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SOURCE Hsin-wen T'ien-ti (Newspaper)

COMMUNIST TAKE-OVER AND SOVIET PENETRATION IN SINKIANG

This report deals with Communist take-over and Soviet encroachment in Sinkiang, as presented in a two-part article published in the Hong Kong periodical Hsin-wen T'ien-ti. It notes basic changes in Sinkiang since April 1951, and mentions the establishment of a resistance movement in Xinjiang called the Muslim Turkistan League. The league is headed by Isa Yusuf Alipkhan, former secretary-general of the Sinkiang provincial government. The author, Tung Fang-ho (東方赫), reviews Chinese Communist and Soviet penetration of Sinkiang since 1943, the Kulidja Revolt, the reorganization of the former Nationalist Army into the People's Liberation Army, the unit designations and disposition of troops, and Soviet activities and stationing of troops in Sinkiang.

According to the profile of the article in the Hsin-wen T'ien-ti, Tung Fang-ho is a pro-KMP writer, political analyst, and expert on Sinkiang, who has traveled widely in China and done research on Sinkiang. Although in recent years he became famous as a government theorist, he continued his study of Sinkiang and his published books and articles on the province have received much favorable comment. The Hsin-wen T'ien-ti concluded its introduction of the author by saying, "This monograph is his most recent work and since the Iron Curtain is so extensive, the source material quoted in his work has, for the most part, come from Srinagar, Kashmir, and is of great value. The original text was longer than the summary presented in these two issues."

Where the correct rendition of a personal name was not available, an approximation from the Chinese has been given.

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50X1-HUM

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Tung Fang-ho

KULDJA REVOLT

From the interior of Sinkiang comes news of many drastic changes of a military and political nature which are reported to have taken place since April 1951.

First, the Chinese Communists, under orders from the Soviet Union, sentenced many prominent Sinkiang Communists to capital punishment in connection with the Kuldja Revolt.

Second, the Fifth Army, reorganized from the former Kuldja People's Army, including a complement of two cavalry divisions and 11 cavalry regiments from the Lieh-shin Ho region, was assigned duty in Korea. The subsequent decimation of this army left the nationalistic Sinkiang Communists militarily at the mercy of the USSR.

Third, the ranking Nationalist field officers who surrendered to T'ao's Twenty-Second Army Group, were either imprisoned or executed. Nationalist soldiers were sent to Sha-wan to be reorganized, retrained, or liquidated.

Fourth, a detachment of Wang Chen's Chinese Communist Second Army stationed along the Karakoram and Kunlun Shan trade routes which straddle southern Sinkiang, Pakistan, and India, entered Tibet and set up air bases for the USSR. Soviet Army units subsequently penetrated northern Sinkiang through the Dzungarian doorways of Kuldja and Chuguchak and liquidated the Nationalist. Chinese Communist officials did not escape through investigation by these troops. The Soviet grasp on the tungsten, petroleum, and gold-producing regions of Po-lo, Wu-su, Kucha, and Altai was tightened.

Fifth, at Srinagar, Kashmir, J&A, former secretary-general of the Sinkiang government, proclaimed a Moslem Turkistan League which is anti-Soviet in orientation.

These events point to an important change in the Soviet Union's Central Asian policy. At the end of World War II, the Soviet Union, faced with what it considered an unfavorable status quo, found it expedient to stir up the nationalist Moslem republics of Central Asia and use their combined economic and military might to bolster the precarious Soviet military position. To this end, agents were sent to offer terms of alliance to the Moslem nationalists in Irkutsk Oblast, and Kazakh, Uzbek, Tadzhik, and Turkmen SSR. At the same time, the Soviet Union organized the so-called Eastern Turkistan People's Republic with centers at Kuldja, Chuguchak, and A-k'o-su, indoctrinated the native populace with anti-Kuomintang propaganda, and completed the formation of a buffer zone by thus exploiting Turkic nationalism.

From 1943 to 1948, the USSR held to this line in Central Asia, smashing the China-India policy of the US and Britain with the hammer of the religious and racial antiforeignism of Sinkiang Moslems. With the advent of Titoism in 1948, however, there was a marked shift in Soviet Far Eastern strategy. In the first place, the Chinese Communist conquest of North China wrecked the eastern defense barriers being built by the Soviet Union, and the three buffers of Kuldja, Chuguchak, and A-k'o-su were rendered useless. In the second place, the newly won independence of Pakistan (15 August 1947) and the spread to Central Asia of Pan-Islamism presented the danger of serious defection among the republics in that area. The Kremlin line was therefore altered: the Chinese Communist advance into Northwest China was supported and many Central Asian Moslem nationalists were liquidated.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

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The nationalist Sinkiang Communists who instigated the Kuldja Revolt were the first victims of this major policy shift. This international purge began in 1949 -- coinciding with purges among the East European Satellites -- and was almost complete by June 1951. The Kuldja insurgents, Akhmedjan Kasimi, Akhbasfu, Ishakhjan, Kanidatulu, and others, numbering over 1,000 men in all, were executed. Masud Sabri, Isa Beg, and Mohammed Emin, leaders of the nationalist self-government movement, were put to death shortly thereafter. In the Masud incident alone, over 3,800 persons were arrested after May 1951. The masterminds of this purge were primarily Soviet-held former Nazis: prisoners of war, scientists, and journalists.

Among Central Asian and Sinkiang nationalists, a brotherhood of anti-Soviet feeling has developed. Recent reports from the Kazakh SSR have indicated increased guerrilla activity.

The Kuldja Revolt may be described as having gone through three definite stages, namely:

1. Collapse of Sino-Soviet relations during World War II; the eastward expansion of the Soviet Union; and US pressure on China to accept the Yalta Agreement. This period lasted from March 1944 to August 1945.
2. USSR initiation of the cold war; the conciliatory policy of the US toward Mao Tse-tung until the Kuomintang-Communist Party schism; the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine; and the change of the US anti-Communist attitude from a negative to a positive orientation. This period lasted from September 1945 to the end of 1947.
3. The advent of Titoism; the independence of the Dominions of India and Pakistan; the victory of the Chinese Communists; and the purge of nationalists in the Soviet Satellites. This period runs from 1948 to the present (June 1951).

Stage 1, March 1944 - August 1945

After the Tehran Conference in October 1943, when relations with the USSR were degenerating, the US was prepared to send aid directly to Nationalist China by way of Sinkiang. The Soviets frustrated this plan by stirring up the Moslems in western Sinkiang; and, by perpetrating the Kuldja Revolt, blocked the movement of 500 US Army vehicles en route from the Persian Gulf through Kuldja. The insurgents seized Chu Chao-liang and Wu Chung-hsien, two Nationalist Chinese who opposed the revolt. Soviet intentions were to make the affair appear as part of the rising Holy War in the Moslem world. Also, in March 1944, they instigated the revolt at A-k'o-su led by the Kazakh, Osman Bator, an ardent nationalist. Later, in September, they supported the White Russian Abdugani Bator in his coup at Kucha.

The Kuldja Revolt of November 1944, was led by the Uighur Ali Khan Ture. He organized a military government and, under the Pan-Islamic banners, directed the slaughter of thousands of "infidel" Chinese troops. With this incident Kuomintang influence in Sinkiang began to wane. Following the stabilization of power by the new government at Kuldja, the Soviets next planted native Sinkiang Communist agents -- Akhmedjan, among others -- in the military government headed by Ali Khan Ture. By spreading Pan-Turkic propaganda, they were able to wrest control of the Moslem united front from the authorities.

- 3 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

Finally, the Eastern Turkestan People's Republic was set up in January 1945 at Kuldja, and the Akhmedjan faction, which quickly deposed Ali Khan Ture, announced its aim to liberate all of Sinkiang by force of arms. By 21 February 1945, at the time of the Yalta Agreement, the Soviet Union had already established "by proxy" a land base in Chinese Sinkiang and an all-Communist government which guarded the gangway to Northwest China. Akhmedjan Kasimi became head of the Military Government, Rakhimjan Klujaev, Minister of Internal Affairs, and Abulkhair Ture, Minister of Education. The White Russian Balinov was main field commander of the People's Army of the Eastern Turkestan People's Republic and secretly received aid from the USSR.

In July 1945, when the Chinese Nationalist government was forced to sign the Yalta Agreement and when the Sino-Soviet Treaty was concluded, the Red Army marched on Sinkiang and attacked Urumchi from the Kuldja and Chuguchak corridors. Red motorized units and the Red Air Force sped aid to the People's Army of the Eastern Turkestan Republic. The battle in the Wu-su-Ching-ho area cost the Sinkiang Second Army of the Chinese Nationalist government the valuable Wu-su oil-fields; the 25th Division was routed and its commander, General Kuo Ch'i, was taken prisoner. The Turkestan People's Army then drove toward Urumchi along the Ma-ni-ssu Ho and won the trade center in August 1945.

Stage 2, September 1945 - December 1947

The period from September 1945 to August 1947 was important for the diplomatic victory won by Foreign Minister Molotov over the US State Department. In Sinkiang, Chang Chih-chung was looked upon by the Soviets as a Chinese Kerensky; consequently, they made preparations for a Sinkiang October Revolution in keeping with the pattern used in the Balkan "changes in government."

After General Marshall's visit to China, in 1946, the atmosphere was charged with talk of vast military aid to the Kuomintang government. Chang Chih-chung, with pacifism as his watchword, promptly asked Soviet Consul General Savilov to act as mediator between the Sinkiang insurgents and the Chinese Nationalist authorities. An agreement was reached and signed by both sides in January 1946.

Chang showed alarming indifference to the reckless pacifism of George C. Marshall and James F. Byrnes. His behavior enabled the Soviets to restrain the onslaught of the Soviet Army and the Turkestan People's Army, and to concentrate on the political arena. Akhmedjan Kasimi was directed to set up a coalition government together with Chang Chih-chung. Communist sympathizers were planted in this government and awaited the word to carry out a "change in government." The Northwest China pattern of democratic "freedom" and the Soviet pattern of democratic "organization," the Chinese legal system and the illegal Communist movements, clashed and rent law and order in Sinkiang to pieces.

At this phase of the political struggle, Chang had a choice of three courses to follow in fencing with Soviet Consul General Savilov:

1. Mobilize Nationalist economic and military might (there were only 50,000 Kuomintang troops in Sinkiang at that time); quickly stabilize internal political conditions in the province; and open a "cold war"
2. Use such true nationalists and advocates of self-government as Masud Sabri, Isa, and Emin in organizing the people and embarrassing the opposition.
3. Take advantage of international political conditions -- the Sino-Soviet Treaty and the desire for peace -- to bring the opposition to terms.

Unfortunately, Chang decided upon the third course and was subsequently defeated by Savilov at the same time that Secretary of State Byrnes was defeated by Foreign Minister Molotov.

- 4 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

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In the spring of 1947, the Chinese Nationalists severed relations with the Chinese Communists, an act which intensified the cold war between the US and the Soviet Union. Marshall's attitude became more intransigent, the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan hastened the production of arms, and a new opportunity arose for Sinkiang. The Chinese Nationalist government sent Masud Sabri, advocate of self-government, to be chairman of Sinkiang Province (May 1947). They were thus taking the second course outlined above.

General Sung Hsi-lien, commander of the Sinkiang Guard General Headquarters, expanded his force to 80,000 troops, many of whom were American-equipped. He conferred with the Kazakhs and the Uighurs, rallied the Chinese, Manchu, Mongol, Moslem, and Kazakh peoples around Masud Sabri, and opened a legal war on the Communists of Sinkiang. But Chang Chin-chung, still adamant in his demands for compromise, refused to support the plans of Sung and Masud. Hopes for an anti-Soviet united front in Sinkiang were dashed.

It was not long before the Kremlin went over on the offensive. The Soviet Union sent recruits from Pei-t'a Shan and units of the Mongolian Army to harass the border areas of eastern Sinkiang (5 June 1947). Akhmedjan then engineered the P'u-t'ao-kou Revolt while in southern Sinkiang an insurrection flared up which was aimed directly at Sung and Masud. Synchronized with these military thrusts was the Soviet perpetration of a vast anti-US movement within China proper and a "cold war" in Sinkiang. The foundations for these debacles had been laid by the pacifist Chang, a politician who showed his true colors by finally defecting to the Chinese Communists.

However, the adamant support of a cold-war policy by both Masud and Sung and their work to unite the Uighurs and the Kazakhs with advocates of self-government was continued. When the P'u-t'ao-kou Revolt collapsed, the prestige of Akhmedjan went with it for his military maneuver was bridled. At this impasse, the Kremlin decided to send Akhmedjan and more than ten famous Communists to Kuldja to ring and isolate the advocates of self-government led by Masud.

At the same time that this was taking place, the Chinese Nationalist government decided to discontinue its policy of directing the flames of the nationalism of minority peoples toward the cold-war powder keg. In this, the second stage of the Kuldja Revolt, Sung Hsi-lien won the first victory for the democratic forces of the free world.

Stage 3, January 1948 - June 1951

During this phase of the international struggle, one that began in 1948 and runs to the present (June 1951), although the Chinese Communists took the mainland, the USSR suffered a series of crucial setbacks and was forced again to change its policy toward nationalists in Eastern Europe, Greece, and Central Asia.

In the spring of 1948, when Titoism began to evolve and when serious defections appeared among Communists in Southern Europe, the situation in the Balkans underwent a drastic transformation. Then, too, on 15 August 1947, Pakistan was declared an independent dominion. As the slogans of Mohammed Ali Jinnah stirred many former pro-Soviet Moslems in the Central Asian frontier regions, the USSR launched a purge of Communists in the area who showed inclinations toward independence and deviationism. The Eastern Turkestan People's Republic (1944 - 1948), therefore, was overthrown and quickly replaced by the Sinkiang People's League for the Defense of Peace and Democracy (hereinafter referred to as Sinkiang People's League). During the 1950 Stalin-Mao conference, the Foreign Minister of the Sinkiang People's League was sent to Peiping.

- 5 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL

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The Kuldja insurgents, Akhmedjan and Ishka, as well as others, had committed the heresy of "adventurism" in their futile attack on P'u-t'ao-kou and were liquidated after the Soviet Communists took Kuldja. The internationalist, Saffudin, arriving from the USSR to head the Sinkiang People's League, established diplomatic ties with Peiping. In November 1949, when the Wang Chen units of the Chinese Communist Army entered Sinkiang and took over the Kuldja People's Army, the leaders of the new Sinkiang People's League announced that Akhmedjan and his compatriots, while on their way to Peiping early in September, had been ambushed and killed by brigands loyal to Outer Mongolia. Saffudin lost no time in appealing directly to Mao for aid. At the Stalin-Mao conference in February 1950, therefore, the Sinkiang People's League was placed under Chinese Communist direction and guaranteed "self-government" status.

The vacuum left after the purge of the Kuldja insurgents was promptly filled by troops of the Soviet Army. The Kremlin sent MVD details to mop up remnants of the Turki Akhmedjan faction, despite the fact that they had been comrades in arms with Stalinists during the bitter anti-German campaigns. This is the great tragedy of the Sinkiang Communists. It is the ultimate example of the aphorism, "When the fox has been caught, the hounds are killed and boiled."

PRESENT CONDITIONS

Present conditions (end of June 1951) find the former secretary-general of Sinkiang, Isa, at Srinagar, Kashmir. The Chinese Communists, continuing in their role of High Executioner, have arrested the famous Kuldja insurrectionist, Kanipatula, a giant both in physical strength and nationalistic fervor. After having escaped from former Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai, he organized the Kuldja rebels and later was commander in chief of the Kuldja People's Army and concurrently regional supervisor of that city during the period of martial law. Later, he was purged by the Communist Party cadres along with Kulbahatlatlu, Moslem leader in southern Sinkiang, and several hundred others. Furthermore, about 3,000 followers of Masud Sabri and over 800 disciples of the Kazakh historian Niwad were either killed or sent to the Soviet Union for administrative trials.

During the public trial of Osman Bator and 59 other Kazakh nationalist leaders at Urumchi, nationalists throughout Sinkiang were suddenly confronted by the devastating fact that regardless of leftist or rightist proclivities and despite pro- or anti-Communist activities, they were being indiscriminately branded with the same iron, "running dogs of American imperialism," and were soon to become the object of a bloody Soviet purge. The revolutionary "cleansing" of the Kuldja insurgents was reminiscent of the cruel fate suffered by Rajk of Hungary, Markos of Greece, Gomulka of Poland, and Clementis of Czechoslovakia.

Kuldja People's Army Becomes Korean Cannon Fodder

In Sinkiang, during recent months, the Kuldja People's Army has been reorganized and sent to the Korean front. Formerly the Nationalist Revolutionary Army of the Eastern Turkistan People's Republic, it was renamed the People's Army of the Sinkiang People's League for the Defense of Peace and, after subsequent reorganization by the Chinese Communists, became the Fifth Army of the First Army Group in General Peng Teh-huai's First Field Army. It is made up of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Divisions and has an over-all strength of 14 regiments, most of which are cavalry. It is the former army of the Kuldja insurrectionists. Many Taranchi and Kazakh recruits from the administrative districts of Kuldja, Chuguchak, and A-k'o-su, who are ardent nationalists, still fly the colors of this army bearing the Turkic crescent and star.

- 6 -

CONFIDENTIAL

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Troops of the Kuldja People's Army received their baptism of fire during the Kuldja Revolt when revolutionary nationalism in Sinkiang reached its high watermark. Most of their combat experience, however, came during active duty under Soviet field commanders. In the winter of 1944, during the siege of Kuldja, these troops trapped and completely encircled a regiment of the Chinese Nationalist 7th Division under Li Yu-hsiang, and the Kuomintang troops managed to fight their way out only after a bitter struggle. It was a cavalry unit of the Kuldja People's Army, moreover, which struck the rear guard of the Chinese Nationalist 45th Division in the T'ien Shan.

In January 1945, the Kuldja People's Army split into three attacking columns: Abasufu, leading one column through the bitter cold, by-passed Turfan and marched on Kuldja from A-k'o-su; L'ehshihjan led a Kazakh cavalry thrust from the Dzungarian gateway into Chuguchak; and Kanipatulu, skirting the precipitous T'ien Shan passes in the west, lunged directly at Urumchi itself. During these marches and the ensuing battles, the Sinkiang nationalists fought alone and unsupported.

In August 1945, during the Ching-ho--Wu-su campaign, this insurgent army commanded by General Balinov, a White Russian, met the Chinese Nationalist Sinkiang Second Army under Hsieh I-feng in a battle of maneuver on the Ma-na-ssu plain. The column under L'ehshihjan was joined by a mechanized brigade of the Soviet Army which had secretly entered Sinkiang at Chuguchak; together they pushed southward on Wu-su under the protection of an air umbrella and cut the escape route of the Sinkiang Second Army. Commander Hsieh I-feng withdrew from Wu-su, his forces under heavy Red Air Force bombardment (incendiaries were used in these bomber attacks) and the Tu-shan-tzu oil field, located 20 kilometers southeast of Wu-su, fell to the Red Army. The 45th Division under Kuo Ch'i was trapped between Ching-ho and Wu-su by the composite force of Soviet armor and cavalry units of the Kuldja People's Army. The entire division was routed and Kuo Ch'i was taken prisoner. This was a Soviet breach of faith, coming as it did at the same time when the Sino-Soviet Treaty was signed and just after the Japanese surrender. However, since the Red Army operated under a protective Kuldja People's Army shield and since the Chinese Nationalist forces were decisively defeated in the field, no Soviet personnel or military equipment were captured. Consequently, the charge of military intervention could not be verified and 15,000 soldiers of the Republic of China died without their countrymen knowing of their sacrifice.

The outright use of military force by the USSR in aiding her satellite armies is not new. Despite attempts to conceal their identity with uniforms of the Kuldjaists, the forces dispatched to Sinkiang were made up of many recruits from Central Asian nationality groups, and, although Chinese Nationalist soldiers captured many of them, these Asiatics could not readily be distinguished from the real Kuldja insurgents. Nevertheless, Kuomintang commanders were able to tell the Kuldjaists from regular Red Army troops by observing the firepower and battle tactics of the forces opposing them.

In the autumn of 1946, when this writer reached Kuldja, Chinese at the scene of the siege (November 1944 to January 1945) reported that the insurgents fighting a regiment of Chinese Nationalist troops who held the vital Ai-lin Park were so weak that they could scarcely maintain a sustained attack for one day. When night fell, however, martial law was declared; Soviet artillery could be heard rumbling through the city streets to take up firing positions within range of the park. The barrages which usually followed set part of the park afire and just before dawn, the guns could again be heard rolling out of the city. This happened every night during the last week of the siege until the park was finally taken.

- 7 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Also, according to information received by this reporter, when General Kuo Ch'i, commander of the 45th Division, was captured and brought before the smartly dressed rebel commander in chief, General Balinov, Kuo believed that the White Russian would be his prosecutor and judge. He soon discovered, however, that it was really Balinov's aide-de-camp, a man whose insolent behavior bespoke unlimited authority, who was his inquisitor. General Balinov, unschooled and awkward in speech, feared saying the wrong thing and took his cues from this aide. This pattern of impromptu coaching is not a new Communist device.

The small remnant of the Kuldja People's Army today is actually the same body that fought under the banner of nationalism and is made up of recruits from the administrative districts of Kuldja, Chuguchak, and A-k'o-su. The Soviet Union, however, is depleting an excellent military reserve by sending the unit to fight with the Chinese Communists in Korea. According to considered opinion based on dispatches from the front, the troops of the Communist Fifth Army, a force which reached the central front in Korea during the last week of April and which was thrown back in the May "Spring Offensive," may include most of the Kuldjaists. It is ironical that the Eastern Turkestan people's revolt should have finally perished in a sea of US fire at the 38th Parallel.

Foreign Labor for Troops of T'ao Chih-yueh

When General T'ao Chih-yueh capitulated to the Chinese Communist armies in September 1949, the Nationalist government had approximately 80,000 troops in Sinkiang. Their locations and unit designations were as follows:

1. Sinkiang Guard General Headquarters, General T'ao Chih-yueh, commander in chief and provincial garrison commander, replacing Sung Hsi-lien, and directly subordinated units were stationed in and about Urumchi. The units included the Independent 4th Cavalry Brigade under T'ang Ching-jan, the 7th Cavalry Brigade, four regiments of various nationalities under Osman Bator, one guard regiment, one independent border patrol regiment, one independent artillery regiment, the 20th Motorized Regiment, one pack-horse regiment, one reconnaissance regiment, etc.

2. The reorganized 78th Division under General Yeh Ch'eng was garrisoned at Urumchi. The unit was made up of the 173rd Brigade under Mou Wo-jo, the 179th Brigade under Lo Chu-fen, and the 227th Brigade under Chu Min-kang. These brigades were stationed at outposts in northern Sinkiang.

3. The reorganized 42d Division under General Chao Hsi-kuang, with headquarters at Kashgar, was made up of the 65th Brigade under Li Tsu-t'ang, the 231st Brigade under Hsien Chih-mei, and the 128th Brigade under Chung Tsu-yin. These units were stationed in southern Sinkiang.

4. The 1st Cavalry Division under Ma Ch'eng-hsiang, with headquarters at Urumchi, was composed of the 7th and the 8th Cavalry Brigades, both stationed in Sinkiang.

The reorganized 78th Division, formerly the Sinkiang Second Army, and the reorganized 42d Division, formerly the Forty-second Army, were both crack units from the command of General Hu Tsung-nan. The field officers and near-echelon civilians were graduated from Sian training schools. The organization was complete in every detail and the esprit de corps was superb. From T'ao Chih-yueh and Chao Hsi-kuang down to officers of the lowest field grades, all were veterans of the war against the Japanese, had wide experience in leading troops, and were thoroughly indoctrinated politically.

- 8 -

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

The 1st Cavalry Division, formerly the Fifth Cavalry Army, was a Moslem unit from Tsinghai which held the allegiance of Central Asian Moslems and was skilled in military tactics and of excellent military discipline. The fame of the 1st Cavalry spread throughout Sinkiang when it defeated the vaunted cavalry of the Mongolian People's Republic and smashed the revolt of Akhmedjan in the battles of Pei-t'a Shan and P'u-t'ao-kou.

On the other hand, the advance elements of the Chinese Communist Army under Wang Chen never exceeded 50,000 men and the total strength of the Kuldja People's Army was only 15,000 irregulars. The forces under Yeh Ch'eng, Ma Ch'eng-hsiang, and Osman Bator, totaling 50,000 men, could easily have held a line between Hami and Turfan, met the Chinese Communist units frontally, and then fallen back into southern Sinkiang to join Chao Hsi-kuang and the 30,000 men under his command. With India and the Kunlun Mountains at their backs, this composite force could have temporarily contained the frontal attack of the oncoming Soviet Army and, if outmaneuvered, could have eventually fallen back into India.

T'ao Chih-yueh, however, was persuaded by Chang Chih-chung to surrender to the Soviet Army, and, as the main battle was shaping up, sent Lo-Shu-jen, Ma Ch'eng-hsiang, and other officers to meet the enemy and bargain for a compromise. When this plan failed to materialize, the generals and their troops defected in anger and disgust, and were soon followed by Yeh Ch'eng and his command. During this time, the two brigade commanders with troops in southern Sinkiang, Li Tsu-t'ang and T'ang Ching-ian, made no decisive moves and let innumerable opportunities slip through their fingers. The outcome was that the battle effectiveness of 30,000 troops was neutralized and Generals T'ao Chih-yueh, Liu Mengtun, and others went over to the invaders.

In November [1949], when the Chinese Communist First Army Group struck from Hsing-hsing-hsia at the western tip of the Kansu panhandle, taking strategic outposts in southern Sinkiang, the Nationalist forces which had defected were organized into the Twenty-second Army Group of the People's Liberation Army. T'ao Chih-yueh was retained as commander. The entire unit was retrained, the officers given separate Communist indoctrination, and the rear-echelon civilians given special courses in administrative work. The "ideological reactionary," Li Tsu-t'ang, commander of the 65th Brigade as well as T'ang Ching-ian, commander of the 4th Cavalry Brigade, and Mou Wo-jo, commander of the 178th Brigade, were transferred to different commands in the Chinese Communist Army and given individual executive training. In all, over 10,000 men defected to the Communists.

In the spring of 1950, when Li Tsu-t'ang and his brigade turned again, this time against the Communists, and marched on Hami to the east --thereby aiding anti-Communist guerrillas in the west in a manner similar to Osman Bator's Turkic Nationalist Army -- the Chinese Communist High Command ordered a campaign of bloody purges. Between April and May 1951, the list of those executed included the brigade commanders, Li Tsu-t'ang and T'ang Ching-ian, a score of company commanders, and over 100 political commissars and their subordinates. More than 500 lower-echelon cadres were imprisoned and most of the Twenty-second Army Group were sent to Sha-wan, an outpost between Kuldja and Urumchi, for intensive mass training under Soviet MVD supervision.

In February 1951, the strength, unit designation, and location of the Twenty-second Army Group under T'ao Chih-yueh was as follows:

The Ninth Army was under Chao Hsi-kuang, formerly commander of the Chinese Nationalist 42d Division. Of the three subordinate units, the 25th Infantry Division was under Liu Chen-shih, formerly commander of the mutinous Chinese Nationalist Liu K'an unit; the 26th Division was under Lo Ju-cheng, formerly deputy commander of the 178th Brigade; and the 27th Division was under Ch'en Chun-yuan,

- 9 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

CONFIDENTIAL
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formerly deputy commander of the 128th Brigade. The 25th and 26th Divisions at Sha-wan and the 27th Division at Karashahr underwent mass military training. The officers and troops lost many personal liberties. The 1st Cavalry Division, formerly under Ma Ch'eng-hsiang in Tsinghai, was placed under the command of Han Yu-wen, formerly a cavalry brigade commander in the Fifth Army. The 7th Cavalry Division, stationed at So-ch'e, was put under the command of Ma P'ing-ts'ai.

The officers and troops soon began to desert in great numbers; when caught, they were executed by the Chinese Communists. Less than 50,000 men remained of the entire army group. Most of their guns and equipment were confiscated by the Communists. The units assembled at Sha-wan were committed to forced labor, for the general attitude of the Chinese Communist Party toward these troops formerly under Hu Tsung-nan and Ma Pu-fang was clearly not one of confidence and trust.

Judging from news seeping out of Sinkiang, it is likely that part of this army group was either sent to the Korean front or has been incorporated into the Chinese Communist Army since May 1951. In short, the Ninth Army is completely different from the KMT Expeditionary Force that it was when first sent to Sinkiang.

Disposition of Chinese Communist Troops in Sinkiang

The Chinese Communist unit now stationed in southern Sinkiang is the Second Army of Wang Chen's First Army Group, First Field Army. The Second Army is made up of the 4th, 5th, and 6th Divisions which are stationed in outposts along the perimeter of the A-k'o-su--Kashgar--So-ch'e--Khotan--Keruja triangle to watch the roads leading to India and Pakistan and to mount guard over Tibet. One regiment of this unit penetrated Tibet through the Muz Tagh Range, at the same time that other Chinese Communist troops were entering along other routes, and marched to Rudok. The city is approximately 15,000 feet above sea level, and the new regiment now stands as a real threat to northern India.

With this preliminary Communist invasion of Tibet came teams of Soviet geologists and engineers who supervised the building of an air base. Rudok, only 80 kilometers from the Indian-Pakistani border, is a stop on the historical invasion route from China through Tibet and into India. If the Soviet Union should choose to use this air base, northwestern India and most of Pakistan would be within the striking radius of Soviet aircraft since it would shorten the flying distance from the USSR proper by more than 1,000 miles. Furthermore, a Soviet push to Gartok would directly threaten New Delhi which is only 600 air miles away. The back door of India is now exposed, and the Himalayas can be written off as an effective natural land barrier.

The Chinese Communist unit in control of northern Sinkiang is the First Army of the Wang Chen First Army Group and consists of the 1st, 2d, and 3d Divisions. The Fifth Army, formerly the Kuldja People's Army, is part of the Second Army Group commanded by Hsu Kuang-yuan, and is made up of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Divisions. It will be remembered, however, that most of the Fifth Army has already been sent to the Korean front. At present, First Army units are stationed at Urumchi, Karashahr, and Kucha; Ha-mi garrisons one detachment. The Sixth Army, under the command of Hsu Kuang-yuan's Second Army Group, is at Hsing-hsing-hsia to defend the Tun-huang--An-hsi--Yu-men strip of Kansu.

The First Army was given the task of mopping up Chinese Nationalist guerrillas; it guards the Tun-huang--Nan-hu strip and is prepared for any thrust by the Kuomintang general, Huang Tsu-hsun. Huang's guerrilla forces include Chinese, Mongol, Uighur, and Kazakh irregulars who, having lived the nomadic life of shepherds and herdsmen, are able to sustain themselves by living off the land with relative ease.

- 10 -

CONFIDENTIAL

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After the great extermination campaigns which decimated the forces of Osman Bator and his comrades in arms, Huang's forces are now the only guerrilla units operating along the Kansu-Sinkiang border. Military operations -- the hit-and-run tactics of Babulah, the Mongolian chief, and of Husseyin, the famous Kazakh leader, -- are directed from Huang Tsu-hsun's Headquarters. Using the Tsaidam and Ch'i-lien Shan for bases of operations, Huang carries out surprise raids on Communist outposts along the An-hsi--Hsing-hsing-hsia--Karghalik strip. Wang Chen's Chinese Communist First and Sixth Armies are kept busy guarding shipments of gasoline moving east and of grain coming west across the Kansu-Sinkiang border.

After the outbreak of the Korean War, officials and their families from North China and North Korea flocked to Sinkiang. From 400 to 500 trucks now arrive each month and the uncommonly large shipments of oil from the Wu-su fields to the east have placed an additional load on Hsing-hsing-hsia's already heavily taxed transportation facilities.

Soviet Army Enters Sinkiang

At present, a motorized unit of the Soviet Army is garrisoned in the suburbs of Ha-mi in barracks taken over from the Chinese Communist 8th Regiment. These troops are reported to be operating along the Ma-lien-ching-tzu--Ming-shui route, but their purpose remains secret. It is possible that they are protecting the Soviet Union's newly won spheres of influence in Outer Mongolia and Communist China. Also, in the spring of 1950, the stretch from Kuldja to Urumchi was taken over by other Soviet Army units, the exact strength and identity of which are as yet unknown. It is possible that they total more than one division.

The administrative districts of Chuguchak and A-k'o-su in the north are likewise already under Soviet Army control and the former Eastern Turkestan People's Republic can now be considered part of USSR sovereign territory. This region has the famous Wu-su oil field, the A-k'o-su gold mines and the potential uranium-producing mines at Ch'eng-hua; it is rich in timber and grazing stock. The Wu-su and Yu-men oil fields now belong to the Soviet Union, having been taken outright from the Chinese Communists. No Chinese are allowed to enter the region and the remaining technicians have already been replaced by Soviet experts. Yu-men at one time had 11 wells and the Tu-shan-tzu field at Wu-su had nine. At present, most of the output of their expanded capacity is sent to the Soviet Union, while the rest is sent to China.

The recent wholesale forced immigration of Central Asian peoples to Sinkiang have enabled the Soviets to restore conditions similar to those prevailing during the regime of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and the authority now enjoyed by the Chinese Communists is little more than that formerly exercised by the famous war lord.

Last Hope of Sinkiang

Isa, former secretary-general of Sinkiang, and a group of excellent intellectuals representing every Central Asian racial and national strain, have set up a Moslem Turkestan League headquarters at Srinagar, Kashmir. They carry on the anti-Communist struggle.

In 1949, Isa exerted every effort toward the realization of self-government for Sinkiang. He is an exceptionally well-bred and erudite man, appears strongly anti-Soviet in political orientation, and enjoys the sympathy and support of the youth of Sinkiang. In the past, the policy of the central government of the Republic of China has been shaky and uncertain; it has been fearful of the USSR, self-centered, and essentially unenlightened. The government did not clarify its stand on independence for minority peoples, has been wanting in drive, has been exceptionally slow to recognize that Sinkiang nationalism is the real enemy of the Soviet Union and has in fact a powerful mass basis; and, in the course of events, the government was unable to stave off complete collapse.

- 11 -

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50X1-HUM

During the 2 years of Masud Sabri's governorship of the province, his cooperation with Sung Hsi-lien in forging a united front among anti-Soviet nationalists revealed great organizational strength: Akhmedjan was driven from Kuldja in the "first great victory of the "cold war."

In September 1949, when T'ao Chih-yueh, Burhan, Liu Meng-tun, and others cabled their surrender to the Communists, Isa and Mohammed Emin resolutely set out from Urumchi and led over 100 young followers from southern Sinkiang into India. Masud, at the head of more than 200 others, started to follow, but was intercepted and brought back by Chinese Communists acting under Soviet orders. In May of 1951, Masud was secretly executed and over 3,000 Sinkiang nationalists were also arrested and killed. Only Isa, Mohammed Emin, Shatahr, and little over 100 men reached India in safety. They are now in Srinagar and have gathered around them other escaped comrades for a last line of defense in the Himalayas. Contacting T'ai-pei headquarters, they have opened a propaganda campaign directed toward the Western democracies, raised the banner of nationalism, and prepared for a protracted war.

There are over 10,000 refugees from Sinkiang scattered throughout the countries of the Middle East. More than 1,000 have settled in Karachi, Pakistan. Isa's headquarters at Srinagar is very close to the southern border of Sinkiang and the Iron Curtain fell on that province, the capital of Kashmir became the source of news from the inside as well as the last hope of Sinkiang nationalists. Isa has coined the phrase "I adhere to my own philosophy" to bolster the self-confidence of Sinkiang peoples. The last chance for liberating the 20 million people of Soviet-controlled Central Asia and the 4 million inhabitants of Sinkiang and for the development of the cold war throughout the world, are all inseparably bound up with "Isaism." The Kremlin apparently attributes more political influence to Isa than does Washington. The strategic position of Kashmir will decide the final scene of drama of Sinkiang.

- E N D -

- 12 -

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