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The Kazakh Turks of Eastern Turkistan

From a Historical Perspective

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About 903,000 Kazakh Turks live in Eastern Turkestan today along with the Uygur, Kirghiz, Uzbek and Tatar Turks.(1) They live in the Ili, Tarbagatai and Altai areas of Eastern Turkestan ("Sinkiang" or Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in the Peoples Republic of China, as it is identified according to the current political-geographical terminology). Until 1860, the history of the Kazakhs of Eastern Turkestan was the same as that of the Kazakhs in the present Kazakhstan SSR in the Soviet Union.

The Kazakhs were divided into two groups following the Sino-Russian border settlement in Central Asia in the 1860 (2). Until about 1950, however, the Kazakhs on both sides of the border moved to either side without paying any attention to the formal agreement.(3) Partial Kazakh migrations over the Sino-Soviet border took place depending on political pressure brought upon the Kazakhs by either of the two Governments. This should not lead to the presumption that the Kazakh Turks had come and settled in Eastern Turkestan by way of such migrations only at a later date. Their history shows that they had been living in the northern sections of Eastern Turkestan since quite old times.

At the beginning of the 13th century in the broad areas from the Caspian Sea to Tarbagatai and from the Irtysh River to Jungarian Alatau, requisite conditions and possibilities existed for various Turkic tribes having common language, similar economic mode of life and material cultures, and a particular life style of their own, to unite as a single people; the Mongol invasion, however, delayed their unification as a single people.(4) They finally founded a Khanate named "Kazakh" in the middle of the 15th century, and permanently reappeared in the scene of history. We say "reappeared", because Radloff, basing his information on Iranian poet Ferdowsi, says that a khan and his people by the name of Kazakh lived in the 11th century.(5) Prof. Ahmet Caferoglu says: "The Kazakh Turks have a long his-

tory. The old Turkic sources record them as a Turanian nomadic tribe. The first mention of the name Kazakh Khan and the warrior Kazakh tribe occurs in Ferdowsi's Shahnama".(6)

In Radloff's opinion, after the 13th century the Kazakhs constituted a part of the territory inherited by Jöchi, the eldest son of Genghiz Khan. On the other hand, Cehun mentions the Kazakhs as a separate group in the 14th century. Barthold says that the name of Kazakh was first used in the 15th century.(7) Prof. Z.V.Togan mentions that the Kazakhs existed in the time of the Seljuks.(8) Most of the Kazakh historians think that the Kazakhs were a confederation of the Turkic tribes who lived in the old times. Some of the Western historians stated that the Kazakhs were a political confederation which was composed of the Chaghatai tribes of the Nogai, Naiman, Arghin and the Uzbek Khanates.(9)

Before trying to determine the place of the Kazakhs of Eastern Turkestan in history, it will be better to clarify origin of the ethnonim "Kazakh", the establishment of the Kazakh Khanate, and the composition of the Kazakh Jüzes, as they are tightly related.

The exact meaning of the word "Kazakh" is not yet understood; however, in broad terms it means "Free, independent, brave, vagrant, warlike, manly e.t.c." History describes "Kazakhness" in relation to the establishment of the Kazakh Khanate as the quality attributable to those who live independently without submission to the main order and leave the society to which they belong. Given that the last reappearance of the Kazakh Turks in the scene of history was consequent to such an event, the historical meaning of the term "Kazakh" seems to be more relevant.

According to the *Islam Ansiklopedisi* the term "Kazakh" means "free, independant, without any dwelling, unemployed, brave"; and "Kazakhness" corresponds to "the condition and situation of soldiers during fighting and military campaigns". This last description by Sheikh Suleyman more or less explains the meaning of the word. Babur used this term in the sense of "an interregnum, that is to say a

period and condition of a ruler who, for same reason, passes through after having left his domain until he returns to acquire his old position or a similar one somewhere else."

The name "Kazakh" first belonged to sultans only. Later it was attributed gradually to their subject tribes and to the states which they wanted to establish. The name "Kazakh" has also been used for those adventurers, who as a result of a political rebellion or otherwise, have left the society either with or without their families (Boidak) and lived in the countryside devoid of the protection of their own tribes until they regained control when the opportunity arose. Also young men were sent out to countryside by their tribes in order to get them used to harsh life, and some left their tribes to become bandit.(11)

In the 1440s, the Kazakh Khans, Janibeg and Kerei, left the Aral steppes, where they were living under the rule of Abulhair, and came to the banks of the river Chu. This act was branded as "Kazakhness". The natives named the new comers "Kazakh". When Janibeg and Kerei became sultans later, their "Kazakhness" ended. Tamerlane, Husain Baiqara, Babur Mirza and Shaibak Khan the Uzbek, all experienced a period of "Kazakhness" and all of them recalled that particular period of their lives with pride.(12) The term "Kazakh" in the Slavic languages has been attributed to the privileged soldiers who guarded the borders. There exists no racial, religious or linguistic relationship between the Turkic Kazakh and the Russian Kazak, Kossak or Kazachis.(13) Ethonims such as Kirghiz, Kirghiz-Kazakh, Kirghiz-Kaisak have been erroneously used for the Kazakhs. The Kirghiz is one of the oldest Turkic tribes known in history.

The origin of the word "Kazakh" has been carefully studied by the Turkic and Kazakh historians of the Soviet union and by the Kazakh historians of Eastern Turkistan, but they state that they have not been able to find the definite meaning of the term. Nevertheless, they all share the following opinion:

A.A. Semenov suggested a possible connection between the Mongol term "Hasag Tergen" and the word "Kazakh". "Hasag Tergen" is the name given to wheeled carts used in migrations.

Much research has been done, and many hypotheses have been put forward about the term "Kazakh". The work is still continuing: The result that can be drawn from previous scholarly studies is as follows: As it was said by Wambery, "The ethnonim 'Kazakh' has been known to the world since the 11th century" (15)

It has been a political term since the first

half of the 15th century although it had been used with different meanings earlier. With time, it has gained an ethnic importance. (16)

Besides the scientific research, comments are being made based on legends and "genealogical trees" about the term "Kazakh"; and some of the legendary arguments tend to gather more popular support than the results of the scientific studies and appear more logical.

"Kazakh", "Kaisak", means the Saks of the Kai. In Persian, it means the saks (guard-soldiers) of "Kai" (the king). The words "Kaspi" and "Sak" have been combined to make "Kassak", and eventually "Kazakh". Also, the origin of the word "Kazakh" was sought in the combination of the words "Kazog" and "Khazar". Among Kazakhs, the idiom "Qazin Qazi-aq" is used extensively. "Qazi" in Kazakh means Kadi (the judge); so the phrase means "your Kadi is the real Kadi. Similarly, Qaz (the goose) + aq (white) = Kazaq (white as goose) and hence Kazak. (17)

The most famous legend is the one about Alash. Alash is described as the founder of the Kazakh tribe in such legends, and his three sons were the founders of the three Jüzes (ordas).

The legend of Alash has always played a uniting role among Kazakhs. The name of the first political party and the autonomous government was also Alash. (18)

In order to determine the place of the Kazakhs of Eastern Turkistan in history, let us move on to the second stage, namely the foundation of the Kazakh Khanate.

From the historical and ethnological points, the Kazakhs are included in the Kipchak group of Turkic peoples. Besides the Kazakhs, the Uzbeks, Nogai, Bashkir and Tatar Turks also belong to this group.(19) The Kazakhs were in close contact with the Uzbeks when they entered the scene of history. When Turkic history is studied as a whole, the ethnic roots of the Turkic tribes, which are known by such names as Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tatar, Uygur, Turkman, common before they acquired their tribal compositions.

In various period of Turkic history a different Turkic tribe appeared in history; it subjugated other tribes around it; and in due course of time, it was subjugated by another Turkic tribe and the name of the new tribe began to be heard and finally lent its name to the rest. This happened many times in our history. This continued until a strong tribal leader established a strong state or an empire. Until the 1440s, the Kazakh Turks wondered under the rule of a strong leader and among other Turkic tribes in the

area between the Kazakh steppe and the Altai mountain ranges (20).

It can be argued that the ancestors of the Kazakh were among the tribes that formed the the Scythian Empire (900-700 B.C), the Hun Empire (300 B.C), the Köktürk Empire (600 A.D) and the big and small khanates that followed them, and subsequently the Mogol and the Taimuri empires of Genghiz Khan and Tamerlane, respectively.

Historians say that the Üysings were united and found a state in the 2nd - 3rd centuries B.C. This tribe exists among the Kazakhs of Eastern Turkestan under the name "Kazakh".(21) However, the historians claim that the main ethnic components which were included in the Kazakh confederation were Üysin, Kangli, Kipchak, Arghin, Duvlat, Kerei, Naiman, Alshin, Konghirat, Kitai tribes. These are all very old tribes (22). Prof. Z. V. Togan says that the Usun or Uysin tribe constituted a part of the ancestors of the Köktürks. (23)

In 1202 Genghiz declared himself as the khan in Mongolia. He later annexed Eastern and Western Turkestan, the territories of the Karakhanid and the Hwarizmshah to his domain. He died in 1227. Before his death, he distributed his empire among his sons. Jöchi received the territory between the Kipchak steppe and the Irtysh, southern Iran and Afghanistan. Jöchi Khan, however died in 1224 while his father was still alive. Batu (1224-1255) ruled in the western part of Jöchi's domain, namely the Alun Orda (Ak orda); and Orda Icin (1226-1250) was the Khan of Gök Orda, which included the present Kazakhstan. In both the Ordas, sons and nephews of the same Khans ruled in succession. Orda Icin's sons were the subjects of Batu Khan. Famous successors of Batu Khan were Berke (1256-1266), Özbeg (1312-1340) and Janibeg (1340-1357). The "Ulus" of Jöchi is also known by the names of "Deshti Kipcak" (the Kipchak Steppe) and Toğmak. The "Toğmak" was used for the eastern part. Its western part was called Altın Orda, and its eastern part subsequently called "Ulus" of Özbeg after Özbeg Khan. (24)

As a result of the struggle among the ruling descendents of Genghiz Khan, Ak Orda was divided into several administrative regions at the beginning of the 15th century, the Nogai Orda and the Özbeg Orda being the biggest amongst them.

Many Turkic tribes constituted the subjects of the Ozbeg Khans; e.g., Qipchak, Kangli, Qarluq, Naiman, Üysin, Arghin, Kirghiz, etc. The people of the eastern part of "Deshti Kipchak" was called "Ozbeg" (Uzbek). As such, according to eastern sources, Abulkhair's Khanate, who reigned in

the Deshti Qipchaq during 1620s, was called the "Uzbek Khanate". The origin of the ethnonim Ozbeg has not been explained satisfactorily either. Yet, the nomadic people that lived in Deshti Qipchaq at the end of the 14th century was called by this name. (25)

Abulkhair, the khan of Deshti Qipchaq, continuously suppressed the sultans and tribal leaders whom he saw as his rivals. This type of internal struggle increased towards the middle of the 15th century. Kerei and Janibeg, the sons of Baraq Khan, lost their struggle, left the Ardal steppe in the 1440s, and migrated to the banks of the river Chu together with their subjects. In the "*Tarih-I Rashidi*" Muhammad Haidar Mirza (Korgan) records that "Abulkhair Khan brought all of Deshti Qipchaq under his rule. Kerei Khan, Sultan Janibeg and others run away from Abulkhair together with some people. The emergence of the Turkic tribe, known today as Kazakh, starts with this event". Ruzbehan, the sixteenth century central Asian historian, describes the Kazakh as being: "one of the three peoples that lived in the Ozbeg Khanate." and notes, "They are world-famous for their strength and courage".(26)

The area to where the sultans Kerei and Janibeg came was at that time ruled by the Chaghatay Khanate. Isanbogha Khan sought the collapse of this Khanate. Therefore, he gave the western part of the Yedisu (Semirechie) region, which was within his domain, to Sultans Kerei and Janibeg. Kerei was proclaimed khan. Many tribes who had run away from Abulkhair came to his territory. This increased the subjects of the Kazakh Khanate. The Khanate grew stronger and expanded its limits.

With increase in population nomadic life style necessitated the expansion of pastures. This reality played an important role in the Kazakhs expanding over a wide area of pastoral land.

The composition of the Kazakh Jüzes after the foundation of the Kazakh Khanate represents the third important stage in the history of the Kazakhs of Eastern Turkestan.

The History of the Kazakh SSR states that Jüz is the area which covers the land of the tribal confederation and it means "direction, section". (27) Dr. Hayit says that "Jüz" means "Section/branch" and mentions that in the West, "Jüz" is called "Horde-Orda".

The jüz has an important place among the Kazakh Turks. When two Kazakhs meet, they ask each other: "gay elsin?". That means, "from which tribe are you?" The other answers this by saying, "I am from such and such tribe of such and such jüz". From this perspective, the Kazakhs have had an administrative organization since they have been dis-

persed to such a vast area. The khans and sultans should know the exact location of every tribe and jüz. For that reason, jüzes have a great place and importance in the Kazakh history.

Although it is not definitely known how and when the formation of the Kazakh jüzes took place, most of the historians believe that such a formation happened after the death of great the Kazakh Khan, Kasim, who died around 1518-1523. There are those who think that formation of the jüzes was the political separation of the Kazakh clans. The Soviet historians generally claim that the jüzes were formed because of economic reasons, but there are some proofs that justify the claims of those who base their arguments on geographical reasons. For example, just before and after the death of Kasim Khan in the first quarter of the 16th century, three main geographical areas began to take shape on the Kazakh lands:

- a) Yedisu (Semerechie)
- b) Central Kazakhstan
- c) Western Kazakhstan

In these very same areas, the clans of the three Kazakh Jüzes settled. For example, those clans that belong to the "Ulu jüz" of the Kazakhs were living in the Semirechie region. Those clans that belong to the "Kishi (Small jüz) lived in the western Kazakhstan area. Their summer quarters were the banks of Irghiz, Tobil, and Ural rivers and their winter quarters were the tributaries of the rivers Syrdarya and Udral. Central Kazakhstan and its Eastern parts (Sometimes in history as far as the Altai Mountains) were the areas where the Kazakhs of the 'Orta' (middle) jüz" lived. The Orta jüz consisted of six clans: Kerei, Naiman, Arghin, Kipchak, Konirat and Uvak. Most of the Kazakhs who live in Eastern Turkestan today are of Kerei and Naiman tribes.

Kerei is divided into two: a) Abaq Kerei; b) Qara Kerei. *The Kazakh-Soviet Encyclopedia* gives the following information about the Abaq Kerei: "The 12 aris Abaq kerei is a large clan of the Kerei tribe of the "Orta jüz". Those that come from the Abaq are: Jantekei, Jadik, Karakas, Molki, Shibarayghir, Iteli, Sheruvshi, Merkit, Kon sadak, Jastaban and Kultaibolat. In the 19th century, they were living around the boundaries of the three States- the Soviet Union, Mongolia, China;

West of the rivers Qaba, Qurshin and Qara Irtysh in the west, around the banks of the rivers Bulghin and Shingil in the Eastern slopes of the Altai Mountain in the north-west in the Qabda region of Mongolia around Boyan and Ölgüz in the east, around the late Ülingir in the eastern side of the Savir Mountain in the south. It is known that the Abaq Kerei clan has been living in this area since the 6th

through the 13th centuries", (29)

According to Prof. A. Temir, in the 12 th century the following major tribes were living in Mongolia and its surrounding areas: the Naiman was in the west, in the north of Altan Mountains and between Irtysh and Orkhon, the Kereit was around the north, and the Merkit was around the middle and lower courses of selenge.(30) The kereit tribe is the same as the Kerei of today. In history the Kerei and Naiman sometimes faught against each other and sometimes acted in unity. In the first decade of the 13th century, the Naiman and Kerei invaded the Kazakh steppe and ended the Karakhitai rule; but Genghiz Khan conquered the Semirechie area in the year 1218 and ended the sovereignty of the Kerei and Naiman.(31) *The history of the Kazakh SSR* gives the Kerei and Naiman invasion as follows: "A rather substantial part of the Kereis and Naimans who were running away from Genghiz Khan's atrocities migrated to the area of today's Kazakhstan in the first quarter of the 13th century. These Turkic speaking tribes later joined the Kazakh confederation."(32) The Kereis and Naimans, who migrated to the Kazakhstan area, moved back to their old habitat in the East just before the Oirat-Jangar state was overthrown by the Chinese in 1757.(33) The Eastern Turkestani historian Nimet Mincanuli in his book entitled *Qazaqtın Qısqaşa Tariqi* - in respect to this event gives the following information: "The Chinese government heavily taxed those Kazakhs who returned to their old homeland. The lands in the valleys of Ili and Irtysh, in the Jungarian basin and in the mountains of Altai, Tarbagatai and Tienshan were very important for the Kazakh community engaged in animal husbandry. They had migrated from these lands temporarily during the wars in the Jungarian period."(34). On the other hand, Forbes says that the migration of the Kereis and Naimans back to their old homeland had occurred due to Russian pressure.(35) In any case, the tribes that belonged to the Kazakh Orta Jüz expanded their lands and reached as far as Altai and Tarbagatai in the east after the collapse of the Jungar state.(36) *Encyclopedia Britannica* gives the following information on the subject: "In the 15th and 16th centuries the Kazakhs enlarged their nomadic empire from the steppes in the east of the Caspian Sea to the north of the Aral Sea, to the upper course of the irtysh River, and western ends of the Altai Mountains". (37)

The Kazakh Historian Lukpan Bedavamuli, a native of Eastern Turkestan who later moved to Kazakhstan, studied the Kereis. The following information is taken from his article entitled *Ezelden Beriki Doğu Türkistan* : "The Kazakh tribe which is

known as Abaq-Kerei has been living in the Altai region of the country. Abaq-Kerei is one of the descendants of the old Kereits (Kerei) that formed a unity later. History shows that in the eighth and ninth centuries A.d., the old kereits were the neighbours of the Mongols, Uygurs and Naimans, who were living on the slopes of the Eastern and Southern Altai Mountains. At That time, the first political unity of the Kereis was formed. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, most of the Kereis moved westward as far as the Syrdarya and Arqa(The Kazakh Steppe) areas., Thus, they entered the composition of the Kazakh Khanate in the fifteenth century. At the beginning of the seventeenth century during the "Kalmuck Attack" the Abak-Kereis migrated to the east, towards the old homeland of their ancestors. In 1740s the Abaq-Kereis moved to the Qaba, Jemenei and Buvirshin areas of Eastern Turkestan, and a part of them settled on the Savir Mountain. They went even further, as far as the upper course of the Irtysh River and the Upper Altai. The Abaq-kereis after settling in their eternal homeland around the year 1747, gathered big assemblies and introduced administrative organizations. Those Kereis lived in seven towns of the Altai Province, namely: Sarisumbe, Buvirshin, Qaba, Jemenei, Buvriultoghai, Köktoghai, Shingil".(38) A part of the Abaq-Kereis, who had gone further east, have been living in the Bayan Ölgii area of the Mongolian People's Republic. They settled there during 1868-69. (39) Their total number today is 130,000. (40)

According to Barthold, Naiman means "eight" in Mongolian. So it is guessed that the Naimans were composed of eight tribes.(41) Prof. A. Temir accepts the Naimans as being a Mongolian tribe in his following comment: "The Naimans and Kereis were under the influence of the neighbouring Uygur Turks culturally. Among the Mongolian tribes that have taken many cultural and civil features, as well as their script, from the Uygurs were the Naimans, who were at a higher level than their neighbours (42)

The History of the Kazakh SSR states: "The Naimans had accepted christianity before they accepted Islam. It has also been understood that the Maimans and Kereis spoke a Turkic language in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They later became a part of the Kazakh tribe."(43) But, according to historical information, the Naimans and Kereis which are quite old tribes, are Turkic; in other words, they have been turcified like many other old tribes. They accepted Islam when Islam became wide spread in Central Asia. The Naimans live especially in the Tarbagatai region of Eastern Turkestan. The majority

of the Kazakh Turks who migrated to Turkey from Eastern Turkestan via Pakistan and Hindistan between the years 1950 and 1954 are of Kereis and Naimans. Today, their number is about five thousand. It is the Border Agreement which was signed on 14 Nov. 1860 between the Tsarist Russia and the Chinese Empire that separated the Kazakhs of Eastern Turkestan and the Kazakhs of Kazakhstan. With that agreement, the Russians acquired additional territory in Central Asian, as the Chinese gave up their claim over an area of nearly 500,000km² situated between Eastern Turkestan and the "Russian Central Asia".(44) The Chinese, however, later claimed that the agreement had been concluded on unequal terms under pressure .

The Eastern Turkestani Historian, N. Mincanuli, offers the following comment about the agreements: "The Sino-Soviet accord concluded in Peking in 1860, and the "Sino-Soviet Border Demarcation Agreement" of 1868 relevant to the North Western borders (of China) were followed by several other border agreements signed between China and the Soviet Union. While the territories in the east and south of Lake Balkhash, which were annexed to Russia earlier, remained in Russian possession, Article V of the "Measurement and division of the Chinese-Russian North Western Border Agreement" stipulates that the Kazakh people would live in the areas where they had been living; and that after the demarcation of the border, to whichever side a certain territory is ceded to, the people living there would also belong to that side. This settlement caused commotion among the Kazakhs; leading to increased migrations and movements of the population."(45)

Radlof, in his book, which he wrote after his visit to lands of the Kazakh - Kirghiz and the Ile Turks in the years 1860-63, and published in 1884, writes: "The two powerful neighbours of the Kazakhs- the Chinese and the Russians, touched the Kazakh steppe only with their farthest borders, and their rule there was not strong enough to dominate the Kazakh steppe".(46) As it is understood from this comment, the Kazakh in Kazakhstan and over Eastern Turkestan moved about freely for sometime without paying much attention to the border issue, even after the Russian Chinese border agreement was signed. Later on, during the 1st half of the 20th century, i.e., during the periods as the political pressure in Russia increased, and as the Chinese central authority in Eastern Turkestan weakened, several major migrations took place. About 300,000 Kazakh and Kirghiz migrated to Eastern Turkestan during the tumult in Russia in 1916. That was followed by the successive waves of migrations during the period of

larından geçirmesini, gerektiriyordu. Bu operasyonun icrası sırasında Rus kuvvetleri bu hanlık içindeki dahili problemlerden etkilenerek karmaşaya dđştđler. Olayların akışı burada anlatılmayacak kadar karmaşıktır. Sonuçta mahalli iktidar çöktü. Olayların ayrıntıları Schuyler op.cit. Cilt 2 sayfa 280-302 bulunabilir. Schuyler bu olayları op.cit. Cilt 2 Sayfa 280-302 de vermektedir.

(52) Alder, British India's Northern Frontier, Sayfa 61-62

(53) Bu dokümanımızın hazırlanma sebebi olan konferanstaki konuşmasında hiç şüphe yok ki, bu konuda son zamanlarda bir araştırma yapmış olan Profesör Mehmet Saray, bilgilerimizi arttıracak açıklamalarda bulunacaktır. Aynı şekilde diğer katılanlar da belki açıklamada bulunacaklardır.

(54) Roderic H. Davison, Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876 Princeton, 1963 Sayfa 272-275

(55) Alptekin op.cit.Sayfa 126

(56) Alter British India's Northern Frontier, Sayfa 62

(57) Davison, op.cit. Sayfa 273-274

(58) Kaşgar İslam Devleti nasıl parçalandı. Doğu Türkistan'ın Sesi İstanbul 4/1 Aralık 1984 Sayfa 50-52

(59) Pulley, op.cit., Sayfa 765

(60) Hummel, op.cit., Sayfa 765

(61) Rossabi, op. cit., Sayfa 184-187, Hummel op.cit.sayfa 766

(62) Rossabi, op.cit., Sayfa 184-187

(63) Friedrich Hellwald, Centralasien, Leipzig, 1879, Sayfa 206 Birçok İngiliz bu büyük oyunun bu safhasının sonucunu daha az bir yakım (felaket vs) olarak görmektedirler ve hâlâ da böyle düşünen çok kişi vardır. Alder, örneğin, şöyle demektedir:

Durum tamamen Hindistan'ın aleyhine ... değildi. Çin Asya'nın hududunda bir mütecaviz güç gibi görünmemekteydi, hatta Müslüman şefine bir Çin müdahalesi tehlikesi olsa bile, ki bazıları bunu iddia ediyorlar, Atalık'in aynı dininden olanlar arasındaki düşmanlık riski, teorik olarak hatta daha da büyüktür. Hindistan ile Kaşgar Kırallığı'nın arasında bir kopma ihtimali daima mevcut olmuştur özellikle Atalık'in Rusya'dan korkusu o derecede büyüktü ki kendisi Rusya'nın tabisi olduğunu, ilan etmeyi düşündüğünden buyana, böyle bir ihtimal daima mevcuttu. Maddi güç bakımından Çin, Rusya'nın ilerlemesine karşı Müslüman Kırallığından çok daha güçlü bir engel teşkil etmektedir ..." British India's Northern Frontier, Sayfa 75.

Baştarafı 13. Sayfada

Soviet collectivization and world war II.(47) As the pressure on the Chinese side increased after 1960, the direction of the Kazakh migration reversed- from China to the Soviet Union. It is understood that more than 60,000 Kazakh and Uygur had migrated to the Soviet Union in 1962. Since then there have not been any migrations due to the tight border control by both sides.

In conclusion, we can state that the Kazakh Turks of Eastern Turkestan have been living in the areas of İle , Altai and Tarbagatai since very old times. The Üysin, Kizai, Kerei and Naiman tribes of the Eastern Turkestani Kazakhs, who joined the Kazakh Turkic tribal confederation before it appeared in the history in the fifteenth century and founded the Kazakh Khanate, are the tribes that made their presence felt in the history. The Kazakhs of Eastern Turkestan and Kazakhstan form a single entity. They were separated artificialy because of political expediencies under the terms of the 1860 Border Agreement signed between the imperial governments of China and Russia.

Their history and culture is one and the same. They uniformly speak the Kazakh dialect of Turkish language, without any variation. The migrations that used to take place between the two areas for centuries, because of various reasons seem to have definitely stopped since 1960.

NOTES :

The full body of the footnotes, mainly source reference, may be seen at the end of the Turkish version of the study in the present issue of the VOET. Items warranting translation are rendered into English as follows:

1. Present Kazakh population in Eastern Turkestan is estimated at 903,370. Including 4,212 kazakhs living elsewhere in China, they total at 907,582.

18. M.B. Olcot: İbid. Extensive information about Alash may be obtained from *Alaş-Türkistan Türklerinin Milli İstiklal Parolası* by H. Oraltay, İstanbul, 1973.

40. ibid; in it there is an interview with İslam Kobuşuli, who is a Kazakh historian and writer in Mongolia. Kobuşuli says: "The Turkic name of Bayan Ölgii is "Bay Ülke " (rich country)." He is the author of the book *The History of the Kazakhs in Mongolia*.

THE GREAT GAME IN KASHGARIA

British and Russian Missions to Yakub Beg

By
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The modern history of Sinkiang Uygur Autonomons Regions (Eastern or Chinese Turkestan) dates from the Muslim rebellion of the 60s and 70s of the last century. This rebellion, affecting several provinces of China proper as well as Chinese Turkestan severely shook the decaying Manchu Dynasty. Millions of Chinese were massacred, and when the reconquering armies advanced they massacred in revenge until wide territories were laid waste that to the present day have not recovered their population. (1)

I. Introduction and Summary:

Some contemporary observers of events in East Turkestan during the late 19th century as well as subsequent writers have treated Yakub Beg primarily as an "adventurer" who gained control of Altishahr (2) by guile and had no other aim but to wield power. (3) In contrast, most of the Europeans who had direct experience of East Turkestan during Yakub Beg's time recognized that his ascendancy owed a great deal to deep historical currents. His power was based on a combination of both ethnic and religious factors which were little understood at the time

and have never been fully studied since. To Britain and Russia, motivated by a mounting sense of rivalry and desiring to protect their imperial interests in Inner Asia, Yakub Beg represented both an opportunity and a danger. Yakub Beg himself sought to manipulate these two European "super powers" to bolster his position against his primary enemy, the Manchu Empire. For this sorely tested empire Yakub Beg could only be an enemy. A sense of Islamic and Turkic solidarity motivated Yakub Beg to seek the support of the Ottoman Sultan. The response to his overtures to Constantinople was sympathetic but had little practical effect. In the end British assistance proved inadequate while the Russians shifted their support to the Chinese and helped their military forces destroy independent Kashgaria.

This essay focuses on British and Russian actions and interactions as reflected in the missions both countries undertook to East Turkestan in the 1860s and 1870s.

It can only touch on the indigenous factors that determined the outcome of Yakub Beg's bold attempt to set up an independent state in the heart of Asia. I hope, however, to point the way for future research on little studied aspects of the religious and social background of the period.

II. Historical Background:

The first (Ming) emperor acknowledged that China was neither powerful enough to overwhelm the Mongols, Uygurs and other peoples on the frontier nor wealthy enough to maintain large garrisons outside its borders. The court sought to preserve the territorial integrity

stan had been a crossroads of peoples, religions and civilizations. (5) At the beginning of the Christian era, it was already a route for pilgrims and traders between China and India. Chinese silk and other luxury products reached the Roman and Byzantine Empires across Central Asia via the famous Silk Road later traveled by Marco Polo and other Europeans who visited China. (6)

China's interest in the lands to the north and west was mainly to protect itself from the incursions of the semi-nomadic peoples who lived there but there were periods when Chinese emperors exercised substantial control over parts of the region. The last Sassanian king of Persia sought Chinese aid to repulse the Arabs but was refused. In the middle of the 8th century Arab advances brought all of Central Asia into the realm of Islam. Turkic peoples had been settled in the Tarim Basin before the coming of Islam. (7) During the 9th century Arab geographers began referring to the region as Turkestan. The region retained its Turkic and Islamic character when it fell under Mongol hegemony in the 13th century. For the first and only time in history, the Mongols united all of Inner Asia under a single sovereignty.

By the time of the fall of the Mongols and the rise of the Chinese Ming Dynasty (1344), the Chinese position in Inner Asia was tenuous and soon challenged by Tamerlane. Chinese policy continued unchanged in its essentials for the next three centuries but was less assertive and less successful. Relations between West and East Turkestan were close. The two constituted a single political and cultural world. The Uzbek-dominated Timurid successor states did not feel threatened by Ming China. Goods Originating in China moved across Central Asia to the west.

In East Turkestan several centers of local power developed under rulers who called themselves Moghuls (i.e. Mongols) and claimed descent from Chinggis-Khan though they were all Muslim and nearly all Turkic. Alongside them a line of religious-

oriented leaders-the Khojas--gained influence. Their founder, Makhtum Azam, came to Kashgar from Bukhara. He claimed descent from the Prophet.(8) His successors split into two rival groups, the White and Black Mountain Khojas. During the 17th century, the Khojas replaced the Moghuls as the temporal rulers of the city states and principalities of East Turkestan.

The Manchu (ch'ing) Dynasty which overthrew the Ming in 1644 had to face a new challenge on its Inner Asian frontiers: the advancing Russian Empire. Russian pressure was first felt in the north. It was absent in the west until the 18th century.

Meanwhile movement of goods destined for the Middle East and Europe across Central Asia declined but regional trade with China flourished. No great leader arose to unify the Muslim regions. Manchu policy aimed to extend colonial administration into all the areas traditionally claimed by the Chinese Empire, but authority was exercised primarily through established local leaders.

As the Manchus became preoccupied with European penetration of the Chinese coast, the quality of officials and troops assigned to the Inner Asian regions deteriorated. The local population found Manchu overlordship increasingly distasteful and supported indigenous leaders opposing it. Religious resurgence seems to have played an important, but still poorly understood, role in East Turkestani political developments in the 18th century, when the both Khoja factions lost power and most of them fled westward to the Khanate of Khokand.

III. East Turkestan Before Yakub Beg:

By 1760 China appeared to be at the height of its power in Inner Asia. By 1860, exactly a century later, the Ch'ing (Manchu) system in Inner Asia had crumbled. Russian influence had spread in Central Asia and ... the growing European Pressure on China exacerbated Ch'ing difficulties. (9)

Turkic Muslims were not alone in their resentment of Manchu rule. Chinese Muslims (Dungans) were the vanguard of a religious movement called The New Teaching (hsin chiao) which was linked to the Nakshbendi order in West Turkestan and the Middle East. Revolt and civil war erupted in the Dungan areas in the latter half of the 18th century. Manchu authorities prohibition of New Teaching practices did not deter adherents. For the next century much of Western China was in a state of ferment.

Given the traditionally fragmented political structure of the region, maintenance of Manchu control in East Turkestan might have proved possible if Peking had not had to give first priority to quelling rebellions in intervening territories among ethnic Chinese Muslims. The course of events in Kashgaria was not merely a by-product of the Dungan rebellion in Shensi and Kansu, however. Traditional westward orientation remained strong. Khoja influence in East Turkestan could never be eliminated by the Chinese because the Khojas who fled had a firm base in West Turkestan. The first major rebellion against Manchu rule in East Turkestan broke out in 1763 under Hamidullah Beg and was centered in the town of Uchturfan. When it was suppressed, thousands of East Turkestanis fled to West Turkestan. (10)

The Khanate of Khokand had emerged as the most important regional power by the end of the 18th century. Its merchants dominated trade in both directions, to and from China, within East Turkestan and in neighboring regions under Chinese suzerainty. Khokandi Merchants had a privileged status in Kashgar and other towns of the Tarim Basin (11) Though our knowledge is inadequate (and Manchu understanding of these ties was probably also deficient), many of these Khokandi merchants, commonly known as Andjanis, were adherents of Nakshbendi tari-kats. They were therefore favorably predisposed toward the Khojas. Their influence provided a basis for a series of

new attempts by the Khojas to regain control over East Turkestan during the years 1820-1860. One, Cihangir Khan, harassed the Chinese for eight years, 1820-1828. When he was captured, his brother, Mohammed Yusuf, continued incursions from Khokandi territory and maintained a nine-month siege of the Chinese garrison in Kashgar. Again, in the wake of these events, thousands of East Turkestanis fled westward. In 1846 Mohammed Emin Khoja led another revolt with help from Khokand. He was defeated by Manchu troops and thousands of his supporters fled westward. In 1855 one of the leaders of this revolt, Vali Khan Tore, succeeded in holding Kashgar for almost half a year until Manchu forces drove him out. Once again, thousands of those who had taken his side during the revolt fled to Khokandi and Bukharan territory. (12) Thus large numbers of people living in West Turkestan, refugees and direct descendants of those who had fled in previous decades, maintained ties with East Turkestan, which transcended purely commercial interests.

The religious revolts and civil wars which broke out in Western China in the late 1850s proved uncontrollable. The Manchus had been weakened by two decades of intense struggle in the Chinese heartland: the Opium War and the Taiping Rebellion. (13) Dungan leaders, inspired by the New Teaching, openly proclaimed their desire to secure independence from China. Manchu authority crumbled. East Turkestan was ready for a Muslim leader who was ready to take advantage of Manchu weakness, protect local commercial interests and defend Islam.

IV. Atalyk Gazi, Bedevlet, Amir of Kashgaria:

Yakub Beg was virtually the last truly independent sovereign in Central Asia and perhaps the most outstanding ruler that Asia produced after Nadir Shah. He was competent both as administrator and as soldier and managed to bring peace and security to a country which had known

neither for half a century. (14)

Information on Yakub Beg's family background, early life and influences which affected his political attitudes is contradictory and incomplete. If the judgment expressed above is excessively positive, other assessments often appear too negative. (15) Sources are all in agreement on his origins: he was born about 1820 in Pishkent near Tashkent. Pishkent was described in 1876 by one of the most conscientious contemporary observers of events in Turkestan as "a thriving little town, chiefly noted for the immorality of its inhabitants and for being the birthplace of Yakub Khan, the Amir of Kashgar, one of whose wives and many of whose relatives still reside there." (16)

His father and grandfather are said to have been Muslim judges (*kazis*) and he is said to have had a religious education and then gone to seek his fortune at the court in Khokand. He was given command of the fort of Ak-Mescit (now Kyzyl Orda) in 1847 and stubbornly withstood a 26-day Russian siege in 1853. That experience appears to have left him with a strong resentment of the Russian advance into Central Asia but also a good deal of respect for Russian military prowess. He continued a military career in the service of the Khan of Khokand, becoming entangled in the complexities of court politics, and developed an ability to come out on the winning side. In 1863 he became commander of Tashkent but was defeated by a Russian force outside the city in 1864, (17) The discomfort of defeat was, however, short-lived.

In this same year (1864) in the confusion following the collapse of Manchu power in East Turkestan, the Kirgiz chieftain who held power in Kashgar, Sadiq Beg, appealed to Khokand to send a descendant of the Khojas to reconcile competing factions and bring peace to the region. The Khan of Khokand sent Buzurg Khan, last surviving son of Cihangir Khan who had enjoyed several years of success in Kashgaria 40 years earlier. Along with him he sent Yakub Beg as military commander with a small contingent of soldiers. His energy and talents for leadership, including adroit diploma-

cy, intrigue and decisive action against those who refused to cooperate, quickly enabled Yakub Beg to become the dominant personality in Kashgaria.

Buzurg Khan had no talent for leadership, soon came to resent his military commander, Yakub Beg, and encouraged several unsuccessful maneuvers and conspiracies against him. Yakub Beg saw the value of the Khoja tradition and first hesitated to strike about against Buzurg Khan. He eventually imprisoned him at Yangi Hisar for a year and a half. Meanwhile he was busy in campaigns to consolidate control over East Turkestan. He captured Kucha in 1867, Korla in 1869 and Turfan in 1871. Russian occupation of the Ili (Kuldja) region the same year prevented him from adding it to his domains. Confident of his own position, he sent Buzurg Khan into exile in Tibet in 1868 and formally took full power himself. His accomplishments had been substantial:

The confusing situation in early 1865 required that Yakub Beg accomplish at least four tasks: (1) to bring the foreign Moslems and the Kirgiz to his side; (2) to reduce the Manchu garrison of Yangi-shahr; (3) to clarify his relation(s) with his chief, Buzurg Khan; and (4) to consolidate his control over Kashgaria. If one takes into account ... the meager resources at his disposal, his achievement was truly remarkable. (18)

Yakub Beg adopted an old Turkic title *Atalyk Gazi*--"Guardian Warrior"--and proceeded to organize a highly centralized Islamic state. He favored men who had followed him from West Turkestan (many of these were probably descendants of previous refugees) and tended to be intolerant of local dissent. So much so, in fact, that he "Alienated many inhabitants of Sinkiang who might otherwise have supported him. They resented the spying of Yaqub's police force upon their activities. Merchants resented the taxes on their transactions which, together with the disruption of their trade with China, place enormous financial burdens upon them. The peasants, too, loathed the onerous taxes demanded of them, particularly when they observed that much of

their money was squandered on court luxuries." (19)

Others have judged Yakub Beg's method of governing more favorably certain. East Turkestanis to this day look back upon his 13-year rule as the only time their country enjoyed independence and was able to maintain relations with other powers. (20) Yakub Beg built a governmental structure that gave him effective control over the heart of East Turkestan for the better part of a decade. He soon took the additional title Bedaulat (Bedevlet), "Fortunate One", and was awarded the title Amir-ul-Muminin by the Ottoman Sultan Abdülaziz in 1873

A comprehensive assessment of Yakub Beg's government and of the viability of the independent state he established in the heart of Inner Asia is beyond the scope of this essay. The task may, in fact, be impossible without collection and study of more primary sources. The British in India took an intense interest in Yakub Beg. British visitors to his dominions and his court almost invariably became enthusiastic supporters of "Independent Tartary". There was always some skepticism in London. Russians in Central Asia took Yakub Beg seriously and, while displaying less enthusiasm for him as a ruler than British Indian officials, were keenly interested in Kashgaria from at least three points of view: (1) as a complicating and potentially disruptive factor in Russia's efforts to consolidate colonial control over the Khanates of West Turkestan; (2) as a source profitable trade; and (3) as a threat to the Russian advance into Inner Asia should Britain establish a protectorate over the East Turkestan state.

V. British Initiatives toward Independent Tartary:

...Yakub Beg was soon to be regarded by the British as the hero of the hour. His achievements would be compared to those of Ranjit Singh and he would be hailed as the greatest conqueror in Central Asia since Timur and Babur. For a time there was even talk of uniting the Islamic states

of Central Asia, stemming the tide of Russian advances and extending his rule as far as the Great Wall. His ambassadors were welcomed in Calcutta...(21)

British commercial and political interest in the countries to the north of India, including Tibet as well as Turkestan, goes back to the beginning of the 19th century. The extensive travels of William Moorcroft, first Englishman to penetrate into Ladakh and the region where the Karakoram and the Hindu-Kush meet, provided the Government of India with valuable information on trade routes to Turkestan and political conditions in the entire region. (22) Moorcroft, who died mysteriously in Afghan Turkestan in 1825, anticipated the geopolitical concerns --above all, fear of Russian advances-- which came to dominate British thinking in the latter half of the 19th century. But British Indian officials of his own time, concerned with the immediate problems of consolidating influence in the Punjab and Kashmir, considered him an extravagant visionary.

It is difficult today, when we have accurate pictures of every feature of the globe from the cameras of satellites, to realize how limited geographical knowledge still was in the 19th century. Uncertainties about terrain had a direct affect on politics and international relations. The seas were well known, but the great land masses: the interiors of Asia, Africa and Latin America, were inaccessible mysteries. Empire builders thus gave high priority to exploration and compilation of basic geographical knowledge. One of the outstanding scientific projects of the last century, the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India (GTS), was launched soon after the defeat of Napoleon. In 1855 the GTS began operations in Kashmir, where it faced the formidable task of measuring and charting the jumble of mountain ranges, valleys and plateaus of Inner Asia, the highest and most complex land mass in the world. The interest of British Indian authorities was now strategic as well as scientific but there were many differences among officials both in India and in London over priorities

for penetration of the mountains and the implications of sending British officials into regions claimed by China, independent or the object of Russian aspirations. At the same time enthusiasm for expanding trade with territories to the north was growing. Fear of Russian commercial competition combined with concern for the security of Britain's Indian empire and compelled Britain to push into the Himalayas and beyond.

Three Germans, the Schlagintweit brothers, were the first modern Europeans (23) to penetrate into East Turkestan, where they gathered a formidable body of information subsequently published in four volumes. (24) One of the brothers was assassinated near Kashgar in unsettled local conditions in 1857. This fact, widely known in India, underscored the dangers of travel in East Turkestan, but heightened the appeal of the area for the adventuresome.

Just as Yakub Beg was beginning to consolidate his control over his new domains, a GTS officer working in Ladakh, William Henry Johnson, set out over the Karakoram toward Yarkand. on his first attempt in 1864 he turned back shortly after he entered Yarkandi territory, but on his second try in 1865 he reached Khotan and was subsequently offered the governorship of Yarkand, where local political anarchy made a large Kashmiri merchant population was eager for British protection. Johnson was deterred by the civil war then raging and did not actually go into Yarkand, but he returned to India enthusiastic about the possibilities of trade with East Turkestan:

...Johnson painted the picture of a populous land, rich in minerals, that had suddenly been deprived of its one, and almost its only, trading partner. The Chinese had gone and with them the market for Khotan's gold, her jade and her skins. Desperately missed too was the compressed tea which had been imported from China; any country able to make good the deficiency was sure of a warm welcome. and who better than British India? ...But

the one note of caution that he did sound was a warning more calculated to rouse the authorities in India. In trade, as in politics, Eastern Turkestan stood wide open, and the Russians were already stepping into the vacuum. He suspected that the invaders from Khokand who were now besieging Yarkand were the precursors of direct Russian intervention. He met a Jew in Khotan who admitted to being an agent of the Russian government and he reported that Russian caravans were already regularly penetrating as far as Khotan. (25)

Johnson seems to have been unaware of the role Yakub Beg was beginning to play. The situation in East Turkestan was, not surprisingly, completely unclear to the Government of India. Viceroy Sir John Lawrence, who held this office between 1863 and 1869, was strongly opposed to permitting British officials to travel beyond India's frontiers to learn more first-hand. Johnson was reprimanded for his unauthorized adventure. He left British Indian service and took employment with the Maharajah of Kashmir from where in the 1870s, as governor of Ladakh (1872-1878), he continued to be closely involved in East Turkestani relationships and was a strong advocate of expansion of trade and influence.

The Viceroy and officials in Calcutta continued to be extremely cautious about commercial and political contacts beyond territory under British protection. Some considered the expectations of vastly expanded trade unfounded; some feared overextension of British commitments; a few were fearful of provoking the Russians who were at this time advancing rapidly into the heart of Central Asia. Officials in the Punjab were less squeamish. At a minimum they felt a keen need to know more about what was happening in the countries immediately to the north, for they feared repercussions on the territories for which they were responsible. Yakub Beg sent an emissary to Kashmir in 1866 to discuss improving the security of trade routes. Viceroy Lawrence reluctantly consented to stationing a British trade repre-

At a minimum they felt a keen need to know more about what was happening in the countries immediately to the north, for they feared repercussions on the territories for which they were responsible. Yakub Beg sent an emissary to Kashmir in 1866 to discuss improving the security of trade routes. Viceroy Lawrence reluctantly consented to stationing a British trade representative in Leh for a single season. The man chosen, a medical doctor, Henry Cayley, arrived in 1867, but was so effective and so strongly supported by Punjab administrators that he remained through 1869. In 1868 Yakub Beg sent an envoy to Lahore to discuss expansion of trade. He appeared to be seeking a closer British relationship. As long as Lawrence remained Viceroy, however, a forward British policy toward Yakub Beg was precluded. It is not surprising, therefore that the next British visitors to Independent Tartary had no official status, and though their journeys took place in tandem, and partly together, they had not coordinated their plans in advance at all. Robert Shaw was a young tea planter who had settled in Kangra in the western Himalayas. He was urged to investigate possibilities of trade with East Turkestan by J. Douglas Forsyth, a Punjab commissioner who had developed a keen interest in the region but, as an Indian Government official, could not yet hope to undertake a visit himself. Shaw, 29 at the time, set out from Leh with a caravan of trade goods in September 1868. He had already developed an enthusiasm for people of East Turkestan from the Yarkandi traders he met in Ladakh: "They were tall and dignified and fair as Englishmen. They looked you straight in the face, relished a hearty joke and were above all 'good fellows'". (26)

Nineteen days out of Leh on the road to Yarkand, Shaw learned that an adventurer named Hayward was on the same trail with the same destination and a few days later the two met. George Hayward was a young lieutenant on leave who had obtained a small grant from the Royal Ge-

ographical Society on the recommendation of the famous Sir Henry Rawlinson. A man of "controversial character but inexhaustible energy" (27) Hayward was traveling disguised as a bearded Pathan with limited baggage and a meager retinue. Shaw feared his thin disguise and eagerness to penetrate into uncharted territory regardless of obstacles would jeopardize his own journey. They parted company -- Hayward struck out westward over uncharted passes (hoping eventually to explore the Pamirs) while Shaw proceeded directly to the Yarkandi frontier post at Shahid ulla, where he was well received. Hayward, who arrived ten days later, was detained, while Shaw was permitted to proceed to Yarkand. Hayward, however, escaped and set out on a remarkable feat of exploration in mid-winter.

Shaw was as enthusiastic about Independent Tartary as Johnson had been: "It was like an Asiatic Holland, less bare than some of the French provinces and with villages that reminded him of home. In the farmyards cocks crowed and the ducks quacked. Orchards gave way to well tended fields and ditches gushed with water beneath fine trees. The country folk were rosy cheeked and cheerful. Market day brought them thronging to the nearest village and nearly everyone rode a horse or donkey. Compared to India there was no poverty, no beggars and no squalor...Here... was a modern and thriving state, able to supply most of its basic needs yet commercially experienced and traditionally outward looking. It felt a bit like Europe and, as a potential market, it was of European significance. (28)

Hayward eventually reached Yarkand too and the two men were housed within 100 yards of each other but never met. They were, in effect, prisoners. In January 1869 Shaw was escorted to Kashgar and several weeks later Hayward followed. Shaw had an audience with Yakub Beg soon after he arrived in Kashgar, and was impressed with him. Nevertheless he continued to be kept under 24-hour guard

and was not allowed to leave his quarters for three months. He had almost no contact with the local population. Hayward was held under similar circumstances. An Indian, Mirza Shuja, appeared about this time and sought contact with Shaw, who rebuffed him, fearing he was a provocateur. He was actually a native explorer in the employ of the GTS, one of a distinguished group of Indians in disguise-called pundits- who made a major contribution to geographic knowledge during this period. (29)

After weeks of isolation and refusal to meet his prisoner guests, Yakub Beg unexpectedly released them in April 1869 with apologies for the long delay and promises of commercial cooperation. Though they gained little reliable information about Yakub Beg's parallel dealings with Russian emissaries during this time, Shaw and Hayward probably owed their release to what for Yakub Beg was less than a favorable outcome of his negotiations with the Russians. He wanted unequivocal support against the Chinese. The Russians hesitated. He shifted again to seeking British backing. Shaw took advantage of his final contacts with the Atalyk Gazi to underscore the power and benevolence of Britain. Shaw and Hayward did not actually meet again until they set out from Yarkand on the road to Leh.

Both Hayward and Shaw, returning to India, argued -exaggeratedly it turned out- that there was real reason to fear a Russian military threat to India because a modern military force could make its way over the Karakoram passes. Their equivocal treatment by Yakub Beg did not dampen their enthusiasm for seeing Britain bolster Kashgaria as an independent buffer state after the pattern of Afghanistan. Yakub Beg himself remained convinced of the value of a closer relationship with Britain and dispatched an envoy to Calcutta in late 1869. By this time Lord Mayo had replaced Lawrence as Viceroy and policy took a 180 turn. A clash between troops of Yakub Beg and Russian forces on the Naryn River provoked alarm

in India that Russia would attack Kashgaria and advance up to the Indian frontier, a prospect which every Englishman in India dreaded. While Hayward set out on feverish travels along the far northwestern borders of Kashmir, Shaw undertook what in modern terms we would call a propaganda and lobbying campaign for a closer British relationship with Independent Tartary. Hayward was killed in Yasin in 1870 without having reached the Pamirs.

Lord Mayo prepared for serious overtures and a new mission to Yakub Beg by sending Douglas Forsyth to St. Petersburg to participate in discussions on Central Asian trade. He was unable to persuade the Russians to abandon their protective tariffs but he contributed to progress on Afghan boundary negotiations then under way. Forsyth returned to India with assurances from the Russians that they would not establish diplomatic relations with Yakub Beg. Next Mayo sent an envoy to Kashmir to get the Maharaja to agree to a new treaty regulating trans-Himalayan trade routes and permitting duty-free transit of goods to and from East Turkestan. Responding to Yakub Beg's request, he agreed to send an official mission to Kashgar in 1870 and chose Forsyth to head it. Shaw accompanied it and it was escorted by Yakub Beg's nephew, Yakub Khan, who was on his way back from a visit to Constantinople and Mecca.

In the terms in which it was conceived, the first Forsyth mission to Kashgar was a failure, as a 5000-word dispatch to the London Times partially conceded a year after its return: "Mr. Forsyth, owing to the strict tenour of his instructions, unavoidably failed in one object of his expedition--that of expressing to the Atalik Ghazee in person the friendly sentiments of the British Government. But he met with an honourable reception from the Atalik's officers, and the fact of such a journey having been made, and with such success, will do much to bring this new kingdom, which may yet have an important part to play in Central Asian politics, into closer

political and commercial relations with our Indian empire. (30)

Yakub Beg was away campaigning during Forsyth's entire stay in his domains and there was no direct negotiation with him. He was not yet ready for a comprehensive arrangement with Britain. Whether calculated or not, he could not have resorted to a tactic better designed to heighten British interest. The net effect of the first Forsyth mission was to whet British appetites for a closer ties with independent Kashgaria. The Times' long dispatch, based on Forsyth's official report, begins by declaring the Forsyth expedition a success because: "Thanks to perfect organization and to the tact and courage of the leader and his comrades, the double journey of 2,000 miles between Lahore and Yarkund and back was successfully accomplished in only six months, over the highest tract of country in the world, and, as Mr. Forsyth adds with pardonable pride, without the loss of a single follower or a load of baggage."

The Times explains the circumstances of Yakub Beg's rise to power and his constructive exercise of it: "... the people are prosperous and contented with the severe, but in the main wise and just, rule of their new master. Power has suddenly grown up in a country which lies in a position which may cause it one day to play no inconsiderable part in the Central Asian rivalry of two mighty empires. It certainly behoves our Indian Government to cultivate political and commercial relations with the Atalik Ghazee and his people; for if they do not, we may be sure the Russian Government will"

Kashgaria was blessed with plentiful food and people leading a good life and eager to offer hospitality to their guests: "Mirza Shadee fed his guests in princely style on savoury pillaus, delicately seasoned soups, and delicious joints. The Yarkund cooks are perfect artists; they wear neat aprons, keep their kitchens and vessels scrupulously clean, and cook by steam and with good butter ... The travellers rode through Karghalik, a country

town. The main street was about 15 ft. wide, and in many places covered over. There were bakers' and butchers' shops, tobacconists' and greengrocers' stalls, a collage, a school, and, at the end of the street gallows fitted up with pulleys to accommodate two criminals at once. on the roofs of the houses were small gardens of small China asters and balsams, Signs of a progressive, vigorous government were everywhere visible; in the well-kept roads and bridges and the many new canals in the course of construction. The last halt before Yarkund was made at a place called Yungi Bazaar, which a few years back was a desolate swamp. This was drained by the Government, who bestowed it in liberal grants upon agriculturalists ... "Thus," adds Mr. Forsyth, "does peaceful industry thrive in Yarkund."

Curiously, however, by the time this report was being read in London, Forsyth and the Viceroy had concluded that not much could be accomplished in Kashgaria in the near future. The Russians on the other hand, were alarmed by the Forsyth mission as well as by Yakub Bey's continued campaigns in the north. In July 1871 Russian forces occupied Kuldja (Ining) and the Ili valley. Both the Chinese and British feared further Russian advances. Yakub Beg agreed to receive a Russian mission. Lord Mayo was assassinated by a Pathan in February 1872 but his activist frontier policy was continued by his successor, Lord Northbrook.

Passing through India early in 1873 on his way to Constantinople, Yakub Beg's envoy, Yakub Khan, proposed Britain exert itself to secure an agreement with the Russians to preserve Kashgaria as a permanent buffer state. Northbrook endorsed the idea but it met with less enthusiasm in London and St. Petersburg. Northbrook proceeded nevertheless to act on the basis of his own convictions and the advice of men such as Shaw and Forsyth. Another mission to Kashgaria was authorized and Forsyth, who had recovered his enthusiasm for a renewed effort to cement an alliance with the Atalyk Gazi, was put in

charge of it. Shaw, who had written a book on his previous visits (31) and had been in England publicizing the commercial and political advantages of a deeper British relationship with Independent Tartary, accompanied it and Johnson, now governor of Ladakh, wholeheartedly assisted in preparations for it.

The political sensitivity which had restricted the first Forsyth mission was gone. Four British military officers, infantrymen, cavalrymen and a detachment of crack Indian troops accompanied the expedition along with a platoon of Turks who had been sent from Istanbul to help train Yakub Beg's forces. Earlier that year the ottoman Sultan had granted him the title of Amir and given permission for the use of his (i.e. the Sultan's) image on Kashgari coinage. The expedition included medical technicians, surveyors, hunters, taxidermits, naturalists and servants of all kinds. It was under instruction not only to negotiate a commercial treaty and arrangements for permanent diplomatic ties with Kashgaria, but to gather all possible topographic, ethnographic and economic information about Yakub Beg's domains.

The party assembled in Srinagar in early September 1873 and proceeded to Leh. It consisted of 350 men and 550 animals. Johnson assembled an additional 6,476 porters and 1,621 ponies and yaks to accompany the expedition safely along the route over the Karakoram to Yarkandi outpost during the harsh late autumn weather. The economy of Ladakh is said to have required four years to recover from the strain of supporting this massive venture. (32) The mission made a ceremonial entry into Kashgar in December and was received by the Amir in colorful ceremonies. Forsyth laid before him a letter from Queen Victoria in a jeweled gold box and spoke in Persian: "I have the honor to present to Your Highness this letter from Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of Hindustan. Since the Government of Her Majesty is on terms of amity and friendship with all governments of the world, it

is hoped that the same relations may be established between the British Government and that of Your Majesty. (33)

There was another letter almost as grandly encased from the viceroy. An enormous quantity of gifts, including working models of various kinds of machines --even a steamboat!--were presented to Yakub Beg and his officers. The sewing machines were most admired. The atmosphere was more cordial than it had been on any previous visit.

With very little difficulty a comprehensive commercial treaty was negotiated and formally signed on 2 February 1874. (34)

It provided for unrestricted trade with the Indian Empire and the exchange of commercial agents with judicial powers in each other's territory. During their stay in Kashgar, members of the expedition were permitted to move freely about the city and some traveled widely, exploring in the Tien Shan to within 30 miles of Russian outpost. Yakub Beg raised no objections to plans for further exploration in the Pamirs but changed his mind after the expedition returned to Kashmir.

The members of this expedition saw far more of East Turkestan than any previous visitors and gained a better understanding of Yakub Beg's character and the nature of his rule. They recognized that Independent Kashgaria was not France or Italy. Many features of the Amir's style of governing were abhorrent. His soldiers were unimpressive. The Turkish military men faced a challenging task. Without great improvements in organization and arms, the Kashgari military forces would probably be no more effective in resisting a determined Russian assault than those of the Khanates of Western Turkestan. Greater realism did not alter Forsyth's Judgment about the importance of a close British relationship with Kashgaria, however. His views were shared by Shaw and others in the expedition. Lord Northbrook quickly ratified the treaty and approved the assignment of Shaw, accompanied by a medical doctor, as permanent representative of the Government of India

in Kashgar. Though his responsibilities were ostensibly purely commercial, his instructions provided for broader political involvement should circumstances prove favorable: "Your duties at Kashgar will be to maintain friendly relations with the Amir's Government, to attend to British commercial interests in His Highness' territory, and generally to supervise the execution of the Treaty and promote its effects. You will refrain from offering suggestions to the Amir in matters of Government of foreign policy; but if he desires to consult you, you need not refuse to assist him with information and appropriate advice. (35)

Though officials in London still had reservations about both the desirability and feasibility of consolidating close relations with Yakub Beg, Lord Northbrook had high expectations of Shaw's missions in Kashgar. Though warmly welcomed there, Shaw soon encountered difficulties. At the end of the year the Amir informed Shaw that he could not agree to his remaining as permanent representative of the Government of India unless the Ottoman Sultan approved. In June 1875 the Viceroy instructed Shaw to return to India as soon as he had obtained the Amir's ratification of the treaty. Shaw left in July with the ratification--he thought. When the impressively sealed document was opened and translated in Calcutta, it proved to be only a letter of greeting to the Viceroy. Yakub Beg was merely playing out a new phase of his elaborate double game.

A Central Asian Trading Company was formed and sent a large caravan to Yarkand in 1874. The value of trade reached a peak in 1876 and then declined. Trade over the Karakoram route never came close to meeting the hopes of early British enthusiasts. (36) Worries persisted, however, that Kashgaria, under Russian control, could be developed into a supply base to support further Russian advances in Inner Asia

The arrival in India of Lord Lytton, who replaced Northbrook as Viceroy in 1876, coincided with a sharp worsening

of British-Russian relations in Europe where Balkan tensions were mounting toward the outbreak of a new Russo-Turkish war. Fears of a Russian advance in Central Asia were fed by new geographical knowledge which the second Forsyth expedition had brought back: the passes west of the Karakoram route were found to be much less formidable than had been assumed. Lord Lytton advised London: "We may find it in our power to establish commercial intercourse with Yarkand susceptible of rapid development, and to throw a military force into the country, in case of need, almost sooner than Russia could do so. In that case, I cannot but think that the present opportunity of closer intercourse with the Ruler of Yarkand and his people may be advantageously reconsidered from a much more hopeful point of view; and our relations with this State suffered to assume a more important place in the general programme of our frontier policy. (37)

London, too, favored another try at placing a permanent representative in Yarkand and Robert Shaw was again chosen. He had meanwhile returned to England and was unable to depart before July 1877. By this time the Near Eastern crisis was at its height and there were even rumors that Imperial Germany was going to intervene in Inner Asia in behalf of the Chinese. Shaw's departure was delayed, for news reached India of Yakub Beg's death at Korla in May 1877 soon after the Chinese had captured Turfan. Though the Chinese continued to advance during the summer and fall of the year, word was still reaching Ladakh at the end of the year that his son and successor, Beykulu Beg, was in charge and desired to pursue relations with Britain. Several weeks after the Chinese General Tso Tsung-t'ang's forces entered Kashgar on 18 December 1877, word finally reached India that Yakub Beg's kingdom had collapsed. The British press, concerned with events in the Balkans and Near East, hardly noticed.

The Great Game and the mutual British-Russian suspicions that sustained it

were by no means at an end, but dreams and illusions about independent Kashgaria were finished. Lord Lytton sensibly outlined the policy which Britain was henceforth to follow: "The line which we may adopt as defining the sphere of our political influence should coincide generally with the geographical outline of the position which, if need be, we may be ready to maintain actively. (38)"

VI. Russian Relations with Yakub Beg:

"The transformation of Kashgaria into a state independent of China under a Russian protectorate would render a great service for its people for whom the Sino-Manchurian tyranny has become insupportable... We shall make ourselves master of Central Asia and we shall be able to hold all the khans in respect, which will facilitate our march forward. - General Gsfort, Governor-General of Western Siberia, 1857. (39)"

One of the first Russian political agents to visit Kashgar was Captain Valikhanov, adjutant of the Governor-General of Western Siberia, who went disguised as a merchant in 1858. He returned convinced that Russian commerce would have free play south of the Tien Shan because of the "insuperable physical obstacles which cut India off to the south." (40) Though Russian goods had been available in East Turkestanian markets for decades, they came via West Turkestanian middlemen. There was no direct penetration by Russian traders. Yakub Beg's direct experience of the Russians in his home territory left him deeply suspicious of their motives. He feared that his own as yet unconsolidated position might tempt them to continue their advance into the regions he ruled. So initially he forbade direct trade. He was ready to modify this position as he became more confident of his power and aware of the advantages to be gained by increasing the mutual suspicions of the major powers.

A Russian merchant named Khlyudov chose an opportune time to attempt to set

up direct trade relations in 1868. He may have had official encouragement. He organized a trading caravan, set out from Verny (Alma-Ata) and crossed the border into Kashgaria, but was stopped not far beyond. He sent presents ahead to Yakub Beg. He was then permitted to come to see him and proposed a trade agreement. Subsequently Yakub Beg sent his nephew Shadi Mirza back with Khlyudov to open negotiations with the Russians. General Kaufmann, the senior Russian commander in Turkestan, was away on a trip to St. Petersburg so the letter Shadi Mirza carried from Yakub Beg was delivered to the Russian commander in Verny, General Kolpakovsky. The letter expresses the Atalyk Gazi's desire for a broader relationship: "The land of the Great Tsar is great and broad and full of all sorts of wise men (and artisans) ... Our land in comparison to yours is a poor ruin. Now, after the destruction of the Chinese power, during six years all has been destroyed that was good and that which commerce had created, so that nothing remains of it at all. This was the reason why your rich merchant were not allowed here, for they could find nothing here but ruins." (41)

Kolpakovsky was not prepared to enter into broad negotiations but agreed to some arrangements for exchanging prisoners and sent an aide, Captain Reinthal, to Kashgar to pursue the discussions while Shadi Mirza remained in Russian territory. Both sides were edgy. Reinthal's mission was essentially a reconnaissance. No agreement was reached. On his return to Verny, General Kaufmann still in St. Petersburg, asked Shadi Mirza to come there, which he did, returning to Kashgar in January 1869.

Yakub Beg was upset by Russian construction of a fort on the Naryn River and feared Russia would exploit some disagreement over trade as a pretext to send troops to occupy more of his territory. He addressed a letter to General Kaufmann in April urging a clear delineation of the boundary: "For the passage of caravans and merchants, quiet and safety are need-

ed; and for this it is necessary to fix a boundary, so that merchants may come either from Russia or from other nations " (42)

These exchanges brought no clear result. Yakub Beg attempted to strengthen his position vis-a-vis the Russians by consolidating relations with the Muslim Dungans and Taranchis (43) beyond the northern limits of his territory, but when these efforts failed, he launched military operations against them. Unsettled conditions in the region gave the Russians a motive for occupying the Ili (Kuldja) valley in 1871, as has already been noted. Yakub Beg's fears prompted him to send an emissary, Akhrar Khan, to Calcutta to confer with the Government of India.

General Kaufmann became frustrated and tried to persuade the ruler of Khokand, Khudayar Khan, to assert his status as Yakub Beg's suzerain, expel him and add Kashgaria to his own khanate. Khudayar Khan, no doubt recognizing that he lacked the power to carry it through, was unwilling to lend himself to the scheme but agreed to act as mediator, so he sent an emissary, Sarymsak Udaychi, to Yakub Beg with a message urging him to settle his differences with the Russians. He reminded the Atalyk Gazi that they could easily overthrow him. Yakub Beg was disinclined to bargain, at least through the intermediary of Khokand. He told Sarymsak Udaychi: "The Russians have come here to look at these localities and become acquainted with the state of the country, and therefore it is better to forbid their coming, for they are a restless and crookedminded people." (44)

Meanwhile a messenger had left Khokand with a letter from General Kaufmann which detailed Yakub Beg's unfriendly responses to Russia's overtures and advised him to mend his ways following the example of the rulers of Khokand and Bokhara, as the only way of avoiding severe punishment. General Kaufmann had decided on war against Kashgaria if necessary, but Yakub Beg left the way open for a different course in his reply to the gener-

al's threat: "(Your) last envoy ... was not a Russian not because there were no Russians to send but because you seemed to think Khokand and Bokhara only worthy of this honor. If the Russians believed in my good wishes, they would send me one of their men ... Send me some Russian or even a Tashkent Sart, though he be only a shepherd, and I will send back ... an envoy of my own. (45)

General Kaufmann's response was to dispatch a mission headed by Baron Kaulbars which included an engineer, a topographer and a merchant, Kolesnikov. At the same time Kaufmann stationed troops along the route to Fort Naryn, brought up reinforcements and built a new road into the border mountains to facilitate military action against Yakub Beg if the mission did not achieve its aims. The Atalyk Gazi was not easily intimidated. He received the Kaulbars mission warmly but refused to conclude a treaty until the Russians halted their military preparations. They did so and negotiations began in earnest. A document entitled "Conditions of Free Trade Proposed by General Kaufmann to Yaqub Beg, Chief of Djety-Shahr" was signed on 22 June 1872. (46)

Baron Kaulbars dated in 2 June, St. Constantine's Day, and wrote to Kaufmann that as a mark of special good will Yakub Beg had insisted on signing it on the day of his (Kaufmann's) patron saint. Kaufmann carried the deception a step further by sending a dispatch to St. Petersburg which advised that "out of special regard for the Emperor of Russia, the Amir signed the treaty on the saint's day of the Grand Duke Constantine, the emperor's brother." (47) The impression of warm good will proved illusory.

The agreement did not constitute Russian diplomatic recognition of independent Kashgaria. It dealt only with commercial matters. It provided that Russian merchants could establish caravanserais for their exclusive use in all towns in Yakub Beg's domains and provision was made for assignment of commercial agents to deal with matters of customs and move-

ment of goods. These arrangements were to be reciprocal, but this provision was not sending trading caravans to Russian Turkestan. The term used for commercial agents was kervanbashi which the Russians later chose to interpret as consul, though this is clearly not what the term meant to Yakub Beg. As the Russian mission prepared to return, Yakub Beg told them he was pleased they had recognized him as an independent ruler and asked permission to send an envoy to St. Petersburg. Mullah Tarap Khoja was sent in the summer of 1873.

But actually little had changed in Kashgar-Russian relations and soon new difficulties developed. When a Russian merchant named Pupyshev sent a caravan to Kashgar the next year in charge of a clerk named Somov, the caravan was not permitted to proceed beyond the caravanserai in Kashgar. Yakub Beg bought the greater part of his goods but delayed payment for two months and then paid Somov in Chinese coins at an unfavorable exchange rate. When Somov returned to Tashkent, he claimed a loss of 15,000 rubles in addition to customs duties. In the ensuing controversy Yakub Beg denied he had bought any of the goods. A joint commission was agreed on and determined that 12,000 rubles were owed, which Yakub Beg paid the next year. Yakub Beg was meanwhile busy receiving the second Forsyth mission, which in size and scope far outshone that of Kaulbars. The Russians, though nearer, now seemed less of a direct threat, for he had also received the title of Amir from the Ottoman sultan and had declared himself his vassal. Russian relations with the Ottoman empire were steadily worsening during this period.

In spite of Somov's problems the prospect of regular trade with Kashgaria remained enticing for the Russians and another merchant, Morozov, made his way with a large caravan to Kashgar in 1874. His party sold 25,000 rubles worth of goods successfully, stayed 70 days and was permitted to move about freely. There was still, however, no agreement on as-

signment of a commercial agent/consul to Kashgar and Forsyth's mission had fed Russian fears that Britain was preparing to take Yakub Beg under its direct protection. The Russian ambassador in Constantinople reported, presumably from Turkish sources, that Forsyth's aim was to send "pensioned officers of the Indian Army to be employed as engineers, telegraphists, chiefs of police and even governors of provinces" in Kashgaria. (48)

In the spring of 1875 an incident involving a lady named Satara Pasha, a relative of Yakub beg, who was returning to Kashgar from Constantinople through Russian territory, aggravated relations. She was arrested and held in Verny and all her papers and possessions were confiscated.

In the summer of 1875 Kaufmann dispatched the same (now colonel) Reinthal who had gone in 1868 to take gifts to Yakub Beg to Kashgar to try to settle the issue of a commercial representative and, if possible, arrange his own acceptance in this position. This was undoubtedly also a political reconnaissance mission, for Kaufmann had by this time decided that the best way to deal with Yakub Beg would be to mount a military expedition against him. Would the British, however, come to his defense? This danger was a much greater worry than in West Turkestan, where Afghanistan separated areas into which the British and Russians were penetrating. Reinthal was not successful, for Yakub Beg, who had his own network of informants in Russian Central Asia, saw him clearly as a political agent. Reinthal reported back to Tashkent that the Amir's sympathies were entirely with the English. He described how British army were flowing in improve the capabilities of his armed forces. (49)

Shaw, who was about to return to India with a hard-won 'ratification' of Forsyth's treaty that turned out to be nothing more than a polite letter from Yakub Beg to the Viceroy, was still optimistic that Yakub Beg could be firmly linked to Britain. It was increasingly typical of the atmos-

phere of the times that both the British and Russians repeatedly exaggerated ideas of each other's intentions and the degree of success achieved.

In West Turkestan the Russians were having difficulties with the still nominally independent Khanate of Khokand and suspected Yakub Beg had a hand in them. He, in turn, suspected the Russians of conspiring against him through Khokand. Both were right, for, as among the British, there were substantial differences among Russians on how to deal with Yakub Beg's independent kingdom and colonial officials often acted with a good deal of independence of London and St. Petersburg. The astute American diplomatic observer, Eugene Schuyler, who had served 10 years in Russia and managed to spend a good deal of his time in Central Asia during the years 1873-75, summed up Russian attitudes at the time of his departure; "During the last few years the idea has obtained some currency in Russia that it would be well to aid the Chinese to re-occupy Kashgar, or even to conquer it ... and hand it over to the Chinese. It is thought that it would be far more advantageous to have as a neighbour the Chinese Government, with which negotiations are more easily managed, than the small Uzbek principality under Yakub (Beg). Persons who think that believe also that Russia should not extend her frontiers beyond the Tian Shan, which forms a natural and excellent boundary. Against this opinion some objections have been raised, chiefly on the ground that for many reasons it would be impolitic to introduce Chinese rule again into that region. When Kashgaria is taken, therefore, unless there be a strong Chinese army in the immediately neighbourhood, it will probably remain in Russian hands.(50)

Things were not going to work out so simply as Schuyler assumed. The projected Russian campaign against Kashgar turned into a war against Khokand in the course of which the Khanate lost its independence and was incorporated directly into Russian Turkestan as the district of

Fergana. (51) Yakub Beg found it impolitic to come to the aid of any of the factions in Khokand. He had to give priority to a new threat from the northeast. The Manchu Dynasty was gaining ground against the rebellious Dungans and its forces were approaching Kashgaria.

All the players in the Great Game were mindful of distant events that affected their moves in Inner Asia. By the summer of 1876 Russia was moving toward a new war with the Ottoman Empire. Britain's traditional partiality for the Turkish Sultans --as well as Ottoman support for Yakub Beg-- justified Russian skepticism that any deal with Yakub Beg would hold. A chancy arrangement with an independent Muslim Ruler in Kashgaria was less attractive to Russia than the lesser evil of a return of firm Chinese control over the area. The Russians had good reason to fear that Turkey would encourage the Muslims of Russia's newly conquered territories in West Turkestan as well as Yakub Beg to rise and that Britain would abet such efforts. Russian commanders in Central Asia had enough intelligence to convince themselves that Britain had laid the groundwork for such an eventuality with shipments of arms to Kashgaria while Turkish military advisers worked to improve the effectiveness of Yakub Beg's forces. The Russians began to reinsure themselves from 1875 onward by selling grain to the Chinese forces advancing toward Kashgaria from the north.

Yakub Beg was simultaneously reinsuring himself. He sent an emissary to Tashkent to congratulate the Russians on the conquest of Khokand and the Russians returned the honor by dispatching Captain Kuropatkin to Kashgar to inform the Amir of the manner in which Russia was reinforcing the mountain passes west of Kashgar to which it had gained direct access by absorbing the territory of Khokand. At the same time the Amir sent his nephew, Yakub Khan, to Calcutta to reassure himself of the Viceroy's support.

VII. Yakub Beg and the Ottoman Empire:

Both Britain and Russia had Muslim subjects in Asia whose reactions to any pro -or anti- Turkish policy had to be considered by both Powers. In the period before the Russo-Turkish War there was plenty of evidence that the Sultan was trying to raise a Muslim league against Russia in Central Asia -- and it was designed to include Kashgar. British and Russian theorists frequently regarded intrigue among the Muslims as a legitimate weapon in any struggle between them for hegemony in Asia. It seemed certain that Yakub Beg would have played an important part if this situation had ever arisen. (52)

Yakub Beg's links with, and expectations of, the Ottoman empire are more difficult to describe than his relations with Britain and Russia because less is known about them. (53) Given the long tradition of mutual interest between the Turks and other Muslims of Central Asia and the Ottomans, the future Atalyk Gazi no doubt arrived in East Turkestan with basically favorable attitudes toward the Ottoman Sultan. Such attitudes probably reflected both shared Islamic faith and a perception of common Turkic cultural background. It is difficult to separate one from the other. Yakub Beg was certainly aware of the great distance and perhaps the weakness of the Ottoman State. Nevertheless, he placed a high value on legitimation by the Sultan-Caliph. From the time he consolidated his control over Kashgaria, he began to send envoys to Constantinople. There was pilgrim traffic to Mecca, then still an integral part of the Ottoman domains, and communities of Turkestani dervishes had long been resident in the Ottoman capital.

The Ottomans were deeply disturbed by Russian advances against the native khanates in Turkestan, for they came quickly after the collapse of the great struggle of the Caucasian Mountaineers under Shamil and the end of the resistance of the Circassians along the eastern Black

Sea littoral. More than a million Caucasian refugees fled to Ottoman territory and were resettled in all parts of the empire. Many Caucasian officers entered Ottoman military service. The most serious interaction between the Ottoman and Russian empires during this period developed in the Balkans, but frustrations and setbacks there heightened the desire of some Ottoman statesmen to cause the Russians difficulty farther east if opportunities presented themselves and in this they were encouraged by exiles who had fled the Causasus and, earlier, the Crimea. In his timing, Yakub Beg was fortunate. (54) Whether he had genuine expectations of large-scale aid from the Ottoman Empire we cannot be sure. He made the most of what he could obtain.

Yakub Beg sent an emissary to Sultan Abdulaziz in 1870 to confirm his loyalty to him. He asked for military aid and instructors to make his army more effective. The Sultan sent a quantity of weapons and a military mission consisting of infantry, cavalry and artillery instructors under Colonel Kazim Bey. Among its members were officers of Circassian and Dagistani origin at some time the Egyptian Khedive Ismail dispatched a mission with rifles and guns. The Atalyk Gazi hoped at this time to build up a modern army of 80,000 men. (55) There was only one route by which men and military assistance from the Ottoman empire could reach Yakub Beg: through India. British Indian officials were not only informed of such aid, but had to facilitate its passage through Indian territory.

The high point in Yakub Beg's relations with the Ottoman Empire came in 1873 when Sultan Abdulaziz confirmed his status as an independent ruler under Ottoman suzerainty and sent his envoy, Said Mohammed Yakub, back to Kashgar with authorization for use of his effigy and Yakub Beg's title, Amir-ul-Muminin-- "Commander of the Faithful", on Kashgari coins. The Amir flew the Ottoman flag beside his own. (56) There was frequent dispatch of envoys to Constantinople and

additional military advisers and shipments of arms during the period when Russo-Turkish relations were heading toward a new outbreak of hostilities. Said Mohammed Yakub, e.g., was welcomed again in Istanbul in 1875 and returned with 2,000 rifles and six field guns.(57) After Yakub Beg's death, his heir, Beykulu Beg, sent an emissary to Constantinople in the summer of 1877 to be present at the investiture of Abdulhamid II.

A document from the Ottoman archives has recently been published in which Beykulu Beg Summed up for the Sultan in 1882 the manner in which the Chinese reasserted their authority in Kashgaria. (58) There must be a great deal of additional information on relations with Kashgaria in Ottoman archives.

VIII. The Resurgence of China:

...Tso Tsung-t'ang ... argued that the recovery of Sinkiang was necessary for the retention of Mongolia which in turn was essential for the safety of Peking. Unless all strategic points in Sinkiang were held by China, the Mohammedan rulers of that area would sooner or later have to yield either to Russia or to Britain. (59)

The story of Yakub Beg is a striking example of the unique role a dominant personality can play in history. The same is true of his downfall. His nemesis was a remarkable Chinese general, Tso Tsung-t'ang, who lived from 1812 to 1885. There is even a certain degree of parallelism in the lives of the two men, for Tso came from a Hunan family of modest means but with a scholarly tradition. He was nearly 50 before his abilities as a soldier became apparent. Distinguished service in the struggle to suppress the Taiping rebels and an outstanding record as an administrator of reconquered territories led to his appointment as governor-general of Shensi and Kansu in 1866. Here it was hoped he would be equally successful in repressing the Dungan rebellion. He was delayed for two years, however, by oper-

ations against the Nien-fei rebels who were terrorizing much of north China. Only at the end of 1868 was Tso able to go to Sian, capital of Shensi, and begin his campaign to suppress the rebellious Muslims of the northwest.

During the next four years he steadily extended Manchu authority through Shensi into Kansu. Rebel leader Ma Hua-lung was executed in early 1871. Tso made a sharp distinction between the New Teaching, which was strictly proscribed, and conventional Islam, which was treated with tolerance. His aim was to convince the Muslim population of the advantages of orderly life under Chinese administration. Some were resettled and Chinese were settled among them. Tso put as much thought and effort into reorganizing the recaptured territories, laying the basis for resumption of agriculture, crafts and trade, as he did to pursuit and punishment of rebels. The Manchu authorities in Peking were elated at Tso's successes, promoted him to the rank of Grand Secretary affairs in the northwest. But Muslim resistance was not easily overcome. Rebel leaders withdrew their forces westward. Requirements for food and money to sustain his forces became more difficult to meet as Tso advanced westward toward Djungaria and the Tarim Basin.

The opportunity now arose for the Russians to make an important contribution to the Chinese advance. Russian action may initially have been more accidental -- motivated by commercial considerations-- than strategic. A Russian merchant named Sosnovsky came to Lanchow in June 1875 and contracted to supply with Siberian grain. In the year that followed the Russians delivered more than 2500 tons of grain which sustained Tso's forces. Tso had continual difficulty getting the money he needed both for his military operations and restoration of economic life in the reconquered territories. Funds were eventually raised with the assistance of foreign banks in Shanghai. (60)

If Yakub Beg had been able to establish an alliance with the Dungan rebels

who withdrew westward as Tso advanced, the Manchu counteroffensive would have encountered far greater difficulties. The Dangers were far from unified themselves. Yakub Beg's forces became increasingly embroiled in fighting with and among various factions. Tso was thus able to concentrate first on one rebel group and then another. In late 1876 Tso began his campaign to subdue Turkestan. He captured Urumchi. Yakub Beg sent an emissary to appeal for British mediation. The British ambassador in Peking proposed that the Chinese accept Yakub Beg's submission and permit him to retain his kingdom under Chinese suzerainty. Tso, confident of his ability to advance further, rejected the proposal. Yakub Beg was a domestic problem for the Manchu Empire, he maintained; if Britain wanted a buffer state in Inner Asia, she was free to create one from her own territory. 61

Tso continued his advance into the Tarim basin in the spring of 1877. When Turfan fell in mid-May, Yakub Beg's independent East Turkestan state suffered a death blow. So did Yakub Beg, though the exact circumstances of his death have never been clarified. He is variously reported to have died in an altercation with aides, to have been poisoned or to have poisoned himself. Landsdell, traveling in the region in the early 1890s, reported three versions of the Atalyk Gazi's demise, including one by an officer (Yuzbashi) who professed to have been present at the time:

(Messengers) brought to Yakub Khan a letter from the Chinese in which they asked him why he resisted when his own people were against him and were inviting the Chinese back. As proof they enclosed the signatures of 272 Turkis of position who had written to them. Yakub Khan then flew into a passion, killed one of the messengers, wounded the mullah who had read the letter, and then immediately took poison and died. 62

Tso's forces took Aksu in October and

Kashgar itself in December 1877. By early 1878 Chinese control had been restored in practically all of East Turkestan. Preoccupied with the Russo-Turkish War in the Balkans and Near East, Britain took surprisingly little notice of the momentous developments which constituted a decisive defeat for British Indian officials who had advocated an Inner Asian policy centered on maintenance of Yakub Beg's independent East Turkestan state.

Russia was now committed to return Kuldja (the Ili region) to China but the Russians found it impossible to resist the temptation to advance their strategic interests at China's expense. A Chinese envoy who was ignorant of Central Asian geography was dispatched to St. Petersburg to negotiate a settlement. The result was the Treaty of Livadia signed in early 1879 which confirmed the return of Kuldja but gave the Russians possession of several strategic passes and valleys. It led to a situation similar to that brought about by the Treaty of San Stefano the previous year which provoked an international crisis and Russia had to accept revision of the treaty at the Congress of Berlin.

The Ili crisis lasted longer. Peking repudiated its envoy's treaty and appointed a new negotiator in early 1880. Tso Tsung-t'ang positioned his forces for action against the Russians, establishing his headquarters at Hami. The Russians abandoned their territorial demands and the Treaty of St. Petersburg was concluded in February 1881. Tso returned to Peking as a hero the day the treaty was signed. The reconquered territories and the recovered Ili region were formed into the province of Sinkiang --the New Dominion-- in 1884.

A German observer of the events of the 1860s and 1870s in Inner Asia had already concluded in 1879 that

one can regard the drama at the eastern end of the Islamic world as finished. In the southern valleys of the Tien Shan the Chinese rather than either the English or the Russians will henceforth rule. The difference is only that while the influence of

the British is thus destroyed, Russia stands in good stead with the government in Peking. All of the efforts of the British Indian Statesmen have come to nought and the Englishman James Routledge correctly observes that the British actually have nothing to seek in this region: "It concerns Russia alone. She oversees events and at the appropriate time will make her influence felt for her own purposes." Thus the collapse of the Muslim Empire in East Turkestan is in all respects a victory for Russia against the British great power position in Asia and especially in India. 63

NOTES

1 - Owen Latimore, Studies in Frontier History, London, 1962, p. 206.

2 - "The Six Cities", the traditional name for the settled parts of the Tarim Basin; sometimes also referred to as Djetishahr, "The Seven Cities".

3 - E.g. Henry Lansdell, Chinese Central Asia London, 1893, Vol. II, pp. 58-64; Timothy Severin, The Oriental Adventure, Boston, 1976, p. 193; and Jack Chen, The Sinkiang Story, New York, 1977, pp. 148-161

4 - Maurice Rossabi, China and Inner Asia from 1368 to the Present Day, New York, 1975, p. 27

5 - Among the most important accounts of archaeological explorations which revealed major features of the early history of the region are M. Aurel Stein's Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan, London, 1904, and Ruins of Desert Cathay, 2 vols, London, 1912. The latter work was reissued in 1987 by Dover Publications, New York. The reports of Sir Douglas Forsyth, the most important British emissary to Yakub Beg, provided the incentive for serious archaeological exploration during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For an excellent recent account of all the major figures in this effort see Peter Hopkirk, Foreign Devils on the Silk Road London, 1980

6 - Jack A. Dabbs, History of the Discovery and Exploration of Chinese Turkestan, The Hague, 1963

7 - "The Uigurs" in E. Bretschneider, Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources, London, 1887, Vol. I, pp. 236-263.

8 - Owen Lettimore, Pivot of Asia, Boston, 1950, pp. 16, 192

9 - Rossabi, op. cit., hbb 166-67

10 - Isa Yusuf Alptekin, Doğu Turkistan Davası Istanbul, 1981, p. 123

11 - Relations between Khokand, on the one hand, and Kashgar and Peking, on the other, were not originally hostile. Before Russian penetration of Turkestan, the Khans of Khokand, in fact, exploited their positive relations with Manchu China to consolidate their position vis-a-vis Bukhara. As the quality of Manchu administration declined and problems of traders became more complicated, and as the Khojas, who enjoyed high status in Khokand, were repeatedly tempted to take advantage of Chinese weaknesses in Kashgaria, they deteriorated. See Marris Rossabi, op. cit., pp 174-177.

12 - Alptekin, op.cit., pp. 123-125.

13 - Arthur W. Hummel (ed.), Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, Washington, 1944, pp. 764-765.

14 - Gary Alder, British India's Northern Frontier, 1865-1895, London, 1963, p. 25

15 - E. g. that of Jack Chen, op. cit., pp. 148 ff.

16 - Eugene Schuyler, Turkistan, Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkestan, Khokand, Bukhara and Kuldia, London 1876, Vol. I, p. 324.

17 - This information is derived primarily from the summary of Yakub Beg's early career in the most comprehensive scholarly survey of his activity to appear in recent times: Tsing Yuan, "Yakub Beg (1820-1877) and the Moslem Rebellion in Chinese Turkestan" Central Asiatic Journal, VI/2 (June 1961), pp. 134-167.

18 - Tsing Yuan, loc. cit., pp. 143-144

19 - Rossabi, op. cit., p.178.

20 - Alptekin, op. cit., p. 129

21 - Keay, op. cit., London, 1977, p. 229

22 - Moorcroft is the subject of a recent definitive biography by Gary Alder, Beyond Bokhara, London, 1985

23 - I omit discussion of an extremely colorful but controversial early Himalayan explorer named Alexander Gardier, who may have been an American by birth. His memoirs were published in London in 1898, long after his death. For the most re-

cent attempt to sort out what is known of him and his travels, see Keay, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-131

24 - H. A. and R. Schlagintweit, Results of a Scientific Mission to India and High Asia 4 vols., London and Leipzig, 1861-66.

25 - Keay, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208

26 - Keay, *op. cit.*, pp. 219

27 - Keay, *op. cit.*, p. 221

28 - Keay, *op. cit.*, pp.226-227

29 - "Pundit Explorers and the Years 1865-1885" in Kenneth Mason, Abode of Snow, London, 1955, pp. 84-95.

30 - "Forsyth's Mission to Yarkund", Times P, 31 August 1871

Baştarafı 8. Sayfada

Ölgiy'in Türkçe adının "Bay Ülke" (Zengin Ülke) demek olduğunu söylemiştir. O "Mogolistandaki Kazakların Tarihi" adlı eserin de yazarıdır.

41. B.Barthold : Orta Asya Türkleri Hakkında Dersler, Ankara 1975 s-164

42. Prof. Ahmet Temir : Türk Dünyası El kitabı s.912

43. KSSR Tariyqı : s-149

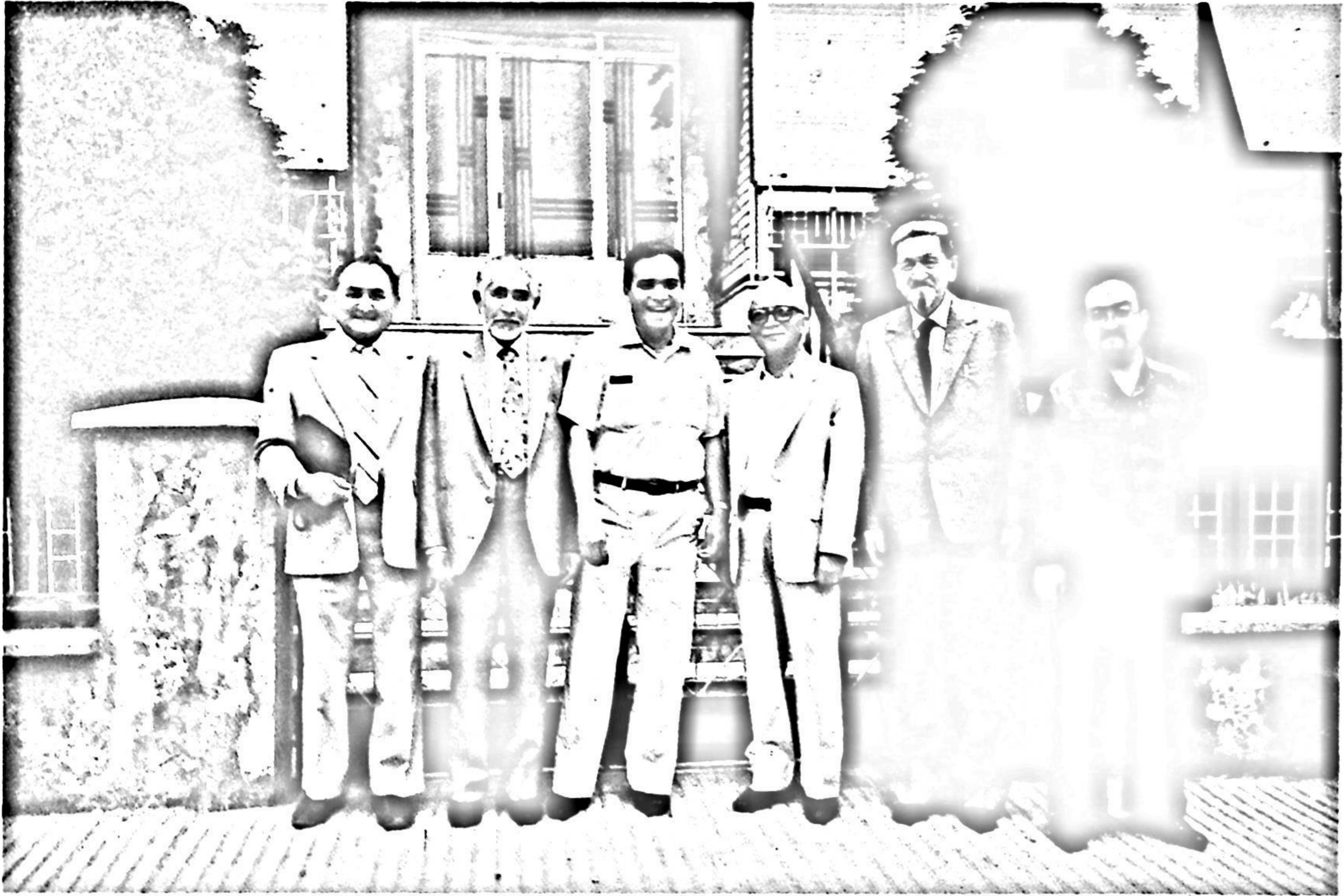
44. Harry Schwartz : Tsars, Mandarins and Commissars : A History of Chinese-Russian Relations. New York 1964

45.N. Mincanulı : Adı geçen eseri s-550

46. W.Radlof : Sibirya'dan Seçmeler, Çev. Prof. A. Temir. İstanbul 1970 s-184

47. Lowell Tillet : Adı geçen makalesi

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Doğu Türkistan Vakfının faaliyete geçtiği günlere ait bir hâtıra:

Soldan sağa doğru: Gulameddin Pahta, Übeydullah Türkistani, Mehmet Şah Habibullah (rahmetli oldu), E. General Rıza Bekin (D.T. Vakfı Başkanı), Turdi Yahya, Rahmetullah İneyetullah.

Doğu Türkistan'da Doğum Kontrolüne Tepkiler

Rabitatul Alem Al- İslami (Dünya Müslümanlar Birliği Teşkilatı), Çin Komünist Partisi Baş Sekreteri Zhoa Ziyang'a bir muhtıra göndererek, Doğu Türkistan'da 1 Temmuz 1988 tarihinden itibaren uygulanmaya başlanan doğum kontrolü önlemlerini eleştirmiştir.

Rabitatul Alem A- İslami'nin Genel Sekreteri Dr. Abdullah Ömer Nasif imzasını taşıyan 3093 sayı ve 5 Temmuz 1988 tarihli muhtıra metninin Türkçe tercümesi aşağıda verilmektedir:

Pek Muhterem (Ekselans) Zhau Ziyang
Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Başbakan'ı
Beijing, Çin.

Sayın Başbakan

Kutsal Mekke'den Dünya İslam Birliği Genel Sekreterliği'nin saygılarını ve Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin refahının devamı için en iyi dileklerimi sunuyorum.

Ayrıca, Sayın Başbakan, Şinjiang Uygur Özerk Bölgesi (Doğu Türkistan) Müslümanlarının özlem ve menfaatları hilafına saygıdeğer Hükümetinizce alınan son önlemler hususunda ekselanslarınıza başvurmayı kendime görev addediyorum.

Uluslararası basın yayın organları tarafından duyurulan ve Yeni Çin Haber Ajansı'nca 18 Haziran 1988 de doğrulanan haberlerde, doğumları kontrol altına almak için hazırlanan düzenlemeleri, 1988 yılı Temmuz ayından itibaren Şinjiang Uygur Özerk Bölgesi Müslümanları için de uygulanacağı, ve Özerk Bölge Hükümet Reisi Timur Damamet'in yeni düzenlemeleri desteklemeleri için bölgedeki din adamlarına çağrı yaptığı belirtilmektedir. Gene belirtildiğine göre "Şinjiang Üniversitesi", Müslüman öğrencileri, dini inançları ve gelenekleri (ictimai adetleri) hilafına, yatakhanelerini ve yemek salonlarını gayrimüslim öğrencilerle paylaşmağa zorlanmaktadırlar. Oysa 4 Aralık 1982 tarihli Çin Anayasası ve 31 Mayıs 1984 tarihli Özerk Bölgeler Yasası uyarınca, bölge nüfusunun çoğunluğunu oluşturan Müslümanlara hak ve menfaatlarını, gelenek ve göreneklerini dini akidelerini ve kişilik özelliklerini ve milli hüvviyetlerini (benliklerini) koruma yetkisi tanınmıştır.

Şinjiang Uygur Özerk Bölgesi halkının iradesi hilafına girişilen mezkür uygulama, hem Evrensel İnsan Hakları Beyannamesi'nin açık bir ihlali olup, öteki uluslararası kurallara, aynı zamanda İslami prensiplere ve domuz eti ve benzeri şeylerin yenmesi ile ilgili dini emirlere ciddi biçimde ters düşmektedir.

Üstelik sözde "Doğum Kontrolü Düzenlemesi", Çin devleti nüfusu içerisinde çok küçük bir azınlık teşkil eden ve ölümçül hastalıklar ve vebalar Lop Noor'da yapılmakta olan nükleer denemeler bir yana, Doğu Türkistan halkına refah içerisinde yaşamını idame ettirmeğe imkan vermemektedir. (Nitekim Ürümçi Radyosu'na göre geçenlerde bölgede patlak veren sarılık vebasına yakalanan 122 bin kişinin yüzde 54'ü ölmüştür.)

Alınan söz konusu müessif uygulamalar ve ihlaller karşısında Dünya İslam Birliği Teşkilatı'nca temsil edilen müslümanların kaygılarını ve üzüntülerini ifade etmek istiyorum. İslam öğretilerine uygun olmayan, müslümanların menfaatlerini ve temel insan haklarını gözetmeyen, bu gibi keyfi uygulamaları tahkik ettirmenizi istirham ediyorum. Bu uygulamaların iptal edilmesini, müslümanların günlük yaşamlarında, din hürriyetinden tam olarak istifade etmelerini ve

Birth Control In Easter Türkistan Protested

Our special correspondent reports from Mecca that the Muslim World League has addressed a cable to Mr. Zhao Ziang, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the People's Republic of China in protest against enforcement of birth control regulations in the overwhelmingly Muslim populated Eastern Turkistan, effective July 1988.

A copy of the cable was transmitted, for information and necessary action to each of the following personalities:

1) His Excellency Dr. Sherifuddin Pirzada, Secretary General, The Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), Jeddah;

2) His Excellency Secretary General, United Nations, New York, N. Y. 100 (USA); and

3) The UN Deputy Secretary General, International Commission on Human Rights, Geneva, Switzerland with the following foreword:

" Sub.: Arbitrary Actions By The Chinese Govt.

The-Secretariat General of the Muslim World League has the pleasure to present your excellency with its best wishes and compliments and to acquaint your goodself with a recent development in the Peoples Republic of China.

It has come to the notice of the Muslim World League that the Government of the Peoples Republic of China has carried out arbitrary actions against the Muslim inhabitants of Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region. These actions no doubt constitute a blatant violation of human rights, on the one hand and contravene the principles and teaching of Islam, on the other in consequence, the Muslim World League, as the representative of Muslim Peoples has deemed it proper to send the following cable to His Excellency Zhao Ziyang, Prime Minister of the Peoples Republic of China denouncing the violations."

Text of the cable of the Muslim World League dated July 5, 1988, signed by the Secretary General Dr. Abdullah Omar Nassif is as follows:

"His Excellency Zhao Ziyang

Prime Minister of the Peoples Republic of China, Beijing.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister

I am sending you the compliments of the Secretariat General of the Muslim World League in Holy Makkah with the very best wishes for the continued prosperity of the Peoples Republic of China.

Moreover, Mr. Prime Minister, I feel duty bound to approach your Excellency on the latest action taken by your venerable Government against the wishes and interests of the Muslims of *Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region*.

According to the reports by the international media, corroborated by the *New China News Agency* on the 18th of June 1988, Birth Control Regulations are to apply to Muslims in the *Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region* with effect from the 1st of July 1988, with the support of Mr. Taimor Dawamat, Premier of the Region, who has called on the Muslim scholars there to back the new regulations. It was also reported that the *University of Xinjiang* is forcing Muslim students, in defiance of their religious belief and social behaviour, to share their dormitories and dining halls with non-muslim students. All this despite the fact that according to the Constitution of 4th Dec. 1982 and the Law of Autonomous Regions of the 31st May 1984 Muslims, who represent majority of the population of the region, are entitled to self-rule in order to preserve their rights, interests, customs and traditions, as well as religious beliefs and the characteristics of their personality and national identity.

Mr. Prime Minister, I am sure you will agree with me that the aforementioned actions against the will of the people of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region is a blatant

violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international norms and a serious violation of Islamic principles and teachings which prohibit consumption of pork meat and other such things.

Purthermore, the so-called birth control regulations are inconducive with the welfare of the Muslims- a tiny minority in China- who are exposed to deadly deseases and epidemics such as Hepatitis which recently descended upon one hunderd and twenty two thousand Muslim inhabitants and claimed the lives of 54 % of them, according to Radio Urumchi, not to mention the deadly effects of the atomic tests carried out in Lop Noor, Eastern Turkistan on the Muslim inhabitants of the region.

In wiew of the foregoing deplorable acts of violation, I wish to express, the concern of the Muslim Peoples represented by the Muslim World League Organization and to apeal to you on their behalf to investigate into such arbitrary actions, which do not conform with the teachings of Islam nor preserve the interests of Muslims and their Basic Human Rights.

Further, in the name of Muslims all over the world, I here by appeal to you to see to it that these actions are abrogated and Muslims are allowed to enjoy full freedom of religion in all their day to day activities, including bringing-up their children the Islamic way.

It is only by abrogation of the said regulations that justice will prevail and allow Muslims to enjoy- together with other nationalities- the fruits of the prosperity and the strong ties China is striving to establish with Muslim countries and Muslims.

Finally accept sir, the assurances of my high esteem.

Best regards.

Dr. Abdullah Omar NASSIF

Secretary General, Muslim World League

Makkah al Mukarramah, Suudi Arabia.

Baştarafı 56. Sayfada

çocuklarını İslami yoldan yetiştirmelerini temin etmenizi bütün dünya müslümanları adına rica ediyorum.

Ayrıca bu uygulamaların iptal edilmesiyle adalet ve hakkaniyet üstün gelecek, Şinjian Uygur Özerk Bölgesi müslümanları, öteki azınlık milletlerle birlikte, Çin devletinin refahından ve bu devletin İslam ülkeleriyle ve müslümanlarla geliştirmeye gayret ettiği güçlü dostluk bağlarından yararlanabileceklerdir.

Mesajıma son verirken Ekselanslarınıza üstün saygılar ve en iyi dilekler sunarım.

İmza

Dr. Abdullah Ömer Nazif

Genel sekreter

Dünya İslam Birliği, Mekke-Al-Mükerremeh,

Suudi Arabistan.

Rabıtat ul Alem Al İslami yani Dünya Müslümanlar Birliği'nin Genel Sekreteri Dr. Abdullah Ömer Nassif imzasıyla yayınlanan bu bildirin birer kopyası, gerekli tedbirleri alması için İslam Konferansı Teşkilatı Genel Sekreteri Dr. Şerafettin Pirzade'ye, Birleşmiş Milletler Teşkilatı Genel Sekreteri Perez de Cuellar'a ve Merkezi Cenevre'de bulunan İnsan Hakları Komisyonu Genel Sekreterliği'ne gönderilmiştir.

KARDEŞ VAKIF

Ayaz-Tahir Türkistan İdil-Ural Vakfı faaliyete geçti.

Merkezi Ankara'da olan vakfın amacı; *Türk dünyasının, bu dünya içerisinde yer alan toplumların ve özellikle Ayaz-Tahir Türkistan İdil Ural Vakfı Coğrafi alanında yer alan Türk toplumlarının tarihi, kültürel, siyasî, iktisadî, sosyal hayatlarını, bilimsel yol ve yöntemlerle araştırmak, incelemek ve elde edilen sonuçları yaymak ve yayınlamaktır.*

Saadet İshaki Çağatay tarafından faaliyete geçirilen Ayaz-Tahir Türkistan İdil-Ural Vakfı'nın yönetim kurulu üyeleri;

Em. General Mehmet Rıza Bekin (Doğu Türkistan Vakfı Başkanı), Prof. Dr. Ahmet Temir (A.Ü. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Öğretim Üyesi), Y. Müh. Mahmut Tahir (Devlet Su İşleri Ankara), Doç. Dr. Temur Koçaoğlu (Marmara Üniversitesi Öğretim Görevlisi), Tolay Duran (B. Üniversitesi Öğretim Görevlisi, Şekür Turan (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Milli Foklor Dairesi Uzmanı), İsmail Kalyoncu (Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Müsteşarlığında Müşavir)'dan oluşmaktadır.

Kardeş vakıf olarak ilan ettiğimiz Ayaz-Tahir Türkistan İdil-Ural Vakfı'na faaliyetlerinde başarılar diliyoruz.

DTV

Doğu Türkistan Vakfına (DTV) Bağışlar

Türkistanlı hemşehrilerimizin DTV'na bağışları devam etmektedir. Bağış, milli dayanışmanın bir simgesi olması cihetiyle bağış yapanların adlarının bu DERGİ'de açıklanması, bizler için hem bir gurur ve heyecan vesilesi olmakta hem de şükranlarımızı belirtmemize bir fırsat oluşturmaktadır.

Em. Dr. General,

Abdulrahim H. Abdullah S. Arabistan	2.000.000 TL.
Abdurrahim Artuş	150.000 TL.
Abdurrahman Özgül	500.000 TL.
Nurinnisa Ahunbay	40.000 TL.
Abdulhakim Artuş	140.000 TL.
Abdulhakim Kaari	1.000 DM.

Adı geçen hemşehrilerimize teşekkür eder, sağlık ve saadetler dileriz.

DTV