, the Ningxia Islamic Economic and Technological Cooperation Company has free offices in Egypt alone.

Renewed repression or violence against Muslims in China would today be much more difficult for

to damage both political and economic ties with Islamic states.

Through the years, China has championed both the Palestinian cause and the Afghan resistance in words suggesting Islamic holy war. Offering support to the Islamic Conference Organization in 1981, the official Chinese news agency predicted that "a united and powerful Islamic movement will play an increasingly positive role in international affairs."

Endeavoring, unsuccessfully so far, to gain Saudi agreement to diplomatic ties, China recently accepted a gift of one million Korans from Saudi Arabia as well as funding for theological education in China. The Chinese authorities may now wish they had been more cautious.

The minorities minister complained that his work had been made "even more difficult" by ethnic conflicts in the Soviet Union, radical changes in East European countries and the award of the

The writer, a former U.S. diplomat, is completing a book on China and the Middle East. She contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

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Documentary about Islam in China

URUMCHI (Chin*). Thu*5 (IINA)
A six-pan 180-minute television ,
documentary series on Chinese
Muslims is to be shown in the near
future.

The film was shot in Ningxia,
Xinjiang and Muslim-inhabited
areas of southern China.

It will show the distribution of
China's mosques and Muslim
population, customs, culture and
education, as well as the eco-
nomy.

The series, according to a
magazine, will be distributed
overseas dubbed into Arabic and
English.

Meanwhile, a large picture album
entitled "Chinese nationals" has been
published by the I China Nationalities
Photographic Art Publishing House.

S. G.
16.8.1990

CHINA - CHINA SHOWS SOME SUCCESS IN ASSIMILATING ETHNIC MINORITIES
MUNICH, MARCH 29 - (NCA) - following nrtlcln »pp«trnd in THE
INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MARCH 29, 1990

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By Sheryl WuDunn
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WUKESHU, Pan*,—Bi flaiiai farrowed Ms Mow into a hundred wrinkles ss be tried to Husk of the diffcreoes between himself, • amber of tike ethnic Beni minority, nd the Hen Otinaae who rub bis country.

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"The only difference it the clothes sad the lood," mid Mr. Bi, « rioe grower with deep rants in mall village. "We Bam people cook our nest with pie bones in it But the Han people don't."

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QBXUI's aiarities represent only I percent of As population, bet there are 99 dinarat groups, wad 34 of them are ben in the contiYi southwest. Many of the minority groups live in oned-tribe omnumaitiea that are often hotbeds of dispute.

But at least in Yunnan Province the younger ■mnratinni are beginning a many across ethnic fines and blurring the distinctions between peoples. The Communist leadership hopes the trend ■HI guBoidi tty chances of conflict-

la any event, chances of an uprising amm dim. la Yunnan, far example, minority sroups make up one-third of the whole, but any effort to organize would be difficult became they are fragmented ami scattered through sprawling red-day Lilia and rice-paddied valleys.

Rifts often occur between neighboring tribes over land and resource*, rather than between a adnorty and the Han Chinese.

"The minorities here have always lived under mne fonn of rule, be it the Communists or the emperors," a Muslim student said. "In Yunnan, they are not united."

But the recent upheavals in the Soviet Union's oanooty regions have railed oococenu about prospects for stability hero.

Prime Minister U Peng recently called for great- or emphasis on minority relatkau, and the government is planning to merveae tu benefit* to certain adnorty areas. Yunnan spends the equivalent of S43 million on supplements to minorities, a government

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Yunnan's400^00 Moafau, msobersof timHui minority, itiD recall the conflict in 1974, near the end of the Cultural Revolution, when the army invaded to crush Maatim nbstiaao.

Muslim minority sin the **JEK** the djawwrfort on both

Officials my the Communist Party has helped nrice the standard of bvinx for many of them aodeties and weaned them non their traditional wayofhfc.

Ma Yiabsng, a amuor remateh official at the ■nail maacra at the Yunnan Institute of Natioo- tbtiet, said some groups used slaves until a few decades ago.

He said that the Yi minority, the largest in Ynnnu and an umbnOa race for Beni people like Mr. Bi, would punish its sieves fay binding their feet to a horse then made to gallop.

"In the future, there will be more privileges," Mr. Ma said. "The government is warned that the minarities aren't developing as fast as the rest of China."



China airlifts troops to quell

CHINA has airlifted troops to three oasis towns along the ancient Silk Road, after riots by Muslims in a remote and sensitive desert region bordering the Soviet Union. Western travellers returning from the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region say they heard second-hand reports of up to 50 deaths and mobs of knife-wielding rioters. But details remain sketchy, and there has been no independent confirmation of bloodshed.

The trouble began, according to a Swedish tourist, when Chinese officials intervened in a dispute at a mosque near Kashgar, a trading town in Xinjiang's far west near the Pakistan border.

Xinjiang - which means "New Dominion" in Chinese - has been bedevilled by anti-Chinese feeling for centuries. But the current outbreak may have been inspired in part by the example of Muslim militants on the other side of the Soviet border. The scale of China's reaction highlights Peking's fears of following Moscow in losing control of its own

From Andrew Higgins
in Peking

warned against "tumours". To reinforce local security forces, Peking is reported to have moved troops to the area last Friday, strengthening garrisons in Kashgar, Hotan and Kuqa, ancient oasis towns on the edge of the Takla-makan Desert. It was unclear whether they were from the People's Liberation Army, which was called in last March to crush separatist riots in Tibet, or China's paramilitary force, the People's Armed Police.

Foreigners have been banned from Kashgar, normally a major tourist centre. The town was the scene of a bloody anti-Chinese uprising in 1981, when troops were also deployed to restore order.

The new flare-up of racial and religious tension seems a clear sign that, despite stepped up security and a strident propaganda campaign by Peking, China's Muslims have been infected by the same contagion as Muslims across the border in the Soviet Union. Chinese officials have issued dozens of warnings in recent weeks about the danger of Islamic fundamentalism, and called for vigilance against

religion". Last month, a senior regional official announced a ban on new mosques and Koranic schools, insisting there was already "more than enough".

As in Tibet, Peking has tried over the past 40 years to tame Xinjiang by flooding the region with Han migrants to dilute the local population. After trying to destroy religion during the Cultural Revolution, it now tolerates Islam in Xinjiang and Buddhism in Tibet, but keeps all worship under tight state control. Muslims, most of them Uyghurs, a Turkic minority, constitute a majority of Xinjiang's 13.8 million people and resentment runs high against Han Chinese, who invariably hold the most important posts. Last May, thousands of Uyghurs and other Muslims went on a rampage through Urumqi, attacking the local headquarters of the Communist Party. The trend is recorded by a book published in Shanghai entitled *Sexual Customs*.

The real cause, however, was again religion, with Muslims outraged by the book's portrayal of the Koran as little more than a handbook of sexual deviation.

Xinjiang is immensely important to China's security. As well as the Soviet Union, it borders

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Moslem rioting reported in 3 Chinese cities

* THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

juries.

BIMiNQ- Chinese troops have been sent to three cities near the nation's far west border with the Soviet Union and Pakistan to quell Moslem riots, a source said Tuesday. The disturbances took place in Kashgar, Hotan and one other city in the remote southwest.

The government of Pakistan also notified Monday that the 4,000-meter (13,120-foot) Khotan Pass Autonomous Region, said the source, a Western traveler who was in the south of Kashgar had been closed due to a landslide. The pass, the main route between Xinjiang and Pakistan, was closed Monday also.

A Western diplomat who met a Xinjiang official Monday also confirmed that the rioting had taken place, but Chinese officials have refused to confirm or deny the reports.

An official of the State Minorities Commission in Beijing Tuesday said more than half the 14 million people in the arid, desolate province are reports of trouble. The Foreign Affairs Office in Urumqi refused to answer questions. Efforts to reach Kashgar by phone were not successful.

Ethnic tensions have risen under communist rule as the Beijing government moves Han Chinese, the Kashgar, an ancient bazaar and ethnic group of China, into the Xinjiang, threatening to make the Desert, apparently was sparked by a controversy over the budding of a mosque. Last May there were violent Moslem riots in Urumqi over a Chinese mosque.

Chinese authorities have recently ordered a dampdown on religious functions in Xinjiang, claiming that people are using religion for separatist anti-government activities. There were no details on how many took part in the reported disturbances, whether the troops, sent in Friday, were soldiers or the paramilitary People's Armed Police, or whether there were any deaths or in violence in recent years.

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USSR—SOVIET CENTRAL ASIANS LOOK TOWARDS XINJIANG

Munich, November 10, 1989

(RLPRD/Azade-Ayse Rorlich)

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Neither the scholarly controversy about the name and definition of Central Asia nor, for that matter, the borders that separate the Soviet republics of Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirghizia, and Kazakhstan from Iran, Afghanistan, and the People's Republic of China have had much, if any, effect on the ethnic, religious, and cultural homogeneity of the region. Whether it is referred to as Central Asia, Turkestan, Inner Asia, Middle Asia, or the Heartland of Empires, the ethnic mosaic of the area is dominated by related Turkic groups whose histories were molded by Islam. Political borders did, however, affect the cohesion of the separate ethnic groups of Central Asia, the level of their socioeconomic and cultural development, and their political socialization, and today the "divided nation" concept applies to many of them.

Territorial Distribution of Some of the Central Asian Ethnic Groups

Ethnic Group	Total number living in USSR	----- 1979 -		1980s
		Living in own Union or autonomous republic (percentage of total population)	Living in Soviet Central Asia (including own republic) (percentage of total population)	Living in areas of Central Asia beyond borders of USSR
Karakalpaks	303,324	92.9	7.1	2,000 (Afghanistan)
Kazakhs	6,556,000	80.7	91.9	800,000 (China) 3,000 (Afghanistan)
Kirgiz	1,906,000	88.5	99.0	97.0 (China) 25.000 (Afghanistan)
Turkmens	2,027,913	93.3	96.6	400.0 (Iran) 300.0 (Afghanistan)
Uigurs	... 210,602	-	100.0	5,500,000 (China)

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Uzbeks	15,391,000	64.5	99.3	1,500,000 (Afghanistan)
				16,000 (China)

Sources: A. Bennlgsen and S. E. Vimbush, Muslims of the Soviet Empire. A Guide, London, 1985, pp. 51, 63, 77, 95, 109-110, and 115; Sh. Akiner, Islamic Peoples of the Soviet Union, London, 1983, pp. 275-76, 292-93, 286, 302, 318- 19, 330-31, 341, 347, and 351; W. O. McCagg and B. Silver (eds.), Soviet Asian Ethnic Frontiers, New York, 1979, pp. 84, 108, 147, 159, and 195.

In past years, the nature and scope of the news the Kazakhs, Kirgiz, Uigurs, Uzbeks, and other Central Asians received about their counterparts living outside the Soviet Union were governed by the ideological and foreign policy concerns of the Party and government leadership in Moscow—as was the interest that Central Asians themselves were allowed to express in their kin across the border.

Recent developments in several Central Asian republics make it possible to argue that "a two-track approach" to Central Asians outside the Soviet Union may be emerging. On the one hand, there is still the approach determined by the way they are viewed by Moscow; on the other, there is a new approach resulting from the way they are regarded by republics such as Kirgizia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan. This new approach seems to be gaining ground because it is sustained by the growing interest of the Soviet Central Asians in their ethnicity and heritage and by the hopes they seem to have invested in the possibility of decentralization and enhanced local autonomy.

The majority of the Kirgiz living outside the Soviet Union are concentrated in the Kyzyl Su area of the Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China. Consequently, the attention they have been receiving this year in Soviet Kirgiz publications comes as no great surprise. Kirgizstan madaniyati, the Kirgiz weekly literary and sociocultural newspaper, featured an article highlighting the ties of kinship that exist between the Kirgiz in Soviet Central Asia and those in Chinese Central Asia.¹ Another article in the same issue focused on the literature of the Kyzyl Su Kirgiz, whose community numbers approximately 97,000 people. These are most likely Kirgiz of the Nagman tribe and the Ich Kilik federation, whose "territory" extends beyond Kyzyl Su into the southern and southeastern Fergana Valley.² In a later issue, Kirgizstan madaniyati also published an article by a Chinese scholar who specializes in the literature and culture of the Kirgiz.³

(MORE)

Compared with the JClrglz, the Uzbeks of Xinjiang are a much smaller community; there are only about 150,000 of them. Therefore, the interest that the leadership of the Uzbek republic seems to have taken in establishing a bilateral relationship with the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region cannot be fully explained on the basis of an "ethnic-cultural rationale." The invitation extended some months ago by the government of Uzbekistan to the leadership of Xinjiang to visit their republic most likely stems from a combination of cultural and economic factors. When, on August 1, 1989, Khidirbay, the deputy chairman of the People's Government of the Xinjiang Autonomous Region, arrived in Tashkent, he was received by G. Kh. Kadyrov, the chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek Council of Ministers. The press presented the event as testimony to the normalization of the relationship between USSR and China following Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the People's Republic. Such an interpretation of the Uzbek interest in Xinjiang may be difficult to challenge, but it is equally difficult to dismiss the possibility of an Uzbek overture towards Xinjiang motivated by economic interests. The state of the Uzbek economy and the multitude of ecological problems that face Uzbekistan today acquire new significance under the conditions of khozraschet, and the urgency of the challenges may well have prompted the Uzbek leadership to investigate the potentials of bilateral relations in their search for solutions to some of the problems.⁴

Kazakhstan seems to be yet another republic that is building a closer relationship with the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous region. In this case as well, a combination of circumstances may explain the change—i.e., the existence of a large (800,000) Kazakh community in Xinjiang, and economic and technological concerns deriving from the fact that oil is produced in both areas.

In its issue for April 14, 1989, the Kazakh weekly Qazaq adabiyati, which is published in Alma-Ata, featured not only a note on the publication of a volume of M. Makataev's poetry in Xinjiang but a picture of the title page in the Arabic script, which is officially used in Xinjiang.⁵ Soviet readers were thus reminded of the existence in Xinjiang of a Kazakh community for whom Makataev's poetry has as much meaning as it does for Kazakhs living in Chimkent or Alma-Ata. A heightened awareness of that community's existence has the potential of contributing to a reevaluation by Soviet Kazakhs of the concept of "the Kazakh ethnos."

Kazakhstan and Xinjiang are both oil-producing regions. Tengiz has one of Kazakhstan's largest oil deposits, but it presents serious challenges to those engaged in the exploitation of its reserves. The oil beds of the Tarym depression of Xinjiang exhibit structures similar to those of Tengiz, and a

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delegation of oil workers from Xinjiang visited Tengiz in June to address matters of mutual interest and concern regarding prospecting, exploratory drilling, and exploitation. Press releases in Kazakhstan noted that the engineers of Tengizneftgaz acquired from their Chinese guests valuable information about more efficient employment of the Romanian drilling equipment that, apparently, is used in the oil fields of both Xinjiang and Kazakhstan.⁶

Thus, recent developments in the Central Asian republics suggest that the interest various ethnic groups are expressing in the "diaspora" living outside the Soviet Union may be articulated even more boldly in the future, as it is prompted by both ethnic aspirations and economic considerations.

FOOTNOTES: . . .

1. K. Artibaev, "Bir tuugandik baylanishtar," Kirgizstan madaniyati, April 20, 1989.

2. "Kitaydagi Kizil-Suuluk Kirgizdardin Chigarmalarinnan," Kirgizstan madaniyati, April 20, 1989.

3. Chen Sin-Sin, "Kiyamattin mangizin angtaganda," Kirgizstan madaniyati, June 1, 1986.

4. "Druzbe Kreput'," Pravda Vostoka, August 2, 1989.

5. M. Makataev, "Kazdar qaytipbaradi," Qazag adabiyati, April 14, 1989.

6. "Kitaiskie neftyaniki na Tengize," Kazakhstanskaya pravda, June 22, 1989.

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Urumtschi:

meerfermste Stadt

der Welt

•2.1/>4.90

Text von Martin Llechtl:

Peoria 2?

BÜder von Magnus S5derb«rg uii Pterpaolo Mariotti

«Wundervolle Weide» heisst Urumtschi fibersetzt Wer sich der Hauptstadt Sinkiang nach drei Tagen und Nächten von Peking her im Urumtschi-Express nfhert, atmet Hbhenluft, nodi hingerissen vom Durchbruch des zerklüfteten Bogda-Shan-Gebirges, das der Zug eben passiert hat, sich von der Turfan-Depression fast tausend Meter hinaufarbeitend. Als würde sich die Fahrt verlangsamen, durchmisst der Zug eine weite Flsche. Weidegründe, dann wieder Fabriken. Und plÖtzlich der Endpunkt: Urumtschi sitzt wie ein Schiff auf dem Trockenem. Nach tausend Kilometem Eindde a us aufgerissener, steiniger Ebene mit Grasöscheln und vereinzelt Ansidlungen war hier eine Oase versprochen. Doch der erste Eindruck der Stadt ist steingewordene Havarie.

wurde die Eisenbahnstrecke Lanzhou-Urumtschi fertiggestellt. Zählte die Stadt noch 1950 100 000 Einwohner, ist sie inzwischen auf 1,2 Millionen angewachsen. Der meerfermste Ort, einst an der nördlichen Route der Seidenstrasse gelegen, markiert heute so etwas wie Chinas wilden Westen. Und bald verkfirzt Urumtschi die Meerfeme audi am Strang der neuen Eisenbahnlinie nach Karaganda-Swerdlowsk. Sie gilt als Zukunftsstadt - mit ihr hofft die ganze Provinz. Sinkiang ist reich an Bodenschätzen (Erd-51, Uran, Wolfram, Gold, Kupfer, Zink, SteinkohJe); grosse Entwicklungsvorhaben sind hier geplant und in Bau. Die Grenzregion wird ihre Doppelrolle als Brücke zwischen Zentralasien und dem Milliardenreich der Chinesen sowie als zukunftsstrachtige Westprovinz Chinas wahrnehmen. Darum scheint hier alles aus den Fugen geraten.

Urumtschi: Das Bett des Urumtschi-Flusses ist heute eine Autobahn - Oberspannt von einer Brücke, daneben ein Rinnsal, abgedrängt in einen unscheinbaren Kanal. Sie führt Richtung SÖdberge und Richtung Himmelssee.

Es gibt eine Legende: Ganz Urumtschi war einst ein grosser See, in dem zwei Drachen lebten. Im Osten aber, da, wo heute der Himmelssee liegt, am Bogda Shan, lebte eine Gfittin, Wangmung. Sie die Drachen, die bisher alien widerstanden, tflten - und g^JSsSffte es mit dem Kamm ihres Haares. Aus dem entstand die Hongshan-Pagode, die heute noch auf einem Felsvorsprung fiber Urumtschi steht. Das Wasser von Urumtschi aber nahm Wangmung { mit und füllte damit den Himmelssee, was beweist, wie sehr er zu Urumtschi gehfirt. Die Drachen jedodi liegen im Berg unter der Pagode begraben. Diese heisst darum auch «Gegen-die-Drachen-Pagode».

Urumtschi: Blick auf die HSuserflut, die an die kahlen, rötlich-braunen Berge schwappt, Abgasgeruch aus den Schloten zu Ffiss\$ñ des Fclsens. Die sonnenbeschiienenen Fronton der HocfaMuser, das unauffirliche Hupen und Ratterem schwerer Lastwagen. Ein Neybauquader, verziert mit einer goldfarbenen Kuppelkrone. Das Doppelband der Autobahn, aufglitzernd. HÖttenviertel vor einem Verkehrskreisel, von dem schnurgerade eine weitere Autobahn abgeht. Nebelhaft die HochhSuser der Innenstadt, fast dunkel drhend, kÖrpergewordene Masse.

Ein Vogelschwarm, etwas verloren.

Urumtschi: Wovon trfiumt man hier? Die grelle Leuchte des Video teams an der uigurischen Hochzeit Der BrSutigam aus der Oase Kaschgar, wo Marco Polo weilte und westliche Besucher bis vor kurzem nur mit Spezialerlaubnis hinkamen, sanft und mit fast sehnsüchtigem Blick, eine Wonne für jede Schwiegermutter, im Scheinwerferlicht des von ihm oder Verwandten bestellten Teams, neben sich die verschleierte Braut mit gesenktem Kopf. Links und rechts aufgereiht die nächsten Verwandten. Darfiber die kahle Wand des tumhallenartigen Raumes. Die ersten Musikklinge lockem die Starrheit, der Scheinwerfer erlischt. Noch einmal ersteht zu den iKlfingen des Rewapu, eines uigurischen Zupfinstruroents, die alte Kaschgar- und Mirchenwelt Langst sind die Uiguren in Urumtschi, wo das Fest stattfindet, in der Minderheit. Wie eine ^osse Familie halten sie in der Tumhalle zusammen, prosteten sich in ihrer alten Sprache zu.

Der phantastische Tanz der Männer, die den Reigen erÖffnen, die fröhliche Unbeholfenheit des vSterlichen Dicken mit der stolzen Fellmutze. Abenteuerliche Gesichter, die muselmanische iungmannschaft. Auch die MSdchen schon weitgehend einem westlichen Bild angeglichen, dem ganz China nachstrebt.

Wovon trfiumt man hier?

Der Vizedirektor des Filmstudios, der sich weigert, irgendeine Auskunft fiber seine Traumfabrik zu geben, geschweige uns hier herumzuführen. Er steht da, umringt von Untergebenen, die ihn offenbar umsdmmen wollen. Doch er bleibt fest, ohne Erlaubras von oben kein Gespfrich.

Die uigurische Studentin, 22 Jahre alt, die im August 1988 zum erstenmal das Meer gesehen hat und nicht schwimmen kann, abf die Frage, wo sie am liebsten hinreisen mdchte: «Ich mSchte in einem grossen Schiff fahren, einmal ganz vom grossen Ozean umgeben sein...»

Am Westrand des Taklamakan-Beckens

Die Landschaft auf der diinesischen Seite des Khunjerab- Passes ist vOllig verschieden von jener der pakistanischen Himalqjataier. Statt durch tiefe Schluchten und an steilen Hflngen entlang nihrt man nun fiber weite Hochebenen. Im obersten Teil des Passes wird <Ue Strasse noch fertiggebaut Hunderte von chinesischen Arbeitern sind mit Schubkarren unterwegs. Frauen setzen die Randsteine, welche den Fahr~~dam~~ begrenzen. Alle chinesischen Arbeitskrifte «»nd in grossen Zeltlagern untergebracht; aus den grauen StofTdfLthem ragen eiserne Ofenrohre.

Kaum ist das oberste Stilck Schotterstrasse Oberwunden, filhrt die nun geteerete Autostrasse durch weite Hochfiachen nach China hinein. Viele Kilometer lang geht es geradeaus, ~~dann~~ gibt es einen Knick, und wieder ~~kann~~ man das Asphaltband fiber viele-Kilometer weg in schnurgerader Linie verfolgen. Das GefSle ist so sanft, man es kaum wahrnimmt Stundenlang fShrt man auf HOhen von fiber 3600 Metern. Die Siebentausender des Pamirgebirges kronen als gewaltige, rundliche Kuppeln den Horizont Sie senden ihre Gletscher bis in die Ebene hinab, und die Strasse umflhrt in weiten BOgen zuerst den Muztagata (7546 m), dann den Kongur Shan (7719 m). Die Ebenen sind oft sehr wasserreich; die Talgrfinde sind mit GerOll gefullt, durch das sich die Flisse mSandem ihren Weg bahnen.

Tashgorgan, das erste grOssere Dorf, ist Hauptort eines autonomen tadschikischen Bezirks. Die Nomaden in der Gegend ge* hOren tadschikischen StSmmen an, das heisst, sie sprechen einen persischen Dialekt Ihre runden Filzjurten stehen hier und dort an den gruneren HSngen. Darum herum grasen Jaks, Kuhe und Pferde; Kamelherden findet man etwas weiter entfernt Die Pferdezucht hat hier Tradition. Hirten mit ihren Fellkappen reiten fiber die Weiden. Tashgorgan selbst besitzt mehrere GasthSuser hinter wef* ten, umfriedeten Vorhofen. Sie liegen alle an einer schnurgerader Allee, welche sowohl dem Durchgangsverkehr wie den Bewohnerfi als Flanierstrasse dient Eine altere Lehmsiedlung schmiegt sich an den Biss der zerfallenen Festung. Die Weite und Lee re Innerasiens v bis in den Ort hinein spfirbar. J

Nach guten fiinf Stunden Fahrt werden die TSler enger. Schnee- rutsche haben sich wahrend der Wintermonate fiber die Strasse ge- schoben und sie an mehreren Steilen in GerOllhalden verwandelt. Eine Schlucht tut sich auf, Felsbrocken und Reste von Sdmee kle- ben an den Schattenhangen. Ein Schlagbaum der chinesischen Armee sperrt die Strasse. Die Grenzregionen im Sfiden stehen nur Durchreisenden von und nach Pakista~~n~~ offen oder aber Personen, die hier wohnen. Gegen 200 Kilometer weit verlief die Internationale Strasse parallel zur sowjetischen Grenze; nun biegt sie ab nach Osten, ins Innere von Sinkiang, und bald beginnt auch die Oasen- landschaft von Kashgar.

•• Viele Flisse aus alien vier Himmelsrichtungen fliessen in Kashgar zusammen. Sie kommen von den Bergen, die die Stadt wie ein - Amphitheater umgeben, und finden eigentlich keinen Abfluss. Die grosse Oase teilt sie in immer kleinere Rinnen auf, die sich irgend- ■ wo verlaufen. Pappeln sind fiberall in langen Reihen gepflanzt, sie dienen, solange sie stehen, als Windbrecher; gef&llt, werden sie zu Bauholz. Das Flusswasser wird fiberall abgezweigt und abgeleitet, bis die • Flussbetten als Runsen zurfickbleiben. Die Landschaft selbst ist ebenfalls von Pappeln gesfumpt und von Wassergraben TlanInert. Die Oase verdiditet sich allmfihlicfa zur Stadt Der Ver- kehr nimmt zu; zu den Fussg&ngern kommen Eselskarren und kleine Traktoren, seltener Lastwagen und Autobusse; Personen- autos sieht ka u m . Das Hotel, in -dem westliche Reisende und Touristengruppen aus Japan untergebracht werden, ist das frflhere kaiserlich-russische Generalkonsulat: ein weites GartengelSnde mit

verschiedenen zweistOckigen GebSuden; hohe Portale auf Holzsfu- tien, Blumenbeete, Laubengtage, Wasserbecken. Ein zweites Hotel I nvird in erster Linie von pakistanischen Besuchern frequentiert; es ast das einstige britische Generalkonsulat mit seiner alten Umfas- cungsmauer, Ein gangs portal, Neben- und Hauptgebfiuden. Vom

P chdach aus blickt man weit fiber die Oase hinweg auf die Runde Berggipfel. ... ; ..

? Der Bedarfsverkehr filr die -gut 200 000 Bewohner des Stadt- zentrums wird von Pferde- und Eselskarren bewfltigt - zwei- oder vierrSdrigen. Auf der Wagenbrficke liegt ein Tuch oder ein einfacher ■ieppich; bis zu acht Fahrgfiste finden darauf Platz. Man sieht diese P/ehikel aifi alien Hauptstrassen kreuz und quer durch die alte Stadt INur auf einer einzigen, der «modernen» Strasse, sind sie nichf zu- ^lassen. Diese wird von vielstfidrigen Miets- und Bfirohausern aus Be ton gesfumpt und eine riesige Mao-Statue mit ausgestrecktem Arm ist ihr Wahrzeichen.

Kashgar ist eine muslimische Stadt bewohnt vom Turkvolk der jUiguren. Die tfirkische Sprache, in arabischen Buchstaben geschrie- ben, erscheint fiberall neben chinesischen Schriftzeichen. Es gibt sine Hauptmoschee neben dem Hauptbasar auf dem zentralen Jplatz, den ein viereddrer Uhrturm zierringsum haben die Buch- hSndler ihre LSden, die arabische, persische und uigurische Bficher und Broschfiren anbieten. Manche der Slteren SchmOker sind noch. in Petersburg und in Kazan gedruckt worden. BurgerhSuser vom Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts mit schnOrklingen gelben und weissen fituckverzierungen stehen hinter der Hauptmoschee. Hier wohnen Zahnfirzte, Goldschmiede und Kunstschreiner. Der Basar, auch «cHongkong»-Basar genannt ist voll von BasticgefSssen und Klei- tierstoffen. Die flammengefhrbten gelb-roten Seidentficher ffir prauenkleider fallen als eines der wenigen einheimischen Produkte besonders auf. Man ~~kann~~ in zahlreichen einfachen Restaurants chine- isch oder «muslimisch» essen. Die uigurische Kfiche zeichnet sich vor allem durch am Spiess gebratenes Fleisch und Fett aus. Nicht weit vom Basar bildet ein vielstfiddiges chinesisches Waren- haus mit einem Turin, der eine Wendeltreppe birgt einen Haupt- hziehungspunkt Trauben, Pfirsiche, Melonen und alle Arten von pemfise werden an den Strassenkreuzungen .von Bauern verkauft, die ihre Produkte mit EselswSgelchen selbst in die Stadt bringen.

; Was Kashgar von anderen grossen Oasenstfidten der muslimi- fchen Welt unterscheidet sind die Frauen. Viele der jfingeren Uigu- pnen gehen wie die Chinesinnen unverschleiert Sie tragen nach phinesischem Vorbild sogar Blumen im Haar. Man sieht- ebenso jaele Frauen auf Fahrrfidern wie Manner. Die Mfidchenschulen Scheinen ebenso gross und gut frequentiert zu sein wie. jene ffir |Cnaben. Gleich viele Frauen wie . Manner sind unterwegs auf den Bhassen. Es gibt Frauen, die Bauarbeit leisten. Einige altere Bfiue- pnen tragen locker gehakelte Gesichtsschleier, doch viele begnfi- gen sich mit KopftQchem. Han- Chinesen leben dominant neben ^ flen Uiguren. Wer mit den Behdrden zu tun hat, merkt bald, dass

ac es smd, die die Entscheidungen treffen, sogar dort, wo Uiguren nominell einem Amt vorstehen.

Von der buddhistischen Vergangenheit Kashgars bleibt nur der Rest einer Stupa am Rande der Wüste. Seit gut 800 Jahren ist der Islam die Religion aller Uiguren. Das antike Kashgar lag beim heutigen Shule, etwas südlich der gegenwärtigen Stadt in der gleichen Oase. Ebenfalls ausserhalb der heutigen Stadt liegt das bedeutendste Monument von Kashgar, die Grabmoschee eines muslimischen Heiligen, des Appaq Hoja, aus dem 17. Jahrhundert. Es handelt sich um einen zentralasiatischen Kuppelbau mit bauchigen Mauerwänden, welcher mit reich ornamentierten, herrlichen grünen, blauen, gelben, braunen und schwarzen Kacheln bedeckt ist. Grab neben Grab befindet sich im Inneren unter der Kuppel. Nachkommen des Heiligen, lokale Fürsten und Landbesitzer ruhen hier. Im angrenzenden Friedhof sind alle jene begraben, die unter der Kuppel selbst keinen Platz fanden. Der grösste Gelehrte von Kashgar war

Mahmud al-Kashgari, der im 11. Jahrhundert das erste Buch über die turkische Sprache verfasst hat. Sein «Diwan der turkischen Sprache», arabisch geschrieben, ist mehr als ein blosses Wörterbuch; er ist auch eine Enzyklopädie der Gebräuche und Sitten des zentralasiatischen Turkentums. Bis heute ist der Diwan ein wichtiges Quellenbuch für Turkologen. Mahmud schrieb sein Buch in Bagdad. Doch er gehörte der uigurischen Herrscherfamilie von an, und so schreibt er vor allem über die Sprache seines Volkes. Dass ein Werk dieses Ranges in der fernsten Handelsstadt entstehen konnte, ist ein Hinweis darauf, wie sehr diese schon immer eine wichtige Rolle als Mittlerin zwischen den Kulturen gespielt hat. Sie liegt an einem der Schnittpunkte des grossen trans-asiatischen Karawanenweges, den man als Seidenstrasse bezeichnet. Drei Wege führten von Kashgar aus nach China: dem Nordrand der Taklamakan-Wüste entlang, südlich um sie herum und über die inneren Oasen durch sie hindurch. Ausserdem münden hier die Handelswege aus Buchara und Samarkand, aber auch diejenigen aus der Indusebene, die den westlichen Himalaja überqueren. Dazu kommt, dass Kashgar eine landwirtschaftlich reiche Stadt war, in der auch grosse Karawaneen gepflegt, beherbergt und neu ausgerüstet werden konnten. Das ausgedehnte Oasengebiet erlaubte, stündlich grosse Märkte zu veranstalten, auf denen die Ankunft der Karawanen nicht gleich alle Preise in die Höhe trieb.

Am Wochenende wird die Bestimmung von Kashgar am augenfälligsten, denn dann findet der grosse Sonntagsmarkt statt. Schon am Morgen strömen Tausende von Bewohnern der umliegenden Oasendörfer und Gärten zu Fuss und mit ihren Wagen am fernen Rand der Stadt zusammen. Kaufen und Verkaufen dauert ganzen Tag über an. Alles, was zum Leben eines Oasenbauern findet sich auf dem ausgedehnten Marktgelände, das in viele verschiedene Sektoren aufgeteilt ist. Für den Hausbau gibt es Rundhölzer, gezimmerte Türen und Fensterrahmen, Strohmatte und Eisenbeschläge. Der Viehmarkt ist gross genug, damit man Pferde zur Probe reiten und Esel auf ihre Tauglichkeit prüfen kann. Auch Rinder, Ziegen, Schafe und die schweren baktrischen Kamele werden zum Kauf angeboten. In der Nähe betreiben Hufschmiede ihr Gewerbe. Stoffe und Kleider nehmen viel Raum ein - von Felzmützen und gestickten Koppchen über Reitstiefel bis zu Hemden, Hosen, Gürteln und Pelzmützen gibt es nichts, was hier nicht zu kaufen wäre. Holzmatte und Decken haben ihren eigenen Markt

Die Schuhflecker sitzen in zwei langen Reihen hinter ihren Nähmaschinen. Messer, Gesäbe und Tücher werden nicht weit davon feilgeboten. Ein umzäumtes Feld dient als Marktplatz für Fahrer alte und neue. Der Staat hat dabei ein Aufsichtsrecht; Käufer und Verkäufer müssen ein Eintrittsgeld entrichten. Barbier sitzen in Reihen vor ihren Kunden; Frauenhaare und falsche Zöpfe gehen ebenfalls zu ihrem Geschäft. Berge von Steinsalz, das in der Nähe gebrochen und auf Eselskarren herangeführt wird, werden neben Steinkohle und Nahrung angeboten. Lebensmittel gibt es in grosser Menge: runde Brotfladen mit besonderer festfälliger Dekoration, Eier, Obst, Zuckerwaren, Nüsse, Rosinen, Zucker, Gurken, Nudeln, fleischgefüllte Ravioli, in Bambusrahmen gedämpft, alle Arten Gewürze in offenen Stücken, Maiskolben, Mehl. Metzger bieten rohe Hühner, Innereien, Köpfe und Felle von Ziegen an; jede Tiergattung hat eine eigene Abteilung. Es gibt improvisierte Tee- und Essstube mit einfachen Matten am Boden und Tisch als Seilwinden. Frauen sitzen in langen Reihen vor ihrer selbstgesponnenen Wolle. Händler und Händler bilden einen besonderen Markt. Eine dichte Masse von Käufern und Schauwilligen drängt sich vor den Ständen. Vergleichen und Handeln ist ebenso wichtige wie Kaufen.

Kashgar findet an diesen Sonntagen zu seiner alten Bestimmung zurück. Die Stadt wird Treffpunkt nicht nur von Waren und Fursen, sondern auch von Menschen, die sich ungezwungen zusammenfinden. Früher hatte diese Kommunikation über weite Strecken hinweg stattgefunden: Karawanen aus entfernten Gegenden kamen vorüber, brachten Kunde von anderen Kulturen und viele neue Ideen. Heute ist der Markt nur mehr Kristallisationspunkt eines lokalen Beziehungsnetzes, das die Oase und die umliegenden Steppen durchdringt. Doch auf seine Weise erfüllt er noch immer seine alte Funktion, indem er die Leute der Isolation und Routine ihres Alltags entreisst, sie einmal in der Woche aus der

Bahn führt. Gärten holt und sie durch ein anderwirbelt in die Welt der Vielfalt und der Freude, die mehr sind

• • • • • (Sehnsucht)

' In Kashgar trim der Passweg aus Indian auf die Hauptkarawa*. nenstrasse, die Asien vom Mittelmecr her, t>is nach Chirj« durchquert und die die Geographen W 1975«*rtnihdm'mftder seither gelflufigen Bezeichnung Seidenstrasse-veVseKcn ha^tfn.Die 'Wejtver- zweigte Karawanenroute -wild *#t denj Altertuin begangen. Nicht nur Seidewar ein wichtigesthmsportgutiVutrigdaihr^ gelangten. aus dem ROMischen Reich Gold- und Silbergeftsse, Lei*, nen- und WoUgewebe, Topase, KoraUen, Bernstein, Wcahraycfc*' GUser und Wein nach Osten. Jndien steuertc Leinengewebe, Indigo, GewOrze, Halbedelsteine, ^erlen, Elfenbein. ka\$chmw-

China, indische Tongef&ssc
fOmischen GMbera aft
IKC

Herd cine none Rkhtung ein TMD « 'k''''fSLTSSS'S Nach einigen Kilometem findet er gritae Weiden.

Wn Pferd grasen zu tawen, onen See, dessen Wasser rein und klar ist wie ein

■ b und trinktih tangcn ZOgen. :•

Die Knwaneirouten umgehen so gut wie mbglichijk nukaiMdste, tedem sie ihren RAndern folgen, die whohen

gen Qberragt werden. Auf vielen Gipfeln liegt Schnee, und die Fime tiefem in unregelmassigen Abstflnden das Wasser, das das Leben jflMienweisc aufblQhen lflsst Solche Wasserttufe, ergfinzt durch von Mncschenhand unterirdisch gefabene Kanfile, die hieizulande wie dtiFETIran Karez genannt werden, lessen Oasen im Inneren "der |Wtetefl€||to^P^3>cr0hmteste; und grAsste von alien ist die-jAigc VdvKIar^^o Trauben gedeihen undj-woewar nie Regen ant, aber reidiUch Grundwasser; tells an Grt urtd Stelle gefunden, tills heibeigeleitet, ein grosses-und -fettes Landwirtschaftsgebiet ahmentkrLgn dem gegen 200 000 Menscaeni leben vermOgen.

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und .Sand, .

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iden spierfen die aus dem Westen einge- Reliapien eine bedeutende Rolle. Kocho warHauptstadt UnCraer'China zuneigenden Qu-Dynastie und den ihr folgenden Uiguren-Herrschera, deren Reich von 850 bis 1250

S&uerte. Die Ruinen lassen eine machtige vieredde Stadt, geome- tdsch angelegt, mil riesigen Maucrn und Toren erkennen. Die fasten europaischen Forscher, die sie vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg be- erkannten buddhistische Stupas neben manichflischen peln und einer nestorianischpn Kirche. In einem Ruinenkom- piex waren ursprQng'ch monumentale Wandbilder da Religions- ctifiers Mam (216-276 n. Chr.) mit seiner Gemeinde aus Auseiese- nen, zu sehen. Mani hatte im Sassanidischen Reich gewirkt und idort das Martyrium gefunden. In der Ruinenstadt Kocho wurden -aoch Fragmente von illustrierten Handschriften aus Manis •i^ichtreligion» gefunden, die deutlich auf den Stil spSterer persi- , adier Miniaturen hinweisen. Die Nestoriancr, deren Religion bis fpch China vordringen sollte, hinteriessen ihrerseits Schrift- im WQstensand von Kocho und an anderen Orten im OTQt&ft indef^jradie <%gros*Jf^&andelsv<gkcs > venasst Manchmhl ist der syrische Urtext daneben gestellt, weshalb man vermuten lrann, dass die sogdischen

Moschee in chinesischem Stil in Urumtschi, der Hauptstadi Sinldangs.

wohl nachempfinden kann. «Es gibt keinen Vogel oben und Iceih Her unten», schreibt sein SchGler und Biograph. «Weder Wasser aoch Kraut ist dort zu finden.* Der Schiller vernimmt aus dem Mund seines Meisters, wie dieser sich in der WQste verior,' wie ihm der Wasserscfalauch entglitt und der Inhalt auf den Bodenauslief, wie er .7jj^rAlpe umkehren.wollea, dann aber docfa vorwSrts ritt; da er iieber babe sterbjg^als das bereits T>nrrfiHii#wic%^^\»«iigrifrfiF. ter Richtung focB^efflHfe Ober sich ergehen lassen ~wollen.«<ifir schaute nach-alien Sciten aus, entdeckte nur Ebene ohnp.Ende, wb man keine Spur von pdcr Pferden findet. "Nachts lassen bdse Geister Fackeln hSfci^?%ie so zahlreicfa vqe Sterne sind.;

tags ein urn! hat einen Traum, in dem ein JDgmon Urn auffordert, wehers*- zurig^p Er ist etwa 200 Kilometer 'zuffl^ piSSm schUgf^^



4:£Z ^,9o

Petrie

rianischen Gemeinde ausmachten. Es gibt aber auch nestorianische Schriftfunde in uigurischer Sprache.

Der Buddhismus hat sich im Tarimbecken bis ins 15. Jahrhundert gehalten. Der Islam, der um die Jahrtausendwende ein- drang, hat ihn nicht zerstört, sondern eher überdeckt und allmählich ausgeschaltet, weil die gesellschaftlich führenden Schichten ihm zu- neigten und dadurch der Stifter und Gdner der buddhistischen Klöster immer weniger wurden. Diese Klöster, durch ihre Stupas gekennzeichnet, waren zahlreich in Kocho. In der anderen grossen Ruinenstadt des Oasengebietes, in Yarkhoto, die auf einer Felsen-

Das praktisch mederschlagsfreie WUstenkKma d«6 Tarimbeckew

iiat in den Ruinen und -in Einsiedlerh&hlen Handschriften und Malereien überdauern lassen, die in feuchteren Regionen zugrunde gegangen waren. Dieser Umstand hat den Westenteil der Seidenstrasse zum archSologisch bedeutendsten Teil-des langen Karawanenweges gemacht. Die Prspektion durch englische, russische, deutsche, französische und sogar japanische Expeditionen, die vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg begann, lieferte die Gmndlagen dafür, dass man sich heute ein recht gutes Bild von dem ausserordentlich reichen Gemisch von Völkern und Religionen machen kann, das sich entlang dieser Route stündig verschob und neu formierte.

Ein wichtiger Fundort für buddhistische Malerei war BSzaklik am Rand der Turfansenke, wo gegen 60 reich ausgestattete Kult-<Q^len buddhistischer Mdnche in eine Felswand Ober dem Murtuk- tiuss gemeisselt sind. Die Hdhlen sind allerdings von friiheren Forschungs Expeditionen «ausger&imt» worden, wie die Tafel eines Berliner Konservators namens Bartus vom 18. Oktober 1906 vermerkt. Die Funde befanden sich nebst vielen andern heute in Berlin, London, Delhi, Leningrad und Peking. In Berlin sind etwa 20 Prozent der abgebildeten Fresken im Zweiten Weltkrieg zugrunde gegangen.

Man hatte sie in die Mauern eines Museums einzuemittelt, so z&ldik bloss gedruckte Reproduktionen tier ursprQnglicfaen buddhi- • utischen Fresken,

Urn die eindrffklichste und am besten erhaltene Fundstelle buddhistischer Fresken und Skulpturen zu besuchen, muss man noch einmal tausend Kilometer weiter, an den Ostrand des Tarimbeckens, reisen. Der Ort Dunhuang rtellt den Ostlichen Scheitel- punkt dar, wo sich die Umgehungswege nOrdlich und sQdlich der Wflste, die in Kashgar auseinandergegangen sind, wieder zu- sammenfinden. Nicht weit von Dunhuang liegen die Mogaobdhlen in einem Felsenkliff, das sich Ober ein FlQsschen am Rande der Woste erhebt. An heute noch erhaltenen Hdhlen zflhlt man nicht /^•eniger als 392 Stuck; einst mQssen es Ober tausend gewesen sein.

vielen findet man herrlich erhaltene Wandmalereien und Statuen. Die filtesten stammen aus dem Jahr 366, die meisten und schOnsten aus der Tang-Zeit (618-907), die spatesten aus der Mon- golen-Periode (Yuan, 1271-1368). Manche aus der spateren Zeit sind tibetisch beeinflusst. In den Hdhlen lebten Mdnche, und jeder dieser Eremiten muss bemOht gewesen sein, seine Kulthhle mit der Hilfe von GOnnem so reich, bunt und eindrQcklich wie mdglich auszustatten.

An der AusschmOckung der verschiedehen Grotten wurde Ober tausend Jahre lang gearbeitet. Sie bilden deshalb eine Art Enzyklo- padie der chinesischen Kunst und ihrer verschiedenen Stile. Dia

... ..mi"Vjn U i '*.*
Hguren Buddhas und der zahlreichen Bodhisattvas stehen immer im MltWlpOnkt, enttodtftjt an einem zentralen Pfeiler, so dass das Hdligtum im Rult urischritUjn werden konnte, oder an die Rflckwand der Hdhle angelehnt. Die zentralen Buddhafiguren sind umgeben von allerhand dienenden Gestalten, damonischen W&chtern, schwebenden und segnenden Hinnunelsgestalten, Stifterpersonen. Die HdhlenwBnde sind manchmal mit Reihen von Hunderten Idei- ner Buddhafiguren bemalt, unendlich oft wiederholt, so dass sie wie Tapetenmuster wirken. Man findet aber auch hervorragende Landschaftsschilderungen aus der Tang-Zeit, wie sie im Inneren Chinas sehr selten sind, und ausQhrliche Schilderungen des paradiesischen «westlichen Buddhalands».

Ebenso wundersam wie der kQnstlerische Inhalt der Hdhlen war die Entdeckung einer gegen das Jahr 1045 zugemauerten und Oberroalten Seitengrotte in Hdhle Nummer 7, die bis zur Decke mit etwa 50 000 Manuskripten, Dokumenten und Kunstgegenstanden ange- fOllt war. Der taoistische MOnch Wang Yanlu hatte den Schaatz urns Jahr 1900 henim entdeckt. Er hatte die chinesische Regierung dar- Ober informiert, doch die europBischen Forscher Aurel Stein, Paul Pelliot und Sergei Oldenburg so wie der Japan er Zuicho Tachibana waren schneller zur Stelle und Qbcredeten den MOnch, ihnen grOs- sere Mengen der Handschriften zu verkaufen. Wang Yanlu lag daran, die Tempel und Pagoden von Mogao zu

konnte deshalb Geld brauchen. Peking liess schliesslich <fie restlichen Dokumente abholen. Die Schriften lagern' nun in London, Paris, Leningrad, Tokio und Peking, und sie sind nodi lange nicht alle bearbeitet und publiziert. Die Bites ten stammen aus dem 4., die jdngsten aus dem 11. Jahrhundert. Bei den meisten handelt es sich urn chinesische Schriften und Dokumente, und die weitaus gr&sste Zahl bat mit dem Buddhismus zu tun. Doch findet man auch «A11- tagliches», etwa Schuldbriefe, aber auch historische und astrolo- gische Schriften, literarische Werke, Urkunden und Verlautbarun- gen. Neben dem ChjnQsischen kopunen das Tibetische, das Uigu- rische, das Syrischfae so wie Sanskrit vor, aber auch Sprachen, die bis dahin noch unbekannt gewesen waren, wie das Tocharische, das Khotansaldsche oder das Tangutische. Neben den buddhistischen gibt es nestorianische und marilchaische Werke; Taoismus und Konfuzianismus sind ebenfalls vertreten. Der Handschriftenfund war deshalb von besonderer Bedeutung, weil im chinesischen Kulturbereich alte SchriftstQcke und Urkunden sonst sehr selten sind.

Dunhuang liegt in einer Oase noch ausserhalb der Chinesischen Mauer. Doch westlicfae AuslBufer des grossen Befestigungswerkes sichern die StadL Das Kaiserreich unterhielt eine stBndige Garnison in der Oase. Sie ist so zur westlichsten Pforte des eigentlichen «rhij^» geworden.

Munich, Aug. 2 - The following article appeared in today's Daily Telegraph:

By Graham Hutchings In Peking and J N Sathu In Jammu

CHINA'S HARDLINE security chief, Qiao st, has called for a crackdown on Islamic separatism in Xinjiang, the remote north-western region where Muslim radicals waged an unsuccessful "holy war", in April against the Communist authorities..

-At the same time the Chinese have closed Xinjiang's border with China.

No reason for the indefinite closure of the Khunjarab Pass on the Karakoram highway was given. But sources in Jammu said it was an attempt to keep Islamic fundamentalism at bay.

In a rare visit to Xinjiang, Qiao Shi, China's Politburo member in charge of internal security, said the government was highly concerned about stability in the region.

"Xinjiang is a multinational area bordering on several different countries. Strategically it is highly important," he told yesterday's People's Daily.

"In order to strengthen national unity, we must heighten our vigilance and not relax opposition to national separatism one iota."

Xinjiang is the largest of China's autonomous regions, and its numerous ethnic minorities account for about 60 per cent of the 15 million people living in the area. About six million are Uigurs, Turkic-speaking Muslims with a long history of resistance to Chinese rule.

In the past year the influence of independence movements in the Soviet Union's central Asian republics has spilled into Xinjiang.

In April hundreds of Islamic fundamentalists seized control of a town near the oasis city of Kashgar, calling on people to drive the Chinese out of Xinjiang and set up a Republic of Bast Turkestan.

An official Chinese report on the rebellion said that 22 people were killed before local security forces regained control. Analysts believe the number may be far higher.

Qiao made no reference to the rebellion during his visit. But his presence is seen as a sign of Peking's concern about the growth of Islamic-based separatist activities in the sen-

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• **Balram Tasden in New Delhi** writes: "Pressure from the people of China will some day compel the ruling circles to resolve the Tibetan problem peacefully rather than with violence and repression," the Dalai Lama, said yesterday.

The Dalai Lama told the Foreign Correspondents' Association of South Asia that the Chinese could suppress the Tibetans by violence; but if the Tibetans adopted peaceful means to oppose the Chinese, ultimately they would succeed.

He said he would not insist

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China alert on riots in Muslim area

PEKING. Wad (Rtr)
AUTHORITIES in Xinjiang, west China, have issued a tough warning against separatist riots in the latest sign of ethnic unrest in the Muslim-dominated region.

"Those who cause riots will be condemned for generations, cast out by the people of all ethnic groups ... and punished according to the law," said a Commun

ist Party document quoted by the *Xinjiang Daily* dated August 4 reaching Peking today.

The document warned of "separatist infiltration" from abroad and said groups inside Xinjiang were "out to split the motherland and destroy ethnic unity."

It called for a campaign against separatism but also criti

cised Xinjiang's six million Han Chinese settlers for prejudice against the eight million Central Asian Muslims.

In June, several hundred Xinjiang University students of the Muslim Uygur ethnic group marched through Unimqi, the region's capital, in a peaceful demonstration against plans to make them share dormitories with Han Chinese.

11. 8. 1978

China hinterland unmoved by Soviet reforms

By William Kazer

XINING, China -- The Soviet Union's dramatic political reforms have sent shock waves through Beijing but in at least some parts of China's vast hinterland, they have caused barely a ripple.

Few people know more than the sketchy details disclosed by the official media about events that have shaken the foundation of communism in the Soviet Union.

Few most others, historic changes across the border are overshadowed by the more immediate task of grinding out a living.

"I don't know anything about Soviet reforms," said a telephone switchboard operator in the western city of Lanzhou, capital of Gansu, one of China's poorest and most conservative provinces.

"This is a very closed society. We don't even know what's happening in Beijing," she said this week.

"I haven't heard about any reforms," said a ragged farmer selling fruit on a Lanzhou streetcorner. "I spend my time trying to make a living. That's hard enough."

China's official media have reported the reforms, proposed by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, that could end the Communist Party's monopoly on power.

But their accounts have been conspicuously brief and, unlike the up-to-date reports on ethnic rioting in that country, they have been days late.

The low-key reports of Soviet reforms have been accompanied by banner headlines in newspapers across the country proclaiming that China needs the

leadership of the Communist Party to prevent civil war.

Broadcasts from the West and even Radio Moscow have pierced the near-blackout on news of Soviet political change.

In the Chinese capital, where mass demonstrations for democracy were crushed by the army last June, shortwave radios abound. People who don't own one have at least learned more about Soviet reforms by word of mouth.

But in the countryside and provincial cities, where most of China's 1.1 billion people live, many don't manage to tune in.

In Xining, capital of the remote province of Qinghai, there were small rallies for democracy last June and thousands of Muslims took to the streets in May in protest a Chinese book that allegedly insulted Islam.

But there is little knowledge and even less open discussion of Soviet reforms.

"This is a very conservative province," said a geologist at a government ministry. "What is of most concern to people here is what's in their food basket."

Qinghai, about three times the size of Britain with a population of just over four million, is one of China's bastions of orthodox Marxism.

Eleven years of economic reforms have raised living standards, but the province's economy lags far behind the rich coastal regions of southern China, which have been transformed by free market policies.

Qinghai is still heavily dependent on the state sector and there are few of the private businessmen who have thrived in China's richer south.

"Our big problem is trying to stay in business," said one private street vendor who sells watches and cigarette lighters brought in from the south.

"Taxes are getting heavier and heavier and they are trying to put us out of business," he said of the harsh line Communist leaders who seized control of the party after ousting reformers in June last year.

Since then, China has glorified its state industry which was ridiculed for inefficiency in the heyday of reforms, and tried to portray private businessmen as tax cheats.

It has also tightened its grip on political dissent. Among those who express their opinions, many repeat the government's official line.

"We need the Communist Party to lead us," said Xu Zujian, deputy director of Qinghai Truck Works. "Without it, we would have chaos."

But even in Lanzhou, glimmers of dissent emerge.

"We listen to the BBC and Voice of America all the time," said a graduate student at Lanzhou University. "Soviet reforms have given us hope that China might change too."

He said political posters had appeared on the campus attacking the government as recently as two months ago, before they were torn down by authorities. (R)



WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27, 1990

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3,000 come from China, Eastern bloc countries

JEDDAH, June 26 (UNA) - Over 3,000 Muslims from China, the Soviet Union and other Eastern bloc countries are expected to perform Haj this year.

The number of pilgrims from China and the Soviet Union will be 1,500 and 1,525 respectively. Last year only 30 pilgrims came from the Soviet Union.

The largest Haj contingent from the Soviet Union for the last 60 years follows freedom of religion now being witnessed in that country.

The Soviet pilgrims this year will be the guests of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd, Minister of Haj and Endowments Abdul Wahab Abdul Wasie said. Abdul Wasie said that King Fahd had instructed the ministry to host all the 1,525 Soviet pilgrims from the moment of their arrival at King Abdul Aziz International Airport in Jeddah until their departure after completing their Haj duties.

The number of pilgrims coming from other Eastern bloc countries is 15 from Romania, 20 from Bulgaria, 10 from Poland and five from Yugoslavia, who will perform the fifth pillar of Islam as guests of the Makkah-based Muslim World League.

As regards pilgrims from some other non-

Muslim countries, more than 3,500 Sri Lankans will perform Haj this season. They started arriving in the holy land on June 8.

About 3,500 Singaporeans registered themselves with the country's Islamic Religious Council to perform Haj this year. Last year, the number was a little over 2,700.

Most of the pilgrims from all over the world have already arrived in Saudi Arabia by air, sea and/or land while the rest are scheduled to be in the Kingdom in a day or so because the Haj functions will start on Saturday (June 30) when the pilgrims will leave Makkah for Mina, ascent to Arafat will be on Sunday (July 1). The pilgrims will return to Muzdalifa in the evening for an overnight stay before coming back to Mina the following morning (July 2). They will stay at Mina for three days to complete their Haj.

According to a high Saudi government official, over 800,000 pilgrims from abroad are expected to perform Haj this year.

Meanwhile, the Saudi government has mobilized all its resources to provide maximum facilities to the guests of God such as accommodation, transport, health, communications, and supplies of food and drinking water to help them perform their Haj with ease.

'AR/TCRS

M9JING- China is maintaining a tight security damp oo towns in

for woton fcgioo of XmjiaQg to pre-

vent ethnic unrest dirad of the Mot-

lem Festival of Gqsbn next month,

foreign travelers have said.

They said that wdl-armed units of the paramilitary force, the People's Armed Police, were flown in last month from the regional capital of Urumqi to Kashgar, near the site of violent ethnic unrest in April.

They were billeted in a toorist hotel for two weeks in May but were still in foe area after leaving that ac- commodation, residents told travelers.

A Moslem public security officer in Urumqi told the travelers that plainclothes security personnel sent to Kashgar informed their families they would not be returning to Urumqi until the second week of July, after the Corban Festival. Kashgar, a key stop on tike ancient Silk Road trading route is populated by ethnic Uighurs, a

in Barco, instigated by acounter-rev- titat plaoneda
stationary gang
for independence.

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jjad! deacrts-ttye times tie size

About half of itsft mflhon people , share tire Modem faith with neighbors in Afghaiattn, Pakistan and restive Asian republics of the Soviet Union.

Foreign journalists are currently barred from visiting Xinjiang and tourists wnhmg to visit the popular tourist spot of Kashgar are restricted So group tours arranged through officialchannels.

A Western diplomat who recently -visited Xinjiang said numerous plainclothes police were stationed near the Id Kah Mosque, Kashgar's central place of worship.

A May 15 broadcast on Xinjiang regional television, monitored by the British Broadcasting Corporation, quoted the regional Parliament as 'wanting that a *vay small number of hostile dements in our society... may ' stir up new trouble. Governments at all levels must heighten their vigilance.'
A June 2 broadcast of

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

policy encouraged free speech, which led people to air their long-felt resentment to- wards Russian domination. Last week eight people were killed in a clash in east- ern Uzbekistan after youths attacked fed- eral troops, who were later lynched by a mob. The majority of the region's SO mil- lion people are of Turkic origin. They in- clude 12.5 million Uzbeks, 6.6 million Kazakhs, 2 million Turkmenş and. 1.9 million Kirghizs.

A resurgence of eth- nicity, suppressed since the Russians took over Central Asia in the 19th century, was perhaps in- evitable. "I think it's be- cause of the socio- economic situation and the people's low political F *z>ft'ij<n standards," suggests IRAC Goga Khidoyatov, his- tory professor at Tash- kent University and head of the Ethnic Rela- tions Research Centre in Uzbekistan. "Extrem- ists, who are found in any society, are cashing in on this.

Ethnic friction has jficindled ancient communal rivalries. L^st June in southern Kirghizia more t^m 100 people died in clashes between^rghizs and min- ority Uzbeks. The^rotire area remains under a s t a t e e m e r g e n c y . A few months ago, C anti- American riots in

Germans, Jews, Greeks and Crimean Tartars. Even natives are fleeing. In 1989 some 25,000 Uzbeks left Uzbekistan. Laments Khidoyatov: "Good specialists are leaving, worsening the economic plight" Communal issues sprang to the fore at a recent Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet session. MPs insisted on severe punishment for those who foment ethnic strife. They declared the republic the home of all residents, regardless of race.

freedoms will hardly breed Ww-scale fundamentalism."

Activist Abdurakhisr Pulatov be- lieves Uzbekistan wil^wlow the example of, many Muslim countries . in maintaining thp^eparation of religion and state. Pplatov, 45, heads the Uzbek democratitfmovement Birlik (Unity). In July hp^net with representatives of the region's democratic groups in the Ka- hstan capital, Alma-Ata. Everyone ex-

cept the Tajiks, who are of Persian descent, agreed to launch a move- ment for an integrated and possibly federated re- public of "Turkestan." Pulatov speculates that the Tajiks were put off by the name, which means "Turk state."

But, he insists, "we give it a geographic, not eth- nic name." For now, Soviet Cen- tral Asia will have

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urumqi But,

Amid the crises there is some room for optimism. Soviet Muslims, 60% of whom live in Central Asia, have fervently welcomed freedom of worship. They now have access to religious education and literature. Mosques are rising. The state no longer intervenes in religious organisations' affairs. Will all this give rise to Islamic radicalism? Khidoyatov thinks not "Religion in our country was not, to put it mildly, treated in the best way until only recently," he notes. "But these new

economic crisis with the rest of the country. Uncer- tainty about the future of the union has paralysed the economy, while the resulting hardships fuel nationalistic rebellions. But there is hope. Professor Khidoyatov foresees a possible common market. He predicts the grumbling will stop once people have food. "As the socio-economic situation improves, nationalism will ebb," he says. "And in

JOINT VENTURES

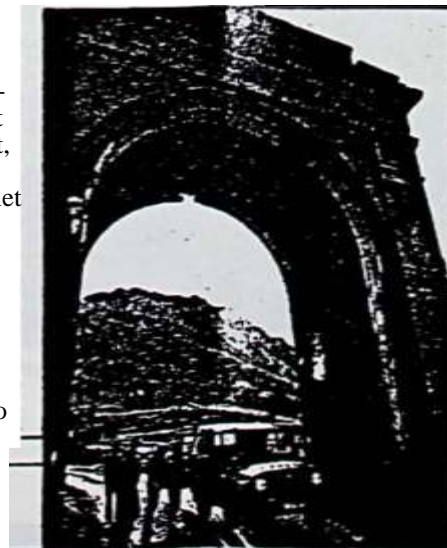
Good Neighbours Again



One symbol of Beijing's "great friend- ship" with Moscow in the 1950s was a common household item: the vacuum flask known as a thermos. Made in China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, the unremarkable container is again popu- lar in Soviet Central Aria. This time It is made by a joint venture in Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan.

"This is the first Sino-Soviet oper- ation in Central Aria," says general manager Mirza Sultanov. He plans to produce 1 million units next year, worth about \$15 million. "Our part- ners from Xinjiang supply flasks and we provide metal components," he says, adding that 32% of the profits go

Gate to China in Kirghizia: Trade



to the Chinese. "Chinese workers are paid up to 400 roubles [S243] a month — quite a lot by Soviet standards," says Sultanov, who has a Chinese deputy. Materials from China are sent over 1,300 km of road via Alma-Ata. Sultanov is set- ting up subsidiaries in Dushanbe and the Russian auton- omous republic of Bashkir.

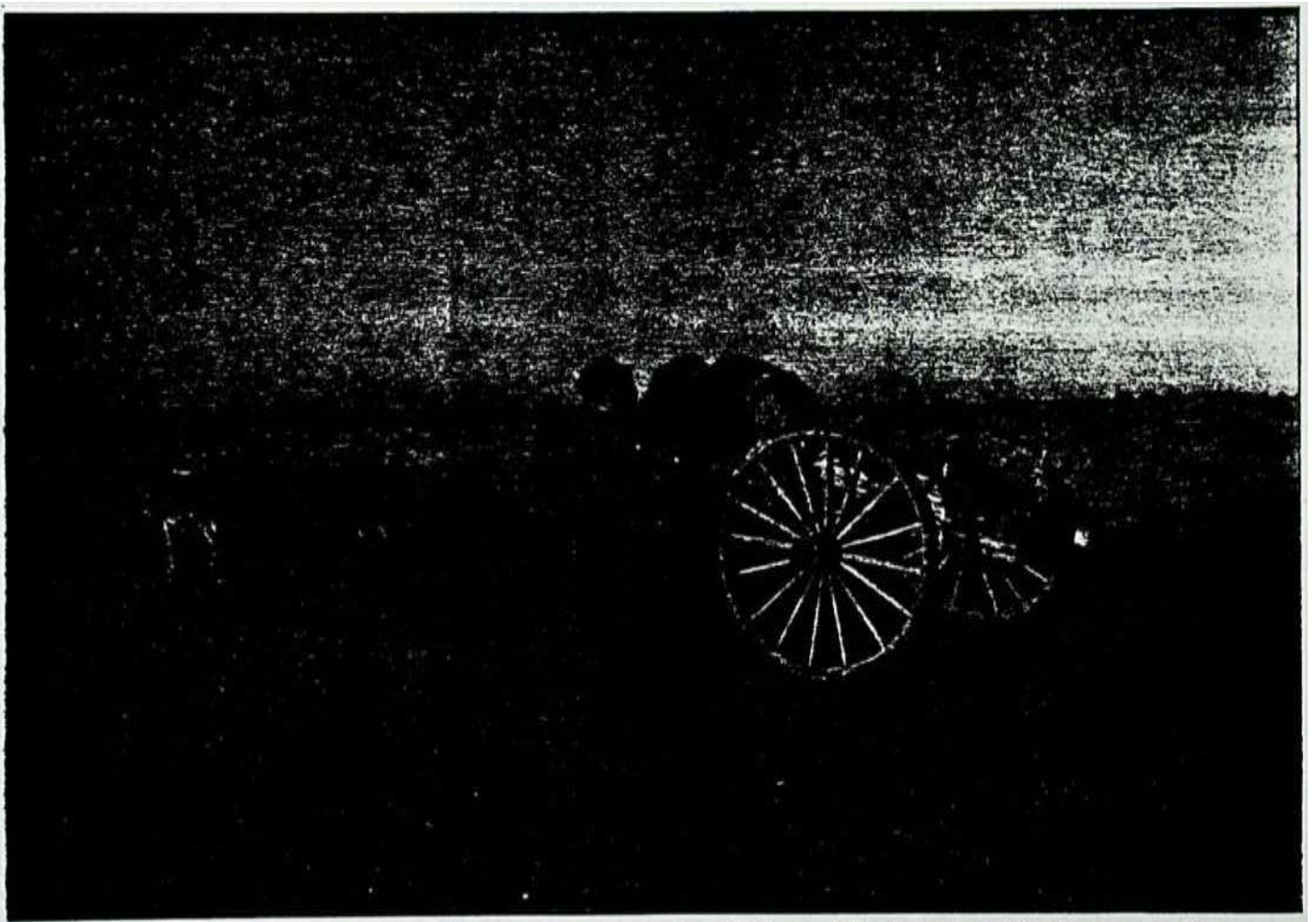
Soviet Centra] Asia may be the biggest beneficiary of growing cross- border trade. China has built a railway line through Xinjiang to the Kazakh- stan border. There are also weekly Aeroflot flights between Alma-Ata and Urumqi. Says Shukhrat Akhunjano- v of the Uzbekistan Chamber of Com- merce & Industry: "We supply China with mineral fertiliser, cotton wool, buckets coated with zinc, cotton waste, dried apricots and lint in exchange for potatoes, meat, apples, detergents, gar- ments and other consumer goods." The Soviets and Chinese may collaborate i next on agricultural projects and joint

Mosaic

Silk road images

The ancient silk road along which all manner of exotic merchandise was once transported was also the route by which Islam reached China, where it has survived for 13 centuries. Adel Dajani, a Palestinian lawyer and banker first toured China in 1974 and began to realise for the first time the wealth of China's Muslim heritage. Hong Kong-born How Man Wong began a series of journeys into the Peoples Republic of China in 1973, where he began writing and photographing a subject which has absorbed him ever since. Between them Dajani and Wong have produced the pictures and text for an impressive new publication "Islamic Frontiers of China", writes **Pat Lancaster**.

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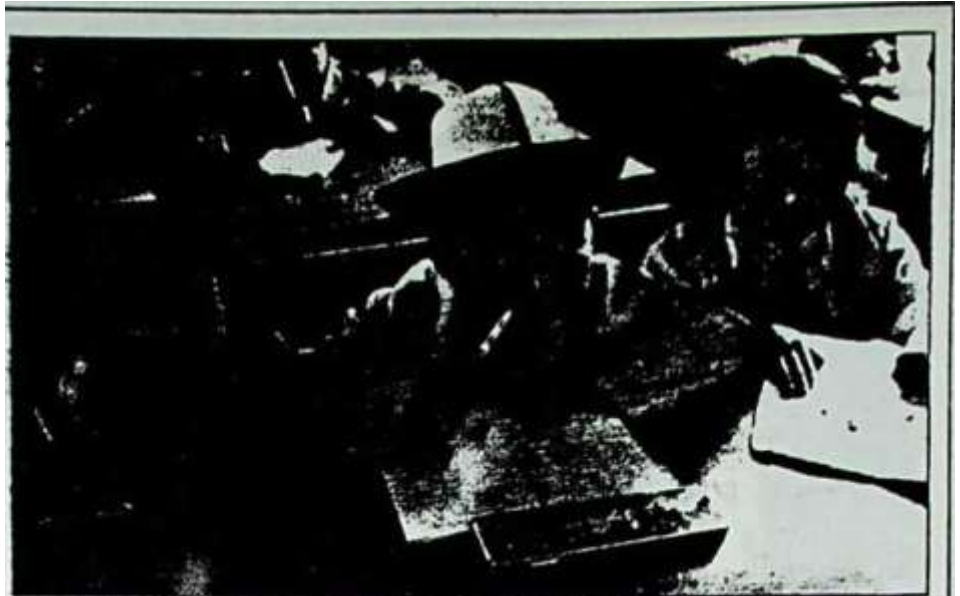
A camel caravan passes along the edge of the Taklimakan Desert in southern Xinjiang - following a route taken by caravans centuries ago.

Although there are no precise records of when the ancient Silk Route was first used, historical documents reveal that at the time of Julius Caesar the Romans were already intrigued by the fine quality of the silk produced in the Far East. Camel caravans travelled the route carrying not only bolts of the expensive fabric but also tea, spices, musk, gold, silver, cinnabar and other eastern exotica.

As well as commodities and merchandise the silk road opened a channel for the transfer of culture and technology. Paper making, gunpowder, the compass and cotton growing skills were introduced to the West. In return China received pearls, diamonds, jade, glassware, ivory, camphor, amber, sandalwood, coral, sesame, herbs and horses.

However, details of such constant trading practises might give a misleading impression of tranquility. The road was not a highway of peace and prosperity but an extremely dangerous route through harsh terrain. The Tang pilgrim monk, Xuanzang, describes how he found his way along the road by following a trail of human and animal remains. There was also the constant threat of bandits. Murals near the Jade Gate in western China, a popular starting point for ancient merchants embarking on the arduous journey, depict the dangers of travelling with scenes showing the storming of a caravan by wild-eyed bandits.

The Silk Road was the world's longest trade route and reached from China to Constantinople and then on to Rome, while the hazardous sea route stretched from Siraf in the Arab Gulf, through the Straits of Malacca and on to Canton. These two most vital arteries of trade formed the natural channels of commercial, cultural and, at a later stage, religious contact between the Arab world and China.



Kirgiz children leant to write in Chinese and Arabic at elementary school.

The official entry of Islam into China is obscured by romantic legend and folklore and impossible to verify, since Islam was not carried to China as part of a proselytising mission but flowed naturally along well defined trade arteries between China and the Middle East. According to Tang annals, 651 is the formal date of the introduction of Islam to China. In that year they record: "The King of Arabia sent for the first time an envoy with presents to the Chinese court and at the same time announced that the Arabs had already reigned 34 years and had three kings." The 'King of Arabia' referred to was the third caliph, Uthman. The Tang annals also refer to the Ta-shih (or Black Robed Muslims) and describe them as having large noses and black beards. "They carry a silver knife on a silver girdle. They drink no wine and know no music. The women are white and veil their faces when they leave the house. There are great temples. Every seventh day the king addresses his subjects from a lofty throne, in the temple in the following words: 'Those who have died by the hand of the enemy will rise again to heaven; those who have defeated the enemy will be happy'. Hence, the Ta-Shih are such valiant warriors. They pray five times a day to the heavenly spirit."

The year of 751, a century after Islam officially arrived in China, represents an important milestone in Chinese-Islamic history; it was the date of the Battle of Talas in which Chinese and Islamic forces crossed swords for the first time. The Arabs defeated a Chinese army which, according to Arab sources, numbered more than 100,000. It was the capture of Chinese papermakers at the Battle of Talas which was responsible for the introduction of paper manufacturing to the Islamic world, a practise that helped stimulate a flowering of culture and learning in the Abbasid capital of Baghdad.

Just four years after the Battle of Talas, the Emperor Su Tsung appealed to the second Abbasid caliph, Abu Ja'far al Mansur, to help him recapture Ch'and-An from An Lu-Shan, a military commander who had rebelled against the Tang Emperor and captured his capital city. The caliph sent 4,000 troops and the city was recaptured. Many of the caliph's troops remained in China, married local women and formed a pioneering Muslim community - the forefathers, perhaps, of today's Chinese Muslim Huis.

Marco Polo, the famous Portuguese explorer came across many Muslim enclaves on his travels in China during the Yuan dynasty and the celebrated Arab traveller, Ibn Battuta, wrote following a visit to the city of El Khansa (probably modern day Sian): "This is the largest city I have seen on the face of this earth. When we approached the city we were met by its judge, the presbyters of Islam and the great merchants . . . There are in the city a great many Muslims, with some of whom I resided for 15 days."

The extensive foreign trade between the Middle East and China and the newly established Muslim communities, introduced many technical and artistic skills which played an important role in China's history and development. Islamic techniques in astronomy resulted in improved methods of Chinese navigation and led to the founding in Beijing of the Royal Observatory by Jamal al Din, during the Yuan dynasty. For several centuries after its foundation it was customary for a Muslim to be the Director of the Observatory.

In 1339 the Muslim calendar was adopted and was used for more than 300 years before being replaced by the Gregorian calendar in 1669. The influence of Islamic architecture can be seen in the work of Muslim architect

As in the Middle East, fadonry is a popular sport. The hawk is used for small animals, the golden eagle for larger game.





Ikhtiyar **al** Din, whose design of the North Sea area of Beijing was claimed to be the precursor of the famous Imperial Palace.

The Ming Dynasty saw the culmination of trade and cultural contacts between the Middle East and China. The Ming founder, T'a Tsuwas, was reputed to be a Muslim, but even though this cannot be verified, he was certainly influenced by Islamic customs and was a devout man who forbade the drinking of wine and encouraged the translation of many scientific texts into Chinese. Several

'The history of Islam in China is a story of adaptation and compromise..

naval expeditions from China to the Middle East were undertaken more than a hundred years before Europeans had reached as far as the Indian Ocean. And, as a result of the increased flow of Chinese travellers to the Middle East region, the great Ming geographies also contained detailed information on Arab cities such as Makkah and Medina. The Hajj began to be undertaken by Chinese Muslims and in 1642 the first indigenous Chinese Muslim literature was created - the five volume *True Explanation of the Correct Religion* by Wang Tai Yu.

The long history of Islam in China is a story of adaptation and compromise underlined by a fundamental inner cohesion which accounted for the survival of the religion in its Confucian environment. Throughout Chinese history the intermingling of these two religious systems has been a delicate process which on many occasions has resulted in confrontation and bloodshed. The 19th century saw several Muslim rebellions; in Yunnan, where Tu Hsui established a separate Muslim state for 16 years and was known as Sultan Sulaiman; in Kansa where the leader, Ma Hualung, tried to establish an Islamic state; and in East Turkestan which was ruled for over 50 years by the Muslim Yakub Beg. The 20th century saw the conflicts continue, culminating in the repression and attempted abolition of all religion during the Cultural Revolution and the flare up of racial hostilities between various groups.

In spite of these conflicts and tensions, Islam is now viewed as indigenous to China - the religion which arrived with the Arabs more than a thousand years ago is still going strong. ■

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A group of Tajik woman gather to celebrate a wedding. The silver headdress is usually worn by a bride.



A Tajik boy near the Afghan border wearing the traditional lambskin hat.



Shamir's rebuff to Bush

John Law

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Europe's strong line Sharon and the
immigrants Iran-Iraq: towards a
breakthrough? The Mecca tragedy

Shada Islam

Paul Adams

Liesl Graz

Godfrey Jansen

Why Israel goes Right The US,
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Israel Shahak Jane

Hunter John King

Lillian Craig Harris

China: the choice between Marx and Allah

by Lillian Craig Harris

Security forces in China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region claim to have suppressed an Islamic "holy war" for independence in early April. State controlled news media said rebels amassed ammunition and weapons before striking at the town of Baren near Kashgar on 5 April. The revolt was described as led by "a very small number of ruffians" who "forced some ill-informed masses" to follow them. Quashed one day later, according to Chinese sources, the "armed counter-revolutionary rebellion" cost 22 lives.

Information remains sketchy as outsiders were banned from Xinjiang as soon as trouble started. But reports from foreign travellers suggest a more serious problem, with up to 60 deaths in clashes between Muslims and Han Chinese and the need to airlift troops to regain control. Chinese accounts have themselves been contradictory, at first claiming that religious and ethnic tensions had no part in the unrest

A history of bloody opposition

There are perhaps 50 million Muslims in China - the official figure is less than 20 million - scattered across the country in some 11 ethnic groups. China's Muslims have a history of bloody opposition to central authority. Nearly nine million live in Xinjiang and twice already this century, in 1933 and 1944-49, Muslim Uygur nationalists have sought to wrest Xinjiang from central Chinese control. Kashgar, a major town on the ancient Silk Road, was the site of a serious anti-government revolt in 1981.

Clearly and with reason, Chinese authorities are deeply anxious about unrest in Xinjiang. Muslim aspirations not only threaten the already troubled central government, but repression could damage China's valued ties with the Islamic world. Xinjiang, moreover, is home to China's nuclear testing programme at Lop Nor and shares a 4,000 mile border with the USSR, as well as frontiers with Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Recent months have brought a spate of official warnings that sectarian tendencies will not be tolerated and "no one is allowed to use religion to disrupt social order". Following the declaration of a state of emergency in Soviet Tajikistan in February, Prime Minister Li Peng claimed that divisive forces in "religious garb" are attempting to "infiltrate into our ranks when we contact people from other countries".

Xinjiang's 120,000 strong Kirgiz community, apparently hind the current resistance, is one of several ethnic groups related to Muslims in the Soviet Union. One result of recently improved Sino-Soviet relations has been a great increase in cross-border trade and social contact. Significantly, China now complains that Moscow's failure to control the fringes of its empire poses a threat to China's unity.

The Americans and the pan-Turkic nationalists have likewise been accused by China of rallying "local scum" against central authority. Particular venom is reserved for Isa Alptekin, last surviving leader of the fledgling state of East Turkestan, crushed by Chinese Communist forces in 1949. Now living in Istanbul, elderly and blind, Isa Bey denies any links with the present unrest and says he favours passive resistance. But for the 15 million Uygurs of Central Asia, some 6.6 million of them in Xinjiang, he remains a potent symbol of

Causes of unrest

Nonetheless, causes for unrest are more apparent closer to home. Violence in Xinjiang is just the latest in a series of recent confrontations between Muslims and the Chinese authorities, sparked as much by official callousness towards religious sensitivities as by deliberate attempts to "dilute" the Islamic population. Large scale resettlement of non-Muslims in traditionally Muslim areas (similar to government resettlement activities in Tibet) is deeply resented. Uygurs now constitute less than half the population of their Autonomous Region and claim control by outside "colonists".

Moreover, although China denies it has changed its religious policy, within the past two years Muslims have been told they are no longer exempt from China's strict birth control regulations. And since the beginning of this year, a ban on the building of new mosques and new Quranic schools has gone into effect. Other recent Muslim unhappiness has focused on efforts to integrate university dormitory facilities for Muslim and non-Muslim students, a move seen to compromise the Islamic prohibition on eating pork. Muslims also complain of a severe shortage of trained mullahs and of restrictions on theological education.

The last known large-scale revolt by Chinese Muslims occurred in 1974 in the southern province of Yunnan. Although some 1,700 persons were said to have died, this only became known to the outside world years later. Details of the revolt have never been made available and Chinese authorities will certainly attempt to maintain a similar blackout on whatever is happening in Xinjiang. But the chances of completely closing the window into the interior have been eroded by over a decade of Deng era "open door" policies. Stimulated by ethnic unrest in the Soviet Union and perhaps hoping to profit by the government's preoccupation with its own internal power struggle, China's Muslims are increasingly vocal and resistant to central authority.

Following the Communist victory in 1949, all religious practice in China, including that of Islam, was severely restricted. By the early 1950s, local Muslim rebellions had been suppressed and Islamic affairs were subordinated to the dictates of the official China Islamic Association. During the Cultural Revolution, Muslims were especially harshly treated. Holy places were desecrated and even prayer was forbidden. Uygur exiles claim that 360,000 compatriots were killed by the Chinese between 1950 and 1972 and 29,000 mosques closed.

Polishing the image

Following the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution, China's efforts to restore a positive international image included polishing its Islamic credentials. Some 20,000 mosques were built or reopened, Arabic and Uyghur editions of the *Qur'an* were printed and from 1979 people were allowed to perform the *Haji*. According to official figures, some 6,500 believers from Xinjiang did so between 1980 and '87.

Delegations sponsored by the China Islamic Association have been extensively deployed to the Arab world as envoys of goodwill, trade and political cooperation. Muslim to Muslim business relationships are cultivated by entities such

fices in Egypt alone.

Aspiring to present itself as a defender of Islam or even as an honorary Muslim state, China has championed both the Palestinian cause and the Afghan resistance in terms suggesting support for Islamic holy war. But China's wooing of Saudi Arabia, the only Arab state with which it still has no official ties, has produced perhaps the most blatant attempts to use Islam as a political tool. During the 1980s, the China Islamic Association has been permitted to accept large donations from the Saudi run World Muslim League, an exception to the general Chinese prohibition on outside funding or religious activity. Theological education, Arabic language training and even, according to one report, a Saudi gift of one million copies of the *Qur'an*, have been accepted by China, though it is not known if transfer has occurred.

The threat to trade

Judging by present claims of outside interference, Chinese authorities may now wish they had been more cautious. If China is seen as a persecutor of Muslims, its hope for diplomatic ties with Saudi Arabia might evaporate and extensive trade ties with the

Arabs could suffer, Equally harmful, given China's precarious economic state, the prospect of lucrative Iranian construction contracts could be threatened.

For the West, Muslim unrest in China should signal yet another threat. Already resistant to international pressures to limit its arms sales to the Middle East in both kind and quantity, China could well seek to counter embarrassment over suppression of its Muslim citizens by an even more generous arms transfer policy to countries such as Iraq and Iran.

Until recently, Chinese officials have been smugly assertive that the political aspirations of China's Muslims are controllable by the state. Reminded that even the *Hajj* may expose Chinese to "outside influence", a Chinese scholar in London said confidently, "we only send those we can trust". But the more open policy of the 1980s is now under review. Contacts between Chinese Muslims and foreigners are already being restricted and will certainly now be more closely monitored.

The authoritative *People's Daily* declared some months ago that Chinese Muslims "must choose between Marx and

from the Arab press

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Algeria is infectious

al-Nahar (Lebanese dally)

By Ghassan Tuani, 18 June

The Algerian elections have proven that Islamist movements in our region need not be "Khomeinist". They are equally viable in

Sunni societies, and are not linked intrinsically to Shi'ite ideology. They do not require any connection with Iran to succeed, but can thrive within national borders, and define for themselves limits in terms of their demands, orientation and leadership.

Increasingly, these movements are going to embody the public yearning for change and "rejection" of existing regimes, in this age of the demise of Marxism - both as Communist ideology and as a blueprint for class-based political struggle - the Islamist movements are becoming the true expression of economic frustration, of the revolution of the poor and deprived. They are the means of venting rage against the ruling classes - particularly the wealthy bourgeoisies nurtured by ruling parties. And they aspire to replace all parties and fronts of the "nationalist" variety, about which the less said the better.

Yet because these Islamist movements are not themselves nationalist, their influence quickly crosses borders. They are infectious. Having proved successful or seized power in one country, the effect spreads easily.

Furthermore, these movements cannot be suppressed politically or through the various sorts of manoeuvres we have witnessed in the recent elections in Tunisia, Kuwait and Syria. Neither can they be subjugated by military force, as some in Algeria itself have been proposing, or some in Iran once imagined. It would not be hard to envisage entire armies joining these Islamist movements if they were ordered to crush them. This is precisely what happened when armies

such as Romania.

So, is the "infectiousness" of the Algerian example inevitable? Not necessarily, as the present situation in Libya and Morocco, for example, would suggest. Islamist movements are capable of being absorbed into the political mainstream rather than subjugated. This is more or less what is happening in Jordan, and remains possible - indeed likely - in Egypt.

But religious movements are also volatile, potentially highly explosive. Given a detonator, they could burst forth throughout the region. All they require is one of the following factors, or a combination thereof:

1. Failure of all or some Arab regimes to rise to the policy challenges of the 1990s and beyond, being posed primarily by Europe, but also America and the Western world as whole, including the New Russia.

2. A retrenchment of employment markets, coupled with economic recession and the accompanying feeling of despair.

3. The vanquishing of the traditional schools of Arab policymaking by a fundamentalist Israel - which after all, was the first political system based on fundamentalist religious ideology to be introduced into the region.

4. Palestinian despair, and the effect this creates around Palestinian communities living in countries such as Lebanon, Jordan and Kuwait. As repression of the *intifada* increases, the conditions are created for a revolutionary explosion in the countries where popular solidarity with Palestine is strongest. The process is similar to that under which past defeats prompted military coups in Syria, Egypt and Iraq.

Put simply, the volcano can erupt everywhere, sparing nobody, if the religious movements unite with, or are brought to the fore by, a Palestinian revolution, an economic backlash, or a general feeling of political despair...