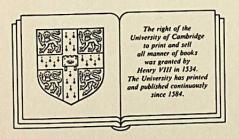
Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia

A political history of Republican Sinkiang 1911-1949

Andrew D. W. Forbes University of Aberdeen



Cambridge University Press

Cambridge London New York New Rochelle Melbourne Sydney Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP 32 East 57th Street, New York, NY 10022, USA 10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

Cambridge University Press 1986

First published 1986

Printed in Great Britain by Woolnough Bookbinding, Irthlingborough

Library of Congress catalogue card number: 84-17037

British Library cataloguing in publication data
Forbes, Andrew D. W.
Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia.

1. Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region (China)

- Politics and government 2. China - Politics
and government - 1912-1949

I. Title II. Series
951'.604 D\$793.862

ISBN 0 521 25514 7

For my parents; and for my daughter –
Rashida Isabel Wilson Forbes
– who was born May 22, 1982, during the writing of this book.

Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia

This book provides a detailed study of Sinkiang – China's largest province, and of great strategic importance on the Russian border during the Warlord and Kuomintang Eras. It is written to present an analysis of the internal warlord and Islamic politics of Sinkiang, as well as to take account of 'great power' interests in this region, during a period in which it was essentially a Han Chinese colony in the heart of Central Asia. The study is of relevance not only to the history of twentieth century China, but also to the politics of Islamic reassertion in Central Asia; to the development of the Soviet Union as an imperial power in the Tsarist Russian mould; to an understanding of the cultural and political aspirations of China's national minorities; and should serve – in a world preoccupied with Western colonialism and imperialism – as a reminder that colonialism and imperialism were not, and are not, an exclusively European preserve.

Contents

List of figures, maps and tables x Acknowledgements xiii List of abbreviations xv

Introduction 1

- I Sinkiang, 1911-28: the administration of Yang Tseng-hsin II
 Yang Tseng-hsin's rise to power II
 Yang's maintenance of power I3
 The situation in southern Sinkiang 2I
 The economy of Sinkiang under Yang Tseng-hsin 28
 The assassination of Yang Tseng-hsin 33
- Sinkiang, 1928-31: the rebellion at Kumul and the first Tungan invasion 38
 The administration of Chin Shu-jen 38
 The annexation of the Khanate of Kumul 42
 The Kumul Rebellion 48
 The involvement of Ma Chung-ying 52
 The first invasion of Ma Chung-ying 56
- 3 Sinkiang, 1931-3: the rebellion of the Turkic-speaking Muslims of the south 63
 The development of Turkic nationalism in southern
 Sinkiang 63
 The outbreak of rebellion in the south and the collapse of the Chinese administration 70
 The struggle between the Turkic- and Chinese-speaking
 Muslims at Kashgar and Yarkand 81
 Turkic factionalism at Kashgar and Yarkand 89

4 Sinkiang, 1933-4: Tungan invasion, Turkic secession and Soviet intervention 97

Ma Shih-ming's attack on Urumchi and the overthrow of Chin Shu-ien 97

The second invasion of Ma Chung-ying 106
The 'Turkish-Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan' 112
Soviet intervention in support of Sheng Shih-ts'ai 116
The collapse of the TIRET and the flight of Ma
Chung-ying 121

5 Sinkiang, 1934-44: the Muslims under Sheng Shih-ts'ai 128
The Hui satrapy of 'Tunganistan' 128
The 1937 Muslim Rebellion in southern Sinkiang 135
1937-42: Sinkiang as a Soviet satellite 144
The Muslims of Sinkiang during Sheng's 'Progressive'
period 152
1942-4: the fall of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and the emergence of

1942-4: the fall of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and the emergence of Kuomintang authority 157

6 Sinkiang, 1944-6: Muslim 'separatism' under the Kuomintang 163

KMT policies in Sinkiang, 1942-5 163

The Kazakh revolt in Zungharia and the birth of the 'East Turkestan Republic' in Ili 170

The Soviet Union and the initial consolidation of the ETR 177

The Soviet Union and the military expansion of the ETR 186

The Soviet Union and the KMT-ETR armistice of 1946 190

7 Sinkiang, 1946-9: the Muslims on the eve of the communist takeover 196

The establishment of 'coalition government' and Muslim factionalism in Shara Sume and the south 196

The administration of Mas'ud Sabrī and the 'Pei-ta-shan Incident' 206

The victory of the Chinese communists 215

The limitation of Muslim dissidence and the decline of Soviet influence 220

Conclusions 229

Appendix I

Who was who in Republican Sinkiang 235

Appendix II

The constitution and composition of the 'Turkish-Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan' (TIRET) 255

Appendix III

Notes on the structure and composition of the 'East Turkestan Republic' (ETR) at Kulja 259

Appendix IV

Soviet intervention in north-western Iran, 1945–6: A West Asian parallel with the 'East Turkestan Republic' in Sinkiang 261

Appendix V

British Consuls-General at Kashgar, 1909-48 264

Notes 265 Schemes of Romanisation 344 Bibliography 345 Index 365