

# Historical Matters Concerning Xinjiang

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# **Preamble**

The Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region is situated in northwest China and in the hinterland of the Eurasian Continent. It borders eight countries: Mongolia, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India. It was a place where the famed Silk Road connected ancient China with the rest of the world and where diverse cultures gathered.

China is a unified multiethnic country, and the various ethnic groups in Xinjiang have long been part of the Chinese nation. Throughout its long history, Xinjiang's development has been closely related to that of China. However, in more recent times, hostile forces in and outside China, especially separatists, religious extremists and terrorists, have tried to split China and break it apart by distorting history and facts. They deny the fact that Xinjiang has been a part of China's territory where various ethnic groups have lived together, many cultures have communicated with each other, and different religions have coexisted since ancient times. They call Xinjiang "East Turkistan" and clamor for independence. They attempt to separate ethnic groups in Xinjiang from the Chinese nation and ethnic cultures in the region from the diverse but integrated Chinese culture.

History cannot be tampered with and facts are indisputable. Xinjiang has long been an inseparable part of Chinese territory; never has it been the so-called East Turkistan. The Uygur ethnic group came into being through a long process of migration and integration; it is part of the Chinese nation. In Xinjiang, different cultures and religions coexist, and ethnic cultures have been fostered and developed in the embrace of the Chinese civilization. Islam is neither an indigenous nor the sole belief system of the Uygur people. It has taken root in the Chinese culture and developed soundly in China.

## **I. Xinjiang Has Long Been an Inseparable Part of Chinese Territory**

A unified multiethnic country, China came into being as a result of economic and social development. Historically, the East Asia continent that nurtured the ancestors of today's Chinese nation had both farming and nomadic herding areas. Different ethnic groups with diverse livelihoods and lifestyles communicated with and complemented each other, and migrated and lived together. They experienced both conflict and

integration, and pushed China to move forward and become a unified multiethnic country.

Xia, Shang, and Zhou, the three earliest dynasties in Chinese history, emerged successively in the Central Plains, a vast area covering the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River. They integrated with neighboring clans, tribes, and tribal alliances into bigger ethnic groups, called by the joint name Zhuxia or Huaxia. From the Spring and Autumn Period to the Warring States Period, Huaxia groups continued to communicate and blend with neighboring clans, tribes, and tribal alliances, and gradually seven regions – Qi, Chu, Yan, Han, Zhao, Wei, and Qin – came into being. These maintained contact with neighboring ethnic groups such as Yi in the east, Man in the south, Rong in the west, and Di in the north. In 221 BC, the First Emperor of Qin founded the first unified feudal dynasty. In 202 BC, Liu Bang, later known as Emperor Gaozu, set up another unified feudal dynasty – Han.

From the Han to the middle and late Qing, the vast areas both north and south of the Tianshan Mountains in Xinjiang were called the Western Regions. Xinjiang was formally included in Chinese territory in the Han Dynasty. Later dynasties in the Central Plains, some strong, some weak, kept closer or looser contact with the Western Regions, and the central authorities exercised tighter or slacker administration over Xinjiang. But all of these dynasties regarded the Western Regions as part of Chinese territory and exercised the right of jurisdiction over Xinjiang. Through the long formative process of turning China into a unified multiethnic country, many ethnic groups worked together to develop its vast territories and build the diverse Chinese nation. The unification of multiethnic China was a result of common efforts made by the whole Chinese nation, including the ethnic groups in Xinjiang.

In the early Western Han Dynasty, the nomadic Xiongnu people in northern China controlled the Western Regions, and attacked the Central Plains from time to time. After Emperor Wudi took the throne, he adopted a series of military and political responses. In 138 BC and 119 BC, the Western Han government dispatched Zhang Qian as an envoy to the Western Regions, who convinced the Rouzhi and Wusun peoples to form an alliance to fight the Xiongnu. On three occasions between 127 BC and 119 BC, the Western Han authorities dispatched forces that inflicted heavy losses on the Xiongnu. They then set up four prefectures – Wuwei, Zhangye, Jiuquan and Dunhuang – on key passageways from the Central Plains to the Western Regions. In 101 BC, the Western Han began to send garrison troops to transform wastelands to arable land in Luntai and some other places, and appointed local officers to command them. In 60 BC, the Xiongnu king who ruled the areas north of the eastern Tianshan Mountains surrendered to the Han government, which thereby incorporated the Western Regions into Han's territory. In the same year, the Western Regions Frontier Command was established to

exercise military and political administration over the Western Regions. In 123, during the Eastern Han Dynasty, the Western Regions Frontier Command was replaced by the Western Regions Garrison Command, which continued to administer the Western Regions.

The Kingdom of Wei of the Three Kingdoms Period adopted the Han system, stationing a garrison commander to rule the Western Regions. The Western Jin Dynasty stationed a garrison commander and a governor to exercise military and political administration over the Western Regions. In the Three Kingdoms Period and the Jin Dynasty, the Xiongnu, Xianbei, Dingling, and Wuhuan in northern China moved inland and finally integrated with the Han ethnic group. In 327, the Former Liang regime spread the system of prefectures and counties to the Western Regions and set up the Gaochang Prefecture in the Turpan Basin. From 460 to 640, the Uighur Kingdom of Gaochang centered in the Turpan Basin and with the Han people as the main population was ruled successively by the Kan, Zhang, Ma, and Qu families.

The Sui Dynasty ended the long-term division of the Central Plains, and expanded the areas in the Western Regions that adopted the system of prefectures and counties. The Turk, Tuyuhun, Dangxiang, Jialiangyi, Fuguo and some other ethnic groups submitted to the authority of the Sui. In the Tang Dynasty, the central government strengthened its rule over the Western Regions by establishing the Grand Anxi Frontier Command and the Grand Beiting Frontier Command to administer the Western Regions. The ruling clan of the Kingdom of Khotan (232 BC-AD 1006) asserted that it was related by blood to the emperor of the Tang Dynasty and changed its surname to Li, the surname of the Tang emperor. In the Song Dynasty, local regimes of the Western Regions paid tribute to the Song. The king of Uighur Kingdom of Gaochang honored the Song emperor as “Uncle” and called himself “Nephew in the Western Regions”, while the Kara-Khanid Khanate (840-1212) sent envoys many times to pay tribute to the Song court.

In the Yuan Dynasty, the central government strengthened administration over the Western Regions by establishing the Beiting Command and the Pacification Commissioner’s Office to manage military and political affairs. In 1251, the system of administrative provinces was adopted in the Western Regions. In the Ming Dynasty, the imperial court set up the Hami Garrison Command to manage local affairs, and then set up six garrison cities – Anding, Aduan, Quxian, Handong, ChijinMengu, and Shazhou – between the Jiayu Pass and Hami to support local administration. In the Qing Dynasty, the imperial court quelled a rebellion launched by the Junggar regime, defining the northwestern border of China. It then adopted more systematic policies for governing Xinjiang. In 1762, the Qing government established the post of Ili General and adopted a mechanism combining military and political administration. In 1884, it established a

province and renamed the Western Regions as “Xinjiang”, meaning “land newly returned”. In 1912, as a response to the Revolution of 1911, Xinjiang became a province of the Republic of China.

In 1949, the People’s Republic of China (PRC) was founded, and Xinjiang was liberated peacefully. In 1955, the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region was established. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, all ethnic groups in Xinjiang united and worked with other groups across the country, opening a period of unprecedented prosperity for the region.

In the long history, Chinese territory has experienced periods of division and unification, but unification and development have always been the overall trend. Small kingdoms or separatist regimes existed in the Central Plains in different periods; similarly, Xinjiang also witnessed several local regimes dividing the region. Nevertheless, no matter how long these regimes divided Xinjiang and however serious the situation was, the region was ultimately united. In different periods in Xinjiang there were city-states, nomadic states, principedoms, kingdoms, khanates, vassal states, tributary states and some other forms of local regime, such as the 36 states of the Western Regions in the Han Dynasty, the Kara-Khanid Khanate and the Uighur Kingdom of Gaochang in the Song Dynasty, the Chagatai Khanate in the Yuan Dynasty, and the Yarkant Khanate in the Ming Dynasty. But these were all local regimes within the territory of China; they were never independent countries. These local regimes had a strong sense of national identity, and acknowledged themselves as branches or vassals of the Central Plains authorities.

*A Comprehensive Dictionary of Turkic Languages*, written by Turkic scholar Mahmud al-Kashgari in the 11th century, states that China [often referred to as Qin in ancient times] was composed of three parts, namely Upper Qin (the area of the Northern Song Dynasty), Middle Qin (the area of the Liao Dynasty), and Lower Qin (the area of the Kara-Khanid Khanate). In the *Travels to the West of Master of Eternal Spring QiuChuji*, the Han people were called the Tavghaq; and in *A Comprehensive Dictionary of Turkic Languages*, the Uighur people were called Tat Tavghaq, or the Uighurs of China. The coins of the Kara-Khanid Khanate were often inscribed with such titles as TavghaqBughra Khan, King from Qin, and King from Qin and the East to indicate that the khanate was part of China.

## **II. Xinjiang Has Never Been “East Turkistan”**

The Turks (*Tujue* in Chinese) were nomads who originated in the Altai Mountains in the middle of the 6th century. The Turks annihilated the Rouran and established a Turkic khanate in 552, which split into two forces, settling on either side of the Altai in 583. The Tang Dynasty defeated the Eastern Turkic Khaganate (583-630) in 630, and joined forces with the Ouigours to eliminate the Western Turkic Khaganate (583-657) in 657, thus uniting the Western Regions under central rule. In 682, the remnants of the Eastern Turks that were relocated in the north rebelled against the Tang court and established the Second Turkic Khaganate (682-744). This was quelled by the Tang in 744 with the help of the Ouigour and Karluk peoples in Mobei (the area north of the vast deserts on the Mongolian Plateau). Kutlug Bilge Khagan, leader of the Ouigours, was granted a title by the Tang court, and established a khanate in Mobei. In the late 8th century, the nomadic Turks dissolved as its last khanate collapsed. They mixed with local tribes during their migration to Central and West Asia, but these newly formed peoples were fundamentally different to the ancient Turks. Ever since then, Turks have disappeared from China's northern regions.

Never in Chinese history has Xinjiang been referred to as "East Turkistan", and there has never been any state known as "East Turkistan". From the 18th century to the first half of the 19th century, as the West made a distinction between the various Turkic languages (branches of the Altaic languages), some foreign scholars and writers coined the term "Turkistan" to refer to the region south of the Tianshan Mountains and north of Afghanistan, which roughly covered the area from southern Xinjiang to Central Asia. They called the two areas on either side of the Pamirs "West Turkistan" and "East Turkistan". At the turn of the 20th century, as "Pan-Turkism" and "Pan-Islamism" made inroads into Xinjiang, separatists in and outside China politicized the geographical concept and manipulated its meaning, inciting all ethnic groups speaking Turkic languages and believing in Islam to join in creating the theocratic state of "East Turkistan". The advocacy of this so-called state has become a political tool and program for separatists and anti-China forces attempting to split China.

### **III. The Ethnic Groups in Xinjiang Are Part of the Chinese Nation**

Historically, the Chinese nation was formed and developed through cultural communication, exchanges and integration between peoples in the Central Plains and in other regions. The Huaxia people who appeared in the pre-Qin period, after years of integration with various other peoples, and especially after 500 turbulent years of

cultural convergence in the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, further integrated with other peoples in the Qin and Han dynasties to form the Han people, a majority group in the Central Plains and the major people in Chinese history. In the period of the Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties, different peoples, especially the northern ethnic minorities, migrated on a large scale to the Central Plains, resulting in further ethnic merging. In the 13th century, with the founding of the Yuan Dynasty, an unprecedented level of political unification gave rise to unprecedented ethnic migration, leading to various ethnic groups living together within the Yuan territories.

After this long historical process, different ethnic groups of China eventually settled among each other, with compact communities here and there. Multiethnicity is a prominent feature of China. Together, the ethnic groups of China have explored the country's rich resources and vast territories, and have created a long history and a splendid culture.

Xinjiang has been in close contact with the Central Plains since ancient times. As early as the Shang Dynasty, the Western Regions traded jade with the Central Plains. In the Han Dynasty, imperial envoy Zhang Qian opened up the Silk Road, along which emissaries and merchants traveled. In the Tang Dynasty, merchants from the Central Plains and the Western Regions traded silk and horses, and a grand thoroughfare connected the Western Regions directly to Chang'an, the Tang capital, with courier stations along the way. Music and dances from Khotan, Gaochang and other places in the Western Regions were performed in the Tang court, and the exotic cultures of the Western Regions were popular in Chang'an. The music of Qiuci (today's Kucha, Xinjiang) enjoyed great fame in the Central Plains, and became an important component of court music in the Sui, Tang and Song dynasties. In modern times, at critical junctures of the Chinese nation, the ethnic peoples in Xinjiang have fought alongside the rest of the country with great patriotism. Since the founding of the PRC, ethnic relations in Xinjiang have entered a new era characterized by equality, solidarity, mutual help, and harmony.

Xinjiang has been a multiethnic region since ancient times. The earliest explorers of Xinjiang included the Sai, Rouzhi, Wusun, Qiang, Qiuci, Yanqi, Khotan, Shule, Shache, Loulan and Cheshi peoples living in the Tianshan Mountains and the Xiongnu and Han peoples in the pre-Qin, Qin and Han dynasties. Following them were peoples of the Han, the Xianbei, Rouran, Gaoche, Yeda, and Tuyuhun in the period of the Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties; of the Turk, Tubo, and Ouigour in the period of the Sui and Tang dynasties; of the Khitan in the period of the Song, Liao, and Jin dynasties; of the Mongol, Jurchen, Dangxiang (Tangut), Kazak, Kirgiz, Manchu, Xibe, Daur, Hui, Uzbek, and Tatar in the period of the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties. Large

numbers of various ethnic groups entering Xinjiang in different periods brought technology, culture and ideas, folk customs, and many other aspects of their lives into the region, promoting economic and social development through exchanges and integration. They were all explorers of Xinjiang. By the end of the 19th century, 13 ethnic groups – the Uygur, Han, Kazak, Mongol, Hui, Kirgiz, Manchu, Xibe, Tajik, Daur, Uzbek, Tatar, and Russian – had settled in Xinjiang, with the Uygurs having the largest population. Ethnic groups had grown, developed and integrated with each other despite periods of isolations and conflict, and shared good fortune and hardship in a close relationship. All of them have made important contribution to exploring, developing and protecting Xinjiang, and they are all masters of Xinjiang. Currently inhabited by 56 ethnic groups, Xinjiang is one of the provincial-level administrative regions with the most ethnic groups in China. The Uygur, Han, Kazak and Hui have populations of one million and above, and the Kirgiz and Mongol have populations exceeding 100,000. Today, Xinjiang, home to various ethnic groups, is an integral part of the Chinese nation.

The evolution of ethnic relations in Xinjiang has always been linked to that between all ethnic groups in China. There have been periods of isolation and conflict, but exchange and integration, and unity and joint effort have always been the prevailing trend. The ethnic groups of China, including those in Xinjiang, live together alongside each other. They are economically interdependent and embrace each other's culture, and are a unified whole that has become impossible to separate. They are members of the same big family. In this family of the Chinese nation, the ethnic groups in Xinjiang are like brothers and sisters who work and live together and help each other out. They have guarded against foreign aggression, opposed separatist activities, and safeguarded national unification.

## **IV. The Uygur Ethnic Group Formed Through a Long Process of Migration and Integration**

The main ancestors of the Uygurs were the Ouigour people who lived on the Mongolian Plateau during the Sui and Tang dynasties. Many different names were used in historical records to refer to this group of people.

Historically, to resist oppression and slavery by the Turks, the Ouigour people united with some of the Tiele tribes to form the Ouigour tribal alliance. In 744, the Tang court conferred a title on Kutlug Bilge Khagan, who united the Ouigour tribes. In 788,



the then Ouigour ruler wrote to the Tang emperor, requesting to have their name changed to “Uighur”.

After the Uighur Khanate was defeated by the Kyrgyz people in 840, some of the Uighurs moved inland to live with the Han people, and the rest were divided into three sub-groups. One of the sub-groups moved to the Turpan Basin and the present-day Jimsar region, where they founded the Uighur Kingdom of Gaochang. Another moved to the Hexi Corridor, where they merged with local ethnic groups to become what was later known as the Yugurs. The third sub-group moved to the west of Pamir, scattered in areas from Central Asia to Kashgar, and joined the Karluk and Yagma peoples in founding the Kara-Khanid Khanate. There they merged with the Han people in the Turpan Basin and the Yanqi, Qiuci, Khotan, Shule, and other peoples in the Tarim Basin to form the main body of the modern Uygur ethnic group.

In the Yuan and Ming dynasties, the various ethnic groups in Xinjiang further merged. The Mongols, especially those of the Chagatai Khanate, were fused with the Uighurs, adding fresh blood to the Uighur group. In 1934, Xinjiang issued a government order, stipulating that “维吾尔” would be the standard Chinese name for Uygurs, which for the first time expressed the accurate meaning of “Uygur”: to maintain unity among the people.

The Ouigours endured slavery under the rule of the Turks. With support from Tang Dynasty troops, they rebelled against the Eastern Turkic Khaganate and defeated the Western Turkic Khaganate and the Second Turkic Khaganate. After the demise of the Western Turkic Khaganate, some Turkic-speaking tribes migrated westward. One of these tribes gradually settled down in Asia Minor, and integrated with local ethnic groups. The Uygurs are not descendants of the Turks.

Since the modern times, some Pan-Turkism advocates with ulterior motives have described all peoples of the Turkic language family as “the Turks” using the untenable argument that the Turkic-speaking tribe integrated with the ancestors of the Turkish people after migrating westward. A language family and an ethnic group are two essentially different concepts. In China, ethnic groups speaking Turkic languages include the Uygurs, Kazaks, Kirgiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Yugurs, and Salars, each with its own history and unique culture. These peoples cannot be referred to as “Turks”.

## **V. Xinjiang Ethnic Cultures Are Part of Chinese Culture**

The Chinese nation has a civilization that dates back more than 5,000 years. Over these five millennia, all ethnic groups of China have created a long history and a splendid culture. The prosperity of the Qin, Han and Tang dynasties and during the reign of the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors of the Qing Dynasty was achieved by all the ethnic groups together. Ethnic and cultural diversity is a salient feature of the Chinese nation and also an important driving force for China's national development.

Since ancient times, due to geographic variations and the unbalanced development of different regions, Chinese culture has grown diverse between the south and the north and between the east and the west. As early as the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods, basic regional cultures with their own distinctive features had already formed. From the Qin and Han dynasties, on through all the dynasties that followed, across the vast territory of China, cultures of all ethnic groups engaged in constant exchange and integration through migration, convergence, wars, marriage, and trade, and finally formed a splendid overall Chinese culture.

More than 2,000 years ago and beyond, Xinjiang was a gateway for China's civilization to open to the West and an important base for cultural exchange and communication between the East and the West. The region experienced a wealth of cultural diversity and coexistence. Long periods of exchange and integration between the culture of the Central Plains and those of the Western Regions drove not only the development of various ethnic cultures in Xinjiang, but also the diversified and integrated Chinese culture as a whole. From the very beginning, ethnic cultures in Xinjiang have reflected elements of Chinese culture, which has always been the emotional attachment and spiritual home for all ethnic groups in Xinjiang, as well as a dynamic source of development for the ethnic cultures in the region.

Economic and cultural exchange between the Central Plains and the Western Regions began in the pre-Qin period. In the Han Dynasty, the Chinese language became one of the official languages used in government documents of that region. Pipa (the four-stringed Chinese lute), the Qiang flute, and other musical instruments were introduced to the Central Plains from or via the region. Agricultural production techniques, the system of etiquette, books in Chinese, and music and dances of the Central Plains spread widely in the region.

Later, the Uighur Kingdom of Gaochang adopted the calendar of the Tang Dynasty, and this practice continued until the latter half of the 10th century. "The governor's generals are skilled in the songs of ethnic minorities, and local chiefs are able to speak Chinese." This verse by the Tang poet Cen Shen reflects the equal status of Chinese and other ethnic languages commonly used at that time. It also demonstrates the cultural prosperity of that period.

Late in the Song Dynasty, Buddhist arts were still flourishing in the south of the Tianshan Mountains and a large number of relics remain till today. In the Western Liao period (1124-1218), the Khitan people, who destroyed the Kara-Khanid Khanate, controlled the Xinjiang region and Central Asia and realized regional unification, extensively inheriting and adopting the laws and regulations and etiquette of the Central Plains.

In the Yuan Dynasty, large numbers of Uighurs and people of other ethnic groups migrated into the inland areas. They settled there and learned and used the Chinese language. Some of them even sat for the imperial examinations and were recruited as officials at various levels. From these groups emerged statesmen, writers, artists, historians, agronomists, translators and specialists of other types, who vigorously promoted the development of ethnic cultures in Xinjiang.

During the Ming and Qing dynasties, under the influence of Islamic culture, ethnic cultures in Xinjiang developed slowly in integration and conflict with cultures from outside the region. In modern China, under the influence of the Revolution of 1911, the October Revolution in Russia, the May 4th Movement, and the New Democratic Revolution, ethnic cultures in Xinjiang began to modernize, and the Chinese national and cultural identity of all ethnic groups in the region reached a new height. After the founding of the PRC in 1949, ethnic cultures in Xinjiang entered a period of unprecedented prosperity and development.

The historical record indicates that when multiple languages were used as official languages and when exchanges were frequent in Xinjiang, it witnessed a boom in ethnic cultures and social progress. Long years of experience shows that learning and using standard Chinese as a spoken and written language has helped Xinjiang's ethnic cultures to flourish.

The ethnic cultures in Xinjiang always have their roots in the fertile soil of Chinese civilization and make up an inseparable part of Chinese culture. Well before Islamic culture spread into Xinjiang, all ethnic cultures in the region, including the Uygur culture, had prospered in the fertile soil of China's civilization. It was not until the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, when Islam spread into the region, that the Islamic culture of the Arab civilization – which dates back to the 7th century – began to exert an influence on ethnic cultures in Xinjiang.

Religion can exert an influence on culture in two ways: willing acceptance, and forced acceptance through cultural conflict or even religious wars. In the case of Xinjiang, Islam entered mainly through the latter. This caused serious damage to the cultures and arts of the various ethnic groups in Xinjiang created in earlier periods when Buddhism was popular in the region. As to the incoming Islamic culture, the ethnic cultures in Xinjiang both resisted and assimilated it in a selective manner, and adapted

it to China's realities. This did not alter the fact that ethnic cultures in Xinjiang were ingrained with Chinese features, nor did it halt the flow of local cultures into Chinese civilization, or change the fact that they were part of Chinese culture. The epic *Manas*, which originated in the 9th and 10th centuries, became a literary masterpiece well-known in and outside China, thanks to performances and adaptation by Kirgiz singers. Around the 15th century, the epic *Jangar* of the Oirat Mongols gradually took shape in Xinjiang. These two epics, together with *Life of King Gesar*, are regarded as the three most renowned epics of China's ethnic minority groups. Uygur literature has given birth to a galaxy of excellent works, including *KutadguBilig (Wisdom of Fortune and Joy)*, *Atebetu'lHakayik (A Guide to Truth)*, *A Comprehensive Dictionary of Turkic Languages*, and *Twelve Muqams*, all of which are treasures of Chinese culture. They represent the enormous contribution that ethnic groups in Xinjiang have made to the formation and development of Chinese culture.

Having a stronger sense of identity with Chinese culture is essential to the prosperity and development of ethnic cultures in Xinjiang. Throughout history, whenever the central government exercised effective governance over Xinjiang and the society of the region was stable, exchanges and communication between ethnic cultures in Xinjiang and the culture of the Central Plains ran smoothly, and the economy and culture of Xinjiang flourished and grew prosperous. Whenever ethnic cultures in Xinjiang assimilated, integrated and accommodated the diverse culture of the Central Plains, including the concepts of benevolence, people-orientation, integrity, sound reasoning, harmony and unity, diversity and integration of Xinjiang ethnic cultures were more apparent, and these cultures could make more progress. For the ethnic cultures in Xinjiang to prosper and develop they must keep pace with the times, be open and inclusive, engage in exchange and integration with other ethnic cultures in China and mutual learning with other ethnic cultures throughout the world, and play their role in fostering a shared spiritual home for all China's ethnic groups.

## **VI. Multiple Religions Have Long Coexisted in Xinjiang**

China has long been a multi-religious country. In addition to several major religions that are structured in accordance with strict religious norms, a variety of folk beliefs are also popular in China. Among these, Taoism and local folk beliefs are native to China, while all other religions were introduced from foreign countries. The history of Xinjiang shows that multiple religions have long coexisted there, with one or two

predominant. The region's religious structure is characterized by blending and coexistence.

The formation and evolution of the coexistence of multiple religions in Xinjiang has been a long process:

- Prior to the 4th century BC, primitive religion was widespread in Xinjiang.
- Around the 1st century BC, Buddhism was introduced into Xinjiang.
- From the 4th to 10th centuries, Buddhism reached its peak, while Zoroastrianism proliferated throughout Xinjiang.
- During the late 16th century and early 17th century, Tibetan Buddhism thrived in northern Xinjiang.
- Around the 5th century, Taoism spread into Xinjiang, prevalent in Turpan and Hami areas. During the Qing Dynasty, it revived in most parts of Xinjiang.
- In the 6th century, Manichaeism and Nestorianism entered Xinjiang. From the 10th to 14th centuries, Nestorianism flourished as the Uighur and some other peoples converted to it.

In the late 9th century and early 10th century, the Kara-Khanid Khanate accepted Islam. It started a 40-year-long religious war in the mid-10th century against the Buddhist Kingdom of Khotan, and conquered it in the early 11th century and imposed Islam there, putting an end to the thousand-year history of Buddhism in that region. With the expansion of Islam, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, and Nestorianism declined. In the mid-14th century, the rulers of the Eastern Chagatai Khanate (1348-1509) spread Islam to the northern edge of the Tarim Basin, the Turpan Basin and Hami through war and duress. By the early 16th century, many religions had coexisted in Xinjiang, with Islam predominant, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, and Nestorianism gone, and Buddhism and Taoism surviving. The coexistence has continued to this day in the region. In the early 17th century, the Oirat Mongols accepted Tibetan Buddhism. Beginning in the 18th century, Protestantism, Catholicism, and the Eastern Orthodox Church reached Xinjiang.

Xinjiang now has multiple religions, including Islam, Buddhism, Taoism, Protestantism, Catholicism, and the Eastern Orthodox Church. It has 24,800 venues for religious activities, including mosques, churches, Buddhist and Taoist temples, with 29,300 religious staff. Among these, there are 24,400 mosques, 59 Buddhist temples, 1 Taoist temple, 227 Protestant churches (or meeting grounds), 26 Catholic churches (or meeting grounds), and 3 Orthodox churches (or meeting grounds).

China, along with most other countries, upholds separation of religion from government. No religious organization is allowed to interfere in political and government affairs. No individual or organization is allowed to use religion to interfere in administration, judicial affairs, education, marriage and birth control, to hinder social

order, work order and life order, to oppose the Communist Party of China and China's socialist system, or to undermine ethnic solidarity and national unity.

Xinjiang fully respects and protects freedom of religious belief as stipulated in the Constitution of the PRC. Xinjiang respects citizens' freedom to believe in, or not to believe in, any religion. Xinjiang shows zero tolerance to any action that creates disputes between believers and non-believers, between believers of different religions, and between believers of different sects of a religion. Xinjiang always upholds equality for all religions, showing neither favoritism towards nor discrimination against any religion and allowing no religion to be superior to any other religion. Xinjiang always upholds equality for all individuals before the law. Believers and non-believers enjoy equal rights and obligations, and all law violators, whatever their social background, ethnicity, and religious belief, will be punished in accordance with the law.

To survive and develop, religions must adapt to their social environment. The history of religions in China shows that only by adapting themselves to the Chinese context can they be accommodated within Chinese society. The 70-year history of the PRC also shows that only by adapting to socialist society can religions in China develop soundly. We must uphold the principle of independence and self-management of China's religious affairs, and prevent all religious tendency that seeks to divest itself of all Chinese elements. We must develop and encourage secular, modern and civilized ways of life, and abandon backward and outdated conventions and customs. We must carry forward religious practices adapted to Chinese society, inspire various religions in China with core socialist values and Chinese culture, foster the fusion of religious doctrines with Chinese culture, and lead these religions, including Islam, onto the Chinese path of development.

## **VII. Islam Is Neither an Indigenous nor the Sole Belief System of the Uygurs**

Primitive religion and Shamanism were practiced by the ancestors of the Uygurs before Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism and Islam were introduced into the region. During the period spanning the Tang and Song dynasties, Buddhism was the predominant religion practiced by the nobility and the common people in the Uighur Kingdom of Gaochang and the Kingdom of Khotan. Many Uighurs converted to Nestorianism during the Yuan Dynasty. Today in Xinjiang, a significant number of people do not follow any religion, and many Uygurs follow religions other than Islam.

The introduction of Islam into Xinjiang was related to the emergence of the Arab Empire and the eastward expansion of Islam. The Uighur conversion to Islam was not a voluntary choice made by the common people, but a result of religious wars and imposition by the ruling class, though this fact does not undermine our respect for the Muslims' right to their beliefs. Islam is neither an indigenous nor the sole belief system of the Uygur people.

In the process of accepting Islam, the ancestors of the Uygurs and Kazaks integrated it with local faiths and traditions, while absorbing the cultures of other ethnic groups in the region and from inland areas. Some of their religious concepts, rituals and customs remained as they evolved. Through interaction with these elements, Islam in Xinjiang gradually developed distinct local and ethnic features. For example, orthodox Islam does not allow the worship of anyone or anything other than Allah. However, the Uygurs and some other ethnic groups still venerate mazars, which are mausoleums or shrines, typically of saints or notable religious leaders. Mazar worship is a prominent example of the localization of Islam in Xinjiang. The practice of erecting long poles around the mazars, hung with streamers and sheepskin, is a result of influence from multiple religions including Shamanism and Buddhism. As another example, the Baytulla Mosque in Yining and the Shaanxi Mosque in Urumqi, both first built in Emperor Qianlong's reign (1736-1795) during the Qing Dynasty, are characterized by beam-column construction which was common in inland areas. This embodies a form of localization of Islam.

It should be noted that since the late 1970s and early 1980s, and in particular since the end of the Cold War, the surge in religious extremism around the world has caused a rise in religious extremism in Xinjiang. This has resulted in an increasing number of incidents of terror and violence that pose a serious danger to social stability and to the lives and property of people in the region. Under the guise of religion, religious extremism trumpets theocracy, religious supremacism, actions against "pagans", and "holy wars". It instigates terror and violence and incites hostility between different ethnic groups, running counter to the teachings concerning patriotism, peace, solidarity, the golden mean, tolerance, and good works advocated by Islam and many other religions. Religious extremism, which constitutes the ideological base of ethnic separatism and terrorism, is by nature anti-human, anti-society, anti-civilization, and anti-religion. It is a betrayal of religion and should never be confused with religious matters, or be glossed over or excused through religious rhetoric. Drawing lessons from international experiences and in view of reality of the region, Xinjiang has taken resolute action to fight terrorism and extremism in accordance with the law, effectively clamp down on terrorism and violence and the spread of religious terrorism. Through these efforts Xinjiang has responded to the public's expectation of security for all ethnic

groups, protected the basic human rights, and maintained social harmony and stability in the region. Xinjiang's fight against terrorism and extremism is a battle for justice and civilization against evil and barbaric forces. As such it deserves support, respect and understanding. Some countries, organizations and individuals that apply double standards to terrorism and human rights have issued unjustified criticism of Xinjiang's effort. This kind of criticism betrays the basic conscience and justice of humanity, and will be repudiated by all genuine champions of justice and progress.

## **Conclusion**

It is a matter of principle to correctly treat historical issues. The historical and dialectical materialist stance, viewpoint and methodology help us gain a clear understanding of our country and its history, ethnic groups, culture, and religious affairs. They help us to properly understand and treat historical issues concerning Xinjiang. This is essential to maintaining the Chinese people's sense of cohesion and identity, the country's unity and long-term stability, and the security, stability and development of a wider region.

Xinjiang is enjoying sustained economic development, social stability, a better standard of living, unprecedented cultural prosperity, a harmonious coexistence of all religions, and solidarity among all ethnic groups. The region is experiencing its most auspicious period of development and prosperity. Hostile foreign forces and separatist, religious extremist and terrorist forces that have colluded to distort history and tamper with facts run counter to the trend of our times and will be cast aside by history and the people.

Xinjiang belongs to all ethnic groups in the region and the country. It is the common responsibility and aspiration of the Chinese people, including all those in Xinjiang, to carry forward our cultural heritage and build a shared spiritual home based on Chinese culture. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China with Xi Jinping as the core, and with the support of the whole country and its people, all ethnic groups in Xinjiang are striving to achieve the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. Xinjiang will embrace an ever better future.

Appendix

### **A Brief Chronology of Chinese History**



Period of the Five Legendary Rulers	c. 30th century BC- c. 21st century BC	
Xia Dynasty	c. 2070 BC-1600 BC	
Shang Dynasty	c. 1600 BC-1046 BC	
Zhou Dynasty	c. 1046 BC-256 BC	Western Zhou (c. 1046 BC-771 BC) Eastern Zhou (770 BC-256 BC) Spring and Autumn Period (770 BC-476 BC) Warring States Period (475 BC-221 BC)
Qin Dynasty	221 BC-206 BC	The state of Qin overthrew Zhou in 256 BC and unified the country in 221 BC.
Han Dynasty	206 BC-AD 220	Western Han (206 BC-AD 25) Eastern Han (25-220)
Three Kingdoms	220-280	Wei (220-265) Shu Han (221-263) Wu (222-280)
Jin Dynasty	265-420	Western Jin (265-317) Eastern Jin (317-420)
Northern and Southern Dynasties	420-589	Southern Dynasties: Song (420-479) Qi (479-502) Liang (502-557) Chen (557-589) Northern Dynasties: Northern Wei (386-534) Eastern Wei (534-550) Northern Qi (550-577) Western Wei (535-556) Northern Zhou (557-581)
Sui Dynasty	581-618	Sui was founded in 581 and unified the country after defeating Chen in 589.
Tang Dynasty	618-907	
Five Dynasties	907-960	The Five Dynasties include Later Liang, Later Tang, Later Jin, Later Han, and Later Zhou. Some other regimes also existed during this period, including Wu, Former Shu, Wuyue, Chu, Min, Southern Han, Jingnan (also Nanping), Later Shu, Southern Tang, and Northern Han, known as the Ten States.
Song Dynasty	960-1279	Northern Song (960-1127) Southern Song (1127-1279)
Liao	907-1125	
Xixia	1038-1227	

Jin	1115-1234	
Yuan Dynasty	1206-1368	TemujinBorjigin unified the Mongol tribes and became Genghis Khan in 1206. Kublai Khan renamed the Mongol empire Yuan in 1271. Yuan defeated Southern Song in 1279.
Ming Dynasty	1368-1644	
Qing Dynasty	1616-1911	Qing was founded in 1616 as Later Jin and renamed Qing in 1636. Qing captured the Ming capital of Beijing in 1644.
Republic of China	1912-1949	
People's Republic of China	1949-	

Source: [http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2019-07/21/c\\_1124779069.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2019-07/21/c_1124779069.htm)

新华社北京7月21日电 国务院新闻办公室21日发表《新疆的若干历史问题》白皮书。全文如下：

## 新疆的若干历史问题

(2019年7月)

中华人民共和国

国务院新闻办公室

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### 前言

中国新疆维吾尔自治区地处中国西北，位于亚欧大陆腹地，与蒙古国、俄罗斯、哈萨克斯坦、吉尔吉斯斯坦、塔吉克斯坦、阿富汗、巴基斯坦、印度8个国家接壤，著名的“丝绸之路”在此将古代中国与世界联系起来，使其成为多种文明的荟萃之地。

中国是统一的多民族国家，新疆各民族是中华民族血脉相连的家庭成员。在漫长的历史发展进程中，新疆的命运始终与伟大祖国和中华民族的命运紧密相连。然而，

一个时期以来，境内外敌对势力，特别是民族分裂势力、宗教极端势力、暴力恐怖势力（以下简称“三股势力”），为了达到分裂、肢解中国的目的，蓄意歪曲历史、混淆是非。他们抹杀新疆是中国固有领土，否定新疆自古以来就是多民族聚居、多文化交流、多宗教并存等客观事实，妄称新疆为“东突厥斯坦”，鼓噪新疆“独立”，企图把新疆各民族和中华民族大家庭、新疆各民族文化和多元一体的中华文化割裂开来。

历史不容篡改，事实不容否定。新疆是中国神圣领土不可分割的一部分，新疆从来都不是什么“东突厥斯坦”；维吾尔族是经过长期迁徙融合形成的，是中华民族的重要组成部分；新疆是多文化多宗教并存的地区，新疆各民族文化是在中华文化怀抱中孕育发展的；伊斯兰教不是维吾尔族天生信仰且唯一信仰的宗教，与中华文化相融合的伊斯兰教扎根中华沃土并健康发展。

## 一、新疆是中国领土不可分割的一部分

中国统一多民族国家的形成，是经济社会发展的历史必然。历史上，养育中华民族及其先民的东亚大陆，既有农耕区，也有游牧区等。各种生产生活方式族群的交流互补、迁徙汇聚、冲突融合，推动了中国统一多民族国家的形成和发展。

中国历史上最早的几个王朝夏、商、周先后在中原地区兴起，与其周围的大小氏族、部落、部落联盟逐渐融合形成的族群统称为诸夏或华夏。经春秋至战国，华夏族群不断同王朝周边的氏族、部落、部落联盟交流融合，逐渐形成了齐、楚、燕、韩、赵、魏、秦等 7 个地区，并分别联系着东夷、南蛮、西戎、北狄等周边诸族。公元前 221 年，秦始皇建立第一个统一的封建王朝。公元前 202 年，汉高祖刘邦再次建立统一的封建王朝。

从汉代至清代中晚期，包括新疆天山南北在内的广大地区统称为西域。自汉代开始，新疆地区正式成为中国版图的一部分。汉朝以后，历代中原王朝时强时弱，和西域的关系有疏有密，中央政权对新疆地区的管治时紧时松，但任何一个王朝都把西域视为故土，行使着对该地区的管辖权。在中国统一多民族国家的历史演进中，新疆各族人民同全国人民一道共同开拓了中国的辽阔疆土，共同缔造了多元一体的中华民族大家庭。中国多民族大一统格局，是包括新疆各族人民在内的全体中华儿女共同奋斗造就的。

西汉前期，中国北方游牧民族匈奴控制西域地区，并不断进犯中原地区。汉武帝即位后，采取一系列军事和政治措施反击匈奴。公元前 138 年、公元前 119 年，派遣张骞两次出使西域，联合月氏、乌孙等共同对付匈奴。公元前 127 年至公元前 119 年，3 次出兵重创匈奴，并在内地通往西域的咽喉要道先后设立武威、张掖、酒泉、敦煌四郡。公元前 101 年，在轮台等地进行屯田，并设置地方官吏管理。公元前 60 年，控制东部天山北麓的匈奴日逐王降汉，西汉统一西域。同年，设西域都护府作为管理西域的军政机构。公元 123 年，东汉改西域都护府为西域长史府，继续行使管理西域的职权。

三国曹魏政权继承汉制，在西域设戊己校尉。西晋在西域设置西域长史和戊己校尉管理军政事务。三国两晋时期，北方匈奴、鲜卑、丁零、乌桓等民族部分内迁并最后与汉族融合。327年，前凉政权首次将郡县制推广到西域，设高昌郡（吐鲁番盆地）。从460年到640年，以吐鲁番盆地为中心，建立了以汉人为主体的居民的高昌国，历阚、张、马、麴诸氏。隋代，结束了中原长期割据状态，扩大了郡县制在新疆地区的范围。突厥、吐谷浑、党项、嘉良夷、附国等周边民族先后归附隋朝。唐代，中央政权对西域的管理大为加强，先后设置安西大都护府和北庭大都护府，统辖天山南北。于阗王国自称唐朝宗属，随唐朝国姓李。宋代，西域地方政权与宋朝保持着朝贡关系。高昌回鹘尊中朝（宋）为舅，自称西州外甥。喀喇汗王朝多次派使臣向宋朝朝贡。元代，设北庭都元帅府、宣慰司等管理军政事务，加强了对西域的管辖。1251年，西域实行行省制。明代，中央政权设立哈密卫作为管理西域事务的机构，并在嘉峪关和哈密之间先后建立安定、阿端、曲先、罕东、赤斤蒙古、沙州6个卫，以此支持管理西域事务。清代，清政府平定准噶尔叛乱，中国西北国界得以确定。此后，对新疆地区实行了更加系统的治理政策。1762年设立伊犁将军，实行军政合一的军府体制。1884年在新疆地区建省，并取“故土新归”之意，改称西域为“新疆”。1912年新疆积极响应辛亥革命，成为中华民国的一个行省。

1949年中华人民共和国成立，新疆和平解放。1955年成立新疆维吾尔自治区。在中国共产党领导下，新疆各族人民同全国人民共同团结奋斗，新疆进入历史上最好的繁荣发展时期。

在长期的历史进程中，中国疆土既有割据时期又有统一时期，统一与割据交替循环，国家统一发展始终是主流方向。同中原地区不同时期曾经存在诸侯国或割据政权一样，新疆地区也多次出现地方政权割据情况，但不论这些政权割据时间有多长、局面有多严重，最终都走向重新统一。历史上，西域不同时期曾经存在的“国”，包括城郭诸国、行国、封国、王国、汗国、王朝、属国、朝贡国等形态，无论是汉代西域三十六国，还是宋代喀喇汗王朝、高昌回鹘王国等，元代察合台汗国，明代叶尔羌汗国，都是中国疆域内的地方政权形式，都不是独立的国家。即便是地方割据政权，也都有浓厚的中国一体意识，或认为自己是中原政权的分支，或臣属于中原政权。宋代著名历史文献《突厥语大词典》将当时中国分为上秦、中秦和下秦3部分，上秦为北宋，中秦是辽朝，下秦为喀什噶尔一带，三位一体为完整的秦。在《长春真人西游记》中汉人被称为桃花石，相应地在《突厥语大词典》词条里，回鹘人被称为塔特·桃花石，也有的直译为中国回鹘人。在喀喇汗王朝钱币上，常有桃花石·布格拉汗、秦之王以及秦与东方之王等称呼，标示是中国的一部分。

## 二、新疆从来不是“东突厥斯坦”

突厥是6世纪中叶兴起于阿尔泰山地区的一个游牧部落，于552年消灭柔然汗国，建立突厥汗国。583年，突厥汗国以阿尔泰山为界，分为东、西两大势力。630年，唐朝发兵击败东突厥汗国。657年，唐朝联合回纥灭西突厥汗国，中央政权完全统一西域。682年，安置在北方的东突厥部众反叛唐朝，一度建立了后突厥汗国政权。744年，唐朝与漠北回纥、葛逻禄等联手平定了后突厥汗国。回纥首领骨力裴罗

因功被册封为怀仁可汗，在漠北建立回纥汗国。突厥作为我国古代的一个游牧民族，也随着汗国的消亡于 8 世纪中后期解体，并在西迁中亚西亚过程中与当地部族融合，形成多个新的民族，新的民族与古突厥民族有本质区别。从此，突厥在我国北方退出历史舞台。

中国历史上从来没有把新疆称为“东突厥斯坦”，更不存在所谓的“东突厥斯坦国”。18 世纪至 19 世纪上半叶，随着西方对阿尔泰语系突厥语族各种语言的划分，一些国家的学者和作家频繁使用“突厥斯坦”一词，指代天山以南到阿富汗北部，大体包括新疆南部到中亚的地域，并且习惯以帕米尔高原为界，将这一地理区域分为“西突厥斯坦”和“东突厥斯坦”。19 世纪末 20 世纪初，“泛突厥主义”“泛伊斯兰主义”思潮传入新疆以后，境内外分裂势力将这个地理名词政治化，将其内涵扩大化，鼓噪所有使用突厥语族语言和信奉伊斯兰教的民族联合起来，组成政教合一的“东突厥斯坦国”。所谓的“东突厥斯坦”论调，成为境内外民族分裂势力、国外反华势力企图分裂中国、肢解中国的政治工具和行动纲领。

### 三、新疆各民族是中华民族的重要组成部分

中华民族的形成与发展，是中原各族和文化同周边诸族和文化连续不断交往交流交融的历史过程。先秦时期的华夏族群，经过长期与周围族群的多元融合，特别是经过春秋战国 500 余年大动荡的交汇与融合，至秦汉之际，进一步与周围族群融合为一体，形成以中原人口居多的汉族，并从此成为中国历史进程的主体民族。魏晋南北朝时期，各民族尤其是北方少数民族向中原大迁徙，出现了大融合的局面。13 世纪元朝建立，规模空前的政治统一局面推动了规模空前的民族迁徙，形成了元朝境内广泛的民族杂居局面。中华各民族在长期发展中，最终形成大杂居、小聚居的分布特点。多民族是中国的一大特色，各民族共同开发了祖国的锦绣河山、广袤疆域，共同创造了悠久的历史、灿烂中华文化。

新疆地区自古就同中原地区保持着密切联系。早在商代，中原同西域就有玉石贸易。汉代张骞“凿空西域”打通丝绸之路，使者相望于道，商旅不绝于途。唐代“绢马互市”持续繁盛，“参天可汗大道”直通内地，沿途驿站星罗棋布，成为西域先民同中原密切联系的纽带。于阗乐、高昌乐、胡旋舞等西域乐舞深入宫廷，长安城流行西域风。出自今新疆库车的龟兹乐享誉中原，成为隋唐至宋代宫廷燕乐的重要组成部分。近代以来，在中华民族面临生死存亡的危急关头，新疆各族人民同全国人民一道，奋起反抗、共赴国难，共同谱写了可歌可泣的爱国主义篇章。新中国成立以来，新疆各民族关系进入平等、团结、互助、和谐的新时期。

新疆自古以来就是多民族聚居地区。最早开发新疆地区的是先秦至秦汉时期生活在天山南北的塞人、月氏人、乌孙人、羌人、龟兹人、焉耆人、于阗人、疏勒人、莎车人、楼兰人、车师人，以及匈奴人、汉人等。魏晋南北朝时期的鲜卑、柔然、高车、嚙哒、吐谷浑，隋唐时期的突厥、吐蕃、回纥，宋辽金时期的契丹，元明清时期的蒙古、女真、党项、哈萨克、柯尔克孜、满、锡伯、达斡尔、回、乌孜别克、塔塔尔族等，每个历史时期都有包括汉族在内的不同民族的大量人口进出新疆地区，带来了不同的生产技术、文化观念、风俗习惯，在交流融合中促进经济社会发展，他们是

新疆地区的共同开拓者。至 19 世纪末，已有维吾尔、汉、哈萨克、蒙古、回、柯尔克孜、满、锡伯、塔吉克、达斡尔、乌孜别克、塔塔尔、俄罗斯等 13 个主要民族定居新疆，形成维吾尔族人口居多、多民族聚居分布的格局。各民族在新疆地区经过诞育、分化、交融，形成了血浓于水、休戚与共的关系。各民族都为开发、建设、保卫新疆作出了重要贡献，都是新疆的主人。目前，新疆共生活着 56 个民族，是中国民族成分最全的省级行政区之一。其中，超过 100 万人口的有维吾尔族、汉族、哈萨克族和回族 4 个民族，超过 10 万人口的有柯尔克孜族、蒙古族 2 个民族。新疆地区既是新疆各民族的家園，也是中华民族共同家園的组成部分。

新疆地区民族关系的演变，始终和中华各民族关系演变相联系。各民族有隔阂冲突更有交流融合，团结凝聚、共同奋进始终是主流。包括新疆各民族在内的中华各民族，分布上交错杂居，经济上相互依存，文化上兼收并蓄，情感上相互亲近，形成你中有我、我中有你、谁也离不开谁的多元一体格局，是一个大家庭里不同成员的关系。在中华民族大家庭中，新疆各民族手足相亲、守望相助，休戚相关、荣辱与共，共同生产生活，抵御外来侵略，反对民族分裂，维护祖国统一。

#### 四、维吾尔族是经过长期迁徙融合形成的

维吾尔族先民的主体是隋唐时期的回纥人，活动在蒙古高原，曾经有乌护、乌纥、袁纥、韦纥、回纥等多种汉译名称。回纥人为了反抗突厥的压迫和奴役，联合铁勒诸部中的仆固、同罗等部组成了回纥部落联盟。744 年，统一了回纥各部的首领骨力裴罗受唐朝册封。788 年，回纥统治者上书唐朝，自请改为“回鹘”。840 年，回鹘汗国被黠戛斯攻破，回鹘人除一部分迁入内地同汉人融合外，其余分为 3 支：一支迁往吐鲁番盆地和今天的吉木萨尔地区，建立了高昌回鹘王国；一支迁往河西走廊，与当地诸族交往融合，形成裕固族；一支迁往帕米尔以西，后分布在中亚至今喀什一带，与葛逻禄、样磨等部族一起建立了喀喇汗王朝。回鹘人相继融合了吐鲁番盆地的汉人、塔里木盆地的焉耆人、龟兹人、于阗人、疏勒人等，构成近代维吾尔族的主体。元代，维吾尔族先民在汉语中又称畏兀儿。元明时期，新疆各民族进一步融合，蒙古人尤其是察合台汗国的蒙古人基本和畏兀儿人融为一体，为畏兀儿补充了新鲜血液。1934 年，新疆省发布政府令，决定统一使用维吾尔作为汉文规范称谓，意为维护你我团结，首次精确表达了 Uygur 名称的本意。

历史上，维吾尔族先民受突厥人奴役，两者是被奴役和奴役的关系。维吾尔族先民回纥早期受突厥统治，在唐朝军队支持下，起兵反抗东突厥汗国，并先后攻灭西突厥汗国、后突厥汗国。西突厥汗国灭亡后，一些使用突厥语族语言的部落向西迁徙，其中一支长期辗转西迁小亚细亚，融入当地诸族。维吾尔人不是突厥人的后裔。

近代以来，一些“泛突厥主义”分子以西迁的部分使用突厥语族语言的部落融入当地诸族为借口，把使用突厥语族语言的各民族都说成是突厥人，这是别有用心。语族和民族是两个不同的概念，有着本质的区别。中国使用突厥语族语言的有维吾尔、哈萨克、柯尔克孜、乌孜别克、塔塔尔、裕固、撒拉等民族，他们都具有各自历史和文化特质，绝不是所谓“突厥族”的组成部分。

## 五、新疆各民族文化是中华文化的组成部分

中华民族具有 5000 多年的文明发展史，各民族共同创造了悠久的历史、灿烂的中华文化。秦汉雄风、盛唐气象、康乾盛世，是各民族共同铸就的辉煌。多民族多文化是中国的一大特色，也是国家发展的重要动力。

自古以来，由于地理差异和区域发展不平衡，中华文化呈现丰富的多元状态，存在南北、东西差异。春秋战国时期，各具特色的区域文化已大体形成。秦汉以后，历经各代，在中国辽阔的疆土上，通过迁徙、聚合、战争、和亲、互市等，各民族文化不断进行交流交融，最终形成气象恢宏的中华文化。

早在 2000 多年前，新疆地区就是中华文明向西开放的门户，是东西方文明交流传播的重地，这里多元文化荟萃、多种文化并存。中原文化和西域文化长期交流交融，既推动了新疆各民族文化的发展，也促进了多元一体的中华文化发展。新疆各民族文化从一开始就打上了中华文化的印记。中华文化始终是新疆各民族的情感依托、心灵归宿和精神家园，也是新疆各民族文化发展的动力源泉。

中原与西域的经济文化交流始于先秦时期。到汉代，汉语已成为西域官府文书中的通用语之一，琵琶、羌笛等乐器由西域或通过西域传入中原，中原农业生产技术、礼仪制度、汉语书籍、音乐舞蹈等在西域广泛传播。高昌回鹘使用唐代历书，一直延续到 10 世纪下半期。唐代诗人岑参的诗句“花门将军善胡歌，叶河蕃王能汉语”，是当时新疆地区民汉语言并用、文化繁荣景象的写照。宋代，天山南麓的佛教艺术依然兴盛，至今仍留有大量遗迹。西辽时期，契丹人征服喀喇汗王朝，控制新疆地区和中亚，典章礼制多沿袭中原旧制。元代，大批畏兀儿等少数民族移居内地生活，学习使用汉语，有的参加科举考试并被录用为各级官员，涌现了一批政治家、文学家、艺术家、史学家、农学家、翻译家等，有力推动了新疆各民族文化的发展。明清时期，受伊斯兰文化的影响，新疆各民族文化在同域外文化既吸收又冲突的过程中徘徊发展。近现代以来，在辛亥革命、俄国十月革命、五四运动、新民主主义革命斗争影响下，新疆各民族文化向现代转型，各民族的国家认同和中华文化认同达到新的高度。新中国成立后，新疆各民族文化进入史无前例的大繁荣大发展时期。历史证明，新疆地区凡是多语并用、交流频繁的时期，也是各民族文化勃兴、社会进步的时期。学习使用国家通用语言文字，是繁荣发展新疆各民族文化的重要历史经验。

新疆各民族文化始终扎根中华文明沃土，是中华文化不可分割的一部分。早在伊斯兰文化传入新疆之前，包括维吾尔族文化在内的新疆各民族文化已在中华文明沃土中枝繁叶茂。源自 7 世纪的阿拉伯文明体系的伊斯兰文化，直到 9 世纪末 10 世纪初，随着伊斯兰教传入西域才对新疆各民族文化发生影响。宗教对文化的影响，既有自愿接受的途径，也有通过文化冲突甚至宗教战争的强制方式。在新疆，伊斯兰教很大程度上是通过后一种方式进入，这导致佛教流行时期创造的新疆各民族文化艺术遭到严重破坏。伊斯兰文化传入新疆，新疆各民族文化既有抵制，更有选择性吸收和中国化改造，既没有改变属于中华文明的特质和走向，也没有改变属于中华文化一部分的客观事实。产生于 9 世纪至 10 世纪的英雄史诗《玛纳斯》，经过柯尔克孜歌手世代传唱与加工，成为享誉中外的文学巨著。15 世纪前后，蒙古族卫拉特英雄史诗《江格尔》



在新疆地区逐渐形成，与《玛纳斯》《格萨尔王传》一起被誉为中国少数民族 3 部最著名的史诗。维吾尔族文学佳作纷呈，代表作《福乐智慧》《真理的入门》《突厥语大词典》《十二木卡姆》等，都成为中华文化宝库中的珍品，新疆各民族对中华文化的形成和发展都作出了贡献。

中华文化认同是新疆各民族文化繁荣发展之基。历史上，凡是中央王朝对新疆进行有效治理、社会稳定的时期，新疆各民族文化和中原文化的交流交融就畅通，经济文化就繁荣兴旺；凡是新疆各民族文化秉承中华文化崇仁爱、重民本、守诚信、讲辩证、尚和合、求大同的思想，对多元文化吸收融合、兼收并蓄，多元一体的特征就越明显，新疆各民族文化就越进步。新疆各民族文化要繁荣发展，必须与时俱进，树立开放、包容理念，坚持与中华各民族文化交流融合，与世界多民族文化交流互鉴，建设各民族共有精神家园。

## 六、新疆历来是多种宗教并存的地区

中国自古以来就是多宗教的国家，除了组织性、制度性较强的几大宗教外，还存在大量的民间信仰。除了道教和民间信仰是中国土生土长的之外，其他都由国外传入。新疆地区历来也是多种宗教信仰并存，一教或两教为主、多教并存是新疆宗教格局的历史特点，交融共存是新疆宗教关系的主流。

新疆多种宗教并存格局形成和演变经历了漫长的历史过程。早在公元前 4 世纪以前，新疆流行的是原始宗教。大约公元前 1 世纪，佛教传入新疆地区，4 世纪至 10 世纪，佛教进入鼎盛时期。同期，祆教流行于新疆各地。至 16 世纪末 17 世纪初，藏传佛教在北疆地区逐渐兴盛起来。道教于 5 世纪前后传入新疆，主要盛行于吐鲁番、哈密等地，至清代传播至新疆大部分地区并一度复兴。摩尼教和景教于 6 世纪相继传入新疆。10 世纪至 14 世纪，景教随着回鹘等民族信仰而兴盛。

9 世纪末 10 世纪初，喀喇汗王朝接受伊斯兰教，并于 10 世纪中叶向信仰佛教的于阗王国发动 40 余年宗教战争，11 世纪初攻灭于阗，强制推行伊斯兰教，结束了佛教在这个地区千余年的历史。随着伊斯兰教的不断传播，祆教、摩尼教、景教等宗教日趋衰落。14 世纪中叶，东察合台汗国统治者以战争等强制手段，将伊斯兰教逐渐推行到塔里木盆地北缘、吐鲁番盆地和哈密一带。至 16 世纪初，新疆形成了以伊斯兰教为主要宗教、多种宗教并存的格局并延续至今，原来当地居民信仰的祆教、摩尼教、景教等逐渐消失，佛教、道教仍然存在。17 世纪初，卫拉特蒙古人接受了藏传佛教。约自 18 世纪始，基督教、天主教、东正教相继传入新疆。

新疆现有伊斯兰教、佛教、道教、基督教、天主教、东正教等宗教。清真寺、教堂、寺院、道观等宗教活动场所 2.48 万座，宗教教职人员 2.93 万人。其中，清真寺 2.44 万座，佛教寺院 59 座，道教宫观 1 座，基督教教堂（聚会点）227 个，天主教教堂（聚会点）26 个，东正教教堂（聚会点）3 座。

同世界上大多数国家一样，中国坚持政教分离原则。任何宗教不得干预政治、干预政府事务，不得利用宗教干预行政、司法、教育、婚姻、计划生育等，不得利用宗

教妨碍正常社会秩序、工作秩序、生活秩序，不得利用宗教反对中国共产党和社会主义制度、破坏民族团结和国家统一。

新疆全面贯彻国家宗教信仰自由的宪法原则，既尊重信仰宗教的自由、又尊重不信仰宗教的自由，决不允许在信教和不信教、信这种教和信那种教、信这一教派和信那一教派群众之间制造纷争。新疆始终坚持各宗教一律平等，对所有宗教一视同仁，不偏袒某个宗教，也不歧视某个宗教，任何宗教不得享有超越其他宗教的特殊地位。新疆始终坚持法律面前人人平等，信教群众和不信教群众享有同等权利、履行同等义务，无论什么人、哪个民族、信仰什么宗教，只要违法，就必须依法处理。

同所在社会相适应是宗教生存发展的趋势和规律。中国宗教发展的历史证明，只有坚持中国化方向，宗教才能更好地与中国社会相适应。新中国成立 70 年的历史也证明，宗教只有与社会主义社会相适应，才能健康发展。必须坚持独立自主自办原则，防止一切“去中国化”倾向。必须大力培养和提倡世俗化现代化的文明生活方式，摒弃愚昧落后的陈规陋习。必须弘扬宗教中国化的历史传统，用社会主义核心价值观引领、用中华文化浸润中国各种宗教，努力把宗教教义同中华文化相融合，积极引导包括伊斯兰教在内的各种宗教走中国化道路。

## 七、伊斯兰教不是维吾尔族天生信仰且唯一信仰的宗教

维吾尔族先民最初信仰原始宗教和萨满教，后来相继信仰过祆教、佛教、摩尼教、景教、伊斯兰教等。唐宋时期，在高昌回鹘王国和于阗王国，上至王公贵族、下至底层民众普遍信仰佛教。元代，有大量回鹘人改信景教。直到今天，仍有一些维吾尔族群众信奉其他宗教，也有许多人不信仰宗教。

伊斯兰教传入新疆地区，与阿拉伯帝国兴起和伊斯兰教由西向东扩张有关。维吾尔族信仰伊斯兰教，不是当时民众主动改信和转型，而是宗教战争和统治阶级强制推行的结果。虽然这种强迫并不影响今天尊重维吾尔族群众信仰伊斯兰教的权利，但它是一个历史事实。伊斯兰教既不是维吾尔族天生信仰的宗教，也不是唯一信仰的宗教。

新疆的维吾尔、哈萨克等民族的先民在接受伊斯兰教过程中，既保留了这些民族原有的信仰和传统文化，又吸收了新疆地区其他民族和内地的文化，一些原有的宗教观念、仪式、风俗习惯经演化得以存续，并相互影响，逐渐形成了具有鲜明地域特征和民族特色的新疆伊斯兰教。例如，伊斯兰教原本反对崇拜安拉之外的任何人或物，但维吾尔等民族至今仍有麻扎崇拜，这是伊斯兰教本土化最典型的表现。在麻扎上立高杆、挂旗幡、悬羊皮等习俗，则是萨满教、佛教等多元宗教的遗存。又如，始建于乾隆年间的伊宁拜图拉清真寺、乌鲁木齐陕西大寺等，在修建时采用了内地传统梁柱式结构。这都是伊斯兰教中国化的具体表现。

值得注意的是，20 世纪 70 年代末 80 年代初以来，特别是冷战结束后，受国际宗教极端主义思潮影响，宗教极端主义在新疆滋生蔓延，导致暴恐案事件多发频发，给新疆社会稳定和人民生命财产安全造成极大危害。宗教极端主义披着宗教外衣、打着

宗教旗号，宣扬“神权政治论”“宗教至上论”“异教徒论”“圣战论”等，煽动暴力恐怖，制造族群对立。宗教极端主义与伊斯兰教等宗教倡导的爱国、和平、团结、中道、宽容、善行等教义背道而驰，其本质是反人类、反社会、反文明、反宗教的。宗教极端主义是对宗教的背叛，绝不能把宗教极端思想同宗教问题扯在一起，绝不能用宗教问题来替宗教极端思想作说辞，绝不能借口涉及宗教问题而推脱清除宗教极端思想的责任。新疆借鉴国际经验，结合本地区实际，采取坚决措施，依法开展反恐和去极端化斗争，沉重打击了暴恐势力的嚣张气焰，有力遏制了宗教极端思想的滋生蔓延，满足了新疆各族人民对安全的殷切期待，保障了基本人权，维护了社会和谐稳定。新疆的反恐、去极端化斗争，是人类正义、文明对邪恶、野蛮的斗争，理应得到支持、尊重和理解。国际上有的国家、组织或个人，奉行反恐和人权“双重标准”，对此横加指责，胡说八道，完全违背了人类公理和基本良知，这是一切爱好正义和进步的人所绝不能答应的。

## 结束语

历史问题是重大原则问题。运用历史唯物主义、辩证唯物主义的立场、观点和方法，正确认识国家、历史、民族、文化、宗教等问题，科学回答新疆若干历史问题，关系中华民族的凝聚力、向心力，关系中国的统一和国家长治久安，关系地区安全、稳定和发展。

当前，新疆经济持续发展，社会和谐稳定，民生不断改善，文化空前繁荣，宗教和睦和顺，各族人民像石榴籽一样紧紧团结在一起，新疆处于历史上最好的繁荣发展时期。境外敌对势力与“三股势力”沆瀣一气，杜撰历史、歪曲事实，逆历史潮流而动，其结果必将被历史和人民所唾弃。

新疆属于新疆各族人民，属于整个中华民族。坚守中华文化立场，传承中华文化基因，构建各民族共有精神家园，是包括新疆各族人民在内的全中国人民的共同责任和追求。当前，在以习近平同志为核心的党中央坚强领导下，在全国人民的关心支持下，新疆各族人民正在为实现“两个一百年”奋斗目标和中华民族伟大复兴的中国梦而不懈努力，新疆的明天会更加美好，新疆的明天一定会更加美好！

## 附件

## 中国历代纪元简表

五帝	约前 30 世纪初—约前 21 世纪初	
夏	约前 2070—前 1600	
商	前 1600—前 1046	
周	前 1046—前 256	西周（前 1046—前 771）； 东周（前 770—前 256），公元前 770 年至公元前 476 年，为春秋时代；公元前 475 年至公元前 221 年，为战国时代，主要有秦、魏、韩、赵、楚、燕、齐等国。
秦	前 221—前 206	周赧王 59 年乙巳（前 256），秦灭周。 自次年（秦昭襄王 52 年丙午，前 255）起至秦王政 25 年己卯（前 222），史家以秦王纪年。秦王政 26 年庚辰（前 221）完成统一，称始皇帝。
汉	前 206—公元 220	西汉（前 206—公元 25），包括王莽（公元 9—23）和更始帝（23—25）； 东汉（25—220）。
三国	220—280	魏（220—265）； 蜀汉（221—263）； 吴（222—280）。
晋	265—420	西晋（265—317）； 东晋（317—420）。
南北朝	420—589	南朝：宋（420—479）、齐（479—502）、梁（502—557）、陈（557—589）； 北朝：北魏（386—534）、东魏（534—550）、北齐（550—577）、西魏（535—556）、北周（557—581）。
隋	581—618	隋建国于 581 年，589 年灭陈，完成统一。
唐	618—907	
五代	907—960	五代时期，除后梁、后唐、后晋、后汉、后周外，还先后存在过一些封建割据政权，其中有：吴、前蜀、吴越、楚、闽、南汉、荆南（南平）、后蜀、南唐、北汉等国，历史上叫作“十国”。
		北宋（960—1127）；

