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IN
MAINLAND CHINA

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FEBRUARY 15, 1970

VOL. VIII No. 4

5 - MAR 24
Copy 1970

SINIFICATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN CHINA

by

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About 94% of the population of China can be called Chinese. The other 6% consists of a number of ethnic minorities or "nationalities." A nationality is defined by the Chinese as "a body of people living in a common area, historically formed, with a common language, a common economic life, and a common psychology."¹ Outside observers have noted that since 1949, a large number of minority administrations have been set up by the Communist government. John De Francis commented in 1951, "Indeed, so perfunctory is the enumeration of [minority nationalities] that one is frequently hard put merely to identify some of the nationalities, much less obtain a satisfactory statement of their characteristics."²

In practice, it seems that the Peking government in the early days established only the vaguest criteria for distinguishing "Han" (漢)³ people from minorities. Language, religion, culture, and "backwardness" were the factors involved, but the instructions for the 1953 census directed that the determination of ethnic affiliation be left to the head of the household, who was expected to notify the administration of the nationality of which he considered himself a member.⁴

In fact, some officially designated "minorities" were unquestionably Chinese. The "Hui" of the Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region are merely Chinese Muslims.

Attempts by outside observers to definitively classify the minorities of China have not been entirely successful either. A linguistic classification, for example, can point out that besides the many Chinese dialects (or languages), there are Austro-Asiatic, Altaic, Tibeto-Burman, Thai, Miao-Yao, and other language families represented among minority populations. But the linguistic affiliations of various tribes or peoples are complicated enough to make classification on this basis a rather arbitrary effort. The Manchus and the Chinese Muslims, for example, all speak Chinese, and it is clear that language was not used as a criterion in determining their minority status.

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Minority Areas

Minorities in China are officially accorded administrative "autonomy." Thus there exists a plethora of smaller or larger "autonomous areas" theoretically administered separately from the Han areas. An autonomous area generally exists at one of three administrative levels: province, district (*chou* 州), or county (*hsien* 縣).

There are five large-scale, province-level Autonomous Regions (自治區) in China today: the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region, the Tibetan Autonomous Region,⁵ and the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region. These regions of Outer China exhibit wide variations in environment, but there are historical and cultural affinities between many of the major groups (e.g. Tibetans and Mongols) and they have tended to have the same sort of relationships with the Chinese; i.e. the Chinese immigrants have generally formed small town enclaves surrounded by the rural or nomadic minority population. They are now reinforced by a sizable Chinese military and administrative establishment and some rural colonists.

The smaller autonomous areas may be classified into three types, according to the mix of minority elements.

In the first group are the areas inhabited by only one nationality. Fifteen nationalities each live in a single autonomous unit. Three of these each occupy one *chou* — the Kirghiz in Sinkiang, the Pai in Yunnan and the Lisu

in Yunnan. The remainder live in autonomous counties: the Tahur, the Owenko and the Olunchun in Inner Mongolia; the Yuku and the Tunghsiang in Kansu; the Tu and the Salar in Chinghai; the Tadjik and the Hsipo in Sinkiang; the Shui in Kweichow; the Ch'ing in Szechuan and the Nahsi in Yunnan. The T'ai have an autonomous *chou* in Yunnan, and the Lahu occupy an autonomous county in Yunnan.

The second group is comprised of autonomous areas in which live one of the bigger minority groups together with other, smaller groups. This pattern of settlement may be called 'one race in several units.' The Koreans have an autonomous *chou* and an autonomous county in Kirin. The Mongols, although found mainly in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, have two autonomous *chou* in Sinkiang and seven autonomous counties elsewhere: two in Liaoning, and one each in Sinkiang, Chinghai, Kansu, Kirin and Heilungkiang. The Hui live mainly in the Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region, but have also one autonomous *chou* in Kansu and Sinkiang. They are also found in autonomous counties; two in Hopei, one each in Kansu and Sinkiang and two in Chinghai. Similarly, the Tibetans, besides living in Tibet proper, occupy nine autonomous *chou*: five in Chinghai, one each in Kansu and Yunnan and two in Szechuan. In addition, the Tibetans have two autonomous counties, one each in Kansu and Szechuan. The Kazakhs have one autonomous *chou* in Sinkiang and three autonomous counties, one in Kansu and two in Sinkiang. The Miao have four autonomous counties, one each in Yunnan, Kwangsi, Kweichow and Hunan. The Yao have

seven autonomous counties, three in Kwangsi, two in Kwangtung, one in Hunan and one in Yunnan. The Tung nationality has two autonomous counties in Hunan and one in Kwangsi. The Chuang, besides the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region and an autonomous county in Kwangtung, are also found in national autonomous areas in Yunnan and Kwangtung. The Wa inhabit two autonomous counties of Yunnan. The Yi (formerly called Lolo) live in two autonomous *chou*, in Szechuan and Yunnan and five autonomous counties, four in Yunnan and one in Szechuan.

The third group embraces "joint autonomous areas," those peopled by several nationalities. In these areas many different ethnic groups interpenetrate geographically while maintaining their separate cultural and social entities. Mongols, Tibetans and Kazakhs live together in an autonomous *chou* in Chinghai; the Miao live with Tuchia in Hunan, with Li in Hainan, with Chuang in Yunnan and with Tung and Pu-yi in Kweichow. There are two more mixed *chou*, both in Yunnan, shared by the T'ai and the Chingpo.

As far as autonomous counties are concerned, the Yi share a county with the Hui in Yunnan and one with the Hani in Yunnan; the Pu-yi live with the Miao in Kweichow; the Chuang with the Yao in Kwangtung; the T'ai with the Bahur and the Wa in Yunnan, and with the Wa in another county in Yunnan; and the Tulung with Nu in Yunnan. There are three autonomous counties, which are officially named

"multi-national autonomous counties," two in Kwangsi and one in Kwangtung.

Although minority nationalities only comprise about six percent of the total population of mainland China according to the 1953 census, they occupy some sixty per cent of the nation's territory, including almost the whole length of her inland borders. According to the 1953 census, the Han Chinese outnumber the ethnic minorities in every provincial-level unit except Tibet and Sinkiang. Thus, even in the areas of their densest concentration, few of the minority populations actually constitute a majority of the local residents.

There does not appear as yet anything like a complete or definitive list of minorities in China. When Peking says that the Kuomintang government (1928-1949) had only a blurred picture of nationalities of China, it is not inventing a line of propaganda. Although some sixty ethnic minorities have been noted in various Chinese sources, only a few appear to have a population exceeding half a million each. The largest group, the Chuang, number over six million, while the smallest groups are made up of only a few hundred persons each and they exist like 'tiny islands in the great Han sea.'

Table I on page 4, abridged from *People's China* of June 1, 1954 and a New China News Agency release of November 1, 1954, lists a total of nine minorities as large as one million people and indicates their geographical distribution:

Table I

Population and main centers of inhabitation of major nationalities from the 1953 Census

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Main centers of inhabitation</u>
Chuang	6,611,455	Kwangsi Province
Uighur	3,640,125	Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region
Hui	3,559,350	Kansu, Ninghsia, Tsinghai Provinces
Yi	3,254,269	Greater and Lesser Liang Mountains on borders of Sikang and Yunnan Provinces
Tibetan	2,775,622	Tibetan highland area; Tibet proper (1,273,969), Szechuan (800,000), Chinghai (450,000) and Kansu (200,000)
Miao	2,511,339	Miao Autonomous Region of Kweichow Province and West Hunan Province and many other regions in Central-South and Southwest China
Mongol	1,426,956	Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, Ninghsia and Sinkiang
Manchu	2,418,931*	Northeastern Provinces, Inner Mongolia
Pu-yi	1,147,883	Southwestern part of Kweichow Province
Korean	1,120,405**	Korean Autonomous Region of Kirin Province

* The Japanese Census of Manchuria in 1940 found a total of 2,674,000 Manchus.

** The Japanese Census of Manchuria in 1940 found a total of 1,450,000 Koreans.

All other nationalities together accounted for only 6,818,025 of the overall total of 35,320,360 non-Han people.

Table I above may be considered in connection with the following numerical evaluation of nationalities previously attempted by Hou Ming-chiu, Chen Erh-shiu and Chen Lu in their 1946 *General Geography of China*.

Table II

Composition of non-Han population of China

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Population</u>
Thai	7,193,500
Turki	2,115,516
Miao, Yao, Yi	10,874,754
Tibeto-Burman	3,277,956
Mongol	2,249,227
Tungus	256,640
Elan	13,000
Russian	5,054
Paleo-Asiatic	5,000
<i>Total</i>	<i>25,990,647</i>

The 1952 *People's Handbook* contained statistics on 21 nationalities, arranged according to the administrative areas of those days. The data were compiled from official reports, *People's Daily* and other newspapers.⁶ This handbook gave the number of minorities in the Northwest Region as 6,300,000, or twenty per cent of the population; in the Southwest as about 20,000,000, also twenty percent of the population; and the Central-South Region as 8,900,000 (percentage not given). In Inner Mongolia, listed separately from the Northwest, the population was 2,300,000. No information was given about three of the Administrative Regions, Northeast China, North China and East China, presumably because

these areas have no significant numbers of minorities.

Two other sources which provide information about the number of national minorities in China are the 1953 census and the 1957 *People's Handbook*.

In 1961 the Nationalities Publishing House in Peking published a monograph, *The Nationalities in China*, which gave the population figures for fifty nationalities. These statistics were reproduced in the Japanese *New China Year Book* for 1963. Newspapers also occasionally publish data on the populations of individual nationalities. These figures, together with their sources, are compiled in Table III.

Table III

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>1952 People's Handbook</u>	<u>1953 Census</u>	<u>1957 People's Handbook</u>	<u>National- ities in China</u>	<u>Other Sources</u>
Chuang	Kwangsi, Yunnan, Kwangtung	6,000,000	6,611,455	6,610,000	7,786,414	
Hui	Ningsia, Kansu, Yunnan, Sinkiang, Ching- hai, Hopei, Kweichow		3,559,350 4,000,000 ^a	3,550,000	3,934,335	
Uighur	Sinkiang		3,640,125	3,640,000	3,901,205	
Yi	Szechuan, Yunnan	3,000,000	3,254,269 3,400,000 ^a	3,250,000	3,264,432	
Tibetan	Tibet, Szechuan, Yunnan, Chinghai, Kansu	4,000,000	2,775,622	2,770,000	2,775,622	

Table III (Cont'd.)

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>1952 People's Handbook</u>	<u>1953 Census</u>	<u>1957 People's Handbook</u>	<u>Nation- alities in China</u>	<u>Other Sources</u>
Miao	Kweichow, Hunan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Szechuan, Hainan	2,480,000	2,511,339 3,200,000 ^a	2,510,000	2,687,590	
Manchu	North-eastern provinces, Inner Mongolia		2,418,931	2,410,000	2,430,561	
Mongol	Inner Mongo- lia, Kansu, Liaoning, Kirin, Heilungkiang		1,462,956 1,700,000 ^a	1,460,000	1,645,695	
Pu-yi	Kweichow	1,600,000	1,247,883	1,240,000	1,313,015	
Korean	Kirin		1,120,405	1,120,000	1,255,551	
T'ung	Kweichow, Hunan, Kwangsi		690,000	710,000 800,000 ^b	825,323	
Yao	Kwangsi, Hunan, Kwangtung, Yunnan		640,000	660,000	747,985	
Pai	Yunnan	600,000	480,000	560,000	684,386	
Tuchia	Hunan, Szechuan, Hopei Kweichow			300,000 320,000 ^c	603,773	
Hani	Yunnan			480,000	549,362	
Kazakh	Sinkiang		475,000 400,000 ^a	500,000	533,160	568,000 ^d

Table III (Cont'd)

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>1952 People's Handbook</u>	<u>1953 Census</u>	<u>1957 People's Handbook</u>	<u>Nation- alities in China</u>	<u>Other Sources</u>
T'ai	Yunnan	400,000	580,000 500,000 ^a	470,000	503,616	
Li	Hainan		330,000	360,000	395,556	
Lisu	Yunnan			310,000	317,465	
Wa	Yunnan		280,000	280,000	286,158	
She	Fukien Chekiang				226,697	220,000 ^e
Lahu	Yunnan			130,000 120,000 ^g		190,000 ^f 170,000 ^h
Shui	Kweichow		150,000	130,000	160,313	
Tungshiang	Kansu			150,000	159,345	
Nahsi	Yunnan		120,000 ^a	140,000	155,748	
Chingpo	Yunnan			100,000	101,852	
Khalkhas	Sinkiang		60,000 ^a	70,000	68,862	54,000 ⁱ
T'u	Chinghai		60,000	53,000	63,259	
Tahur	Inner Mongo- lia, Heilung- kiang			44,100	50,121	
Molao	Kwangsi			43,100	44,679	
Chiang	Szechuan		70,000	30,000 33,000 ^j	42,955	
Pulang	Yunnan				41,595	
Salar	Chinghai			30,000	31,923	
Moanan	Kwangsi			18,400	24,239	
Kolao	Kweichow			20,400		44,500 ^k
Sibo	Sinkiang		20,000	19,000	21,405	
Achang	Yunnan				17,741	50,000 ^l

Table III (Cont'd)

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>1952 People's Handbook</u>	<u>1953 Census</u>	<u>1957 People's Handbook</u>	<u>Nation- alities in China</u>	<u>Other Sources</u>
Tadjik	Sinkiang		80,000	14,000	15,014	
Nu	Yunnan		12,000	12,700	13,724	
Uzbek	Sinkiang		13,000	13,000	11,557	
Russian	Sinkiang		13,000	20,000	9,766	
Ovenao	Inner Mongolia			10,000 ^m	7,245	7,000 ⁿ
Penglung	Yunnan				6,309	
Pao-an	Kansu			4,000	5,516	
Yuku	Kansu			3,000	4,617	4,200 ^o
Ching	Kwangtung			3,900 ^p	4,444	
Tartar	Sinkiang			6,000	4,370	
Tulung	Yunnan		2,400		2,763	
Olunchun	Inner Mongolia		1,000	2,000	2,459	
Hoche	Heilungkiang				575	600 ^q 700 ^r
Pumi	Yunnan					1,500 ^s

a/ *Dictionary of New Terms*, Shanghai, 1953.b/ *Kuang Ming Jih Pao*, Peking, October 5, 1957.c/ *Kuang Ming Jih Pao*, Peking, November 12, 1957.d/ *Studies on Nationalities*, Peking, No. 11, November, 1963. The figure is for 1963.e/ *Yang Ch'eng Wan Pao*, Canton, February 18, 1963. The figure is for 1963.f/ *People's Daily*, Peking, April 12, 1963. The figure is for 1963.g/ *Kuang Ming Jih Pao*, Peking, January 18, 1957.h/ *Studies on Nationalities*, Peking, No. 4, April, 1964. The figure is for 1964.i/ *People's Daily*, Peking, December 6, 1964. The figure is for 1964.j/ *Kuang Ming Jih Pao*, Peking, July 10, 1958.k/ *Kuang Ming Jih Pao*, Peking, February 24, 1959. The figure is for 1959.l/ *People's Daily*, Peking, July 5, 1962. The figure is for 1962.m/ *People's Daily*, Peking, April 14, 1958.n/ *Kuang Ming Jih Pao*, Peking, March 22, 1962. The figure is for 1962.o/ *People's Daily*, Peking, October 9, 1962. The figure is for 1962.p/ *Studies on Nationalities*, Peking, No. 7, July, 1959.q/ *Kuang Ming Jih Pao*, Peking, July 6, 1959. The figure is for 1959.r/ *Wen Wei Pao*, Hongkong, November 28, 1964. The figure is for 1964.s/ *Studies on Nationalities*, Peking, No. 5, May, 1963. The figure is for 1963.

Note: Table III is mainly based on the data contained in *China News Analysis*, Hong Kong, No. 569, June 18, 1965.

Demographic Dilution

The latest figures for ethnic nationalities in mainland China were given in the Peking *Ta Kung Pao* on September 29, 1962. A reply to a reader's question noted: "Apart from the Han nationality, which represents over 95 per cent of the population, there are 52 minority nationalities." "These minorities," the paper added, "total more than 38,000,000 people." This is a very significant figure, for in terms of percentage of the total population the figure shows that the percentage of ethnic nationalities has actually decreased from 6.6% in the 1953 census to less than 5%. Comparing the figures given in Table III for 1953 and 1957 (which are available for only 21 ethnic groups), one can see that the population of 14 large ethnic groups, the Chuang, Hui, Uighur, Yi, Tibetan, Miao, Manchu, Mongol, Pu-yi, Korean, T'ai, Shui, Chiang and Tadjik peoples, actually declined from a total of 29,482,335 in 1953 to 29,204,000 in 1957, a decline of 278,335 or about 0.9%. This absolute decline occurred in a context of steady population growth of the Han population (about 2.4% a year). If the increase rate of 2.4 were applied hypothetically to the total population of these 14 nationalities, their population should have increased from 29,482,335 in June 1953 to 29,800,741 in December 1957, a difference of 796,741 between the two figures. The remaining ethnic groups

for which comparable data are available for 1953 and 1957 are the T'ung, Yao, Pai, Kazakh, Nu, Russian and Olunchun. In contrast to the larger groups, the smaller ones registered a sizable increase in their population, from 2,311,000 in 1953 to 2,464,700 in 1957, or about 6%. If these groups are added to the 14 larger ones, however, the overall rate of minority population change is a decline of 0.4% for these four years.

So while the Chinese population is growing, the minority population as a whole is not.

Population Density Patterns

Population density patterns in mainland China are highly unbalanced. Some ninety per cent of the people live in one-sixth of the country and the remaining five-sixths have an average population density of less than one person per square mile.⁷ Another interesting feature of the population distribution is that the Han people, who are approximately 94% of China's total population, are cramped together over a land area of forty per cent of the total. The ethnic minorities, in spite of their relatively smaller number, occupy a much larger area. Taking the total population, Han and non-Han, into consideration, Table IV on page 10 sets forth population density figures by region for the years 1953 and 1957:

Table IV

Official population, area, and population density, by region, 1953 & 1957

<u>Region</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>		<u>Area</u> (Sq. miles)	<u>Persons</u> <u>per sq. mile</u>	
	<u>1953</u>	<u>1957</u>		<u>1953</u>	<u>1957</u>
Mainland China	582,603,000	646,530,000	3,711,889	157	174
Southern Region**	344,125,000	376,740,000	1,029,033	334	366
Northern Region**	210,388,000	237,020,000	653,118	322	363
Western Region***	28,090,000	32,770,000	2,029,736	14	16

* Includes provinces of Kiangsu, Anhwei, Chekiang, Fukien, Hupeh, Hunan, Kiangsi, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Szechuan, Kweichow, and Yunnan.

** Hopeh, Shansi, Liaoning, Kirin, Heilungkiang, Shensi, Shantung, and Honan.

*** Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Kansu and Ninghsia, Chinghai, Sinkiang, and Tibet.

Sources: Population in 1953 is from the 1953 Census figures; 1957 figures are from *Ten Great Years: Statistics of the Economic and Cultural Achievements of the People's Republic of China*, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1960. Area, from *Geographical Knowledge*, Peking, No. 9, 1959.

Sinkiang

The Chinese originally settled there as officials, pawnbrokers, money-lenders, or merchants importing Chinese and foreign wares from Tientsin. They lord it over the natives, who bow and cringe before them. With wonderful facility, they adapt themselves to their alien surroundings; yet they deviate in nothing from their own usages and customs, remembering all the time that they are sojourners, not settlers. They make their 'pile' and take it all away to their native provinces in Inner China. They nearly all go — alive, or in coffins.⁸

When Sir George Macartney, British Consul in Urumchi from 1910-18, wrote these lines, he revealed that permanent colonization of Sinkiang by the Chinese was not anticipated in his day. But as he reflected on the ephemeral nature of the Han migration into sparsely peopled Sinkiang some five decades ago, he could have had only a faint idea of the magnitude of demographic dilution of the local population by permanent Chinese settlers since then.

Sinkiang has been variously characterized as "the geographical center of gravity between the Atlantic, Arctic, Pacific and Indian Oceans,"⁹ as China's "soft under-belly,"¹⁰ as a "pawn or pivot,"¹¹ and as "the future marshalling yard of Central Asia."¹² All these definitions point to the great strategic importance of this area for all the countries with Central Asian connections.

Ethnic Diversity:

People who know nothing else about Sinkiang know at least that it occupies a vast area, nearly half that of India, but has a population of only about five million (1953 census). This population bears the imprint of diverse cultures — Chinese, Mongol, Turk, Russian and Tibetan — and, "just as the design on a Yarkand carpet is a hodgepodge of alien arts, so the native who made the carpet is himself largely a product of different foreign elements." No less than thirteen minority ethnic groups are to be taken account of. For centuries Sinkiang served as an *entrepôt* for Central Asian commerce, swept by waves of invasion and migration. It is believed that originally the area was inhabited by a group that spoke Indo-European languages, but Scythians, Hans, Uighurs, Mongols, Russians, Tibetans, and many other peoples have at various times occupied the region as conquerors, settlers, or merchants.

Demographic Spectrum:

The population composition of Sinkiang before the 1953 census is shown in Table V on page 12, but it must be noted that no satisfactory population census has ever been attempted. Writing about 1950, Owen Lattimore averred, "Widely varying estimates of population range from 2,000,000 to 8,000,000."¹³ Some estimates of the total population of this area are given in Table VI on page 14, and an analysis of the proportion of Han Chinese in the population is presented in Table VII on page 15, using some of the figures in Table V.

Table V

Population of Ethnic Minorities Before 1953

<u>Source</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Minorities</u>	<u>Population</u>
Martin R. Nornis: (<i>Gateway to Asia</i> , John Day, New York, 1944, p. 110)	1940-41	Uighur	2,900,173 (77.4%)
		Kazakh	318,716 (8.0%)
		Han	202,239
		Hui	92,146
		Mongol	63,018
		Kirghiz	65,248
		Manchus & Sibos	9,973
		Tadjiks	8,867
		Uzbeks & Tartars	11,567
		Russian	13,408
		Others	43,796
			<i>Total</i>
Owen Lattimore: (<i>Pivot of Asia</i> , Little, Brown, Boston, 1950, p. 106)	1949	Uighur	2,941,000 (79.0%)*
		Kazakh	319,000 (9.0%)
		Kirghiz	65,000
		Uzbek	8,000
		Tartar	5,000
		Mongol	63,000
		Manchu	12,000
		Han	294,000
		Iranian & Russian	22,000
			<i>Total</i>
<i>People's Daily</i> , Peking (June 6, 1952)	1950-51	Uighur	3,399,000 (70.0%)
		Kazakh	437,130 (9.0%)
		Han	485,700
		Others	625,170
			<i>Total</i>
Sinkiang Administration (Figures released in 1952)	1950-51	Uighur	3,400,000 (72.0%)
		Kazakh	400,000 (8.0%)
		Han	500,000 (approx.)
		Hui	300,000 (approx.)
		Others	126,000
			<i>Total</i>

Table V (Cont'd)

<u>Source</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Minorities</u>	<u>Population</u>
Michael Freeberne (<i>Population Studies</i> , London, July, 1966)	1953	Uighur	3,640,000 (74.7%)
		Kazakh	475,000 (9.0%)
		Han	300,000
		Hui	200,000
		Mongol	120,000
		Kirghiz	70,000
		Manchu & Sibo	20,000
		Tadjiks	15,000
		Uzbek & Tartar	13,000
		Russian	13,000
		Others	8,000
			<i>Total</i>
W.A. Douglas Jackson (<i>Russo-Chinese Borderlands</i> , Van Nostrand, Princeton, 1962, p. 12)	1953	Uighur	3,640,000 (75.0%)
		Kazakh	475,000 (10.0%)
		Han	300,000
		Hui	200,000
		Kirghiz	70,000
		Mongol	120,000
		Others	15,000
			<i>Total</i>

- Lattimore's percentage of Uighur nationality virtually agrees with NCNA release (Sian) of April 25, 1951. The release reported that the Uighur constituted 80.0% of all the people of Sinkiang.
- Uighur population had risen to 4,000,000 by 1964 according to NCNA release of June 28, 1964.

Estimates of Population — Sinkiang

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Authority</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
1900	170,000	Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar', St. Petersburg, 1903; cited by Owen Lattimore, <i>op. cit.</i>	Ili region only
1910	130,000	Owen Lattimore, <i>op. cit.</i>	Chugach region only
1917	2,003,931	Wang Shu-nan, <i>Hsinchiang T'u Chih</i> (Sinkiang Gazetteer), Tientsin, 1923; cited by Owen Lattimore, <i>op. cit.</i>	
1932-33	1,350,000	<i>Encyclopaedia Sinica</i> ; edited by Samuel Couling, Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, 1917.	
1935	2,500,000	Wang Shih-ta, "A New Estimate of Recent Chinese Population," <i>She-hui k'o-hsieh tsa-chih (Review of Social Sciences)</i> , Shanghai, Vol. VI, No. 2, June, 1935.	The figure is raised to 2,700,000 after allowing for certain adjustments on the basis of sex and age distribution in Fa-chung Liu & Kung-chia Yeh, <i>The Economy of the Chinese Mainland</i> , Princeton Univ. Press, 1965.
1933	2,000,000	Owen Lattimore, <i>Studies in Frontier History</i> . Paris, Mouton, 1962. (Chapter on Chinese Turkestan).	The entry adds "not even rough accurate figures are available."
1935	2,000,000	<i>China Year Book</i> , 1940-41, Shanghai.	
1936	2,688,000	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i> , Vol. XX, 1936.	
1940-41	3,730,151	Martin R. Nornis, <i>op. cit.</i>	The reference quotes General Sheng Shih-ts'ai's <i>Six Great Policies</i> .
1945	3,870,954	Directorate of Statistics, Nanking, <i>Statistical Monthly</i> , January and February, 1948; cited by Nelson Dickerman, <i>Mineral Resources of China</i> , Foreign Mineral Survey, Vol. II, No. 2, 1948, Washington, U.S. Bureau of Mines.	<i>Encyclopaedia Americana</i> , 1953, Vol. XXV also gives this figure.
1947	4,012,330	Ping-ti Ho, <i>Studies on the Population of China 1368-1953</i> , Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1959.	
1948	4,000,000	A. Doak Barnett, <i>China on the Eve of Communist Takeover</i> , New York, Praeger, 1963.	Three-fourths of the population is found in the oases of southern Sinkiang, and the majority is concentrated at the western end of the Tarim Basin.
1949	3,708,000	Daniel Tretiak, "Peking's Policy Toward Sinkiang," <i>Current Scene</i> , Vol. II, No. 24, November 15, 1963.	
1949	3,729,000	Owen Lattimore, <i>Pivot of Asia</i> , <i>op. cit.</i>	
1949	4,500,000	1950 <i>People's Handbook</i> , Peking.	
1950-51	4,726,000	Sinkiang Administration	
1950-51	4,857,000	<i>People's Daily</i> , Peking, June 6, 1952.	
1953	4,873,608	State Statistical Bureau, Peking.	
1953	4,820,000	Daniel Tretiak, <i>op. cit.</i>	Release of Nov. 1954.

Table VII

Han Percentage According to Some Pre-Census Estimates

<u>Year</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Han Population</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1940-41	Martin R. Nornis	202,239	5.4
1947	<i>Encyclopedia Americana</i> (1953 Ed.)	240,000	5.9
1949	Owen Lattimore	205,000	5.5
1950-51	<i>People's Daily</i>	485,700	10.0
1950-51	Sinkiang Admin.	500,000	10.6
1953	Michael Freeberne	300,000	6.0
1953	W.A. Douglas Jackson	300,000	6.2

The population of Sinkiang includes 14 nationalities. Available statistics indicate that the Uighurs are by far the largest group, although on a percentage basis they have declined from 77.4% of the total Sinkiang population in 1941 and 74.7% in 1953 to 67.0% in 1965.¹⁴ The diminishing proportion of the Uighur nationality has been the result of increasing Han immigration into the area, which raised the Han proportion from 5.5% in 1949 (Tretiak and Lattimore) to 20.5% in 1962, and 45% in 1966.¹⁵

A number of conflicting statistics for the total population of Sinkiang after the 1953 census figures have been published. Hu Huan-yang gave 5,144,000 as the year-end figure for 1954.¹⁶ Wang Wei-ping and Hu Ying-mei gave the 1955 population as 5,200,000, but did not mention whether this was a mid-year or end-of-year figure.¹⁷ At the same time New China News Agency and *People's Daily* cited figures of between 4,800,000 and 5,000,000. *Science Pictorial* for August 1956 stated that Sinkiang had a population of 5,300,000, but gave no further

data. In 1958 *Sinkiang Daily*, Urumchi, gave the population as 5,800,000,¹⁸ and between March and November 1959 the same paper gave the population as 6,000,000 or about 6,000,000.¹⁹ As late as 1964 another source still listed the 1957 figure.²⁰

The one fact which stands out from the inconclusive body of evidence is that the proportion of Han people in Sinkiang has never exceeded ten per cent of the total population. In fact, it is more reasonable to put the Han percentage at six, as does the 1953 census. This six percent figure can be used as a base for determining the extent of demographic dilution of the local nationalities due to the influx of Han Chinese into the area. The following deductions can be made with reasonable accuracy:

1. The only post-census official release of provincial population statistics pertains to the year 1957, the figures for which are based on government registration. According to this source, during the period from June 1953 to December 1957 the total population of

China rose on the average by 2.4 per cent each year. But in the case of Sinkiang the average increase was of the order of 3.5 per cent. This reported rate of increase produced a population of 5,640,000 in 1957 instead of the 5,400,382 which would have resulted if the population of Sinkiang too had grown at the average uniform rate of 2.4 per cent per annum. The additional 239,618 can thus probably be attributed to Han influx into the area. This number added to 32,400, the projected natural increase of the 300,000 Han in the area between June 1953 and December 1957, raised the total Han population to 572,018 and the Han percentage of the total population from 6 per cent in 1953 to 12.7 per cent by December 1957.

2. The rate of Han influx accelerated after 1957. Since that time there has been a massive influx of Han immigrants, so that by the end of 1958 the population of Sinkiang was 6,073,608,²¹ or a gain of about 1,200,000 over the census figure already quoted. Of this mammoth increase of 1,200,000, some 556,250 can be attributed to Han immigration into the area. By adding 39,000, the projected natural increase in Han population between June 1953 and December 1958 to the base of 300,000 Han in 1953, the total Han population in Sinkiang could be calculated to be about 895,850 or 14.7 per cent of the total 1958 population.

3. A release by the New China News Agency in Urumchi, on October 25, 1962, reported a population of 7,000,000 in Sinkiang at the middle of 1962. This represents an increase of 2,136,000 over a period of nine years (June 1953 to June 1962). At the 2.4

per cent annual rate of growth, the population of the area should have been 5,927,107 by the middle of 1962. The additional 1,072,893 are the Han people who were sent into the area from China proper. This number added to 64,800, the projected natural increase over a base of 300,000 Han Chinese in 1953, raised the total Han population to 1,437,693 and the Han percentage of the population in Sinkiang to 20.5. Another authority, however, would put the Han figure at 2,000,000, about 30 per cent of the province's population of 7,000,000 at that time.²²

4. The most recent information on the demography of Sinkiang was contained in a monograph publication of the Soviet Embassy in New Delhi, in June 1967, which stated that "intensified sinicization of the border regions has increased the proportion of Chinese among the population of Sinkiang from 3 per cent in 1949 to almost 45 per cent in 1966."²³ Allowing for exaggeration in the report, the figure still indicates the extent to which Han immigration has changed the demography of Sinkiang. It may also be that some minority people have emigrated into adjacent countries. It is difficult to ascertain the extent of this emigration, which, of course, further reduces the minority percentage of the population. An *Agence France Presse* report from Moscow on September 12, 1963, repeated Soviet assertions that approximately 60,000 refugees had crossed into Kazakhstan alone in the spring of that year, but this is unlikely to be a reliable figure.

The number of immigrating Chinese has been put by one report at 40 million.²⁴ Michael Freeberne's comment is:

Even with their predilection for long marches, it is clear that this account is grossly exaggerated; with the present lines of communication and reception facilities are totally inadequate to cope with such an influx. At the same time, it is possible that the report is indicative of a great effort to redistribute China's population internally, as well as to counter threats to her hold over Sinkiang.²⁵

The Chinese repeated the claim of population of seven million, first made in October 1962, in April 1964, and again in October 1965.²⁶ Obviously the population has not remained static for 3½ years. At present, therefore, the total population of Sinkiang may be eight million or perhaps even more, because of undisclosed Han immigration.

Inner Mongolia

Colonization of Inner Mongolia is not a new development; Chinese settlement has been progressing steadily since the middle of the nineteenth century.²⁷ But recently Chinese immigration has reached massive proportions, and now ethnic Mongolians are a minority in the Autonomous Region.

Since 1950 some nine million Han have been added to the region's population by natural increase, accretion of territory, the amalgamation of neighboring provinces, and by immigration. This increase has altered the ratio of Han to non-Han from two to one in 1950 to eight to one in 1957 out of populations of 11,000,000 and 12,000,000 respectively.²⁸

The *China Year Book* for 1953 put the total population of Inner Mongo-

lia at 2,300,000. A note appended to this figure said that 80 per cent of this population was engaged in agriculture. Since virtually all the agriculturists are Chinese, this meant that the nomadic Mongols accounted for 500,000, although an earlier Nationalist source had put their number at between 80,000 and 100,000.²⁹ In March 1954, Inner Mongolia absorbed Suiyuan Province and this annexation expanded the total population of the area to 6,100,000, of which about 1,000,000 are estimated to be of Mongol nationality. In January 1956 the region absorbed the northern part of partitioned Jehol Province, which added 1,000,000 people, including 200,000 Mongols. Thus the total population stood at 7,100,000 of which 1,200,000 were Mongols. Peking gave Inner Mongolia a population of 9,200,000 for December 1957, but *People's Daily* of December 27, 1961 noted that the Mongols still numbered 1,200,000.³⁰ This implies that 2,100,000 Han Chinese entered the area within the brief period from January 1956 to December 1957 — enough to considerably increase the ratio of Han people to Mongols. So thorough has been the dilution of the local Mongol population that in some areas like Paotow in Suiyuan Mongols seem almost to be curiosities. The Mayor of that city in 1948 stated that "there are 300 to 400 Mongols under my jurisdiction in a population of 70,000 to 80,000, and many of these speak Chinese, wear Chinese clothing, and to all intents and purposes have been assimilated by the Chinese."³¹ An NCNA report in January 1959 from an issue of *Nationalities Research*, Peking, also confirmed the mass Han immigration to Inner Mongolia, adding that eighty per cent of the workers in Paotow were immigrants and that there

was in addition a substantial movement of youth, mainly from Hopei, Shantung and Kiangsu, to the rural areas of Inner Mongolia.

Tibet

Information on the land, the people and culture of Tibet has always been scanty because of the inaccessibility of the region and its strategic nature. The population data of Tibet are, therefore,

more problematic even than for other parts of China. There has never been a direct census enumeration in Tibet and population estimates seem to be partly based on legends and travelers' tales. The Tibetans are the uncounted people.

Some of the earlier estimates made by various authorities are given in Table VIII below. None could be considered reliable.

Table VIII

Population of Tibet for a few dates before 1953 Census

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Authority</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
1910	3,000,000	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i> .	1934 Edition, Vol. XXVI.
1920	2,000,000	<i>Peoples of All Nations</i> ; ed. J.A. Hamerton.	Vol. VII; article by Sir Denison Ross, London, Education Book Co.
1932-33	80,000	Wang Shih-ta, "A New Estimate of Recent Chinese Population" <i>She-hui k'o-hsüeh tsa-chih (Review of Social Sciences)</i> , Shanghai.	Vol. VI, No. 2, June, 1935.
1932-33	1,400,000	Kao Chang-chu, <i>Hsi-tsang kai-kuang, (General Conditions in Tibet)</i> , Taipei, 1953.	
1947	1,000,000	Ministry of Interior of the Republic of China; release in January 1948.	Cited by Ping-ti Ho, <i>Studies on the Population of China</i> , op. cit.
1949-50	4,000,000 to 5,000,000	<i>Everyman's Encyclopaedia</i> .	3rd. Edition, Dent, London.

Another estimate of Tibet's population came in the year 1962 in memoirs recorded by the Dalai Lama of Tibet. He wrote:

....Although our territory was large, there were only 7 or 8 million Tibetans and over 600 million Chinese, and their population was

increasing by many million every year. They often suffered from famine, and they wanted Tibet as extra living space. In fact, they have already settled hordes of Chinese peasants in Tibet, and I have no doubt they look forward to a time when Tibetans will be an insignificant minority.³²

The population figure given by the Dalai Lama appears to have been an offhand estimate and is not corroborated by any kind of statistical evidence. The only statistics which give some comparatively reliable data on the population of Tibet appeared in the 1950 *People's Handbook*. These put the population at 1,000,000. The 1953 census put the population figure at 1,273,969 (including the Chamdo area), but an

official figure for 1957 which put the total population at 1,270,000,³³ and another official release which declared that the Tibetan population declined still further to 1,180,000, including the 310,000 inhabitants of the Chamdo area, by 1959. This represents a 7.4% decline between 1953 and 1959. Population figures constructed from different sources for some of the dates are portrayed in Table IX below:

Table IX

Population of Tibet for a few selected dates from official sources

<u>Date</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Source</u>
1947	1,000,000	Ministry of Interior of the Republic of China; release in January 1948.
1953	1,273,969	State Statistical Bureau, Peking; release in November, 1954.
1957	1,270,000	<i>Ten Great Years</i> , Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1960.
1959	1,180,000	New China News Agency release from Lhasa on August 20, 1965.
1960	1,197,000	New China News Agency release from Lhasa on August 20, 1965.

Note: Latest population figure of Tibet refers only to the Tibetan population of Tibet and no mention is made of Chinese in Tibet. This also applies to 1953 and 1957 figures.

This possible decline could not have resulted from genocide or deportation of the Tibetans into mainland China, since relations between Peking and Lhasa did not take a really bad turn until 1957. Since then there have been accusations that the Chinese have been guilty of these practices, but there is little real knowledge of the circumstances.

The Tibetan people are not confined to the present Tibetan Autonomous Region, which was formed in 1955 to include part of the former Sikang province east of Lhasa. Chinghai province, which adjoins Tibet to the northeast, contains part of the Tibetan Plateau and many Tibetans. Population figures for Tibetans refer confusingly to all

these areas. In 1947 Chinghai alone was reported to have a population of 1,346,320, and Sikang of 1,651,132.³⁴ The 1953 census raised these figures to 1,676,534 and 3,381,064 respectively, an increase of considerable proportions and almost certainly due to Han immigration.

Tibet proper was reported in 1947 to have a population of 1,500,000, a figure which was reduced by the 1953 census to 1,273,969, and as stated above, by a 1957 estimate to 1,270,000. The number of ethnic Tibetans listed in June 1953 was 1,700,000, of which 1,250,000 lived in Tibet proper.

The steady decline in the total population of Tibet was reported in 1964 to have been reversed beginning in 1959.³⁵ This report stated that the average increase in population in the city of Lhasa had been 2.5% a year, and in other Tibetan towns and villages as high as 7%. An NCNA release of August 24, 1965 said that the population of Tibet "has now reached 1,321,500, an increase of 124,500 over the 1960 population." This is an average 2% per annum increase for that five-year period, or a total increase of 10.4%, as compared with a 1.4% increase for the year from 1959 to 1960. Peking has explained this rapid rise from 1960-65 as the result of the expansion of medical facilities, abolition of serfdom, better agricultural techniques, settlement of nomads (all of which cut the death rate and raised the standard of living), and the stopping of the practices of priestly celibacy and polyandry. In addition, however, there has been some increase of the Han population, and there are persistent rumors that the male Han settlers have been encouraged to

marry Tibetan women, which in the long run would tend to diminish the pure Tibetan strain.

By the end of 1956, 500,000 Chinese were reported to have been settled in Tibet and this number was planned to be increased by 5,000,000 in five years.³⁶ One visitor to Tibet who had been in touch with Sino-Tibetan affairs for a long time testified to the success of Han colonization: "By the beginning of 1959, according to one report, 5,800,000 Chinese had been settled...and that 4,000,000 were more to be settled shortly."³⁷ Another writer says: "Estimates on the number of Chinese military and civilians vary.... Civilians are thought to total around 5 million."³⁸ While the *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, quoted a U.S. intelligence estimate of 60,000 men and an Indian estimate of 150,000 men, a report in the *Daily Telegraph*, London, on July 19, 1965 mentioned "the presence of some 15 divisions of the Chinese army and nearly nine million immigrants." Jean-François Chauvel of *Le Figaro*, Paris, in 1963, reported 250,000 Chinese in Tibet.³⁹ Some of these discrepancies may be due to inclusion or exclusion of figures on the militia force.

Why Migration?

Observers discern several reasons for the mass migration of the Chinese into the remote and inhospitable regions of borderland China.

1. Strategic: Although the minorities comprise only 6% of the population of China, they occupy strategically important frontier territory. Some of them have political or ethnic links with populations on the other side of the border.

China no doubt feels border security requires a Han presence, both in troops and in colonists, to resist outside pressures.

2. Economic: Both troops and colonists have been used to develop new resources for the nation as a whole from borderland resources of land, minerals, water, etc.

3. Demographic: Peking must feel that the dense population of China proper could be productively thinned out by moving some of it to underpopulated areas.

4. Political: Peking has pointed out in official publications that its concern for minorities is overshadowed by its concern for the Chinese population. "In the final analysis," Mao has said, "a national [i.e. minority] struggle is a question of class struggle."⁴⁰ The Peking leadership plans to go ahead with its plans for the development of China, and the cultural or ethnic integrity of minority peoples is, in the last analysis, a relatively minor goal.

The colonial experience has naturally not been free of problems for all parties concerned. From the point of view of the minority peoples, the Chinese are outsiders and interlopers, and their coming means the imposition of an unfamiliar and often unpleasant government. If incentives are offered Chinese to settle in undeveloped areas, this arouses the envy of the local population; if troops, officials, political workers, or economic planners come, they cannot help but seriously disturb the course of traditional life. In 1958, Lui Ko-p'ing, then Chairman of the Nationalities Commission, brought out some of the resentments expressed by minority peoples:

"We want independence even if that means we have to forego socialism."

"If Han settlers continue to come, we will close the borders."

"This [Sinkiang] will be a genuinely autonomous region only if the Han cadres are gone. So long as they remain here there will be no real autonomy."

"So long as Han cadres remain [in autonomous areas] the national minorities will not be able to exercise their power. All Han cadres should be evacuated from national minorities' areas."

"Party members are a privileged class and Party leadership is a rule by great Han nationalism."

"National minorities are not yet liberated and waiting for another liberation....The national minorities could liberate themselves and build socialism even without Party leadership."⁴¹

In order to obtain the outright exclusion of Han people, some leaders of ethnic minorities have urged mechanization of agriculture at full speed. Some Mongols, with the same rationale in view, advocated the partition of Inner Mongolia into a 'purely Han area' and a 'purely Mongol area' so as to separate themselves from the Chinese, even if they had to do without the Paotow steel complex, the modern industries and the railroads.⁴² Such moves have been dubbed by Peking as separatist tendencies engineered under the slogan: "Mongolia for the Mongolians — Sons of Genghis Khan, Unite!"

The Han colonists also have problems, of course. They are often only reluctant migrants, and under close supervision by Party or Army authorities; at the same time, they are not welcomed by the local inhabitants. Often, the environment is so different from that of China proper that severe problems of adaptation or even survival arise. When special efforts are made by the authorities to give Han colonists preferential treatment in grants of food, equipment, or land it serves to increase the resentment of the local people. In case of disturbances arising from feelings of local nationalism, the Han colonists bear the brunt.

Party Work Among Minorities

From the early days of the Communist government, minority administration has always been organized under the "autonomous area" concept. Official documents have always been careful to speak in these terms, and Party work has been carried on under the supervision of the Commission for Nationalities of the State Council and the United Front Department of the CCP Central Committee. In general, Party work has aimed at modernizing, sinicizing, and communizing minority populations, the inevitable result of considerable weakening of the traditional cultural patterns of these peoples. Since 1949 (or even before), the overwhelming percentage of administrators, teachers, and commercial people in many areas has been Chinese, and such training of minority people as has occurred has naturally been in Chinese and Communist ways of thinking and doing.

The three former native leaders of Inner Mongolia, Tibet and Sinkiang —

Ulanfu, Panchen Lama and Burhan Shahidi, respectively — were apparently purged by Maoists during the Cultural Revolution. The charges against them revolved about "activities against the people, motherland and socialism." Ulanfu, who held the position of vice-premier of China, Party first secretary, chairman of the government, army commander and political commissar of Inner Mongolia, was ousted for having promoted "national splittism" and allegedly nursing the ambition to unite Inner and Outer Mongolia under his personal leadership. Similarly, the Panchen Lama of Tibet and Burhan of Sinkiang, who held responsible positions at one time under Peking, were muzzled for having championed the cause of their respective nationalities. Premier Chou En-lai was quoted as saying that the Panchen Lama indulged in subversive activities. A 1968 Red Guard tabloid called him a "reactionary ringleader...head traitor...shameless big rascal and swindler who led a dissipated life of debauchery". His fate remains uncertain.

Peking seemed to be formalizing its tight grip on the minority peoples in 1969. When the Chinese Communist Party's Ninth National Congress opened in Peking on April 1, 1969, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet were not represented on the Congress Presidium by members of minority nationalities.

The new Party Constitution approved by the Congress indicated that minority policy was not considered in exactly the same light as it had been in the previous Party Constitution of 1956 or the State Constitution of 1954.

The State Constitution of 1954 contains seven articles (out of 106) which deal specifically with establishing minority self-government. Among them are two which say:

The People's Republic of China is a single multi-national state. All the nationalities are equal. Discrimination against, or oppression of, any nationality, and acts which undermine the unity of the nationalities are prohibited.

The higher organs of state should fully safeguard the right of organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous *chou* and autonomous counties to exercise autonomy, and should assist the various national minorities in their political, economic, and cultural developments.

The Party Constitution of 1956 contains only two paragraphs dealing exclusively with minority affairs. The key passage reads,

Our country is a multi-national state. For historical reasons, the development of many national minorities has been hindered. The Communist Party of China must make special efforts to raise the status of the national minorities, help them to attain self-government, endeavor to train cadres from among them, accelerate their economic and cultural advance, bring about complete equality between all nationali-

ties and strengthen the unity and fraternal relations among them. Social reforms among them must be carried out by the respective nationalities themselves in accordance with their own wishes, and by taking steps which conform with their special characteristics. The Party opposes all tendencies to great-nation chauvinism and local nationalism, both of which hamper the unity of nationalities. Special attention must be paid to the prevention and correction of tendencies of great-Hanism on the part of Party members and government workers of Han nationality.

The Party Constitution of 1969, however, contains only one fleeting reference: "The whole Party must hold high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and lead the hundreds of millions of the people of all the nationalities of our country in carrying out the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment...."

It would seem that minority nationalities are now expected to conform to a greater degree than in the past with the political and social programs of the Chinese majority. It may be that the official prediction of 1962 that "at some time in the future" the minorities problem will cease to exist because all nationalities will "become completely fused in one body" is, in Peking's eyes, close to realization.

NOTES

1. Cf. Chang-tu Hu's definition; "A community of common origin, bound together by a common language, continual area of residence, and one sense of group identity in economic and social matters as well as standards of behavior and other distinctive traits. Physiological elements are considered secondary although marked physical differences exist between the various nationalities." (*China*, Mayflower, London, 1959, p. 64.)
 2. John De Francis, "National and Minority Policies," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, special issue on China, 1951, p. 147.
 3. The Chinese term Han or Han-tzu (漢族) is used to refer to the Chinese ethnic group. The name is that of the Han dynasty, founded in 205 B.C. The term "Chung-kuo" (中國) refers to the geographical or political entity China and "Chung-kuo jen-min" (中國人民) is used in the sense "the people of China."
 4. From the census of June 30, 1953. The first results of the census were made public by State Statistical Bureau, Peking, in a "Communique of the Results of the Census and Registration of China's Population," New China News Agency (NCNA), Peking, November 1, 1954; translated in *Current Background*, No. 301, November 1, 1954. The original census directive failed to specify whose word was to be taken. Probably convenience would in any case have tempted the enumerators to accept whatever the head of the family said.
 5. For a study of Party work among the Hainan Li and Miao, see *Current Scene*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, January 15, 1970.
 6. Report of Liu Ko-p'ing, Chairman of the Nationalities Commission, January 20, 1952; *People's Daily*, Peking, February 10, 1952 and February 18, 1952; *Hsinhua Daily*, Chungking, February 10, 1951; *People's Daily*, February 11, 1952 and January 21, 1951, and NCNA release of August 21, 1951.
 7. George B. Cressey, *Land of 500 Million — A Geography of China*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1955, pp. 2-3.
 8. J. A. Hammerton (Ed.) *Peoples of All Nations*, Education Book Company, London, (no date of publication given), pp. 4649-4672.
 9. Martin R. Nornis, *Gateway to Asia: Sinkiang — Frontier of the Chinese Far West*, John Day, New York, 1944. The quote is by Owen Lattimore in his introduction to Nornis's book.
 10. *The Times*, London, August 1, 1962.
 11. Allen S. Whiting and General Sheng Shih-ts'ai, *Sinkiang—Pawn or Pivot?*, Michigan State University Press, Lansing, 1958.
 12. Tibor Mende, *China and Her Shadow*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1961, p. 214.
 13. Owen Lattimore, *Pivot of Asia*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1950, p. 103.
 14. NCNA, Urumchi, September 20, 1965.
 15. Since the demographic data are unsatisfactory, the conclusions reached by analyzing the data must be regarded as tentative.
 16. *Geographical Knowledge*, Peking, No. 9, September 1957.
 - X17. *Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region*, Commercial Press, Peking, 1955.
 18. *Sinkiang Daily*, Urumchi, September 29, 1958.
 19. *Ibid.*, March 13 and November 1, 1959.
 20. Jen Yu-ti, *A Concise History of China*, Peking, 1964.
 21. A similar figure appears in NCNA, Urumchi, January 2, 1959; and Allen Whiting, "Sinkiang and Sino-Soviet Relations," *China Quarterly*, No. 3, July/September, 1960. The figure was verified by an official release in November 1959.
 22. Daniel Tretiak, "Peking's Policy Towards Sinkiang — Trouble on the New Frontier," *Current Scene*, November 15, 1963. It may be that the Han percentage arrived at by Tretiak is more accurate than the one calculated by me, if we remind ourselves of an important principle of the demography of migration which states that the migrant population has always an abnormally high birth rate which threatens to submerge the receiving population. While NCNA on June 2, 1962, said that over 5,000,000 people of 13 nationalities were living in Sinkiang, the same news agency put the population of Sinkiang at 7,000,000 on October 25, 1962. This means that total Han population was less than 2,000,000.
- My calculated percentage of Han nationality (20.5) approximates the one given by Michael Freeberne, "Changes in Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region," *Population Studies*, London, July 1966. Freeberne also maintains "Han Chinese make up only 20 per cent of the total population, or approximately

- 1,400,000 of the 1962 total population of 7,000,000." My figure for the Han population is 1,437,639 or 20.5 per cent of the total population.
23. "Peking's Political Line," New Delhi, Soviet Embassy, 1967; cited by P. Chakravarti, "Russia's New Stance on China," *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, July 14, 1967.
 24. *Sunday Express*, London, October 11, 1964.
 25. Michael Freeberne, *op. cit.*
 26. NCNA, Urumchi, April 7, 1964 and October 1, 1965.
 27. See, for example: Hue and Gabet, *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, 1844-1846*, London, 1928; Hasting *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII, 1916; Louis Ligeti, *Rapport preliminaire d'une voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie Chinoise, 1928-1931*, Budapest, 1933.
 28. According to *People's Daily*, Peking, December 27, 1961, of the total population of 9,200,000 in Inner Mongolia, the Mongols numbered only 1,200,000. An entry in the *Indian Journal of Public Health*, Calcutta, October, 1959, "China's Health Work in the Past Decade," put the number of Mongols at 1,400,000 for the year 1958.
 29. The entry cited from the *Indian Journal of Public Health* in footnote 28 stated that in 1950 there were 840,000 people of Mongol nationality. A. Doak Barnett in *China On the Eve of Communist Takeover*, (Praeger, New York, 1963, p. 198) stated that there were 80,000 Mongols in Suiyuan Province in the region's total population of 2,000,000. Barnett qualified the statement by saying that the Mongol population was a low estimate.
 30. *Nationalities Unity*, Peking, July 6, 1961, however, put the Mongol population at 1,172,000 and the Chinese at 7,628,000.
- This information is translated in *Survey of the China Mainland Press*, No. 280, September 26, 1961.
31. Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
 32. Nagawang Lobsang Yishey Tenzing Gyasto, Dalai Lama, *My Land and My People*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1962, p. 223.
 33. *Ten Great Years*, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1960. The population was given as 1,270,000 as recently as 1964 in Jen Yu-tü, *A Concise Geography of China*, Peking, 1964.
 34. 1947 figures are from a Ministry of Interior of the Republic of China release in January 1948, cited by Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959, p. 94.
 35. UNI despatch from Gangtok, Bhutan, June 23, 1964.
 36. Norton Sydney Ginsburg, *The Pattern of Asia*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1958, p. 204.
 37. Lowell Jackson Thomas, *The Silent War in Tibet*, Doubleday, New York, 1959, p. 278.
 38. George N. Patterson, "The 'Fish' in the Sea of Tibet," *Current Scene*, July 15, 1965.
 39. *Ibid.*
 40. Liu Chun, *The National Question and Class Struggle*, Peking, 1966, p. 1.
 41. In Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Hundred Flowers Campaign and the Chinese Intellectuals*, Praeger, New York, 1960, p. 255.
 42. *Ibid.*, p. 256.