



retrieve their lost autonomy, whereas Ma-Dju-Ing, having found a lawful cause for entering the territory of Eastern Turkestan has already started to use his power. The whole of the Turkish Mussulman population of Eastern **Turkestan**, which at first regarded Ma-Dju-Ing with a certain sympathy, as being the enemy of the Urumchin Governor-General, now openly rose against him. The Khomul struggle to retain its local autonomy became a general revolt of Eastern **Turkestan** to gain independence.

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A typical Chinese-picture is spread before us. The Mussulman separatists, together with the Urumchin powers, are fighting against Ma-Dju-Ing. Later Ma-Dju-Ing signs a truce with the Urumchin powers and together with them fights against the Mussulman separatists To assist Ma-Dju-Ing Dzungans hastened from Gan-Su, Shen-Si and Siu-Tchuen, where they are numerous and where the relatives of Ma-Dju-Ing have a lot of influence (especially in Gan-Su). At the present moment the struggle in Eastern **Turkestan** may be depicted as follows: three powers are fighting: (a) China's power - to keep Eastern **Turkestan** under Chinese rule and to establish there a régime in accordance with the programme of Sun-Yat-Sen, a régime which could be called "a régime of revolutionary xenophobia," (b) Dzungans under the leadership of Ma-Dju-Ing - to gain power for the latter, and lastly (c) Turko-Mussulmans for the independence of Eastern **Turkestan**.

Nov. 1932.
The victory of the last named was so obvious a year ago that they declared their independence in forming THE REPUBLIC OF EASTERN **TURKESTAN**. The struggle is not yet ended. Its chief enemies inside the country are the Dzungans of Ma-Dju-Ing and outside - the Bolsheviks.

The Nankin Government, which for quite a long time looked only passively on the events taking place in Eastern **Turkestan**.....

Turkestan, understood at last all the dangerous after-effects they might have on China and decided to take some measures. A special Commission was despatched twice to Eastern Turkestan, which commission included the Minister of Justice, Lu-Ing-Kan. No results were obtained by the Commission, except that Nankin realised that at the root of the revolt lay the cruel methods of Chinese governing. After the Governor-General Djen-Shu-Reng fled from Urumchi, no new Governor-General was sent there. The Government of the province fell into the hands of the National Committee, at the head of which was placed Lu-Ing-Lung, who had been in charge of the educational side during the rule of the former Governor-General. In that Committee General Sheng-Shi-Sei was in charge of military affairs. Alongside the National Committee (which, by the way, is named "Temporary Government") there is a Council composed of 34 members: 24 Chinamen, 5 Mussulman-Turks, 3 Dungans, 1 Mongol and 1 White Russian. According to the official programme the Council has a right to control the Temporary Government.

The creation is foreseen of a local autonomous government, possessing full powers, even down to the election of officials by the local population.

The authority of the Temporary Government is quite weak, and in practice the new power is recognised only in the regions near Urumchi.

The Nankin Government tried, by means of direct negotiations with the representatives of the insurgents, to pave the way to an entente, but it led to nothing. The people of Eastern **Turkestan** do not want to hear of the return of the Chinese sway and have decided to fight to the utmost.

It will be of interest to get a summarised idea of the Nankin Government's plans and of the unexpected support with which it met from the Soviet Government.

From the moment when Eastern **Turkestan** was acclaimed a Republic, the Bolsheviks began to spread hostile propaganda against the National movement. The reasons which urge the Bolsheviks to do so, were dealt with in short at the beginning of this memorandum. The Soviet Press began systematically to "discredit" the new Republic of Eastern **Turkestan**, calling it either a product of the imagination of English Imperialists or a "new Manchukuo" of the Japanese conquerors, or lastly naming it the future centre of anti-Kemalism and Asiatic pan-Islamism. The Bolsheviks stubbornly support the version that an Englishman who has become converted to Mohammedanism declared, or will declare himself as the "Padishach of Eastern **Turkestan**" with the previously obtained blessings of the British Government. Henceforth Eastern **Turkestan** will be called "Islamistan". The Soviet Press has also spread the rumour of the appearance on the territory of Eastern **Turkestan** of another candidate for the throne of Eastern **Turkestan** - a grandson of Abdoul-Hamid, Prince Abdoul-Kerim. The last named, according to the Soviet Reports, was to represent the interests of the "Japanese Conquerors". It must be noted that no Turkish Prince, including Abdoul-Kerim, was to be found on the territory of Eastern **Turkestan**.

"Islamistan" ...

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"Islamistan" with an Englishman as Padishach and the Turkish Prince Abdoul-Kerim as a creature of Japan, shows clearly which way the Bolsheviki want to turn China's hatred. We can glean from the Nankin Journal "Chini **Turkestan** Avasi" that it is mainly towards England and Japan that the Nankin Government is directing the anger of the Chinese people. The Nankin Government realises that in the increased hatred of the Turko-Mussulmans of Eastern **Turkestan** for the Chinese an important part was played by the Bolsheviki policy, which transformed the Governor-General of Eastern **Turkestan** into a paid agent of its interests. Therefore when the Nankin Government accuses England and Japan (especially England) of creating the present position in Eastern **Turkestan**, it also does not ignore Soviet Russia's "responsibility". For kindling the religious and racial hatred of the Chinese Mahomedans against the "White Christian beasts of prey" Soviet Russia is blamed along with England. If the "Chini **Turkestan** Avasi" is to be believed, then the Nankin Government intends to make Eastern **Turkestan** the centre of a struggle against European Imperialism; a struggle not only of the Chinese people, but of all the oppressed people of Asia and of the whole Mahomedan world.

Let us observe what was the goal of the Bolsheviki propaganda with regard to the anti-Kemal tendencies in Eastern **Turkestan**.

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It must be noted that with regard to blood, religion and speech, the Mahomedan population of Eastern **Turkestan** is akin to the Turks of Anatolia. It is therefore natural that the people of Eastern **Turkestan** hope for at least Turkey's moral support. The Bolsheviki were afraid of this and to scare the Turks and arouse their doubts and suspicions about the national liberation movement in Eastern **Turkestan**, the Soviet Press launched the version re the anti-Kemalist plans of the Mahomedan leaders of the Eastern **Turkestan** National Movement and of the concentration there of emigrant anti-Kemalists, who were also under England's protection. We can see how, under the influence of this propaganda the Turkish Government in spite of the sympathy with the national liberation movement in Eastern **Turkestan** which undoubtedly finds an echo in the public opinion, has taken if not a hostile, then at least an unfavourable attitude toward the Eastern **Turkestan** Republic. In this instance the declaration of the Turkish Foreign Minister, Dr. Tefvik Rushti-Bey to the Anatolian agency is very characteristic; he invites the Turko-Mahomedan population of Eastern **Turkestan** to make friends with Soviet Russia, which, according to the Turkish Foreign Minister assists all her neighbours in a cultural and national rise.

In connection with the rumours which the Soviet Press has spread re the pan-Islamist and pan-Turkish plans in Eastern **Turkestan**, it is interesting to confirm here that no such plans are in existence either in the minds

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of the insurrectionists or of their leaders. It is true that the Eastern **Turkestan** appeal to the feeling of solidarity of the Turkish people (see letter of the accredited Representative of Eastern **Turkestan** to the Chief Editor of the Journal "Yash **Turkestan**" No.51). The reason for this is not so much the racial kinship, as the circumstance that an important group of Turkish people is under the yoke of the Soviet régime, and experiences the destructive - from a national, cultural and religious point of view - effects of Russian Bolshevism, which also threatens Eastern **Turkestan**.

The leaders of the National movement in Eastern **Turkestan** realise that the fate of separate groups of Turkish people will be decided separately, which does not however exclude their feeling of moral solidarity among themselves. To speak of pan-Islamism in Eastern **Turkestan**, which is hinted at by the Bolsheviks, and which is advocated (with certain goals in view) by the Nanking Government, is absurd.

The leaders of the national struggle for freedom in Eastern **Turkestan** definitely and categorically state that they are struggling for the protection of their national territory from the dangers of Bolshevism, which, were it to gain a hold there, would spread to all the neighbouring Mahomedan regions and would build the foundation of its triumph in this part of the Asiatic continent.

Eastern **Turkestan** has now been transformed into the arena of a struggle against the spreading of Bolshevism into Asia. China would not be able to stop this advance of Bolshevism. We have seen the Chinese Administration

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in Eastern **Turkestan** in action. Nobody can guarantee that some Chinese General in the Soviet's pay will not appear and try to establish his own "revolutionary rule".

Did not that same young Dungan General Ma-Dju-Ing try to make friends with the Soviets on the condition that they consider him as the ruler of Eastern **Turkestan**?

5.

Will the people of Eastern **Turkestan** be able to consolidate their Republic? Are there persons capable of state management?

These questions are sometimes asked.

It seems to us that any people, whatever its degree of culture, could not be worse governed than present-day China. Iraq, Syria and certain other countries were not, according to the European standards, capable of self-government. All the same, these countries overthrew the rule of their sovereigns and some of them started self-government (with the help of European councillors and specialists) whilst others remained under the mandate of large states and have either attained full independence or are well on the way to it.

Eastern **Turkestan** may be in a similar position. The enquiry as to its readiness for self-government can be formulated only in accordance with the state of China itself.

Are there persons who could make themselves responsible for the affairs in Eastern **Turkestan**? It is,
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first and foremost, the head of the present movement, Khodzha-Ni-As-Khadgi, who is extremely popular and strong-willed. He has been chosen as President of the Eastern Turkestan Republic.

The national struggle depends on the solidarity of all the peoples. Their activity may bring to a finish the affair of Eastern Turkestan.

There are naturally also other people who have shown the courage of their convictions and their capability to tackle a serious work.

Beyond the frontiers of Eastern Turkestan there is one person, who, had he the title of accredited Representative of Eastern Turkestan, would be able to render great services in respect of information with regard to plans and possibilities of the Eastern Turkestan National Movement. He is a Turk from Smyrna, Dr. Mustafa Ali, a very cultured and gifted man. He was one of the organisers of the short-lived Liberal party in Turkey (at the head of which was the present Ambassador in London, Fetchi-Bey). Dr. Mustafa Ali lives in Kaboul, and to his activity, together with the organisation of emigrants from Soviet Turkestan, we owe the increase of anti-Soviet propoganda in the regions of India which adjoin Eastern Turkestan.

The Soviet Government has realised the seriousness of the Eastern Turkestan movement, and tries with all means to get into contact with the heads of the movement, offering them its assistance. Up to now, these efforts have been fruitless.