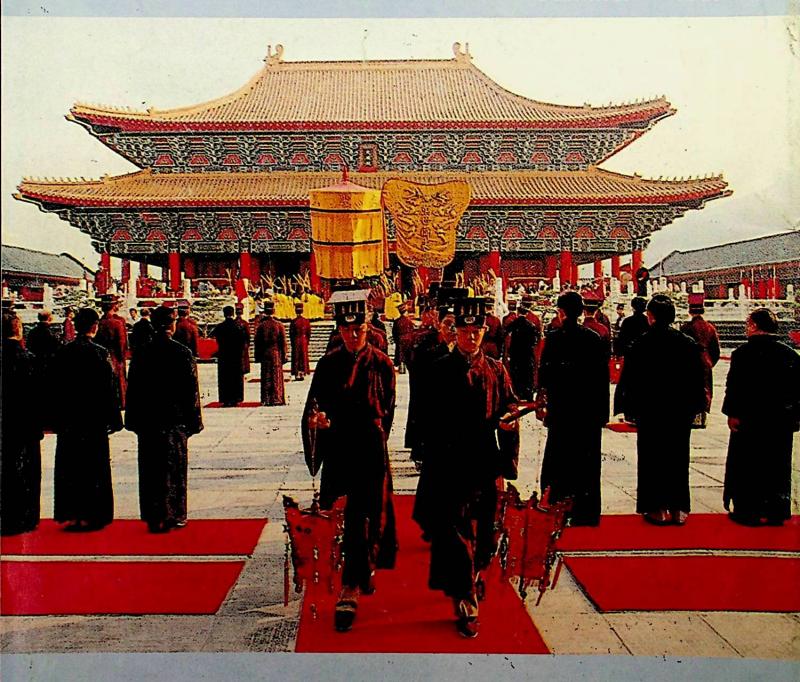
# 大とうだいは

Summer 1987



18

中華民國七十六年夏



#### ئىچىدىكىلەر

كۇڭزىنى خاتىرلەش مۇراسىمى (مۇقاۋا سىرتى)
ئۇيغۇر خەلق ئېغىز ئەدىبىياتى ۋە ئۇنىڭ تارىخى ھەققىدە
كىمسە كىمسەنى قورقۇتالمايدۇ
بۇگلونكى چىن جۇمھۇرىيىتى
جياڭ زۇڭتۇڭنىڭ سۇزى
جۇڭگو- ئاقش ئىقتىسادى قوشمايىغىنىدىكى قونۇشما
ئورتا ئاسيا بولشوۋىكلىرىدە رېفورما

#### ئۇيغۇر خەلق ئېغىز ئەدىبىياتى ۋە ئۇنىڭ تارىخى ھەققىدە

#### ئەرشىدىن تاتلىق

(بۇ ماقالە «بۇلاق» مەجمۇئىسىنىڭ 1981 ىنچى يىلقى 2\_ سانىدىن قىسقارتىلىپ ئېلىندى٠)

ئۈيغۇرلارنىڭ ئۇزاق ئۆتمۇشتىكى ئەجداتلىرى تېغى ئۆزىنىڭ قەدىمقى يېزىغى ① پەيدا بولۇشتىن بۇرۇنلا، تىلنىڭ ياردىمى بىلەن گەۋدىلەنگەن ساددا خىيالىي تەسەۋۇرلاردا تۇرلۇك ـ تۇمەن ھادىسىلەر ۋە ۋەقەلەردىن ئىجات قىلغان ئېغىز ئەدىبىياتى شۇ دەۋرلەردىكى خەلق ئاممىسىنىڭ ئىچىگە قايتا تارقىلىپ سىڭىپ كىرىپ ئومۇملىشىپ يۇكسىلىش، ئۇسۇش، تەرەققى قىلىش جەريانىنى بېشىدىن ئۆتكۇزۇپ، خەلقنىڭ مەنىۋى بايلىنىغا ئايلىنىپ قالغان، ئۇ، نەچچە ئون ئەسىرلىك تارىخىي دەۋرنى ھىچبىر ئىككىلەنمەستىن بېسىپ ئۆتۈپ ۋە ئالاھىدە رەۋىشتە تارىخقا ھىچبىر ئىككىلەنمەستىن بېسىپ ئۆتۈپ ۋە ئالاھىدە رەۋىشتە تارىخقا قەدىمقى خەلق ئېغىز ئەدىبىياتىنىڭ ئايرىم نەمۇنىلىرىلا بىزگىچە ساق—قەدىمقى خەلق ئېغىز ئەدىبىياتىنىڭ ئايرىم نەمۇنىلىرىلا بىزگىچە ساقلىنىپ قالغان، ئۇلار، خەلق ماقاللىرى، بىيىتلار، ناخشا ـ قوشاقلار، قەلىلىدى، قارلىقنامىلەر، ئەرسالنامىلەر (يوللانما خەتلەر) قارلىقنامىلەر، نورۇزنامىلەر، تېپىشماقلار، مەسەل ـ تەمسىللەر، چۇچەكلەر، داستانلار، لەتىپىلەردىن ئىبارەت،

كۇپچىلىكنىڭ ئېغىز ئەدىبىياتى سۈپىتىدە ۋۇجۇتقا كېلىپ ئې-غىزدىن ـ ئېغىزغا، نەسىلدىن ـ نەسىلگە تەرەققى ئەتكەن خەلق ئېغىز ئەدىبىياتى يازما ئەدىبىياتنىڭ ۋۇجۇتقا كېلىشى ۋە ئۇسۈپ راۋاجلىنىشى ئۈچۈن ئاساسىي مەنبە بولغان، XI ئەسىردىكى مەشھۇر تىل ئالىمى، ئۇيــ غۇر مەھمۇت قەشقىرىنىڭ بۇيۇك ئەسىرى «دىۋانۇ لۇغەتت تۇرك» تە خەلق ئېغىز ئەدىبىياتىدىن كۇپلەپ نەمۇنىلەر بېرىلگەن، ئۇنىڭدا ساقلىنىپ قالغان خەلق ئېغىز ئەدىبىياتىنىڭ ئىچىدە ئورتا ئاسىيادا ياشىغان تۇرك خەلقىغە مەنسۇپ قەبىلىلەرنىڭ چەتئەل باسقۇنچىلىرىغا
قارشى ئېلىپ بارغان قەھرىمانلىق كۇرەشلىرىنى ئەكس ئەتكۇچى يىرىك
بىرنەچچە داستان، ئەپسانە رىۋايەتلەرمۇ بار، بۇنداق ئەسەرلەر قاتارىغا
قەدىمقى گرېك تارىخچىلىرىنىڭ ئەسەرلىرى ئارقىلىق بىزگىچە يېتىپ
كەلگەن «تومارس» «شىراق» «زەرىنە» قاتارلىق داستان خاراكتىرلىك
ئەپسانىلەرمۇ كىرگەن، بۇلاردىن تاشقىرى يەنە ئەسىرلەر داۋامىدا
ئېغىزدىن ـ ئېغىزغا كۇچۇپ كەلگەن رۇستەم، سىياۋۇش، ئەپراسياپ،
ئىسپەندىيار ھەققىدىكى ئەپسانە ۋە قىسسىلەرمۇ بار، بۇلارنى تاجىك
خەلقىنىڭ ئۇلۇغ شائىرى ئۇبۇل قاسىم پىردەۋسى XI ئەسىردە قايتىدىن ئىجادىي رەۋىشتە ئىشلەپ «شاھنامە» سىگە كىرگۇزگەن،

تۇيغۇر كىلاسسىك ئەدىبىياتىنىڭ ئانىسى بولغان خەلق ئېفىز ئەدىبىياتى ۋە ئۇنىڭ پەيدا بولۇشى، تەرەققىياتى، ئۇسۇش تارىخى توغرىسىدا بىزنىڭ قولىمىزدا «دىۋانۇ لوغەتت تۇرك» ۋە «ئوغۇزنامە» دىن باشقا يازما ماتىرىيال تېخى يوق، ۋەتىنىمىزنىڭ قەدىمقى ئالىمـ لمىرى، سىياھەتچىلىرىمۇ زور قىزىقىش ۋە ئىزدىنىش بىلەن خەلق ئېغىز گەدىبىياتىغا دائىر بەزىبىر ماتىرىياللارنى توپلاپ قىممەتلىك خاتد رىلەرنى قالدۇرۇشقا تىرىشقان بولسىمۇ توپلانغانلىرى چەگلىك بولغاچقا پەقەت ئۆزلىرى كۇرگەن ۋە يىغىپ ئۈگەنگەن تۈرلەر ھەققىدە پىكىر بايان قىلالىغان، مەسىلەن، تاڭ دەۋرىدىكى تارىمىشا: ئۇيغۇرلارنىڭ ئەنئەنىۋى بايرىمى نورۇز باھار بايرىمى توغرىسىدا كۆچاردا ھەر يىلنىڭ باشـ لانغان كۈنىدىن ئېتىۋارەن 7 \_ كۈنىگىچە بۇقا ئۇسۇشتۇرۇش، ئايغىر تا\_ لاشتۇرۇش، بوغرا تالاشتۇرۇش ئويۇنلىرى بولاتتى دىگەن جۇملىلەر بار، شۇ دەۋردىكى بۇ خاتىرىدە ئۇيغۇرلارنىڭ يىل بېشى ھىساپلانغان باهار بايرىمىنىڭ «نوروزنامە» لىرى ھەققىدە قىممەتلىك ماتىرىيال بار، خۇيلىنىڭ مۇزىكا تەپسىرىدىمۇ نورۇز ئويۇنىنىڭ ئۇزۇن تارىخقا ئىگە ئويۇن ئىكەنلىكى كۇرسىتىلگەن، بۇ ئويۇننىڭ جەريانى نورۇزنامىنىڭ

تومؤملاشقان تؤلگىلىرى توغرىسىدا خاتىرىلەر بارلىغى مەلۇم،

چەتئەل ئىلمىي تەكشۇرۇش خادىملىرىنىڭ ئۇيغۇر ئەدىبىياتىنى جۇملىدىن خەلق ئېغىز ئەدىبىياتىنى يىغىش، توپلاش، ئۇگىنىش ئىسلىرىنى ئېلىپ بارغانلىرىنىڭ سانى كۇپ، بۇلارنىڭ ئىچىدە ( 1910 ـــ 1915 ـــ 1915 ـــ يىللىرى) ئاتاقلىق تۇركشۇناس رادلوپنىڭ شاگىرتى ئۇيغۇرشۇناس مالوپنىڭ شاگىرتى ئۇيغۇرشۇناس مالوپنىڭ شاگىرتى ئۇيغۇر تىلى ۋە يېزىغىدا نەشىر قىلدۇرغان «قۇمۇل ئەدىبىياتى» ناملىق ③ كىتاۋىغا كىرگەن خەلق ئېغىز ئەدىبىياتىنىڭ ئۆلگىسىمۇ بىز ئۇچۇن قىممەتلىك، بىز يۇقۇرىدا خەلق ئېغىز ئەدىبىياتىنىڭ تارىغى ھەققىدە قىسقىچە توختالدۇق.

ئەمدى قولىمىزدا بار مىساللارنى كۇرۇپ چىقايلى،

#### 1. ئۇيغۇر خەلق ماقاللىرى توغرىسىدا

خەلق ماقاللىرى ـــ ئۇيغۇر ئېغىز ئەدىبىياتىنىڭ ئەڭ بۇرۇن شەكىلـ
لەنگەن قىسمى ۋە ئۇنىڭ ئۇسۇشىنى ھەم تەرەققىياتىنى ۋۇجۇتقا چىقارغان
زىمىنى، ئاساسىي تەركىۋى، خەلق ماقاللىرى تۇرمۇشقا بىۋاستە ۋە زىچ
باغلانغانلىغى ئۈچۈن، شۇنداقلا پۇختا تەدبىق قىلىنغانلىغى، ئۆزى
كېلىپ چىققان ئىجتىمائى مۇھىت ۋە شارائىتنى ئۆزىدە ئېنىق ئەكس
ئەتتۈرگەنلىكى ئۈچۈن شۇ خەلقنىڭ ئەدىبىي تىلىنى ئېغىز ۋە يازما
ئەدىبىيات تارىخىنى پەلسەپە،مەدىنىيەت جۇملىدىن ئومۇمى تارىخىنى
ئۇگىنىشتە كام بولسا بولمايدىغان قىممەتلىك ماتىرىيال بولۇپ ھد ــ
سايلىنىدۇ،

خەلق ماقاللىرىدا \_\_خەلقنىڭ تۇرمۇش، بىلىم ۋە ھەر خىل ئىجتىمائى ھادىسىلەرگە، جۇملىدىن سىنىپ ۋە گۇرۇھلار ۋەزىيىتى، پەلسەپە جەمىيەت ۋە ئىجىتمائى ئەخلاققا، ئەمگەككە، ئۆملۈككە، ئەدىبىيات ھادىسىلىرىگە مەرتلىك ۋە نامەرتلىككە، شۇنىڭدەك ۋەتەنپەرۋەرلىككە بولغان كۇز قارراشلىرى يىغىنچاق، ئىخچام ۋە ئالاھىدە ئۆزىگە خاس ئىستىل بىلەن ئى

پادىلەنگەن، ئۇ، چوڭقۇر ئوي\_پىكىر ۋە مۇستەقىل مەناغا ئىگە سۇز سەنئىتى، بۇنى خەلقمۇ ئۆرىنىڭ:

> گەرنىڭ كۇركى (زىننىتى) ساقال، سۇزنىڭ كۇركى (سەنئىتى) ماقال،

دىگەن ماقاللىرىدا ئىغچام باھالىغان، ئۇيغۇر خەلق ماقاللىرى — يالغۇز مەزمۇنغا باي بولۇپلا قالماي، ئۇ، تۇراقلىق شەكىلگىمۇ ئىگە . XI ئەسىردە مەيدانغا كەلگەن مەشھۇر ئۇيغۇر تىل ئالىمى مەھمۇت قەشقىرىنىڭ «دىۋانۇ لۇغەتت تۇرك» دىگەن كىتاۋىغا كىرگلۇزۇلگەن خەلق ماقاللىرىدا ناھايىتى قەدىمقى ئۇيغۇر تىلىنىڭ ئەسلى ھالىتى ساقلىنىپ قالغان، قۇ ماقاللار پەيدا بولغان ۋاقىتتىكى شەكلىمۇ ساقلىنىپ قالغان، ئۇلاردا دەۋر ۋە تىلنىڭ تەرەققىياتىغا ئەگىشىپ ئۇزگىرىشلەر پەيدا بولغان بولسىمۇ پەرق چوڭ ئەمەس،

قۇت بەلگۈسى بىلىك (دىۋاندىكىسى)
بىلىم بەخت بەلگۈسى (ھازىرقىسى)
ئاش تېتىغى تۇز (دىۋاندىكىسى)
ئاشنىڭ تەمى تۇز بىلەن (ھازىرقىسى)
ئەمگەك ئىكىندە قالماس (دىۋاندىكىسى)
ئەمگەك يەردە قالماس (ھازىرقىسى)
كېڭەشلىك بىلىك ئارتەماس (دىۋاندىكىسى)
كېڭەشلىك ئىش بۇزۇلماس (ھازىرقىسى)
ئىت ئېرىمەس، ئات تەبەس دىمە (دىۋاندىكىسى)
ئىت قاۋىماس، ئات تەپەس دىمە (دىۋاندىكىسى)
تاما تاما كۇل بولۇر (دىۋاندىكىسى)

لېكىن بۇ ماقاللار ئېنىق بىر پىلان ۋە رەسمى ئىلمىي ئىش سۈپىتىدە

توپلىنىپ تولۇقلانمىغان، توپلانغانلىرىمۇ دىگەندەك تەرتىپكە سېلىن مىغان، ئۇيغۇر خەلق ماقاللىرىنى توپلاش ۋە قىسمەن نەشىر قىلىش يولىدا «ئىتتىپاق» «شىنجاڭ ئەدىبىيات\_سەنئىتى» ۋە «ئاممىۋى كۈلۈپ» ژور\_ ناللىرى ئاز ـ تولا ئىش قىلدى، «شىنجاڭ خەلق نەشرىياتى»، «بېيجىڭ مىللەتلەر نەشرىياتى» خەلقىمىزنىڭ تەشنالىغىنى قاندۇرۇش مەقسىدىدە دەسلەپكى قەدەمدە زۇنۇن قادىر، م رەھىم لەرنىڭ توپلىغان ئىككى مىڭدىن ئارتۇق خەلق ماقاللىرىنى توپلام قىلىپ بېسىپ چىقاردى. بۇلار ئاساسەن: ۋەتەنچەرۋەرلىك، بىلىم، ئوي\_پىكىر، ئەخلاق، ئىشچانلىق، ھورۇنلۇق، دىخانچىلىق، ئىجتىمائى ئەمگەك، تەبىئەت ھادىسىلىرى، تَوْمِلُوكَ \_ يەككىلىك، تەنبھالىق، ئائىلە، ئۇي، تۇرمۇش، ئۇرۇق \_ تۇققانچىلىق، ۋاپادارلىق، ۋاپاسىزلىق، مۇھەببەت-نەپرەت، ئادەم ۋە ئۇنىڭ باشقا ياخشى ـ يامان خىسلەتلىرى، تىل ئورپى ـ ئادەت، باتۇرلۇق ۋە قورقۇن ـ چاقلىق، سىنىپ ۋە تەبىقە ئايرىمچىلىقلىرى قاتارلىق 20 نەچچە خىلدىن ئارتۇق ماۋزۇ ۋە مەزمۇننى ئۆز ئىچىگە ئالغان، بۇنىڭدا يەنە كىشىلەر نىڭ تەبىئەتكە قارشى ئېلىپ بارغان كۈرەش ئەمىلىيىتىدىن ھاسىل قىلغان بىر قاتار ياخشى چۇشەنچىلىرى، تەجرىبە ـ ساۋاقلىرى ئوبرازلىق ئىپا ـ دىلەنگەن، ئۇنىڭدا ئوپىتراكىتلىقمۇ بار، ئوبرازمۇ بار، خەلق ماقالـ لمىرىنى توپلاش ۋە رەتلەش يولىدىكى دەسلەپكى بۇ ئىزلىنىشنى خەلق ماقاللىرىنىڭ تىپىك مەزمۇنىنى تىپىك مىساللار بىلەن كۇرسىتىپ بېـ رىشكە قويۇلغان دەسلەپكى قەدەم دىسەك مۇبالىغە بولماس،

#### بسيستلار

"بىيىت" —خەلق ئېغىز ئەدىبىياتىنىڭ ئەڭ ئاساسلىق، يۈكسەك بەدىئى ئوخشىتىش ۋە تەسەۋۇرغا ئىگە كونا تۈرلىرىدىن بىرى، ئۇ، ئىككىلىك تەكرار ئىككىلىك شەكىلدە بولۇپ، خەلق ماقاللىرىدىن كېيىنلا شۇنىڭغا تەقلىت قىلىنىپ بارلىققا كەلگەن، يازما ئەدىبىياتىمىزدىكى شېىر تۈرلىرىدىن ئىككىلىك (مەسنۇي)، تەكرار ئىككىلىك (غەزەل) ۋە بىر ئۇزۇن، بىر قىسقا مىسرالىق مۇستەھزاد شەكىللىرىنىڭ بارلىققا كېلىشىگە ئاساس بولغان،

بىز تۇۋەندە شۇ شەكىللەرگە دائىر، مىساللارنى كۇرۇپ ئۆتەيلى:

ئىگىز ـئىگىز تاغلاردىن سىرىلدىم تۈزگە، خايى بىلىڭ خايى بىلمەڭ ئېگىلدىم سىزگە،

ئىشىك ئالدى تاختا كۇبرۇك قولبى زەنجىر سىم بىلەن سەن كېتەرسەن، مەن قالۇرمەن ئۇيدە يالغۇر «ھىم» بىلەن،

> ئاخىر مەندىن يۇز ئۇرۇپ كىمگە باقتىڭ قارا كۇز، ۋەدىمىز شۇنداقمىدى ئويلاپ كۇرگىن قارا كۇز،

يۇقۇرىدىكى مىساللاردىن يازما ئەدىبىياتتىكى ئىككىلك (مەسنىۋى) ئىڭ شەكىللىنىشىگە بىيىتنىڭ يۇقۇرقى تۇرى ئاساس سالغانلىغىنى كۇرۇپ ئوتتۇق، ئەمدى تەكرار ئىككىلك يەنى غەزەللەر تۇرىگە مەنبە بولغانلىلىنى كۇرۇپ ئوتەيلى،

\_\_سىرلىق ساندۇق سىرى سىز، پەرىلەرنىڭ پىرى سىز، ئويناي دەيدۇ كۇڭلىڭىز، ئەمما قورقۇپ تۇرىسىز،

\_\_سىرلىق ساندۇق سىرى بىز، جۇۋانىلارنىڭ پىرى بىز، ھىچ ئەرسىدىن قورقمايمىز، يامان ئىشتىن نېرى بىز،

\* \* \*

\_\_ياغلىغىڭىز رەڭمۇ \_ رەڭ، سەل سىلىغراق سۇزنى دەڭ، لەۋلىرى سۈزۈك جۇۋان، ئالما بېرەي يېرىپ يەڭ،

\_\_ كۇرسەم كۇزۇم ئاغرىيدۇ، يىسەم مەيدەم ئاغرىيدۇ، ئالمىڭىزنى ئالسام مەن، يارنىڭ كۇڭلى ئاغرىيدۇ،

بىيىت، بۇ شەكلىي جەھەتتىن، ئاھاڭلىق شېىر، غەزەلگە ئاساس سالغان بولسا، مەزمۇن جەھەتتىن، توي ـ تۇكۈن، مەشرەپ، مەجلىسلەردىكى ئولتۇرۇشتىن بۇگۈنكى سەھىتلەرگىچە يېتىپ كەلگەن «ئېيتىشىش» نىڭ شەكىللىنىشىگە ئاساس بولغان،

> ئىشىك ئالدى بۇك تىرەكلىك، بۇلبۇل ئۆتەلمەس، يېشىل ـ يېشىل يوپۇرماقلىرى، يامغۇر ئوتەلمەس، ئاق قۇشقاچقا ناۋات بەرسەڭ، تەمىنى بىلمەس، نادان قىزغا كۇڭۇل بەرسەڭ، نادان قىزغا كۇڭۇل بەرسەڭ،

ھەي چىمەننىڭ شوخ بۇلبۇلى، كۇڭۇل ناۋاسى، يەر ـ جاھانىدا بارمىكىن تاڭ، يارنىڭ ۋاپاسى، يار ۋاپاسى بارمىكىن دەپ بەردىم كۇڭۈلنى، كۇڭلى يوقكەن سولاشتۇردى، غۇنچە گۈلىمنى،

بىيىتنىڭ بۇ شەكلىدىن يازما ئەدىبىياتىمىزدا ئالاھىدە ئورۇن تۇتقان مۇستەھزاتنىڭ ئەۋەلقى مىسراسى ئۇزۇن، كېيىنكى مىسراسى قىسقا، كېيىنكى مىسرا ئەۋەلقى ئۇزۇن مىسرانىڭ مەزمۇنىغا بېقىنىدىغان ۋە ئۇنى تولۇقلايدىغان تۇرىنىڭ شەكىللىنىپ چىققانلىغىنى كۇرگىلى بولىدۇ، شېىر نىڭ بۇ شەكلى شائىرلاردىن ماھارەت، شېىردىن يۈكسەك بەدىئىلىك ۋە ئاس ھاڭدارلىق تەلەپ قىلىدۇ، مەشھۇر مۇقلەلىرىمىزنىڭمۇ ناھايىتى كۇپ ئاس ھاڭلىرى شۇ خىل بىيىت ۋە شېىرلارنىڭ شەكلىدە يېزىلغان،

#### لېرىكىلىق خەلق قوشاقلىرى

لېرىكىلىق قوشاقلار يازما ئەدىبىياتتىكى شېىرلارنىڭ ئانىسى، خەلق ئېغىز ئەدىبىياتنىڭ ئەڭ قەدىمقى ۋە ئەڭ كەڭ تارقالغان شەكلى كۇپ تۈرلىرىنىڭ بىرى، خەلقنىڭ لېرىكىلىق قوشاقلىرى ئۇنىڭ نەمۇنىلىرى مەھمۇت قەشقىرىنىڭ «دىۋانۇ لۇغەتت تۇرك» دىگەن كىتاۋى ئارقىلىقلا بىزكىچە يېتىپ كەلگەن،

دىۋان XI ئەسىرگە ئائىت ئەدىبىي ماتىرىياللار بىلەنلا چەكلىنىپ قالماي، بەلكى ئۆزىنىڭ بارلىققا كېلىشىدىن بىرقانچە زامانلار ئىلگىرى يارىتىلىپ ئېغىزدىن ئېغىزغا كۇچۈپ يۈرگەن قوشاقلارنىمۇ ئۆز ئىچىگە ئالغان. بۇنىڭغا كىرگەن ئايىرىم قوشاقلاردا باشلانغۇچ ئۇرۇقچىلىق قالدۇقلىرى، ئۇرۇقلار، قەبىلىلەردىكى ھەرخىل مۇناسىۋەت ۋە ھايات، ئۆرپ-ئادەتلەر، تەبىئەت ۋە جەمىيەت ھەققىدىكى قاراشلار، ئارزۇ – ھەۋەس، مەقسەت ـ تىلەكلەرگە دائىر نۇرغۇن تۇرمۇش كۇرۇنۇشلىرى بار، بۇلارنى ئۇلۇغ ئالىم مەھمۇت قەشقىرى ئۇزاق يىللار داۋام قىلغان سەپىرىدە

توپلىغان، ئۇ، ئايرىم سۇزلەرنىڭ لۇغەت مەنىسىنى تېغىمۇ كەڭرەك ۋە ئېنىقراق ئىزاھلاش مەقسىدىدە بۇلاردىن نەمۇنىلەر تاللاپ دىۋانغا كىر-گۈزگەن، بۇ نەمۇنىلەر ئاساسەن، مېھنەت، مەۋسلى، توي-مۇراسىم، ئىشقى-مۇھەببەت، ئوۋچىلىق، چارۋىچىلىق، باغۋەنچىلىك، دىغانچىلىق، جەمىيەتتىكى سىنىپىي ئايرىمچىلىق ۋە ئىزالارنى ئۆزىدە ئەكس ئەتتلەرگەن قوشاقلاردىن ئىبارەت، بىز تۇۋەندە ئوۋ ھەققىدىكى تۇت مىسرالىق بىر

چەغرى بىرىپ قوشلار، تايغان ئىزىپ تىشلاتو، تىلكى تونغوز چىشلەتو، ئاردەم بىلەن ئۆكرەلىم،

#### تەرجىمىسى:

چەغرى (ئوۋ قۇشى ئېلىپ) قۇش ئوۋلايلى، تايغان ئىتنى (قۇشلارنىڭ) ئىزىدىن سېلىپ قۇشلىتايلى، تۇلكە، توڭگۇز (لار)نى تاش بىلەن ئۇرايلى، ياخشى ئىشلىرىمىز بىلەن ماختىنايلى،

بۇ قوشاقتىن كۇرگىلى بولىدۇكى قەدىمقى زاماندىكى ئوۋچىلار قۇش ئوۋلاش ئۇچۇن ئوۋ قۇشى (لاچىن، قارچىغا، شۇڭقار، بۇركۇت) ۋە ئوۋچى تايغان ئىتلاردىن پايدىلانغان، تۇلكە ۋە توڭگۇزغا ئوخشاش ھايۋانلارنى تاش قوراللار بىلەن ئۇرۇپ ئۇلتۇرگەن ۋە ئۆزىنىڭ بۇ غەلىبىسى بىلەن ماختانغان، پەخىرلەنگەن، ئىككىنچى بىر كۇپلېت قوشاقتا ئاتلىق يۇرۇپ ئوۋچى ئىتلار ياردىمى بىلەن كىيىك تۇتۇش ۋە ئوۋ مەھسۇلاتلىرىنى كۇ-پەيتىشكە ئىنتىلىش ئىپادىلەنگەن،

ئوۋچىلارنىڭ چارۋا ماللارنى تۇرلۇك يىرتقۇچ ھايۋانىلاردىن بىرلىشىپ ھىمايە قىلىشتىمۇ رولى ناھايىتى چوڭ بولغان، ئوۋچىلارنىڭ بۇرىگە قار

شى ئېلىپ بارغان كۇرىشىنى تەسۋىرلىگۇچى تۇۋەندىكى بىر كۇپلېت قوشاق ئالاھىدە ئەھمىيەتكە ئىگە،

> قاجه تۇرۇپ تۇرەر ئەردىم، قارا ـ قىزىل يۇرە كۇردۇم، قالىغ يانى قورا كۇردۇم، قويا كۇرۇپ باقۇ ئاغرى،

#### تەرجىمىسى:

كېچىسى تۇرۇپ (كېزىپ) يۇردۇم، قارا ـ قىزىل بۇرە كۇردۇم، با قۇۋەت يانى (ئېتىشقا) ھازىرلىق كۇردۇم، (ئۇ) قورقۇپ قىيانىڭ ئارقىسىغا يوشۇرۇندى،

بۇ قوشاقنىڭ بۇنىڭدىن كېيىنكى كۆپلېتلىرىدا ئوۋچىنىڭ بورىنىڭ ئارقىسىدىن تەقىپ قىلىشنى داۋام ئەتتۇرگىنى، بۇرىگە ئوۋ ئىتى تايلىغاننى قويۇپ بەرگىنى ۋە بۇرىنىڭ يېڭىلگىنى تەسۋىرلىنىدۇ، چارۋىچىلار چارۋا ماللىرىنى ئېھتىيات قىلىش ئۈچۈن شۇ زامانلاردىمۇ كېچىسى پايلىلىقى قويغان، تۇۋەندىكى بىر كۈپلىپ قوشاقتا پايلاقچىلىق قىلىپ تاڭ ئاتقۇزغان كىشىنىڭ پىكرى بايان قىلىنغان؛

قارا تونۇنىڭ كەچۇرەسىدىم، ئاخىر ئۇنى ئۇچۇرەسىدىم ياتىكانىڭ قاچۇرەسىدىم ساقىش ئىچرە كۈنۇم توغدى،

تەرجىمىسى:

قارا تؤنني كيميرمهك تستيديم

ئېغىر ئۇيقۇنى ئوچۇرماق ئىستىدىم، يەتتە (يەتتە قاراقچى يۇلتۇر) ھۆكەرنى قاچۇرماق (تاڭ ئاتتۇرماق) ئىستىدىم، مەن يۇلتۇزنى سانىماقتا ئىدىم، كۇنۇم تۇغدى، (قۇياش چىقتى)،

ئوۋچىلىق ۋە چارۋىچىلىق بىلەن بىر قاتاردا دىغانچىلىق ۋە باغۋەنــ
چىلىكمۇ قەدىمقى زامان قەبىلىلىرى ھاياتىنىڭ مۇھىم قىسمىنى تەشكىل قىلغان، تەكىتلەپ كۇرسىتىش كېرەككى، چارۋىچىلىق دىغانچىلىق ۋە باغۋەنچىلىكنىڭ ئۆسۈشىگە زىمىن تەييارلىغان، دىغانچىلىق ۋە باغۋەنــ چىلىكتىن ئىبارەت دالىنىڭ بۇ ئېغىر مېھنىتىمۇ قەدىمقى زامان قوشاقــ لىرىدا ئەكس ئەتتۇرۇلگەن،

> يىگىتلىرىك ئىشلەتۇ، يىغا، يىمىش ئىرغاتۇ، قۇلان\_كىيىك ئوۋلاتۇ، بەزەرەم قىلىپ ئاۋنالىم،

> > تەرجىمىسى:

يىگىتلەرنى ئىشلىتەيلى، دەرەخ(لەر)دىن مىۋە(لەر) ئىرغىتايلى، قۇلان\_كىيىك ئوۋلىتايلى، (كېيىن) بايرام قىلىپ ئاۋۇنايلى،

بۇنىڭدا مىۋىلەر پىشقان مەھەلدە ئۇنى يىغىشتۇرۇپ ئېلىش،كېيىن ئوۋ بىلەن شۇغۇللىنىشنى تۈگەللەپ بايرام شاتلىغىنى باشلاش ئېيتىلغان، يۇقۇرىدا كۇرسىتىلگەن مىساللاردا قەبىلىلەرنىڭ مېھنەت تۈرلىرى، جەريانى، قەبىلە ئەزالىرىنىڭ مېھنىتىگە بولغان مۇھەببىتى، مېھنەت مىۋىلىرىدىن زوقلىنىشى بەدىنى ئۇسۇلدا تەبىئى تەسۋىرلەنگەن،

#### مەرسىيە قوشاقلىرى

شېىرلاردا شۇ نامدا يېزىلغان ئەسەرلەر بولغىنىدەك شېىرىيەتنىڭ ئانىسى بولغان قەدىمقى قوشاقلاردىمۇ شۇ تېمىدىكى قوشاقلار بولغان، بۇنداق قوشاقلاردا قەبىلە باتۇرلىرىنىڭ مەرتلىك، قەھرىمانلىق ۋە شىجائەتلىك بىلەن قۇربان بولغانلىغى ئۇنىڭ باشقا خىسلەتلىرىمۇ خېلى ماھارەت بىلەن ماختىلىنىدۇ، قەھرىماننىڭ ئۇلۇمى قەبىلىلەر ئۇچۇن ئەڭ چوڭ يوقىتىش بولغانلىغى شۇنىڭ ئۈچۈن ئۇلاردا بولغان قايغۇلار ئىپادىلىنىدۇ، بۇنداق قوشاقلارنىڭ خاراكتىرلىكراغى ئالىپ ئەرتوڭگىگە بېغىشلانغان مەرسىيە، بىز ئۇنىڭدىنمۇ بىر كۆپلېت كۇرۇپ باقايلى؛

ئالىپ ئەرتۇڭگە ئۆلدىمۇ؟ ئىسسىز ئاجۇن قالدىمۇ؟ ئۆزلۈك ئۈچۈن ئۆلدىمۇ؟ ئەمدى يۇرەك ئۆتىلۇر!

#### تەرجىمىسى:

باتۇر ئەرتۇڭگە ئۆلدىمۇ؟ ئىسىت ئاجۇن (دۇنيا) ئۈنىڭدىن قالدىمۇ؟ ئۆزى ئۈچۈن ئۆلدىمۇ؟ بۇ قايغۇدىن باغرىمىز ئۆرتىلىدۇ ـ يانىدۇ،

قوشاقلارنىڭ مەرسىيە خىلى ياكى تۇرى، ئورخۇن يەنسەي يادىكارـ لىقلىرىدىمۇ بار،

مەۋسۇم (پەسىل) ۋە تەسۇىرىي قوشاقلار يىل پەسىللىرى (مەۋسۇم) گە بېغىشلانغان تەسۋىرىي قوشاقلار «مەۋسۇم قوشاقلىرى» دەپ ئاتىلىد دۇ، «دىۋانۇ لۇغەتت تۈرك» تە مەۋسۇم قوشاقلىرىدىن خېلى ئوبدان ئەمۇنىلەر بار، مەۋسۇم قوشاقلىرى بىلەن بىر قاتاردا يەنە ئومۇمەن تەبىئەت كۇرۇنۇش (مەنزىرە)لىرىنى تەسۋىرلىگۈچى تەسۋىرى ياكى لېرىكىلىق قوشاقلارمۇ بار،

ناهايىتى قەدىمقى زامانىلاردا كىشىلەر تەبىئەتتىكى ئۆزگىرىشلەر نىڭ سەۋىۋىنى ياخشى چۈشەنمىگەنلىكلىرى ئۈچۈن تەبىئەت ئۆزگىرىش لمىرىنى يېڭەلمىگەن، يىلنىڭ بىر پەسلى ئۆلارنى خۇشال قىلسا، يەنە بىر پەسلى ئۇلارنى قايغۇلاندۇرغان، بىزگە مەلۇم ياز پەسلى دىخانچىلىق ۋە چارۋىچىلىق ئۈچۈن ھەممە ئىمكانىيەتلەرگە باي باياشات پەسىل، قاتتىق سوغاق پەسىل ئۈچۈن ئۆزىگە يېتەرلىك ئوزۇق، چارۋىلىرىغا يېـ شەرلىك يەم ـ خەشەك توپلىغان قەبىلىلەرگە قارىغاندا ئۇنى توپلىمىغان، ياكى توپلىيالمىغان قەبىلىلەر ناھايىتى چوڭ قىيىنچىلىقلارغا دۇچ كېلەتتى، مانا شۇنىڭ ئۈچۈن قەدىمقى كىشىلەر ياز ۋە قىشقا بىر خىلدا قارىمايىتى، شۇ سەۋەپىتىن ئۇلارنىڭ قۇشاقلىرىدا ياز پەسلى زور خوشال لىق ۋە مۇھەببەت بىلەن تەسۋىرلەنسە، قىش پەسلىگە بېغىشلانغان قو\_ شاقلاردىن يىلنىڭ قىش پەسلىگە ئۆزگىرىشتىن قايغۇرۇش ۋە يازنىڭ ئۆ-تۇپ كېتىپ قىشنىڭ يېتىپ كەلگىنىگە نارازىلىق ئىپادىلەنگەن، شۇنىڭ تُؤچؤن بۇ خىل قوشاقلاردا ياز بىلەن قىش بىر بىرىگە قارىمۇ ـ قارشى ئورۇنغا قويۇلۇپ تەسۋىرلەنگەن، بۇنى تۇۋەندىكى مەۋسۇم ۋە مەنزىرە قوشاقلىرىدىن بىلگىلى بولىدۇ.

> قىش ياز بىلەن توقۇشتى، قىڭغىر كۇزىن بېقىشتى، تۇتۇشقا بەل يېقىشتى، ئويغىلىماق ئوغۇشدۇر،

> > تەرجىمىسى:

قىش ياز بىلەن توقۇنۇشتى

قىڭغىر(يامان) كۇز بىلەن بىر بىرىگە (بېقىشتى) قاراشتى، بىر بىرىنى تۇتۇپ ئېلىشقا ئىنتىلىشتى، ھەر قايسىسى يېڭىشنى ئىستەيتتى،

قىش بىلەن ياز ئوتتۇرىسىدىكى «كۈرەش» كىشىلەرنىڭ جەڭدىكى كۈرەشلىرىگە ئوخشىتىلىدۇ٠

> ياز قىش بىلەن قېرىشتى، ئەردەم ياھىنى قۇرۇشتى، چەرىك تۇتۇپ كۇرەشتى، ئۇقتاغىلى ئۆتۇشۇر،

> > تەرجىمىسى:

ياز بىلەن قىش، قارىمۇ ـ قارشى بولۇشتى، (ئۇلارنىڭ ھەربىرى) دۇشمەنلىك يايىنى قۇرۇشتى، قوشۇن تۈزۈپ (بىر بىرىنى) تەقىپ قىلىشتى، (يا) ئېتىش ئۇچۈن (بىر بىرىگە) يېقىنلاشتى،

مەنزىر، قوشاقلىرى داۋامىدا قىشنىڭ «مەغلۇپ» بولۇپ يازنىڭ غەلىبە قازىنىشى مۇقىملاشقانلىغى، تەبىئەت قايتىدىن جانلىنىپ قىرلار گىلەمگە ئوخشاش مايسىلار بىلەن قاپلانغانلىغى، تاغلاردا قار ـ مۇزلارنىڭ ئېرىگەنلىكى تەسۋىرلىنىدۇ، سۇلارنىڭ ئېقىشقا باشلىغانلىغى، تۇرلۇك تۇمەن گۇللەر ئېچىلىپ يەر يۈزىگە چىراي بەرگەنلىكى، قۇشلار اۋە قۇرۇت ـ قوڭغۇزلارنىڭمۇ ئۇۋىلىرىدىن چىقىپ يېڭى ھايات باشلىغانلىغى تەســ تەبىەتتىكى بۇ جانلىنىش كىشىلەرنى ناھايىتى زوقلاندۇرغانلىغى تەســ ۋىرلىنىدۇ، ياز ۋە باھار پەسىللىرى يۇقۇرىدىكى قوشاقلاردا شاتلىق ئېلىنىدۇ، تەبىئەت مەنزىرىسى جانلىق تەسۋىرى بوياقلاردا

تەسۋىرلىنىدۇ ۋە جىلۋىلىنىدۇ، بۇ خىل قوشاقلارنى كۇپچىلىك خەلقنىڭ ئىجادىيىتى دىيىشكە بولىدۇ، چۈنكى بۇنداق قوشاقلار تولاراق ئېتىشىش تەرىقىسىدە ئويۇنغا چۈشۈپ ئوينىغان ۋاقىتلىرىدا يارىتىلغان بولۇشى ئېھتىمالغا ناھايىتى يېقىن، يۇقۇرقىلار بىلەن بىر قاتاردا چىن مۇھەب-بەت، ساداقەتلىك، تەلىم – تەربىيە مەسىلىلىرىگە ئائىت —ئىنسانىي پەزىلەتلەر، ئار – نومۇس، مەرتلىك، باتۇرلۇق، توغرىلىق، ئەدەپ ۋە ئادەمگەرچىلىك قوشاقلىرىمۇ بار،

توي مۇراسىم، مەشرەپ، مەجلىس قوشاقلىرى دەپ ئاتالغان قوشاقلىرىلارمۇ دىۋاندا ئالاھىدە ئورۇن ئالغان بولۇپ، بۇنىڭ بەزىلىرى ھازىرمۇ بار، مەسىلەن، مەشرەپ قوشاقلىرى، «مەشرەپ» دىگەن بۇ سۇز قىزىق ۋە كۇڭۇللۇك ئولتۇرۇشنى ئىپادىلەپدۇ، ئادەتتە «مەشرەپ» نىڭ ئۆزىمۇ توي تۇكۇندە، يەنى توينىڭ ئالدىدا ياكى كەينىدە تولاراق توينىڭ ئۆزىدە سورۇن تۈزۈپ ئوينىلىدىغان ئويۇن، بۇنىڭ نەغمىسى مەشھۇر مۇقاملارغا، جۇملىدىن كىلاسسىك ئۇيغۇر خەلق مۇزىكىسى 12 مۇقامغىمۇ كىرگەن،

مەشرەپتە، ياشلار، ئوتتۇرا ياشلىقلار، قېرىلارمۇ ئۇز خىللىرى بىلەن سورۇن تۈزۈپ ئولتۇرىدۇ، شۇنىڭدىن كېيىن مەشرەپنى باشلىغۇچى قىز ياكى چوكان، جۇگان ئورنىدىن تۇرۇپ قولىغا بىر دەستە گۈل، ياكى، بىرەر پىيالە چاي، ئۇمۇ بولمىسا بەلۋاغنى يۇمشاق ئېشىپ پوتا قىلىپ كېلىپ، ئارىلىشىپ ئولتۇرغان يىگىتكە ياكى ئەر كىشىگە تۇۋەندىكى بىيت بىلەن پوتا سالىدۇ:

> توپ تېره کنىڭ چاقىدا توپ ئوينىغان قارا كۇز، يارىيانىڭ چاقىدا پوتا ئوينىغان قارا كۇز،

دەپ قولىدىكى دەستە گۈل، چىنە ياكى پوتا بىلەن ئىشارەت قىلىدۇ، شۇنىڭ بىلەن پوتا ئويۇنى باشلىنىپ يىگىتمۇ قىزنىڭ قولىدىن پوتىنى ئۇزىگە لايىق بىيىت ياكى قوشاق بىلەن ئالىدۇ، ئېيتقان جا ۋاپ قوشىغى يىگىتنى شۇنداقلا كۇپچىلىكنى قانائەتلەندۇرەلمىسە، ئۇ

شؤ سورۇنىدىكىلەرنىڭ تەلىۋىگە مۇۋاپىق بىرەر سەنئەت ياكى ماھارەت كۇرسىتىشى ھىچ بولمىغاندا ئۇسۇل ئويناپ ساز چېلىپ بېرىشى كېرەك، ئۇنىمۇ قىلالمىسا، «سۇرىتىنى تارتىش» جازاسىغا ئۇچراپ تامغا يۇلەپ تۇرغۇزۇپ سۇ پۇركۇلىدۇ، بەزىلەر بۇنىڭ ئۈچۈن بىرەر قېتىملىق مەش-رەپنى بوينىغا ئېلىپ كۇپچىلىكنىڭ ئەپۇ قىلىشىغا ئىگە بولىدۇ،شۇنىڭ ئۈچۈن مەشرەپكە بىيىت ـ قوشاق، ئۇسۇل، مۇزىكا، ناخشا بىلمەيدىغان كىشى ئۇزلۇگىدىن كېرەلمەيدۇ، مانا بۇ چارە خەلقنىڭ بىيىت ـ قوشاق ۋە ناخشا بايلىغىنىڭ ساقلىنىپ قېلىشىغا ۋە ئۇنى تەرەققى قىلدۇرۇش ماهارىتىنى ئۇستۇرۇشكە سەۋەپ بولغان، بۇنداق مەشرەپ ئاخىرى، «سەنەم» دەپ ئاتالغان ۋە ھازىرغىچە داۋام قىلىپ كېلىۋاتقان چوڭ كۇڭۈللۈك ئولتۇرۇش بىلەن تۈگەيدۇ، بۇ ئويۇننىڭ تۇرپان، توخسۇن، پىچان، قۇمۇل قاتارلىق جايلىرىدىكىنى «مەجلىس» دەپ ئاتايدۇ، ئېـ يىتىشلارغا قارىغاندا بۇ ئويۇنلارنىمۇ رەتلىك ئويناشنى بىلىدىغان ۋە بىلگىنىنى سۇزلەپ بېرىدىغان كىشىلەرمۇ بەك ئاز قالغان، بۇنىڭدىن باشقا يهنه توي كؤچۇرۇش ئالدىدا ئېيتىلىدىغان «يۇلەن قىچقىرىش» تُويؤنيمؤ بار، (داۋامي بار)

آ قەدىمقى يېزىق توغرىلىدا تۈركشۇناس ژوژىق تورى ئۇيغۇرلارنى مىلادىدىن ئىككى ئەسىر ئىلگىرى ئۇيغۇرلارنى مىلادىدىن ئىككى ئەسىر ئىلگىرى ئۇز يېزىغىدا ئۇز تارىغىنى يازغان، دىگەن، دتۇرك خەلقلىرىنىڭ XIV ئەسىر ئىلگىرى ئۆز يېزىق يادىكارلىقلىرى،، لاسلى، 1897 ـ يىل، فرانسۇزچە، 28 ـ بەت،

② شىنجاڭنىڭ قىلقىچە تارىخى 1\_ قىلم 1\_كىتاپ 140\_بەت،

③ تىل ئەدىبىيات تارىخ مەسىلىلىرى 53\_ بەت

#### لا احد يقدران يهدد الاخــــر

فَانٌ لِي جِي كان مساعد مدير جامعة الصين للتكنولوجيا بهُوفَائ في اقليم أَنْ هُوائ ، وكان قد أصبح هدفا للتطهير من قبل دون سياوبينغ اثنا عركة المظاهرات الطلابية المنتشرة السي اكثر من سبع عشرة مدينة رئيسية في البر الصيني للمطالبة بالدمقراطية ، وذلك بتهمة "اشار المظاهرات الطلابية وحركة الدمقراطية الرأسمالية "ثم تعرض لغصل عضويته للحزب واقالة منصب ساعدة مدير الجامعة كمعاقبة له .

وكان فان لي جي عالما فلكيا وفيزيائيا ، وفي شهر نوفسر الماضي أعرب فان لي جي فلم محاضرة القاها في جامعة " جياو دُونغ" عن ان الد مقراطية تقبل الانتقاد بدون أى خوف ،وقال النه يعارض على التخاذ نظريات ماركسية كارشاد لتصرف الاسور فان ما قام به البر الصيني سلسند الكثر من ثلاثين سنة من النقد العلمي كله عُلط ، وفيما يلي هي محاضرته .

كنت قد كتبت مقالة في جريدة الشعب شيرا الى انه ينبغي علينا الحوز بالا را الجيدة أى الا را الديمقراطية . وعلينا ازالة ارا نا القديمة . ولما قرأ احد زملائي هذه العقالية كتب لي من اقليم سي تَشْوَانغ حيث يعبر فيها عن شكوكه في ما اقوله من الا را الجديدة ، وسألنسي ما ان كنت اعرف انه مهما أصر على الا را الجديدة غير ان معظم الناس لا يزالون يحتفظون بالا را القديمة بسبب وجود النظام الحاضر .

طبعا لا اعتقد أن كل الناس سيتابعون أرائي فور طرحي بالارا الجديدة ، غير أن هذا لا يعنى أن طرح الارا الجديدة لا فائدة له ، وفي الواقع سوف تكون هناك فائدة في السمتقبل .

كل الناس يقولون ان تنفيذ نظام الديمقراطية في الصين صعب جدا . ولكن مطالبة الديمطراية في الصين قد بدأت في علم ٩ ٩ ٩ ٩ م ، ولكن لغاية اليوم ، ما زالت تبقى الا مور غير الديمقراطيسية في مجتمعنا ،لماذا ؟

یقال آن المجتمع بتشدم ظیلا تنمیلا ، وافرا فکرنا بکل دقة وجدنا فعلا هناك كثیرا مصصصن الا جرا<sup>ء</sup>ات تختلف عبن ما مضمی

وقد ذكرت أس في الهدى الحفلات بأنه على الرغم ان التنفيذ الديمقراطي عندنا لا يلحق الدول الفربية غير اننا قد أحرزنا انجازات لا بأس بهما ، وهناك جملة منتشرة عندنا في الوقست

الماضر تقول : الربح الشرقية قد هبطت والطبلة المربية قد ارتفع صوتها فلا أحد يقدر أن يهدد الثاني .

وفي الحقيقة ان الوضع مثل هذه الجملة في حد ما ، والان ليس أحد يقع في الخوف ، وفي معظم الاحيان لا تجرأ أن تعمل شيئا ما ، ولكن ، اذا عملت فتجد لا احد يجرأ أن يعمل ضدك .

الديمقراطية بحاجة الى وقت لتحقيقها وليس هناك أى خوف ، وانتقاد كهار المسؤولين في الحكومة هو رسز للديمقراطية ، واعتقد انه يحق لنا انتقاد السؤولين ، وفي عام ١٩٥٧ في وقت النزاع ضد اليمينيين ، اذا قام احد بانتقاد مسؤوله مثل السكرتير في الحزب فكان عند مخطر كثير ، ولكن الان لا احد يتعرض لمثل هذا التهديد .

وفي العاء الماضي كنت انتقد ساعد رئيس بلدية بكين في احدى الجلسات فتعرضت لبعض المشاكل ، ولكن الان لا احد يجرأ أن يعماصل الاخر بالخشن ، وفي شهر آب الماضي قست بانتقاد هو تسياو موعلنيا في مؤتمر صحفي فما تعرضت لاى شكلة ، واريد أن اقول ان الانسمان يجب عليم أن يحاول في استخدام حقوقه .

في العام الماضي انتقدت لجنة حزبية لبلدية بكين ، وهذا العام اريد انتقاد دائرة السياسة وقصدى هو يحق لنا الانتقاد ، واذا اخطأت يمكنك ان تنتقدني ، و سعنى الديمقراطية الا اجبىرك ان تقبل رأى أنا بل يعني انه يحق لي أن اعبر عن رأى أنا .

على هذا قلت انه لا احد يخاف من الاخر ، ولا نستطيع ان نقول اننا قد حققنا الديمقراطية غير انه لقد وجدنا أثرا في هذه الناحية ، وهذا يدل على ان كاحنا لم يكن عثا .

وفي الصين منذ القدم ان الطلاب هم قوة للد يمقراطية والتقدم وهذا هو الحقيقة اعتقد انكسم قد لاحظتموها باعينكم .

واني اعارض تماما على اتخاذ افكار ماركسية كنظريات لا رشاد جميع الا سور ، وعرفنا أن ذلك سيؤدى الى النتائج الخاطئة ، وعلى سبيل مثال ذلك أن جميع الانتقاد أت العلمية بعد التحرير كلها خطأ مائة بالمائة ، وهذا الرقم القياسي فعلا أمر مخيف ،

والجيل الجديد لهم أراء مختلفة تجاء مجتمعنا ،هذا الامر صحيح ، ونتمنى من جميـــــع

الشباب والشابات ان تكون لهم مسؤولية ثم يعرفون ويتحملون مسؤولياتهم .

يقال ان الاصلاح في الصين يعتبد نجاحه على عزم القواد ، واذا كان عند هم هــــزم فيتقدم المجتمع لانهم يلعبون دورا كالقيادة ،ولكن هل هذا يعني انه اذا لم يكن عند هم عــزم فلا يتقدم المجتمع ؟

ولكن في الواقع ان الاعتماد على عزم القواد فان الصين لا يمكن التوصل الى صغوف الـــدول المتطورة ، اذًا الديمقراطية التي نطالبها مجرد محتصرة على الديمقراطية المسموحة من القـــواد فهذه الديمقراطية ليستديمقراطية صحيحة ،

و عبارة اخرى أن الديمقراطية تحتوى على الاعتراف بالحقوق الفردية ، وأن المجتمع يتكون من الانسراد ، وهذا يعني أن الحقوق لا تأتي من أذن القواد ، بل أتت من طبع الانسسان حيث أن الانسان له حق العيش والزواج والتغكيروالالتحاق بالتعليم منذ ولادته .

ونحن في الصين لا يمكن ان نحصل على ما نريد و الا بطرقة الحظي ،وذلك لان الصين لها تاريخ اقطاعي طويل معافكار الثورة الثقافية الاقبطاعية قد سيطرت المجتمع الصيني مما جائت بكثير من الارا والخاطئة .

وقبل كل شي سمعت كثيرامن الناس يقولون للطلاب عليكم الاجتهاد والحرص على الفـــرص التي اعطاكم الحزب ، وهذا فيجعل الطلاب يعتقد ون ان حق التعليم من عطا الحزب ، فهذه هي فكرة اقطاعية . لان كل مواطن يد فع للحكومة الضرائب ، وهذه الضرائب تشمل مصاريف التعليم على هذا فان فرصة الالتحاق بالتعليم ليست جائت من العطا من الحزب .

والحكومة تعيش على ضرائب المواطنين على هذا فان الحكومة يجب عليها تقديم الخدمات للشعب يعنى ان الحكومة يجب عليها بناء المدارس للمواطنين ،

وكلما سافرت الى الخارج قمت باخبار اصد قائي باحوال المثقفين السيئة التي حدثت في فترة الثورة الثقافية الكبرى حيث اغلقت المدارس وحقوق المثقفين تعرضت للابتزاز ، فسألوني لماذا لا تعبر عن معارضتك على الثورة الثقافية ؟

في الخمسينات من هذا القرن ان جميع المثقفين يتقيد ون بالا طاعة فهم لا يمكن المعارضة مهما كانت الاحوال التي تواجههم . هذا الموقف ليس جيدا في ناحية التطورات الاجتماعية . حيث ان الانسان يجب عليه أن يحظي بما له . والان يجب علينا تغير هذه الفكرة القديمة والموجودة في الخمسينات .

اذا حدثت للصين الثورة الثقافية لمرة اخسرى ، فنرجو الا نكون هدفا للتعاطف ولا نجعسل الناس يسألوننا مرة اخسرى لماذا تجعل نفسك تقع في هذا الوضع مرة ثانية ؟ واذا فعسسلا وقعت الصين في هذا الوضع مرة اخرى فطبعا هو مأساة عويصة ، ولكن المثقفين يجب عليهسسم بذل ما عند هم من القوة .

اذا كان أى شخص يملك معرفة د يمقراطية ويعبر عن ما يريد ان يقوله فان قوله سيكون لــه تأثير كبير ، وان جميع الاشخاص قد اد ركوا هذه الفكرة منذ النصف الثاني من عام ١٩٨٥ م ، وهذا يدل على انه لدينا قوة جبارة ، والمسألة هي هل نجراً ان نستعمل هذه القوة ؟ ما دمنا نعرف وند رك بان الحكومة يجب عليها اعطائنا الد يمقراطية ، والد يمقراطية ليســـت هبـة وعطاً من الحكومة فان الصين تقد ر تغيير تلك الافكار الاقطاعية فسوف تصل الـــى المستوى للوقت الحاضر فكريـا .



Polychrome-enamel porcelain bowl with "Five Relationships" motif

Ch'ing dynasty, Yung-cheng period (A.D. 1723-1735)

#### 今日中華民國

بؤگؤنکی چین جومهؤرسیسی، جمہوریة الصین الیوم . جمہوریة الصین الیوم .



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新疆僑生伊斯移漢畢業於台灣大學與其親友

— تايۋان داشيۇنى بىتۈرۈپ چىققان ش، تۈركىستانلىق تەلەبە ئەسىمخان دوستلىرى ئارىسىدا

— صورة الطالب اسىمخان المتخرج من جامعة تايوان وعائلته .

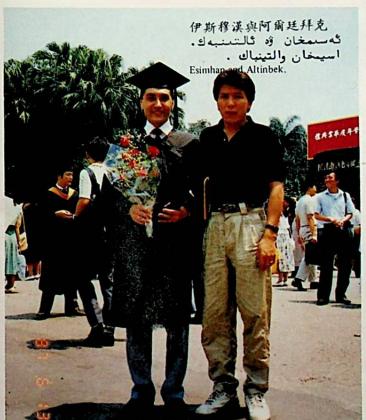
The overseas Sinkiang student Esimhan graduated at Taiwan University with his friends.

ان تايۋان داشيۇ ا ئۇنىۋەرسىتە ا قاپقاسى ئالدىدا .

Esimhan was in front of Taiwan University.



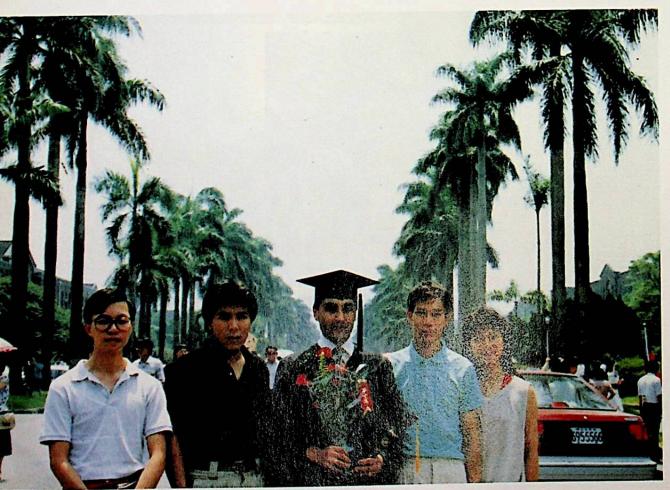








校園留念
مه کته پ باغچاسندا،
صورة في ساحة الجامعة .
Taking in the campus.



#### 國際大專橄欖球賽

خه لقارا يوكسهك توقوللار زهيتون فوتبول موسابيقيسى، ماريات كرة القدم بين الطلاب الجامعيين . Intercollegiate Rugby football Tournament.

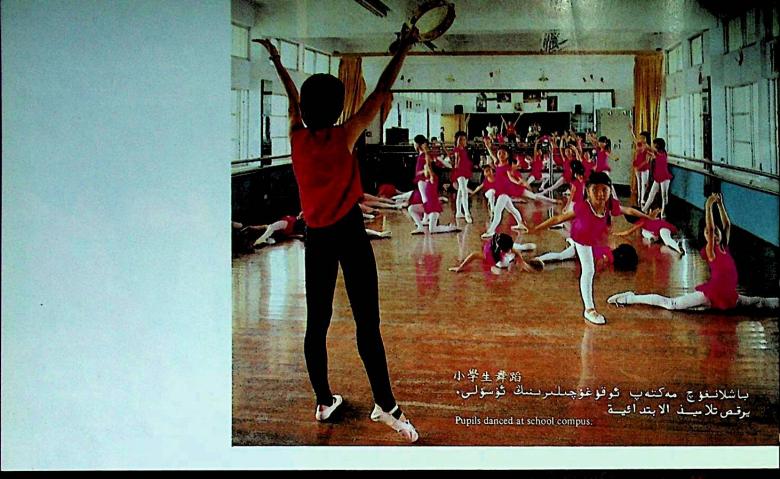
















恩

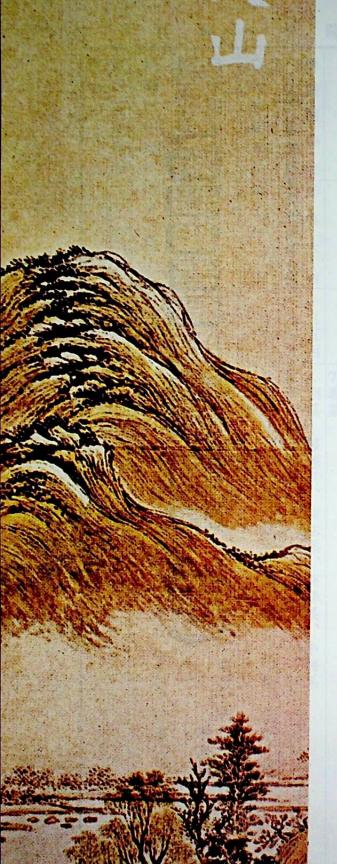
鼎

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林 李 利

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# 画」现象(予)

林恩顯

肆、文教醫藥現況報導分析

# 教育與學術研究(註42)

,開展了多種形式辦學。在民族高等教育上,主要在實行定向招生、定向分配、辦民族班等,加速少數民族人才培養。並將民族 學院往文理科綜合大學發展。民國七十二年本區有幼兒園三百八十五所,入托幼兒八萬零五百六十九人(其中少數民 族兒童一萬四千一百八十人);有小學八千二百六十一所,小學生一百九十四萬一千人,學齡兒童入學率百分之九十 授三十九人、副教授二百九十七人、講師一千六百二十人),其中少數民族教師一千四百九十六人。據稱, 三點零七;有普通中學二千一百二十三所,學生八十七萬三千六百五十七人。中等專業教育已形成工業、 高等教育近幾年新建五所高等學校,計有十三所,在校學生一萬六千四百三十八人。教師四千七百二十四人(其中教 分別攻讀文學、 方有關業務部門所辦的石油 農科、 醫樂衞生、 中共黨十一屆三中全會以來,普通教育通過調整,各地恢復和興辦了一批重點中學、 醫藥、 財經、 師範、 歷史、 法政、體育、藝術、師範等系統;中等專業學校一百零四所,在校學生二萬二千四百九十三人; 文科、 理學、 工學、 理科、 礦冶等學院)主要內容列表如下(註似): 農學、 財經、 法政、體育、 林學、 醫學等專業。可見其人數尙少。茲將新疆地區大專院校(似另有地 藝術等各類專業六十九個。在校的高等學校研究生五十五人 中心小學和牧區寄宿制學校 農業、林 現有工科

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典	財	師範	師	師	子	腦醫	番	子	八	木	飾	<b>IHI</b>	校
上業	經	專利	範	範	罂	學	工學	農	農	墾	範	大	名
入 科 學 學	學院	專科學校	學院	學院	學院	学院	院	學院	農學院	大學	大學	學	稱
	鳥	和	伊	喀	石	鳥	鳥	石	老鳥	阿塔	鳥	鳥	地
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<del>//k</del>	7. 5.	八		S	九	四 <b>4</b> .		九 <b>7</b> . 6.	9. 4.	八 <b>6.3</b> .	16. 11.		年
業餘性質	7.專業5.個系—工業經濟、商業經濟、財政、金融、計畫統計	3. 專業 — 中文、數學、化學	8.專業 6.個系—中文(漢、哈、維)、數學、物理、化學、外語、體育	7.專業		·個系—醫學系、衞生系、藥學系、中醫系	7.專業	專業 個系—農學系、園林系、農機系	專業 個系—農學、林學	專業 個系—農學系、畜牧獸醫系、	[傳案] 物理、化學、生物、歷史、地理、體育、音樂、美術物理、化學、生物、歷史、地理、體育、音樂、美術語、一政治、中文、中語(漢、豪、維)、外語、敎育、數學、	19.專業語(英、俄)、數學、物理、化學、生物、地理語(英、俄)、數學、物理、化學、生物、地理1.個系—政治、歷史、法律、中文、中語(漢、維、哈薩克)	科
							Щ		21		7,	外	系
	180	68	170 多	184	100 多	300	340	301	347	712	335	600 多	人 教數 師

再 地 附 九 百 任 萬 百 學 九十七萬七千 務 教 就 六千零 的 五 校二 育 州 數 新 量 疆 院 七 社 餘 言 市 八十 會 四 廣 有 大 學、 敎 播 鳥 敎 這 所 七 單 育 五 魯 師 師 種 , 人 科 式 木 進 百 成 範 涵 教 的 多 人 大學 齊 修 授 敎 , 育 大學、 學 學 成 人 業 市 高 中 班 專畢 績 等 , 餘 0 校 小學 七 中 還有幾所教育學院正 敎 伊 ^ 實 ·業生十四 十三 ·學二百二十六所 犂、 院) 夜 育 在 畢 間 頗 還 業生四 略什、 個 受 十 大學共十 相 中 四萬 九所 當 , 在 共 低 l校學生 昌吉、 九千四百 當 百 , 其中 九所 局 六 十五 的 七 成 籌 和 於 重 , 1 脫 視 萬 五十二人, 建 田 七 人 六百 <u>+</u> 六千九百多人。 中 教 業 產 , 學 如 育 餘 學 年 註 習 六 廣 初 十三人 等 院 (44) 經 播 一千 高 電 學 批 中畢 鳥 四 視 校 准 0 魯木齊 0 大 四千 縣 百 教 業生五十八萬九千六 敎 學 如以 育學 三十 並 多 有獨 現 師 有全科 鐵路 新 所 進 七 院 立 疆 學 人 九 設置 校 面 據 局 所 , 業 宣 敎 有 敎 積 的 餘 學 卽 稱 育 和 七 學 業 學 班 三十 + 新 人 院 習 餘 七 疆 大學、 三千 百 百 四 來 所 教 , 八十 年 另 五 衡 育 0 ·五百七 + 量 各 學 來 五 單 所 院 職 四 工 人 個 姑 以 新 位 大 , 疆 還 培 十 且 新 學 在 初 共 有 訓 疆 不 和 校 中 培 成 中 生 高 學 畢 養 學 自 人 產 其 大學 生 業 中 教 建 治 等 設 學 六 生 等 師 品 生 車 爲 兵

七 小 的 文 季 民 學 下 開 兒 族 級 設 一年底 民 維 始 中 敎 起 族 百 均 法 吾 材 敎 按 爾、 \_ + 課 有 重 先 全 育 維 新 本 六所 品 方 由 吾 哈 潔 編 , 爾 單 面 課 中 産 出 輯 寄 本 克 , 版 出 小 對 漢、 的 版 學 宿制中學 了 漢 大綱、 Ш 蒙古、 民 中 , 區 族 語 哈薩 計 小 畫七 課 中 學 教學參 克、 學 牧 本 柯 教 區 恢 十四 有 學 和 爾 復設在 蒙古、 的 克孜、 中 一千五百 掛 考書 塔吉克、 圖二 年出 小 學 百 音樂課 的 錫 鳥 柯 齊。 魯木齊 零 爾 多 次序逐步 伯 最近出 九 幅 克 柯 五 本, 爾 孜。 所 0 個 克 的 六 民 , 版了一 向全 其 中 / 十 三 七 錫 族 新 孜 十二 文字 伯 疆 大陸 蒙 年 等 蒙 民 一年起 古、 古師 族 套 六個 至 的 統 高 七 中 編 2中二百 陸 哈 十年 編 範 民 譯 共 學 續 族 中 蓙 中 組 出 小 使 校 克 共 央 , 用本 等 推 學 五 編 版 0 翻 教 Ŧ 族 譯 荐 0 譯 在 柯、 材 民 創 的 出 出 族 自 所 進 辦 版 版 譯 錫 行 民間 語 少 治 了 0 成 文 言 品 牧 寄 維 0 數 文字: 教 組 品 文藝 文的 民 宿 族 設 材 織 興 制 從 立了「 (辦了二 進行 教 文字 教 的 中 七 材 師 牧 級 教 的 區 編 師 人 民· 百 千六 年 寫 學 敎 中 節 維 材 六 秋 小 教 百 開 學 民 敎 + 材 零 哈 始 國 在 育 0  $\overline{f}_{1}$ 文中 五 出 六 新 所 截 , 自 + 版 套 疆 寄 至 小 小 民 自 七 各 社 宿 四 學 學 年 制 國 少

僅

在 高 學 校 招 生 制 度 上 七 對 十 二 1 數 年 民 本 族 品 學 敎 生 實 育 事 行 業 單 費 獨 支出 命 題 億 單 劃 千 分 數 百 線 多萬 民 族 元 學 人 生考 民 幣 漢 壆 校 的 學 生 経 低 分 數 線 , 希

逐 步 新 臦 提 高民 術 研 族 學 究 生 方 的 面 據 稱 民 國 六十 七年三月 恢 復 中 或 科 學 院 新 疆 分院 內 轄 有 物 理 化 學、 物 漠

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地理、 院成立 其中少數民族科技人員三萬九千多人,佔全疆科技人員的百分之二十五多。七十年(一說六十九 0 到七十二年底統計全疆 其中少數民族科研人員有五百五十多人,女科研人員一千一百七十多人。全疆自然科學技術人員 草 原 現任院長爲陳華, 水利 水電、 太陽能及計算測試等二十個科研機構。到六十七年全攝「 (包括兵團 其他領導人包括:買買提明・玉素甫、 和中國科學院直屬),現有獨立的科研所一百零二個 曹玉泰、 烏依古爾 地區」以上所屬的科研所 沙依然等。 , 科研 人員四千四百六十多 年 有十五萬三千人 新 ᇤ 社 有 九十 會科學 個

院內轄有:

有:劉永謙、阿不都熱依木等研究人員。

口中亞研究所

有:哈斯木、王沛、富明、蒲開夫、趙魯等人。

白宗教研究所

有:陸東光、寳文安、居乃德等人。

四考古研究所

有:王伯玉、李徵、趙鵬彬等人。

**山語言研究所** 

有:伊不拉音・ 穆提義、 倪華德、 阿米娜・ 阿帕魯娃、 阿米娜・ 帕爾莎、 米爾蘇里唐、 梅鳳禹等人。

57民族文學研究所

有:布蘭太、 鳥鐵 庫 爾、 馬合木提 翟一丁、 張 鳳 武 哈 廸爾 艾克拜爾、 阿米 娜 依不拉音等人。

<del>化歷史研究所</del>

有:肖夫、蘇萼、陳志烈、馬學玉等人。

八經濟研究所

有:楊廷瑞等人。

九哲 學研究所

## 出法學研究所

並出 版「新疆 社 會 科 學 刋物 據 稱 新 疆 社 會科學院 有研 究 行政人員共二六〇多人,業餘人員二三〇多人 此

### <del>|</del>一農業科學院

外

報導尚

有下

列研究機構

九六五年成立 , 設 有 糧 食 作 物、 經濟作 物、 遠 藝、 土壤 肥料、 植 物 保護、 農業機械 化 原子能 應 用、 微生物應 用

# 口畜牧獸醫科學院

科技情報等十二個研究所(室、

組

一九八二年成立,設有畜牧、草原、獸醫、牧機等研究所

## 曰農墾科學院

一九七九年成立,有三個科學研究所,職工一二五人

#### **四氣象科學研究** 四林業科學院

一九六〇年成立。氣象科學研究所

工作、 四十二個哲學 面 圖 會 的 書 |有四百一十三個,會員 商 專門學會研 業經 館、 新疆 民族理論、 教育、 各種學會近年來頗有增加, 濟、 社會科學學 物資 財政、 究會有七十 (經濟、 大中專校政治理論課教學、 會計、 會,並於七十三年成立聯合會,其現任主席爲馮大真。 有三萬七千多人。 衞生經濟、 個 金融、 , 會員有二萬五千八百多人。唯學術水準不高 據稱目 法律、 企業管理、 在社 前一 畜牧經濟、 靑少年犯罪、 自治區級」學會有七十一個 人口、 會科學方面 廠長工作、 中共黨史、 錫伯族語文、 的主要學 馬列著作、 家庭教育、 會和研 蒙古語文、 究會有: ,二級學會有二百二十三個 科學社會主義、 少先除、 會員近一萬人。至於本區自然科學 世界語、 新疆 群衆文化、 歷史、 日語、 邏輯學、 經濟、 檔案、 統計、 語言、 職工思想政治 ,各地 民族研究等 農村金融 哲學、 州市 方

# 二文化藝術(註45)

新疆 各民族都 有豐富的傳 統民間文藝,包括: 文學、 文字、 頭文學、 歌 舞藝術、 工藝美術等。 中共爲了利用這

些 膃 維 四 文 化 吾 中 爾 嫯 年 術 図 自 電 召 爲 治 影 開 品 共 工 分 本 產 作 品 主 會 者 第 義 協 服 會 次 務 新 中 文 , 代 膃 國 於 維 民 會 美 吾 或 術 爾 家 並 四 ተ 二 自 協 相 治 會 繼 品 年 新 成 立 分 疆 成 會 維 立 吾 新 中 噩 爾 國 文 自 聯 中 治 戲 戜 劇 品 , 四 攝 分 家 影 + 協 會 學 會 六 年 會 新 新 疆 成 膃 中 維 立 吾 國 維 中 吾 舞 爾 爾 自 蹈 或 自 治 作 T. 治 作 品 家 分 品 者 協 分 會 會 協 會 會 新 新 量 等 疆 維 中 吾 組 維 爾 織 威 푬 吾 自 曲 自 樂 治 品 治 家 分 協 品 會 會 分 新 會

樂智慧 史 著 詩 名 來麗 的 華、 江 維 共 與 格 爲了 吾 麥吉依 A 出 也 爾 古典 版 進行 傅 配 各民 合其 現 音 , 代 也 |樂| 統 族 0 維 及 治 的 進 十二木 民 哈 語 上 行 的 歌 薩 的 搜 集 克 翻 需 族 譯 卡 要 民 民 間 I 整 姆 , 理 故 間 作 在 事、 的 搜 長 工 0 詩 集、 作 並 搜 刊印了 寓 集、 , 言 建里 整 並 整理和 理、 出版 哈 阿不 諺 與 了 研 語 都 部 出 薩 究 曼 分 版 民 熱 ; 名 間 依 資 翻 譯 歌 木 料 史 新 0 舞 那 維 詩 疆 呵 爾 札 吾 柯 各 民 卡 爾 爾 間 民 爾 古典 克孜 勒 的 族 圖 文 案 克 熱碧 族英 藝 等 文 民 等 獻 與 間 雄 古 作 亞 品 與 突 史 典 文 詩 脥 文 的 賽 塾 語 数 整 Ţ 瑪 遺 理 辭 典 納 產 翻 方 譯 斯 和 帕 , 面 出 和 也 爾 , 哈 和 頗 版 古 典 有 豪 0 古 進 此 與 長 外 西 詩 族 展 琳 也 英 如 搜 福 雄

會 膃 膃 會 維 蒙 格 所 新 寫 財 人 文 噩 維 政 文 達 出 民 翻 自 研 分 吾 版 出 會 漢 版 治 爾 究 者 譯 文 品 綠 有 社 主辦 風 哈 出 目 薩 盟 伊 版 新 噩 前 阿克 的 克 塔 犂 的 金 民 除 爾 融 河 有 研 巴 蘇 大學院校 塔 族 塔 文學、 文藝 吉 究等 哈 維、 里 源 克 泉 木 台 刊 哈 ٥. ^ 維文 維 橋、 維 有 文 錫 物 鳥 文 學 伯 魯木 文 0 新疆 報 等 五 喀 自 齊 , 曙 新 什 個 治 吐 藝 市 綠 魯番 術 光 疆 噶 草 民 品 文 化 等 作 社 族 爾 會科學 哈薩 文藝 文藝 哈 0 的 協 館 文 分 主 克 文學 會 新 編 疆 文 出 維 維 維吾 汗騰 版 文 文 概 編 阿 有 況 選 凡 格 啓 了 提 爾 明 絲路 新 里 自 維 呵 星 膃 治 吾 刋 爾 蒙 品 泰 社 爾 物 民間 漢 蒙 會 文 春 族 0 文 古 科 光 此 文藝 學 文 外 古 哈文 典 新 尙 研 刋 詩 噩 新 有 物 選 玉 究 柯 民 會 外 爾 間 文 新 哈密立 克 出 数 疆 文 , 版 孜 還 學 哈 敎 文學 的 維 文學 有 育、 薩  $\overline{\phantom{a}}$ 文 漢 : 克 文 遺 族 新 文 維 產 柯 聯 疆 文 文 及 0 阿 經 綠 洲 另 濟 肯 維 中 各 詩 學 文學 維 巴 地 文 國 選 研 音郭 作 究 文 品 譯 文 家 協 新 聯 新 楞 並

専 之中 縣 都 新 噩 盟 並 文工 準 雜 專 業 備 技 庫 專 瘞 開 術 在 表 新 新 演 膃 雷 噩 影 京 尃 文 化 方 劇 體 專 幹 面 據 稱 部 以 等 到 學 天 0 七 Ш 鳥 校 <u>†</u> 電 魯 木 影 年 齊 製 片 市 有 廠 有 百 爲 : 秦 個 主 劇 , 在 事 自 敎 治 京 育 劇 品 上 有 專 直 新 兒童 屬 疆 的 数 術 数 有 學 術 新 劇 校 疆 車 歌 目 曲 舞 前 專 正 嫯 社 籌 新 備 等 疆 娺 ٥ 各 歌 改 自 劇 制 爲 治 専 新 州 硼 新 疆 地 趑 民 品 族 學 樂 自

藏 文 博 書 至民國 物 六十二 館 織 萬 七 品 展 <u>+</u> 覽 册 圖 錄 館 , 一年新 其 中 各主 吐 少 疆 魯 番 要 數 有 三十 地 民 文 族 書 品 設 等 文字 五 有 個 唯 的 公 : 各 圖 共 啚 圖 圖 書 書 書 館 近 書 館 + 館 文化 圖 萬 , 共藏 册 書多爲政 館、 , 書二 據 文物 稱 新 百 治 多萬 性 保 館 宣傳 管 預定於民國 册 所 性 0 0 書 自 其 刊爲 中 治 七 以 品 十四 主 博 新 物 疆 年 維 館 完成 吾 近 幾 爾 自 年 使 來 用 治 品 編 0 寫 另 啚 外 出 書 版 新 館 疆 爲 了 中 有 心 新 自 , 目 治 出 土 品 前

# 三新聞出版(註46)

文 漢三種文字版 族 市 的 職 伊 新 疆 犂 工 哈 佔 法 石河子報 察 疆 布 制 薩 全 新 查爾 克 社 聞 報 自 報 總 治 自 數. 紙 新 克孜勒 除 州 的 治 疆 傼 科技 縣 的 百 文) 的 分 新 之四 蘇 伊 疆 報、 等 自 犂 日 察 布 白 治 + 報 新 0 另一 州 報 疆 查 社 爾 的 \_ , 軍 自 報 出 黎 , 克孜勒 哈、 版 到 報、 治 L\_ 漢、 七十二年底爲 品 錫 維、 新疆 級 維、 蘇 伯 文版 報 漢三 民 有 哈、 兵 開 <u>\_\_</u> 單 種文字版 報 <u>,</u> 柯 止共 位 蒙 鳥 四 新疆 主 維、 辦 魯 種 有職工一 文字 的 木 畫 漢三種· 報紙 齊的 報 博 報 等 爾 紙 千 有 五 塔拉蒙 文字版 十 鳥 外 百 魯 新 多 多人 疆 發 種 木 齊 古自 行 廣 ·, 晚 播 量  $\overline{\phantom{a}}$ 其中 昌 治 七 電 報 十二年 州 視 報 的「 採 維、 族 編 博 人員 爲二十 新 自 治州 爾塔 疆 漢 有四 兩 少 年 拉 文字 的一 \_ 報、 報 萬 百 昌 版 多 多 新 吉 份 人 蒙、 膃 報 工人 石河 少 維 還 數 漢 報 子 有 民

總 目 人民廣 時 , 六 間 在 + 播 廣 爲 五 電 播、 八 年 十 台 士二 九 電 頑 小 方面 月始 九八〇 時 左 右 播 , 除 年 0 出 但 彩 建 色 立 新 民 節 衆 疆  $\smile$ 擁 0 人民 目 並 有 , 七十 於民 電 廣 視 播 並不 國 電 年 五 台 + 六 九年 外, 月 遍 實 在 有 行 鳥 克 維 吾 魯 拉 爾 木 瑪 語 齊 依 來成了 市 漢 人 語 民 廣 彩 新 色 噩 播 電 電 電 視 頑 台 分 台  $\sim$ 頻 , 道 六 九 + 七 播 九年 出 年 0 建立 正 七 <u>+</u> 式 播 年每 出 鳥 黑 週 魯 白 木 雷 齊 出 視 的 市 飾

新疆的出版社目前有九個,茲分列於次:

# 一新疆人民出版社

國 四 + 年 成 立 , 出 版 有 維 哈 蒙、 漢 四 種 文字 圖 課 本 和 雜 誌 0 後 又增 加 錫 柯 兩 種 文字 的 出 版

### 口教育出版社

十五年 六十二年又告 成 立 負 貴民 恢 復 族 學 校 課 本 的 編 輯 工 作 下 設 維、 哈 蒙 柯、 錫 五 族 文字 編 譯 組 0 五 + 年 併入人民出版

社

# (三伊犂哈薩克自治州人民出版社

以專門出版哈薩克文圖書的綜合性出版社

# 四新疆人民衞生出版社

六十五年成立 到七十二年 出版了 維、 哈、 蒙文的 初、 中級醫學書籍 百多種 印行一 百萬册以 上。尚發行了介紹

醫療衞生技術和維文醫學期刋等。

# 田新疆青年出版社

的克孜勒蘇柯爾克孜自治州人民出版社

以專門出版柯爾克孜文圖書爲主。

## 出維吾爾文出版社

四十五年設在喀什地區。

# 八新疆 (維、哈文)科普出版社

至七十二年底共編譯出版維、哈文科普書籍四十七種,計三十七萬册。

# 仇新疆交通出版社

至七十二年據稱新疆共出版維吾爾、 漢、 哈 薩克、 蒙古、 柯爾克孜、 錫伯等六種文字的圖書一千零五十 七 種 四

千三百六十六萬册。其中少數民族文字圖書七百七十種,計一千三百五十二萬册

二年內全區共銷售圖書爲七千八百多萬冊,人平均購書六册 發行點有九百多處, 書發行工作以新華書店爲發行網,六十八年全疆新華書店發行網點有一百五十七個。到七十二年底 集體書店 有一百七十八處, 個體 書店、 攤 有二百零七處, 農牧區發行人員有一百零 八人 **,** 或

### 四、醫藥衛生(註4)

合醫院和 百十三張, 膃 兩所中醫醫院 到民國七十二年各級各類衞生機構爲三千二百二十九個 衞生技術人員六萬七千四百六十六人,其中較高級醫務人員一萬五千九百五十五人。 及口腔、 精神病、 結核病等專科醫院或門診所。 ,七十三年底爲三千二百五十一個 另有民族醫院、 衞生防疫站, 烏魯木齊有五 , 病 床有 流行病研究所 六 萬三千 所綜

幼 保 健 所 品 檢 驗藥物研 究 所 中 醫 研 究所、 醫 療 器 械 修 造 廠、 中 西 含 藥 廠 醫 學 院 校 和 衞 生 出 版 社

伊 在 六千二百 數民 市 在 先後建 醫 族醫 學 教 九 樂學 十四四 育 立民族醫 方 育水準 人 方 面 面 , , 民 聯合診 其 , 中中 國 目 前 七十二年 級 所 新 疆 衞 0 除 專 有高、 門 有烏魯木 護校三千七百二十一人。 數民族醫療機構二十 中 等醫學 齊、 喀什、 院 校二十二所 和田三所民 至七十二年全疆 九個 , , 民族醫 族醫 其中醫學 院 病 和 床 有 民 院 族 中醫 七 兩 五〇張 醫 所 薬門 藥專 中 業 級 市 , 人員 民 衞 部 族 外 器 三千五百 護 , 校二十 人員 還 在 八 庫 車、 所 八 + 三人。 人 于 在 関 校 註 學

#### 五. 育 註 (49)

(48)

可見醫

學

敎

尙

低

多人。 + 七所 阿 克亞 新 各民族 疆 嘎 各民 學 生 齊 族 同 六千八百 像 胞 傳 每 搶 統 逢喜 花 體 餘 育項目聞 炮 慶 人 佳 等 0 節 重點業餘 0 名 , 據 有 稱 2 時 如 : 新 舉行 疆 體校五所, 於民國 摔 賽馬、 跤、 七十二年底 賽馬、 摔跤、 學生七百八十二人 刁 羊 刁羊、 正 射 , 縣以 箭、 姑 娘 上各級 追 沙 0 哈爾 體育傳 射箭 體 地 委舉辦 等 統項目 空中 體 育活 的 學 轉 輪 動 校二百三十 少年兒童業 阿拉 木 所 餘 球 , 學 體 像 校 生 棒 Ę 壨 有 八 百 七

達瓦 七十二年底 運 和 籃球、 動 孜 四十 除 國 七十 沙哈爾 ,二百六十二名各 年成立 排 球、 全 膃 地 年九月 足 新疆 體 育 刁 球 場 羊、 體 新 疆 地 田 育分會籌 設施計 族運 徑 姑娘 體 育代 動 乒 追 ゼ 員 委會 表 萬零 球、 團 0 飛 專職 馬拾 在內蒙呼和 體 七百三十三個 四十四年成立 操、 教 銀等民 練四 摔 跤 百 族特色的傳 浩特學 七十三人, 游 新 行的「 疆體 泳 舉 育 統 全國 運動 兼職 重、 體 育 委員 武 敎 0 第 練 術 據 屆 會 稱 百四 少 棋 至 , 類 目 七十二年 數 民族 前 十八人, 滑雪、 有「 傳 中華全國 底 統 等級 射 體 , 畫 新 育 等 運 運 疆 + 動 體 動 巳  $\equiv$ 育總 員二千四 有 會 個 + 上 單 會 五 項 個 , 百 協 新 項 參 多 疆 目 加 會 人 分 的 0 表 到 會 0 優 演

據 大陸 出 版 的 書 刋 刋 載 大多 數均 富政治 宣 傳性 質 , 不 過 也 可 從其字裏行 間 發 現 些新 噩 的 文教 重 大問 題 尤

其是十

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註

(50)

一九 或 和民 六六年 族分裂主義 到 一九 等 七六年的 帽 子 而  $\ddot{+}$ 倍 年 加 內亂 迫 害 , 使 民 族 我 特 區 點 整 被 個 抹 敎 育千 煞 · 瘡 百 孔 民 族 語 教 被 育質 忽 視 量 大量 嚴 重下 民 族 降 學 0 校 不 被 少 擠 民 族 佔 敎 使 師 民 被 族 戴 教 H 裡 通 外

口林彪、 秀作家、 四 藝術家及廣 人幇横行十年 大專業文藝工作者,被加上「 ·的黑暗 年代 , 新疆 文藝界和全國 文藝黑幇 樣 , 等政治罪名 遭受了深 重 的災難 慘遭 迫害 ٥ 文藝界的 大量好的和比較好的 領 導 幹 部、 各民 族 的 作 優

# 曰大陸學者梁國英指出:

,一律被誣

爲「毒草

」(註句)。

展 在,入學率只有百分之三十多,牧民中文盲、 培養大批 小學畢業生無法升學。邊遠山區各族人民由於缺乏文化科學知識, 溫山區普遍存在的問題是由 , 更談不上把現代科學技術轉化應用於生產中去,只能年復一年地從事那些簡單勞動 合格的初、高中生,致使有些事業無法開展。烏什縣沒有 於教育事業落後,文盲、半文盲爲數 半文盲高佔百分之七〇。阿合奇縣 相 一所柯爾克孜族中學,每年都有近百名柯 當多。 缺乏各方面 新源 縣哈 的技術, 內於初、 **陸克族兒童從一九四九** 高中教 註 (52) 難以應付 *-*師 各項經 嚴 重不足 齊 事業 幽 年 克孜 無力 到 現

四另 田又有一 一大陸學者史照林亦表示:「(新疆)牧區文盲、 位學者賈忠科 指 出 所過 哈薩· 克族中小學 教育問題時說 半文盲目前達百分之三四· 八九,科技力量弱 一(註 (53)

學生質 不合格教員比例大一「 分之四〇・六七,初中不合格者佔百分之七一・二九,小學不合格者佔百分之五五・八九。教員質量低必 量 ,影響四化建設所需人材的培養 維吾爾自治區人民政府」統計, 少數民族教員中,一九八〇年中等專業學校不合格者佔 然 影 響 百

2.學生流動性大一 生流動 新疆一九七九年度初中在校學生流動 率爲百分之四· 九五,哈薩克族達百分之十六。小學在校學

3.教員負擔較重。

4哈薩克族地區的學校佈局不合理 (註例)

中 共 統 治 下 中 國 大 陸 各少數民族人口文化程度和文盲、半文盲人口表(每萬人)

								文盲❖	半文盲	佔12. 歲
	族	別	大學	大學	高中	初中	小學	及12歲以上人口的%		
民			畢 業	建 業 或在校				合 計	男	女
全	國平	均	42.8	15.5	662.2	1775.8	3537.7	31.90	19.17	45.27
各民	少 族 平	數均	26.9	10.1	455	1216	3021	42.63	29.71	55.97
蒙	古	族	50.5	36.9	759	1664	3462	28.55	21.09	36.65
囘		族	50.4	18.1	630	1639	2600	41.22	29.73	53.01
維	吾 爾	族	18.6	7	350	1017	3318	42.12	38.70	45.76
哈	産 克	族	23	12.1	408.7	1360	3900	22.14	16.76	27.88
東	鄉	族	4	1.1	55.6	234	747	88.91	77.92	96.41
柯	爾克孜	族	27.6	1.8	312.5	884	3426	41.09	31.98	50.64

#### 一、宗教

予以 建設 年 教 信 民 斯 族 內亂 仰 稅 族 用或拆 等。 均 適 自 信 新 時 等 當 由 船 信 東 至 發生了 的 仰 期 政 正 天 毁, 民國四 安 策 伊 教 民 斯 更是 排 族 , 不少宗教人士受到迫 相 闌 , 利 但 複 肆 當 保 雑 十六年下 教 絕 用 意 單 大 的 而 0 其宗教 践踏傳 俗 多數的 作 如 群衆正常的 用 稱 此 - 半年後 的 囘 統宗 其 結 也 敎 維 中 合 星 吾 0 多樣性 宗 宗教活 爾、 教 , 中共也廢 據中共 害 敎 , 而 大搞 · IE 上 哈 宗 層 動 教 薩 , 克如 當  $\neg$ 自 對 除 人士和各族 , 向宗教 對宗教 的宗教活 稱 新疆 蒙 些 古、 囘 , 左傾 一政教 同 宣 上層人士採取團 胞 滿、 東 當 信 的 鄉、 動受到干 合 戰 權 錫 徒, 影 \_\_ 改變了 響 伯、 , 柯爾克孜、 進行 相 用行 使 沙(註 人其分 當 達 所謂 其一 一种爾、 大 政 離 結、 命 , 民主 因 令 (55)鳥 , 宗教自 此 和強 取 教育的 孜別 漢等 中 改 締 か、克、 革 · 共 對 制 原 民 方針 手 有 Ļ 由 族 的 新 塔吉 段 信 \_政策, 疆 消 宗 , 仰 伊 滅 教 社 其中代表性 克 佛 斯 法規、 宗 會 敎 蘭 尤其是「文化 敎 塔塔 主 教 部 義 烟 宗 在 改 許 分 多寺 造 較 表 教 稱 學 大 面 保 喇 校 和 者 Ł 安 廟 嘛 強 大革 二社 還 教 和 敎 堂 取 調 在 撒 命 消 會 政 拉 封 了 主 治上 翰 +宗 維

四 人 幇 垮台以後 , 特別是共黨十一屆三中全會以 來 , 中 共 在 表 面上 重 申宗 教信 仰 自 由 政 策 , 並 作 如 次 措 施

#### 註(56)

解決群 衆 正 常 一宗教 活 動 的 場 所 , 開 放 些禮 拜 寺

庭活動 斯 林 聚 點 居 三十餘 的 地 方 處 , 每 個 生產 大隊至少 有 處禮拜寺 0 並 開 放 佛 教寺 廟 八 座 天 主 教 堂 座 和 基 督教堂二

# 口對重點寺廟和宗教文物進行重點保護和維修

伊 略什艾提朵爾清眞 進 斯 行 蘭 維 敎 修 協 會 等 寺、 撥款進行 吐魯番 重 點 額 維 敏 塔、 修 昭 此 外 蘇 拜 聖 城 佑 (克孜) 喇 嘛 爾 廟 千 等 二十八 佛洞 和 所 吐 魯 伊 1番的 斯 蘭 帕 教 孜克里 和 佛 教 克千 重 點 佛 寺 洞 廟 等 佛 由 中 教 共 文 政 權 , 也 或 被

曰對宗教界人士在政治上作些安排利用,也在生活上照顧安撫

理 中 事 共 等 將 約 宗 兩 教界的代表性人士分別安排爲各級人大代 千 人 0 還將 伊 斯蘭 敎 界 和 佛 教界親共知名人士 表、 政 (協委員 派 任 自 治 , 밂 全國 地 州 及 市 自 治 縣 品 政 協 伊 副 斯 主 席 教 0 協 文革 佛 教 中 協 停

(四) 恢 復 伊 斯 蘭 教協 會 成立了 佛 教 協 會

發

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宗

教

人士的

生活

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民 國 年十二月成立 六十 九年自 自 治 治 區 品 伊 佛 協 教 恢 協 復 會、 0 學 辦 天 主 經 教、 文 進 基 修 督 班 教 , 和 籌 東正 建 自 敎 治 的 品 宗教 伊 斯 活 闌 教 動 也 經 文學院 已 恢 復 制 止 違 法 活 動 等 工 作 0 七 十

(五) 向 伊斯 蘭 敎 界 人 、士贈 送 , 和 向 穆 斯 林 :群衆供 應 古蘭 經 九 版 萬 多 册、 布 哈 里 聖訓 實 錄 精 華  $\pm$ 萬多 册 翻 譯 出 版

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(4) 組織 宗 敎 宗 訪 問 敎 團 人 士參 來 訪 加 , 以 顯 中 示 或 中 穆 斯 共 林 朝 宗 敎 覲 自 重 由 政 策 中 國 , 穆 並 斯林 施 展 出 其 統 國 戰 訪 技 問 倆 専 註 (57)中 國 宗 敎 人 士 訪 日 專 等 0 並 接 待 國

中 共 教 育 部 現階 段 有 關 宗 敎 的 規 定如 次

想

(二)學 (+)不得 校不 在學 得 停課集 校 向 學 生 體 宣傳宗 進 行宗教 か教、 活 動 灌 輸 宗 教 思

日不得強 迫 學 生 信 仰 宗教 , 不 得 強 迫 他 們 當 和 尙 喇 嘛 或 滿 拉

四不 得以 任 何 形 式 在 學 校 開 設 或 講 授 宗 教 課

田不 得 利 用 宗教干 擾 或 阻 撓 學 校 Ē 常 教學 秩 序

th 不得以 任何形式干 擾 或阻 撓 學 校 向 學 生 進 行 馬 列 主 義、 毛 澤 東思想 教 育 和 科學 文化 教 育 註 (58)

#### 二、交通 註 (59)

文件 形 品 實 中 於放 行 共 此 寬 三統 種 新 管 疆 理 維 搞 \_\_ 巨不 活 管 吾 理 爾 自 管好 能 卽 治 適 公路 應 品 : 需 統 人 運 要 民 輸 計 政 0 府 市 於 畫 是 場 於民 統 根 , 據 以 適 或 調 度、 應 九 六十八年 發 八三 統 展 年 商 十 品 運 和 價、 生 月召開 九 產 貨票 八四 , 促 全 進 年 爲 疆 農 中 交通 村 共 新 經 中 疆 汽車 工作 濟 央 兩 , 會 運 疏 個 理 議 輸 管理 流 決 號 定 通 文件 I 渠 , 從六十 道 作 , 和 方 , 針 允許 九 或 國 年 但 務 後 元 營 院 月 來 集 (84) 在 新 日 體 27. 起 號 的 和

口公路

正

點率分別爲百分之九十七和百分之九十四以上;旅客發

業性運 多層 各種 城鄉 次的 運 個 輸 輸 惯 的 運 應與 需 適應性比較 輸業進 要 國 , 入運 允許 營運 強的運 輸業 個人 輸市 或 場 一視 聯戶 輸 , 同 結 並 仁 購買汽車 構 向 發展 以 , 在 全民 政 , 治 或 進 所 有制運 上不 拖 步 拉 · 允許 發揮 機 經 輸 歧 營運輸業 公路運輸 業 《爲主導 視 , 在 經 在 , , 營 可 國 集 以搞 管理上 體 民 經 所 貨運, 齊 有 應 建 制 給予 設 運 也 中 輸 可以 扶 的 企 持 作 業 搞客運; 用 爲 , 在 的 輔 技 要 助 術 求 上 同 個 , . 時對 要 爲 體 經 適 運 常 個 應 輸 體 加 自 業 或 以 治 爲 充 指 品 補 實營 社 充 會 的

#### (+)鐵路

並保護

其

(合法權)

利

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這

新的交通運

輸體制

IE

開

始發展之中

目前主要是蘭新、 南 膃 兩 條 鐵 路 茲分述如下

#### 1. 闌 新鐵路

蘭州 程 十一年十月動 爲 一千二百 1 星 星 峽 多公里 丁, 1 哈 於四 密 + 幣 七年七月進入新疆 善 1 吐 魯番 烏魯木 , 五 齊 十二年初到  $\overline{\phantom{a}}$ | 昌吉 I 烏魯 呼 圖 木齊 壁 , 綏 來 並 正 —獨山子 式 通車 0 目 鳥 蘇 前 其 在 0 新 此 疆 境 鐵 內 路 自民 的 營業里 國 四

#### 2 南 膃 鐵路

通 吐 車 全 庫段) 長四百七十 吐 魯 ·六公里 番 庫 爾 勒 此 條 鐵路於六十三年動工 , 於六十八年八月舖 軌 到 庫 爾 勒 七十三年八 月正式

#### 3. 北疆 鐵 路

,

州 成 蘭 半自 各開 新鐵 在 七 十四 直 動 路 通 閉 據 年 旅 塞 中 客快 -五月破 共 0 自招 截至七十二年, 車;烏魯木齊至玉門、 王 , 動工 其 修 建鐵路設備 , 計 烏魯木齊至北 畫於七十七年 烏魯木齊至庫 技術 條件均 京, 舖 軌 烏魯木 到 差 烏 爾 蘇 ,至七十二年基本上才 勒 齊至上海開 , 也 繼 開了 向 西修至阿 直 通 行特快旅 旅 客列 拉 山 車。 實現 客列車; 口 據稱七 機 械 鳥 化 十二年 魯 , 木 行 齊 車 新疆 至 閉 蘭 塞 鐵路客貨列 州 由 電 西安、 氣路簽改 鄭

四 [萬六千 七 噸 鐵路營業里程 一千四百七十多公里。 少數民族鐵路幹部爲四百七十九名, 約佔 職工 總 人 數的百分之七

3 送量

爲二

百

一十六

萬

千人次;

貨物發

送

量

爲

千一百零

Ш 盆 子 地 又 沿 形 的 天 庫 大 Ш 疆 成 # 北 公 車 個 個 路 麓 繞 環 向 係 公 塔 形 西 以 路 里 至 烏 最 木 沿 奎 魯 具 屯 木 盆 天 意 地 Ш 齊 繼 義 的 南 爲 續 中 大 麓 半 兼 向 向 心 具 個 西 西 伸 國 至 環 向 防 形 經 伊 四 犂、 與 方 焉 , 經 形 耆 開 齊 塔 闢 成 作 以 庫 城 車、 用 鳥 ; 其 魯 由 最 全長 木 阿 奎 主 屯沿 齊爲 克 要 五 蘇 公 百六十二公 至 阿 路 中 喀 幹 iù 勒 什 的 太 線 公路 Щ 由 , 脚 再 烏 魯 網 由 F 里 喀 向 木 什 東 其 齊 沿 北 中 爲 昆 以 至 起 崙 布 七 點 十 二 山 萬 脚 津 向 年 下 東 富 經 九 向 東 蘊 哈 月 至 驗 , 密 和 形 收 的 與 闄 成 繞 甘 天 山 民 準 肅 獨 豐 喝 相 幽 通

六 百分之六十 量 量 百一十三公里 交通 + 區平均日 爲十八 爲 的 至 八百零二公 十五 七 部 全 生 億零 十二年新 門 億 腽 產 部六 大隊 零 發 + 共 九 有 千 客 七 五 , 載 通 零 百三十六 運 里 已 全區 個 七十三年 疆 九十九 經 地 客汽車一千二百四 了 班 , 公路 汽 通 共 次一千三百 已 車 州 開 了 有 通 客 農 , 萬 闢 萬 車 爲百分之三十 共 客運 噸 車 牧 市 人公里 里 公里 専 和 舖 的 程 線路 柏 場 四 八 爲 十三 + 油 萬 0 0 二萬二千二百一 四 六千 四 + 路 在 = 全 七 班 疆 貨 個 面 百 六 輛。 (運方面 零 有各種 一九九 個 縣 七千九百 五 十二 六十 通 通 全疆 。至七 了 了 條 客車 客車 八三年自 八 車輛七萬 , 經營 公里 零 七十二年 , 十三公里 八公里 其中 的 ; 十二年 1公路客 全 , 佔百 百 品 有 一千零九 治 零三 新 新 夜 六  $\overline{\phantom{a}}$ 品 百零五 七 疆 運 疆 , 交通 分之七十二 宿農村班 是的企業· 十三年 客運專 個 據 交通 稱 八十二輛 部 , 門 個 佔 部門 七 縣 業 爲 車 百 公 客 點四; 公司 八千 縣 分之七十; + 汽 運 五 社 通 + 量 車 個; 鄉 有長 公路 貨 一百 爲 四 全區 運 個 金汽 中 從事 千 多公里 量 點 -有三百 公路 , 全 爲 七 , 對 品 客 車 百 三百 百 開 客 公路 運 Ξ 分之九 四 七十二萬 <u>+</u> 的 運 七 的 百 , 爲 線 + 客 職 八 通 + 全 I 路 + 萬 連 車 爲 個 五 疆 的 網 里 線 人 六千 程一 通 公 路 次 的 輛 通 噸 了 社 長 車 度爲 客車 + 萬二 和 自 里 貨 旅 百二 程 百 物 客 五 治 千二 分之 六 的 品 周 周 萬 佔 轉

經 五 + 常 性 新 1,04 個 的 溫 傳 短 統 其 途 中集 運 民 間 輸 運 體 所 成 輸 爲 除 有 制 協 , 單 司 目 汽 位 前 佔 車 仍 74 運 以 + 輸 膠 集 輪 個 散 大 車、 物 職 資 工 架子 有 的 有 五 力助 車、 千 多 人 手 拉 拉 0 0 至七 車、 另外 尚 十三年上半年 駱 駝 有 部 毛 分 驢 個 除 全 活 體 疆 運 躍 輸 組 在 戶 織 廣 起 大 城 來 的 鎭 和 民 間 農 運 牧 輸 品 單 擔 位 共 負 有 著

### ||民用航空

航 空 除 原 也 新 以 ᇤ 有 鳥 的 在 魯 鳥 鳥 魯 木 魯 齊爲中 木 木 齊、 齊 伊 蘭 ιÙ 寧、 州 , 聯 合全 呵 鳥 克 魯 疆 蘇 木 <u>+</u> 齊 庫 車、 喀 個 代 地 喀 州 什 鳥 魯 木 市 和 圓、 形 齊 成 航 且 和 末 線 闏 運 等 地 輸 鳥 魯 網 有 木 機 鳥 場 恋 魯 富 SI 木 勒 齊 蘊 機 泰 場 团 目 烏 爾 魯 前 泰 木 是 等 齊 中 地 共 也 第 伊 相 兀 寧 繼 開 個 鳥 威 航 際 機 新 木 場 溫 齊

齊| 個 加 -克拉瑪 機場, 到 西安的三條 七十多次, <del>+</del> 依、 個航空站 鳥 來往的 魯木齊 國 內航 , 戜 線;並另闢了七條經烏 1 區內外航空里程共爲 際班機也 富蘊等航線 增加爲二十六班以上,目前全疆有鳥 外, 民國 魯木齊通往西亞 六十二年以後又開 萬一千五百 公里 歐洲、 闢了 ,全年客運量 由 魯木齊、 非洲 鳥 魯 的 木齊 爲十多萬人, 國 哈密、 際 航 北 線。 京 新井子、 使 鳥 新近 每週 魯 木 和閩、 來 成立了「 齊 往 的 昌吉等 國 內 新 班 鳥 十二 機增 魯木

(四) 郵電

公司

新 邢 到 七十二年 底 , 全區自辦郵電局 主要特點 所有 一千零二十九個 據他們指出 (七十三年爲 千一百四 十三 個 郵路九萬九千九

1. 加強農牧區郵 政 通 信 線 路 百

多公里。

中共佔地

據

新

膃

後

在

郵

電上

的

2.延伸 汽車 郵路 增 加 派郵運汽

3. 開 闢 航 空、 鐵道、 摩托 車 郵 路

據稱新疆 全區建成長 途電 信線路一 萬零二百多扞公里,兩方八千六百多線對公里。全區電報電路在七十二年有三百

十六條 長話電 路 有 五百六十五條

前 ;全區共有自動電話兩萬七千多門, 電 七十二年本 信方面,七十二年爲三百 在郵政方面, 品 郵 投遞自 電職 Ĩ 總數 行車在七十二年爲一千九百 爲一 零一部,十二路載波機一 萬八千五百四十 加上人工的共電、 五 八十六 人, 百五 磁石電話 其中少數民族郵電 一十部 「輛。 ,全區 0 投遞摩托車三百四十 全疆 市話交換機總客量爲四 許 多地、 職工爲六千零一十五 州 市據說 輛 已開 郵 運 萬四千 人。 通了 汽車 自動 四 一百六十多門 百四十 電話 0 九 目

公用 雖 有飛機班 和 總之, 國旅 新疆 客所 機 是臺灣的 , 但 用 都是管理上問題頗多,時 一般居民使用機會不多 六十倍大 ,公路長度却僅有臺灣的十二倍,鐵路則不到 間 不準確延誤時日常有 得票亦難 臺灣的三分之一,且 尤其飛機和鐵路似多爲中共 一交通 設 備 、幹部 簡 陋

三、觀 光

在 新 噩 旅遊業方面 , 目 前 經 開 放的 旅 遊 點 除了 烏魯木齊 天池 -石河子 ·吐魯番 線以外 , 民國 七十三年起又

開 內 多 放了 個 六 0 人增 七 + 正 咯 加 興 年 建 到 市 者四 旅 民 及 國 其 遊 業 鄰 七 百 十 創 近 多 四 造 個 各 外 年 旅 0 滙 除 的 遊 點 兩 旅 百二十多萬 萬 館 0 三千 到 床 位 七 外 + 兩 Ė 百 , 美元 在 年 人 天 底 估 山 , 註 計 有 旅 許 去 (60)遊 業 年 多 爲 直 0 有 旅 中 更 接 高 共 客 從 業 係 塔 的 於民 成 建 人 的 員 長 國 帳 爲 六 篷 千 + , 多 七 人 人 年 開 , 對 始 晚 外 開 五 元 放 接 人民 待 新 疆 旅 幣 觀 客 光 的 , 包 旅 外 括 餌 國 食 床 用 旅 位 羊 客 有 從 肉 六 百 八 在

改 進 僅 前 憑 新 疆 優 美的 觀 光 旅 自 然 遊業最大問 環 境和 悠 久的 題 除政 民 治 族文化、 外 , 就 是旅 古 蹟 館 , 及 交通 中 共 三十 , 及 多年 旅 遊 的 業 相 封 關 閉 神 事 業 秘 的 效 其 率 旅 和 遊 業 管 理 發 問 展 題 仍 然 這 有 此 如 限 不 度 迅 速

#### 陸 新 疆 生 產 建 設 兵 画 現 況 報 導 分 析 註 (61)

十三 + 配 四千 農 第 按 展 畝 千三 場 新 農 五 四 廠 約佔 墾事 七 管 軍 疆 個 學 年 百二十 疆 百 共 葦 I 理 生 三月二十 九十二 原 業 生 文 計二千七百七 業 局 產 湖 全 企業 產 化 三區 建設兵團 品 梁 建 電 畝 人 對 塾 個 一術單 於發 七 設 條 革 五 廠 兵團 草 百二十 農 總 日 命 鐵門關 數的百 總 展 原 林 民 撤 位 , 於 牧漁 長 + + 族 最 自 銷 千六百 初是 民國 軍 治 五 八 九 兵 八 水電 萬二千二百三十六公里 個 所 個 場 分之十 品 團 一各民 共 的 四 0 0 0 由 建 醫療機 + 制 站等十 大專院校三 中 多 修 百六十 族 三年建立 萬 共「 六點七二) 部 建 0 畝 集 的 七 起 -多個 大、 構四百· 人民 經 + 體 0 濟、 九 轉 年 生 中、 解 工 產 所 個 業 十二月三日 , 當 七十 文化 礦 建 , 組 放 0 設 職工一 軍 時 耕種 企 成 小 中 業 兵團 **全** 型 個 專 的 建 係 \_\_ 第 設 將 水 七 , 面 0 所 決定恢 七十 其中 退 過 庫 積 百萬零四千 該 , 出現 兵團 兵團 八 防 去 十三 千 禦 興 四 醫 職 業中 年爲 役 辦 院二 三百 到 第 霸 復 座 七十二 權 的 兵 了 百四十 九十 八百 學 專 轉 五 主 七 , 萬四 總 三十 第 業 義 , 部 年 蓄 五 八 六 的 决 紡 、兩軍 水量二 十三人 隊 萬 侵 千公里 九 七 織 底 定 所 零 略 中 所 止 , 廠 集 五 的 強 , 0 , 十五 科研 技工學 千 中 0 共 四 保 調 八 組 編 畝 0 有 個 衞 指 七 億 成 師 成 鋼 機 人 旭 出 至七十 校四 多 構 此 十二年 農 П 國 徽 , 業師 立方 二百二十 第二十二兵 邊 敵 兵 百 所 量 生 应 都 產 圍 六 末 0 四 + 實 開 + 年 個 有 建 道 普 「文化大革命」 通 有 達 五 + 設 灣 挖 斗 中 建 萬 分 兵 煤 造 個 專 7 林 學 築 專 渠 五 重 的 礦 以 六 要 面 勘 八 I 千 全 屯 的 百 積 百 黎 程 九 體 上 祭 十 後 月汽 渠 八十 五 設 師 百 指 意 戌 道 期 十 九 戰 計 義 邊 + 六所 的 車 五 四 機 四 個 十 員 0 , 萬 萬 和 六 萬

国 的 性 質 仍 保 持 民 解 放 軍 的 整 套 政 治 機 構 和 制 度 並 賦 予 生 產 建 設 的 新 內 容 它 採 I 農 學 商 統 兼 顧

林 牧 副 舧 全 面 發 展 的 生 產 建 設 方 針 , 並 堅 持 平 戰 結 寓 兵 於 農 , 卽 企 圖 體 現 經 濟 建 設 與 威 防 建 設 的 致 性 的 目

三十 並且 萬立 塔 累 襄 始 利 立 農 八 有 建 里 的 場 個 方的 農 造林 多 在 木 資 種 墾區 的 農 桃 場 金開 河 稱 帶 場 等 成 水 從 , 主要 杏、 營 套 和 實行了農牧結 庫 兵 级 流 造 出 項 改 中 0 域 自 軍整戰 座 產 梨、 防 良土壤 成 Ŧ 中 於 護 修 立 等 博 李、 林 建 多 五 到 萬畝 個 技 土 了 文革 斯 , 合發展 校 企圖; 創 技 騰 蘋 向 果、 乾旱、 術 湖 建了農工 百幾 農田 以 , 新 减 合 0 前 作 養 + 噩 此 少 葡 的 , 風 鹽碱、 外 畜 萄、 項 建 項 建 十 一立了一 設 業 沙 商 幾 目 兵 灌 兵團 專 危 結 0 核 漑 年 在 桃 害 合的 和 的 風 中 工 漁業方 程 沙 百 所 參 挨 , 需 外 使 城 幾 與 進 兵 紅 和 I 此 I 朵、 + 專 農業得以 市 行 總 石河子 戰 個 程 項 作 面 長 生 I 盛產 無花 技 鬥 水 產 , 達 術 作 四四 利 據 利 0 。 二 十 人 說 鮑 果 穩 萬 各 化 潤 , 等 員 自 及 多 個 轉 魚 產 公里 墾區 阿 高 的 機 入自 0 九五〇 多年 文革 鯉 拉 械 對 產 外 魚 分 化 0 爾 的 籌 場 援 來 前 到 新 别 的 + 年代 先 尖 創 五 城 外 初 四 助 後 咀 + 治 建 0 渠 國 億 兵 向 末開 魚 了 五 道 了 營 元 亞 年 專 + 0 瑪 , 全兵 各墾區 納斯河 上 農場 始 多個 修 五 交中 非 道 建了三十 , 黑 傅 當 和 具 時 拉丁 <del>=</del> 央 有 總 絕 中 開 大 計 大 稅 規 · 共農 美洲 白 多 模 果 五 多 收 都 數 個 園 座 八 魚 的 河 墾 億 的 Ш 面 處 總 部 或 + 小 品 積 於 庫 呵 多 營 元 歐 Ξ 容 白 畜 有 戈 克 承 十 壁 達 個 魚 牧 蘇 場 沙 河 擔 + 牧 兵 國 萬 專 黑 和 漠 家 援 億零二 用 前 提 助 魚 嗇 畝 奎 0 自己 越 供 等 牧 沿 屯 並 修 南 除 果 魚 河 積 嵐 開 水 建 類 百

視 司 ニエ 時 , 民 作 迅 國 速 五 0 + 到 抽 了 調 軍 中 年 墾 蘇 共 黨 戰 聯 +  $\pm$ 煽 奔 動 届 三 中 赴 新 出 疆 事 邊 地 全 民 外逃 會以 點 和 後, 事 邊 境 件 據 村 發 莊 生 中 共稱 , 後 控 , 兵 兵 制 傳 圍 關 似 险、 曾 奉 有 某些 路 中 共 卡 進 中 , 展 央 爲 軍 如 群 次 衆 事 代 委 耕 員 會 命 牧、 令 代 在 管 加 速 I 作 民 兵 之同 値 時 班 部 也 隊 兼 顧 建 設 的

# 、工農業大幅度增產

四 三年來工 + 十二萬 六千 七 亡 億 擔 0 百 農 斤 六、 萬 業 總 糖菜三十 元 棉 九 產 花 佔 値 總 Ξ 新 爲二十五 產 五 四 噩 量 萬 全 六 밂 + 噸 的 億 九 牲 百 九千八百 萬 分之二十 畜 擔 年終存 甜 菜 萬 欄 七 總 元 人民 產 量 百 八 四 八 三十 幣 十二萬 , , 增 糧 萬 噸 長 食 七千七 百 產 一分之四 量 油 三十二 料 百 總 頭 +產 億 六 量 分別 七千 八千 , 佔 全新疆 萬斤 佔 全新 百 萬斤 疆 至民 百 分之二十二・ 總 數 棉 國 的 花 七 十三 百分之二十二・ 百 年 八 + 農 八 業 萬 產 擔 値 糧 九三、 爲 食 <u>+</u> 總 料 產

 $\widetilde{\mathtt{I}}$ 商 綜 合經 營 扭 虧 增 盈 , 三 年 間 扭 虧 兩 億

元

全疆 民 或 製 的 七十三年 紙 百 及 分之三十二・ 紙 有 板 工 佔百 礦 [分之五 企 業近 四 四 十 七百 , 棉 五 布 個 • 五 佔 , I 九 百 業 分之三十三・三三・ 產 機 製 值 糖 十三億三千 佔 百 分之五 百 + 呢絨 萬 六 佔 元 六 百分之四 , 佔 , 全疆 飲 料 + 的百分之二十二。二三, 八 酒 佔 六六, 百分之三十三・ 毛 敝 佔百 三三, 分之七十 它 苼 原 產 煤 的 棉 佔 三〇 百分 紗 佔

職工收入增 加 生活有 所 改

之二十二・

八

七

水

泥

佔百分之二十

五

六〇

百 民 國 分之八 社 會 七十三年 商 밂 五 零 全兵 , 售 額爲 七十三年完成貨 專 九億六千六百 的 商 業 網點 運 爲 量 萬 元 萬 七 百 四 多萬 佔 百 全 個 噩 噸 百 有 佔 分之十 商 全疆 業 、職工 亢 的 百分之九 萬 九 六千人 0 生 • 產 三( 兵 , 佔 專 註 現 全 有 圖 (62)營 運 或 汽 營 車 商 五 業 職 八 0 工 總數 0 多 輛 的 百 分之十 佔 的 四

農場 以 來生 械 工 一家庭 ; 化 職 民國 產 雅 水 工開 建 養 生 利 七 畜 設 產 化 發 Ŧ 和 建 發 程 三年 性 邊 設 展 度 防 在 兵團 承 相 全兵 包 五 的 當 月 從 也 主 品 高 要 民 專 有 的 突破 全兵團 權 力 大型 國 私 量 四 人 養畜爲七十多 農工 , , 十三年十二月 實行家 全兵團 値 商聯 得 突 我 們 私 庭承包責任 合 和 人開 兵 重 企 視 成 萬 業 研 立 頭 荒  $\overline{\phantom{a}}$ 造 究 註 , , 制 自 田 地 佔 0 (63)單 的 當 和 邊 兵 職 画 然 收 0 族 間 在 性 I 的 復 其 其 組 農 棄 利 畜 , 耕 已佔職工總 益 業 總 正 織 地 生 數 的 面 功 的 爲 功 產發展 矛 能 四分 能 與 萬 等 之外 歷 多畝 數 史 到 之一, 的 就是: F 農 , 百 也 的 工 , 其中 軍 平 辦 分之七十 商 產 均 起 墾 學 生 主 (兵 兵 每 並 要 些 戶 百 負 的 屯 五 五 擧 養 7 以 間 面 , 兩 農林 上 相 影 頭 多 題 個 響 關 開 並 牧 是 辦 副 發 如 中 性 了 在 漁 共 綜 兵 7 庭 專 合 佔 農 個 的 料 家 行 新 營 庭 政 噩

上

治

的

,

與

當

盾

三日 突 地 直 共 面 加 部 方 到 蘇 督 署 民 強 面 地 軍 俄 體 軍 帶 郞 飛 在 爲 制 直 事 在 在 彈 新 六 部 溫 + 昇 報 部 此 新 復 報 與 署 機 署 础 臨 五 常 導 中 在 近 年 鳥 自 毛 越 共 且 新 地 魯 中 界 挑 膃 相 木 蘇 品 澤 俯 邊 者 東 起 互 邊 齊 界 軍 界 死 14 衝 , 至少 亡後才 珍 邊 駡 新 品 籫 近年 疆 之下 防 限 宣 有 牧 島 傳 情 來 六 稍 事 況 衝 民 , 轄 件 至 見 牲 西 隨 , 有 中 七 緩 後 伯 衝 導 個 共 北 利 和 , 突 甚 致 在 師 疆 亞 0 邊防問 至 , 新 專 地 然 派兵進 區又出 當 而 圖 駐 雙方 度 伊 鳥 中 題上 謠 犂 蘇 有 入新疆 實際 大 現了 傳 縣 逃亡 主要係發 個 蘇俄將以 裝甲 上 北 潮 所 南 邊 七二 師 疆 存 , 生於 的 其 閃 0 在 型 空軍 裕 後 的 電 駐 戰 軍 民 喀 攻 雙方緊張 縣 九五〇年代 什 車、 方 擊 事 面 , 市 武 擧 此後雙方 S 力 有三千五 摧 關 對 係 峙 燬 東疆 中 節 末期 局 在 機 百 共 節 面 新 架 駐 動 並 所 升 , 疆 高 與 飛 飛 有 哈 未 核子 蘇 邊 彈、 密 機 有 界 至 及 顯 俄 三軍 相 基 民 逆 著 翻 火式 再 當 的 地 國 臉 分 爆 以 數 改 五 發 十八 逓 變 此 後 品 量 零 炸 的 0 種 0 星 緊張 年 於 機 地 在 凣 方 等 的 撵 蘇 鳥 月 俄 關 小 在 中 方 係

十九型 齊軍 伊 人至二十 信 已 藏 兵 幾 即 區 機 佔 塔 下 六十 城、 新 七 74 楷 册 萬 個 七 四 喀 人 人 守 個 架 ,若 代 備 主 的 W 力 米 + 將 步 昌 分之 古、 格 另 新 兵 十七型 圈 師 說 生產 奇 及 台 統 四十 空 建 個 轄 設 中 步 騎 新 兵 源、 八 兵 兵 兵 架、 力 師 童 師、 中 庫 六 F 約二 共 車、 有空軍 九型十二架 守 個 五 莎 備 戰 0 車、 師 車 萬 第 八 專 人 疏 勒、 共 第 下 註 個 # 轄 (64)疏 砤 的 附 兵 四 戰 武 車 等 架 裝 鬥 分 地 民 别 , 師 0 分踞 之 其 配 兵 個 後 置 主 雷 部 於 備 力 在 達 鳥 分及 冢 軍 三 車 魯 個 加 第 木齊、 百 軍 上 廿 萬 分 個 地 汽 八 人 方 品 戰 哈 專 的 車 加 密 鬥 戰 上 緣 專 師 略 的 新 之大部 約 要 兵 井子 爲 點 個 力 工 總 百二 卽 數 兵 和 共 車 鳥 約 + 魯 轄 + 有 五 木 米 昌 萬 五 個 格 萬 通

施設 部 等 署 邊 高 核子 共 界民 度軍 自 實 族 事 九六四 驗 複 設 場 雜 施 外 或 年 基 也 開 界 地 有 始 線 0 飛 在 總 極 彈 新 長 之 發 疆 , 射 羅 使 新 實 布 中 噩 驗 泊 蘇 爲 開 地 共 中 聯 品 共 邊 核子 的 防 重 基 要 問 地 試 題 國 爆 更 防 註 , 爲 前 據 (66)嚴 線 判 明 重 0 , 尤 矣 的 據 其 傅 試 還設 是 爆 對 次 有 數 蘇 探 Ê 俄 測 達 而 言 三十 蘇 俄發射太空梭 , 三面 七 次 地 受 包 下 核子 圍 或 , 飛彈 且 實 驗 面 臨 的 0 美國 強 中 共 大 在 武 視 新 力 雷 疆 環 除

場

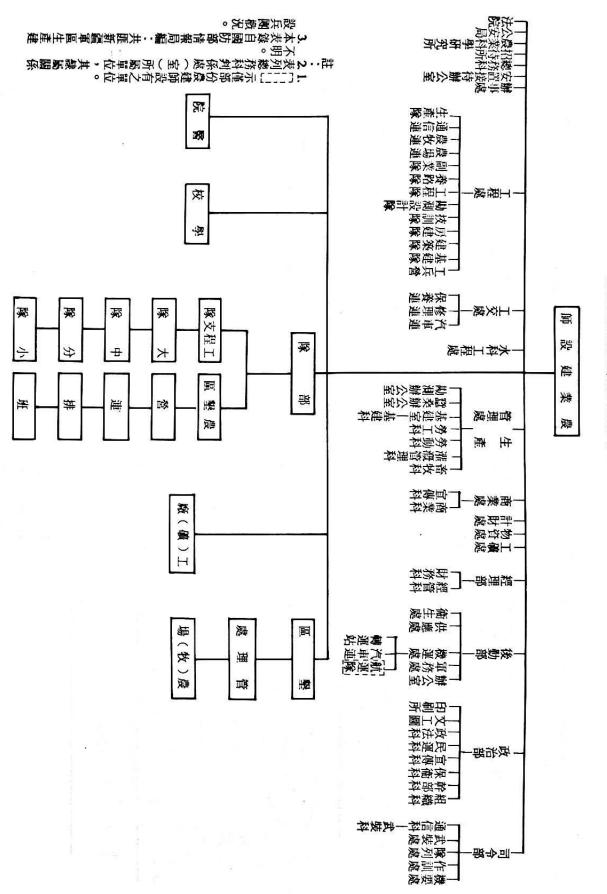
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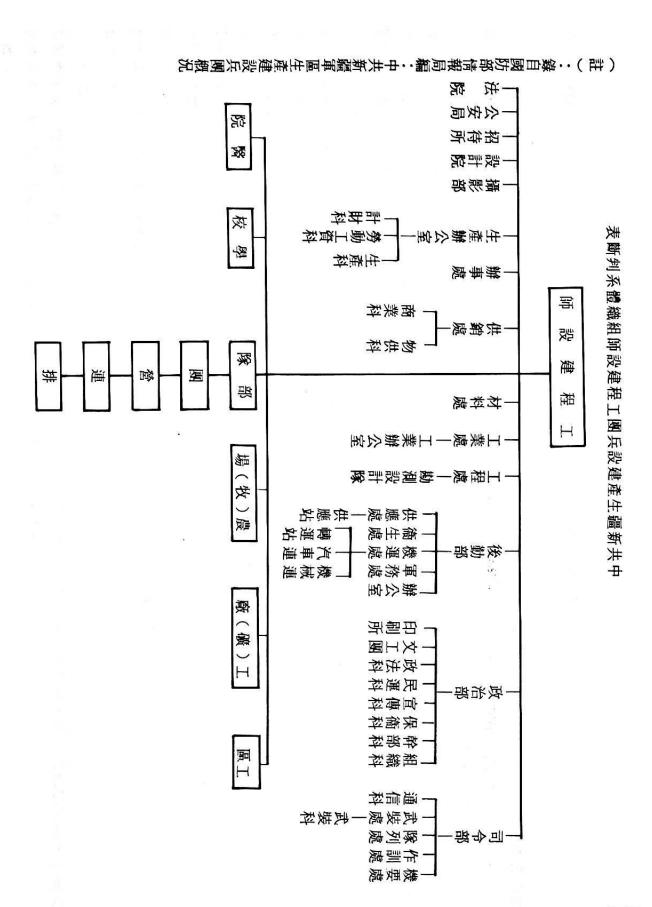
#### 柒、 結語

牧民 由 當 極 地 經 族 軍 營 與 噩 閥 係 中 , 古代 並 原 於光 土 農 霸 業 西 緒 割 民 域 據 的 + 族 年 生 建省 或列 存 部 必 分 争之地 強干 , , 其 是 涉 與 中 中 西 , , 終 央內 交通 故 至 其 民 地 孔 地 或 的 略 道 三十 關 更 , 係 素 爲 八年 有 日 重 益 要 絲 的 密 , 茅 切 路 爲 幸 0 我 之稱 惜 赤 國 化 民 歷 淪 阈 朝 , 各民 爲 建 及 共黨 立 列 後 族 強 統 滙 , 所 治 由 集 重 於 命 視 , 運 內 歷 0 尤其近 憂 史 外 文 患 化 代 悠 中 以 久 央 來 0 少 清 由 有 朝 於 力 再 自 量 度 古 顧 收 爲 及 歸 北 版 亞 , 游 圖

績」 在臺 區 同 民 , 多年 樹 胞 威 由 在 則 的 將 政 中 於 來 更 府 長 共 極 令 民 期 均 的 權 極 能 責 主 無 新 權 政 戰 治 任 噩 和 義 統 各族 治 我 0 建 爭 的 們 4 設 的 Ξ 統 後 干 共 同 相 時 我 多年 享 胞 較 日 們 中 徹 自 心 要先 則 底 來 驚 由 , 肉 相 連 , 著 跳 民 最 新 去 強 主 手 甚 噩 1 起 迫 努 0 碼 作 遠 力於 反 每 的 繁 法 0 榮 想 至 經 過 , 及 於 雖中 新 濟 去 這 中 生 能 幸 溫 的 共 產 共 保 福 點 在 存 的 研 在 生活 人民 究 , 新 新 其 莫不 疆 傳 疆 生活 瞭 所 消 統 令 文化 解 除了 種 復 水 下 進 興 準 某 的 的 基 遺 的 此 而 自 地 毒 提 規 弊 由 升 劃 臺 禍 端 生活 轡 害 , , 以 的 , 均 也 , 表現 爲 尤 做 中 而 了 日 國 其 成 後 是 得 爲 人 收 點 所 + 強 很 復 年 迫 傷 基 平 全 建 心 礎 文 庸 設 和 建 面 化 設 新 深 接 疆 省 大 , 受 工 革 如 作 共 而 努 特 命 與 產 カ 別 中 然 \_ 生 華 是 活 期 而 平心 使 加 間 民 方 式 新 國 重 的 疆 了 政 的 而 中 政 府 各 地



附表二



附表三

#### 註釋

(42) 新 疆維 吾爾自治區概況 ,頁二〇五一二二二。新疆人民出版社 ,一九八五 年

(43)`參考中國百科年鑑(一九八四年版 ) 。河 南省高等教育廳 高等教 育處: 全國高等院校便覽 河南教育出版社 九八

四 [年七月

(44) 同前

(45)新疆 維吾爾自治區 概況,頁二二二—二三一

(46)同 前書頁二三三—二三七

40同前書頁二三九—二四 七

(48) 見伍成: 新疆國民經 濟 和社 會發展 的光輝 一成就 新疆 社 自科學 九八五年第四

49新疆維吾爾自治區 概 況 , 頁二四八—二五二。

(50) 同 前書頁二〇七

(51)同 前書頁二二四

(52) 見梁國英: 加速發展邊遠山區經濟 , 新 疆 社會科 學 九八五年第六期

53見史照林 新疆畜牧業的發展途徑

60見買忠科:哈薩克人口素質分析 9 中央民 族學院學報 , 九八三年第二 期

(55) 新 溫 維吾爾自治 品 一概況 , 頁五七, 五八。

(56) 同前 書頁五八、 五九

(57) 同前 書頁五八、 五 九

68 見黃家慶: 正確貫徹黨的宗教政策發展少數民族教育事業, 中央民族學院學報 ,一九八四 年 第一 期

(59)見新疆 維吾爾自 治區 概況 頁一 五六 1 一七五。 及徐寳生 : 加速發展民族經濟是實現民族繁榮的必 由之路 新疆 社

學 九八 五 年第 五 期

(80) 見胡 祖 源 突出奇字發展新 疆 旅 遊 業 新 疆 社會科學 九八五年第三期

@新攝維吾爾自治區概況,頁二九二—三〇六。

62)見伍成: 新疆 國民經濟和社會發展的光輝成就,新疆社會科學 , 九八五年第四期。

@見陳實:民族團結魚水情,新疆社會科學,一九八五年第五期

60見丁中江:世界主要國家國防政策,頁四十三,中華戰略學會,民國七十一年四月廿五日。臺北。

69參考拙著:當前中共邊區問題之分析 ,蒙藏學術講演叢書,蒙藏委員會印行,民國七十三年十一月。臺北。

60見伊違宗義:防衞面から見た少數民族政策,問題と研究第十五卷第七號,一九八六年四月,日本東京。

#### Tibetans loot police station;

#### news reports clamped down

Lhasa, Tibet, Communist Chinese officals clamped down Saturday on news reports from Tibet after two violent pro-independence demostrations, but a returned traveler reported Tibetans looted the police station they burned one day earlier.

The traveler, an American who left Lhasa Saturday, said in Chengtu that Red Chinese police had withdrawn completely from Lhasa's central square, the scene of the protests.

Red China's state-run Hsinhua News Agency confirmed that six people were killed and 19 police seriously injured in the protest, in which foreign witnesses said about 2,000 Tibetans burned a police station.

"The police ... haven't been back," the traveler said speaking on condition of anomymity. She said that Tibetans looted the burned police station, dragging out files.

"Files were the big thing," the traveler said.
"The Tibetans were looking through files and tearing them up and laughing.

"They would take down a sign with Chinese characters and smash it. Old women were carrying away burned timbers to use as firewood."

Several Western witnesses contacted by telephone in Lhasa, however, said the police opened fire with automatic weapons on thousands of Tibetans near the Jokhang Temple, the most cherished shrine of Tibetan Buddhism.

A Swiss businessman who has lived in Lhasa for two months said Tibetan sources told him that as many as 20 Tibetans were killed, including one 7-year-old and one 15-year-old. 'I had shots flying over my head," he said.

A German tourist said he saw five Tibetans, apparently dead, lying on the road near the temple. "They opened fire and shot straight into the crowd," he said. He said shooting broke out several times during the day.

Witnesses said the crowds had gathered near the temple to demand the release of 20 Buddhist monks whom they believed were being held in a nearby police station.

Western reporters who arrived in Lhasa were ordered by the local government not to file stories.

The managers at a local Western-run hotel told reporter that Red Chinese officials had instructed them not to allow reports to go out about the demonstrations.

However, the reporter was allowed to briefly telex that the city's central Johkang Temple square, scene of the protests, was quiet.

#### Dalai Lama

The temporal and spiritual leader of exiled Tibetan buddhists, the Dalai Lama urged human rights groups the world over to urge Peking to release Tibetans held in prisons.

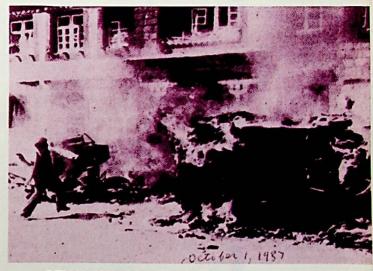
The Dalai Lama in a statement issued from his headquarters Dharamsala in northern Himachal Pradesh state, said: "I am grieved by the loss of lives and injuries caused to people during recent demonstrations by Tibetan people against Red Chinese rule.

"I appeal to all human rights groups to prevail upon the (Red) Chinese 'government' to stop the wanton epression in Tibet and release those imprisoned," h said.

#### Protest

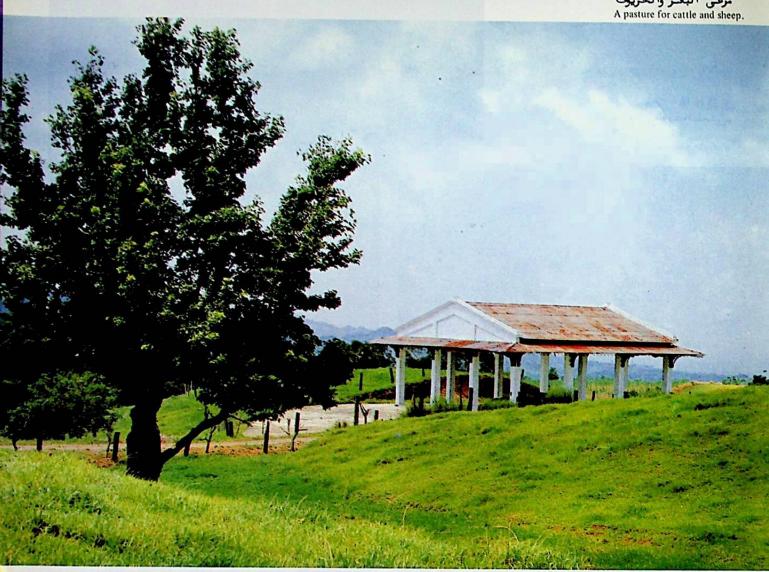
Meanwhile, hundreds of Tibetan refugees demonstrated to protest the killing by police of six people during anti-Red Chinese riots in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa.

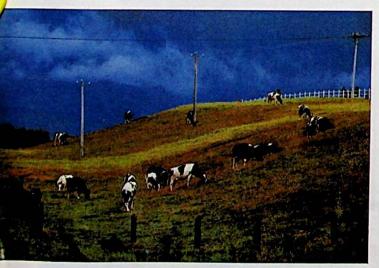
The peaceful rally was organized in central New Delhi by the Tibetan Bureau, an expatriate group.



DEMONSTRATION — A rioter hurls a stone at a Public Security Bureau building in Lhasa, Tibetan capital, October 1, 1987 as a car burns outside on a street. The riot was sparked by the arrest of Buddhist monks by the authorities.

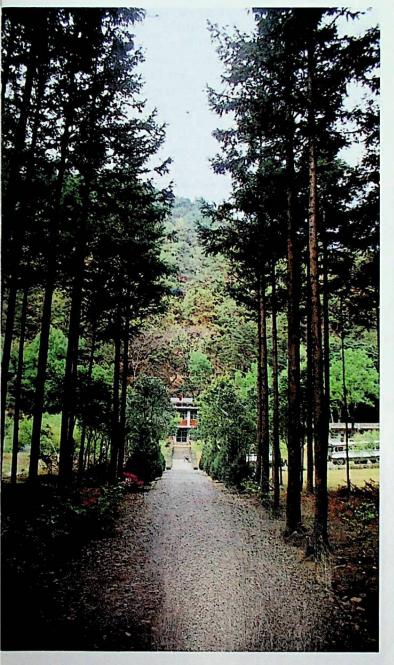
牛羊牧場 چارۋا يايلىغى، مرعى البقىر والخريوف A pasture for cattle and sheep.



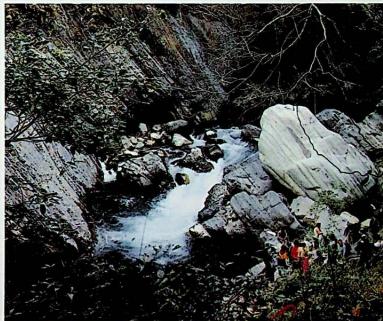


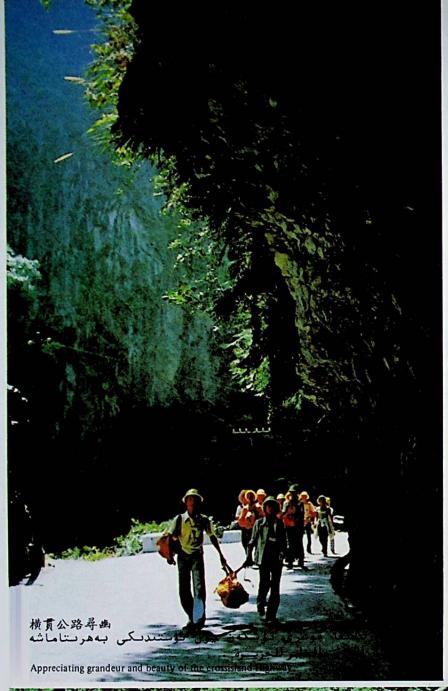


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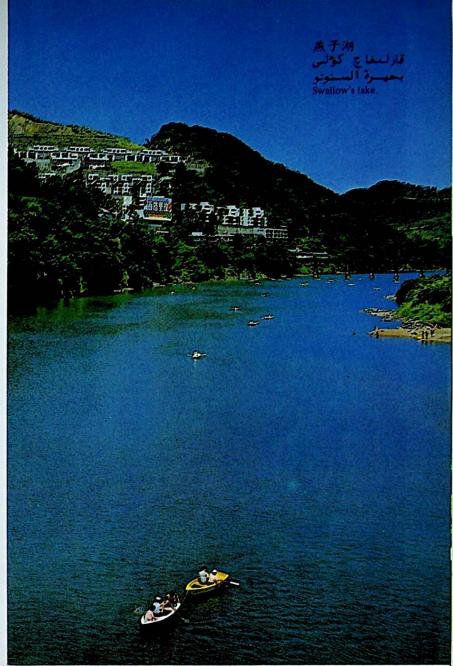


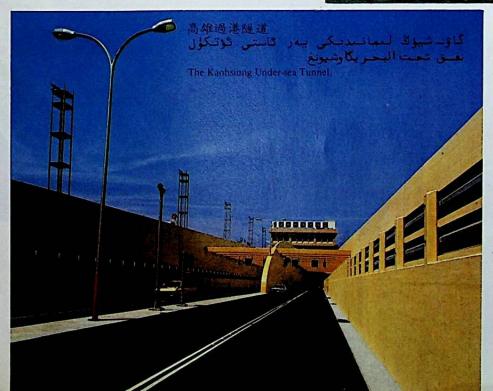




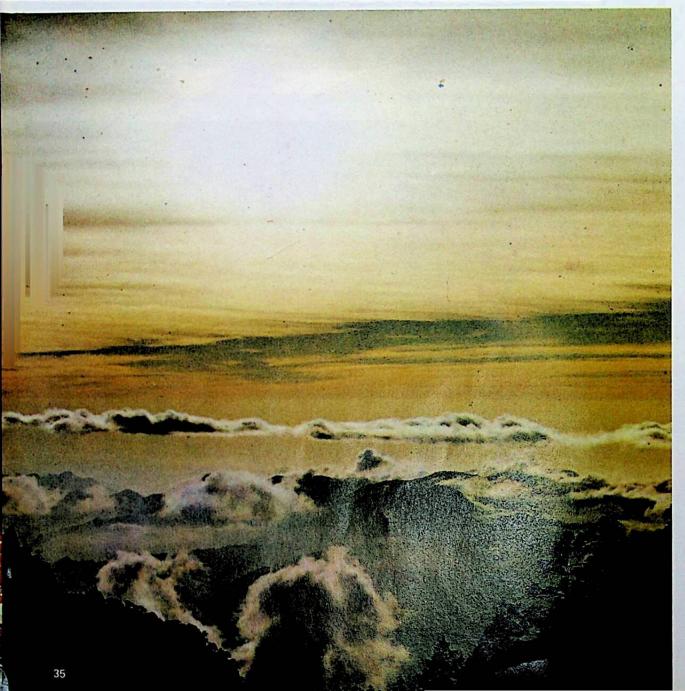








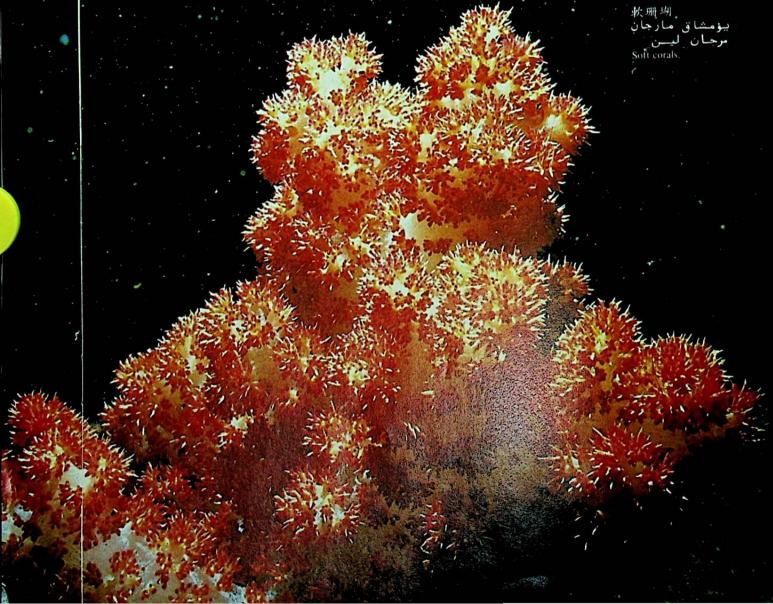


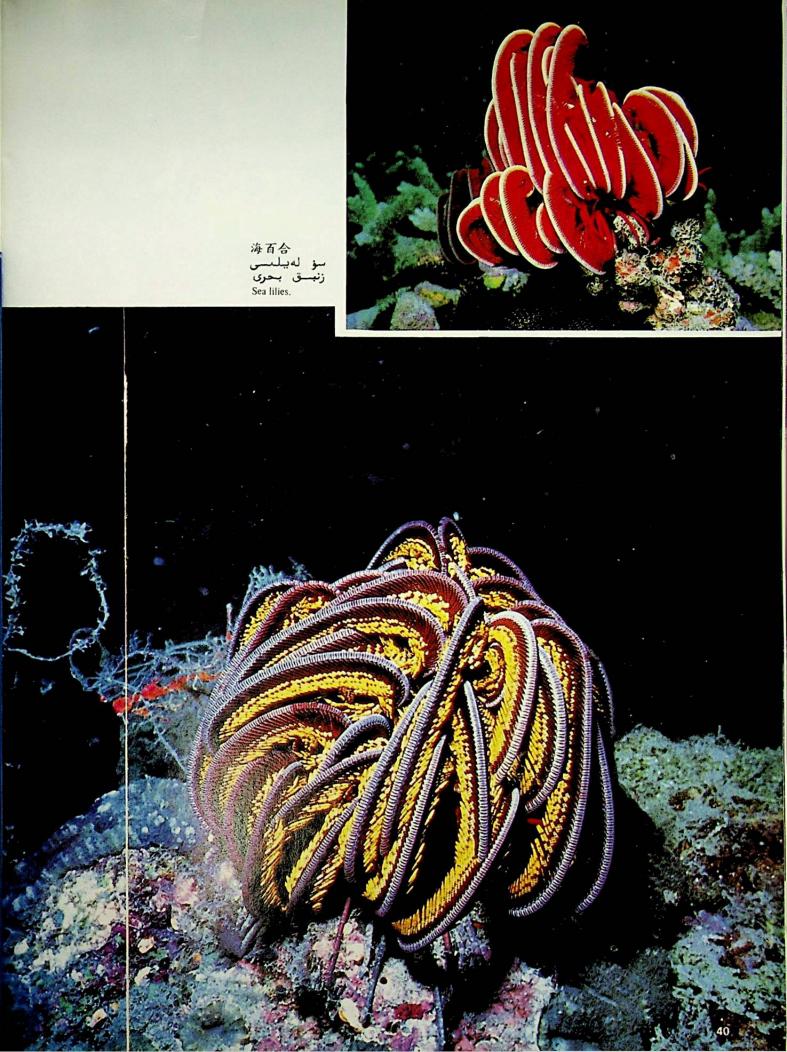




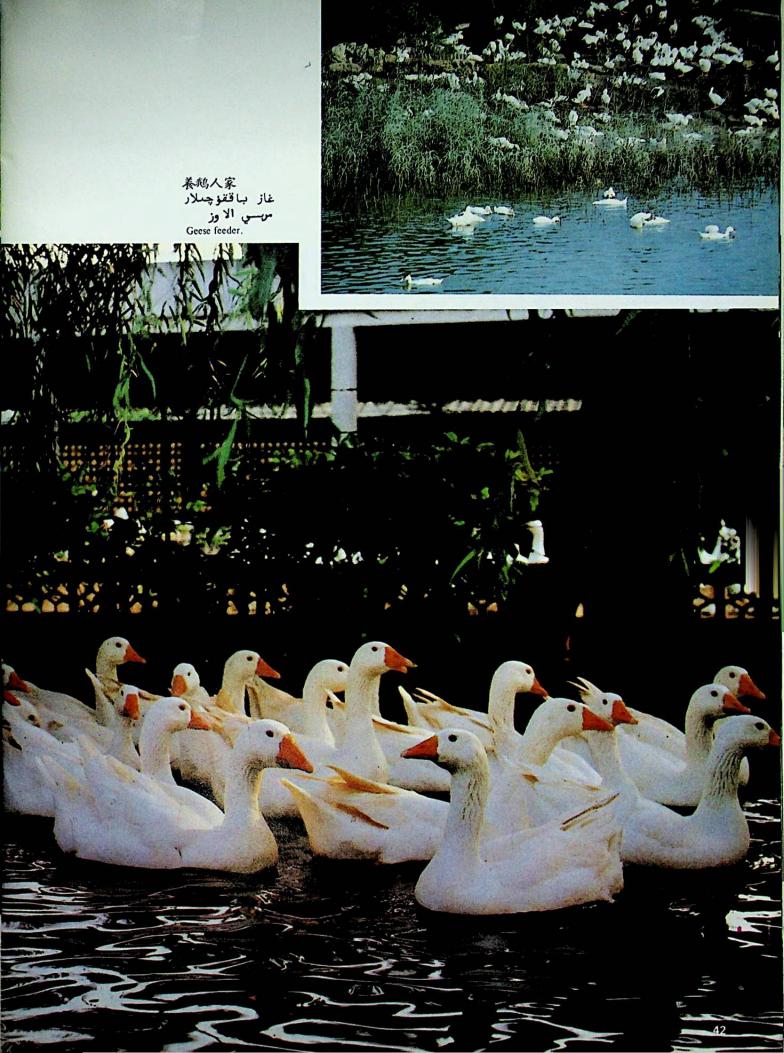


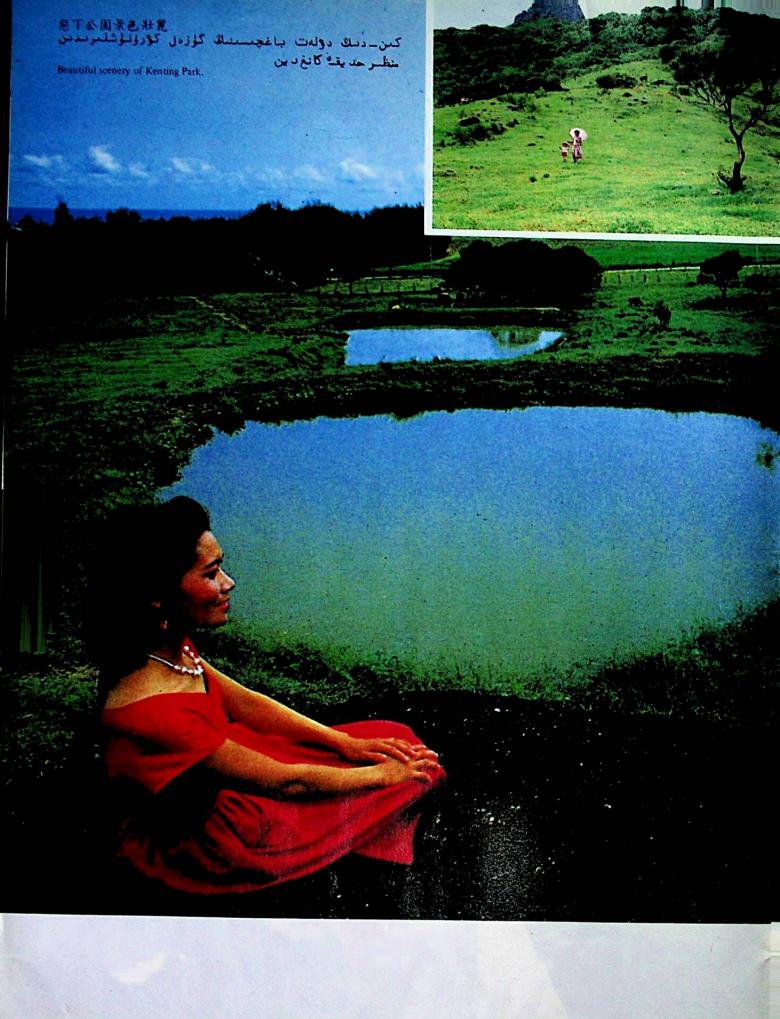






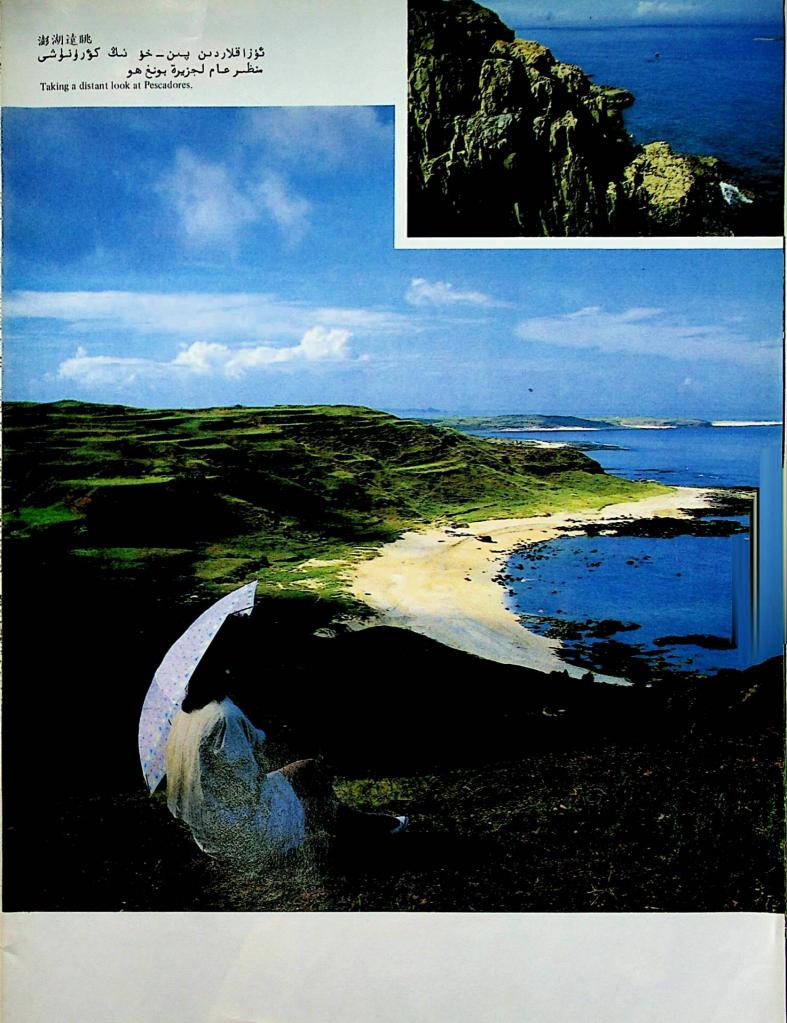












counterrevolutionary underground movement, was the first People's Commissar for Education and that, together with his companion Dulatov, he freely used all Soviet periodicals (A. Anushkin, «Iz Opyta Korenizatsii v KazSSR», Revoliutsiia i Natsional'nosti, no. 7, 1930, p. 95).

Baytursun never attempted to camouflage his nationalism, which of course put him more and more at odds with the ruling Soviet elite and the inherent Russian nationalism of many of its principal actors. «Our Kazakh journalists», he wrote in 1922, «are nationalists; this means that they take an active part in the life of their nation, partaking in its sorrows and joys. It is impossible not to be a nationalist. It would be contrary to the laws of nature. A nonnationalist is not a man, he is a pig. The October Revolution did not transform our nationalist journalists into internationalists...» (In Enbekshi Qazaq, no. 29, 1922; quoted by Anushkin, p. 95). Baytursun advised his compatriots to join the Russian Communist Party, for «by becoming communists, we,

the nationalists, can use the legal channels for the best interests of the Kazakh people (Anushkin, p. 95).

Ahmed Baytursun was arrested in 1930, excluded from the Party, and, in 1937, liquidated together with other leaders of the Alash Orda. He has never been rehabilitated in the USSR, being considered still an enemy of the Soviet state.

\* \* \*

The life of NARBUTABEKOV, who presented a report on the situation in Turkestan at the Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku (September, 1920), is practically unknown. He was an Uzbek and a lawyer: In 1920, he was a Bolshevik fellow-traveller, but not a member of the RCP(b). From the little information we have about him, it is possible to ascertain that he was a member of radical left-wing Turkestani modernist (jadid) groups. The selection here is from the Stenographic Record of the Baku Congress mentioned above.

was elected a candidate member of its Central Committee.

After 1923, Ryskulov's career turned downward. In 1924-25, he was deputy chairman of the Oriental Department of the Kominetern, and, in 1925, for a short while he was the Komintern representative in Mongolia. In 1926, he was the deputy chairman of the Sovnarkom for the RSFSR, a purely honorary title. Later he became head of the press department of the Caucasian Regional Commission of the RCP(b) and a lecturer at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow. Ryskulov managed against substantial odds to survive until the late 1930s. Arrested in 1937, accused of ≪nationalism≫, ≪pan-Turkism≫, and ≪treason≫, Turar Ryskulov was executed on 10 February 1938. Following the famous XXth Party Congress and Khrushchev's de-Stalinisation speech in 1956, Ryskulov was posthumously ≪rehabilitated. The major part of his published works, including the selections included here from Revoliutsiia i Korenoe Naselenie Turkestana, remain forbidden to the Soviet public, however.

AHMED BAYTURSUN (1873-1937), was a Kazakh born to an aristocratic family of the nomadic Argyn tribe in the Turgay region. Philologist, educator, poet, ethnographer and historian, Baytursun studied at the Pedagogical Institute of Orenburg and, between 1895 and 1909, taught in various Kazakh schools. He was an active participant in Kazakh cultural and political life. In 1905, he chaired the Congress of Kazakh Intellectuals of the Eastern Steppe Area in Vernyi (the future Alma-Ata), which was the starting point of the Kazakh national political movement. Baytursun also wrote for several Kazakh nationalist periodicals, especially the monthly modernist literary journal Ay-Qap (Troitsk, 1907-1916), to which he contributed important studies on the Kazakh language, and for the influential weekly, Qazaq (Orenburg, 1913-1918), the official organ of the Kazakh national party, Alash Orda.

Baytursun was associated with several underground Kazakh political organisations, and, in 1909, he was arrested and expelled from the steppe territory. on 8 April 1917, together with Ali Khan Bukeykhanov and Mir-Yaqub Dulatov, Baytursun became one of the eight members of the committee which convened the First Congress of the Kazakh

national party, Alash Orda, in Orenburg. Alash Orda dominated the political life of the steppe region during this period. (For the political programme of Alash Orda, see The Society for Central Asian Studies Reprint Series No. 2, Programs of the Muslim Political Parties, 1917-1920, Oxford, 1985). Baytursun played an important role in the Third All-Kirghiz (Kazakh) Congress (Orenburg, 5-13 December 1917), which proclaimed the autonomy of the Kazakh steppes and elected an executive committee.

In the beginning, Baytursun favoured an alliance of the Kazakhs with the liberal counter-revolutionary Russian forces, the Komuch in Samara and with Dutov's Orenburg Cossacks. After an unsuccessful attempt to cooperate with the government of Admiral Kolchak, the Alash Orda reluctantly joined the Soviets. In May 1919, Baytursun travelled to Moscow as a representative of Alash Orda and signed with Lenin and Stalin an agreement to establish the First Kirghiz Revolutionary Committee (KirRevKom), an embryo of an autonomous government of Kazakhstan. He explained his decision in his article «Revoliutsiia i Kirgizyi», published in the journal Zhizn' Natsional'nostei and reproduced here.

Baytursun became a member of the RCP(b) in 1920. On 20 February 1920, he was elected a member of the KirRevKom. In October of the same year, he became one of nine members of the Presidium of the Communist Party faction of the Constituant Congress of the Kirghiz (Kazakh) ASSR. At this congress, Baytursun was elected chairman of the section dealing with matters of social security. In this position, he presented a report which gives a vivid picture of Russian oppression of the Kazakh nomads before 1917.

Also in 1920, Baytursun became a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kirghiz ASSR, the People's Commissar for Education, and, later, chairman of the Scientific Commission of the People's Commissariat for Education; the last post he held until 1929. From these positions, Baytursun's influence on the younger generation of Kazakh intellectuals was substantial. A Russian Bolshevik, A. Anushkin wrote:

The People's Commissariat for Education, the press and all educational institutions of the republic remained (until 1925) bastions of counterrevolutionary nationalism. It is enough to remember that Baytursun, the leader of the

district (uezd) ispolkoms do nothing. As for the local (volost') ispolkoms, they are partly dominated by the enemies of the poor. (Nasha Gazeta, quoted by Ryskulov in RKNT, p. 38).

On 6 June 1919, in a report presented to the Third Territorial Conference of the Communist Party of Turkestan, Ryskulov described the "pacification" of the Ferghana Valley by the Red Army in terms which remind one strongly of the current Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (1979—?):

In the Ferghana Valley, our soldiers, instead of protecting the Muslims, plunder, rob and assassinate them. The rural population is terrorized and is obliged to run away; as a consequence the Basmachi bands are growing in strength. One could say 'It is the Red Army, not the Party, which is responsible for these atrocities, but the Party is the head... Muslims become nationalist, as is only logical... We make them nationalist. (Turkestanskii Kommunist, no. 45, 11 June 1919, quoted in Ryskulov, RKNT, pp. 99-100).

In yet another report on the situation in Ferghana (18 November 1919), Ryskulov wrote that "Europeans (in the Communist Party) despise the Muslims, treating them like an inferior race, they ignore them and are constantly crushing their moral and material rights... The Cheka and the Red Army are responsible for confiscations, arrests and assassinations" (RKNT, p. 116). Even as late as 1924, when Stalin had begun to consolidate his hold on the Communist Party, Ryskulov dared to excoriate the Russians publicly for using other ethnic cadre, and particularly Armenians, to put down Muslim aspirations:

When the power of the Bolsheviks in Turkestan was hanging on a thread, it was then that the worst mistakes were committed, such as the alliance with the Armenian Dashnaktsütün Party, which was plundering the population of Ferghana, the cooperation with the (Russian) kulaks in Semirechie, the expedition against Bukhara and the misunderstanding of the needs of the native peasantry; at this darkest moment, it was the heroism and courage of a small group (gorstochka) of native revolutionaries who had joined the Bolshevik Party and, assuming the leadership of the native masses, saved Soviet power from disaster. (RKNT, p. xiii).

Ryskulov insisted that revolutionary methods be adapted to the specific conditions of a Muslim country, the same position taken by the important Tatar National Communist Mir Said Sultan-Galiev (see The Society for Central Asian Studies Reprint Series No. 1, M.S. Sultan-Galiev, Articles, Oxford, 1984). ≪It is impossible, > he declared to the 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Turkestan on 9 June 1919, ≪to apply the same policy in Russia and in Turkestan. It is impossible to treat Turkestan as a simple province of Central Russia > (RKNT, p. 136). At the same Congress, he advanced the proposition for which he would later be denounced and liquidated: the creation of special national Muslim sections in the Communist Party of Turkestan. Failure to do so, he warned in Kommunist (Tashkent, August 1919) would enhance the hostility which ≪is growing between (Russian) peasants and the Kirghiz, and the mistrust (nedoverie) growing between Russian and Muslim Party members≫ (RKNT, pp. 123-127, 148). When, at the 23 August 1919 session of the Kraikom of the RCP(b), Ryskulov stan of provocateurs», no one could have doubted that he was pointing another accusing finger at chauvinistic Russian elements in Central Asia (RKNT, p. 88).

Ryskulov's ≪anti-colonialism≫ made him a dangerous element in Central Asia from the Russian point of view, but because he was among the few Muslim Bolsheviks he had value to the new Soviet regime, if only for his high public visibility. In 1921, Stalin recalled Ryskulov to Moscow to make him one of his deputies at the People's Commissariat for Nationalities (Narkomnatz). In 1922, once again in Central Asia, Ryskulov became chairman of the Soviet People's Commissariat (Sovnarkom) of the Turkestan ASSR, where he continued to confront the plans of Lenin, Stalin, and their Russian comrades directly. In particular, Ryskulov opposed Stalin's policy of dividing unified Turkestan into individual national entities (razmezhevanie); moreover, he advocated the formation of a Turkic Communist Party, a National Muslim Army, the expatriation of Russian colonizers from Central Asia and the creation of a greater Turkic Republic to encompass the entire region. These ideas again place Ryskulov ideologically close to Sultan-Galiev. Unlike Sultan-Galiev, however, Ryskulov was not purged in the early 1920s. To the contrary, in 1923, when Sultan-Galiev was embarking on his first imprisonment, Ryskulov took part in the activities of the Twelfth Congress of the RCP(b) and

Turar Ryskulov and Ahmed Baytursun were admitted early on to the Russian Communist Party, where for more than ten years they played major roles in the history of the communist movement in Central Asia. Narbutabekov was throughout this period a strong fellow-traveller. All three came from different social backgrounds and held different political views; their reasons for joining the Bolsheviks were also different, but each possessed a strong sense of honesty, objectivity and an intuitive feeling for the changing political situation in which they found themselves. Each was totally dedicated to the welfare of his own people. Ominously, they shared a common fate as well: they were accused of being ≪traitors> to the Soviet cause and, probably on Stalin's direct orders, were executed by his henchmen.

\* \* \*

Of the three, the Kazakh TURAR RYSKULOV (14 December 1894 - 10 February 1938) is the best known and most important. He was born to a wealthy and aristocratic family in the district of Talgar of the Vernyi region (present day Alma-Ata) and educated at a Russian school. As a radical nationalist, Ryskulov took an active part in the 1916 revolt of the Kazakh tribes in Semirechie, for which he was jailed. Free in February 1917, he founded a radical nationalist and revolutionary (but not yet socialist) ≪Union of Revolutionary Kirghiz (Kazakh) Youth≥, which was centered around the city of Aulie-Ata (present day Dzhambul) in southern Kazakhstan. Ryskulov was strongly opposed to the Russian Provinsional Government; he joined the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik) as early as September 1917, becoming one of the first native revolutionaries of Central Asia to joint Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

By 1918, Ryskulov was the chairman of the regional (oblast') Executive Committee of Aulie-Ata and a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Turkestan Autonomous Republic. In 1919-1920, he became People's Commissar (Narkom) of Health and deputy chairman (in 1919), and later (1920) chairman, of the Central Executive Committee of the Turkestan ASSR. Simultaneously, Ryskulov was a member of the Turkestan Territorial Committee (Kraikom) of the RCP(b) and chairman of the Turkestan Muslim Bureau (Musbüro) of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities (Narkomnats), whose overall chairman was Stalin himself. As one

of the leading Muslim communist leaders of Central Asia, Ryskulov chaired the Turkestani delegation to the Congress of the Peoples of the East, which was held in September 1920 at Baku.

Almost from the earliest moments of the Revolution in Central Asia, Ryskulov came into open and sharp conflict with his Russian comrades. According to Soviet sources, he ≪committed several serious mistakes of a nationalist character≫. These were later to cause his downfall and liquidation. Ryskulov's bold declarations and writings during the first three years of Soviet rule confirm that, although a loyal Communist Party member, he remained a passionate nationalist and a patriot more interested in the welfare of his own people than in world revolution.

Ryskulov's disagreements with his Bolshevik Russian contemporaries concerned, first of all, the central problem of the relations between native Muslim and «European» Bolsheviks. As early as 1919, he denounced the purely colonialist behaviour of the Russian and other European Bolsheviks in Turkestan, who tended not only to exclude the «natives» (tuzemtzy) from the immediate benefits of the Revolution and from the administration of their own regions, but who also tried successfully to eliminate the Central Asians physically. In 1924, Ryskulov wrote:

Tobolin (a leading Russian Bolshevik in Tashkent and a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Turkestan ASSR) declared at a meeting of the CEC during the worst part of the famine in Turkestan (1919): 'From the Marxist point of view, the Kirghiz (Kazakh), being economically the weakest, must die out sooner or later. Therefore it is more important for the Revolution to spend our resources to fortify military fronts instead of wasting our money trying to save the Kirghiz from the famine, which anyhow is impossible.' (Turar Ryskulov, Revoliutsiia i Korenoe Naselenie Turkestana, Tashkent, 1925, p. XII. Hereafter cited as RKNT.)

In the same year, Ryskulov, who was then People's Commissar entrusted with the fight against famine, was brutal in his condemnation of the Russian-dominated soviets in Central Asia. In a report to the Central Executive Committee (Ispolkom) of the Turkestan ASSR: he wrote: ≪The Ispolkom of Tashkent does nothing to fight the famine; the

be our most powerful weapon in winning the support of all freedom-loving Chinese and bringing down the communist system."

The above statements contain the basic ingredients for our confidence in winning a final victory over the Chinese Communists on the Chinese mainland. The sharp contrasts between Taiwan and the Chinese Communist-occupied mainland have already caused Chinese mainland students and workers to demonstrate in favor of freedom, democracy and suffrage during the last few months. The demonstrations have evoked an unprecedented crisis in the Chinese Communist ruling hierarchy in the dismissal of Hu Yao-pang by the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee which will surely lead to other purges in Chinese Communist personnel.

In this manner, the people on the Chinese mainland have already expressed their support for the accomplishments of the Republic of China in promoting democracy, freedom and economic prosperity and will strive even more to compell the Peking regime to grant them more freedom and less restrictions.

It seems that the students and workers demand for freedom and democracy will not be stopped by Hu's dismissal but will be further expanded and widened. The demonstrations have already occurred in more than 20 cities on the Chinese mainland. It would be enlarged with the arrest of Yang Wei, a student who took part in the recent students demonstrations in Shanghai, instead of being discouraged. Chinese Communist repressive measures provide another sharp contrast to the kind treatment of its people by the ROC's authorities.

The sharp contrasts in accomplishments will be the invincible weapon in winning over the Chinese Communists on the Chinese mainland and causing their downfall.

# THE REVOLUTION IN CENTRAL ASIA AS SEEN BY MUSLIM BOLSHEVIKS

By S.C.A.S.

The October Revolution in Central Asia belongs to history or, to be more precise, to "histories", in as much as the events at that specific time and place have been reported and modified frequently to conform to the shifting requirements of Soviet dogma and historiography. Without using materials published during this period, it is nearly impossible to obtain a coherent or truthful picture of what actually happened in Russian Central Asia - Turkestan during the tragic years of the 1917 Revolution and the Civil War (1917-1923). Today, Soviet historians are required to treat the Revolution in Turkestan as a kind of Manichaean epic rather than as an historical problem of importance. Thus, we find on one side the ≪good guys», who are the omniscient leaders of the Bolshevik Party and the heroic, always victorious Red Army, all of whom act from a sense of profound humanism and higher moral purpose. Pitted against

them are the ≪bad guys»: tyrans, traitors, religious fanatics, capitalists, counterrevolutionaries and, of course, various ≪foreign agents».

Those interested in a more objective and dispassionate description of events in revolutionary Turkestan therefore must consult the testimonies of the actors themselves, most of which were prepared before the Stalinist regime reduced historical research in the USSR to a dependency of the state's organs of agitation and propaganda, that is before 1925. Unfortunately, the more precious texts are unavailable in the USSR to serious Soviet researchers, for obvious political reasons. Nor are these materials readily available to scholars in the West; indeed, they are exceedingly rare. Some texts do remain, however, and we have selected three of the most valuable for reprinting here. Their authors are Turar Ryskulov, Ahmed Baytursun, and Narbutabekov.

calls for restoring the political credibility of intellectuals, improving their living and working conditions, and promoting their recruitment into the CCP.

The key to this policy again falls upon definition. Teng has claimed that "All work, be it mental or manual, is labor. Those who engage in mental work are also workers." This means that intellectuals can now derive the same benefits as "workers" in the socialist state, which has implications both for status and for practical rewards, such as higher wages and better housing.

While these would seem welcome signs to mainland intellectuals, the response to Teng's policy has not been overwhelming. There has been a steady decrease in the projections of how many intellectuals would be added to the CCP. Intellectuals have not flocked to the fold, presumably because they know the history of leadership promises toward them.

This has caused the CCP modernization program to stall, partially because of insufficient "experts." In 1985, for example, CCP membership totaled 41 million, or 4 percent of the mainland population. Of these members, 10.1 percent are illiterate, 42.2 percent have had elementary level education, 29.9 percent graduated from junior high school, 13.8 percent from high school, and only 4 percent from college or university. The implications of these educational levels for staffing a government capable of handing the complexities of modernization are obvious.

There is a political angle for Teng as well. He

needs to establish his authority to rule, and since he portrays himself as an "expert" and "problem-solving manager," the recruitment of intellectuals is a useful strategy.

Second, by adding intellectuals to existing cadre Teng is building his own power base. Only 13.5 percent of the total membership of the CCP were recruited after Deng came to power in 1979. He needs to expand these figures.

Finally, because modernization is the core of his program, intellectuals are essential for success. The total number of educated people is far below minimum requirements. As a result, intellectuals must be cultivated by the party. Yet even now, they are still subdivided into "scientific intellectuals" and "humanistic intellectuals."

The former, including scientists and engineers, have experienced fairly consistent policy toward their integration into communist society. The latter, including social scientists, writers, and those in the humanities, are more worrisome to the CCP. There is a fear these could undercut the party's policies, such as calling for "freedoms" inappropriate to the "needs of the state."

It is in this context that the student demonstrations must be viewed. Prof. Yeh concludes that the degree of success of mainland modernization policies rests in large measure upon how the CCP leadership evaluates the role of intellectuals in its modernization vision. The dilemma continues.

### A Sharp Contrast In Accomplishments

President Chiang Ching-kuo's interview with the English language news media of Hongkong should serve to point the way for future reunification with the Chinese mainland.

President Chiang stressed in his written answers to questions posed by the English language media that the future of the Republic of China lies in a reunified China under Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People. He told them also that the 19 million people of the Republic of China on

Taiwan have been striving for unification. He pointed out that political democracy is at the top of Taiwan's accomplishments in united efforts against the communist threat and winning the hearts of fellow countrymen on the mainland.

President Chiang then declared that "from a long-term point of view, the sharp contrast between our accomplishments in promoting freedom, democracy and equal distribution of the wealth and the backward, totalitarian communist system will

Intellectuals have always been a problem for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leadership. While intellectuals provide desperately needed technological and management skills, they also have the disturbing tendency to think for themselves, frequently occupying their minds with such frivolous nonsense as freedom of speech and critical evaluation of government policies. In an ideal communist world intellectuals "serve the state," which means their minds work on government-set tasks, not on independent lines of inquiry.

The CCP, therefore, has faced a continuing dilemma with its intellectuals—as well as with its students or so-called "expert reserve" who are destined to fill the ranks of the new intellectual class. Simply stated, mainland China's modernization program cannot succeed without educated cadre and workers throughout the system, but these same valued individuals have frequently been the most vocal critics of the government's modernization plans. The recent student marches in various major mainland cities indicate that these tensions, which have existed since the revolutionary period in Chinese history, still exist for the current communist leadership.

Dr. Milton Yeh, an Associate Research Fellow at the Institute for International Relations at National Chengchi University, recently presented a thorough analysis of the CCP's current policy toward intellectuals at a conference in Taipei. He demonstrated that many of the current difficulties with integrating skilled individuals into the system are the result of earlier policies that have generally disenchanted, humiliated, or eliminated large numbers of the educated members of society.

The CCP has always carefully defined its "intellectual class." In 1949, the class included "professors, scientists, engineers, reporters, authors, artists and students." By 1956, Chou En-lai excluded students, calling them the "expert reserve," but otherwise agreed with the general party leadership's negative assessment that most intellectuals were from the bourgeois who had exploited other classes.

Of even greater significance, Chou said that "intellectuals in China were not an independent class but a dependent one which serves the ruling class only." These are strong words, and not particularity welcome ones, to those accustomed to intellectual freedoms. Nevertheless, they are in full accord with Mao Tse-tung's statement when talking about the intelligensia: "There is absolutely no such thing as individual life or individual free will." Instead, the

intellectual does the bidding of the state.

These statements indicate the depth of the dilemma for the always needed. Various attempts were made over the years to solve this. From 1949 to 1954, the CCP instituted "four principles" to deal with intellectuals: "to unite, to educate, to reform, and to appoint to service."

In fact, intellectuals were to undergo intense discipline and training in communist ideology before they were allowed to hold a job. Chou called on all party cadre to "help intellectuals eliminate their bourgeois thoughts and thereby lead them to accept the thoughts of the working class." Thought reform was accomplished through labor camps, public humiliations, and executions.

By late 1955, a shift in policy toward intellectuals was underway because the CCP decided to modernize society on their own and minimize reliance on assistance from the Soviet Union. The CCP leadership also thought that its own consolidation of power was complete enough to reduce restrictions on intellectual freedoms. This confidence was reflected in the well-known policy of mid-1956 of "let a hundred flowers bloom and let a hundred schools of thought contend," when the leadership called for constructive criticism of the party and society.

The policy was a disaster. The leadership and party were soundly castigated from every corner, and the intellectuals soon found themselves the target of a counter-offensive, called the "counter-rightest campaign," which called them enemies of socialism. Once again public humiliation, exile, prison, and death awaited outspoken intellectuals.

The story from 1958 to 1976 is grim. The lucky Chinese intellectuals were only deprived of their political credibility, social status, material rewards, and their jobs. Many lost their lives. With the wild excesses of the so-called Cultural Revolution from 1966-1976, all intellectuals were the targets of intense indoctrination with Mao's writings and were in large measure prohibited from intellectual pursuits.

While Chou had called in 1956 for a policy oriented to improve the status of intellectuals "by virtue of their specialized knowledge," Mao's formula prevailed for 20 years. This was designed to downgrade the social status of intellectuals and thus integrate them on the same level with the masses.

Teng Hsiao-ping's current policy toward intellectuals reinstates Chou's previous recommendations by copying the 1956 proposal almost exactly. This

capabilities, we promulgated a "Ten-year Science and Technology Development Plan (1986-1995)" last August. Our objective is to increase overall R&D expenditure relative to GNP from the current 1 percent to 2 percent by 1995, and to increase private sector investment in R&D from 40 percent to 60 percent of total R&D spending.

We cannot talk about the ROC's technological development without mentioning the contribution of the Industrial Technology and Research Institute (ITRI). ITRI was created primarily as a technological center to assist our numerous small and medium industries. It is also an important work station for the introduction and development of new technologies, and for their adaptation and transfer to industry.

In the last two years, ITRI has achieved steady progress on several technological fronts. For example, its electronics division—the Electronics Research and Service Organization—has designed VLSI circuits of more than 100,000 gates and is able to employ the 1.5 micron CMOS process. Its Mechanical Industrial Research Laboratories have developed robots and laser machine tools as well as precision machining technology. Its Union Chemical Laboratories have achieved a significant breakthrough in the development of Cuzno catalyst for the manufacture of Caprolactam. Its Materials Research Laboratories have developed some new materials and found applications in the local manufacturing industry.

Additionally, ITRI renders a variety of technical services, from personnel training to turn-key technology transfer. U.S. subsidiaries in Taiwan are welcome to call on the organization for services which they need. There are a number of ways in which its services and facilities can be used.

#### (3) Development of the Hsinchu Sciencebased Industrial Park:

The Hsinchu Science-based Industrial Park (HSIP) was established five years ago. Today there are 53 firms operating in the park, most of which are invested in by U.S. companies and Chinese American engineers. Among them, firms manufacturing computers and computer peripherals constitute the majority, followed by manufacturers of semi-conductors and ICs as well as companies engaged in materials science. The total value of the park's imports and exports has been growing rapidly and reached US\$500 million from January through October of 1986. Coordinating the efforts of universities and research institutes nearby, the park has become an integrated community for high-tech industry development. It is an ideal production base for U.S. investors seeking to produce hi-tech products for world markets.

Many U.S. hi-tech industries, after visiting HSIP and ITRI, have marveled at the quality of R&D and production manpower, and have considered making investments here. On many occasions I have told them that U.S. and ROC engineers should join hands to develop products for the Japanese market. They agreed with me.

### (4) Improvement of the Climate for Technology Transfer:

We are not only speeding up the development of science and technology, but are sparing no effort in improving the investment climate. My government has made considerable efforts in revising relevant laws for protecting intellectual property rights, as mentioned by previous speakers in the opening meeting.

### Intellectuals Create Dilemma For Communist Party Leaders

By Richard R. Vuylsteke

Of all the CCP members, 10.1 percent are illiterate, 42.2 percent have had elementary level education, 29.9 percent graduated from junior high school, 13.8 percent from high school, and only 4 percent from college or university. The implications of these educational levels for staffing a government capable of handing the complexities of modernization are obvious.

their businesses grow and prosper. With strong confidence and the endeavors of all our people, our export-oriented industry was able to use foreign technology and markets to achieve rapid development. Foreign investors also looked to Taiwan as an offshore base for production. One well-known example followed by many developing countries was the establishment of the first Export Processing Zone in Taiwan in 1966. There are now three zones, and the Export Processing Zone Administration celebrates its 20th anniversary today.

### (3) Second Round of Import Substitution and Further Export Expansion in the 70s:

In the 1970s, there was a continued expansion of our international trade which served as the main force behind our industrialization. While we suffered from the global energy crisis for a year or two, our enterpreneurs took this opportunity to upgrade productivity and diversify products lines to maintain steady growth. We shifted our focus by entering the second round of import substitution to produce intermediate goods through backward integration. Petrochemicals and steel were typical examples.

#### (4) Preparing for the Decade of the 80s:

As we approached the 80's, we realized that our practice of relying excessively on excellent but comparatively cheap labor required reconsideration, and that investment in research and development must be stepped up. In 1979, the Cabinet approved a comprehensive science and technology development program calling for coordinated efforts by a number of ministries and agencies. Attention centered on the education and training of manpower, especially at the higher level. Emphasis was placed on the introduction and development of key technologies in the fields of energy, materials science, information industry, automation, biotechnology, etc.

We also established the Hsinchu Science-based Industrial Park for research-oriented hi-tech industries. We supported efforts by the Industrial Technology Research Institute to develop advanced high technology for small and medium industries. The National Science Council formulated problemoriented interdisciplinary R&D programs to upgrade the quality of our research. By taking all the above measures, we improved our technology base to meet the needs of a changing industrial structure.

Taiwan, as an island, has to rely heavily on foreign resources and markets. To overcome limitations imposed by the small size of the home market

and a scarcity of resources, we used "import substitution" and later "export expansion" as development strategies. That exports are our lifeline is common knowledge. However, as early as four years ago, I pointed out that import stimulation is necessary to offset the rapid increase in exports and that the business climate should be improved for more imports. It is realized that it will take time for people to change their way of thinking. There is usually a time lag between grasping a concept and putting that concept into practice. How to encourage imports has become an important priority of our trade policy over the past two years. Our problem is that only about half of our savings have been channelled into investment, with the other half taking the form of foreign exchange reserves.

#### II. Creation of a Favorable Climate and Prospects for Further USA-ROC Cooperation

In the past two years, we have paid increasing attention to education and coordination between universities, applied research institutions, and industries in order to build a strong foundation for our technology-intensive industry. These efforts will increase our potential to attract more U.S. investment and facilitate technology transfer.

#### (1) Technical Manpower:

It is a Chinese tradition to attach great importance to education. Development of higher education, in particular, has been one of the major priorities of my government in more recent years. The proportion of science and engineering majors in our universities is currently around 45 percent.

The Ministry of Education and the National Science Council have taken various measures to promote graduate as well as undergraduate programs in key areas. Thanks to the success of these efforts, we can expect that our educational system will be able to provide sufficient technical manpower of good quality to meet the needs of our rapidly growing technology-intensive industries. Another important achievement in manpower development is the rapid increase and improvement of technical senior high school graduates ready to work in various manufacturing and technical fields. The build-up of such a high quality work force is a powerful attraction to industrial investors.

(2) Scientific and Technological Capability: To upgrade our scientific and technological As long as we remain faithful to our belief and implement it thoroughly, never changing and never giving up, we will eventually succeed. The Chinese Communists went through many changes that led them nowhere and their "united front" plot has reached the end of the tether. Though we learn from history that "tyranny must perish," we must continue to exert all our efforts to bring about an early victory.

My dear fellow countrymen, in reviewing the past and looking to the future, we see light at the end of the tunnel. With the beginning of the new year, let us start afresh in striving together to open new prospects for our country. And let our best wishes be the future well-being of the Republic of China.

Long Live the Three Principles of the People! Long live the Republic of China!

## An address to the Joint Conference of the ROC-USA and USA-ROC Economic Councils in Taipei

By K. T. Li

I am pleased to have the opportunity again to address this distinguished gathering. Today (Dec. 3) marks the 10th anniversary of the first joint meeting of the ROC-USA and USA-ROC Economic Councils in Chicago in 1977. During the past 10 years, there has been an increasing number of participants from both sides. The presence of so many government leaders at this year's conference, including senators, congressmen, governors, lieutenant governors, and other dignitaries, along with leading industrialists, is clear evidence of the importance attached to this meeting.

Our American friends who have visited Taipei before may notice some remarkable changes when they walk along the streets. As an example, many American fast food chains such as MacDonald's, Wendy's, and Kentucky Fried Chicken are crowded along the streets, competing favorably with local establishments selling traditional Chinese twisted crullers and baked wheat cakes, products which we Chinese are particularly fond of. That the American fast food chains have been able to enter the local market and are doing good business is evidence not only of our open-mindedness but also of our liberalization efforts.

I am sure that you all have many excellent ideas and proposals for discussion at the meeting. As an old soldier who has spent decades in planning and promoting the economic development of his country, I would like to share with you some of our ex-

periences and strategies that may be of particular relevance to your trade deficit, a problem which is very much on the minds of most participants.

#### I. ROC Economic Development Experience

First, let me briefly review for you the history of our economic development. In the past three decades and a half, we have gone through four stages of development.

#### (1) Import Substitution in the 50s:

In our initial stage of industrialization back in the 1950s, we selected labor-intensive consumer products as a first priority for import substitution to save foreign exchange. U.S. aid was the only external source of resources then available. It provided for imports of supplies and equipment, and helped stabilize the economy and develop our agriculture and light industry to pave the way for continued growth. It marked the beginning of USA-ROC economic cooperation after world war II, but it was essentially one-sided.

#### (2) Export Expansion in the 60s:

In the 1960s, we introduced a series of self-help measures such as the accelerated development program and foreign exchange reform to promote savings, investment, and exports. Businessmen soon began to realize that only through exports could

# President calls for nation's commitment to rule of law

President Chiang Ching-kuo called on the people to devote themselves to the rule of law in advancing democracy and strengthening the foundation of the nation.

In his New Year's Day message to the nation, President Chiang also set three more goals for the people next year; building individual and inter-personal confidence, promoting a spirit of unity and harmony and taking initiative in undertakings."

To achieve success, he urged the people to remain faithful to their beliefs and act accordingly. The Chinese Communists have failed to reform and "their united front plot has reached the end of the tether," he said. "We must continue to exert all our efforts to bring about an early victory," he urged.

The full text of President Chiang's speech is as follows:

Dear fellow countrymen:

Ever since the founding of the Republic of China 75 years ago, we have firmly believed in and faithfully carried out the Three Principles of the People. Despite the impact of internal and external disquieting events, we consistently adhered to our national spirit in overcoming adversity, raising the banner of justice, and marching courageously onward. With our minds open and our hearts filled with a desire for righteousness, we have devoted all our energies toward achieving self-reliance and sustained progress. And, regardless of the difficulties before us, we are determined to follow the Three Principles of the People with the same unwavering spirit and resolve. That was the key to our success in overcoming crises in the past and in achieving our final victory in the future.

Revolution creates a new era, but national development demands careful, long-range planning. In advancing toward constitutional democracy, we must be firm in the direction we take and practical in the actions that are to follow. With the evolution of time and social change, our national development is now entering a new phase, marking a new milestone. There must be a new understanding and a new approach to command a new situation. In this crucial juncture, apart from expanding what has already been accomplished and strengthening the foundations already laid, we should now further dedicate ourselves to the following:

HEIGHTEN THE PERCEPTION OF THE RULE OF LAW – We must regard observance of law

as a matter of honor, and respect for law and order as everyone's obligation. Only in this way can we advance democracy and consolidate the foundations of our nation.

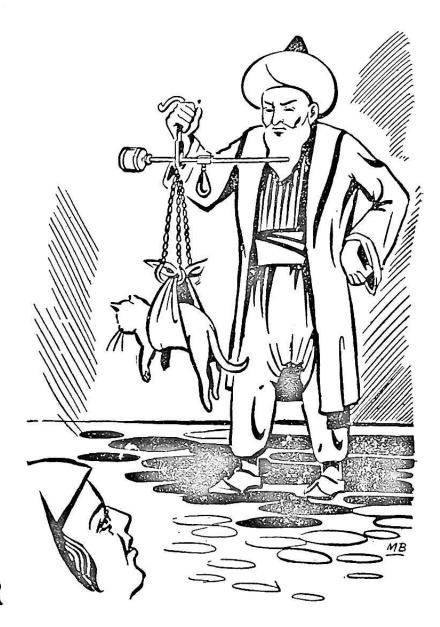
FORTIFY INDIVIDUAL SELF-CONFIDENCE AND MUTUAL CONFIDENCE — We must have firm confidence in the future of our nation and look forward with optimism while taking initiatives with composure. Strong will and determination will ensure our victory over any enemy.

PROMOTE A SPIRIT OF UNITY AND HAR-MONY — We must understand we are in the same boat and we must helo each other to achieve harmony in good faith and in a forgiving spirit. Rationalism dissolves extremism. We must muster the will and wisdom of all the people as the moving force for a complete reformation.

BE ASSERTIVE AND VIGOROUS IN OUR UNDERTAKINGS — We must set priorities and distinguish right from wrong. Then whatever helps our country and our people and the anti-communist cause we must do vigorously, immediately, and courageously to achieve our aim without fail.

The late President Chiang Kai-shek once observed: "There is no difficult thing in the world; where there is a will, there is a way. And there is no easy thing; only those who keep at it make it."

Today we continue in our dedication to our Founding Father's ideal of a nation belonging to all its citizens. And the purpose of our struggle on this bastion of national revival is to lay a solid foundation of the Republic of China for generations to come.



### IF THIS BE THE LIVER

Nasreddin Hodja was very fond of liver. But every time he brought some home, his wife would seize the opportunity and give a party to her friends. Come evening and the Hodja would again be fed some soup or rice.

The excuse was always the

same: ≪Ah Effendi, that goodfor-nothing cat of yours stole the liver and ate the lot! ≫

On one such night the Hodja could contain himself no longer. He sprang up, fetched the steelyard and tying a handkerchief around the cat's middle, weighed it carefully. Then turning to his wife:

≪I thought so!≫ he said. ≪The liver I brought home today weighed exactly one kilo. This cat here weighs one kilo too. Well, woman, if this be the liver where is my cat?≫

### I CAN SELL IT WHERE I PLEASE!

One day the Hodja, tempted by the fruit in a neighbouring garden, used a ladder to climb on to its wall, then pulling the ladder up and over, climbed down into the garden. Somewhere near stood the amazed gardener, whom the Hodja had failed to notice.

The gardener hurrying over to the Hodja said, threateningly:

≪And what do you think you are doing here?>

The Hodja was not to be intimidated: **«Why, I am selling** this ladder, ▶ he said.

≪But, look here Hodja! Whom do you think you are kidding? Does this garden look like the proper place to sell a ladder in?≫

≪Now, now, my good man! Don't let's forget our manners! I am not going to take any lessons of propriety from you! You needn't buy the ladder if you don't want it; but it belongs to me and I can sell it where I please! ≫

So saying the Hodja went back over the wall and away with his ladder.



# Breakthrough Electrifies Scientific Community

Two Chinese-Americans have been lauded for leading a group of U.S. scientists to a breakthrough in superconductivity research that points to dramatically cheaper and more efficient electrical power.

The U.S. government announced Feb. 15 that the University of Houston's Paul C.W. Chu, who graduated in 1962 from National Cheng Kung University in southern Taiwan, and the University of Alabama's Mau-kuen Wu, who graduated in 1968 from Provincial Hua Lien Senior High School in eastern Taiwan, spearheaded the research in achieving superconductivity—the ability to transport electrical current with no resistance—at a temperature so high that it could be called a breakthrough, said the U.S. government's National Science Foundation.

The researchers reached superconductivity at 283 degrees below zero F (175 degrees below zero C.) The measurement is almost 100 degrees F (37.8 degrees C) warmer than the mark set less than two months ago.

When superconductivity is reached, electricity



can travel farther with greater efficiency.

After its discovery in 1911, scientists believed superconductivity only occurred when materials were kept close to absolute zero, or minus 459.7 degrees F (minus 272 degrees C), the temperature at which the normal motion of molecules ceases.

For decades, researchers have experimented with new conducting materials and techniques in attempts to raise the temperature where cheaper and easier-to-use coolants could be employed for practical uses.

The U.S. collaborative teams used new alloys and techniques to raise the temperature under normal atmospheric pressure, the announcement said.

Until now, expensive and hard-to-handle liquid helium had to be used to cool the conductors. The researchers accomplished superconductivity with warmer liquid nitrogen.

Dr. Mau-kuen Wu (right) along with assistants C.J. Torng and James Ashburn, test the properties of metals after immersing them in super cool liquid nitrogen in Alabama, USA.



#### Carved ivory dragon-boat

#### Ch'ing dynasty

The boat is in the shape of a dragon. On the deck is a three-storied structure, with balustrades and balconies. There are also sixteen flagstaffs and a single parasol at the top, all carved with utmost refinement. The boat is kept in a gold-painted lacquer box in the shape of a rooster.

