

**A SINO-SOVIET CULTURAL FRONTIER: THE ILI KAZAKH
AUTONOMOUS CHOU**

by
George Moseley

Published by the
**East Asian Research Center
Harvard University**

Distributed by
**Harvard University Press
Cambridge, Mass.
1966**

Copyright, 1966, by
the President and Fellows of
Harvard College

The East Asian Research Center at Harvard University administers research projects designed to further scholarly understanding of China, Japan, Korea, and adjacent areas. These studies have been assisted by grants from the Ford Foundation.

Preparation of this volume was aided by funds from the United States Air Force.

HARVARD EAST ASIAN MONOGRAPHS, 22

1. Liang Fang-chung, *The Single-Whip Method of Taxation in China*
2. Harold C. Hinton, *The Grain Tribute System of China (1845-1911)*
3. Ellsworth C. Carlson, *The Kaiping Mines (1877-1912)*
4. Chao Kuo-chün, *Agrarian Policies of Mainland China: A Documentary Study (1949-1956)*
5. Edgar Snow, *Random Notes on Red China (1936-1945)*
6. Edwin George Beal, Jr., *The Origin of Likin (1853-1964)*
7. Chao Kuo-chün, *Economic Planning and Organization in Mainland China: A Documentary Study (1949-1957)*
8. John K. Fairbank, *Ch'ing Documents: An Introductory Syllabus*
9. Helen Yin and Yi-chang Yin, *Economic Statistics of Mainland China (1949-1957)*
10. Wolfgang Franke, *The Reform and Abolition of the Traditional Chinese Examination System*
11. Albert Feuerwerker and S. Cheng, *Chinese Communist Studies of Modern Chinese History*
12. C. John Stanley, *Late Ch'ing Finance: Hu Kuang-yung as an Innovator*
13. S.M. Meng, *The Tsungli Yamen: Its Organization and Functions*
14. Ssu-yü Teng, *Historiography of the Taiping Rebellion*
15. Chun-Jo Liu, *Controversies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: An Analytic Bibliography of Periodical Articles, Mainly of the May Fourth and Post-May Fourth Era*
16. Edward J.M. Rhoads, *The Chinese Red Army, 1927-1963: An Annotated Bibliography*

17. Andrew J. Nathan, *A History of the China International Famine Relief Commission*
18. Frank H.H. King (ed.) and Prescott Clarke, *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers, 1822-1911*
19. Ellis Joffe, *Party and Army: Professionalism and Political Control in the Chinese Officer Corps, 1949-1964*
20. Toshio G. Tsukahira, *Feudal Control in Tokugawa Japan: The Sankin Kōtai System*
21. Kwang-Ching Liu (ed.), *American Missionaries in China: Papers from Harvard Seminars*
22. George Moseley, *A Sino-Soviet Cultural Frontier: The Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou*

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| Preface | vii |
| I. Introduction | 1 |
| II. The Kazakhs and the East Turkestan Republic | 12 |
| III. Economic and Political Pattern of CPR Rule | 24 |
| IV. The Production-Construction Corps | 35 |
| V. Reform of the Kazakh Herders | 42 |
| VI. Reform of the Kazakh Intellectuals | 57 |
| VII. The Communes and the Great Leap Forward | 77 |
| VIII. Conclusion: The Exodus and Its Aftermath | 107 |
| Notes | 117 |
| Index | 159 |

PREFACE

This study is an attempt to assess the impact of Chinese Communist rule on one of China's national minority peoples, the Kazakhs. I have tried to illuminate Sino-Soviet relations as well as the national minority policy of the Chinese Communist Party, for by the winter of 1963-1964, when the basic research for the present monograph was undertaken, events in the Kazakh area of Sinkiang had made it an issue in the relations between the two states. To some extent, Soviet source materials on the area have provided a check against Chinese Communist sources, but it must be emphasized that my analysis has been based almost wholly upon official publications of the Peking government and is, therefore, subject to distortion.

While writing this monograph I was a Fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation and was in residence at the East Asian Research Center, Harvard University. The Center provided me with every facility and with supplementary financial support. Dr. Mark Mancall, with whom I spent many fruitful hours, criticized the manuscript in detail. It was also read and commented upon by Dr. John M.H. Lindbeck and Professor Benjamin I. Schwartz. The idea of a detailed study of a selected national minority area was suggested by Professor John K. Fairbank. To all of these persons at the East Asian Research Center I am most grateful, but I am perhaps even more indebted to Dr. Gerald Freund of the Rockefeller Foundation who made it possible for me to embark upon this project.

I am also indebted to Mr. Holmes Welch, at present a Fellow of the East Asian Research Center, for having made available certain published documents from his private collection which could not otherwise have been readily consulted. Without his assistance, this

monograph could not have been written in its present form. Dr. Peter Hsien-t'ing Ch'en generously helped me with an important source in Japanese which provided much of the material for Chapter 1. I am also grateful to the then Librarian of the East Asian Research Center, Mrs. Anne B. Clark, for many valuable suggestions, and to Mr. Howard L. Boorman, Director of the Modern China Project at Columbia University, for biographical material on key individuals. This biographical material was prepared by Mr. O. Edmund Clubb who also shared with me some of his first-hand observations of the Sinkiang area. Col. Geoffrey Wheeler, of the Central Asian Research Centre (London), contributed a great deal to my understanding of the Kazakh area of the Soviet Union, and Professor Owen Lattimore enlightened me concerning linguistic problems of the Sino-Soviet frontier.

The manuscript was edited by Mrs. Olive Holmes of the East Asian Research Center; in the preparation of the text I had the invaluable assistance of my wife, Eva. I alone am responsible for all statements of fact and opinion.

George Moseley

St. Antony's College

Oxford

May 1966