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## Economist

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NATIONAL RESEARCH CENTER
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# China fears for its wild west

NHGAR

WHEN President Clinton appointed was special representative this month to keep an eye on Tibet, he might also have given some thought to another discontented Chinese region, Xinjiang. Although the Tibetans' demands for independence are well known, the growing rebellion in Xinjiang could eventually have a greater impact on the area.

Indigenous Uighurs in Xinjiang want independence for the land they call East Turkestan. Although formally "autonomous", Xinjiang takes its orders from Beijing. The 6m Han Chinese immigrants have reduced the Musician Uight.

have reduced the Muslim Uighurs to 54% of the population. The Uighurs fear that, if the influx continues, they will become the minority. As it is, the Chinese get the best-paid jobs, while about 25% of adult Uighurs are believed to be unemployed. Hundreds of mosques have been closed. Uighur schools are neglected.

This year, thousands of angry Uighurs have taken to the streets to protest at repressive Chinese rule. The protests started in Yining in February. Since then, according to Uighur sources, there have been about 40 uprisings. In late September, it was recently disclosed, Uighurs chanting

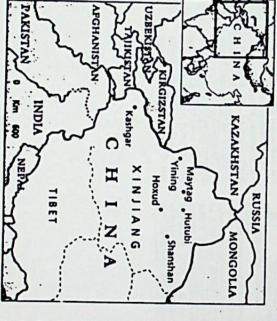
anti-communist and anti-Chinese slogans occupied government offices in half a dozen towns, among them Shanshan, Hoxud and Hutubi. According to a Hong Kong newspaper with links to the region, troops were met with home-made bombs and machinegun fire. Some Uighurs held out for six days. Buildings were destroyed, 80 people were killed and more than 200 were injured; 800 separatists were arrested. Past experience suggests their fate will be execution or the labour camps. The Uighurs seem undeterred. The latest exploit by Uighur guerrillas is to set fire to

an oil refinery at Maytag

Uzbekistan, America's favoured ally in American government. China also eyes oilfield, a deal that American oil firms were after, strongly supported by the develop Kazakhstan's second-largest serves. China recently won a contract to states themselves have oil and gas refrom its heartland. The Central Asian roads, railways and pipelines westward With this in mind, China is building new significantly, it borders Central Asia, sons China values Xinjiang. The Chinese dle Eastern oil in relative safety should there ever be war in the South China Sea. have ruled it on and off since 1759. More hrough which China could import Mid-Oil and minerals are among the rea

Central Asia. A railway through Kirgizstan (eager for Uzbek gas) across the Chinese border to Kashgar would give landlocked Uzbekistan a route to a seaport and East Asian markets.

Such plans depend on keeping Xinjiang secure. Railways, roads and pipelines are vulnerable to guerrilla attacks. At the congress of China's Communist Party in September, the situation in Xinjiang was said to be grave. The large garrison that China keeps there is a deterrent to dissent, but, as other countries have discovered, force alone may not be enough to repress deeply felt demands for independence.



WASHINGTON

At the same time, the Royal Dutch' Shell Group, based in the Netherlands, is preparing to build a \$2.5 billion gas pipeline from Turkmenisian to Turkey via Iran.

France, Russia and Iran explain their deal simply as good economics. But the world runs on oil and gas, and those who control it wield commercial Russia's gas conglomerate, and Malaysia's state oil company. Pe-tronas, to develop fran's gas reserves. n obvious disregard for Americently announced a \$2 billion can sanctions against Iran, the French oil company Total reoint venture with Gazprom, Kazakhstan, that remain undecided.

(4) Two options exist: a "southern carri-(2) 0

and geopolitical power

kets. For France, the deal will gain it new influence with Russia and Iran, scarce foreign investment and penewhile raising its profile in the Middle gressive expansion into foreign marprom will be able to continue its agtary and promote terrorism. Gazcome that could modernize its milltrate new markets, generating in-The deals will allow Iran to attract

rope, Eurasia and Iran.

signal the emergence of a new-stra-tegic alliance of commercial players, backed by their governments, seeking to pre-empt the United States in the resource-rich Caspian region. The Total and Shell deals, in fact

make Jundamental choices about its policy toward the South Caucasus and central Asia and their powerful neighbors, Russia, Turkey, Iran and clarify whether it has vital interests in who develops the region's oil and where the pipelines are built. In the process, the United States will have to reluctant American Government to These developments are forcing a

> Most troubling, the Total and Shell deals would allow Russia and Iran to commercially viable project.



Torthis region only two main pinelines will be built in the next five to
seven years. The first, already under
construction, will carry crude oil
from Kazakistan's Tengiz oil field
across Russia to the Black Sea port of
Nove-rossiysk. It is the route of the
second pipeline, from Azerbailan with
eventual links, to Turkmenistan and out in the Caspian. soon or it will lose America must act

the next five to seven years and to gain substantial control of Caspian access to global markets. The consequences would be dire.

ridor" from Baku, in Azerbaijan, west

through the Caucasus to the Mediter-

already beginning to back away from investing in the Baku-Ceyhan pipeling, hoping that a softening American dering Washington's policy toward the Caspian hollow and undermining our broader strategic interests in Euextract financial sweeteners from attitude will permit them to go through Iran in a year or two. Other Some American oil companies are ue to sell their energy to Russia and along the Baku-Ceyhan pipeline and stability. Also, a Eurasian transportanomic engine to promote growth and prices, depriving the region of an ecomenistan - would be forced to continprospects for such a transportation the West would be undermined. orridor linking the region directly to tey. In the absence of that pipeline ran at well below world market

about to set of a chain reaction, ren-

The perception of American acqui-

Total and Shell, the southern corridor ranean port of Ceyhan in Turkey. Iran and Russia hope that, with help from

option prevails.

lock up the main pipeline routes for

include, roads, railroads, ports and telecommunications stretching from China's western border to Black Scaporis in Georgia, Ukraine and Turporis in Georgia, Ukraine Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turk-

Washington, have proposed to build the western pipeline only halfway to the Georgian coast, while pressing the A United States (and Turkey) to underwrite the second half of a second ball of the second half of the second ha Western orientation. Also, Russia and with that would come the power Gazprom would strengthen its stranglehold on Europe's energy needs, enabling it to continue to charge high prices for its gas. Increasingly, an intransigent fran would deepen its alliance with Iran would control Turkey's energy needs

> Finally, while European companies moved ahead, American companies its strategy to South Asia, costing sian and French interests to extendcommercial alliance of Iranian, Rus-Success would also embolden this new ing export space through Russian pipelines and through the Bosporus. would be shut out of Iran and find Turkmenistan the chance to ship its hemselves competing for diminish-

gion and even in Europe. gas to Pakistan and India.

The United States simply cannot leverage that would confer in the re-Caspian, with the enormous political dominate the energy resources of the afford to allow Russia and Iran to

served by the emergence of independent, stable, energy-exporting states in the South Caucaus and Central Asia, states at peace with their neighbors and with solid links to the West. Then, ers in Eurasia, Asia and the Middle but potentially unstable regional powrole as a buffer between ambitious stress several elements. icy toward the Caspian region should East. A determined United States pol-American interests would be best

pipeline.

Iran's gas production and export capacity by working to delay and reduce the Total irst, the Administration against expansion of draw a clear line immediately

a first step, Gazprom should be com-pelled to lift its unilateral blockade on Turkmenistan's gas exports to Eushould seek to limit Gaggiogn's access to international capital to finance its investment abroad until the empany's commercial practices are brought in line with global limits. As At the same time, the United States

Mediterraneau

THE NE YORK TIMES OP-ED MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1997

t ical risk insurance to regional gov-ernments for pipeline development.
This would minimize the need to
provide special subsidies for oil com-panies to build the Baku-Ceyhan the Baru-Ceyhan roule and that the Eurasian transportation corridor is developed along with It. Toward that end, the Administration should seek to reduce the political aspects of in-States must demonstrate is unequivocal support for rapid daspian energy development and a secure export network by making sure that the next Caspian pipeline built is on encouraging the World Bank and other such organizations to extend politits to American companies and by vestment risk in the Caspian region rope, which have cost that country \$3 billion in the last three years.
Equally important, the United by providing traditional export cred-

gorno-Karabakh, Beyond the South Caucasus and Central Asia, the United States should encourage a skeptidevelopment and raise living stand-ards. Washington needs to further step up efforts to resolve regional conflicts, particularly Georgia's use their energy windfalls to foster Cevhan pipeline, which would pro-vide Russia much-needed access to Azerbaijan over the enclave of Nastalemate with Abkhazian separatbility by encouraging these states to United States promote regional stacal Kussia to participate in the Bakuurkey's dynamic markets and the More broadly, it is critical that the

emerging not only as a critical com-ponent of Western energy security, but also as a linchpin in the evolving increasingly, the Caspian region is

balance of power in Eurasia Asia and the Middle East. The United States must act and soon to promote our strategic interest in the emergence of a fully independent prosperous and secure South Caucasus and Central Asia at peace with its powerful neighbors and with strong ties to the West ies to the West

Sheila N. Hestin was the director for Russian Ukrainian and Eurasian at fairs at the National Security Counci in 1995 and 1996.

Mr. Ahmet 9-ndik
U.S. COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
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Forex Hills, NY 11375, USA



Doğu Türkistan'ı zorla işgal eden, bu ülkede yaşayan müslüman Türkleri əlstemli bir şekilde yok etme politikası icrə etmekte olan insanlık düşmanı emperyalist Kızıl Çin rejiminin Ankura Büyükelçisinin, tarihe, bilime ve gerçeklere bakaret olarak sarfettiği zalimlere özgü, "YALAN "larla dolu ifadesi yukarıdadır.

~ zalimlerin zülmüne karşı tepki vermemek, yalanlarına ses

CIKARMAMAK ONLARA ORTAK OLMAKTIR "disturu gereğince;

"DOĞU TÜRKİSTAN DİYE BİR ŞEY YOKTUR. BURASI ÖNCEDEN BERİ ÇİN'İN AYRILMAZ BİR PARÇASIDIR "katımerli yalanına bir insan olarak, bir müəlümən Türk olarak gerəkli tepkiyi göstermenizi diliyoruz.

Bu vesile ile mübarek Ramazan-şerifinizi kutlar,saygılarımızı sunar

Kızıl Çin Büyükelçiliği - Ankara Kızıl Çin İstanbul Başkonsolosluğu Tel.: 0312. 446 53 04 Fako: 446 62 48 Tel.: 0212. 299 26 34 Fako: 299 21 38

# The Economist» June 19th-1999 (www.economist.com) III West 57th street- New york, Ny. 10019 Fax(212) 541-9378 China From Page 39 «XINJIANG, China'sThe new pioneers new frontier» The new pioneers new frontier» The official response is to stamp brutally on Lighter restiveness and to

SHEHEZ

Is there a state within a state on China's vast western frontler?

N IMPERIAL times, the armies sent to se-Loure the farthest reaches of the Chinese empire were usually left to fend for themselves. In the 1870s, Qingamies seeking to recapture Xinjiang from a Muslim warlord tried to plant each spring before moving on with enough food to get them through their next campaign. Then, when their job was done, the Chinese commanders had to find tasks for their disbanded soldiers. After the swift and largely bloodless Communist victory over the Nationalist army in Xinjiang in 1949, 100,000 were put to work clearing land for farming-creating something between a giant kibbutz and a frontier-defence garrison. Within a year or so, the central government put out word in China's eastern villages that teenage girls were welcome farther west. In 1954, the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps was established, and the ethnic-Han peopling of the west had begun in carnest.

The corps—still referred to in Chinese as bing man, or soldier's brigade—has cut all but its sentimental ties to the army to become what its affable head, Wang Guizhen, likes to call the "largest business group in China, if not the world". By several measures he is right. Xinjiang's mountains and descrts cover one-sixth of China, and of that the corps has 7.4m hectares (18.3m acres). It controls 172 giant farms, 344 industrial enterprises, 500 schools, 200 hospitals and 46 research institutes. The corps has its own police and courts. Half of all Xinjiang's laogai, China's notorious prison camps, are said to fall under its control. In all, the group has 2.4m pcople in its charge, including one-third of all the ethnic-Han Chinese in Xinjiang. But it is the corps's 410,000 pensioners who are Mr Wang's chief nightmare: where will he find the moncy to support them?

A two-hour journey across the desert from Xinjiang's capital, Urumqi, is the spiritual home of the bing tuan: Shehezi, a city of 500,000. This is where the revolutionary general, Wang Zhen, first ordered the ground to be broken, largely because of the water and coal nearby. The curator of the local museum is proud of her charges. Shards of ancient pots, she says, with a measure of political correctness in a land whose mainly Turkic groups have only recently been swamped by Han Chinese, are "multi-eth-nic". But most of the museum is given over to the pioneers: hand-made clothing and felt boots for the bitter winters and man-pulled ploughs used before work animals arrived.

Shehezi stands in contrast to many of Xinjiang's other towns, which are squalid



and mostly populated by local people, predominantly Uighurs. It has smooth, treelined avenues, clean public spaces and halfdecent new buildings. It even has cars that wait obediently at crossroads and signal before they turn. A point seems to be being made here. After all, the city is 96% I Ian Chinese; in the rest of Xinjiang, the Han are outnumbered by three to two. The desert city looks like a new, improved version of many of those on China's seaboard far to the south-cast. It has the obligatory, half-developed "economic zone" to attract foreign joint-ventures, and the city's factory managers talk eagerly about stockmarket listings.

The underlying sense is that China's frontier priorities have changed. Threats

stamp brutally on Uighur restiveness and to make Xinjiang more like the rest of China. A new road, partly financed by the World Bank, will soon link Shehezi to Urumqi and points cast. A railway has just opened with great fanfare, tying Kashgar in the far west to Urumqi and the rest of China.

Mr Wang dismisses the suggestion that the bing man—with its own administration, its special relations with Beijing (it reports directly to the State Council), and its dollops of central-government largesse-is like a ministate, favoured for its strategic importance. Instead, he emphasises his corporate problems, which he says are those of Chinese

state enterprises writ large.

The bing man is now officially the China Xinjiang Construction Company; the old name, says Mr Wang, is being used only "out of habit". He is trying to get Xinjiang's government to shoulder many of the welfare obligations currently borne by the corps. He talks of listing 30 companies to raise capital, and of finding new markets for the corps's cotton, tomato concentrate and fruit. And he is keen to import American- and Israelimade cotton harvesters. Though the bing tuan is China's most efficient grower of cotton, thanks largely to its use of plastic strips (a Japanese invention) laid over the cotton seedlings to conserve moisture, it employs over 300,000 workers for the harvest. Last year the corps was shown that one machine could do the work of 500 pickers. "That's bad news for labourers," says Mr Wang of the experiment, "but it's good news for me."

#### America says sorry, again

IX weeks after the Americans bombed the Chinese embassy in Relgrade, Thomas Pickering, representing the State Department, came to Reijing on June 16th to say sorry. The attack, part of NATO's campaign to bring Yugoslavia to heel over Kosovo, killed three Chinese journalists and injured 20 other Chinese

China's leaders, who had been against NATO's air campaign from the start, expressed outrage. Ordinary Chinese who, until the embassy bombing, had shown little interest in the Balkans war took to the streets with the blessing of their government, and for three days stoned the Amer-ican and British embassics in Beijing and tried to set them on fire.

The United States said sorry. Its bombers, it said, must have used an old map of Belgrade which did not show the embassy, a fairly new building. The explanation sounded feeble, and still does. China was deeply suspicious. An apology, even the one delivered promptly by President Bill Clinton, was not enough: China wanted an investigation into the bombing, and punishment for those responsible. Meanwhile, normal business with America, including its role in the current negotiations about China's entry into the World Trade Organisation, would be suspended. Mr Pickering continued to insist that

the attack on the Chinese embassy was a "tragic mistake". But China, not surprisingly rejected his explantion. It was "un-convincing" and unacceptable, said Tang Jiaxuan, China's foreign minister. He said China now wants America to make a "satisfactory explanation." America has already, presumably, bought a new map.

### Two bombs go off in Xinjiang

BEIJING, Aug. 4 (AFP) — Separatists set off two bombs within 24 hours near a town hall in the troubled far northwestern region of Xinjiang, local police and officials said today.

No one was hurt and those who carried out the bombings in Khotan on July 8 had been arrested, police official Qi said. The attacks came at 9:00 a.m. and at midnight, he added.

A local authority spokesman, Yilihar, said the home-made bombs had been placed close to a watchtower used by police to control traffic close to the town hall in the southern Xinjiang town. The building's windows were shattered in the blast, he added.

According to a report in Hong Kong's South China Morning Post, another bomb went off in the central city of Korla 10 days ago, killing the bombers.

Korla authorities contacted by AFP confirmed there had been an explosion, but said it was a blast caused by a gas cooker, which left two dead.

The blasts in Khotan occurred during a visit to the autonomous region by President Jiang Zemin, who arrived in the area on July 4. He urged the authorities to keep up a campaign to crackdown on separatists.

#### PENDLE

#### Director loves N.J. ambience

It's starting to look like Kevin Smith's second movie, "Mallrats," will be made in New Jersey, after

Smith said this week that the \$6 million movie will probably be shot at the Seaview Square Mall in Ocean Township and Monmouth College in West Long Branch, instead of out of state.

I can take some credit for that.

Smith, you may recall, is New Jersey's most famous native filmmaker since John Sayles. Smith made his first movie, "Clerks," for \$27,000 at the Monmouth County convenience store where he used to work.

Smith, who just turned 24, won awards at the Sundance and Cannes film festivals this year.

"Clerks" has grossed more than \$2 million in limited release. He's been featured in People and The New York Times Magazine.

Even before "Clerks" was released, he had deals in place for "Mallrats" and his third film, "Dogma." Smith continually referred to his "Jersey Trilogy" in interviews.

But he didn't quite have the

clout to make "Mallrats," an "Animal House"-style comedy about twentysomethings who hang out in a New Jersey mall, in his home state.

Smith seemed a little down

when I visited him a couple of weeks ago at his condo in Red Bank.

Universal wants me to shoot in Oregon," he complained. "I really want to make it in New Jersey. But they said they could save \$600,000 by shooting in a right-to-work state where we could use non-union

A light went off in my head.

I knew from years of writing about the New Jersey Film Commission that the Garden State went to great lengths to get filmmakers to shoot movies here. Would they do no less for such a newly prominent native son? Could they save \$600,000 on Smith's budget so it would be made in New Jersey?

It was time to play trouble-shooter.

I called Joe Friedman, the commission's tireless executive director, and told him about Kevin's

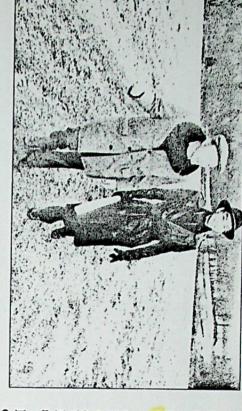
'Give me his phone number," Friedman demanded. "We can get him concessions from the unions. They're willing to make deals with local filmmakers making low-budget movies. We call them Sayles

Sayles, who lives in Hoboken, made his name with "The Return of the Secaucus Seven" 15 years ago.



LOU LUMENICK

Fluridadan Sonra New yorkta CinBahcesi Marvin Greene, left, and Thomas Ting on part of the 852 acres hope to turn into a Chinese theme park in Orange County, N.Y.



commercial development has been proposed or an 852-acre site But don't count on

1

have town

eeing a Chinese-style

Director picks N.J. film location.

See CHINA Page A-12

Bonelli said the town had received a very in-

zoning specifications.

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#### China's churches must register to be 'lega

#### Critics call move co-opting religion

By Larry Witham

China's communist government has embarked on a campaign to control religion by dividing it between legal and illegal forms, human rights groups said as President Jiang Zemin arrived in Washington yesterday.

"If you register, the Chinese government gives you a large amount of freedom to operate, said scholar Paul Marshall, who visited China this spring.

Believers who do not register are illegal and face coercive and even brutal measures.

"The current crackdown is systematic across the country," Mr. Marshall said.

Mr. Jiang, who is not expected to waiver from the "legal and illegal" distinction in his talks with President Clinton, yesterday sought to mollify critics by inviting three top U.S. clergy to visit China.

"This decision is a welcome step in the direction of openness," Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright said in disclosing the invitation at a news conference.

She said the clergy - the Rev. Don Argue, National Association of Evangelicals president, Catholic Archbishop Theodore McCarrick of Newark, N.J., and Rabbi Arthur Schneier of New York - will "discuss the climate for religious freedom" while in China.

The tour was announced at a time when China watchers are emphasizing the regime's growing harassment of unregistered, or "il-

legal," religious groups.
This strict legal distinction, China watchers say, is a new government strategy to co-opt the religious impulse that 50 years of communism has not been able to suppress. As Mr. Jiang put it in "People's Daily" last year, state policy is to "actively guide religion so that it can be adapted to socialist society."

While the government is erecting churches and temples for



Photo by Kenneth Lambert/The Washington Time

Former Chinese prisoner Harry Wu and Nina Shea, religious freedom activist, testify on Capitol Hill.

groups that register with the statecontrolled association, it is tearing down thousands of unregistered temples, churches and tombs, according to reports.

They have targeted meetings of unregistered evangelists, campaigned against the spiritual authority of the Dalai Lama and 是一些是特殊的人。但是是對於中國

activity:

"China has more Christian prisoners and detainees than any other country in the world," Nina Shea of Freedom House testified in House hearings yesterday.

"They've clearly said that China is an atheist state," said Mickey Spiegel, China analyst for Human ulation today.

Legal and illegal Christians, an estimated 40 million to 60 million, are said to grow by 10 percent a

"They'll arrest unregistered clergy for a few years and let them go, and then arrest them again," said John Davies of Free the Fathers, which defends imprisoned

Catholic clergy.
Human rights groups say China conducts this "serial hostage taking" to deflect Western protests of reported jailings.

Mr. Davies challenged the Chinese claim that Christianity is a foreign intruder, since Marxism is a European doctrine implemented

in China in 1947.

"There have been Catholics in China for 500 years," he said.

In China today, registered church groups have strict limits on receiving foreign assistance.

Churches may not work with citizens under age 18, clergy may preach only in their district and topics such as politics, abortion, birth control and the Second Coming of Christ are off-limits...

While an older generation attends the registered Protestant and Catholic churches, Chinese under 30 attend unregistered churches in houses, visitors say.

"They expect religion in a fully realized socialist state to die on the vine."

-Mickey Spiegel, Human Rights Watch analyst

are trying to break the under-ground Catholic lines of communication, human rights leaders say.

In the Xinjian region, authorities shut down 133 mosques and 105 religion classes, searched 200 other mosques and arrested 21 clergy on the pretext of fighting a separatist movement.

Mr. Marshall, who in China met with Protestants who work in 17 of the 32 provinces, said that in Henan province, 40 percent of prisoners in labor camps are serving time for unregistered religious

Rights Watch. "This is clearly a policy of co-optation. They expect religion in a fully realized socialist state to die on the vine.

She said the majority of religious believers in China adhere to popular religions that combine Buddhism and Taoism, what communist authorities' often attack as "feudal superstitions."

Since the 1950s, Beijing has said there are 100 million Buddhists, Taoists, Protestants, Catholics and Muslims combined. But groups in the West put the figure much higher in China's 1.2 billion pop-

#### "ЗАВТРА БУДЕТ ЛУЧШЕ, ЧЕМ ВЧЕРА"

В первый день визита состоялась встреча Президента Кыргызстана с Председатепем КНР Цзян Цземином. "Я очень рад встретиться вновь со старым другом", - сказал Цзян Цземинь и от имени всего китайского народа поприветствовал Президента Аскара Акаева, "Китайцы говорят: "Один день весны кормит год". Символично, что Ваш визит совпал с весной. Это даст новый толчок к дальнейшему укреплению и расширению связей между нашими странами,"сказал Цзян Цземинь. Аскар Акаев горячо поблагодарил Председателя КНР за его приглашение и выразил надежду, что его визит даст шанс развитию взаимовыгодных дружеских отношений. "Мы прибываем в Китай после крупных политических событий, которые произошли за последние годы в вашей стране - это и воссоединение Гонконга с Китаем, и XV съезд Компартии Китая, на котором была принята важная программа "В ХХ век по пути прогресса и процветания", и 1 сессия IX созыва Всекитайского собрания народных представителей",

удовлетворение тем вкладом, который внес Президент Кыргызстана в укрепление мира и дружбы, "Развитие дружбы и согласия между нашими странами является приоритетной в нашей политике", - сказал Цзян Цземинь, - "все наши стремления направлены в будущий век". Председатель КНР поблагодарил Президента за твердую поддержку политики Китая в отношении Тайваня, Тибета. "Мы хотим Вас поздравить с успехами проводимой Вами реформы. Кыргызстан отличается стабильностью внутриполитической жизни и активностью с внешним миром". Цзян Цземинь шутя сказал, что у русского народа есть песня "Завтра будет лучше, чем вчера". Мы уверены, что и в кыргызско-китайских отношениях "завтра будет лучше, чем вчера". На следующий день состоялась встреча с Премьером Госсовета КНР Чжу Жунцзи. По оценкам китайских политиков Премьер отличается твердым характером, человек жестких правил. На встрече Чжу Жунцзи поздравил Президента с огромным успехом визита. В ходе беседы А. Акаев вспомнил как в январе месяце он выступал с докладом в Давоссе. Все документы, по словам Президента, это своего рода вызов

вы пяти государств - Кыргызстан, Казахстан, Россия, Таджикистан и Китай - подписали в Шанхае Соглашение об укреплении доверия в военной области в районе границы. Визит бывшего премьер-министра КНР Ли Пэна в апреле 1996 года в Кыргызстан придал новый импульс развитию двусторонних отношений. В ходе визита было подписано шесть документов о всестороннем сотрудничестве. В июле 1996 года председатель КНР Цзян Цземинь совершил свой первый визит в Кыргызстан, во время которого было подписано восемь документов, в том числе совместное заявление о дружбе и сотрудничестве, соглашение о межгосударственной границе, соглашение о гражданских перевозках и соглашение о сотрудничестве в таможенной области. Эти документы служат правовой гарантией для развития дальнейшего сотрудничества двух государств. Уже сейчас можно говорить о первых результатах связей, например, в 1997 году товарооборот двух стран составил 106 миллионов американских долларов, что на 1 процент больше, чем в 1996 году. Но это еще не предел. На фоне благоприятных политических взаимоотношений для КНР и Кыргызстана открываются хорошие перспективы для укрепления взаимовыгодных торгово-экономических отношений. Руководители двух стран отметили, что необходимо и дальше совершенствовать сотрудничество и искать новые, более эффективные формы и методы в этой области.



Кульминационным моментом визита явилось даже не подписание документов, а вечерний прием в честь официального визита удивительно теплой, добросердечной обстановке. Известно, что председатель КНР знает и очень
любит петь русские народные песни, в особенности, "Катюшу" и "Подмосковные вечера". Сначала прием начался, как и принято, с соблюдением рамок протокола, переводчики переводили беседу глав двух государств. Когда Яньтайский оркестр стал играть мелодию кыргызской
песни "Жамгыр тектү", "протокольные отношения" были нарушены совершенно неожиданным
образом. Цзян Цземин галантно пригласил на
танец засмущавшуюся Майрам Дуйшеновну и,

Стихотворение очень понравилось председателю КНР, он аплодировал и попросил прочитать его на кыргызском языке. Еще одному "кыргызскому китайцу" министру иностранных дел М. Иманалиеву пришлось навремя "расстаться" с изысканной китайской кухней и прочесть стихотворение на кыргызском и русском языках. Стихотворение действительно было очень лиричное, запоминающееся и глубокое по содержанию. Например, там есть такие строки:

Народов дух — гранитных крепче скал, Пусть торжествует — ближе сердцем мы. В Пекине улыбаются Аскар И сын народа мудрый Цзян Цземин! У них в руках прекрасные ключи Взаимопониманья и Свободы! И, славя нашу дружбу, пусть звучит И песнь моя во имя двух народов!

Музыка, песни, танцы, стихотворение настолько духовно сблизили участников встречи, что прием продпился на полтора часа больше запланированного. Это длительное отклонение от протокола явилось знаком особого уважения к нашей стране. Цзян Цземин попрощался лично с каждым гостем крепко пожимая руку и повторяя слова "до свидания", "до встречи".

#### на родине конфуция

По предварительной договоренностью с китайской стороной, после официальных мероприятий Президент Кыргызстана из 23 предложенных ему для посещения провинций, выбрал родину великого Конфуцияпровинцию Шаньдун. Известно, что китайцы издревле ценят в человеке силу слова. Великая страна, имеющая великую историю и великого Конфуция по сей день не признают ни одну силу, кроме силы слова и разума. Поэтому, наверное, секрет "китайского чуда" состоит в том, что для китайцев сила слова имеет вдохновлящее и объединяющее начало. Через слово Конфуция Президент Кыргызстана, кажется, нашел ключ к китайской душе. Тем более, что Конфуций, по высказываниям самого Аскара Акаева, является источником мудрости и неслучайно поэтому в своих выступлениях он очень любит его цитировать. Почти в каждой организации, предприятии, где были организованы встречи-с китайцами, А.Акаев остроумно и к месту приводил цитаты Конфуция. Не зря самый популярный журнал Китая, издаваемый ЦК КНР назвал Аскара Акаева "Богом избранным Президентом". После удачных переговоров и подписания Соглашений гу



#### KOHOYUM, AKAEB, USAH USEMMHb

совершили прорыв в кыргызско-китайских отношениях

Цземина с избранием его Генеральным секретарем Компартии Китая и Председателем КНР, "Избрание Вас на этот пост укрепит дальнейшее благополучие китайского народа. Ваша заслуга - в продолжении реформ начатых Дэн Сяопином. С обретением Кыргызстаном независимости началась новая эра в китайско-кыргызских отношениях", - отметил А. Акаев. В своем выступлении Президент Кыргызстана сказал следующее: "Уважаемый господин Цзян Цземинь! Вы поступили в соответствии с советом Великого Конфуция: "Кто человечнее, тот представляет опору другому, чтобы найти ее самому, помогает добиться успехов, чтобы добиваться его самому". Вы оказали неоценимую помощь и поддержку Кыргызстану в первые трудные дни обретения независимости. В лице Кыргызстана Вы будете всегда иметь не только доброго соседа, но и крепкую опору. Соглашения, которые мы сегодня подписали вобрали в себя весь спектр сотрудничества. Во всех документах красной нитью проходит дух доброго отношения друг к другу. Мы уверены, что в XXI век войдем с добрым соседом - великим Китаем. И это нас радует". А. Акаев выразил искреннюю благодарность за помощь в строительстве Токмакской картонно-бумажной фабрики и сказал, что это первая ласточка, которая станет провозвестником нерушимой дружбы между Кыргызстаном и Китаем. За ней придут и другие ласточки, которые принесут весну в экономику Кыргызстана, "У китайского народа, - сказал Аскар Акаев, - есть поговорка: "Путь в 10 тысяч ли начинается с первого шага". Первый шаг к нашему взаимовыгодному сотрудничеству начался. Этот визит является юбилейным. Еще 1350 лет тому назад кыргызский хан Щибоцюй Ачжань первый посетил Китай". Цзян Цземинь с нескрываемым вниманием и удивлением слушал этот исторический факт. Аскар Акаев поблагодарил Цзян Цземина за поддержку Кыргызстана в международных инициативах. Так, в ООН Китай оказал поддержку в решении вопроса по проведению Года гор, по созданию безъядерной зоны в странах Центральной Азии. Председатель КНР поблагодарил за поздравление и теплые слова сказанные в его адрес. Отметил тот факт, что за прошедшие 6 лет, отношения между Кыргызстаном и Китаем во всех областях от-

личались глубоким взаимопониманием и бы-

ли успешными. Цзян Цземинь выразил свое

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ных вопросов, касающихся электроэнергии, совместных предприятий и разведки нефтяных залежей. Премьер уверил, что все что в его силах будет решено. На три заданных Президентом вопроса были получены положительные ответы. В ходе беседы не обошлось без Конфуция. В конце беседы Премьер сказал: "Уважаемый господин Президент! Для решения экономических вопросов Вы хорошо используете идеологию". Встреча начавшаяся с соблюдением всех протокольных требований закончилась крепким мужским объятием. В итоге из-за затянувшегося приема пришлось отменить запланированный осмотр городской стены на площади Тяньаньмэнь. В этот же день состоялась встреча с Председателем собрания народных представителей Ли Пэном. Президент в своем выступлении процитировал известное изречение Конфуция: "Бывают ростки, но не цветут, бывают цветы, но не дают плоды". А в кыргызско-китайских отношениях есть ростки, есть цветы и даже плоды". Ли Пэн назвал это самым философским высказыванием. Затем рассказал о работе собрания народных представителей. В ходе встречи была достигнута договоренность о напаживании парламентских связей. В 1992 году между Китайской Народной Республикой и Кыргызской Республики были установлены дипломатические отношения. За прошедшие годы связи между двумя государствами укрепились и получили стабильное развитие. Визит Президента Кыргызской Республики Аскара Акаева в Китай стал еще одним шагом дальнейшего углубления двусторонних отношений. Стремление глав двух государств сохранить добрососедские, дружеские отношения отвечают интересам не только народов КНР и Кыргызстана, но и странам Азии и всего мира. Одним из важных звеньев в укреплении дружеских связей является Великий "Шелковый путь", объединяющий два государства. История кыргызско-китайских взаимоотношений насчитывает 2000 лет, поэтому неудивительно, что добрососедские отношения стали традиционными. Китай выразил свою солидарность, понимание и поддержку еще в 1991 году, когда один из первых государств мира признал независимость Кыргызстана. Именно с этого периода начинается новая страница в отношениях двух государств. выразившаяся в заключении ряда важнейших документов о сотрудничестве в области экономики и торговли, авиатранспорта, просвещения и здравоохранения. Только в первый визит Президента Кыргызстана в Китай в 1992 году было подписано восемь документов. В 1996 году гла-

не взирая на свой 75-летний возраст на удивление легко и красиво стал вальсировать. Зал замер, глядя на танцующую пару. И только китайские журналисты окружили их, чтобы запечатлеть этот исторический, необыкновенный момент. Цзян Цземина и Майрам Дуйшеновну

не смотря на большую разницу в возрасте во многом объединяет общность духа, они являются выпускниками российских вузов. Кроме этого Майрам Дуйшеновна первая среди первых леди является почетным профессором Пекинского университета. А. Акаев представил председателю КНР депутата СНП Жогорку Кеңеша КР, "кыргызского китайца" Эсена Исмаилова, который новой стосомовой купюрой одним резким движением руки разделил на две половинки китайские пластмассовые палочки, показав тем самым твердость кыргызского сома. Затем он спел песни на китайском, кыргызском, дунганском и русском языках. На удивление всех присутствующих правитель великого государства Цзян Цземин, прекрасно поставленным оперным голосом спел китайские песни. За столом китайский переводчик прочитал стихотворение известного кыргызского поэта Ж. Садыкова "Песня дружбы", посвященное Цзян Цземину.

бернатор провинции Шаньдун Сун Фатан тепло принял Президента Кыргызстана в г. Яньтай (кыргызские депутаты, принимавшие участие в этой поездке, шутя называли этот город - Жантай). Губернатор в своем выступлении отметил, что Шаньдун является одним из важнейших провинций Китая, экономическому развитию которой правительство Китая придает большое значение. По объему ВВП она занимает третье место среди всех китайских провинций (ежегодный рост составил 12%). Имеет торговые отношения со 180 странами мира, внешний торговый оборот составил 19 миллиардов долларов США. Провинция имеет более 5 тысяч совместных предприятий с иностранными государствами. Шаньдун обладает и богатыми природными ресурсами: нефтью, углем, железной рудой, золотом, алмазами, асбестом, тальком, гипсом, графитом, серой, морской солью. Хорошо поставлено промышленное производство стали, чугуна, станков, грузовых машин, тракторов, продуктов нефтехимической промышленности, каучуковых шин, хлопчатобумажных изделий и т.д.

Окончание на 4-й странице.

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#### China Aims to Rein In Restive Uighur Minority

UIGHUR, From A12

nese. About 44 percent are Uighur. The rest are Kazakh, Tajik, Hui and other minorities.

■ Finally, it has worked hard to create a ruling class in Xinjiang made up of Uighurs loyal to Beijing. In exchange for their allegiance, these Uighurs are given opportunities, power and money and are allowed to live a life unimaginable to most Uighurs, many of whom live just above the poverty line.

The tall, dashing 39-year-old mayor of Urumqi, Nur Bakri, is an example. So was Wuer Kaixi, one of the leaders of the 1989 student protests before he fled China after the Tiananmen Square

crackdown.

But Xinjiang's Han Chinese leadership is wary of this group and keeps it on a tight leash. One of Xinjiang's former provincial chiefs, a Uighur, was removed from his post partly because he was lobbying Beijing to pay Xinjiang more money for the extraction of oil.

Rebiya Kadeer also belonged to this ruling class.

A barber's daughter, she started doing business when she was a young woman because she wanted to feed her children. At the time, China did not allow free enterprise. Her first husband opposed it and eventually divorced her. But Rebiya kept trying.

Along the way, she washed clothes and dealt in smuggled electronic goods, rabbit fur hats, sunflower seeds, pearl necklaces and noodles. Then she made it to the big time, importing tons of steel from Kazakhstan and bartering goods as far away as Turkey and Iran. Microsoft cofounder Bill Gates asked to meet her when he traveled along China's Silk Road in 1995.

Beijing recognized Rebiya's success, appointing her as a representative of Uighur minorities to the nationwide Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, a government advisory body, between 1993 and 1997. But Rebiya, according to friends of the family interviewed here, chafed at government restrictions and corruption. She spoke out against what she considered policies that favored the Han in Xinjiang, including central government investment designed to make Xinjiang a more attractive place for Han to settle. She battled Chinese officials who demanded bribes.

She also opened a school on the fifth floor of the Rebiya Building. It was dedicated to teaching poor Uighur children. Chinese officials have said it also was secretly proselytizing the Islamic faith. It is a crime in China to teach religion to people under the age of 18. The principal has been thrown in iail.

"Her main crime really was that she was too charismatic," a close family friend said. "The common Uighurs adored her. The Han wanted her to serve only the Han and not her own people. The Han cannot tolerate that. They decided she needed to be removed."

Rebiya's problems worsened after her husband, Sadik Rouzi, went to the United States in early 1996. Sadik, a former professor at Xinjiang University and a longtime critic of Beijing's rule, was granted political asylum in November of that year. The next month, Sadik said, Rebiya was called in by the State Security Ministry and offered a deal: divorce Sadik and she would be given a senior position in the Xinjiang government. She refused.

On March 27 last year, Chinese police confiscated her passport as she was attempting to travel to Uzbekistan on business. Rumors began circulating in Urumqi that Rebiya had made her money dealing drugs, not sunflower seeds. Sadik denied his wife was ever involved in drug

trafficking.

"Those rumors were designed to smear her name," he said in a telephone interview from Oklahoma City.

In early August 1999, Xinjiang's police contacted Rebiya and told her that her life was in danger. They posted guards near her and told her to wear a bulletproof vest for four days.

Then the family found out the real reason for the police surveillance. The authorities were ing to prevent Rebiya from meeting with smembers from the U.S. Congress who were visiting Xinjiang. She was arrested on Aug. 11, just before the meeting was to take place. Her youngest son, Aleem, was held for four days and told to write a statement implicating his mother in security-related crimes. He refused, friends of the family said.

After a two-hour trial in March, Rebiya, 54, was sentenced to eight years in prison. A report in the state-run Xinjiang Evening News said Rebiya's crime consisted of "folding, clipping out and underlining" reports in China's state-run press and sending them abroad. That, however, is not a crime in China.

In an interview with reporters, Urumqi's mayor, Nur Bakri, declared that her other crimes, involving state security, were not detailed in the state-run press. "As a citizen of a sovereign state, no matter how famous you are, if you violate the national interest, you will be punished," he said.

Friends of the family said that Rebiya's business, which was once valued at more that of million, has lost half of its value since Chinese security forces began to pressure the family. Still, they said, there is some hope. Aleem is planning to resume construction on a second office building, right next door to the Rebiya Building.

# Restive, Oil-Rich Region Is China's Second Tibet

Of Uighur Militants To Dilute Influence Beijing Attempts

By John Pompret Washington Post Foreign Service

URUMQI, China he Rebiya Building still bustles. The six-story, white-tiled marketplace merchants blowing yesterday's dust off their wares: fine silk from Hangzhou, cozy shawls from Pakistan, lace curtains from Shanghums with the sound of

Asian bazaar. Rebiya Kadeer, chairwoman of the Xinjiang Akida Industry & Trade Co. and owner of the building, was sentenced to eight years in prison last March for "illegally passing intelligence outside of China." All but three of her 11 children from two marriages have left for the United States or Australia. Her husband was granted political asylum in the United States in 1996. Her eldest son, her secretary and a business associate But all is not right in this Central are also in Chinese prisons for state

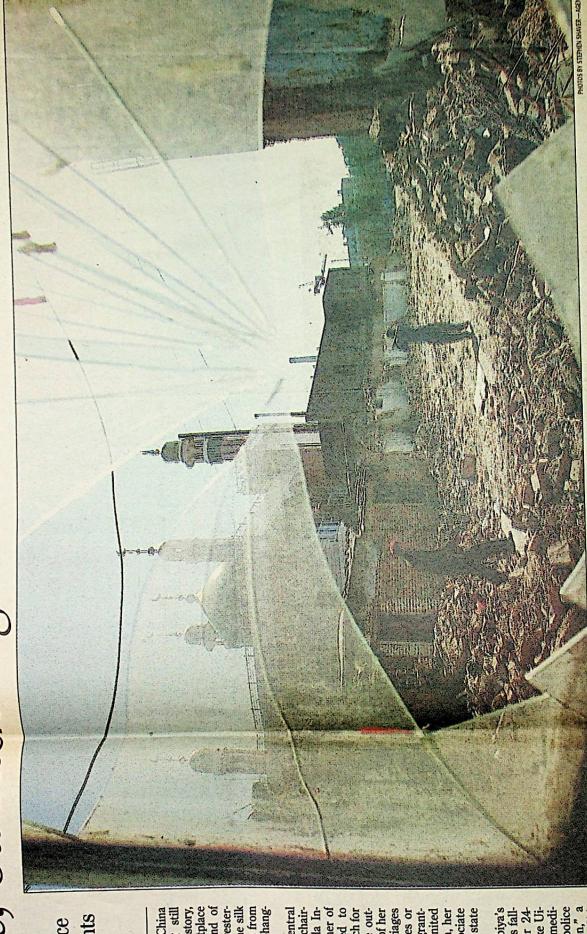
security crimes.

The management of Rebiya's multimillion dollar empire has fallen onto the shoulders of her 24-year-old son, Aleem, a waif-like Uighur who trained in forensic medicine and had planned a police career. "It is a bad situation," a friend of the family said. "The Chinese have crushed these people."

The rise and fall of Rebiya Kadeer, once hailed by the Chinese government as Xinjiang province's richest businesswoman and a model citizen, provides important in sights into some of the complexities of China's attempts to control Xinjiang. The province, half the size of India in the far northwester of India in the far northwester comer of China, is home to 8 million Uighurs, Muslims of Turkinglion Uighurs, Muslims of Turkiclanshaes, are ethnically different from the country's dominant Han Chinese and have spawned a sometimes violent autonomy movement. Unlike Tibet, its southern neighbor, Xinjiang has not achieved inbor, Xinjiang has not achieved intervious in the country of the country is southern neighbor, Xinjiang has not achieved intervious in the country in the country is southern neighbor, Xinjiang has not achieved intervious in the country is southern neighbor, Xinjiang has not achieved intervious in the country in the country in the country in the country is southern neighbor, Xinjiang has not achieved intervious in the country in the country in the country is southern neighbor, Xinjiang has not achieved intervious in the country in the country in the country in the country in the country in the country is southern neighbor, Xinjiang has not achieved in the country in t

ternational prominence over its unrest and longing for self-rule. This rest and longing for self-rule. This is partly because there is no united Uighur diaspora and because it lacks a leader equal to the Dalai Lama, the spiritual guide of the Tiberma, the spiritual guide of the Tiberma, the spiritual guide of the Tiber an people who fled China for India an people who fled China for India during an uprising in 1959. The last prominent Uighur chief, Isa Yusuf Alptekin, died in Istanbul in 1995, all but forgotten by the out-

side world. But Xinjiang's unrest poses as



Two Uighur men walk through the rubble of a recently demolished building next to a mosque in Urumqi, the capital of Xinjiang province where Muslim groups are seeking autono

serious a problem to Beijing as Tibet's. Most of China's continental oil deposits and its main nuclear weapons test sites are in Xinjang. And unlike the one in Tibet, the Xinjiang separatist movement embraces violence. Since the early 1990s, there have been scores of uprisings, bombings and killings of Han Chinese officials in this re-

Xinjiang separatists have been Xinjiang separatists have been blamed for one bombing in Bejing. Some have been schooled in radical Islam in Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Middle East. Some have received military training from terrorist groups. Last year, an Asian rorist groups. Last year, an Asian diplomat said, Indian forces captured two Uighurs fighting alongside Pakistan-backed militas in

has pursued a three-track policy:

It has poured money into Xinjiang. Funds from Beijing acounted for 40 percent of the local cono-To deal with this threat, China

my last year.

It has encouraged Han Chi-



A Ujghur boy and his brother, who are ethnically different from China's dominant Han population, pose at their father's butcher stall in Xinjiang.

through the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps, a paramilitary organization that since 1954 has moved 2.4 million Han into the region. In 1949, for example, the nese to settle in the region, mostly

few Han. Today most of the city is Chinese. Of Xinjiang's 18 million people, 38 percent are Han Chiprovincial capital of Urumqi had

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