



Manchu heart

- [○](#)
- [activity](#)
- [Gift book](#)
- [White Mountain](#)
- [Manchu language](#)
- [Riding and shooting](#)
- [history](#)
- [Etiquette](#)
- [Arts](#)
- [All](#)
- [Yue read](#)
- [character](#)
- [Workshop](#)
- [news](#)

[> - \[Abstract\] ---](#)

Professor Baolige's Mongolian study: my "nation", your "problem"

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[Manchu diary \(at Between the "Chinesei "Colonization" and "Err](#)

[Japanese scholar Sugi talking about the Mong](#)

[May 4, 1919, Beijing Zl above the fire](#)

[Reconsideration of the Movement: Zhao 's Fir Shuming' s Rule of Lav](#)

[Chen Jiongming and S come to an end](#)



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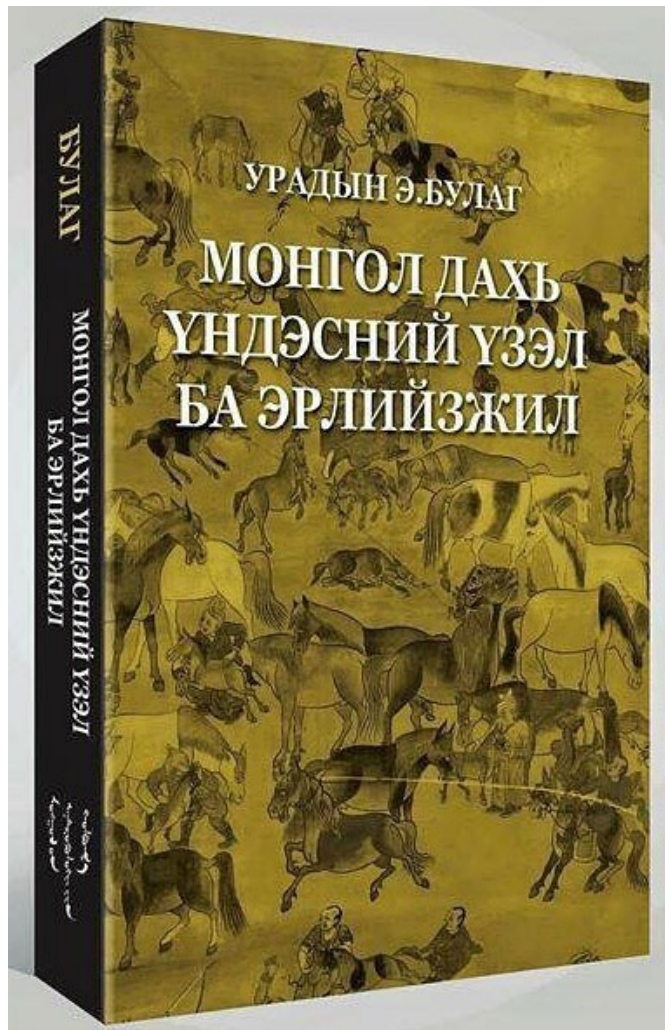
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[Article \(oakman\)](#)

[Historical research \(shi](#)

[Science \(Prologue\)](#)



Time: December 1, 2016

Location:

Cambridge Interview: Gao Chan, Wang Ningxin

very grateful to the two students to interview me. You want to know how to understand the Mongolian issue and the national problems of China. I casually talk, no rules, no order, think of where to say, ok? I am sure there are a lot of where the wrong place, when you published when finishing,

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lot of people in today's intellectuals are beginning to recognize that the Mongolian issue is not just a question of ethnic minorities in China, because Mongolia is a "world nation". How to understand Mongolia's "cosmopolitan"? The first aspect is its wide geographical distribution, not only in China, Mongolia also has its own independent country, Mongolia; in Russia there are many areas related to the Mongols, such as Buryat, Chita, Tuva, Altai, Kalmyk, and so on. Some areas do not think they are Mongolians, but their culture contains many Mongolian factors. In the past Calmec Mongolia, Buryat Mongolia are called the Republic of Mongolia, and later the Soviet Union will be one of the "Mongolia" removed. Look at Afghanistan, there are now more than one million hazara people, they are Mongolians; Iran has also, although they have not said Mongolian. Why are these areas of the Mongols? This is related to the Mongol Empire. Genghis Khan and his descendants spread the Mongolians all over the world, when the entire Mongol Empire was divided into four Khanates: the Iraqi Khanate, is today's Persian or Iran as the center; followed by the Golden Age Khanate, Russia and Central Asia as the center; another one is Chagatai Khanate, is now in Afghanistan these places; of course, we are familiar with the Mongolian yuan. ①

Mongolia, China today referred to the name of the time known as the Yuan Dynasty. We have to remember what the name of the country is called, it is the name of their own. It is called "big Mongolian". Why do you say that? Because 1266 yuan to three years Kublai Khan to the beginning of the letter of the king of Japan wrote: "Heavenly life, the great Mongolian emperor, the book king of Japan." Now a lot of Chinese scholars mentioned when the Mongolian habitual habitat called it as the Yuan Dynasty, as if it is a dynasty of China, this is actually an academic point of view is not strict. Should be admitted that the Central Plains was Mongolia was conquered, rather than the opposite. The second point I would like to mention is that the particularity of the Mongol Empire is that it has established a world history. The Mongol Empire first created a world history. This is the Japanese scholar Okada Hiroshi and Sugiyama are a lot of argument, China's intellectual circles have begun to recognize the signs. I recently wrote a little bit about this, in the "reading" magazine soon published. How do you understand world history? The Mongolian Empire will be Europe and Asia together, and in the past there is no between the two, Mongolia between the two not only from the land to establish a link, but also through the two continents in the sea exchange. Zheng He was in the Ming dynasty, but he was a returnee, the descendants of the Arabs brought over by the Mongols. Marco Polo came from the land, but he was walking back to the sea. So when the Mongol Empire is not only the land empire, it is also a marine empire, when the world's largest maritime forces are Mongolia. For example, to lay the Southern Song Dynasty, attack Japan, the island of Java are Mongolian Navy. It can be said that Mongolia has opened the world from the structure of the situation. These things are described as historical records of them, but also from the beginning of the Mongolian, by the Iraqi Khanate then Prime Minister Rashid al-Din wrote the first world history "history" The "History" describes the Mongol Empire under the control of all the relationship between the race, their origin background. Rashidding was ordered by the Iraqi Khanate at the time of Khan together, by the praise of his own personally involved in the narrative. So the "history" of the former part is actually praise their own oral. This can show that the Mongols were not just stay in the prairie that place, but a worldwide. Mongolian world vision not only south, he also looked to the west, look east. We are now saying that the "world" system is also attributed to this. Now the Chinese scholars have begun to gradually recognize that China's real "unified" to achieve from the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty. When will Tibet really become part of China? Should be "since the Yuan Dynasty". But recently the official seems to change the caliber, began to say "since ancient times" the. What "since ancient times" to what extent, who also do not know. But most people admit that since the Yuan Dynasty, it is well founded. However, it is interesting that Mongolian Yuan's "contribution" to modern China is considered to be the main manifestation and evidence of its "belonging" to China. ① In turn, there is no Mongolia today without China. In fact, the Mongol Empire to conquer the rule of all countries and regions have a profound impact, the Central Asian countries do not wait to say that the formation of this nation is also the legacy of the Mongol Empire. By the 17th century, the tsar had been descendants of the Mongolian gold family, the descendants of Genghis Khan, although the Mongolian tsar was a puppet. And today the British queen or the Japanese emperor is the same shelf, he did not have any power, real power is the hands of the Russians. Many countries in the Eurasian continent followed this principle before modern times. The study of Mongolian history in many countries is a very important part of the study of its national or national history, whether it is like or not. A few years ago, American anthropologist Jack Weaver (Jack Weatherford) in his "Genghis Khan and the formation of the world today" (Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World) (2004) that Genghis Khan founded the empire The modern world pattern laid the foundation.



Mongolian empire

Now many Chinese scholars will be Mongolian yuan as the Yuan Dynasty, forget it is the core of the Mongolian world empire, it will be placed in the context of China's history, as the Qing Dynasty. Chinese scholars generally say that the Manchu envy the Chinese, so he slowly ablated in China, and the past, like the Emperor Xiaowen their own initiative. But some of the new historians of the United States do not think so, saying that they should acknowledge that there is also a question of "who am I" in Manchu himself, and that there is one of their worries about how to keep themselves in the empire. The Manchu people never said that they were Han Chinese, although they learned Chinese, so that later the emperor even forgot their own language. There is also an empire of the time the framework of the empire, Manchu must be concerned about the empire of some other groups. First Manchu must deal with his relationship with the Mongols. In the Jin Dynasty when the ancestors of the Manchu ancestors were once the Mongolian masters, and later the Mongolian Union Song Dynasty to destroy the country; Mongolia was "driven out" after the so-called Beiyuan period Jurchen or Mongolian belongings; the establishment of the Qing Dynasty In the process of the Jurchen renamed the Manchu people, and turned to become the master of the Mongolian.

Manchuria and the relationship between the Mongols is more complex, because there are many different tribes in Mongolia, Manchu people and the Horqin Department of the nobility is more closely. Closely to what extent? From the point of view of blood clan theory, it can be said that they have completely separated from each other. Manchu marriage created Manchu's upper nobility hundred percent mixed, they are only mixed with the Mongolian aristocracy, but it is to maintain self. In turn, they never marry the Han Chinese, but today we say that they have finished. How should we solve these things from concept? Why did we not say Manchu people become Mongolians, or the Mongols become Manchu people? Although we are from the true sense of "you have me, I have you" relationship, but who do not say so, or continue to emphasize Manchu people is Manchu, Mongolia is the Mongols. Why would such a kind of psychological? This is a very interesting question.



Mongolian costumes

Manchu people also need to deal with his relationship with Tibet. How to deal with it? Not directly to contact with Tibet, but to take over Tibet, in turn, with the religious belief to control the Mongols. Mongolian, after all, is not a general group, it has conquered the rule of Manchu. So Manchu people are very afraid of these Mongolians, but also to use them, on the other hand, Mongolia has not admitted their own failure, it is not willing to own failure. If you have the opportunity to Mongolia or to in turn conquer the Manchu, conquered the Central Plains and the world. So the Manchu people must determine the Mongolian side to help themselves conquer the Central Plains, while not a threat to their own. So it is very cruel to Mongolia. I am the Ordos Department, Erdos was beaten; Chahar Department is the central Mongolia, is the Department of the Great Khan, also beat them. The most brutal war against the Xinjiang and Mongolia in the western Junggar Empire, belonging to the Mongolian Department of Wright. (Then Mongolia is divided into three most, one is the east, is today's Horqin region, is Genghis Khan's brother Hassar's genus; then the central Mongolia: Central Mongolia refers to what? Genghis Khan's direct descendants of the rule This part of the people, called the Central Mongolia. Finally, Genghis Khan's companions, go-getters, and the son-in-law tribal rule and the area is the Department of the Ministry of Wright, in the western region. All this division is very clear, its main purpose is to establish Mongolia Of the orthodox, who decides who is qualified to do all the Mongolian Khan.) At that time, the four leagues had been split, saying that it was split, and that was a strategy of the nomadic empire. For example, in 1628, both the Turgut and the Erhler Khan led the Tulhur department, the Dulbert and the Shuo Te special forces to the Volga River Basin, which is today's Russian Kalmyk The Republic and its surroundings, the establishment of Turku Khanate. And Shuo Shouchou Khan Khan led a group consisting of the Sothic and Tulharts in Tibet in 1641 to help the Fifth Dalai Lama to defeat his opponent and to occupy the whole of Tibet, The At the same time, the Junggar Department occupied the entire Xinjiang, northern Mongolia, the western part of the place, the establishment of their own empire. We can see that its dispersion is there as a whole layout inside, and is the result of internal coordination decisions. So, when the rise of the Manchu people in the 17th century, Mongolian western Mongolia began to rise. Manchu people to the south and west when the expansion, Wei Latter Mongolia in the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau and the development of the entire Central Asian region. The whole of Kazak and Kyrgyzstan are within its control, including today's Uighurs,

at that time were the inhabitants of the Oulat Mongolian. Chinese traditional history does not talk about these things. It describes the Mongolian as a barbaric nation, collusion of Russia, and ultimately "I Qing" eliminated. How should history be written? We should reflect on these things. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the Manchu and Junggar Mongolian wars collided between the two empires, experiencing 1756, 57 and 58 years of war. The final Junggar Mongolia was completely defeated. What degree of fiasco? It is said that 600,000 Mongols were eliminated. It can be said that Manchu people in the history of the world for the first time a tribe systematically from the physical completely eliminated, some scholars will be characterized as genocide (genocide). Chinese history is a high-profile praise of the Qing Dynasty on the Galar of the conquest of war, while the pain out of the customs clearance of the "Yangzhou 10 days", as if there are double standards. We know that the northern nomads have a bad reputation. Historians say how the Mongols during the Mongol Empire massacre, how to kill people. Mongolians in the conquest of the Southern Song Dynasty when there is no massacre, but the impression of the Mongolian people or it is cruel, even if there is no specific event. It was said that the Mongols killed one or two million people in the Central Asian massacre at the time of the expedition. You have to imagine that the largest city where there is a total of only one hundred thousand people. Do not say at that time, even if it is not now put a few two million population of the city. These descriptions are exaggerated. At that time the Mongols may be to create a momentum to the other side to a horse, did not think today, these are not clear. Fortunately, many scholars now, not only Mongolian scholars, as well as the United States, Japan, European scholars, are exploring whether the Mongols have no massacre, there is no killing so many people. The results found no, of course, any war always casualties. Now many scholars in China have begun to be interested in the Mongolian history. I just mentioned the new history, why write it? Because the Chinese tradition is the end of a dynasty, the next dynasty will compile its history. Compilation of Yuan Shi is the responsibility of the Ming Dynasty, but the Ming dynasty historians written very scrawled, not good. Today to re-write the history to touch a very embarrassing problem. Chinese scholars generally say that the Yuan Dynasty is a dynasty of China. If the master of a dynasty in China is Mongolian, then the Mongols will certainly be Chinese. But in turn Mongolia was a world empire, then you can turn to say that China's Iraqi Khanate dominated Persia or Iran? Or the Chinese people conquered the rule of the Russian people for hundreds of years? Logically well? When talking about these, Chinese scholars will face some psychological balance of the problem, which is related to today's national pattern of China. Today, our ethnic pattern is called "the pattern of pluralistic integration of the Chinese nation", we are all Chinese people, is a member of the Chinese nation. Our value orientation is national unity, but we must face and explain the history of conquest and anti-conquest of war: these war is justice or injustice? China's values today is the unity of values, we are unified, together. In this case, Mongolia's conquest of war is a just war, and vice versa, the Central Plains of the rebellion is not justice, is separatism, this way, hundreds of years of heroes heroes, Yue Fei, Wen Tianxiang and other national heroes Not a national separatist They are in violation of our values today. How to solve this paradox? I = 4> When it comes to these, Chinese scholars will face some psychological balance of the problem, which is related to today's national pattern of China. Today, our ethnic pattern is called "the pattern of pluralistic integration of the Chinese nation", we are all Chinese people, is a member of the Chinese nation. Our value orientation is national unity, but we must face and explain the history of conquest and anti-conquest of war: these war is justice or injustice? China's values today is the unity of values, we are unified, together. In this case, the Mongolian conquest of war is a just war, and vice versa, the Central Plains of the rebellion is not justice, is separatism, this way, hundreds of years of heroes heroes, Yue Fei, Wen Tianxiang and other national heroes Not a national separatist They are in violation of our values today. How to solve this paradox?



Hangzhou Yue Wang Temple

China now has two kinds of "legal" nationalism: one is the so-called Greater China nationalism, everyone is the Chinese people; the other is the big Han Chinese. Han itself as a nation, it has its own history, thousands of years the Han people on their own identity is a cultural identity, this recognition is very proud of. Han has its own center, has its own civilization, these civilizations have been mentioned today in a very high height. Its civilization is centered on Confucianism. People speak Chinese civilization in fact Han civilization, not the Mongolian civilization, Tibetan civilization included. Today we say that China is great, saying that China is a "big country", this "big country" embodies the two great dimensions: one is the cultural / civilized country, and the other is the great power of the earth. The cultural / civilized power is self-evident, but where does the great power of its geography come from? We can say that the Mongols to it, Mongolia created the history of the world's largest land empire, thus giving China's vast geography, Manchu will consolidate this. Two "big" combination of the achievements of our today's China. But then the Han people's own mentality is not balanced: "We" has been playing by the northern nation, has been in the resistance. Han culture is in fact a great degree of resistance to culture, like Yang Jia, Yue Fei, Wen Tianxiang, in Chinese history are awesome characters. They are in resistance, resistance are the northern nation, the Huns, Khitan, Jurchen, Mongolians, Manchu people. These are today, most of them become Chinese ethnic minorities. How to balance the relationship between them and the Han? How is the greatness of culture and the greatness of geography to be combined to define the greatness of today's China? Han people psychological imbalance when the northern national psychology is also an imbalance. Today, the concept of cultural power to highlight the non-Han culture to the minority, the Mongolian people will say that since you admit my great, I give you so much contribution, why do you want to destroy me? I as the co-founder of the People's Republic of China, I have no living space? If there is no Mongolia, Inner Mongolia, Tibet, Xinjiang, Yunnan, can not become part of China. The past Central Plains, Yunnan can not be counted inside, district 17 provinces and even sixteen provinces, to today, only accounted for less than 30% of China's land. So when these factors combine with the geography, should we should not give the Mongols a space, a position? Unfortunately, the nation has become a "problem" for China. Ethnic issues are to be resolved, ethnic minorities become the object of being resolved.

Two <a Some of the scholars of China, very strong scholars, recently proposed

that ethnic issues should be "politicized". In Xinjiang and some other places, has begun to implement bilingual education. The so-called bilingual education, in fact, is to strengthen the Chinese language teaching for ethnic minority students. China's national policy is that if you have the language of the nation's words, your education can be carried out in their own language. Therefore, in Inner Mongolia, Tibet, and Xinjiang, from kindergarten to university education can be used in Mongolian, Tibetan or Uighur to complete. This is a legitimate national education. But now there are scholars believe that such a national education model to enhance the rebellion of ethnic minorities and even independent psychology, that it will lead to ethnic minorities do not agree with China, do not love China; if the education in Chinese, their next generation will identify China. What is the logic? What research? What basis? In the past we talk about class, state, nation is to die. There are two ways of the demise of the nation: one is the demise of the flesh; the other is the demise of consciousness. The existence of a group or not, is a thought of things, your consciousness is gone, you do not exist. You (reporter) two born in the Han family inside, in the Han culture inside the birth, growth, you have a sense of the Han. If you both grow in the Mongolian region, as the Mongolian to raise, then you must be the same as the Mongols. This is a matter of consciousness, a slight change in this string - the language has changed, you disappear. From anthropology, this is called "acculturation". If this is a personal choice, no criticism, but if it is policy-oriented, the problem is big. Today, we talk about China's main values, is the "three cross": exchanges, blending, communication. Meaning that if you have your own autonomous area, you do not interact with the Han people, you will be withdrawn, engage in separatism. In other words, "you do not love me" means. How many of you do not love me "Three cross" concept is actually "I want you to love me". I am so good, why do not you love me? Is this a manifestation of obsessive-compulsive disorder? My observation of nationalism is that Western nationalism is discriminatory and a look you hate and do not want you. China's nationalism derived from the problem is to force each other to love themselves, if people do not, think that the other side to be independent, to run. This is the so-called "national problem". We have to think about it inside "who is the question." Perhaps both sides have problems. Han scholars will say that ethnic minorities have problems, is a national problem, so to solve the national problem. From the outside, from a distance, bystanders clear, we can see that there is indeed obsessive-compulsive disorder. People do not love, you have to I love you, people go, you do not let. We are today's national violence is so produced. Minorities want the constitutional guarantee of autonomy, not to split the country, is to their own normal space, a comfort zone (comfort zone). There is a sense of distance will be more comfortable, comfortable sense of distance does not mean that we have to separate, it allows us to better contact. My understanding of autonomy is to seek comfortable space, but today is a big problem. The Western system of China's autonomy is totally unaware of it. What is true autonomy? What autonomy is China's autonomy? There is no common understanding. The idea of self-government in the West and the idea of self-government in China are the opposite. Such as the issue of Palestinian self-government. Autonomy is because it does not have its own ability to build the country. So let it experiment, accumulate experience, conditions are ripe to let it build their own country. The founding of Palestine was allowed, but the West thought it was not yet qualified. Some people in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region are also promoting independence, although it is impossible to achieve, but the idea is from the autonomy to independence. The basis of Western autonomy is the recognition of heterogeneity and the protection of political administration. While China's expectation of Hong Kong's autonomy is the opposite, to Hong Kong's autonomy for 50 years, so that it slowly into the motherland. China's self-government philosophy is this: first admit that we are a family, but also admitted that we are a bit distance, in the past 50 years we have to different, the sense of distance to eliminate. It is time for you, let us slowly become one. One country and two systems empathy: our condition is not enough, but also slowly into one. Special economic zones are also such a transition zone. The difference between China and the West in the definition of autonomy has different directions: the West is to become your country, independent; China is pursuing integration.

 What is the purpose of the autonomy of ethnic minorities in China? Many of our ethnic minorities do not understand this thing and feel that our culture is different or should always be so autonomous. But as we have said, China's autonomy has its own values and is directional. Slowly merging is just a matter of time. Today, some Chinese scholars wait too. Or why riveting efforts to promote the "three cross" it? From this point of view, it is easy to understand where China is now facing these problems come from. I have never said that China is not good, how is the bad heart. On the contrary it is very good, very loving minorities. But perhaps hug too tight, so that people breathe, forcing the minority want their own breathing space. China's obsessive-compulsive disorder to ethnic minorities is related to China's cultural structure and national structure. China has a center, there are five or nine services outside the center. The center is the emperor, the emperor is the core, the core place to live called the emperor; the city to go out to go for a hundred miles; and then five hundred miles to another service. Each service is a name, five services in the furthest for the deserted, and nine clothes in the farther called the feudal service. It is the meaning of the more away from the center on the more wild, more can not hear the emperor's education. You can hear the emperor's voice to be educated, to be civilized, and to serve the emperor. China's cultural value is to teach, teach, the emperor or the central idea to carry forward, so that you can hear the cultural gospel. This is the civilized mission of the Chinese version. Culture, to use the text to "of" the "to destroy the different", from its own point of view, it is very good, there is a sense of mission. I am so good, I want to give you, let you Ye Hao. You do not, that's where you have a problem. China has a saying called "Huairou far away." Chinese people say "there are friends from afar, enjoying themselves," but when the guests go, your heart is also a bit sour, right? Li Bai's poems are a lot of performance when friends go very sad, very desolate mood. This is "from". You "come", is to determine my value. We all around you, to bring you "popular", very happy one thing. Everyone is leaving you, you are not popular, unpopular, unpredictable. The same reason, the Chinese culture is to be popular. Why is China getting bigger and bigger? It is because the outside world to China, that is, to move closer to the center. But on the other hand, it is precisely because China has such a centripetal force that the surrounding people will think that this is an opportunity: political opportunity and economic opportunity. From the perspective of the Chinese Empire, you obey me, there are internalized heart, I (center) to you (edge) a title, give you a king, Hou, you become my subordinates. This also means that the edge of a part of the sovereignty given to the center, the central government to give its economic compensation. So the edge of the head of the people will come to the capital, to the emperor knock head, take the time to get the silk scarf reward. The edge is not stupid, they will use this system, often sent a large number of missions to the capital. Do not you want us to go back? Then we send people, all sent to the capital, you give us a title. Center of course can not stand, and immediately stopped, stuck. This card is incredible. Did not you invite me? How do not let me come? A look of unhappy, trouble caused by war, in turn, "the Central Plains." This is the Chinese world system to provoke their own thing. We today to analyze these, do not necessarily need to bring too much emotion. China has such a cultural structure, it will certainly make such a thing, but they do not necessarily realize. Third, I say a question of national unity, which is one of China's mainstream discourse. Where are you going to talk about national unity today? China has a saying, called "who can not do without who". You go to the minority areas, everywhere to see or hear this sentence: Han can not be separated from ethnic minorities, ethnic minorities can not be separated from the Han, the minority can not be separated from each other. Like a chain of sets. "Who can not do without who", this is not the law of the state, not the constitution, but a policy-oriented discourse. However, ethnic minorities in China are constitutional in nature and are bounded by each other. What is the relationship between what you say "who can not do without who" and autonomy? How to deal with the constitution? This is not explained. In addition, in the promotion of the Han and ethnic minorities, ethnic unity between each other, can not ignore an important issue, that is, within the unity of each nation. Like the Han within the provinces must be united between the ethnic minorities should also be united inside? If China's 56

ethnic groups are nationals, we can unite to become "the Chinese nation is a", even so, we can not destroy the internal unity of each nation at the expense of it. <A For example, the school now mentioned in Xinjiang is now strengthening Chinese teaching, that is to use Uighur education will enhance your Uighur awareness, making you do not agree with China, there is no Chinese consciousness. So cut off from the root. Part of the students are "civil test Han", that is, minority students with Chinese test on the university; there is a part of the "people test the people", with the national language test university. China has a preferential policy for ethnic minority areas, "people test Han" is a preferential policy, admission scores can be slightly lower. We today's Han students, there are a lot of hate this preferential policies, I feel unfair: we are the same person, should be fair competition, what is your cheap? But you may not be considered from the perspective of ethnic minorities. What is its consequence This policy leads to its internal division. Some people "people test the people" that "people test Han" is the nation's "betrayer." It is said that there is little intermarriage between the two. Many ethnic minorities in China are transnationals, such as the Mongols, Koreans, Kazak, Kirgiz, Dai, Miao, and so on. Some nationalities are abroad. What happens when a minority is distributed in several countries? China has a lot of pain in this area, the mainland and Taiwan split, who will not let us unify, who is our enemy, right? This is our pain is very thorough things. North Korea how to do it? We look no feeling, as if they want it better not unified. The relationship between Mongolia and Inner Mongolia is often seen as a pan-Mongolian strike. China has a phrase saying: do whatever they want, do not impose on others. But our scholars are writing, in the expression of these, never from the other side of the point of view. As a minority of China, we have the obligation to love this country, but we also have the rights that the constitution gives. One way to fight is to emphasize their contribution to China in order to improve their own value. Can the same thing, you (minorities) on their own country independent of the country, how to say? History, such as Mongolian history, is a common property between Mongolia and Inner Mongolia, but we now belong to two countries, and the history of the country is the content of its sovereignty. I (Inner Mongolia) to the history of China, Mongolia certainly not happy, because it involves its history! This is a question of how the Mongol Empire heritage to share. From the Chinese point of view, China is sure to this sub-legacy, because it is not just a Mongolian you Northeast, Tibet, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, these places, and even the Han Chinese culture, many of their things are from the Mongolian people over there. Like the province of a lot of system, is from the yuan that came. Like the Grand Canal such a big thing is made out of the Mongolian period. In the Mongolian yuan, Confucius won the highest title: Dacheng to the holy text of the king. Beijing, as the capital of the country, is set by the Mongols. These things are the legacy of the Mongol Empire. Mongolian heritage, China is certainly necessary, this is part of us. However, the whole world believes that the Chinese people only the history of the Chinese people, the Mongols also have the history of the Mongols. Chinese people said Genghis Khan is our Chinese national hero, Westerners a look, how is this thing ah? (Laughs) Mongolian people see, our national hero into the Chinese people, do we also become a Chinese people? It will question how the Chinese Mongolian people engage in this. The legacy of our predecessors, how can we enjoy as a descendant? Either exclusive or shared. Exclusive is unlikely, and unreasonable, can only cause the historical disputes between Mongolia and China, but also to the Mongolian people in front of their families can not lift their heads. It is best to find a way to share. Four Now talk about how Chinese national autonomy came from. Some people say that this is the Communist Party of China nothing to find their own toss out, they learn the results of the Soviet Union Big Brother example. The Soviet Union Big Brother admitted to the division of more than 100 ethnic groups, and give them different levels of autonomous areas, but this group of a toss, the Soviet Union was the big country was scattered. So we have to learn from the experience of the Soviet Union, and quickly destroy today's ethnic minority autonomy. Those who say these words certainly do not understand China's national conditions, do not understand the relationship between the Chinese Communist Party and ethnic minorities. There is a need to explain here. We know that the Communist Party of

China fought in Shanghai in 1921. At that time the Communist Party was operating in the city. In 1927 the KMT-CPC cooperation broke down, the Kuomintang to join the Kuomintang Communists ruthless. The Communist Party left the city at this time, the establishment of the Red Army, on the Jinggangshan. After the defeat of the strategic shift, went to the Jinsha River, over the Dadu River, take the snow-capped mountains. I would like to explain a problem here is that the Chinese Communist Party in 1933 to 35 years is a life and death time, followed by millions of Kuomintang army to kill. It is the route of ethnic minority areas. The relations between these minorities and the Kuomintang are not good, because the Kuomintang has to eliminate these people, they are very contradictory. There is a widely circulated proverb saying that "the stone can not be used as a pillow, the Han Chinese can not be friends." You can see how deep the contradiction to what extent. This time to a group of poor Communists Red Army, are Han who, how should they do? In front of a hostile minorities with the interception, followed by the Kuomintang kill. The Communist Party in order to win the support of ethnic minorities, class analysis, the Han divided into two categories, there are good people, there are bad guys. The bad guys are our common enemies. You see, we both are bullied by him, should be together. So, blood for the Union, killing chickens, slaughter cattle, swear, the Communist Party and a certain nation to get better, the other good, who betrayed each other, how will it. It was the way all the way, the Communist Party all the way to swear, with many ethnic leaders to establish a friendship, the Communist Party in the minority here friends all over the world. The fine traditions of the Communist Party and the friendly policies of ethnic minorities have come from the Long March, and the long march is the minority areas. I = 18> We know that the Communist Party of China fought in Shanghai in 1921. At that time the Communist Party was operating in the city. In 1927 the KMT-CPC cooperation broke down, the Kuomintang to join the Kuomintang Communists ruthless. The Communist Party left the city at this time, the establishment of the Red Army, on the Jinggangshan. After the defeat of the strategic shift, went to the Jinsha River, over the Dadu River, take the snow-capped mountains. I would like to explain a problem here is that the Chinese Communist Party in 1933 to 35 years is a life and death time, followed by millions of Kuomintang army to kill. It is the route of ethnic minority areas. The relations between these minorities and the Kuomintang are not good, because the Kuomintang has to eliminate these people, they are very contradictory. There is a widely circulated proverb saying that "the stone can not be used as a pillow, the Han Chinese can not be friends." You can see how deep the contradiction to what extent. This time to a group of poor Communists Red Army, are Han who, how should they do? In front of a hostile minorities with the interception, followed by the Kuomintang kill. The Communist Party in order to win the support of ethnic minorities, class analysis, the Han divided into two categories, there are good people, there are bad guys. The bad guys are our common enemies. You see, we both are bullied by him, should be together. So, blood for the Union, killing chickens, slaughter cattle, swear, the Communist Party and a certain nation to get better, the other good, who betrayed each other, how will it. It was the way all the way, the Communist Party all the way to swear, with many ethnic leaders to establish a friendship, the Communist Party in the minority here friends all over the world. The fine traditions of the Communist Party and the friendly policies of ethnic minorities have come from the Long March, and the long march is the minority areas. I = 18> We know that the Communist Party of China fought in Shanghai in 1921. At that time the Communist Party was operating in the city. In 1927 the KMT-CPC cooperation broke down, the Kuomintang to join the Kuomintang Communists ruthless. The Communist Party left the city at this time, the establishment of the Red Army, on the Jinggangshan. After the defeat of the strategic shift, went to the Jinsha River, over the Dadu River, take the snow-capped mountains. I would like to explain a problem here is that the Chinese Communist Party in 1933 to 35 years is a life and death time, followed by millions of Kuomintang army to kill. It is the route of ethnic minority areas. The relations between these minorities and the Kuomintang are not good, because the Kuomintang has to eliminate these people, they are very contradictory. There is a widely circulated proverb saying that "the stone can not be used as a pillow, the Han Chinese can

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Yihai Alliance Monument (Xichang)

Do you know how the stone of the Taiping Heaven is dead? He and Hong Xiuhuo trouble, went to the Jinsha River Dadu River there, died in the hands of Yi people. The same place, the Communist Party came, the same people blocked them. At this time, Liu Bocheng and then a leader of the Yi Liao Dan Dan blood for the Union, the other put him a horse. But that life and death, in other words, if not put that horse, it will be like a stone to open the same, annihilated. So you are now to the Yi people to see the area, Liu Bocheng and Xiao Dan Dan's sculpture stands there, symbol of national unity. We must have a deep understanding of the meaning of the vows. There is a solemn promise between each other. If the Westerners talk about the treaty, the Chinese people vowed that the blood of the Union when the gods witness. The consequences of violating the oath are very serious. The relationship between the Communist Party and the ethnic minorities is sacred! <A After the establishment of such allies relations by the Chinese Communist Party and the ethnic minorities at the same time, it established autonomy after its establishment or commitment to the victory of the revolution. The autonomy of modern Chinese minorities originated from the support of the Chinese Communist Party, and it was not the ruling party at that time. So what is the relationship between the autonomy of ethnic minorities and the state or the government at

that time? There is a triangular relationship here: the Kuomintang-controlled national government, as the opposition party of the Chinese Communist Party, and ethnic minorities. The national government does not recognize the legal existence of the latter two. This shows what? Is China's national autonomy a structural autonomy based on cultural differences? Yes, it is not. Cultural differences are certainly factors to consider, but not the only factor. I personally think that this is a relationship of autonomy. Minorities are allies with the Communist Party, but this relationship is established when the Communist Party is weak and not the ruling party. Its purpose is to destroy the Kuomintang from the establishment of a new regime. Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (government) was established on May 1, 1947, two years before the establishment of the People's Republic of China. After the restoration of Inner Mongolia and the Northeast, the Su Meng army to withdraw (1945 Su Meng army 1.5 million troops to run the Japanese army, the liberation of the Northeast and Inner Mongolia), here is a vacuum zone, "to whom" has become a problem The The KMT and the CPC want to monopolize the three northeastern provinces, so the two parties compete for the war in the northeast began. Another question at that time is how to do in Inner Mongolia? What about a big piece of space? At this critical moment, the Communist Party of China supported Inner Mongolia's autonomy, led by the Communist Party, independent of the Kuomintang, recognized the sovereignty of the Republic of China, its task is to keep Inner Mongolia (mainly the eastern region) to the national army occupation. Therefore, this autonomy is a relationship between the rational relationship between the autonomy, around the triangular relationship around.



May 1, 1947 established in Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region

The second question is how to change the relationship of things into the country's institutionalized things? This change in China did not do it well, and did not sort it out from the jurisprudence. Relationship autonomy is the autonomy that I have just established in triangular relations, but after the end of the war our third party is gone - the enemy is gone. What about the two ally, the two friends? What is the relationship between the party and the autonomy? What is the relationship between state and national autonomy? What is the dividing line between allies at the national level? Because the king of autonomy is your ally. I have just mentioned that the Chinese tradition speaks "Huairou Yuan Ren", you came to me, I am glad that you are my friend I am happy, but if you want to draw a line with me, I immediately fell with you. The two sides were good, but there was a contradiction, it would

form a pimple. You go to try to unlock, restore friendship, it is not easy. You can see China's ethnic relations, national grievances, not a general grudge, which is between allies, friends and grudges.

All this illustrates the special relationship between the minorities and the Communist Party. I am more emphasis on this particularity. Some of our scholars see this particular relationship as an abnormal structure in China, as if China were not a normal country. What is normal? In their eyes, in the national relations, the United States is a normal country, the Soviet Union is not normal. They think that China's national system of learning from the Soviet Union, so it is not normal. As the former Soviet Union, each ethnic minority in China occupies a place, according to the administrative level of autonomous regions, autonomous counties, autonomous counties, ethnic townships and so on. Tibet is a big place, are occupied by the Tibetan people, this look is not normal. Abnormal is considered dangerous, become a security risk, need "security" (securitization). The so-called security, that is, I think the other is a threat to me, and take some measures to eliminate this threat. From this point of view, China's safety chemistry for certain large ethnic minorities has been changed from the United States to the Muslims, but only for the concept of "nationalization to politicization." What is the politicization initiative? The concept of the nation itself is a dangerous concept, he should "national" into "ethnic". The nation is from the nationality, itself is a political concept, it means that each nation has a common geographical, common economy, common language, common psychological quality, must have commonality. In the eyes of the politicized advocates, China's ethnic regional autonomy is like an independent kingdom, incredible, too terrible. In fact this is a cup of snake shadow. China's various autonomous areas are open, it is absolutely no Beijing and Shanghai and other first-tier cities as exclusion of outsiders. Pekingese, Shanghai people discriminate against outsiders as if they were normal, and ethnic minorities did not have the right to protect their autonomy. When they said something about immigrant immigration, they were punctuated by a hat of anti-Japanese and ethnic separatism. The One of the main contents of politicization of ethnic issues is to change the "nation" into "ethnic group". What is the concept of "ethnicity"? Is the translation of the English word ethnicity, referring to a group of cultural or blood; its existence is based on the relationship between the self and the other. Is a reference to the self, no other who is not self. For example, Uighur "ethnic group", it is not the possibility of self-existence, because it exists must have a reference; in the Chinese reference must be Han, so only the Han "he" only Uygur group "I". In this sense, just talk about "who can not do without who" policy-oriented - the Han can not be separated from ethnic minorities, ethnic minorities can not be separated from the Han, the ethnic minorities are also separated from each other - just reflect The value of ethnic relations, you trap, you can not run, because your presence is built in the relationship between the independent self is not established. In the "people who can not do without who" values of national relations, autonomy has long been no trace of the.

However, ethnic groups are folk academic terms, while ethnicity and autonomy are national constitutional concepts. When civil academic terminology prevails over the concept of national constitution, it appears that the fundamental law of the country is modified. It is clear that political issues are politically reformed. Political reform is not easy, but the nationalization of politicization, and call for the introduction of the second generation of national policy means that the national problem is a breakthrough in political reform? Because ethnic issues have their particularity and exceptionality. We look at how reform and opening up, where the breakthrough. In fact, the breakthrough in the special administrative region or special economic zones. Circle somewhere, you first reform and opening up, you experiment here. After the success of the experiment to the experience to the country. This area is an exception zone Exception - there is a special law in this area. We know that China has a tradition of talking about state affairs, there are many restricted areas, but ethnic issues can talk about hot, but also with the Chinese government together to talk about, interesting? In the past, no one is willing to talk about national issues, is an unproductive (unproductive) of the subject, talk about nothing to say. But why in recent years, ethnic issues discussed so hot? Because with the Chinese political structure, the state structure linked to the time, the

national problem is no longer a general edge problem, it is already the core issue. The question of ethnicity is no longer a matter of ethnic minorities, how the party's policies should be, but with the country's political and economic structure and interests, together with the fate of the country. China's economic transformation of this country how to turn? The original economic center is the coastal areas, now in the mainland and frontier. Where is China's energy? Are in the border areas, without these energy and resources, Shanghai can support a few? Therefore, the national problem is no longer a matter of being taken behind by ethnic minorities, but with the fate of China is closely linked to the problem. In fact, from a historical point of view, the national autonomy system has long been changed, but some of our scholars do not know this point. China's autonomy as early as the fifties was characterized as "national regional autonomy", the saying goes is the local minorities and the Han national autonomy, rather than the independent autonomy of ethnic minorities. Some scholars now also believe that China's national autonomy is a hotbed of ethnic independence, can only show that they are on paper, there is no historical and practical investigation of ethnic issues.

Five I began to speak of the world of Mongolia; Mongolian empire no one denied the world. As the Mongolian memories of history filled with emotion, and sometimes it is inevitable to carry forward the spirit of Ah Q. History is too big, outsiders are not feeling. My recent concern is the cosmopolitan issue of modern Mongolia. <A In the second Opium War - 1859 - 1860 - the Qing army and the British and French coalition forces in Tianjin Dagukou war, then the commander of the Qing Dynasty called Senggelin Qin, is a Mongolian prince. You may remember the film "Fire Fortune Park" which has a reckless Mongolian princes to throw an Englishman into the river, that is, Seng Ge Linqin in the "people" in the image. At that time the Qing Dynasty internal and external, the Qing Dynasty Eight Banners army had to die, so to find the Mongolian local army to help. Seng Ge Linqin is stepped in, in 1853, led the Mongolian cavalry to defeat the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of the Northern Expeditionary Army saved the Qing Dynasty, made a contribution. The fate of the entire Qing Dynasty are in his hands, he fought three sides, the British and French troops to fight over, where the rebellion riots, the Taiping also have to fight, are Mongolians in the fight. In 1859 the Mongolian army in Dagu mouth defeated the Anglo-French coalition, killing them more than 400 people; the second year of British and French sent 20,000 troops to Dagu mouth call, this monk Green Qin failed. British and French troops then swept the fire round the Yuanmingyuan, and occupied Beijing, Xianfeng Emperor fled to Chengde where the collapse of the collapse. After the twist army uprising, the Qing court once again enabled Senggelin Qin led the Mongolian army to suppress, in 1865 in Shandong Caozhou, that is now Heze killed. Since then, the command of the Qing Dynasty by the Han master. I want to say is in the Qing Dynasty or China's modern transition or convergence with the Western world the most critical moment of the Mongols bear the brunt, standing on the thunder. This is the first time in the history of the Qing Dynasty, but also the last time. With the demise of the Mongolian army, the Mongols in the Qing Dynasty's position blew out; with the court of Chinese forces in the growth of the Mongolian initiative to withdraw from the north. At that time the entire Chinese / Qing ethnic structure began to change, the focus shifted, the right from the Manchu into the hands of Han Chinese. Since then, Mongolia has become the object of being hit, the New Deal began to Mongolia large-scale "immigration real side." This led to the direction of the Mongolian change, from the "Central Plains" into a reverse flight, I call it "Mongolian escape." This escape is both action and spiritual escape.

Today, when the grassland on the survival of large-scale desertification, coal mines will be digging thousands of holes, when the Mongolian full urbanization, when their body nowhere to go, their spiritual escape is aggravated? When the Mongols from the "world conqueror" reduced to "aborigines", soaked in alcohol and song and dance of the ocean, I do not know how much they have the imagination of fleeing. This may no longer be a "you" problem, but it is still "I" of the nation. ① territories occupied by the Mongolian empire, such as the Middle East, Russia, Eastern Europe, Central Asia, etc., are not included in the context of today's "Chinese territory". Only part of the Mongolian empire four Khanate "Mongolian yuan" (Yuan Dynasty) can become part of China's territory, while the other part became an

independent Mongolian. Source: [London Politics China Development Society](#)

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