

The Key to Solving the Xinjiang Issue is Close Cooperation Between Our Party and the Uygurs

(September 26, 1949)

Comrade Peng Dehuai, and to the Northwest Bureau:

I have received your telegram of the 25th. (1) Tao Zhiyue sent Zeng Zhenwu to Lanzhou for negotiations, which is exploratory. You should work on Zeng Zhenwu and try to get him on our side, without focusing too much on the specific solutions to the Xinjiang issue, as we cannot discuss specific resolutions before our army enters Xinjiang.

(2) Do not argue against Zeng Zhenwu's opinion of not advancing in winter. Do not assert that the army will definitely advance this winter. However, in reality, you should make preparations to complete everything by November 1 or 10, including clothing, boots, felt shoes, water bottles, trucks, gasoline, food, foreign currency, cash, and most importantly, political mobilization and cadre preparation, so that we can carry out the advance in early or mid-November. The main force should prepare for transportation by truck and walking, and some should prepare for air transport. Apart from preparing 400 vehicles and other materials such as clothing, foreign currency, and cash, we are negotiating for 30 to 50 transport planes for you.

(3) The key to solving the Xinjiang issue is the close cooperation between our Party and the Uygurs. On this basis, we will force the Kuomintang to yield (the Kuomintang military and political forces in the region number around 80,000, reportedly up to 100,000), and make Zhang Zhizhong, Tao Zhiyue, Liu Mengchun, and others work for us, so that Xinjiang can be peacefully taken over with minimal destruction, and the Kuomintang army can be reorganized in an orderly manner. Zhang Zhizhong can come to Lanzhou in November when our army starts advancing to attend the founding meeting of the Northwest Military and Political Committee (already discussed with He Long about forming this committee based on the border region government, with Peng as the director, Xi Zhongxun and Zhang Zhizhong as deputy directors), and then enter Xinjiang with Peng.

(4) The commanding body for Xinjiang should be the Xinjiang Military and Political Committee, with Peng as the director and Wang Zhen, Zhang Zhizhong, and Baolihan as deputy directors. The provincial government should be reorganized, with Baolihan remaining as chairman. The committee should have a majority of Uygurs and other ethnic groups, with Han people being a minority (currently, the Baolihan provincial government has ten Han members and fifteen Uygur members; we should not change this ratio upon entry). This basic policy has already been agreed upon by Baolihan and the friends in Dihua (now Urumqi). Please pay attention to this.

(5) The Gansu and Qinghai Military and Political Committees may not be necessary to establish. The candidates for the governments of Gansu, Qinghai, and Shaanxi can be handled as you have proposed: Ma Mingfang as chairman of the Shaanxi government, Deng Baoshan as chairman of the Gansu government, Wang Shitai as vice-chairman, and Zhao Shoushan as chairman of the Qinghai government.

(6) Regarding military matters in Sichuan, we will notify you after Deng Xiaoping reaches Pingnan and the situation is settled.

Mao Zedong

September 26, 1949