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FROM Mr. Nunn, M.P.
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Events in Turkestan.

-228-

Transmits copies of two Memoranda:-

- 1) on the causes and course of the rebellion in Eastern Turkestan.
- 2) on military preparations in Soviet Turkestan.

Last Paper.

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(Minutes.)

(Memo No 2 has been sent to Northern Dept)
(See N 4487/78/38).

This memorandum must have been written about Xmas, 1933, and is propaganda on behalf of the late Independent Moslem Republic. It is consequently rather ~~weak~~ view jeu; it is also verbose, disconnected, and adds nothing to our information.

It does, however, I think, present a correct picture of the part played by the Soviets during the past two or three years;—they have, in practice, obtained and exercised complete domination of the province in the economic sphere. They are unwilling to see the establishment of an independent Turki régime, which would

F 4549

25 JUL 1934

IN EASTERN TURKESTAN

-229

2 memoranda
communicated
by Mr. Nunn,
M.P.

Events are taking place in Eastern Turkestan which deserve the closest attention. The main source of information about these events is Soviet communications, the reliability of which is more than doubtful. The Soviet telegraphic agency "TASS" purposely misconstrues the causes of events and distorts the meaning of the national movement in Eastern Turkestan, describing it as the result of the intrigues of England in the first place, which apparently is striving to disintegrate China through the separation of Tibet and the creation in Eastern Turkestan of a separate mussulman state under its protectorate.

The Soviet propaganda has left its trace: thanks to the utterances of the Chinese Mussulmans the Nankin Government have directly accused England in the Nankin Journal "Chini Turkestan Avasi" of organising a revolt in Eastern Turkestan with a view to seizing it. In the same way, as a result of an unrefuted Soviet lie, the impression - which later became a conviction - was created in Turkey of England's "Imperialistic intrigues" in that part of the Chinese territory.

The reason for this Soviet fabrication is clear. It would be to the advantage of the Soviets to keep the former order of things, under which Eastern Turkestan, whilst nominally remaining a Chinese province, was almost wholly under the economic rule of Soviet Russia. Secondly, this economic domination gave the Bolsheviks a greater opportunity to spread revolutionary propaganda in Eastern Turkestan itself....


230

itself and its frontiers; and thirdly a National movement in Eastern **Turkestan**, in the event of it being successful, would have created a threat to the Soviet domination in Soviet **Turkestan**.

in religious grounds

It must be noted that ethnically, with regard to speech and religion, the great majority (about 90%) of the aborigines are related to the population of Soviet **Turkestan**, whose irreconcilable hatred of the Soviet Government is well known, and where, as opposed to the internationalism of the Dictatorship of the Russian Proletariat, a longing is growing for a National and State union with its nearest relative - Eastern **Turkestan**.

This last circumstance worries the Bolsheviks all the more, as in the ranks of fighters for the national independence of Eastern **Turkestan** are thousands of emigrants from Soviet **Turkestan**, and in the Government of the Republic of Eastern **Turkestan**, two seats are reserved to the representatives of these emigrants.

1.

In the life of Eastern **Turkestan**, which long ago joined its fate with that of China, the periods of tranquillity are rare. It is sufficient to say that during the XIXth Century alone, there were about 10 risings, and the last one, which started in 1861, interrupted the connection of the Eastern **Turkestan** Government with China for 16 years. Of these 16 years more than twelve were spent under the rule of Jakub-Bek, with whom, as with the head of an independent state "Kashgaria" Russia (8.VI.1872) and England (2.2.1874) entered....

entered into agreements the so-called "Thomas Douglas Forsyth Agreements". (The text of these two agreements can be found in the well known book "The Life of Jakob Bek", by Demetrius Charles Boulger, London, 1878). ~~231~~

The cause of these risings was always the same - the methods of the Chinese government.

An officer of the Russian Army - Tchokan Valichanov,⁽¹⁾ a Cossack-Kirgiz by birth, who went during the beginning of the second half of the XIXth Century to Eastern **Turkestan** as Russia's secret agent, and who studied the country from all angles, reported on the relations then existing between China and Eastern **Turkestan** as follows:

The South Line⁽²⁾ is a doubtful possession of the Celestial Empire. The people hate the Chinese and support the continuous risings and the stubborn struggle. Only armed forces and strong measures could maintain peace.

A little further he says:

Heavy taxes, unlawful conscription, bribery and oppression by the Chinese and the Beks, who are appointed by them, irritate the people of the "Six Towns"⁽³⁾ and they hate the Chinese and their own officials from the bottom of their hearts The Chinese, surrounded by hostile elements, vent their anger on the people, who bear up patiently, consoled by the fact that when the "Khodzha"⁽⁴⁾ comes, they will be revenged.

Further.....

(1) See "The Works of Tchokan Valichanov", published St. Petersburg 1904, pages 427, 429.

(2) South Line is the south part of Eastern **Turkestan**, i.e. "Kashgaria", which is the main arena of the events taking place at the moment.

(3) "Six Towns" or in the vernacular "Alti-Shaar", is another name for Kashgaria, called after the towns: Kashgar, Ieni-Issar, Jarkend, Aksu, Uch-Tufan and Khotan.

(4) "Khodzha" - spiritual leaders of the people, who have often led revolts.

Further he continues:

The Chinese have trust only in those who oppress, and therefore have nothing in common with the people. They fear most of all that the officials will join their interests with those of the people, and then become dangerous to the Chinese

-232

We would not translate these 70 year old reports of a Russian agent, if the facts stated therein did not take place today. To-day we hear of this, not from an agent of a country hostile to China, but from the Chinese themselves, who write about it in the Nankin Journal "Chini **Turkestan** Avasi" (i.e. the Voice of Chinese **Turkestan**) a journal enjoying the close protection of the Chinese Government.⁽¹⁾ A glance at the reports of the journey to Eastern **Turkestan** of the Minister of Justice of the Nankin Government, Lu-Ing-Khan, and the General Secretary of the Executive Committee, Tchu-Min-I, in the first number of this Chinese journal, is sufficient to admit that no improvement has taken place in the system of Chinese Government in Eastern **Turkestan** during these 70 years which have passed since the narration of Tchokan Valichanov was written.

It can be stated without fear of contradiction that the cruelty of the administration in Eastern **Turkestan** has reached a degree which has probably never been known in other parts of China, which long ago became the prey of different satrap generals and sometimes just of bands of robbers.

Apart.....

- (1) Editor and Publisher "The Sympathizers' Association to Chinese **Turkestan**", a journal which started to come out in February of this year. The programme of the journal is the struggle to keep Eastern **Turkestan** as a part of China and to govern it in accordance with the testament of Sun-Yat-Sen.


~~233~~

subscript
? Apart from this basic reason, which produced in the people a continuous hatred of the Chinese, the Nankin Journal gives two other reasons as leading to revolts. It is firstly the National self-consciousness which has matured in the younger generation of the people. The young generation - writes the Nankin Journal, has been educated beyond the Chinese frontiers and is acquainted with the new trend of national thought in the various countries of the Mussulman world - in Turkey, Egypt and the Arab countries; it feels the constriction of the Chinese régime in Eastern **Turkestan**, and considers it incompatible with the requirements and rights of the people. The younger generation feels that it is capable of realising that National Ideal which was embodied in Jakob-Bek, who was unable, owing to unfavourable circumstances, finally to establish the already conquered national independence.

The second reason is foreign propaganda. The Nankin Journal quotes in the first instance England, which makes use of its "Catholic Missionaries" (? !) to push the Turkish-Mussulman population of Eastern **Turkestan** towards a separation from the rest of China, with a view to seizing it and transforming it into one of its colonies.

The Journal talks also of intrigues and the propaganda of Soviet agents.

It seems to us that these last two points are mentioned with a view to minimising the faults of the Chinese Governors, for as far as we know, England has no missionaries (especially Catholic ones) in Eastern **Turkestan**. With regard to the Soviet activity in Eastern **Turkestan**, as will be seen below, this....

this is at the present moment not directed towards fostering feelings of resentment in the Turkish-Mussulman population of the country against the Chinese régime, but - on the contrary - towards retaining, until a more appropriate moment the nominal rule of China.

-234

This fact had some bearing on the subsequent mood of the population of Eastern Turkestan, but only in the sense that the revolt there was directed equally against China and the Soviets.

2.

We will return later to a description of the events in Eastern Turkestan. It is not uninteresting to get acquainted with the conditions ruling in that country before the revolt.

It was said previously that peaceful periods were rare in Eastern Turkestan. The Turkish-Mussulman population of the country was in an almost continual revolt against China. In the past, China several times asked Russia for assistance in subduing the National movement. One of the despatches of the Chinese Governor-General of Eastern Turkestan to the Russian Governor-General Kolpakovsky in 1864, runs as follows: "Being as near to each other as the tongue is to the teeth, our states cannot remain indifferent to each others' difficulties."

This proximity of the "Chinese tongue" to the "Russian teeth" explains a lot of the changes in Eastern Turkestan's position, especially now after the Chinese revolution. Eastern Turkestan had always been governed by autocratic Governors-General, who created a régime to suit their tastes.

After....



After the Chinese revolution, for over twenty years Eastern **Turkestan** now has become definitely detached from the rest of China, and the Governor-General of this province has been transformed into an independent ruler of an independent country.

~~235~~

Having no authority in the eyes of the population, and deprived of the support of the Chinese centre, the Governor-General of Eastern **Turkestan**, following the example of his remote predecessor was forced to beg for the assistance of the "Russian teeth". To the advantage of both countries, but to the detriment of the Chinese State's interests and to the National interests of the local population, relations without precedent are established between the Governor-General of Eastern **Turkestan** and Soviet Russia. Perhaps only in Soviet Mongolia will conditions be found analogous with those which have been created in Eastern **Turkestan**.

In mentioning Mongolia, unconsciously the words of the Soviet People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Tchicherin, are brought back to mind, which were uttered by him in 1923 during a session of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. in Tiflis, with regard to the relations between this part of China and the U.S.S.R. Tchicherin said: "We recognise Mongolia as a part of China. But we also recognise the autonomy of Mongolia, an autonomy so extensive that it prevents China's intrusion in its internal affairs, and also allows Mongolia to have its own foreign policy, quite independently from China."

The Soviet Commissar considered that Mongolia had a right to an independent foreign policy naturally only in as far



far as it concerned Soviet Russia. The same method has been applied by the Bolsheviks towards Eastern **Turkestan**, but without loud statements and outer demonstrations, as was the case with Mongolia. Perhaps the proximity of the Anglo-Indian frontiers was here a hindrance to the Soviet's outspoken expansion towards Eastern **Turkestan**. ~~236~~

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of the and
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the Sub Governor
because of it.*

Whilst accusing the "Imperialistic Countries" of a tendency to dismember China, Soviet Russia placed its heavy hand on Eastern **Turkestan** as well as on Mongolia. The Governor-General of Eastern **Turkestan** has entered with U.S.S.R. into commercial agreements and Consular conventions without the knowledge and agreement of China itself. The Soviet consulates (five in number) and the trading agents in Eastern **Turkestan** have become the pillars of Bolshevism.

Nine-tenths of the whole foreign trade of Eastern **Turkestan** fall to the share of Soviet Russia. However, the cause of the trouble is not to be found in statistics, which can be explained mainly by favourable geographical conditions: it must be borne in mind that the common frontier between Eastern **Turkestan** and the Soviet possessions stretches for many thousands of miles. The trouble lies in the character and the methods of this trade. Paying for the raw products not with money but almost exclusively with products of their own manufacture, the Bolsheviks have been able to exert the greatest influence on the state of the home market of the country, which found itself almost entirely in their hands. The local industries - silk products, carpets, potteries, etc., have declined as a result of lack of consumers, as the Bolsheviks buy only raw products. Large industrial undertakings started to disappear. The part of middlemen begins to....

to be played by Soviet trade agents, for whom the Soviet Government has stipulated with the local Chinese powers special rights of free movement throughout the whole country.

Emigration begins from Eastern **Turkestan** into the neighbouring countries - India and Afghanistan. ~~237~~

Whilst the Soviet consular and trading agents were thus playing in the eyes of the population of Eastern **Turkestan** the part of assisting the Chinese Government, they on the other hand propagated revolutionary ideas among the youthful population. The chief object of this propaganda is not to incite the Mussulman population of Eastern **Turkestan** against China's hegemony, but to incite them against the "enslavers of the Mussulman people", against "the European Imperialists", who threaten the Mussulman objects of veneration. Special pamphlets, issued by the Soviet agents on the spot (in Eastern **Turkestan**) or else sent from Soviet **Turkestan** (as reported in "Chini **Turkestan** Avasi") filled the youthful population with revolutionary ideas. However, in a people in which racial and religious feelings are very strong, the activity of the Bolsheviks, which was well known owing to the example of the neighbouring Soviet **Turkestan**, could not but call forth the strongest reactions.

That is why the struggle which was started by the Mussulman (Turkish) population against China was, at the same time, directed against the Soviets.

Dr. Mustafa Ali, who is at present in Kabul and is the empowered representative of Eastern **Turkestan**, writes in "Yach **Turkestan**" No.51 of February 1934 as follows: "Our aim is firstly to prevent the country from falling again under the....

the yoke of China and secondly to protect it from being seized by the Bolsheviks."

When the revolt started the Chinese immediately found the support of Soviet Russia. The "Chini Turkestan Avasi" April 1934, No.3, page 36 writes: "With ammunition received from Russian Bolsheviks the Governor-General of Eastern Turkestan slaughtered over 200,000 Mussulmans." 238

Admitted
by Kankung.

3.

The Revolt started in the region of Khami/Komul. Khami/Komul is a small Mussulman principality which enjoyed a certain amount of internal autonomy within the frontiers of Sintzian, i.e. Eastern Turkestan. After the death of the ruler of Khami, the Governor-General of the province decided to stop the exercise of autonomy and to subordinate the internal government of the principality to the general Chinese administration. The population of the principality was dissatisfied. It is not in a position to fight the Urumchin Governor-General single handed. At that time (during the end of 1930) the Dungans of the neighbouring Khan-Su under the leadership of the quite youthful adventurer Ma-Dju-Ing, were planning to stage an attack on Eastern Turkestan. Ma-Dju-Ing's goal was to become the Governor-General of Eastern Turkestan. The inhabitants of Khami-Komul entered into negotiations with Ma-Dju-Ing with a view to joining hands against the Urumchin Governor-General.

Ma Chung-yung

There began a struggle of the combined forces of Dungans and the population of Khami against Urumchi. Soon, however, discord crept in between the allies. The population of Khomul hoped with the help of Ma-Dju-Ing's Dungans to retrieve....

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.

239

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 Dungans 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) Dungans 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 Dungans 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.

4.

~~241~~

From the moment when Eastern **Turkestan** was acclaimed a Republic, the Bolsheviki began to spread hostile propaganda against the National movement. The reasons which urge the Bolsheviki 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 Bolsheviki 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" ...

-242-

"Islamistan" with an Englishman as Padishach and the Turkish Prince Abdoul-Kerim as a creature of Japan, shows clearly which way the Bolsheviks 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 Bolshevik 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 Bolshevik propaganda with regard to the anti-Kemal tendencies in Eastern **Turkestan**.

It ...

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 Bolsheviks 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. Tevfik 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
of ...

~~244~~

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 Bolsheviki, 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

in ...

245

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,
first ...

246

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 propaganda 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.