

EASTERN TURKESTAN:

**AN ANALYSIS
OF
THE NEW TRENDS**

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INTRODUCTION

The motherland of the Turkic peoples is Turkestan. The name "Turkestan" is Iranian in origin; the term, which means "The Land of the Turkic Peoples", dates back to 7th century.

The western part of Turkestan was gradually conquered by Tsarist Russia in 1865, it then became known as Western Turkestan. After the formation of USSR in 1922, Western Turkestan was divided into five republics called Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan. The eastern part of Turkestan was invaded by the Manchu rulers of China in 1876. Subsequently, Eastern Turkestan was called Xinjiang or Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region by the Chinese.

LOCATION

Eastern Turkestan lies in the heart of Asia. It borders on Western Turkestan to the northwest; the Mongolian Peoples Republic to the northeast; Afghanistan to the southwest; Pakistan, India and Tibet to the south; and China in the east.

AREA

The area of Eastern Turkestan is 1.6 million square kilometers, which constitute about one-sixth of the total area of China, including Chinese colonies like Tibet and Inner Mongolia.

MOUNTAINS

Of the five gigantic mountain ranges in Asia, Eastern Turkestan has three: the Altay, the Tangri Tagh (Celestial of Heavenly Mountain), and the Karanlik Tagh (Kunlun Mountain). Tangri Tagh, runs through the middle of the country and divides Eastern Turkestan into two parts—northern Eastern Turkestan and southern Eastern Turkestan. Between the northern slope of the Tangri Tagh and the southern piedmont of the Altay Mountains, the Jungarian Basin is located. On the other side of the Tangri Tagh is situated the Tarim Basin.

RIVERS AND LAKES

The important rivers in the Jungaria are Ili, Manas, Bulungir, Hurungudu and Kara Irtish Rivers. The important lakes in this area are the Sayram, Ebinur, Manas and the Ulungur Lakes. In the Tarim Basin the most important river is the Tarim. It is the largest inland river, flows over 2100 kilometers along the north edge of the Taklamakan desert eastward to the Lop Nor and furnishes irrigation water to the people who live here. The other important rivers in the Tarim Basin are the Hoten, Karakash, Yarkent and the Kashgar Rivers. The most important lakes in this region are the Lop Nor, Baghrash, and Barkol Lakes.

DESERTS

The Kurban Tangut Desert is situated in the Jungarian Basin, once the bed of a great inland sea. The famous Taklamakan Desert is in the Tarim Basin, once a vast inland sea at the center of the Tarim Basin. The alluvial plain, partly covered by sand dunes, was deposited by rivers from the Pamirs, Tangri Tagh and Karanlik Yagh. Forty rivers still flow into it with an annual flow of 38,500 million cub. m. The desert surface can reach 70-80 C. at noon and fall to zero at night the same day. The Gobi desert is mainly in Mongolia, bounded by the Altay Mountains on the north, the Tangri Tagh on the west, the Mongolian steppes on the east and the Tibetan plateau on the south.

CLIMATE

In Eastern Turkestan, where the great portion of the land is dry and sandy, the success and well-being of the whole agricultural population is bound up with the amount of rainfall, its seasonal distribution and its reliability.

Eastern Turkestan has a continental climate. During the day it is very hot and during the night it is quite cool. Summers are hot and winters are cold. The average temperature in summer is around 30 degrees Centigrade. In winter it is around minus 16 degrees Centigrade. The hottest place in Eastern Turkestan is Turfan, which has 33.7 degrees Centigrade. This is the place noted as a "fire district" (Ho-chu) in Chinese history.

RAINFALL

Rainfall is meagre throughout Eastern Turkestan. The average rainfall in the northern part of Eastern Turkestan is 150-300 millimetres. In the south it is around 100 millimetres.

ECONOMY

The Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan adopted a sedentary life style earlier than the other Turkic peoples. Thus, they knew how to cultivate land as early as 2nd century A.D. The Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan engaged in a much more advanced agriculture by the 7th century.

Eastern Turkestan is rich in uranium, platinum, gold, silver, iron, lead, copper, sulphur, tin, mica, emeralds, coal and petroleum.

Eastern Turkestan, which is rich in non-ferrous mineral resources, boasts about 600 confirmed mineral deposits.

According to geologists' reports, Eastern Turkestan has coal deposits of 1,600 billion tons. (1)

Chinese competent authorities report that the three large basins of Jungar, Tarim and Turpan in Eastern Turkestan are estimated to contain one-third of China's total oil reserves.

In 1988 over 700 square kilometers of oil-bearing areas and 11 oilfields were found. These include 800 million tons of thin and thick oil and 30 billion cubic meters of natural gas.(2)

By year 2000, confirmed oil deposits in Eastern Turkestan are expected to reach 6.5 billion tones, in addition to 10,000 billion cubic meters of natural gas. (3)

Eastern Turkestan has grasslands with a total of 760 million mu, which can feed 60 million heads of livestock.(4)

The number of livestock in Eastern Turkestan is estimated at about 33 million. (5)

COMMUNICATION

Eastern Turkestan has more than 24,000 km of highways linking it to China, Pakistan, Tibet and Western Turkestan.

The 2,000 km-long Lanzhou - Urumchi railway opened to traffic in 1962. Another railway designed to go southward from Urumchi already has 400 km in use. Construction of the 500 km-long railway linking Urumchi and Alma-Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan Soviet Socialist Republic began in May 1985 and is expected to be completed in 1992.

There are regular air services from Urumchi to other cities of Eastern Turkestan like Ili, Karamay, Altay, Korla, Aksu, Kashgar, and Hoten. There are also regular air services linking Urumchi with the Chinese cities like Beijing, Guangzhou, Shanghai, Xian and Lanzhou. In 1986, Eastern Turkestan opened an air service linking Urumchi and Istanbul, Turkey.

POPULATION

The number of people living in Eastern Turkestan is a matter of considerable debate. No satisfactory census of population has ever been made. According to the latest Chinese census the present population of Eastern Turkestan

is slightly over 13 million. (6) Out of this, Uygurs are 6 million, Kazakhs 1 million, Kirghiz 150 thousand, Uzbeks 15 thousand, Tatars 5 thousand, Tajiks 30 thousand, the ethnic Manchus 90 thousand and the remainder of the population is Chinese. But the independent sources estimate the Turkic Muslim population of Eastern Turkestan to be 25 million.

RELIGION

Prior to Islam, the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan believed in religions like Shamanism, Buddhism and Manicheism. Buddhism entered Eastern Turkestan at the beginning of our era. It quickly spread among the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan.

The ruins of famous monasteries known as the Ming Oy or the Thousand Buddhas built by the Turkic peoples can still be seen in the cities of Kucha, Turfan and Dunhuang, where the Kanchou Uygurs lived.

The Turkic King Kul Bilge Khan (685-712) ordered a Buddhist monastery to be built in the city of Bay in Eastern Turkestan. In the city of Kucha, there were more than 50 Buddhist temples, libraries and welfare institutions for the support of the poor. (7) In the city of Huyen there were 14 large monasteries without counting the smaller ones. (8)

The Turkic people of Eastern Turkestan embraced Islam in 934, during the reign of Satuk Bughra Khan, the Karakhanid ruler. He took the Islamic name Abdulkarim, thus becoming Abdulkarim Satuk Bughra Khan. Abdulkarim Satuk Bughra Khan was the first Turkic ruler who embraced Islam in Central Asia. At this time, instead of temples, mosques were built. Almost 300 mosques were built only in the city of Kashghar. (9) Among them are the Azna Mosque, built in 12th century, Idgah Mosque built in 15th century and the Appak Khoja Mosque, built in 18th century. (10) The Idgah Mosque can accommodate 5000 Muslims for prayer. (11) In the city of Kashgar alone there were 6 big Madrasahs. (12) The Mesudi Library built in the 15th century, had a collection of almost 200,000 books. (13) Hundreds of Muslim students from various parts of the Islamic World came to Kashgar to study.

Imam Hussain Halef of Kashgar was the Turkic Muslim scholar in Eastern Turkestan who translated the Holy Koran into the Turkic language in the 12th century. (14)

After embracing Islam Abdulkarim Satuk Bughra Khan spent 22 years Islamizing the Turkic peoples living in the cities of Yarkent, Hoten and Ugrak in Southern Eastern Turkestan. (15)

After the death of Abdulkarim Satuk Bughra Khan in 955 A.D., the descendants marched north, south, east and west of Central Asia to spread the Islamic belief, cultural and civilization.

Harun Musa Khan, the grandson of Abdulkarim Satuk Bughra Khan, got the title of "Shihab Al-Dawlah" or the Supporter of the Holy Religious Call, which was engraved on the coins in Iraq in the year 992 A.D. (16) In the year 993, Harun Bughra Khan marched into western part of Turkestan upto Amuderya spreading Islam. In the year 1043 A.D. descendants of Abdulkarim Satuk Bughra Khan were able to win over 10 thousand Kirghiz tents. (17) During the rule of Khizir Khoja, the Turkic peoples living under the rule of Kara Khoja Uygur Kingdom in the area of Turfan, Urumchi, and Kumul were Islamized. (18)

LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

At the end of the 19th century and the first decades of the twentieth century, scientific and archaeological expeditions to the region along the Silk Route in Eastern Turkestan led to the discovery of numerous cave temples, monastery ruins, wall paintings, miniatures, statues, frescoes, valuable manuscripts, documents and books. Members of the expedition from Great Britain, Sweden, Russia, Germany, France and Japan were amazed by the art treasure found there, and soon detailed reports captured attention of an interested public around the world. The relics of these rich Turkic cultural remnants brought back by Sven Hedin of Sweden, Aurel Stein of Great Britain, Albert von Lecog of Germany, Paul Pelliot of France, Langdon Warner of United States and Count Ottani of Japan can be seen today in the Museums of Berlin, London, Paris, Tokyo, Leningrad and even in the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities in New Delhi. (19) The manuscripts, documents and the books discovered in Eastern Turkestan proved that the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan had a very rich civilization compared to the European of the Middle Ages. (20)

LANGUAGE

The main language spoken in Eastern Turkestan is Turkic. Among western linguists, the term "Eastern Turkish" is also widely in use for the language spoken in Eastern Turkestan. Eastern Turkish represents one of the dialects of the widely defused Turkic language family.

SCRIPT

Throughout the centuries, the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan used three kinds of scripts. When they were confederated with the Kok Turks in the 6th and 7th centuries, they used the Orkhun script. The Orkhun script was actually a Kok Turk invention. (21) Later, the Turkic peoples

of Eastern Turkestan dropped this script and adopted the Uygur script. (22) This script was used not only by the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan, but also by other Turkic peoples, the Mongols, and by the Manchus in the early stage of their rule in China. (23) After embracing Islam in the 10th century, the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan adopted the Arabic alphabet, but common usage of the Arabic script came only in the 11th century.

LITERATURE

The first Turkic literary works were mostly translations of Buddhist and Manicheist religious books. Besides that, during the scientific and archaeological expeditions to Eastern Turkestan at the end of 19th century and the first few decades of the 20th century, narrative, poetic and epic works were also discovered. Some of these works have been translated into German, English and Russian. (24)

Well known Turkic scholars between 8th and 9th centuries were Aprinchur Tegin, Kol Tarhan, Sinku Seli Tutuny, Kelime Keyshi, Pratyashiri, Ki-ki, Asif Tutung, Chisya Tutung etc.

Some important works in this period are Irk Beting, The Tale of Chastani Beg, and Altun Yaruk etc.

After embracing Islam the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan continued to preserve their cultural dominance in Central Asia.

In this period, hundreds of Turkic scholars, also well known in the world, emerged. Hundreds of valuable books were written. One hundred and thirty of these important works were discovered later. Some of these works including Turkic scholar Yusuf Has Hajip's book entitled Kutatku Bilikh, Mahmud Kashgari's Divan-i Lugat-i Turk and Ahmet Yukneki's Atabetul Hakayik, are world famous.

Yusuf Has Hajip's Kutatku Bilik was written in 1069-1070. It is a unique example of a work that explains social, cultural and political life of the Turkic people during this period. Mahmud Kashgari's Divan-i Lugat-i Turk, which was also written in this age, bears witness as to the dialects of various Turkic peoples living at that time. It also gives information about the dialectical differences, their social upbringing, their customs as well as the regions they inhabited. The author of this encyclopaedic dictionary travelled among all Turkic peoples before compiling his work, studied all the data and then created his work on an academic basis. Mahmud Kashgari's work is one of the main sources for Turkic studies in the world

today. The discovery of Ahmet Yukneki's Atabetul Hakayik or Hibetul Hakayik showed that Kutatku Bilik was not an isolated case.

This civilization, evolved among the Turkic Muslims of Eastern Turkestan gave birth to great Turkic scholars and writers such as Abdulfazil Mohammed bin Omer, Mirza Mahmud Churasi, Mevlana Hashim Yarkandi, Mevlana Mohammad Avaz Sadreddin Karakash, Hirkati, Zelili, Nobeti, Abdurahim Nizari, Ziayi, Said Muhammad Kashi, Turdi Garibi, Bilal Nazim, Abdulkadir Aziz and Kutluk Shevki. All these scholars and writers lived between 10th and 19th centuries.

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century the rise of national independence movements brought about wide-ranging changes in people's self-perceptions and gave birth to ideas of freedom, independence and democracy.

The developments were quite naturally reflected in the literature too. Thus, a new period began in Uygur literature; a new literature, new in form, language, imagery and style began to appear.

This modern Uygur literature may be divided into three periods. In the first period (1915-1940) Abdulkadir Aziz, Kutluk Sheviki, Armiye Ali, Ahmet Ziyai, Abdulaziz Mehsum and Lutfullah Mutallip need to be mentioned.

The important literary figures of second period (1940-1950) were Mesut Sabri Baykuzi, Mehmet Emin Bughra, Ziya Samedi, Sattar Makbulchoban, Inayetullah, Ibrahim Kurban, Nimshehit, Zunnun Kadiri, Teyip Jan Ali, Turgun Almas, Abdurahim Otkur, Ibrahim Turdi, Elkam Ahmet, Abdulaziz Nazir, Tajettin Kadiri, Muhammad Rehim and Kurban Emin.

In the third period (after 1950) the following excelled: Ershiddin Tatlik, Turdi Samsak, Abdulkarim Hoja, Zohoriddin Sabir, Kayum Turdi, Sultan Mahmut, Muhammad Jan Sadik, Jabbar Ahmet, Muhammed Ali Zunnun, Ahad Turdi, Bugda Abdullah, Abdulhamit Sabir, Mahmut Zayit, Tursunay Huseyin and Dilber Kayam.

MEDICINE

The Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan had an extensive knowledge of medicine and medical practice. Sung Dynasty (906-960) sources indicate that an Uygur Physician, Nanto, travelled to China and brought with him many kinds of medicines not known to the Chinese. (25) There are 103 different herbs for use in Uygur medicine recorded in a medical compendium completed by Li Shizhen (1518-1593), a Chinese medical authority. Tatar scholar Prof. Rashid Rahmeti Arat has written

two valuable books in German entitled Zur Heilkunde der Uighuren or Medical Practices of the Uygurs in 1930 and 1932, relying on documents discovered in Eastern Turkestan. In his book Prof. Arat gives information on Uygur medicine and medical treatment. Among the documents he studied he found a very important sketch of a man with an explanation of acupuncture. Relying on this document, some Western scholars claim that acupuncture was not a Chinese, but a Uygur discovery. (26)

Traditional Uygur medicine, which can be traced back more than 2,7000 years through written records, is still very popular in Eastern Turkestan today. There are 71 hospitals employing a total of 300 doctors specializing in this field in Eastern Turkestan.

ARCHITECTURE, ART, MUSIC AND PRINTING

In other fields such as architecture, art, music and printing the Turkic peoples were also advanced. Western scholars who have studied Turkic history, culture and civilization have often expressed their high estimation of the cultural level of the Turkic peoples in Eastern Turkestan. For instance, Ferdinand de Saussure has written: "Those who preserved the language and written culture of Central Asia were the Uygurs". (27) Albert von Lecoq: "The Uygur language and script contributed to the enrichment of civilizations of the other peoples in Central Asia. Compared to the Europeans of that time the Uygurs were far more advanced. Documents discovered in Eastern Turkestan prove that an Uygur farmer could write down a contract, using legal terminology. How many European farmers could have done that at that period? This shows the extent of Uygur civilization of that time". (28) Prof. Dr. Laszlo Rasonyi: "The Uygurs knew how to print books centuries before Gutenberg invented his press". (29) Prof. Dr. Wolfram Eberhard: "In Middle Ages, the Chinese poetry, literature, theatre, music and painting were greatly influenced by the Uygurs". (30)

Chinese envoys such as Hsuan Chang, Wang Yen De and Chang Chun who travelled through Eastern Turkestan between the 7th and 13th centuries reported that they were impressed by the high degree of Turkic power, prestige and culture found in Eastern Turkestan. (31)

Wang Yen De, who served as an ambassador to the Karakhoja Uygur Kingdom between the years 981-984, wrote the following in his memoirs:

" I was impressed with the extensive civilization I have found

in the Uygur Kingdom. The beauty of the temples, monasteries, wall paintings, statues, towers, gardens, houses and the palaces built throughout the kingdom cannot be described. The Uygurs are very skilled in handicrafts made from gold and silver, vases and pottery. Some say that God has infused this talent into these people only". (32)

This Turkic power, prestige, and culture which dominated Central Asia for more than 1000 years went into a steep decline after the Manchu invasion of Eastern Turkestan, and during the rule of the Nationalist Chinese and especially under the domination of the Chinese Communists.

HISTORICAL SURVEY

From 210 B.C. on, Eastern Turkestan was within the borders of various Turkic Dynasties such as the Hun (220-B.C.- 386 A.D.), Tabgach (386-534), Kokturk (552-840), Uygur (744-840), Kara Khoja Uygur Kingdom (846-1397), Karakhanid (840-1218), and the Turkic-Mongol (1218-1759).

The Chinese, seizing opportunities created by the occasional weakening of such states, launched six major invasions on Eastern Turkestan in 104 B.C., 59 B.C., 73 A.D., 448 A.D., 657 A.D. and A.D. (33) But the first invasion was thwarted by the peoples of Eastern Turkestan in 86 B.C., the second in 10 B.C., the third in 102 A.D., the fourth in 460 A.D., the fifth in 669 A.D., and the last in 751 A.D. (34) Thus, over a period of 855 years the total period of Chinese occupation of Eastern Turkestan was only 157 years. (35) It must be also said that during these 157 years China could not establish a complete control over Eastern Turkestan because of continued resistance. Apart from these 157 years of Chinese occupation, Eastern Turkestan remained a free and independent country for 698 years. (36)

After the last defeat of the Chinese by the combined forces of Arabs, Turks and the Tibetans in 751 A.D., a period of 1000 years passed until the conquest of Eastern Turkestan by the Manchus, if we discount Mongol rule in Eastern Turkestan. (37) Mongol rule cannot be accepted as a Chinese domination of Eastern Turkestan, because the Uygurs, the local inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan, voluntarily joined the Mongol Empire, maintained their sovereignty, and played an important role throughout the empire's history. (38) On the other hand, during Mongol rule a law was adopted, according to which the Chinese were treated as the lowest caste in the empire with no rights whatsoever.

The Manchus, who set up a huge empire in China, invaded Eastern Turkestan in 1759, and dominated it until 1826. During this period the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan revolted 42

times against the Manchu rulers of China. (39) In the last revolt in 1863, the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan were successful in expelling the Manchus from their motherland, and founded an independent state under the leadership of Yakup Beg Badavlat, which lasted for 16 years. (40)

In the fear of the Tsarist Russian expansion into Eastern Turkestan, Great Britain persuaded the Manchu court to conquer Eastern Turkestan again. The money for the Manchu invasion forces was granted by the British Banks. (41)

Large forces under the overall command of the Manchu-Chinese General Zho Zhung attacked Eastern Turkestan in 1876. After this invasion, Eastern Turkestan was given the name Xinjiang, and it was annexed into the territory of the Manchu empire on 18 November 1884. (42)

In 1911, the Nationalist Chinese, under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, overthrew the Manchu ruler in China and established a republic.

The Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan, who also wanted to free themselves from foreign domination, staged several uprising against the Nationalist Chinese rule during this period. Twice, in 1933 and 1944, the Turkic peoples were successful in setting up an independent Eastern Turkestan Republic. But these independent republics were overthrown, by military intervention and political intrigues of the USSR.

In 1949 the Nationalist Chinese were defeated by the Chinese Communists, after which Eastern Turkestan fell under Chinese Communist rule. The nationalist Chinese forces in Eastern Turkestan surrendered the country without firing a single bullet. But thousands of Turkic people fought the Chinese communist invasion forces until recent years.

CHINESE POLICY IN EASTERN TURKESTAN

One Chinese regime has been called "Feudal", a second "Reactionary", and a third "Progressive", yet the policies of Feudal, Nationalist and Communist China toward the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan are, with minor differences, identical.

This policy rests on the three main principles: divide and rule, assimilate and "Da Han Chu-i" meaning the creation of a "Greater Chinese Nation".

The first administrators to practise this policy in Eastern Turkestan were Zho Zung, Commander-in-Chief of the Manchu-Chinese forces in Eastern Turkestan; Liu Ching Tang, the first Governor General; and Yuan Da Hua, who succeeded him.

These three Feudal Chinese administrators were responsible for giving Eastern Turkestan the Chinese name "Xinjiang" and its direct annexation to China. Under their administration, Eastern Turkestan was divided into four administrative regions, and the Uygurs of Eastern Turkestan, accused of being "rebellious", were subjected to a policy aimed at destroying their pride and self-respect. (43) At the same time, seeds of discord were sown among the peoples of Eastern Turkestan, and all cities, towns and countries were given Chinese name.

In an effort to completely transform Eastern Turkestan into a Chinese province, Chinese settlers were brought in from such provinces as Gansu, Hunan and Yunan.

The Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan were forced to marry Chinese, to wear Chinese dress, to show exaggerated respect to Chinese officials, and to kneel when they met a Chinese official. (44) Chinese officials were given the right to punish at their discretion the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan, to imprison them, and even to have them executed. (45) Any appeal to higher authorities by the Turkic peoples against such punishment was strictly prohibited. Any complaint about Chinese officials brought automatic punishment against those who made the complaints.

Of the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan who opposed the rule and policies of Feudal Chinese administration, more than 1,000,000 were executed. (46) About 5,00,000, fearing punishment at Chinese hands, escaped to neighbouring countries like Russia, Afghanistan and India (47), and 200,000 were transported from the southern parts of the country to the Ili Valley as forced labour, to provide food for the Manchu-Chinese troops stationed in that area, and to control Chinese interests in Central Asia. (48)

THE NATIONALIST CHINESE POLICY

In 1911 the Feudal Chinese regime in China came to an end, and the National Chinese Republic was set up.

Dr. Sun Yat Sean, founder of Nationalist China, in Article 4 of the National Development Program which he presented to the first Congress of the Kuomintang Party in 1924, admitted that there were Turkic peoples living in China, and these peoples were aboriginal inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan, and that all of them were Muslims. He stated that these peoples had a right to self-determination and that this right should be granted. (49)

After the death of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, however, power passed into the hands of Chiang Kai Shek and his clique. This group not only abrogated Article 4, but also followed a policy actively dividing and assimilating the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan, aiming to create a "Great Chinese Nation".

The theory of the Great Chinese Nation was created by Prof. Li Dung Fang. According to his theory, all nations living within the frontiers of China (Turkic, Mongol, Tibetan etc.) originally descended from a Great Chinese Nation. Therefore it is necessary and fitting that they be once again united within the framework of a Great Chinese Nation. Prof. Li Dung Fang argued that the Uygurs were descended from the Huns, and that the Huns in turn are descended from the ancient Chinese, thus all sharing a common ancestry. (5)

Chiang Kai Shek and his clique were enthusiastic supporters of Prof. Li Dung Fang's theories.

In his book China's Destiny, Chiang Kai Shek explicitly states that all nations in China are descended from a single Chinese nation (Zhunghua), and that all these nations belong to the same race, and that these nations, united in race, differ from each other in minor ways such as habit, tradition, religious belief and geographical barriers. Basically, they are members of a single stock, race and nation. (51)

When measures taken by the Chinese Governors of Eastern Turkestan such as Yang Tseng Hsin (1911-1928), Chin Shu Jen (1928-1933), Shen Shih Tsai (1934-1944) and Wu Chung Hsin (30 August 1944) are reviewed, it becomes apparent that the administrative policies they practised in this country are in total accord with the views of Chiang Kai Shek.

The Nationalist Chinese did not change these views in the slightest even after being defeated on the mainland and being obliged to take refuge in Taiwan. (52)

More than 300,000 Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan, who opposed this policy, have been liquidated. (53)

COMMUNIST CHINESE POLICY

The Provisional Constitution of the Chinese Communists, approved by the First All-China Congress of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies in 1931, proclaimed:

"In such regions as Mongolia, Tibet and Sinkiang ... the nationalities have the right to determine for themselves whether they want to secede from Chinese Soviet Republic and form their own independent states, or to join the Union, or to form autonomous regions within the Chinese Soviet Republic". (54)

At the 7th Congress in 1943, Mao Zedong, in his report on Coalition Government, having denounced the Kuomintang's oppressive policies as those of great power chauvinism, said that the Communists fully endorsed Sun Yat Sen's position on the nationality problem, which was to grant them "self-determination" after the Communist takeover in China. (55)

After he seized power in China, however, Mao Zedong completely denied his "self-determination" promises.

Faced with this situation, the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan pleaded that they might be permitted at least to form a federated republic. But Mao Zedong rejected this request on the following grounds:

"For two thousand years Xinjiang has been an inalienable part of an indivisible China; therefore, there would be no sense in dividing China into federated republics; this is a demand hostile to history and socialism".

In order to justify their domination of Eastern Turkestan, the Chinese have always claimed that this country was annexed to China two thousand years ago, that Chinese lived in this territory and therefore Eastern Turkestan is indivisible part of China.

This interpretation distorts the historical facts. If we examine neutral historical sources we come to a completely different conclusion than that given by Chinese sources, which are mostly written from a Chinese point of view and to protect Chinese interests.

Seeing Mao Zedong's hard attitude, the people of Eastern Turkestan requested that the name Xinjiang, that had been given to their country during the feudal rule, be changed to the historical name of Eastern Turkestan, and if this was not acceptable, they desired that the country be called Uyguristan. But Mao Zedong also rejected this wish of the people. Instead, he decided to form "autonomous regions", "autonomous provinces", and "autonomous districts" within the territories of Eastern Turkestan with the promise of "equality" for the ethnic groups living in that country. In another turn-about, Mao Zedong ignored his own dictum, "there is no need to divide China into federated republics, because China has been a single, united land from earlier times", and divided the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan into autonomous regions, provinces and counties for peoples who had been united throughout history. This continued the policy of feudal and nationalist China aimed at "dividing" and "assimilating" the people of Eastern Turkestan into the body of the "Great Chinese Nation".

The newspaper Xinjiang Ribao wrote on 14 December 1960:

"In the Peoples Republic of China, the Chinese share of population is 94 per cent. We are for the fusion of the peoples in China. This process must be based on a single nation. This nation is the Chinese nation. We have to increase the number of marriages between Chinese and minority nationalities. Nobody should try to prevent this. In any case nobody will be able to prevent this process".

In accordance with this view, Chinese Communists pursued a policy of systematically assimilating the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan. The signs of this assimilation policy can clearly be seen in the cultural, socio-economic and religious measures carried out by Chinese Communists in Eastern Turkestan.

Under the pretext of "cultural reform" the Chinese Communists eliminated the traditional Arabic script which the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan had been using for almost one thousand years. Instead, a Latin alphabet was adopted to suit the Chinese phonology. (56) Further steps were taken to introduce Chinese words and expressions. (57) some 370 thousand books written in Arabic script, including the Holy Koran, Hadith and other valuable works were destroyed as "remnants of the past". (58)

Under the pretext of "socio-economic reform", the Chinese Communists drove 96.6 per cent of the Turkic peoples into 30 thousand communes and treated them like animal herds, to destroy Islamic family bonds, which were considered sacred by the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan. (59)

The Chinese Communists' campaign against Islam was particularly severe. The Chinese Communists started by confiscating "vaqf" land and properties under the pretext of "land reform" in an attempt to cut off the financial resources of Islam and force it to cease all religious activities due to lack of funds. (60) After confiscating the land and properties of the 'vaqf', the Chinese Communists infused politics into them by ordering to put up Mao Zedong's portrait in the mosques and assigning Communist cadres to propagate Communism during religious services. (61) Most of the mosques in Eastern Turkestan used to have their primary schools for the children of the Turkic people. These schools were one of the important facilities for teaching Islam to the Turkic children. Under the pretext of "unification of national education", they shut all schools operated under the mosques and required the children of the Turkic peoples to transfer to other primary schools, where Marxism, Leninism and Maoism were taught. (62) Using the pretext that attendance of mosques and Islamic gatherings and Koran recitations "hindered production", the Chinese Communists

prohibited the Turkic people of Eastern Turkestan from fulfilling their religious duties. Throughout Eastern Turkestan more than 29 thousand mosques were closed and turned into barracks, stables, slaughterhouses etc. (63) More than 54 thousand Imams were arrested, tortured and used for forced labour and cleaning sewers. (64)

In order to defend their country, to uphold their belief and to preserve their national identity, the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan staged 58 major uprisings against the Chinese Communists between the years 1949-1968.(65)

Between the years 1950 and 1972, 360 thousand Turkic people of Eastern Turkestan who stood up to defend their legitimate rights were executed. (66) More than 200 thousand fled to neighbouring countries, (67) and more than 500 thousand were driven into the 19 hard-labour camps in Eastern Turkestan.(68)

The Chinese leaders, who took over after the death of Mao Zedong, felt the need to admit to some of the injustices committed against the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan.

For instance, the newspaper Rinmin Ribao, on 20 October, 1978 wrote:

"...Minority nations have been forced to burn their dead, conceal the ashes, eat pork and keep pigs against their will. Minority nations have also been kept in a very backward economic state. The rulers tried to exterminate their culture. We now have the obligation to help them attain a higher standard of living and to activate their culture ..."

As clarified in these passages, the Chinese Communists who came to "liberate" Eastern Turkestan, have done nothing whatsoever during the past three decades for the benefit of the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan.

AFTER MAO

It is a fact that there has been a measure of liberalization affecting the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan since the death of Mao Zedong, but it appears that liberalizing measures have still not satisfied the Turkic peoples. Many armed clashes, disputes and street demonstrations have been reported in the cities of Eastern Turkestan in recent years.

Thousands of Turkic students who demonstrated in the cities of Urumchi, Beijing and Shanghai in December 1985 demanded self-rule, democratic elections of Turkic peoples to replace Chinese officials assigned by Beijing, economic self-

determination, increased opportunities for Turkic peoples education at home and abroad, and an end to the practice of sending convicted Chinese criminals to Eastern Turkestan, and an end to nuclear testing in this Turkic peoples country. (69)

After a week of deliberations, the Chinese leaders decided to reject the Turkic students demands. Turkic students who led the demonstrations were later arrested. Sixty Turkic students who took part in secret demonstrations in Urumchi were arrested and taken away from Urumchi University campus in May 1986. (70) Their whereabouts are still not known.

On June 15, 16 and 17, 1988, hundreds of Turkic students demonstrated in Urumchi protesting plans to make them share dormitories with the Chinese students. They also protested coercive birth control rules imposed on the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan as of 1st July, 1988. (71)

To stamp out anti-communist and anti-Chinese agitation authorities in Eastern Turkestan have issued rules restricting demonstrations. (72)

Eastern Turkistan Advisory Commission Chairman (Wang Enmao), Chairman of the Regional Peoples Congress Standing Committee (Hamidin Niyaz) and Regional Party Committee Deputy Secretary (Janabil) denounced the demonstrators calling them "conspirators", "traitors", and "separatists". (73)

By mid-September 1988, in Urumchi, Artush, Kashgar, Aksu, Hotan, Tekes, Ili, and other cities, slogans, pamphlets, and big and small character posters, urging nationality confrontation, were repeatedly discovered. (74)

At local party and government meetings, some Turkic cadres went so far as to openly state: "The formulation that 'Xinjiang has been a part of China since the ancient past' lacks historical basis". They claimed "The idea that 'the Chinese nationality is inseparable from minority nationalities, and that minority nationalities are inseparable from the Chinese nationality' lacks theoretical basis." They also spread views which expressed discontent with the present state of affairs and advocated "ethnic self-determination." It has been reported that some Turkic people have established a "Eastern Turkestan Party" inside the country. (75)

Chinese believe that "elements abroad are inciting separatist sentiments". The Chinese always blamed others for the disturbances in Eastern Turkestan. In the 1950s the Chinese accused "American Paper Tigers" for the uprising in Eastern Turkestan. In the 1960s they started to blame the "Soviet Hegemonists". And now they are blaming Isa Yusuf Alptekin,

an almost 90-year old Eastern Turkestan leader living in Turkey. (76) It is very unfortunate that the Chinese have never thought for a minute that their unjust rule in Eastern Turkestan might have been the main cause for all these armed clashes, disputes and street demonstrations.

At present, Eastern Turkestan is called an "autonomous region". But in reality no right of self-rule is granted to the Turkic peoples. 90 per cent of the important posts in Eastern Turkestan are occupied by Chinese. (77) For instance, the Regional Party Committee Standing Committee, which is the ruling body of the Regional Party Committee, has 15 members. Only three of them are Uygurs, one of them a Kazak, one of them a Mongol and ten of them are Chinese. The Regional Communist Party Central Committee has 56 members. Of these 13 are Uygurs, four Kazaks, two Kirgiz, two Mongol, two Hui and 33 are Chinese. The Peoples Regional Government has nine members, three are Uygurs, one is Kazak, and the rest are Chinese. (78)

More significant are the expressions of dissatisfaction in popular songs and ditties. The following is a recent example:

Just by saying "autonomous region"
It did not become Uyguristan,
Ah, my poor suffering nation
Did not become a Turkic land.

Self-rule aside, today, the long promised "equality" in the true sense has not been established between Chinese and the Turkic peoples.

For instance, if a Chinese and a Turkic quarrel, it is usually the Turkic who is punished. The reason is to intimidate the Turkic. In areas where judges, prosecutors and chiefs of police are Turkic, they avoid punishing a Chinese who is involved in a quarrel with a Turkic, so as not to be labelled a "nationalist". For statistical reasons the Chinese have given some posts to the Turkic peoples in Eastern Turkestan, but they have no authority. (79)

To cite an example, the correspondent of the West German magazine Der Spiegel, in an article published on 7.11.1983, wrote the following:

"Although some important posts in Xinjiang are given to the Uygurs, it was not difficult to discern within a few minutes that the real bosses are the Chinese. Any Uygur head of an office, while speaking with a foreigner, would look into the eyes of his ever-present Chinese assistant to determine if he was saying the right thing".

In major cities apartments are built, but Chinese live in most of them. At present there are about 40,000 newly wed young couples in Eastern Turkestan. As they cannot find flats, they are obliged to share one or two room apartments with parents or relatives.

In Eastern Turkestan Chinese hotels use the pretext "Turkic peoples are dirty" to refuse service to Turkic peoples, even when they have the money and rooms are available. The same situation exists in mainland China as well. (80)

Chinese leaders claim that the national minority peoples have the right to use their national language in written and spoken form. But in Eastern Turkestan official language is not Turkic but Chinese. Official correspondence is always in Chinese. Correspondence in one of the Turkic languages have no legal validity.

If a Turkic chairman, director or manager has made a decision in favour of his people, and if the decision is not in the interest of the Chinese, this chairman, director or manager is removed from his post with a "promotion" and sent to Beijing for further education until he is "qualified" for a new job.

The recent example for this policy is the removal in 1986 of Ismail Ahmet, Chairman of the Regional Peoples Government, who since 1981, had demanded the same rights later demanded by the students. He was on an official visit to Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan when he was summarily dismissed from his post which was given to another Turkic, Tomur Dawamet, because he had long been identified in the popular mind with lack of sympathy for Turkic cause and was considered overly loyal to Chinese interests in Eastern Turkestan. The majority of Turkic members of the Regional Peoples Congress did not want to elect Tomur Dawamet to that post. When he was not elected on the second ballot, the Chinese forced the majority Turkic deputies to write their full names on their ballots. Fearing punishment, the Turkic deputies elected Tomur Dawamet on the third ballot. During the balloting Peoples Liberation Army units surrounded the building of the Regional Peoples Congress.

Despite Eastern Turkestan's natural wealth, the Turkic peoples live at a bare subsistence level. Almost 80 per cent of the Turkic peoples in Eastern Turkestan live below the poverty line, 50 dollars per person per year. (81) The new economic reform which allows Turkic peoples to trade on the free market, is a measure, not to provide jobs for them, but to eliminate them from the job market. (82) The first private business were all contracted out to Chinese who quickly prospered. The Chinese have monopolized not only official ranks of authority and influence, but positions

in almost all walks of life in Eastern Turkestan. Only 10 per cent of the 200 thousand industrial workers around the capital, Urumchi, are Turkic, the rest are Chinese .(83) At a textile plant near Urumchi only ten per cent of the workers are Turkic. (84) Only 800 of the 12 thousand workers of a textile plant near Kashgar are Turkic. (85) There are 2100 workers in a tractor factory near Urumchi, but only 13 of them are Turkic. (86) In 1986 a new petrol-chemical factory has been opened in the city of Poskam. All of the 2200 workers are Chinese. (87) Throughout Eastern Turkestan the same situation exists. Even the tourist guides in Eastern Turkestan are Chinese. They do not have any idea about the history, culture., civilization, religion, traditions, folklore etc. of the Turkic people. Thus, most visitors from foreign countries return with a wrong knowledge about the Turkic peoples. There is no unemployment among the Chinese settlers in Eastern Turkestan, but among the Turkic peoples the unemployment rate is very high.

In November 1988, a Chinese director was appointed to a silk factory in the city of Hoten, in Eastern Turkestan. The first thing he did was to fire 400 Turkic workers who had been working in that factory for years. (87) In their place he hired Chinese workers. The Turkic workers and their families staged a protest march and complained to the local Turkic governor. The governor sent his assistant to talk to the director of the factory. The director refused to talk to him and told him to raise his complaint to the Regional Peoples Government in Urumchi. The assistant governor then called the Vice Chairman of the Regional Peoples Government, a Chinese. His answer was "we gave power to the factory directors. They can hire or fire anybody they want. There is nothing that we can do about it." Thus, throughout Eastern Turkestan, Chinese factory directors are practising the same methods, despite the fact that there is more unemployment among the Turkic peoples than the Chinese.

An Uygur interviewed by the correspondent of Washington Times in Kashgar on 30.12.1985 said the following:

"So many Chinese come to Eastern Turkestan. The economy now favours only the Chinese. They get the jobs. Uygurs have no jobs, no good homes, so many sleeping in the streets. Peoples are poor. Uygurs are angry; they have a miserable life. The Chinese have a good life, good food, high buildings. Uygurs must learn Chinese for progress, but Chinese cannot speak Uygur language. Now it is very hopeless. Many Uygurs have lost their customs and changed to Chinese customs."

Another reason for the poverty in Eastern Turkestan is that the Chinese are transporting to mainland China all the resources of Eastern Turkestan including Uranium, petroleum, gold etc. The exploitation of these natural resources, is under

the strict monopoly of the central government in Beijing. The regional government has no control whatsoever over these resources. Besides, the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan have no access to the information about the amount of profit the central government is making from the natural wealth in their motherland. Thus, the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan have no chance of benefit from their own wealth.

Just to cite an example, in the first quarter of 1989, Eastern Turkestan sent 7.68 million bbl of crude oil, 906 thousand tons of coal and 444 thousand tons of raw salt to China. (88)

Last year, 70 percent of Eastern Turkestan's cotton was sold to Shanghai, Xian and Beijing. (89)

In recent years the Chinese started to transport horses, ponies and donkeys from Eastern Turkestan to China. It is not known why they have been transporting the donkey but this has caused jokes and piques among the Turkic peoples.

An aged Turkic lady lost her balance after riding a bus and fell on a neatly dressed Chinese couple from Shanghai. The Chinese husband losing his temper, angrily turned to the aged Turkic lady: "When you don't know how to ride a bus, why don't you ride your donkey". The Turkic lady said in composure: "You have taken away to China the donkeys which I could ride and have eaten them up, on what should I ride now".

Until 1949, Eastern Turkestan was famous for its carpets. The carpets woven in Hoten, Yarkent and Kashgar were exported throughout the world. After 1949 the quality of Eastern Turkestan's carpets gradually declined. The reason was that the high quality wool produced in Hoten was sent to mainland China. The Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan did not have the means to import high quality wool.

Chinese leaders claim that since land leasing system was introduced, the living standards of farmers in Eastern Turkestan has risen tremendously.

Almost 85 per cent of Eastern Turkestan population consists of farmers. It is true that after the introduction of land leasing system the life standards of some of the farmers have risen, but the majority of farmers endure a miserable situation.

For example, according to the new system between one and ten mu of land has been leased to each person in a family. In some places this figure goes up to 25mu. One mu land is equal to 667 square meters. Under normal conditions a farmer in Eastern Turkestan gets almost 250 kg. grain from 1 mu land. According to the 1988 figures 100 kg. grain costs 40 yuan. Roughly, a

farmer earns about 100 yuan gross from 250 kg. grain. His total cost for one mu land is about 65 yuan (leasing, water, tractor, seeds etc.). Thus a farmer's net income from 1 mu land is about 35 yuan. If he has 10 mu land, his net income is about 350 yuan. With this income a farm family with 5 people cannot survive. Because, on an average a family of 5 people consumes 750 kg grain every year. The price of 750 kg. grain is about 300 yuan in the free market. If a farm family spends 300 yuan annually to buy grain from his 350 yuan net income it is impossible for this family to live on the 50 yuan during the rest of the year. One kg. cooking oil costs 5 yuan, and consumption of cooking oil of a family of five is 200 yuan annually. One kg. meat costs about 13 yuan. The family also needs clothing, fruits, vegetables etc.

It has been reported by the farmers living in the cities of Hoten, Kashgar, Aksu, Kucha, Turfan and Ili, that the land leasing system has brought nothing but misery to hundreds of thousands of farmers in Eastern Turkestan. At present thousands of farmers have returned their land because they could not pay the leasing costs. According to a 1987 report sent to the Urumchi government by the Xinjiang Public Relations Office in the city of Hoten there are 1,7000 farmers who do not even have a house to live in. During the night they sleep by covering themselves with the sand of the Taklamakan desert. Specially, in the southern part of Eastern Turkestan people are dying of starvation. An epidemic of a rare strain of hepatitis, caused by poor sanitation, killed 650 Turkic people in Hoten area in late 1987. (90) The same kind of deaths have been reported from Kargalik, Yarkent, Yenisar and around Kashgar. Before the Chinese rule, the Turkic people of Eastern Turkestan were never faced with the problem of famine.

Wang Yen De, the Chinese ambassador to the Karakhoja Uygur Kingdom wrote in his memoirs:

"The kingdom is a very rich country. There are no poor. There is no hunger. The kingdom has established such a functioning social system that the state and people support the poor. This is the reason one does not encounter premature death due to starvation. (91)

Today 80 per cent of the Turkic children in Eastern Turkestan grow up with poor sanitation.

Another major problem facing the farmers of Eastern Turkestan is "hasher" or the forced labour. Every year the Party Committee asks each citizen in Eastern Turkestan to work for 45 days without being paid. But the ethnic Chinese-dominated

Party Committee makes the Turkic people of Eastern Turkestan work more than the period required by law. Sometimes they are forced to work for 6 months without pay. Thus spending most of their time in the "hasher" or forced labour, the Turkic farmers have no time to work in the fields leased to them.

The new system is also harming the future of hundreds of thousands of Turkic children in Eastern Turkestan. As there is no obligatory educational system, instead of sending their children to school, farmers make them work in the field. In the schools of Eastern Turkestan many classes are empty now. Directors of the schools send teachers in search of students. Fathers demand that teachers guarantee their children will find a job after they have completed their studies. Obviously, the teachers cannot grant such a guarantee, and the farmers do not send their children to school. If this tendency continues, illiteracy among the Turkic people in Eastern Turkestan will continue to rise.

This situation finds expression in the following lines:

If we keep on working hard
They say (the Chinese), "The Uygurs are good".
But the moment we ask for our rights,
They say, "March to the hard labour camps".

Nicholas Danziger, who travelled to Eastern Turkestan in 1985, wrote in the Far Eastern Economic Review the following:

"On my first day in Kashgar I woke up well before dawn to find Uygurs sleeping on the dirty road., their donkeys and carts beside them, under a blanket of snow. They lay on the ground wearing nothing more than large sheepskin coats and hats and slept huddled together under sheepskin blanket".

The Chinese leaders claim that importance has been given to education, but the number of illiterates is still very high. It is estimated that 50 per cent of the adult population in Eastern Turkestan is illiterate. (92)

The proportion of Turkic peoples in schools does not correspond with their percentage of the population. The Turkic peoples still represent 60 per cent of the population of Eastern Turkestan, but at primary schools they make up only 52.9 per cent of the total and 31.5 per cent at the secondary level. (93)

In hope of receiving a higher education, every year thousands of Turkic students come to the major cities of Eastern Turkestan from different parts of the country. Most of them are very poor. There are no student homes and they cannot afford to rent a room,

but the Chinese government does not support them. Thus, 97 per cent of the Turkic graduates from senior high schools cannot enter a higher educational institution. Very few Turkic students who graduate from higher educational institutions are given jobs according to their qualifications. They are forced to take a blue collar job, and thus, Turkic students are losing interest to study.

Every year thousands of Chinese students are sent to study abroad, but very few Turkic students are given permission to study in foreign countries. Only 20 non-Chinese students were sent to study abroad in 1988, compared to 20 thousand Chinese.

Only 26 per cent of the teachers in higher educational institutions in Eastern Turkistan are Turkic. In technical schools it is 40 per cent. The rest are Chinese. All text books used in higher educational institutions and technical schools are in Chinese. Graduates from local language schools have difficulty with examinations at educational institutions, because the examination papers are in Chinese. Many Turkic parents have started sending their children to Chinese language schools, where the local language is not taught, so they can enter a higher educational institution without any problem. But the Turkic students graduating from Chinese language schools cannot properly speak their mother tongue. To express what they really want to say, they constantly use Chinese words, they forget their traditions and behave like Chinese, thereby, causing strong negative reaction among the Turkic peoples.

On the other hand, the quality of the Chinese language schools is far better than Turkic language schools. More money is given to the Chinese language schools than to Turkic language schools. Thus, Chinese language schools can afford to buy all sorts of facilities. They can hire qualified teachers. Foreign languages like English, Japanese and Russian are taught in Chinese language schools. In many Turkic language schools in Eastern Turkistan they cannot even afford to have a stove in the class rooms in winter.

In Turkic language schools in the major cities in Eastern Turkistan there is a shortage of teachers. In the village schools there is an excess. Chinese authorities do not give residence permits to Turkic teachers who want to work in the major cities. As they are denied residence permits, they cannot benefit from the government stores which sell cheap goods and thus, are obliged to buy provisions from the free market. In the long run, with their modest salaries they cannot afford to buy from the free market, and are obliged to return to the village schools, where there is excess of teachers.

The Latin alphabet, adopted in accordance with the Chinese phonology, has now been replaced by the Arabic alphabet. But the re-introduction of Arabic alphabet has placed under great strains tens of thousands of Turkic people who have received their education in Latin alphabet for the past 20 years. These Turkic peoples are now obliged to re-learn the Arabic alphabet, otherwise they will not be able to follow even the daily newspapers which are now published in Arabic alphabet. Although evening classes were organised to teach the Arabic alphabet, the effort has not been much of a success so far. Thus, members of a family can only correspond with each other in Chinese alphabet, because some of the members of the family learned the Latin alphabet and some the Arabic alphabet.

The Chinese leaders claim that literary freedom has been introduced, but the Turkic people of Eastern Turkestan lack a modern literature. Only 16 per cent of all publications in Eastern Turkestan are in Turkic language. (95) Turkic peoples do not even have a modern encyclopaedia, contemporary Turkic dictionaries and scientific books in their language.

Most of the scholars doing research in scientific fields are Chinese. They write books on Turkic history, culture, civilization, archaeology, folklore, traditions etc. All these publications have one aim: to falsify history in order to prove that Eastern Turkestan belonged to China from the time of stone ages and undermine Turkic belief, culture and traditions. This situation is causing a lot of tension in China as a whole and in Eastern Turkestan in particular. For instance, in April 1987, hundreds of Kazak students from six colleges, including Ili Teachers College, in Eastern Turkestan, went on strike to protest against the publication of a novel entitled "White House in the Distance" by the Chinese writers' literary bimonthly in October 1987. (96) In the view of the Kazak students, a fickle and lascivious Kazak woman named Saliha, who lived toward the end of the last century, distorted the habits and customs of Kazaks and, thereby wounded the pride of the Turkic people.

In December 1988, hundreds of Uygur students staged a protest march in Beijing against the showing of two films of historical fiction that Uygur students found disrespectful to their race. (97) One of the films was about Ipar Han, an Uygur heroine, who with her husband Jihangir Hoja, the ruler of Eastern Turkestan, fought the Manchu-Chinese in the 18th century. She was captured by Manchu-Chinese soldiers and brought to Beijing after Jihangir Hoja had been killed. Later, instead of marrying the Manchu-Chinese emperor, Chien Lung, she killed herself. Thus she is honoured by the Uygurs as the Mother of Uygur Pride. Chinese film makers totally distorted the historical facts.

The book, "Sex Habits" published by Shanghai Cultural House, has seriously besmirched Islam, harmed the religious feelings of the Muslims, and aroused their strong resentment in China as a whole. In May 1989, thousands of Muslims in China staged protest marches in Beijing, Xian, Lanzhou, Ningsha, Qinghai and in several cities in Eastern Turkestan. Thousands of Turkic Muslims who staged a protest march in Urumchi, the capital of Eastern Turkestan, attacked and stormed the organs of regional Party Committee, Regional People's Congress Standing Committee, Regional Advisory Committee, and the Regional Discipline Inspection Committee, creating a grave disturbance rarely seen after the Chinese Communist takeover of Eastern Turkestan. During the clashes with the security forces 3 people were killed, 152 wounded and 53 cars were burnt. (98)

After a decade of relative religious tolerance, the Chinese are once again trying to curb the activities of the so-called unofficial Islam, which organizes and provides religious training for Muslims.

Tomur Dawamet, the Chairman of the Regional Government of Eastern Turkestan, in a recent speech said the following:

"We must maintain high vigilance to be strictly on guard against religious infiltration of hostile forces from abroad. Strong measures should be taken against the tiny majority of people carrying out reactionary propaganda to sabotage the unity of nationality and stability of society under the cloak of religion. All illegal religious activity must be stopped. Religion cannot interfere in state administration, the administration of justice, education, marriage, culture and health. No permission will be given to build new mosques. Private Koran courses will not be allowed. It is not allowed to restore religious privilege and exploitation which has already been wiped out". (99)

Huang Baozhang, the Deputy Chairman of the Regional Government of Eastern Turkestan, in a recent press conference in Beijing, told foreign reporters that "people have smuggled reactionary material inside the copies of the Koran". He said "calling for independence is a counter-revolutionary crime. We oppose religious infiltration." (100)

Same kind of speeches were also given by Hamidin Niyaz, deputy secretary of the regional party committee, Son Hanliang, the secretary of the regional party committee and Ismail Ahmet, China's minister responsible for minority affairs. (101)

China's top secret nuclear testing site is at Lop Nor, about 800 kilometers southeast of Urumchi. Since 1964, at least 33 nuclear tests have been detected there. The radio-

active fallout from the nuclear testing site at Lop Nor is causing an increase in human cancer and malformation in fruits. Increasing number of liver, lung and skin cancer cases have been reported in Eastern Turkestan. (102) Some of the cancer victims have been taken to Beijing hospitals for specialized care. It was reported that during February and March, 1987, almost 800 people died in the cities of Lop, Charkalik, Charchen, Keriye, Chira and Hoten of an unidentified disease. (103) Chinese first suspected jaundice and treated the disease accordingly. This treatment was unsuccessful, and until now the doctors have been unable to diagnose the disease. But the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan suspect that the doctors know the real cause but are reluctant to admit that it is radioactive fallout from the nuclear testing site at Lop Nor. The same kind of deaths have been reported in other parts of Eastern Turkestan.

Qian Xuesen, consultant for the National Defence Committee for the Scientific and Technological Industry, has also admitted that some deaths had occurred over the years in the build up of China's atomic weapons arsenal. (104)

Chinese leaders claim that importance has been given to medical care. But the medical care is still in a very poor condition. Almost all of the doctors working in hospitals are Chinese. They do not speak the language of the Turkic peoples. Thus, they cannot communicate and their Turkic patients have difficulty explaining their problems. In most cases the patients' illness becomes incurable by the time they have found a way to understand each other. As the salary paid by the government is very low, most doctors prefer to treat private patients. Only patients with money can afford this. While most of the doctors are visiting private patients, there are no doctors to take care of patients brought in for first aid. In many cases first aid patients die in their stretchers before a doctor can be found. In recent years, besides hepatitis, cholera and leprosy have become common diseases in Eastern Turkestan. A 15-week cholera outbreak in Eastern Turkestan killed 55 people after infecting a total of 3,961 people, the World Health Organization said in a 1988 report. (105). In Eastern Turkestan, the infant mortality rate is still as high as 200 per thousand. (106). At present because of lack of proper medical treatment 70 per cent of the sick people are dying. (107)

To speed up the assimilation of the Turkic peoples, the Chinese Communists are encouraging mixed marriages by offering special bonuses to those who participate. (100) If, for example, a Turkic marries a Chinese, they receive 1000 Yuan. Chinese girls who were born in Eastern Turkestan are sent to remote villages and given a stipend of 3000 Yuan to try to attract Turkic spouse. Young Turkic males, who work in remote regions where the majority

of the settlers are Chinese, are promised better jobs in the cities if they marry Chinese girls. In addition they are promised 2000 Yuan if such marriage takes place. Turkic people who have married Chinese are generally hated by the local people. The locals have no contact with them, do not invite them to their homes, and do not greet them when they meet them on the street. Some Turkic people who have married Chinese have tried to divorce their wives, but the Chinese have imposed heavy penalties for divorce. A Turkic, wanting to divorce his Chinese wife has to pay 4000 Yuan alimony, and as most come from poor families, they are not able to make such payments. Children born of these marriages are automatically registered as ethnic Chinese. They are normally educated by their mothers and are sent to Chinese kindergarten and schools. Many Turkic fathers have been unable to handle this situation and have committed suicide. (108)

The Chinese have also established an institute called Chun Tang for the purpose of propagating and encouraging inter-marriages between the groups. The institute also examines how closely the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan cling to their traditions and reports its finding to the government in Beijing. A recent report by the institute found that the sinification process in the cities of Chochek, Gulcha, Altay and Sanchi was "great success". (109)

The Chinese Communists have turned Eastern Turkestan into a hard labour camp. Most of the convicted Chinese prisoners are sent to the hard labour camps in Eastern Turkestan. At present there are 19 hard labour camps in that country. (110) These camps are under the direct administration of the Ministry of Public Security. These convicted Chinese criminals are not allowed to return to their regions after their term. They are re-settled in Eastern Turkestan under the name Bintuan which means "reformed farmer", and are allowed to invite their families (111) During the last three years, more than 40 thousand convicted Chinese criminals have been sent to the hard labour camps in Eastern Turkestan. (112) The total number of the convicted Chinese criminals brought to the hard labour camps in Eastern Turkestan is estimated to be more than 1 million. (113) The Chinese State Vice President Wang Zhen, who has always advocated quelling the prodemocracy movement in China, proposed at a recent party meeting that 400 Chinese intellectuals in Beijing who stand opposed to the Chinese Communist Party be sent into the hard labour camps in Eastern Turkestan, so they could be transformed there. (114)

With the rehabilitation of "reformed farmers", crime in Eastern Turkestan has also risen sharply. It has been reported that the Chinese offences against Turkic people, including robbery, rape and kidnapping have gradually increased in recent

years. Hundreds of Turkic children have disappeared without any trace. Turkic people claim that these kidnapped Turkic children are taken by Chinese to mainland China and sold to Chinese family who do not have children or those who want to have more than one child allowed by law to Chinese. Police, mostly Chinese, pay no attention to Turkic complaints and demand money before taking any action. Most of the Turkic people cannot pay this money, and even if they do they never see results.

Previously, while the Chinese were restricted to one child family, no birth restrictions were enforced among the Turkic peoples. However, as of July 1, 1988, the Chinese Communists embarked upon a policy of coercive birth control among the Turkic peoples, under the pretext of "ensuring a steady growth in the minority population", "improving the quality of the population", and "eliminating economic inequalities". (115) How can someone eliminate the "inequalities" if on one hand he embarks upon a policy of coercive birth control among the Turkic peoples and on the other actively encourages almost 7 thousand Chinese to settle in Eastern Turkestan every day by offering them "hardship money"?

Chinese leaders, hoping to curb the upsurge in the Chinese population, introduced strict family planning in 1974. Girls under the age of 20 and men under 22 were not supposed to get married, couples were not supposed to have more than one child and those who did would be punished. With these restrictions the Chinese leaders aimed to halt the natural growth rate of the Chinese population at 1.2 billion by the year 2000.

But these measures did not succeed, and China's population, which was 932 million in 1982 had jumped by 1987 to 1.07 billion. (116) The average growth rate was 1.5 percent per year, indicating that China's strict population control policy was not being properly enforced. Some foreign experts have estimated that at its current growth rate, China's population will reach 1.287 billion by the year 2000, at least 87 million more people than the Chinese leaders wanted. (117)

In the last 10 years the China's population living in the big cities have doubled. At present there are almost 450 million Chinese living in the cities. (118) Thus, during this period living room dropped from 6.1 sq. meters per head to 2 sq. meters. (119) In order to settle the ever-growing Chinese population the authorities have opened 1.1 billion sq.meters of living room in the past 10 years. (120) The land opened for settlement in 1988 was 132 million sq.meters. (121)

Most Chinese watchers claim that there is no potential danger to China from without. The danger lies within China itself. If Chinese leadership fails to provide "lebensraum" or place to live, land for cultivation, jobs, schools, housing etc, China will explode like a bomb.

At present there are almost 70 million Chinese without a job, more than 70 million illiterate and 6 million without a home. (122) Every year millions of Chinese are added to these figures.

Problems have already started in China. It has been reported that the farmers in poverty-stricken provinces in Central China, have since last April staged armed uprisings and have attacked local public security organizations and arsenals, blown up bridges and cut telephone lines. (123) The Peoples Liberation Army is having a very difficult time putting down these uprisings.

In response to these pressures the Chinese leaders are shifting this ever-growing Chinese population into the fertile territories of Eastern Turkestan.

Before 1949 there were only 300 thousand Chinese settlers in Eastern Turkestan. Now there are more than 6 million. At present almost 7 thousand Chinese settlers are pouring into Eastern Turkestan daily. (124)

With the steady flow of Chinese settlers into Eastern Turkestan, the Turkic peoples there are faced with the danger of becoming a small minority in their own country. For instance in 1953 the Uygurs made up 75 percent of the total population of Eastern Turkestan. This percentage had dropped to 55 percent by 1982 and 40 percent by 1987. (125)

On the other hand, the Chiense population, which had been 6 percent in 1953, had increased to 40 percent by 1982 and 53 percent in 1987. (126)

Although Eastern Turkestan has an area of 1.6 million sq. kilometres, it has a small portion of cultivated land and a low yield grain output. With the steady flow of Chinese settlers the cultivated areas in Eastern Turkestan has shrunk from 0.46 ha. per person to 0.28 ha. (127)

Even Tomur Dawmet, the Chairman of the Regional Government who has often been considered overly loyal to the Chinese interest in Eastern Turkestan had to complain about this situation. In a recent speech he said the following:

"By the way, a considerable floating population has entered Eastern Turkestan and is staying here. This has resulted in a relatively high population growth and has brought about quite a few problems in various fields. We hope that all the departments concerned will do a good job in keeping population under control and will try their best to convince these people to return to their home provinces, so as to ensure social stability and the smooth progress of economic development in this region." (128)

Hu Yaobang, the late Chinese Communist Party General Secretary said that Northwest China could easily absorb 200 million Chinese settlers. (129) The Turkic peoples are under great fear that they will be overwhelmed by such a large number of Chinese settlers and thereby lose their identity.

Here is a "dirge" whispered from mouth to mouth among the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan on the occasion of a death among the Chinese settlers:

You come by thousands,
You go one by one,
When shall you come to an end,
Oh dear brother of mine!

CONCLUSIN

In conclusion it can be said that the policies of Feudal, Nationalist and Communist Chinese toward the Turkic people of Eastern Turkestan have been, with minor differences, the same. This policy rests on the three main principles: divide and rule, assimilate and Da Han Chu-i which means to create a "Great Chinese Nation". The similarity of these is due to the extremely chauvinistic nature of the Chinese nation. The following record, written by the great Chinese historian Pan Ku of the Han Dynasty (206 BC-200 AD), exemplifies the mainstream of Chinese chauvinism

"... Punish them when they intrude and guard against them when they retreat. Receive them when they offer tribute as a sign of admiration for our righteousness. Restrain them continually; make it appear that all the blame is on their side. This is the proper policy of the sage rulers towards the barbarians ... " (130)

The famous Chinese philosopher Wang Fu Zi, who lived during the 17th century wrote as follows:

It is no injustice to conquer the lands of the barbarians. It is not an inhuman act to kill barbarians. It is not dishonest to deceive barbarians." (131)

The Chinese have a wise saying "Yi Yi zhi Yi" which means "rule a barbarian through a barbarian". They have another proverb "ning zhing weygo bugi jano" which means, "I might make concessions to distant lands, but I shall permit no right to the bondsman under my own rule".

The pressure of Chinese chauvinism is being felt in Eastern Turkestan as much today as it was in the past. For example, Hung-chi, then the ideological organ of the Chinese Communist Party, in the issue of August 1977 wrote the following:

"... Chinese chauvinism, which has always existed in China, is just as strong today as it ever was. Chinese chauvinists are against non-Chinese nations being granted any rights whatsoever. Although the Communist Party of China is waging a struggle against these chauvinists, this struggle so far has not been very successful ..."

Prof. Edward Luttwach, who travelled to China in September 1977 wrote the following:

"... As in Inner Mongolia and in Tibet, Chinese rule in Xinjiang is in every respect a colonial phenomenon ... I asked a Chinese official resident in Tibet since 1960 how to say 'please' and 'thank you' in Tibetan. He did not know it. I asked him to translate 'move', 'go' and 'faster'. He knew".

William Sexton, correspondent of Newsday Magazine, in the issue dated July 27, 1982, wrote the following:

"Most of the Chinese sent here (Eastern Turkestan) from the east disdain the Central Asians as 'Yeman' meaning 'Barbarian' despite their centuries of cultural enrichment from Western civilizations at least as advanced as China's".

Tiziano Terzani, then the editor of the West German weekly Der Special, - who travelled to Eastern Turkestan in November 1983, wrote the following:

"In the eyes of an average Chinese, the Uygurs are an uncivilized, dirty and primitive nation; when an Uygur accidentally touches a Chinese, he (the Chinese) cleans himself immediately".

Andrew Higgins, correspondent of The Independent, in its issue dated October 20, 1988, wrote:

"For sheer racial venom, not even the Ku Klux Klan could

have done better. 'Make Uygur men our slaves forever and take Uygur women as prostitutes for generations', said a graffiti on a lavatory door at the university in 'Urumchi. Most Muslims, however, insist that the culprit must have been a Han. For them, the graffiti gave public voice to a racial arrogance that is usually expressed in acts rather than words".

Andrew Higgins, also wrote that a young Uygur woman said the following:

"When I was young I had lots of Chinese friends and could not understand why my parents objected. But now I understand. For the Chinese we will always be 'mutton shish kebabs-dirty and uncivilized".

The incident of Chinese attacks on African students in China in December 1988 is a good example of Chinese chauvinism.

The Turkic peoples are in a position to appreciate the feelings of those Chinese students in Tiananmen Square who were so brutally massacred in their struggle for more freedom and more democracy. The Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan have for decades been on the receiving end of such treatment at the hands of Chinese authorities.

The economic, cultural and religious freedoms introduced by the Chinese leaders are nothing but a show-case for the world in general.

The steady flow of settlers, mixed marriages encouraged by the Chinese leaders and coercive birth control among the Turkic Muslims pose the biggest threats to the survival of the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan. If the free world does not take immediate protective steps, the Turkic peoples will disappear from the historical scene in the coming decades. At present the Turkic peoples of Eastern Turkestan are waging a life and death struggle for survival. Ethnic groups living under the threat of losing their national identity tend to have stronger feelings of nationalism. The unjust rule of the Chinese, Chinese chauvinism and the policy of assimilation are the main sources of armed clashes, disputes and street demonstrations in Eastern Turkestan. At present Eastern Turkestan is a time bomb ready to explode at any moment.

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