



Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society

VOL. XXVI

OCTOBER, 1939

PART IV

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PUBLISHED BY

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
8, CLARGES STREET, W. 1

“To go back to the year 1927, when the Moslem rising of the Tungans of Kansu and Chinghai broke out. It was in this year that Ma-chung-ying first came on the scenes of Central Asian history, and founded therein a new epoch. Ma-chung-ying is one of that type of conqueror that Inner Asia has from time to time produced—Chingis Khan and Timur being the most celebrated examples—a type which is half field-marshal and half gangster, who, when they succeed, are heroes, and, when they fail, lose their lives.

“Ma-chung-ying’s rising (in 1927) was simply one of the usual Dungan sort with which Chinese history teems, and Ma’s motive was to revenge himself and the Dungans on that enemy of all Muslims, Feng Yu-chiang, the once Christian and later Communistic General who had murdered Ma’s father. The ‘Little General’ ran his rising so cleverly that in 1931 his brigand army began to play a part in Central Asian politics. It was in this year two people joined his army whose life histories are most interesting. One was the Turk, Kemal, who held the rank of General and Councillor to Ma. This remarkable man was before 1914 attached to a German infantry regiment on the Baltic, and, when he had learned all they had to teach him, went to Paris and studied military matters there in the Military Academy. He went back to Turkey during the world war and worked on the staff of Colonel v. Epp on the Caucasus front against Russia, was taken prisoner, and at the time of the Russian Revolution was teaching Turkish in Harbin. Afterwards he came to North-West Kansu, and it is generally supposed that it is owing to him that General Ma made his attack on Sinkiang. Kemal understood modern methods of warfare, and his help and direction were invaluable and enabled Ma to win.

“It would be impossible for any Western brain to unravel the tangle of politics which arose out of Ma’s success in Sinkiang. Russia stepped in and worked with all her craft and power. It must be remembered that the population of Sinkiang is very divided, and, although the majority are Sarts, there are also Kazaks, Kirghiz, and others whose homes are in Northern Sinkiang or in the Tien Shan. They, too, are Muslims, but nomads. Again, there are the Mongolian Torgots, who also live in the Tien Shan, who are Buddhists, and in the outermost regions of the province there are mixtures of Sarts, Tibetans, Khar-galiks, and the so-called Andijanis, for the most part Mullahs from Soviet territory who have sought refuge here in their thousands during the last years. Added to this there are also the Manchurian troops, Ma-chang-shan’s 5,000 men who fled from Manchuria towards Sin-

THE RUSSIAN DOMINATION OF SINKIANG

A PERIODICAL containing many articles of special interest to members of this Society has recently appeared in Germany. It is concerned with Central Asian affairs and the great Eurasian highway leading from Eastern Europe to Western China, a highway which is becoming important once more as the natural airway to China. It is no secret, since in this periodical Professor Filchner writes of it, that it was he who has mapped so much of this air route and has given possible landing-grounds along it in his great Tibetan and Central Asian journeys.

One of the most interesting of the articles tells of recent events in Sinkiang, and of the Soviet success in adding a country of twice the size of Germany and of great potentialities to its already large dominions. Since the spring of this year the title "Chinese" Turkistan can no longer be used. It is now Russia's "new province."

The opening chapter summarizes the history of this greatest of Chinese provinces, Sinkiang. The country has for twenty or thirty years been divided into three zones—Chinese, Russian, and English. It goes on to narrate: Some ten or twelve years ago Japan sent paid "prophets" into Sinkiang to rouse the Muslims against their "oppressors," Russia and England, most probably with the idea of making Islam in Sinkiang her advance guard against Bolshevism in the West.

"I know only the names of three of these 'prophets': Mustapha Djarula, Mussa Bekh, and Dr. Schiakr; the last, it was said to me in Sinkiang, had been for some time in Germany. These gentlemen promulgated the gospel of freedom for Islam in Sinkiang and in Russian Turkistan, were followed and harassed while they were in Russian Turkistan, and were supposed to be fighting Communism by word of mouth and by their writings. How far they succeeded in Russian Turkistan I cannot say, but they did succeed in rousing the Sarts in Sinkiang, and it is without any doubt through the propaganda of these three that the Sarts rose in 1933 and 1934. It was this push of Japan into Sinkiang that made Soviet Russia decide to put the province under her own thumb, and the way in which this was done is one of the most interesting chapters in Central Asian policy.

tented herself with her old policy of watching the situation, although she established throughout the province a publication called the *Central Asian News*, which gave the position only too clearly.

"From now on the bolshevization of the Province went only too fast. In 1934 Russian Bolshevik consuls were established in many of the towns as counsellors, who were thus able to spy on the White Russians and hinder anything they might try to do. To the Chinese governor they praised China and the Kuo-min-tang. 'Long live China and the Kuo-min-tang,' was their phrase.

"In Hami they set themselves to stir up the Hami troops, urging them to increase their borders, talked to them of the importance of Hami, said that the commandant of the town should be commandant of the district, and flattered them until they saw the necessity of mechanizing the small army. And so the military authorities sent for motor-lorries, which came from Urumchi with Russian chauffeurs—first one, and then a whole train. Who could guess at that time that the White Russian chauffeurs were really G.P.U. officers with pistols concealed in their supply waggons, or that the Chinese and Sarts who came with them and said they were so poor they had to come by this way were highly trained Bolshevik workers? These hangers-on disappeared into the bazaars without anyone guessing their disguise.

"It is the age-long habit of the Sarts of Sinkiang to gather round the village fire of an evening and discuss the small happenings of the district—their crops, their taxes, the characters of the governors and magistrates, war and peace, the price of camels and donkeys, and so forth. There are in the neighbourhood of Hami three towns, one overwhelmingly Sart, one Dungan, and one Chinese, each with their own commandant and their own town organizations; the commandants, in their turn, sit on the district board. Now began the devilish work at which the Soviets are past masters. In a short while the three commandants, worthy men all of them, found themselves in gaol; this always plays a great part when Russian penetration begins. The peace-loving people held their breath and wondered how all this had happened. For fourteen days agents of the Bolsheviks, seemingly innocent citizens, would get into talk with certain of the better-class inhabitants, men they had marked out. 'Isn't this Chinese governor a rascal?' they would say, and whatever the answer was—yes or no—the man found himself gaoled. Mistrust and confusion spread through the land, the news-sheets, which had been free and outspoken, dared to give only such things as the price of melons. Caravans came to and

kiang. Add to this also the White Russians, last but not least of the peoples added of late years to this mixed company. In the north, especially in Chuguchak and Kuldja, Russian influence has long predominated.

"In the first instance, many years ago Chinese and Dungans had taken the land in order to colonize it, and they became bankers, merchants, and to a certain extent handworkers. They have during their many years in the country more or less ousted the original inhabitants and have become rich themselves. More especially is this true of the Chinese ruling class, the governors and officials.

"It was into this hotch-potch of peoples, religions, and politics that Ma-chung-ying brought the torch of war and with the help of the Sarts tried to wrest the governorship of Urumchi from the Chinese governor. He was helped by the Japanese, both morally and practically, and also by that section of the Chinese who hoped with his help to drive out Russian influence.

"Sarts and Kazaks ran to join him under their leaders. Then the Chinese governor, seeing their strength and his own weakness, called on the Russian forces and asked their help to drive Ma out of the country. There stood, then, the two parties—Ma with his Sarts and Kazaks, and on the Chinese side the Chinese troops, Manchurians, White Russians, who had been conscripted, and Bolshevik troops who had been smuggled into the country, and also the Mongolian-Torgot troops. Unbelievable though it may sound, the White Russians and Mongols were fighting here for the Bolsheviks without realizing what they were doing, and they were the deciding factor in defeating the Little General.

.....

"As far as the actual fighting went, the White Russians understood the tactics which were being used against them from their long wars in Mongolia after the world war, and were thus able to extricate the Bolshevik troops. The Bolsheviks, in their turn, working by their usual methods, managed to divide Dungans and Sarts the one from the other, and, having made this division, were able through their political tactics to gain power throughout the country. The Japanese sent in agents, some of whom were imprisoned, some of whom were murdered. Sven Hedin, working for the Nanking Government under cover of a scientific research party, was also outwitted. . . .

"I have the feeling that England throughout all this period con-

is doing in Outer Mongolia, will take all the children wholesale and bring them up in Russian Communist schools, where, instead of the ethic of the Koran, they will be taught Marxism; they will then through their beliefs become estranged from their parents, who are firm Muslims, and who will either have to emigrate or to become one with the vast mass under Bolshevik rule and propaganda. All those who could do so have already fled through the deserts and wastes of the Black Gobi and the Kashun Gobi into Kansu. Great hordes of Kasaks have settled here from Outer Mongolia when the Bolsheviks came. So also Bolshevism is responsible for large migrations into the salt wastes of the Tsaidam and into the Kuenlun hills, where they must die off little by little after years of misery and want. It is to be remarked that these poor people prefer to die slowly under their own faith and under their own people than remain in Sinkiang under Bolshevik rule, where their whole well-being will have to depend on the whim and wishes of their Russian neighbours. . . .

It must be very bitter for those who have made the study and exploration of this great highway, the back door to Iran, to Afghanistan, to India, and China, their life's work to find it in the hands of an implacable ally (*Berichtedes Asiens Arbeitskreises*. Siebenberg-Verlag Vienna, Peking).

fro, merchants still plied their wares, but the daily gossip which plays so large a part in that region dwindled away—no man dared criticize, no man dared trust his neighbour. Each town was in this way cut off from its neighbour, each man distrustful of his neighbour; the inns and camping-grounds became silent.

“Within fourteen days the whole life of the townships was killed. Hand in hand with this organized policy went the separating of Sinkiang from China, which was largely done through propaganda gossip. The Russians had now to do with a people bewildered and without leaders, living in anxiety and uncertainty.

“And now let me go back to the Turkish counsellor of Ma-chung-ying—Kemal, who once again came in this summer of 1934 undefeated on to the Soviet Central Asian stage. He had loosed himself from obedience to Ma-chung-ying and came once again trying to fight his way through Central Asia. At the moment when he came to Hami every town had on its notice board a paper offering a reward for him, dead or alive. He was taken prisoner in Hami, and, of course, under pressure from the Russian, Dubrowsky, ‘Jollbars Khan’ sent him to Urumchi. And in the capital, Urumchi, it came about in an indirect manner that Ma-chung-ying’s desire to gain control of Sinkiang, which Kemal had originated and forwarded, became a part of the Soviet policy. Kemal, who had been attached to the German Army, who had studied at the Paris Academy, who had been staff officer to the Turkish Army in the world war, who had been right-hand man of the Little General, became, through ‘the kindness’ of the Soviets, commissar of the motor transport road, with the private commission that he was to betray the holders of the Chuguchak road to Urumchi and build it up for his employers. Can one doubt that the Ma-chung-ying attack on Sinkiang was furthered by the Soviets in order to give them an excuse for sending troops into the country and taking charge? Whether this was so or no, from this time on the greatest of Chinese provinces, Sinkiang, a country twice as big as Germany, became a province of Russia, completely in their hands. . . .”

The article goes on to speak of two other smaller influences at work—the Vatican and the Japanese, both of which are destined to lose all weight in the present turn of affairs. It concludes by saying that Russia will try and bring the Bolshevik system to Sinkiang direct, but, as she