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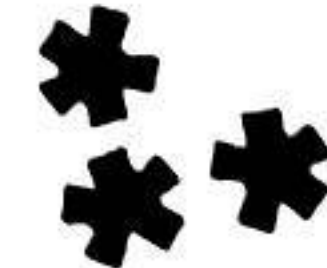
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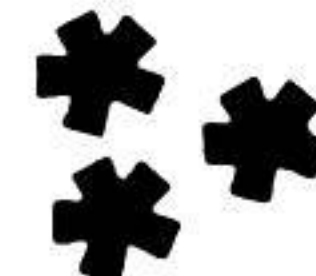


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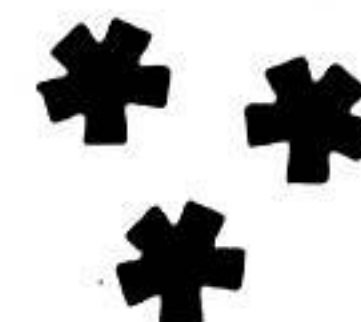
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NEWS



News and articles in this Review may be
quoted in full or in part, by mentioning
the Review.

Dear Readers,

As you are already aware, the "Voice of Eastern Turkistan" has been a publication of the "Eastern Turkistan Publishing Center", founded by HE Mr. İsa Alptekin. Unfortunately, for some time past, Mr. Alptekin has increasingly felt himself unable to actively continue to serve his community because of his advanced years and failing health. Consequently, he had to relinquish the responsibility of publishing the journal in favour of the "Eastern Turkistan Trust", which also had been set up under his patronage. For reorganisation of the "Eastern Turkistan Trust" please see "Voice of Eastern Turkistan", No. 10, p. 44. Mr. İsa Alptekin has to his credit a long and brilliant record of service in the defence and preservation of the national identity of Eastern Turkistan. He has distinguished himself among the 'emigre' community for the untiring and selfless efforts he made to keep the torch of liberty aloft under difficult and trying circumstances. His long association with the "Voice of Eastern Turkistan", coupled with his other activities in the service of the community, has earned him a place which will remain the envy of all those who find this cause dear to their hearts. While expressing our regret at not being able to avail of his talent and experience directly in the future, we wish him a long, happy and healthy life.

Beginning with the present issue (No. 11), the "Voice of Eastern Turkistan" will appear under a new management, deriving inspiration from its honourable founder and with the support and encouragement of its readers, determined to strive for the preservation and promotion of our national identity, and to foster solidarity and unity among the Eastern Turkistani 'emigre'.

The journal shall continue to appear as a quarterly forum of relevant social, political and scientific news and views in Turkish, Arabic and English languages. Efforts shall also be made to incorporate material of interest in other dialects of Turkish language. The format and design have, however, been altered due to economic and practical considerations.

I should like to point out that the *raison d'être* of this publication has been and shall continue to be our desire to defend the history, art and culture of Eastern Turkistan against any encroachments and distortions, working through fairplay and scientific approach. As such, we stand in great need of the support of, and contributions by, national and international societies interested in the affairs of Eastern Turkistan — a region having pivotal geopolitical significance since time immemorial. As the "Voice of Eastern Turkistan" takes a new leap forward to fulfil its mission, we look forward to increasing contributions by interested scholars who will not find us lacking in gratitude.

In conclusion, I must reiterate that our objective is to safeguard the higher interests of the people of Eastern Turkistan in a rational manner and our code of conduct is "transparency". While appreciating what has been achieved before, I wish to assure our readers that we shall continue our quest for new ways and means to make further improvements, scrupulously avoiding pitfalls that may lead us to contentious issues beyond the area of our legitimate interest.

Yours Sincerely,

Mehmet Rıza BEKİN

(Rtd. Brig. General)

President Administrative Committee,
Eastern Turkistan Trust

The Eastern Turkistan Trust

M. Sadi KOÇAŞ

Though I am not a regular reader of *Voice of Eastern Turkistan* yet. I had the chance of reading some of the issues of the journal sent to me by friends who contribute to it. Recently I was informed that the journal would continue to appear with a newer approach and understanding, and I was asked if I could write a *Preface* for its forthcoming issue. I promptly accepted the proposition without giving any thought about the details, and contemplated what I should write afterwards.

I went through the old issues of the journal once more and also studied the *Trust Deed* of the *Eastern Turkistan Trust*. Having compared the conclusions of this labour with my own culture of history I felt the urge for some further study. The present article is to briefly reflect the conclusions I have so arrived at, and to wish the new management every success in their highly important mission.

Aims of the Eastern Turkistan Trust

The *Trust* seeks to study and to project the cultural, social, historical, economic and other aspects of Eastern Turkistan and other Turco-Islamic lands.

To this end the *Trust* collects cultural creations of Eastern Turkistan and the rest of the Turco-Islamic World including artistic, literary, architectural and folkloric works; sponsors production and publication of authentic studies and translations; and publishes periodicals and adhoc pamphlets, depending on the means available.

It would participate in relevant international conferences; organizes meetings inviting specialist scholars; opens guest house, club, library and meeting hall; provides boarding facility and scholarship to research students and scholars.

Turco-Islamic Concept of Trust (Vakf)

Some time ago, disappointed over press reports about certain Turkish statesman visiting Europe to conduct a study on the subject of *Vakf*,

Who is Mehmet Sadi KOÇAŞ

Sadi Koçaş graduated from the Military School in 1940 and from the War Academy in 1950, and retired from active service in Turkish Armed Forces in 1961 when he was at the rank of Staff Colonel. personally I have the honour (pleasure) of having served under his able command. He served in the Turkish Grand National Assembly as Presidential Contingent Senator from 1962 to 1969 and as Member of the House of representatives from 1969 to 1971. In March 1971 he became Deputy Prime Minister. As he had accepted the Cabinet post in anticipation of being able to execute a reform programme, and as the programme could not be pushed through, at the end of the same year he resigned, and later retired from political life, and devoted most of his time to study Turkish History as well as some topical issues effecting Turkey's destiny. He, however, in 1980 as accepted to serve as honorary advisor to the National Security Council formed following the 12th September Military Operation launched to save Turkey from anarchism. Retired Staff Colonel Sadi Koçaş has a number books and scores of press articles to his credit. He was kind enough to accept our request to write for the *Voice of Eastern Turkistan*. In anticipation of his valuable contributions to our efforts we wish to express our thankfulness on behalf of the *Trust* as well as the readers of the journal.

Rtd. Gn. M. Rıza BEKİN

I was induced to acquire an insight myself on the subject, including background, achievements and proliferation of the institution of *Vakfs* in the course of the last fourteen centuries (1). In the process I discovered through documents as how inappropriate it was on the part of the Minister to have chosen Denmark to conduct a study on the institution. My own research led me to the conclusion that the existing thousands of works on Turco-Islamic Trusts (*Vakfs*) were the best sources for a study on the subject, and that the most dependable samples were to be found available in the Muslim countries which were within the Turkish domain during late nineteenth centuries.

... disappointment, however, did not last long. Following a long period of transitional inactivity, initiatives were made in Turkey to revive the institution of *Vakf*, which had proved highly successful in the past in terms of social and cultural solidarity and welfare. Notwithstan-

ding though, we did witness instances of initiatives that miscarried. Some ostentatious initiatives were devoid of honesty of purpose and ended up in failure. It made us apprehensive lest such degenerate attempts should tarnish the image of our historical achievements relevant to the institution of Vakf and lest it should discourage these interested in the revival of the tradition. We are hopeful that the authorities would do whatever they can to prevent any shadow be cast on this great tradition of ours which has been so successfully maintained through centuries. The authorities are in a position to *nip in the bud* the pseudo trusts that are not true to their declared objectives or are open to either personal, political or economic exploitation.

The Eastern Turkistan Trust

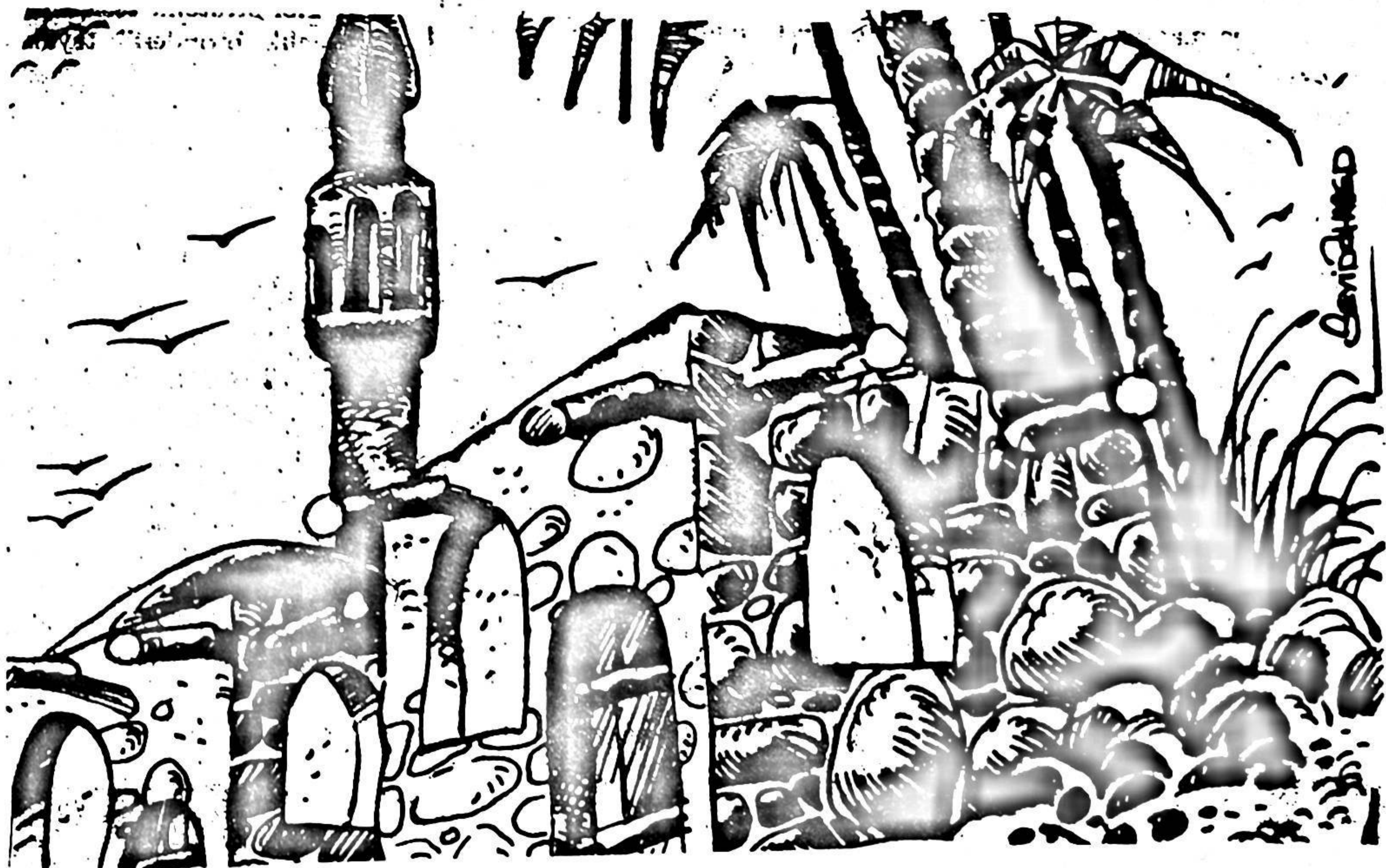
In the light of the foregoing celebration I did not for a moment doubt the success of the *Eastern Turkistan Trust*, whose avowed aims and practices are indeed open, sublime and national. Whereas the Turks migrating from their motherland in Central Asia nine centuries ago (excluding very early migrations) under different circumstances and through different routes in groups of various sizes to Western Asia and South Eastern Europe settled in concentration in Anatolia and adopted it as their new homeland, I can not think of any activity more natural and more

worthwhile than seeking ways and means to cultivate cultural and economic cooperation with our Turki brethren in Turkistan a territory in Central Asia now divided into autonomous administrative regions within the boundaries of two *big powers*, despite the enormous geographical distance involved.

Aside from national and religious character involved in a joint research and cooperation in the fields of language, religion, culture, art, education, economy and development which rest on a common and definite root and foundation, one can not overlook the principle of *salvation through love of fellow being* which is one of the most strong and civilized aspect of Islamic philosophy.

Intent as I am to contribute to this endeavour in my own humble way, I shall be addressing the readers of the *Voice of Eastern Turkistan* in the forthcoming issues of the journal. In the meantime I convey to the management of the *Eastern Turkistan Trust* my deepest appreciation the invitation they have extended to me to write for the journal. I wish them every success in their mission. I am delighted to extend to my Eastern Turkistani brethren the salutations, love, respect and well-wishing on the part of their brethren in this country, the nationals of the Republic of Turkey.

(1) The earliest vakf in the Muslim World was established in Medine by the Prophet (S.A.W) himself (consisting of seven date-palms dedicated for the service of the faith), a fine example set before the future Muslim World. The Seljuki and Ottoman Empires maintained the tradition and applied it in the territories within their dominion.



WHY TURKIC STUDIES ARE IMPORTANT?

Prof. Dr. Alexandre BENNIGSEN
Translator: Nadir DEVLET

This is a difficult question because the area covered by that we call "Turkic speaking peoples" is immense. It stretches from the Balkans to the Pacific Ocean and from the Arctic Ocean to the borders of Cashmire.

In this huge territory the total number of Turkic speaking peoples may be estimated today to more than 70 million.

The largest group lives in the USSR; a minimum of 50 million today (43 million in 1979), out of which almost 94% are Muslim, and the remaining 2.575.000 are Christian, Buddhist and animist.

Other important Turkic groups exist:

- in China, between 8 and 12 million,
- in Iran, between 10 to 12 million,
- in Afghanistan, between 2 to 3 million,
- in Iraq, half a million
- and smaller groups in Syria, Mongolia, Tibet...

All together, counting the Turks of Turkey and the Turks of the Balkans, the total number of Turks in the world, from Sarajevo to China and Yakutia may be estimated between 126 and 140 million. This population is undergoing in all the territories what the demographers call a demographic explosion. By the turn of the century, the total number of Turkic speaking peoples will probably reach 200 million.

We are therefore dealing with a very important group of peoples, but their sheer numbers alone do not explain all their importance, which is also historical, cultural, spiritual and political.

In my short report, I shall try to explain why Turkic studies are important for the scholars and for the political decision makers, and to begin with I would like to remind you of one geo-political aspect of our area.

Turkic peoples occupy the heartland of Asia, what we may call the "middle of the Empires", a central position between Soviet Russia, the Middle East, China and India —an area where the future of the world will be played and decided. This means that it is likely, I would say certain, that during the next decades these millions of Turks, forgotten and ignored by the outside

world will become active actors of the making of the history of mankind.

Therefore Turkic studies are important in several fields, especially in the following three:

- of historical research
- of demographical evolution of Central Asia
- and in the field of research on culture, religion, ideology and politics.

I. — HISTORICAL RESEARCH

The first reason why Turkic studies are important is academic. All Muslim Turkic peoples of Asia are "**historical peoples**" who have played a great, an essential role in the world's history. They were builders of world's empires and their cities, Bukhara, Genge, Samarkand, Kashgar, Tabriz, Baghchesaray, Herat or Kazan were among the greatest centers of world's culture. But all have in common another factor: they have been conquered and incorporated into a non-Turkic and non-Muslim alien establishment: Russia and China. Then, immediately after their conquest —from 1552 for Kazan, to the late XIX-th century for Turkistan, they simply disappeared from the scene of the history. For centuries they became "Forgotten Muslims" and "Forgotten Turks".

Nothing or nearly nothing is known of their life since the loss of their independence, but their cultural and political life went on in depth, and at the end of the XIX-th century Volga, Turkistani, Crimean and Caucasian Turks reappeared once again —and with brio— on the scene of world's history with the reformist-modernist Jadid movement which was rightly called "the Turko-Tatar Renaissance of the XIX-th century". It was one of the most fascinating chapter of the intellectual history of the Islamic World in modern times.

For historians there is an entirely new and practically virgin world to discover, covering a long period from the XVI-th century down, and an immense territory. This field represents a possibility for several dozens of major historical, sociological, anthropological and cultural doctoral dissertations.

For those who are more interested in contem-

porary developments, especially in the history of various national-liberation anti-colonialistic movements, our area also offers a unique opportunity for research. The first guerilla wars led under the banner of **Jihad** against a European power started in the Caucasus as early as 1782 of the Holy War of Sheikh Mansur, and there were several major guerilla and national-liberation wars in the Caucasus, in the Urals, in Western and Eastern Turkistan during the XIX-th and the early XX-th centuries. The last Muslim guerilla uprising took place in the Caucasus during W.W. II. Among other things the analysis of these movements provides us with a better understanding of the Afghan war and gives us the secret of the successful resistance of the Afghan Mojahiddins to the Soviet Army.

II. — DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT

The second interest of Turkic studies comes from the **demographic evolution** of the Eastern Turks. As I have already said and as we all know, they are (especially the Turks of USSR) undergoing a "demographic explosion", while the three Slavic groups of USSR — the Great Russians, the Ukrainians and the Bielorrussians— have one of the lowest fertility rates in the world. To illustrate this situation, I would like to remind you that between the two last Soviet censuses (in 1970 and 1979) the Russian population increased by 6.5%, while the Azeris Turks increased by 25%, the Kirghiz by 32%, the Turkmens by 33% and the Özbeks by 36%.

It is estimated that by the turn of our century, in Soviet Union alone, the Muslim population will reach 70 to 75 million for a total population of 300-310 million. Great Russians will be around 150 million. Thus, 22 to 25% of the population of the Soviet Union —one citizen out of every four— will be a Muslim, and about one out of five will be a Turk. The main bulk, 50 to 60 million will be concentrated in Central Asia; the remaining 10 to 15 million will be divided between the Caucasus and the Middle Volga-Urals. The uneven growth of the Muslim/Turkic and Slavic populations will have as a consequence (among many others), the **nativisation** of all the souther regions of the USSR —Caucasus and Central Asia— which will become more **Muslim** and more **autochthonous**. This proces has already begun. Russians are already leaving the Caucasus.

By the turn of our century the total number of **Turkic peoples** in Central Asia (USSR, China, Iran, Afghanistan) will reach a minimum of 100 million. What is even more important to remember, Muslim Turkic population will be a **young population** facing an ageing Slavic community.

In two fields particularly the demographic development is already having a far reaching impact:

1) **On the Soviet armed forces.** By the turn of the century, the number of Muslims (mainly Turks) eligible for the draft (males over 18) will have increased from 23% of the total in 1980 to about 30% in the year 2000. Russians will fall from 49% today down to less than 45% in 2000.

As a rule, Muslims Turks are not trusted in USSR and are not treated as Equals. There are practically no Muslim officers, and the Muslims are drafted not into fighting units but into construction battalions. By the end of the century this policy will become impossible. The Soviets will be faced with a difficult dilemma:

a) to reduce the size of their armed forces (if they want to preserve its "Russian" character), or

b) to increase the number of Muslim officers and to accept Muslim draftees into the fighting units, a dangerous evolution, already denounced by a number of Soviet experts as the "yellowing of the Red Army", —or

c) to accept the idea of a **colonial type Army**", Muslim soldiers under the command of Russian officers. All three solutions are equally dangerous.

2) **On the labour force.** As we all know, USSR is faced by the shortage of industrial manpower in European Russia, and by the surplus of agricultural manpower in Central Asia. This dramatic situation will grow more dangerous in the future and there is no possibility to solve it. Indeed, Soviet have only three equally dramatic and unrealistic options: a) to bring heavy industry to Central Asia; b) to engineer by force, if necessary, the transfer of Central Asian's manpower excess to the industrial areas of European Russia; or c) just do nothing.

More broadly, what could be Moscow's response to the growing demographic pressure of the Muslim Turks. Once again, the options left to the Soviets are limited:

1). To treat Muslim republics of Central Asia and Caucasus as equal partners which would involve drastic political and economic changes, among others the radical decentralisation of the Communist party. To expect such a change would be, I believe, highly unrealistic.

2). To try once more a policy of assimilation of the Muslim Turks through forced emigration of Central Asians to Siberia, and a corresponding immigration of Russians and other Slavs to Central Asia. Such a policy of colonisation has already been tried several times; the last attempt to-

ok place thirty years ago and failed. It is unlikely that Moscow will try it again considering major risks involved.

3). To continue present policy of muddling through, avoiding any drastic changes, which is also unrealistic and in the final run dangerous.

These examples of possible impact of the demography on the military and the labour problems of USSR in the coming decades can illustrate the importance of the Turkic studies, because they show that to a certain degree the future of the USSR — and that means the future of the entire world — depends on the demographic evolution of Eastern Turks.

III. — RELIGIOUS — CULTURAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

All the experts of Central Asia agree that the demographic evolution of Eurasia and Inner Asia during the next decades will be denominated by the emergence of Turkic peoples in the USSR, but they disagree as to the political consequence of this factor. We may summarize the problem concerning the future political development of our area in the following questions:

What will happen to those millions of Soviet and Chinese Muslim Turks by the turn of the century? Who will they be? Or to put the question in another way: What will be their national identity, their cultural and spiritual consciousness? Will they be divided into twenty small nationalities (the strongest of which — the Özbeks — will count at the most 25 million); or will they be unified as "Turkistanis" or as "Turks" or simply as "Muslims"? What will be their attitude toward the Russians?, toward the Soviet power? Will they become assimilated, "russified", "sovietised", or will they preserve their own national and religious identity? And finally, what will be their relations with the rest of the Turkic World and with the rest of the Muslim World? On other terms what influences will they receive from abroad, and what influences could they exercise on their neighbours abroad?

We all understand the historical importance of these questions. If the rulers of the Soviet Union have succeeded in dividing the Turkic Muslim community in several "nations", if they have succeeded in destroying Islam as religion and as way of life, if they can keep this community isolated from the outside world by a solid Iron Curtain, then, the old Soviet dream of "getting nearer" (*sblizhenie*) may come true at the end, as well as its final stage the "merging" (*sliyaniye*) and as they boast, the soviets will succeed in creating an entirely new kind of human being — the "Sovi-

et Man" (*Sovetskii chelovek*). In this case, the Soviet Empire will maintain its cohesion.

But, if their attempt to "atomize" the Muslim Umma and the Turkic "Millet" fails; if, by the turn of our century the rulers of Kremlin will face a solid mass of 70 to 75 million of people who have preserved their religion and their way of life, and who will want to remain part of the Turkic and Muslim World and would succeed in maintaining their ties with their brethren abroad. — then —, it is probable that the rulers of the USSR will have to face serious problems in keeping their empire unified. In that case also the future relations between the Russians and their Chinese, Iranian, Afghan and other neighbours would be affected by their relations with their own Turkic community...

It is yet too early to answer all these questions, but **pluri-disciplinary studies** can give us some hints as to the future cultural and political developments of Inner Asia.

For instance, it is through the analysis of the Turkic literature in the USSR since the last war that we can reach the best understanding of the evolution of the national consciousness of the Turkic peoples and, therefore, of their political attitudes toward their national past and their Soviet present. One of the best illustration is the ideological evolution of the greatest of the Soviet contemporary writers, the Kirghiz Chingiz (Çingiz) Aytmatov. All his novels turn around the same theme — the conflict between the past and the present. In his earliest works, particularly in *Jamila (Camila)* written just after W.W.II, the past represented by the traditional Kirghiz society and typified by a group of *aqsaqal* is evil while the soviet present is free and beautiful while the soviet present more and more repulsive. Such is the topic of his remarkable "**White Ship**" written in the 60-ies. But significantly the past symbolized by the pre-Islamic, totemic, beliefs of the Kirghiz. Finally, in his latest work (1982), **A day longer than a century**, the Soviet present (and also the future) remains as atrocious as before, but the beautiful and nostalgic past is now symbolized by Islam.

The literature of other Turkic peoples of USSR, though not as rich and as free to express itself as Aytmatov, present the same interest as a source of socialological) and political research.

The same may be said of the **linguistics**. Indeed, in this field, since the war, below the surface struggle is going on, of great political significance, but both sides do not want to advertise it too openly. It concerns the internal **russification**

of all the literary Turkic languages of the Soviet Union (today there are 17 literary languages all transliterated in Cyrillic script), through the replacement of numerous non-Turkic words, mainly Arabic and Persian, by Russian or so called "international" (mainly French or English but entirely russified). For instance: **tsentr** instead of **merkez**, or **revolütsiya** replacing **inkilab**. It is an authentic fight and not simply a Russian offensive, because during the last 10-15 years the native scholars and writers have been counterattacking re-introducing back the Russian and "international" loan-words either by old Turkic or simply by Arabic and Persian world. It is possible to follow the development of this important conflict through the specialised Soviet publications on linguistics or simply through the reading of the press in different Turkic languages.

Another and probably the most important aspect of the evolution in all Central Asia (both Russian, Chinese and Afghan) concerns the situation of Islam-religion in an area dominated by Marxist-Leninist regimes. All these communist governments have in common the will to build purely secular societies where, at the minimum, religion would be reduced to the level of a "private affair" or, at the maximum, will be completely eliminated. The differences between Russian and Chinese policies are tactical: where Russian marxists remain uncompromisingly hostile and intolerant to all religions (and particularly to Islam), Chinese are more subtle and liberal. In Soviet Central Asia, the official and openly acknowledged attempt to destroy Islam has been going for more than fifty years and it is facing a strong popular (often led by Sufi brotherhoods) and growing intellectual resistance. On the issue of this struggle depend two fundamental problems of the future: what will be:

1) the character of the national identity of the Turkic peoples and their nationalism? It could be either a purely **secular** nationalism, or it could remain what it has been before the Revolution and what it still is, a national identity based on, or at least deeply penetrated by Islam. Everybody in the USSR and abroad understands that in the second case, the integration of Turkic peoples into the Soviet World would be much more difficult, not to say impossible. Among other problems, the biological symbiosis —mixed marriages— between Russians and Turks and the emergence of a common —Soviet— cultural identity, would become highly problematic.

To appreciate the importance of the religious factor in the national consciousness of the East-

ern Turks, we must compare the situation of the Volga Tatars who are Muslim, to the situation of their neighbours, the Chuvashs (Çavuşlar) who have been converted to Christian Orthodoxy since the XVII-XVIIIth century. The linguistic and the biological assimilation of the second is well advanced, while the Muslim Tatars remain refractory to any assimilation.

2) What relations Soviet (and also Chinese) Turks will have with the rest of the world? In particular, would they maintain or recreate a feeling of solidarity and of brotherhood with the rest of the Muslim World or not? and as a corollary, how the rest of the Muslim World would look at these "Forgotten Turks": as part of the **Umma**, or as definitely lost brethren?

To answer these questions we have at our disposal a very rich anti-religious literature in all languages, rich of course by its quantity and not by its quality which is extremely low. It is intellectually poor and spiritually vulgar, but it contains a wealth of factual information.

As a preliminary conclusion, I would like to add that in our era of satellite broadcasts and cassettes, no Iron Curtain could isolate an important human community, as it was possible under Stalin's and even Khrushchev's era.

Therefore, Turkic and Muslim nations of the Soviet Union are rapidly becoming once again part, and an important part, of the Turkic **Millet** and of the Muslim **Umma**. This rediscovery will raise in a near future several problems of vital importance for the entire world, that may be summarized in the following way:

—Soviet Muslims, and this is also true to a lesser degree for the Chinese Muslims, have lived for three quarters of a century completely isolated from the rest of the world. As a consequence, they are today in a kind of intellectual void. The only official and compulsory ideology, the Marxism-Leninism in its Russian form does not satisfy them anymore, and they are receptive to any ideology, theory, political doctrine or programme coming from abroad, on the condition that these ideologies, and theories appear as "their own", which implies that they are being referred in a way or another to Islam, from the extreme fundamentalist religious "right" to the most radical revolutionary "left" In the future Muslim World will certainly exercise a deep influence on these forgotten brethren.

But at the future rendez-vous, Soviet Muslims will not meet their foreign brothers entirely empty-handed. During the seventy years of the Soviet rule (and prior to the Revolution, during

the long, or very long period of Russian domination), they have learned how to survive foreign rule and they have elaborated many political doctrines, and theories which enabled them to preserve their national identity. In the future, these doctrines, theories and know-how could also have a certain impact on the rest of the Muslim World, from the fundamentalist theocratic Jihad of Shamil or Uzun Haji to the Islamic "National socialism" of the Tatars Communists of the 20-s.

A PRACTICAL CONCLUSION

Turkic studies represent a difficult field.

The first difficulty is linguistic. Several languages must be known in order to approach this field: Turkish of course to begin with, but also several East Turkic languages. The foremost by the number and the interest of the publications are the Tatar, the Azeri and the Özbek. But other literary Turkic languages are, or may become important especially the Kazakh, the Turkmen, the Kirghiz. All Turkic languages have used Arabic script before 1928; between 1928 and 1938-39 they were transliterated in latin and after 1939 in the cyrillic alphabets. It is necessary to be able to read all three alphabets and this represents a new difficulty. Two other Oriental languages are necessary, Persian, the official language of the Emirate of Bukhara until 1920 and Arabic, the most used literary language of the North Caucasus until the Revolution. And of course the knowledge of Russian is obligatory.

The second difficulty lies in the cultural - historical complexity of our area. An historian, a political scientist or a sociologist must be equally well qualified in Islamic civilisation and in the history of Marxism in its Russian and Chinese forms; in the Turko-Iranian and in the Russian and Chinese history.

Finally, and this may be the major difficulty; it is not easy to get access to certain sources, in particular to Russian and soviet sources. As a rule, Soviet archives are not accessible to foreign scholars, only a native scholars have access. Certainly we must not underestimate current Soviet research. In certain fields, Soviet scholars have produced serious, sometimes even outstanding works, especially in linguistics, in archeology, in the scholarly publication of texts, and to a lesser degree in anthropology and ethnography. But in other fields, especially in history, Soviet research is totally inadequate. In the USSR, it is offi-

cially claimed to get history is not an "objective" science, it is an "engaged" one. It participates actively in the building of socialism and this means, among other things, that the past is supposed to justify the present and sometimes also the future. As a corollary, the present day conditions the attitudes of the historians toward the past. In other terms, Soviet historiography is basically "russocentric" and during the last ten years its chauvinistic, anti-Turkic and anti-Islamic character has been growing stronger (and not weaker as one may imagine in the West). Since 1936 the year when Soviet historiography abandoned the internationalism of Pokrowski and his followers and assumed a Great-Russian nationalist character, the history of the Eastern Turks has been systematically ignored or falsified... The Golden Horde, the khanates of Kazan, of Astrakhan and of Crimea, adversaries of Muscovy are always described in strikingly dark colours, as typical "gangster states". On the contrary, the conquest of the Muslim Turkic lands by the Tsarist Russia is always presented as a "positive, progressive act" and the Turkic writers, philosophers or political leaders are judged exclusively by their attitude toward Russia and the Russians. The "bad guys", who did not love the Russians and did not accept their rule simply disappear from history. Such is, for instance, the case of "the father of the jadid reformist movement", greatest Muslim political thinker of the XIXth century, Ismail bey Gasprali, and of almost all Tatar jadids. In the same way all recent anti-Russian or anti-Soviet popular movements, for instance the Daghestani-Chechen uprising in 1921 or the Basmachi movement are completely falsified and presented as "feudal-clerical" movement inspired by foreign imperialism...

Such are the main difficulties of our research, but the interest for the forgotten Turkic world is fastly growing among the scholars and among the political leaders of the entire world. I hope therefore that inspite of all the obstacles and difficulties, our field of research will continue to attract more and more young scholars, particularly in this country.



NATIONALITY	NUMBER	AREA	RELIGION
ÖZBEKS	12.446.000	Central Asia	Sunni Muslims, Shia minorities
KAZAKHS	6.556.000	Central Asia	Sunni Muslims
TATARS	6.317.000	Volga-Ural and diaspora	Sunni Muslims and Christian Orthodox minority
AZERIS	5.477.000	Eastern Trans Caucasus	(Kriashens) Sunni Muslims (25%), Shia (75%)
TURKMENS	2.028.000	Central Asia	Sunni Muslims
KIRGHIZ	1.906.000	Central Asia	Sunni Muslims
CHUVASH	1.751.000	Middle Volga	Orthodox Christian
BASHKIRS	1.371.000	Ural	Sunni Muslims
YAKUTS	328.000	Siberia	Orthodox Christian and Animists
KARAKALPAK	303.000	Central Asia	Sunni Muslims
KUMYKS	228.000	North Caucasus	Sunni Muslims
UYGHURS	211.000	Central Asia	Sunni Muslims
GAGAUZ	173.000	Moldavia	Orthodox Christian
KARACHAIS	131.000	North Caucasus	Sunni Muslims
"TURKS"	93.000	(Deported diaspora)	Sunni Muslims
KHAKASS	71.000	Siberia	Animist and Orthodox Christian
BALKAR	66.000	North Caucasus	Christian
NOGAY	60.000	North Caucasus	Sunni Muslims
ALTAYANS	60.000	Siberia	Sunni Muslims
SHORS	16.000	Siberia	Buddhist and Animist
KARAITS	3.000	Crimea and diaspora	Animist
TOTAL	39.593.000	Today (1986)	Jewish heterodox around 50 million

Source Material on the History of Eastern Turkistan

Dr. Mehmet SARAY (Associate Professor)

The source material on the history of Eastern Turkistan may be considered in three categories: (1) Chinese sources, (2) Turkish sources, and (3) other sources which mainly consist of studies in modern times.

The Chinese sources, though the most important, are the least known, and hence used least in Turkey; mainly because we lack Sinologists who would commit themselves to long years of arduous work of translating the relevant Chinese material into Turkish. We, in Turkey, are looking forward for devoted scholars who would spend five to ten years of their lives in learning the Chinese language, and the rest of it in rendering the relevant material into Turkish. By now we should have been less dependent on French, German or English translations of the Chinese source material, which unfortunately are mostly incomplete and contain erroneous interpretations. This problem is valid not only in connection with the history of Eastern Turkistan but also in the case of the early phase of general history of the Turks.

The situation relevant to the usage of Turkish source material, which mostly comprise of Uygur text and inscriptions, is much more distressing. Rendering the Turkish source material into modern Turkish is still a far cry. While only a few specialists in reading the Uygur inscriptions could be trained so far, their expertise could not be efficiently used either. Equally regrettable is the fact that not all of the known Uygur text could yet be made available in Turkey, let alone making any serious effort for recovery and translation of those still to be unearthed.

In the category of Turkish source material, there are works by Eastern Turkistani authors too. The indigenous sources, mostly written in Arabic and Persian, and a few in Uygur, also have not so far been translated into modern Turkish. Prominent among the indigenous works is "Tarikh-i Rashidi" by Mirza Muhammed Haidar Duglat. It is the most important source of Eastern Turkistan's history during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, as it contains detailed account of the events in Eastern Turkistan and adjoining territories between 1321-1546. It was translated

into English by Sir Denison Rose in 1895 under the title of "A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia". Its facsimile reproduction appeared in 1978. Likewise, "Tarikh-i Shah Mahmud Churas" by Mirza Shah Mahmud Cuhars, which is a continuation of Mirza Muhammed Haidar's work; "Terkize-i Xojagan", by Mahmud Sadiq Kashgari, which contains extensive information on the period of the rule of Khodja's in "Kashgaria"; and "Tarikh-i Emuniye", by Molla Musa bin Molla Isa Sayrami, which covers down to Yaqub Beg's period, are the works that await the specialists on Eastern Turkistan. Besides, "Kashgar Tarikh-i" by Mehmet Akif, and "Sharqi Turkestan Tarikhi" by Mehmet Emin Buğra, both written in later periods, also have not yet been rendered to contemporary Turkish language. These are but a few of the indigenous sources, all of which I would not be able to list here, that need to be produced in modern Turkish. Regretably, in Turkey we lack scholars having the will as well as the means to undertake the task. And more deplorable is the fact that no serious initiative is in sight to attend to the problem. Translation of the works of foreign scholars, particularly those of Russian and British scholars, on the history of Eastern Turkistan have likewise been neglected. Among such works that should be translated into Turkish, we may note "Vostochnyi ili Kitaiskil (Eastern or Chinese Turkistan)" by V. V. Grigoriev; "Kashgaria", by A. N. Kuroptakin, and "Kashgaria ili Vostochnyi Turkestan... (Kashgaria or Eastern Turkistan)", by Kornilov. Similarly, the reports of A. Stein's archeological expeditions in Eastern Turkistan should be translated into Turkish as soon as possible. "Preliminary Report of a Journey of Archeological and Topographical Exploration in Chinese Turkistan" and "Ancient Khotan - Detailed Report of Archeological Explorations in Chinese Turkistan" bear much significance in studying the history of Eastern Turkistan. Of equal significance are S. Hedin's reports including "Reports from the Scientific Expedition to North-Festern Provinces of China - History of Expedition in China, 1927-1935".

Britain being a "Big Power" concerned with Russian and Chinese influence in Eastern Tur-

kistan, there is a rich stock of British books as well as published and unpublished archive material of vital value on Eastern Turkistan. Photocopies of them should be acquired from the Public Record Office and the India Office, where they are mainly preserved.

In addition, there is a rather long list of books that need to be translated into Turkish as soon as possible, such as "Pivot of Asia" and "Inner Asian Frontiers of China" by O. Lattimore, "The History of Kashgaria" by H. W. Bellow; "Report of a Mission to Yarkand", by T. D. Forsyth; "Visit to High Tatory, Yarkand and Kashgar"; and "The History

of Khojas of Eastern Turkistan", by R.B. Shaw; "Chinese Central Asia", by C. P. Skrine; "China and Inner Asia: From 1368 to the Present Day", by M. Rossabi; and "Eastern Turkistan from the Moghul Adaptation of Islam to the Chinese Revolution", by J. F. Fletcher.

Besides the British and Russian works mentioned above, there are several works published in French and German in particular, which contain extensive information relevant to the history of Eastern Turkistan. These we shall discuss in our future articles.

NEWS



PAKISTAN-ENTREPRENEURS INVITED FOR JOINT VENTURES IN EASTERN TURKISTAN

China has invited Pakistani entrepreneurs to set up joint ventures in different fields, including the hotel industry, in Eastern Turkistan. The Chinese government will provide official protection to the capital invested by Pakistani investors. (Karachi home service, 12 Jun 86)

NEW OIL WELLS IN EASTERN TURKISTAN

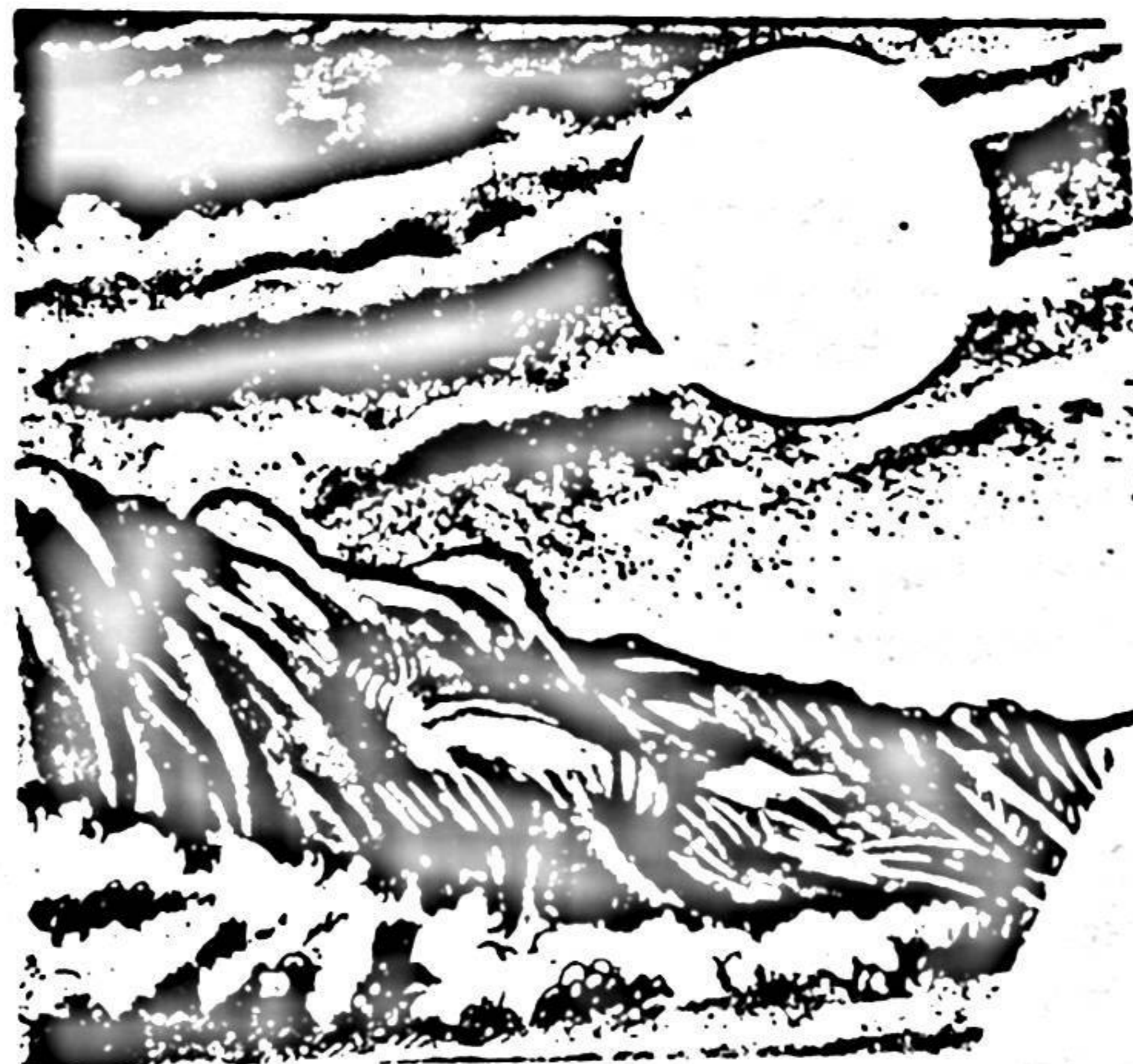
Ten new oil wells sunk in the northern Junggar basin have gone into trial operation as part of the Karamay oilfield (Xinhua, 23 May 86)

EASTERN TURKISTAN'S COTTON EXPORTS

Cotton exports from Eastern Turkistan in 1985 were almost five times the total for 1982. The region became the country's third largest exporter of cotton after it sold more than 20,000 tons to 11 countries and regions in 1985 (Xinhua, 17 Jun 1986)

EASTERN TURKISTAN GOLD PRODUCTION

Gold Production in Eastern Turkistan increased 35% in the first half of the year over the same period in 1985. The Chinese government does not report amounts of gold production. A major source of China's gold, 56 of the 86 cities and counties in Eastern Turkistan are rich in gold reserves and more than 10,000 people work in its gold mining industry. (Xinhua, 6 Sep. 1986)



Eastern Turkistan's Muslims Fight Assimilation Moves

Among the most hopeful signs for Muslim minorities in China in the last few years has been the emergence in the early 1980s of new policies for the substantial number of mainly Turkic Muslims in Eastern Turkistan province (see Arabia, December 1984). This historic territory may be a far-flung outpost of Islam to some, but few would deny that it has been for several centuries the strategic pivot of Asia. Connected to the Russian and Afghan parts of the larger Turkistan, Eastern Turkistan is a potential catalyst for change for the whole region and, by implication, for the mighty empires which contain and surround it.

Is this promising picture fading? The latest information from Eastern Turkistan suggests new policies which originally caused considerable optimism among the Muslims there are being abandoned or reversed.

What makes these departures surprising is that they formed the basis for more productive cooperation between the dominant Han Chinese and Muslim minorities at a time when Chinese perceptions of the threat from Soviet actions in Central Asia particularly from Afghanistan, had increased significantly. The new policies of the early 1980s appeared designed to meet this threat by giving China's own Muslim minorities greater power in their own regions and by setting in motion economic forces which would improve living standards. Happy Muslim minorities in China, it was thought, would make poor targets for Soviet propaganda which seeks to destabilise the region for its own purposes.

The new social and economic policies, by their very nature, could only be effective over the long term, although some immediate gains, especially in agriculture, were evident. It is hard to imagine even the most sanguine Chinese planner believing that the brutal imperial legacy of their subjugation of these minorities could be quickly washed away, regardless of how benevolent the new measures were. The memory of oppressed peoples is usually long, and within empires it tends to be constantly reinforced. Most Turkic Muslims of Eastern Turkistan remain deeply suspicious of Chinese intentions, if not openly hostile, despite some social and economic gains. The problem for the Chinese is, in many respects, as much one of generations as it is of specific policies.

But what of the new policies? Eastern Turkistanis travelling outside their country have recently had some revealing, and occasionally, chilling tales to tell. Take the sensitive issue of inter-marriage of Muslims and Han, for example. Prior to 1980, Chinese law specifically forbade such marriages. This law has now been rescinded, and inter-marriage is officially encouraged. Incentives are said to include cash payments to Han girls to relocate in remote villages where they are expected to catch a Muslim husband. To make them more physically appealing to a potential Uighur or Kazak spouse, the young Han women often undergo plastic surgery at the government's expense. Young Muslim men are also promised cash payments and better jobs in the cities if they marry Chinese girls. Children of these marriages are always registered as Chinese.

Another very personal liberty that also appears to have been taken away is the right to large families. "Planned parenthood", that is, state intervention in the act of childbearing, has been practised in Eastern Turkistan since the mid-1970s, but only among the Han Chinese. Turkic Muslim minorities have until recently been conspicuously and publicly exempt from strong population control measures aimed at bringing down China's birthrate. Now the concept of one-child families is being urged on the Turkic Muslims, who traditionally opt for larger families of five or more children. Currently Chinese public documents claim that planned parenthood programmes are voluntary and that objectives can be attained through "education and propaganda". Eastern Turkistanis doubt, however, that the Chinese authorities will let it rest at that.

Arguably the most sensitive issue between the Eastern Turkistanis and the Chinese is the Chinese emigration from the interior to Turkistan. The complaint from minorities — who usually constitute majorities in their own regions, at least before the Han arrive — that dominant nationalities are flooding their territories and diluting their national culture is a common one in the context of empires. In the case of Eastern Turkistan native Muslims estimate that Han Chinese are being moved into their region at the rate of at least 200,000 a year. Already some parts of Eastern Turkistan including several important cities

which traditionally have had native majorities, now have Han majorities, and the trend is increasing. In the past three decades, the number of Han Chinese in Eastern Turkistan has increased from about six per cent to more than forty per cent today.

At stake is more than the clash of two strongly contentious national cultures. What riles Muslims most is that the Chinese are taking all of the good jobs, especially those in the developing high-technology and manufacturing industries. They see the Chinese rush to exploit Eastern Turkistan's vast resources — gold, uranium, copper, coal and oil among other strategic deposits — as a flagrant act of imperialism. Moreover, by sending in their own work force the Chinese conveniently delay the day when they will have to spend heavily to develop native human potential in a variety of highly-skilled areas.

After paying a lot of lip-service and an occasional worthy gesture to the concept of federal power-sharing with the Muslim and other minorities of the Chinese state, Beijing has once again fallen back on the classic colonial practice of placing natives in public positions while retaining real power in the hands of Chinese sent in from the mainland. Eastern Turkistan's Turkic Muslims explain these apparent turn-about as Machiavellian. "When the Han were still trying to recover from their disastrous Cultural Revolution and wanted to secure their frontier, they promised us everything and even gave us a few scraps," a Uighur intellectual remarked recently. Another echoed this sentiment and asked, "What can they possibly be thinking in Beijing?" adding, "We are told that the new leadership is sophisticated, many were even persecuted during the Cultural Revolution themselves. But how can what they are doing in Eastern Turkistan be thought of as enlightened? With a few concessions, our grievances would lessen considerably. As it is now, they cannot count on the loyalty of our people. For the Chinese, this frontier with the Soviets is anything but secure, and the fools in Beijing who are making policy for our people are only making it worse."

But what concessions? In addition to returning to the policies of the early 1980s mentioned earlier, two other measures seem to be on everyone's mind. The first is practical: limit the flow of Chinese into Eastern Turkistan and segregate those who do come into their own cities. In fact, at least one well-known city in northern Eastern Tur-

kistan is made up largely of people with manufacturing skills from Shanghai. Here would seem to be a model to examine. The second concession is purely symbolic: change the name of Eastern Turkistan back to Eastern Turkistan. What could possibly be wrong with "The Eastern Turkistan" Autonomous Region"? This bit of symbolism by itself would improve Han Muslim relations.

A new and more delicate issue could bring all of this to a head. The Chinese have brought more than their people and culture to Eastern Turkistan: they have also brought a nuclear testing ground. Recent evidence strongly suggests that radioactivity has been poorly confined to the test area, at Lop Nor in the Gobi Desert. Since 1976 statistics of early death and cancer among Muslim adults and deformities in new-born children have piled up. Some crops on the edge of the test area are withering. The Chinese admit that some kind of problem exists, but they are reticent to pin blame directly on their nuclear tests.

Several large demonstrations against the nuclear fallout threat have been staged by Muslims recently in Urumqi and the Beijing itself. Last December, for example, Urumqi was the site of the mass demonstrations specifically against further nuclear testing, but it would be truer to say the demonstrators' anger was with Han encroachment on Muslim life. Chinese sources put the number of demonstrators at 10,000-15,000 on each demonstration. Eastern Turkistanis who witnessed them or took part claim nearly 100,000. On 23 December, up to one thousand Muslim students from Eastern Turkistan marched on Tiananmen Square in the centre of Beijing to protest against further nuclear tests in their homeland.

The Muslims of Eastern Turkistan are learning the international vocabulary of protest. Talk of nuclear accidents brings visions of United Nations's committees, international tribunals and foreign anti-nuclear groups. This is the kind of international attention Chinese policy cannot withstand. Chinese leaders have done much to improve their public image throughout the world in the past five years. If international public opinion perceives that the Chinese are exposing hapless colonial subjects to their nuclear testing this new image will not last long. The answer to this tricky public relations problem is less teting and less colonialism.

(Arabia, June 1986)

ACUPUNCTURE

Dr. Mehmet Yakub BUĞRA

Dr. Mehmet Yakub BUĞRA was born in 1928 in the city of Hotan in Eastern Turkistan. He finished his secondary education in India in 1947 and graduated from the University of Sincang in 1956. Between the years 1956 and 1967 he majored in the fields of Internal Diseases and Acupuncture. He also studied the nature of such herbs as are used in the treatment of diseases. Until 1976 he was a doctor at the State Hospital of Hotan.

In June 1976 he came to Turkey, where he settled. Now Turkish by nationality, he has been acknowledged by the Ministry of Health as a qualified doctor. In the 10th International Congress of Acupuncture and Laser held in Spain in April 27, 1986, he was awarded the title of "Doctor of Philosophy".

Acupuncture has recently been approved and widely practised by European practitioners. This form of therapy which is surprisingly effective has received much public attention in Turkey, where it has been referred to as the "Chinese Wonder". The universal conception of acupuncture as a therapy which originated in China is however groundless, for history tells us that the said therapy was first practised by the Uigur Turks.

The Turkish and Chinese peoples lived in close contact with each other for a long time, the one dominating the other at times. It was through living together with the Turks that the Chinese came to learn the fundamentals of acupuncture, a technique they have since then perfected.

In such written works as they have left behind, ancient Indian, Tibetan, and Chinese practitioners describe the Uigur doctors as very competent and efficient. Ancient Chinese sources, on the other hand, refer to the Eastern Turkistan, then the Turkish motherland, as 'the country in the west'.

In the 'Tangname', written by the Tang family in 905 B.C., the Chinese historian Do-yu states that he was amazed to see an Uigur doctor carrying out a brain operation.

In excavations supervised by German archaeologists in 1920 at the ancient capital of Idikut (now Turfan), significant written works which are revelatory of the Uigur medical science were unearthed. These works, or what has remained of them, are now kept in museums in Berlin, Tokyo, Leningrad and Pekin. Of these works the one named 'Altın Yuoruk' (The Golden Yuoruk) is considered to be an invaluable historical document because it illustrates the ways in which certain illnesses can be diagnosed and treated (see figure 1).

Before examining these documents let us turn our attention to an atlas which shows the points of acupuncture as they are known today.

Figure 2: This is the 'Atlas of the Points of Acupuncture on the Fourteen Meridians', published in 1977 by the Chinese Acupuncture Research Center. The 365 points ranged on an imaginary meridian are known by the special names they have been given.

Figure 3: Now kept among the collection of the museum of Berlin, this document depicts a half naked body marked with numerous dots. Explanatory notes are in the language of Uigur.



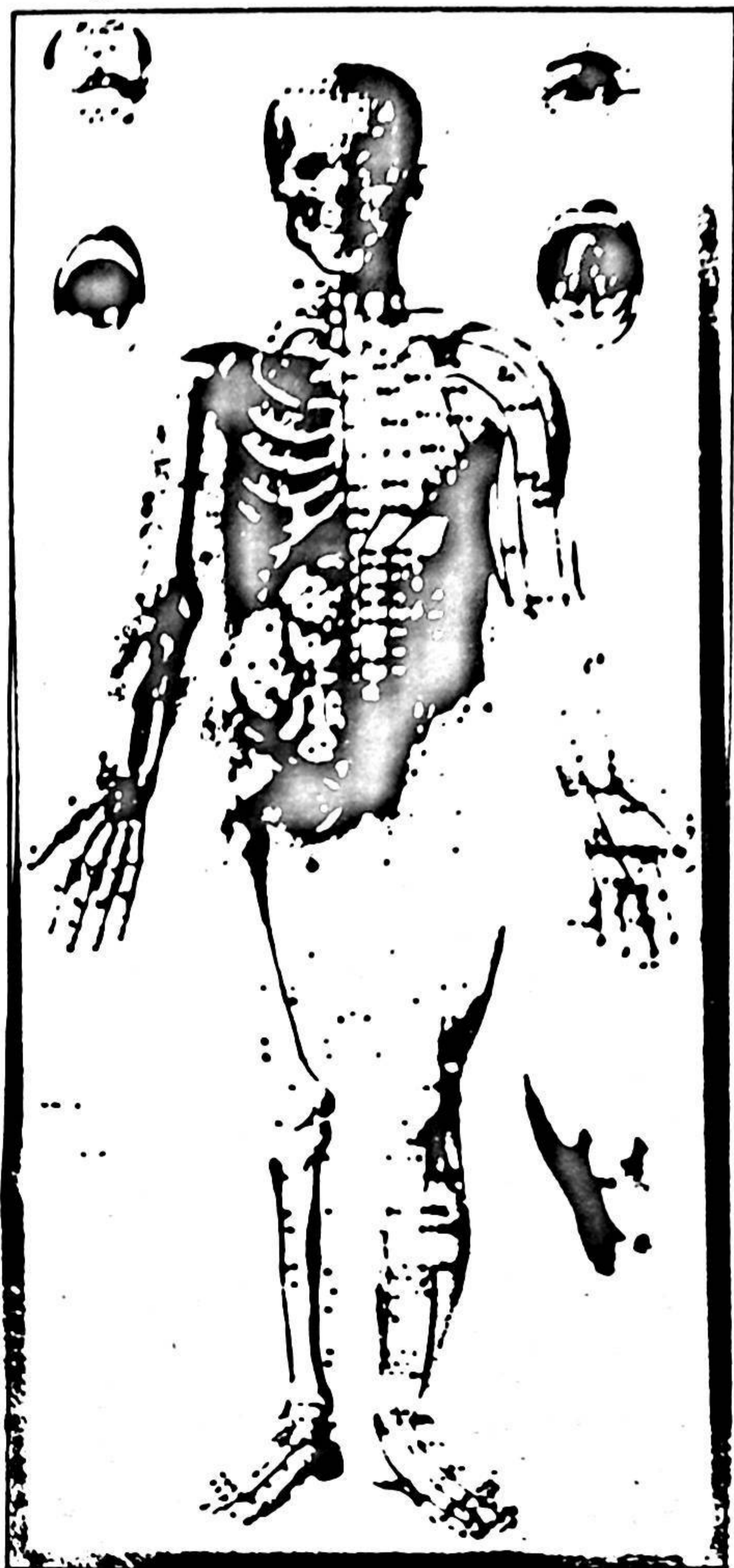
Figure 4: This document depicts a similar figure. Looking at these figures one feels no doubt that the dots with which the bodies have been marked are points of acupuncture.

Figure 5: This has been taken from 'Huang Fumi', one of the earliest works on acupuncture written in China between 256-260 B.C.

The meaning of such explanatory notes as the third and the fourth figures have been provided

with have barely been deciphered. Part of the meaning of such notes as the fourth figure is provided with is as follows:

(1) On the head..... (*) (2) On the breast, on the hands..... (**) (4-7) In case of fever..... (***)
Two fingers below the heart.



A carving that was found in 1979 in excavations carried out in Song-Tiasang is supposed to depict the first illustration of an acupuncture operation.

Figure 6: This figure shows a man (whose body resembles that of a bird) in the act of inserting a needle into the body of a patient. A closer examination of this figure reveals the fact that the practitioner, a man with a high nose and an original clothing, is an Uigur Turk. This is itself proof that acupuncture was first practised by a Turkish doctor.



These documents bring home the verifiable suggestion that the Uigur Turks practised acupuncture earlier than the Chinese.

It has been pointed out already that ancient Chinese sources refer to the Uigur motherland as the country in the west. The Chinese now call the same region 'the Sincang Uigur Independent Territory'. Such antique sculptures and paintings as have been unearthed in archaeological excavations carried out along the Silk Road depict diverse human figures that are easily identifiable as Chinese or Turkish. Chinese archaeologists have described in detail the physical characteristics and dressing habits of the respective races. The Uigur man has a high nose, a heavy and black beard, and wears a clothing similar to the one worn by the Oghuz Turks.

In 1960 the Chinese government formed a research group (of which I was a member) with a view to having the Uigur medical science investigated. Later, this group disunited and a new group led by a Chinese scientist was formed in 1979, the year in which the Grand Chinese Encyclopedia was prepared. During their researches, the members of this group visited several museums and supervised numerous archaeological excavations. They finally gave to the Research Center a written account of their researches, under the title of 'A Short History of Uigur National Medicine'. I would like now to reproduce certain parts of the said account.

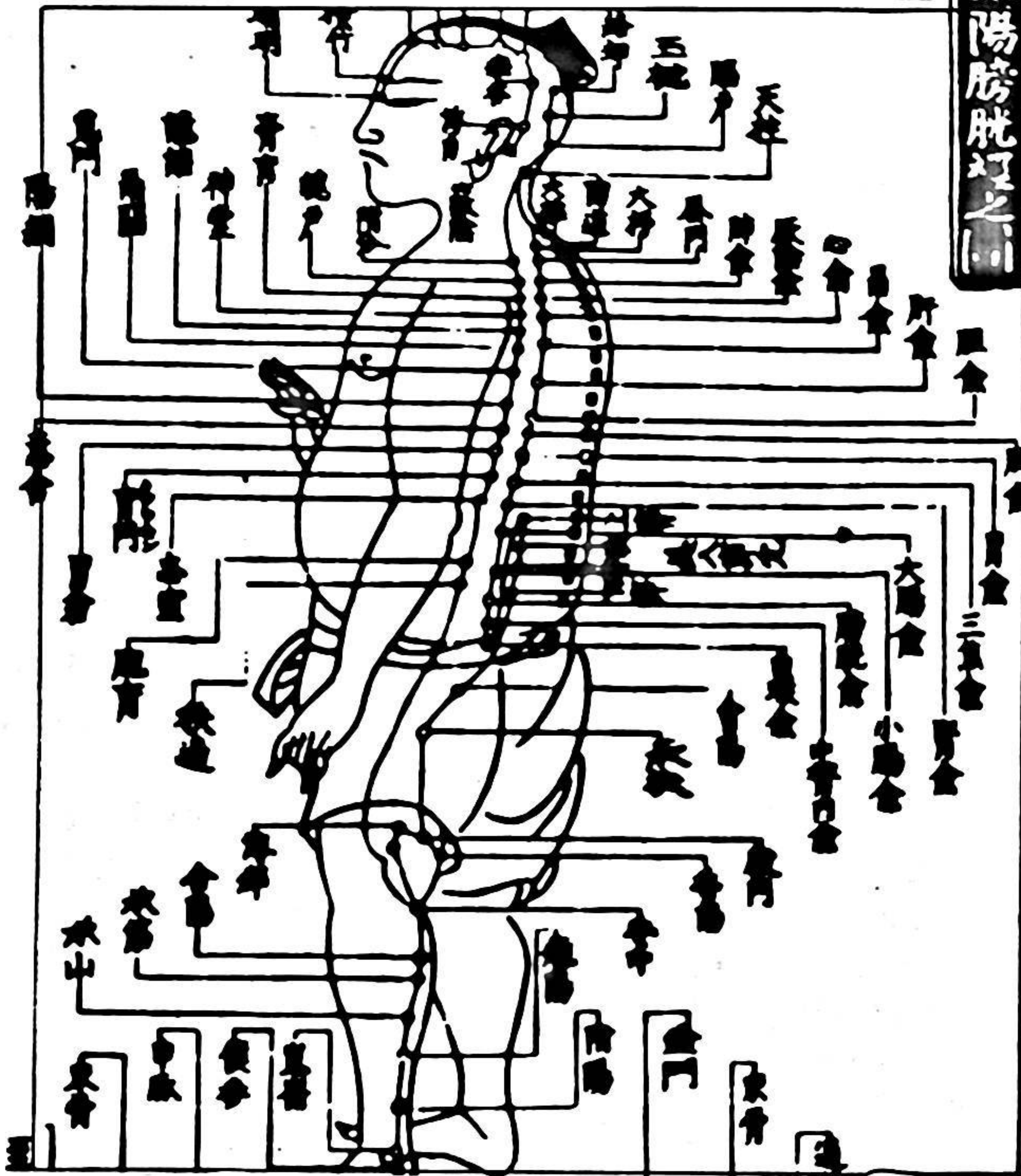
A— "In the Chinese ancient Medical History book, Huan-Yuanzey's chapter on Western Co-



untry is recorded a paragraph saying; They had also made bone needles to use in treatment".

足太陽膀胱經之圖

needle made of bone that had been unearthed in an excavation carried out at Timasar. It is an es-



B— "Some stone instruments like sharp scrapers, stone plate and bone needles were found in a archaeological excavation and Jimsar, Guc-hong, Hotan and Turfan districtes".

C— "There were also found some bone needles and a stone instrument in Jimsar on a archaeological excavation in 1983".

As I was visiting Hotan in 1983, I was shown a

established fact now that such needles were used by Uigur doctors practising acupuncture.
(*) (**) (***) They can't be read in original book.