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CONTENTS

Dear Readers..... Page 58

Mehmet Rıza Bekin

A. Short History of Early Turkish
Indonesian Relations.....Page 59

Metin İnegöllüoğlu

Entrepot and crossroads.....Page 60

By Paul B. Henze

In the name of Allah, the compassionate the
Merciful.....Page 65

Soviets wipe out Muslim Villages.....Page 67

Dear Readers,

The present issue of the Voice of Eastern Türkistan marks the completion of the fourth year of its publication. Thanks to the moral and material support of the patriotic Eastern Turkistani emigre community worldwide, in general, and the contributing writers and the subscribers, in particular, that the journal could appear without interruption, while continually improving its resources. Hopefully we are looking forward to better serve our readers, both in terms of substance and form, availing itself of the added experience and resources that the management has acquired to date.

However, we are not yet able to publish the journal at shorter intervals. For the time being it will continue to appear on a quarterly basis, though with substantial renovation in terms of editorial management and typesetting. Preparation is underway to publish each issue of the Voice of Eastern Türkistan in two separate editions- one being the Turkish and English edition, and the other being the Arabic and contemporary Uyghur Turkish edition- depending on realization of the anticipated improvement of our financial and editorial resources,

The readers may recall that the Voice of Eastern Türkistan became a property of the Eastern Türkistan Trust as of the Eleventh issue (December 1986), dedicated to preservation and enhancement of national identity and culture of the Turks of Eastern Türkistan, and to foster unity and solidarity among the Eastern Turkistani emigre. While pursuing this objective by means of the journal, the Trust is considering to issue audio-visual recordings and to publish books and pamphlets projecting the history and culture of Eastern Türkistan.

God willing, the Seventeenth issue of the Voice of Eastern Türkistan will be issued in March 1988. During the next three months we hope the readers would endeavor to promote new subscriptions and renewal of those to expire soon, and thus contribute to the noble cause.

Hoping the New Year would bring peace and tranquility in the world, and renewing our good wishes and thankfulness to our esteemed readers.

*Mehmet Rıza Bekin (Rtd. Gen.)
Chairman,
Eastern Türkistan Trust.*

A Short History of Early Turkish-Indonesian Relations

Metin İnegöllüoğlu
Ambassador of Turkey

In the year 1522, the Portugese started invasions of North Sumatra and the Indonesian islands with the hope of guaranteeing a supply of expensive oriental spices for sale in Europe. The Sumatra and Java Sultanates, which had freely lived until then, reacted against these invasions.

One of those reacting was a young man from Aceh, Fatahillah, who had just returned as a hadji from Mecca (which was then administered by Ottoman Turks). In 1527 he gathered around 2000 Demak warriors and attacked the Portugese who were occupying the Sunda Kelapa (Jakarta) harbour in Pajajaran kingdom. With this surprise attack he defeated the Portugese and drove them off the land (1).

However, the activities of the Portugese were not stopped. More soldiers were sent and invasions continued. Facing Portugese technical superiority, the Aceh Sultanate decided to ask the help of the Ottoman empire, whose fame had been spread by hadjis and merchants.

The Sultan of Aceh, Alauddin Riayat Shah decided to send Huseyin Effendi, who had been to Mecca and spoke Arabic (2), to Istanbul, the Ottoman capital. His delegation included presents for the Ottoman Sultan and a couple of ships. The small fleet set sail in 1565, but was attacked by pirates off the coast of India. By leaving most of the presents to the pirates Huseyin Effendi managed to save himself, his men and one ship (3). Later the ship arrived at the Red Sea, which was under the control of the Turkish navy, and made its way to the Gulf of Suez. Probably, Huseyin Effendi sold his ship there (there was no Suez Canal at that time) and bought a new ship on the Mediterranean coast to continue his journey to Istanbul.

At that time, the Ottoman Empire was at the summit of its power. The Ottomans controlled over 10 million square kilometers, and extended from Algeria to Caucasus and to the gates of Vienne in Europe. The Sultan at that time, Suleyman the Magnificent, was waging war in Europe on the German King Maximilian 11. Therefore, Huseyin Effendi had to wait for the end of the state of war before he could be received by the Sultan. However, Suleyman the Magnificent, returning to Istanbul following the defeat of Maximilian 11, died in Zigetvar (in Hungary) in 1566.

Huseyin Effendi now had to wait for the new Sultan, Selim 11, to take the throne. During the coronation ceremonies in Istanbul on September 20, 1567, the new Sultan noticed the Indonesians in their unusual clothing and asked who they were. Protocol officials told him the situation and said that Huseyin Effendi and his delegation had been waiting to be received by Sultan for a long time. Sultan Selim 11, upset that he hadn't been informed of the

arrival of guests from so far away, said he would receive them that afternoon.

Huseyin Effendi and his delegation were now in a difficult situation. After more than one year of waiting, their clothes were old, they had sold most of their spices to meet their various needs, and most of their presents had been taken by the pirates. Huseyin Effendi sold more spices to buy some new clothing and only one sack of black pepper was left. Bringing only the sack of black pepper, Huseyin Effendi was received by the Sultan and explained their misfortune and the reason for their voyage.

The Sultan, who listened to them with curiosity, understood their situation and made an order for financial support for the Indonesian delegation and for preparation of suitable presents to the Aceh Sultan. Selim 11 ordered a ferman (written and signed order of the Ottoman Sultans) written to the governors to help the Indonesian delegation until they left the Ottoman land. He also ordered a naval fleet under the command of Admiral Kourdoglu Hızır Reis of the Red Sea Ottoman Fleet to go to Sumatra 20.9.1567 (4). It was also written in the ferman that some ulema and technical experts would accompany the fleet and stay in Sumatra as long as the Aceh Sultanate needed them. This military expedition is also the first known cultural and technical aid in Turkish-Indonesian history.

The war ships arrived in Sumatra in 1567. They were met with great ceremony and the title of Governor was given to Kourdoglu Hızır Reis. The Turks and the Sumatrans defeated the Portugese and drove them out of Sumatra. Seventeen of the nineteen ships and Admiral Hızır Reis then returned to Ottoman territory.

However, some of those Turks, having been impressed with their acceptance, stayed in Aceh. These Turks married locals and mixed with them. The Ottoman Turks settled in the sea side city of Banda Aceh, in areas which are called Bitay, Emperom and Perkeburan Banda. Today, it is still possible to see some of those Turks graves. It is supposed that most of the religious and technical books brought by the Ottomans were destroyed when the oldu library in Bitay was burned during World War 11.

This is the first well-documented relation between Ottoman Turks and Sumatran Indonesians (5). There is some information that in the thirteenth century, Seljuk Turks from Turkistan and Buhara settled in Malacca and Sumatra and the higher parts of Sulawesi. However, these movements need to be properly documented.

1) Baluwarti Book, Copyright "Harapan Kita" Foundation, Jakarta, 1981.

2) At that time Arabic was a common and international language among Islamic countries, like Latin among Christian countries.

3) Prof. S. Tariach Chehab: *Journal of Southeast Asian History*. University of Jakarta.

4) At that time, the Ottomans had four separate Naval fleets. They were the Mediterranean, Black Sea, Red Sea Fleets and the Stream Fleet at the Danube. There were also some sea forces in the Basra Gulf but those weren't in the shape of an organized navy.

5) Ottoman Archives: *Savfet Bey "The Sumatra Expedition of an Ottoman Fleet (1327 Hegira): Savfet Bey, The Sailors of the East" (1329 Hegira - Istanbul)*

ENTREPOT AND CROSSROADS

Aspects of Ladakh in Central Asian Trade and Politics

by Paul B. Henze

Introduction

Central Asia is to many synonymous with vast open spaces across which peoples and cultures have moved in bewildering succession for at least the past ten thousand years. The direction of movement has been predominantly from east to west and from north to south, though evidence could also be marshaled to support a case for outward movement in all directions from a broad central region. Most dramatically, movement has taken the form of armies crossing great distances to conquer lands linked into tributary empires, with whole populations moving in their wake. Less spectacular but in result at least equally as significant has been the movement of traders' caravans covering great distances and repeatedly retracing their tracks to their place of origin. Armies' routes appear often to have been first opened by merchants. While armies often effected sudden change in the basic features of life in regions they conquered, traders' influence was felt more slowly and subtly but in the end at least as much impact on the evolution of societies and peoples. Religion seems most often to have followed trade routes.

Steppe and desert thus resemble seas in the opportunities they provide for the diffusion of civilization and the manner in which varied historical forces—ethnic, economic, religious and political—crisscross and at times intermingle and blend. This is not a new observation. Arnold Toynbee stated it elegantly as a general principle many years ago in his **Study of History 1** and numerous other chroniclers and historians have observed and examined how the great open spaces of Inner Asia have functioned as a highway between peoples. Indeed, much of the history of Central Asia, especially that produced by Europeans, has been written in these terms. Though the great open spaces of Central Asia have witnessed a bewildering succession of peoples and cultures, many of these have left little trace, or only sparse evidence, of their passage.

Isolated and smaller segments of the Central Asian landscape—especially in high mountain regions—provide richer surviving evidence of the flow of his-

tory. It takes many forms: monuments with inscriptions, religious and secular buildings and other material artifacts of many kinds; and perhaps more important still: living human beings with their heritage of languages, religion, political and social structures and traditions, both oral and in written form. These regions are treasure troves of information not only on their own history but on the history and culture of the broader regions around them. A great deal can be deduced from systematic study of them.

The Shangri-La Syndrome

They have seldom been regarded from this point of view, however, though they have attracted a good deal of attention—less from serious historians than from travelers and adventurers to whom the romantic appeal of such places has always been great. European fascination with them dates at least from the time of Marco Polo. Ever since and at various levels of seriousness, they have been seen as repositories of ancient wisdom, unique skills and lore and as places where primeval customs and rituals have been maintained unchanged since the dawn of time. Until quite recently even scholarly study of such regions has been predominantly in the framework of a Shangri-La syndrome: the emphasis has been almost exclusively on the isolation and the uniqueness. As a result, the outward connections of these “hidden kingdoms” and the role they have played in trade and politics of the areas around have been understudied and sometimes almost totally ignored. As we learn more about them, we find that these are often among the most interesting facets of the history of these places. Knowing more of about their past relationships with the regions around them makes it possible for us to grasp the essentials of their contemporary life and attitudes and to gain a more realistic understanding of the future course of development of the whole region of which they form a part.

This essay will examine a few aspects of Ladakh's past in light of these considerations. Its long history is still obscure in many important respects.² But a good deal can be inferred from ancient religious monuments and cultural survivals. The Ladakhi way of life, now in all essentials identical with historic Tibetan Buddhist culture, has proved remarkably viable and has survived with little change in fundamentals

to the present day. Nevertheless Ladakhi society has not generally been hostile to outsiders. The Ladakhi sense of exclusivity and superiority to other cultures does not automatically generate antagonism toward outsiders who settle in Ladakh or provoke conflict with the cultures of surrounding areas. On the contrary, if outsiders come peacefully, they are treated with great tolerance and find a place in local society. Geographic isolation seems to engender a sense of security. In many cultures xenophobia in its various forms--ethnic, religious and socio-cultural--appears to stem ultimately from a sense of being endangered, the result of an exposed or vulnerable geographic position. This does not seem to be true of Ladakh or, indeed, of the Tibetan cultural area as a whole.

The Tibetan Connection

Until relatively recent times, Tibet was seen as consisting of three parts: "First or Lesser Tibet", "Second Tibet" also called "Western Tibet" and "Third or Greater Tibet".³ By the 18th century "First Tibet" was more commonly known as Baltistan and its people had for the most part converted to Islam, though they had earlier been Buddhists. "Second Tibet" was and is Ladakh, still often referred to as Western Tibet. Though invaded by Muslims advancing from the west and south and finally conquered by rulers of Kashmir in the mid-19th century, it retained its Buddhist culture. The large Muslim population of contemporary Ladakh results from immigration to a much greater extent than from conversion of the local inhabitants. Though recent Muslim immigrants from Chinese Turkestan and India retain their original languages, a large proportion of Ladakhi Muslims of earlier derivation--primarily from Baltistan--continue, like the rest of the inhabitants of Ladakh, to speak a Tibetan dialect.⁴

Buddhism and Tibetan language may not originally have been synonymous in Ladakh, however. The earliest Buddhist influences seem to have come from the direction of India long before Buddhism became established in Tibet. From just before the beginning of the Christian era to about the 5th century AD, the Kushan empire, which comprised eastern Afghanistan and much of what is today northern Pakistan and India, may have been the primary source of influence on Ladakh. The ruling class of this empire was Buddhist.⁵ A few impressive Buddhist monuments in Western Ladakh may date from this period, notably the great rock carving of Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future, at Mulbek. But a case can also be made for attributing this figure to a later period, when Buddhist influences from Kashmir probably may have been strong.⁶ The inhabitants of Ladakh at this time do not appear to have been of Tibetan stock, but are thought to have been Dards, who are generally recognized as Aryan and whose

language is Indo-European. There are several references to them in classical Greek and Roman texts.⁷

From the 9th century onward, evidence of the ascendancy of Tibetan influence in Ladakh is attested by written sources and the traditions of monastic establishments. It appears to have been linked to the westward movement of religious figures and scholars from Lhasa who were fleeing disorders that followed the assassination of the first king of a united Tibet in 842 AD. Two of the oldest monasteries in the upper Indus valley, Alchi and Nyarma, appear to date from this period. Alchi is still in operation; Nyarma is in ruins. The oldest of the Zaskar monasteries, the Kanikha Gumpa at Sani, is said to owe its name to a famous Kushan ruler of the 2d century AD. Kanishka, but whether it has actually been in existence from that early period is doubtful. Its traditions link it directly to the famous India Buddhist saints, Padmasambhava and Naropa who were active, respectively, in the Western Himalayas in the 8th and 11th centuries AD.

The earliest monasteries in Ladakh were built neither in caves nor on mountain crags, but on level ground without any unusual defensive arrangements. This is true of Nyarma, Alchi and Sani. Whether this means that life in the region was especially peaceful during this early period we do not know. From the 10th century onward direct Tibetan connections and presence in Ladakh are confirmed by written sources and the subject of numerous traditions as well. Monasteries multiplied rapidly and, like the fortresses that also began to be constructed, they were characteristically built on outcroppings or on mountainsides. At the same time close ties appear to have been maintained with northwest India, and especially Kashmir, which remained predominantly Buddhist and Hindu in religion.⁸ These ties are firmly attested in the field of art and crafts. But they were by no means confined to the religious field. There appears to have been a lively commerce in both directions.

Trade Through the Himalayas

Transhimalayan trade is very ancient.⁹ It was probably already well developed at the time of the Kushan Empire. Early Ladakhi links to Tibet may have been based on trade. The same is true of Chinese Turkestan. Over either route sought-after commodities such as tea and silk could have come. Spices, medicines and opium as well as tea are likely to have come from India. Both western and eastern Turkestan and especially Badakhshan have been known as sources of minerals, pigments and precious stones from very early times. Ladakh, in spite of its seeming isolation, was a natural route for trade between China and India. Most of the earliest

known Chinese travelers to India came over Western Himalayan routes. Near the bridge over the Indus at Khaltse stand the ruins of an ancient customs house identified as such by an inscription.¹⁰

Ladakh also had a unique commodity that from very early times was in great demand in Kashmir: **pashmina**, the extremely fine hair of a species of goat that thrives on the high plateaus of southeastern Ladakh (the Chang Thang) and the western Tibetan province of Rudok. It is the raw material of the famous Kashmiri shawls which, as production increased, became known throughout Asia and as trade items rivaled precious stones and metals in value. The **pashmina** trade was monopolized in its initial stage by Ladakhi traders who purchased the precious wool from the nomadic herders who owned the goats. It was sold to Kashmiri merchants resident in Leh who held a monopoly over it and were concerned to prevent its diversion to other parts of India. These arrangements were recognized in the Treaty of Tingmosgang in 1684 which established the boundary between Tibet and Ladakh. This boundary continued into the 20th century and remains the basis of Indian claims to sovereignty over the Aksai Chin today.

The first known description of the **pashmina** trade as well as the earliest firsthand description of Ladakh by a European visitor were provided by the Italian Jesuit, Ippolito Desideri, who crossed the Zoji-La and entered Ladakh in May 1715, accompanied by a Portuguese colleague, Emanuel Freyre. These two priests were neither the first Europeans nor the first of their order to visit the country. They had been preceded nearly a century before by a five-member Portuguese Jesuit mission headed by Antonio da Andrade, but Andrade left no comprehensive description of his travels or of his long residence in the Western Tibetan region. Desideri's **Account of Tibet** (cited above) is one of the great classics of Central Asian travel. The Ladakh he describes is quite recognizable today:

...the natives...eat meat, and the flour of roasted barley... Their clothes, made of wool, are of suitable shape and make. They are not at all arrogant, but rather submissive, kindly, cheerful and courteous. The language of this country does not differ much from that of Third Tibet, and the religion and books relating to religion are similar... A number of merchants from Kashmir engaged in the wool trade live in this kingdom, and they are allowed to have mosques and openly to hold their religion. Occasionally merchants come from the kingdom of Khotan with well-bred horses, cotton goods, and other merchandise. Some come from Third Tibet by way of the great desert and bring tea and tobacco, bales of silk, and other things from China.¹¹

The Indian Connection

The first attempt by an Indian ruler to invade Ladakh and from there to move into Tibet, was prompted by a desire to gain complete control over the wool trade. Kashmir became part of the rapidly expanding Sikh domains of Ranjit Singh in 1819. The Dogra ruler, Gulab Singh, Raja of Jammu and vassal of Ranjit Singh, was eager to divert the wool trade to his territories. He organized an invasion of Ladakh in the summer of 1834. The rulers of Ladakh had come to rely primarily on their geography for defense. Though a local militia was hastily organized, neither Ladakhi resistance nor its formidable terrain were enough to prevent occupation by Gulab Singh's armies.

But the occupation of Ladakh did not give Gulab Singh control over the **pashmina** trade. Instead the wool of the Chang Thang and from the western provinces of Tibet started to go directly southward, bypassing Kashmir. To cut it off, Gulab Singh ordered his armies to invade Tibet in the summer of 1841. The invasion turned into a disaster. In the Treaty of Leh, concluded in September 1842, Tibet recognized Dogra sovereignty over Ladakh and accepted the historic boundary, but the Gulab Singh had to surrender all claims to Tibet. The king of Ladakh was given the right to remain and hold property near Leh which remains in the possession of the erstwhile royal family today. The wool trade, it was agreed, would revert to the previous pattern--through Kashmir. Thus Gulab Singh actually achieved his original objective and Ladakh lost its historic independence, becoming formally part of Kashmir when Gulab Singh purchased it from the British in 1846. The religious life of the country was little affected, nor was trade with Chinese Turkestan to the north.

Thus Ladakh eventually came to be a dependency of the British Indian Empire, though the political course it followed was rather roundabout and the final result rather attenuated. Ladakhi rulers would have preferred a more direct British relationship, which would in all likelihood have preserved their power. So would the first British traveler to Ladakh, William Moorcroft, who visited the region more than 20 years before the events summarized above which led to its indirect absorption into India. Moorcroft was an innovative veterinary specialist who worked for the East India Company. He was already past middle age when he set out on extensive travels in Tibet where he became intensely interested in possibilities of Himalayan trade, especially that in **pashmina**.

In 1820 Moorcroft set out on a journey which brought him to Ladakh, where he spent the better part of three years. The ostensible purpose of this undertaking was to buy horses as breeding stock for the Company's needs, but Moorcroft's ambitions

had developed far beyond his veterinary responsibilities. He had originally hoped to move from Ladakh into Hing Tartary--i.e. Chinese Turkestan--and from there to go westwards as far as the Caspian. He brought great quantities of trading goods with him. While Ladakh itself was poor in trading commodities, we was much taken with its possibilities as an entrepot, with links to the vast and then still little known Central Asian Lands to the north and west. While he waited in Leh for permission from the Company to travel further, he studied many aspects of Ladakhi life. The Ladakhis, alarmed by the Sikh conquest of Kashmir, were eager to reinforce ties with India. Moorcroft saw enormous opportunities for expansion of British influence in Central Asia and, more immediately, of the East India Company's trading empire, by bringing this remote Himalayan kingdom into a direct relationship with British power in Delhi. He encouraged the Ladakhis to appeal for formal protection, adding his own enthusiastic recommendation for acceptance of their appeal:

...[Ranjit Singh] seeks the allegiance of Ladakh by invitation, intrigue and menace. Russia invites the allegiance of Ladakh by promises of commercial advantages, of titles, of Embassies of distinguished honour. To the honourable Company Ladakh, unsolicited, tenders voluntary allegiance!¹²

The British authorities in Delhi were appalled. Ladakh seemed of little importance to them. The Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh, on the other hand, was a power to be reckoned with. Moorcroft was reprimanded and eventually his salary was stopped. Probably realizing that his far-reaching visions of Central Asian trade, were unlikely to excite Delhi, he had already set out for Afghanistan on his own initiative by the time word of his dismissal reached Kashmir. He died there mysteriously in 1825.¹³

The Road To Yarkand

Trade between India and Chinese Turkestan grew in importance during the 19th century and Ladakh was a major transfer point for this trade. Opium from India found its way into China over this route and from Yarkand in exchange came tobacco and hashish. In spite of the difficulties of the Karakoram route with passes over 18,000 feet, the high value of such commodities in relation to their bulk, made the route profitable.

Half a century after Moorcroft's venture in Ladakh, this route attracted the attention of the British authorities in New Delhi because of the broad geopolitical concerns of the Government of India. The "Great Game" was being played intensely during this period. Chinese rule in eastern Turkestan had been successfully challenged in the 1860s by an adventurer from Khokand, Yakup Beg. He was eager to bolster his position by forging alliances with outside powers. British authorities were anxious to en-

sure that the Russians did not win Yakup's favor first. They hoped, in fact, to make his Independent Tartary a friendly buffer against expanding Russian influence.

Two huge expeditions led by Douglas Forsythe were dispatched from Ladakh to open commercial relations and cement relations. The first, in 1870, achieved little, but the second and much larger one which crossed the Karakoram in 1873 seemed at first to have achieved a good deal of success, for it negotiated a treaty providing for extensive commercial relations and diplomatic representation. Yakub Beg proved extremely difficult to deal with, however, and the British Joint Commissioner in Leh, who traveled to Kashgar the following year as ambassador-designate, was unable to implement it. Yakub Beg was assassinated in 1877 and Independent Tartary again became Chinese Turkestan.¹⁴

Trade with China over the Karakoram passes continued to flourish during the remainder of the 19th century, nevertheless, and through the first half of the 20th. and was a major aspect of Ladakhi life. In Ladakh Chinese Turkestan was known as "Alte Shahar" [Alti shahr], the Land of the Six Cities, though merchants from across the Karakoram were (and are) usually grouped together and called by the name of the nearest of the eastern Kurkestani cities, Yarkand. The caravan route from Leh to Yarkand ordinarily required 29 days, with a further four days required to reach Kashgar. A comprehensive system existed in Leh and along the caravan route to supply the needs of the caravans for fodder and supplies. The caravan route was also used by eastern Turkestani traveling to Necca on religious pilgrimage.

A recent account of this trade, based on information gathered during the earlier part of 20th century, rates hashish the largest single item imported from eastern Turkestan. Other imports were: silk thread and cloth, carpets, cured lambskins, jade, gold, silver in various forms, boots, and dried fruits. Moorcroft. Items sent from Ladakh northward included: dyes both chemical and indigo, herbs and spices, artificial silk cloth (said to be mostly from Japan), sugar, religious books and many kinds of small manufactures such as needles, medicines, batteries and cosmetics.¹⁵

Trade over the Karakoram route reached its peak during the 1930s, with a value of approx. 10 million Indian rupees per year. War from the late 1930s onward disrupted it, though what was said to have been the largest caravan ever to operate on this route--600 horses--transported tires to Chinese Nationalist forces via Sinkiang in the fall of 1943. Trade resumed briefly at the end of World War II, but stopped entirely in 1949. The last caravan to cross the Karakoram into Ladakh brought out staff of the

Indian consulate in Kashgar in 1953.¹⁶

Past, Present and Future

For almost 40 years Ladakh has been cut off from its traditional links to the lands to the north and east: eastern Turkestan and Tibet, except for the occasional influx of refugees. While those from Turkestan have for the most part moved on, a large community from Tibet has settled in Ladakh, reinforcing the Tibetan aspects of its culture. During this same period Ladakh's links with Kashmir have been strengthened with the construction of a major highway, and ties to India have been expanded in a great many respects, not in the least by the presence of a large Indian military garrison, regular air service and trade and tourist connections. Through India, Ladakh's relations with the outer world have expanded in every respect. New possibilities for studying its rich history have opened up and are being exploited by students and scholars. Ladakhis are also beginning to make a direct contribution themselves to the study of their past.

For the time being, political obstacles to the resumption of travel over old routes to the north and east still seem greater than the geographical difficulties. The basis for resumption of former ties still exists, nevertheless, and the 20th century has seen remarkable shifts of political, as well as economic and cultural, circumstances. By the end of this century perhaps, certainly in the 21st, intercourse between Ladakh and Turkestan and between Ladakh and Tibet is almost certain to be restored and Ladakh will again be in direct contact with the Central Asian world with which so much of its history and cultural life has been so intimately connected. Ladakh and all its neighbors will benefit.

Washington, DC
3 Marc 1987

¹ Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History, Abridgement of Volumes 1-6* by D.C. Somervell. London, 1946, pp. 166-7; also "Note: On Sea and Steppe as Language Conductors", pp. 185-6.

² The best brief summary of Ladakh's history which takes into account most known historical documents and research done to date is in Janet Rizvi, *Ladakh, Crossroads of High Asia*, Delhi, Oxford University Press (India), 1983, pp. 35-74.

³ Filippo de Filippi (ed). *An Account of Tibet, the Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S.J., 1712-1717*, London, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1931, pp. 74-76.

⁴ The complex linguistic and ethnographic history of the people of Baltistan has only begun to be sorted out by scholars. Some who are now considered Dards speak a Tibetan dialect and are Buddhists. For a recent description of one group see E. Joldan, *Harvest Festival of the Buddhist Dards of Ladakh and Others Essay*, Srinagar, Kapoor Bros., 1985, pp. 1-37; also Rohit Vohra, "History of the Dards and the Concept of Minaro Traditions among the Buddhist Dards of Ladakh" in Kantowsky & Sander (eds.) *Recent Research on Ladakh*, Munich, Weltforum Verlag, 1983, pp. 51-80.

⁵ David L. Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh*, Warminster (England), Aris & Phillips, 1977, pp. 5-6.

⁶ Anneliese & Peter Keilhauer, *Ladakh und Zaskar*, Cologne, Dumont, 1980 pp. 321-322.

⁷ They continue to attract the speculative attention of travelers and scholars, for the Dardic element remains strong in the population of Gilgit and Baltistan. Michel Peissel provides a treatment of aspects of their history and cultural inheritance in a travel book entitled *The Ants' Gold*, London, Karvill Press, 1984.

⁸ Snellgrove & Skorupski, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁹ C.G.F. Simkin, *The Traditional Trade of Asia*, London, Oxford University Press, 1968.

¹⁰ Rizvi, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹¹ Desideri, *op. cit.* p. 78.

¹² As cited in John Keay, *When Men and Mountains Meet*, London, John Murray, 1977, p. 37.

¹³ Moorcroft's *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab etc.* (with George Trebeck), London, 1841 reissued in New Delhi, 1971) remain one of the best sources on Ladakh in the early 19th century.

¹⁴ There were many other British travelers and adventurers during this period who penetrated eastern Turkestan. Keay, *op. cit.* pp. 212 ff. provides accounts of several of them.

¹⁵ "Leh as an Entrepot of Central Asian Trade" in E. Joldan, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-84.

¹⁶ Joldan, *loc. cit.*, p. 71.

In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency,

Assalamu Alaikum.

Oncu again I would like to call your attention to a most urgent and vital matter, a deliberate attempt to assimilate the Turkic Muslims in Eastern Turkestan. Eastern Turkestan, which makes up the eastern part of Turkestan, was renamed by the Manchu rulers of China as Xinjiang (Sinkiang), and it was annexed into the territory of the Manchu Empire on November 18, 1884.

The latest Chinese census gives the present population of Eastern Turkestan as slightly over 13 million. But the independent sources estimate the Turkic Muslim population of Eastern Turkestan to be 25 million. The various Turkic peoples such as the Uygurs, the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz, the Uzbeks, the Tatars, and ethnically Indo-Iranian Tajiks are all Muslims.

The Turkic Muslims of Eastern Turkestan began embracing Islam in 934 A.D. Abdulkarim Satuk Bughra Khan of the Karakhanid state was the first Turkic ruler who embraced Islam with his own will in Central Asia. After embracing Islam the Turkic Muslims of Eastern Turkestan founded an extensive Islamic civilization in central Asia.

This Turkic Muslim power, prestige and culture dominated Central Asia for more than thousand years went into a steep decline after the Chinese Communist occupation of this Turkic Muslim country in 1949.

The economic, cultural and religious freedoms introduced by the Chinese Communist leaders in Eastern Turkestan after 1979 is nothing but a show-case for the Islamic world.

Just for an example, Ali Jing Jiang, a Muslim delegate from the Peoples republic of China who attended the fifth convention of the Islamic Society of North America held in Indianapolis in September 1986 gave the following statement to the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty:

"The government, responding to requests from the Muslim community, has established 5 or 6 Islamic colleges. But Marxist teachings dominate the religious classes. Religion is taught only as a negative example with Marxist explanations of correct attitude. Chinese Communist law prohibits any kind of religious instruction, at home or at schools, for children under 18. Our faith is weakened very much. Our Islamic beliefs can be passed down to children only in daily life. In school, the children are taught to regard religion as something to be ashamed of, as primitive belief practiced by the lower forms of Chinese society. Social pressure has eroded the importance of religion among young people, and my two

children have moved away from Islam. A lot of children from Muslim families say they do not believe. Everything we do is controlled by the government. The Muslims have only one society, the old China Muslim Organization, and one quarterly publication called China Muslim. It has 30 pages and half of them contain reprints of government speeches. Communist hold all the senior positions in the organization and the editorial office".

These courageous words of an official Muslim delegate might give us a clear idea of the real status of "religious" and other "freedoms" in Communist China.

At present, the introduction of Chinese education in Turkic Muslim schools, the mixed marriages encouraged by the Chinese Communist leaders and especially the steady flow of Chinese settlers in Eastern Turkestan pose the biggest threats for the survival of the Turkic Muslims in Eastern Turkestan. Before 1949 there were only 300,000 Chinese settlers in Eastern Turkestan. According to the Chinese census there are only 6 million Chinese settlers in Eastern Turkestan at present. But the Turkic Muslims claim that the Chinese inhabitants in Eastern Turkestan are far more than the official figures given. They estimate 25-30 million Chinese settlers in Eastern Turkestan. Every year almost 200,000 Chinese settlers are pouring into Eastern Turkestan. Recent visitor to Eastern Turkestan was told that the number of Chinese settlers is to be tripled. The Chinese Communists are planning to settle almost 100 million Chinese in Eastern Turkestan by the turn of the century. The Turkic Muslims of Eastern Turkestan are under great fear that they will be overwhelmed by such a large number of Chinese settlers and lose their Islamic identity. Actually, by pursuing this policy, the Chinese Communists is violating the universally accepted rule of international law which prohibits the transfer of citizens to and from occupied territory and it is violating the fundamental human rights of the Turkic Muslims of Eastern Turkestan. Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention expressly deals with population transfers. The last paragraph reads:

"The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies".

The sudden growth of Chinese population has also brought hunger, disaster and specially unemployment to Eastern Turkestan.

So, I humbly request your Excellency to study the following demands in order to support the life and death struggle of the Turkic Muslims of Eastern Tur-

kestan:

1- An end to the practice of sending Chinese settlers to Eastern Turkestan; those who are there should be returned to their former homes.

2- An end to practice of encouraging mixed marriages.

3- Compulsory Chinese education in Turkic Muslim Schools should be stopped. All school text books in schools should be in Turkic languages.

4- Special attention should be given to the teaching of Turkic-Islamic history, culture and civilization.

5- All Islamic countries should provide funds for scholarships to be given to the Turkic Muslim students living at home and abroad.

6- The Chinese Communist law which prohibits Islamic education, at home or at schools for Turkic Muslim children under 18 should be abolished.

7- Political self-rule should be granted to the Turkic Muslims.

8- Democratic elections of Turkic Muslims to replace Chinese officials assigned bay Peking.

9- An end to nuclear testing in Eastern Turkestan.

10- Job priority should be given to unemployed Turkic Muslims in Eastern Turkestan. Recruitment of Turkic Muslim labor force from Eastern Turkestan for Islamic countries.

11- The colonial name Xinjiang (Sinkiang) should

be changed to the historical name of Eastern Turkestan. All the Islamic publications should be encouraged to use this historical name.

12- To apply the principle of self-determination for the Turkic Muslims of Eastern Turkestan by putting into practice the Declaration of Human Rights and the rules of the United Nations.

13- Islamic investigators should be allowed to monitor locally the tragic conditions of the Turkic Muslims in Eastern Turkestan and to see if these demands are carried out.

14- A Islamic institute should be set up to study the tragic situation of the Muslims living under Communist domination.

15- Islamic countries should broadcast to Eastern Turkestan in Turkic languages. As it is known that informed societies can make more responsible judgements about their own and world affairs, while misinformed societies may be more easily manipulated in directions threatening peace at home and peace in the world.

16- Cooperation of all Islamic countries with China should be contingent upon Chinese recognition of the demands of the Turkic Muslims of Eastern Turkestan living at home and abroad.

Thanking you in Anticipation.

Assalamu Alaikum.

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Soviets wipe out Muslim villages

SAUDI GAZETTE

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Saudi Gazette Staff

Dr. Abdullah Azzam, Emir of Mujahideen Services Bureau and President of Board of Directors of Al-Jihad monthly magazine has confirmed press reports of Mujahideen penetration into the Soviet-occupied Turkistan and other Muslim territories bordering Afghanistan.

"Engineer Ahmed Bashir, Emir of Hizbi-Islami of several Afghani provinces, and his fighters have entered the Muslim territories under the Soviet occupation, and as a result Russia had almost wiper out the Muslim villages on the banks of river jihon," Dr. Azzam told Saudi Gazette.

Massacres

Asked if this was a massacre, he said "massacres had been carried out by Russian day and night with aerial bombardment and rocket, pounding on the villages of Amou Daria (Jihon) River" which separates the Afghani-Russian boundaries.

"Mujahideen are infiltrating from Badghis, Kunduz Badagshau, and Takhar provinces of Afghanis-

tan to Russia," Dr. Azzam disclosed. They even reap pistachio and sell it in Pakistan. Their penetration has been a recurring process and not a rare practice."

The northern region of Afghanistan, the southern region of Soviet Union and the Iranian. Mashhad and Nisabore together had been one area called Khurasan which graduated Muslim scholars and leaders in the past, Dr. Azzam pointed out.

Consciousness

Mohammad Yasser, member of Mujahideen foreign relations committee, had revealed to Saudi Gazette earlier that the Mujahideen have Soviet citizens from Turkistan fighting on the side of Mujahideen. "Turkistanis, Tartars, Caucasians are all now conscious of the resistance movement," he said.

The plight of Russian troops in Afghanistan have spread now to the intellectual people of Uzbekistan, Tadjikstan and Turkmenstan in the Soviet Union. The Times of London reported four months ago that there are 1800 underground mosques in the southern regions of the USSR compared to the 350 state-controlled mosques.

