

The Truth about the Mongolian Genocide during the Chinese Cultural Revolution

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中国文化大革命期におけるモンゴル人ジェノサイドの実態

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When the Chinese Great Cultural Revolution broke out in 1966, the Mongolian population in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was slightly less than 1.5 million, while the Chinese population who invaded the region from outside had reached 9 times that number. The Mongolian community had fallen to minority status in their own homeland. The entire Mongolian ethnic community was persecuted and purged. It is said that at least 346,000 Mongolians were arrested in those days, while 27,900 people were executed. About 120,000 people were crippled. These are the numbers officially acknowledged by the Chinese government, and they are, in fact, far from the truth. Even based on these officially announced figures, which are indeed extremely conservative, the statistics suggest that at least one person was arrested from each Mongolian family during the Cultural Revolution.

1. Mongolian Genocide Hidden in History over Many Decades

There are multiple speculations about the total number of victims massacred by the Chinese government and people.

According to Zhou Hui (周惠), Party Secretary of Inner Mongolia in 1981, 790,000 Mongolians were incarcerated or kept incommunicado under investigation (Amulan 2010: 541). According to statistics published in 1989 by the Office of the Inner Mongolia Communist Party Committee, the total number of victims was 480,000 (Altandelehei 1999: 85). Independent surveys performed by overseas researchers estimated that about half a million Mongolians had been arrested, while 100,000 people had lost their lives (Jankowiak 1988: 276, Sneath 1994: 422). Gao Shuhua, a high profile leader of the Red Guards in Inner Mongolia and his comrades published a book titled *"The Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia: Oral History of a Rebel Leader"* in Hong Kong in 2007. Revealed in this book is the estimate that about half a million Mongolians were arrested, while about 20,000 to 30,000 people were massacred (Gao Shuhua and Cheng Tiejun 2007: 378). More recently, a journalist in Inner Mongolia wrote in his book that the total number of Mongolian victims, combining those who had been immediately murdered during the raid and those who had died a so-called "delayed death" after being released from prison and returning home, reached the order of 300,000 (Sirabjamsu 2006: 44). It was a horrendous atrocity in modern history, inflicted upon the Mongolian ethnic community in China. Mongolians who were directly involved in the situation believe that this historic incident should be called the Mongolian genocide, committed by the Communist Party of China (CPC) and Chinese

people (Yang 2008a: 419-453; 2009a: 2009b; 2009c: 2010a).

To be honest, the true number of massacred Mongolians is as yet unknown. It is important, however, that Mongolian people continue to maintain that the massacre perpetrated during the Cultural Revolution was indeed a genocide. Its nature was not the same as that of “ethnic cleansing”, which occurred in Eastern Europe after the breakup of the former socialist state of Yugoslavia. The dismantling of Yugoslavia resulted in the outbreak of bloody wars, in which multiple ethnic groups fought against each other. Unlike in the East European case, in Inner Mongolia the massacre was unilaterally committed by the Chinese state and people against the Mongolian ethnic community. This is a distinct feature of the Mongolian genocide.

Mongolians who come from Inner Mongolia, including myself, do not use the phrase “the Great Cultural Revolution in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region of China”. Instead they call that historic incident “the Chinese Great Cultural Revolution carried out in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region”. Although, at present, Inner Mongolia is a territory of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), the annexation took place in 1949, which is not ancient history. Inner Mongolia was forcibly annexed to China and its people became “Mongolians with Chinese nationality”. Against that backdrop the massacre was committed. This fact should be recognised by all experts in Mongolian studies.

The Nature of the Mongolian Genocide

On the 16th of May, 1966, the Communist Party of China (CPC) led Great Cultural Revolution started, and an order concerning Inner Mongolia was issued by Mao Zedong himself. Subsequently, between the end of 1967 and the autumn of 1976, many Mongolians in Inner Mongolia were arrested and purged. The “crime” which they were alleged to have committed was their “association with the Inner Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party”. It was alleged that this political party was “conspiring a breakup of Inner Mongolia from its great Motherland China, while the former was an inherent territory of the latter”. Once this allegation was officially announced, a bloody massacre was initiated all over the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region.

What actions constitute genocide? On the 9th of December, 1948, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was adopted by the UN General Assembly. The following is Article 2 of the said Convention (L. Kuper 1986: 14-15):

Article II In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

What devastated the Mongolian ethnic community was not limited to the massacre. On the 5th of July, 1969, 3 Leagues in the east and 3 Banners in the west of Inner Mongolia were bestowed upon adjacent Chinese and Muslim counties respectively (Map 1,2). This symbolises the introduction of a policy to “divide and conquer” “barbarous uncivilised Mongolians”. It was not until 1979 that these parts of their land were eventually returned to the Mongolians.

While undergoing the atrocities of massacre, Mongolian people lost their homeland, which they had inherited from their ancestors over generations. Those who lived along the national border between the PRC and the People’s Republic of Mongolia (today’s Mongolia) were forced to leave their towns and villages, settling in remote places. All of a sudden, they were ordered to leave home with hardly any belongings, to migrate to unfamiliar environments of extremely poor quality. During the process of migration, many Mongolians were massacred.

Mongolian ethnic culture was severely damaged as well. Temples in the region were devastated. The use of the Mongolian language was denied. Schools, in which the Mongolian mother tongue was used, were shut down. People were forced to adopt new names to be identified as Chinese nationals. Perhaps I, the author of this book, might be allowed to reveal my background. I am a Mongolian and I also had to identify myself with a Chinese name (figure 1). Otherwise, I could not have survived those difficult times during the Cultural Revolution.

When state-backed violence is committed in the form of colonial rule or ethnic cleansing, recipients of such violence are often subjected to sexual assault. While the Cultural Revolution stormed through Inner Mongolia, many women in the region were raped or sexually assaulted by Chinese men. This organised sexual crime was repeat-



figure 1, Inner Mongolia under China's rule

edly committed against Mongolian women in those days. (Yang 2013a: 32-37; 2013b: 95-103) Probably it was the first time in history for women in nomad communities in northern and central Asia to experience such outrageous sexual humiliation.

The Mongolian genocide, committed by the Communist Party of China (CPC), contained gruesome and despicable elements such as massacre, forced migration, the destruction of ethnic culture, sexual assault and others. These were the crimes specifically identified in the “UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide”. If we try to contemplate the Mongolian genocide in China, the effort will lead us to a more profound understanding of the “history of the 20th century”, which human beings underwent.

2. The Causes of the Mongolian Genocide

The Splendid Writings of Altandelehei

First of all, I would like to introduce research conducted by Altandelehei, a Mongolian author (figure 2).

Altandelehei was born in the eastern part of Inner Mongolia. During the Revolution, he was once accused of “becoming a member of the Inner Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (IMPRP)”. While he was fortunate enough to escape execution, surviving the Revolution, he witnessed many fellow Mongolians being brutally tortured

and slaughtered. Eventually he became a civil servant, working in a government agency called the “Office of Petitions”, which dealt with petitioners, “*Shangfang Renyun* (上訪人員)”, who filed direct appeals to the government. These petitioners “filed their petitions with the Office” in person. This Chinese petition system is not based on the rule of law, but has been a unique feature of Chinese politics for a long time. It is essentially based on a “state ruled by the people”.

Around the latter half of the Cultural Revolution, Altandelehei took up his post at this government agency and heard the appeals of Mongolian petitioners almost every day. They were either victims themselves or their family members. They filed their “letters of petition”, in which details of their sufferings were recorded, and asked for a merciful approach by the CPC to resolve their agonies. These petitioners had no means of having their problems solved other than by the direct filing of their petitions.

These days the CPC “completely denies the Cultural Revolution”. They have issued stringent orders across the nation to “thoroughly and completely dispose of” all historic or political records concerning it. The CPC leaders have realised that the Revolution was an extreme disgrace for modern China, and have been working frantically to destroy all evidence of whatever happened in those days. While working in the Office of Petitions, Altandelehei came to be aware of this destruction. He decided to make efforts on his own to discover and protect those records. He dedicated himself to saving and preserving the petition files submitted by the victims or those who were close to them. He also worked strenuously to collect and store other documents related to the Cultural Revolution, including government orders, public archives, written texts of lectures given by military commanders, Red Guard publications and all other sorts of texts and manuscripts. Based on those primary records, Altandelehei published a masterpiece in 1999 entitled “*Records of the Sufferings of People Involved with a Political Effort to Identify and Purge the Members of the Inner Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (IMPRP, 內蒙古挖肅實錄)*”.



figure 2, Altandelehei, a Mongolian author about Cultural Revolution

China was confident of its power to rule Inner Mongolia, and did not permit Altandelehei's writing to be published by a government-authorised publishing company. For this reason, his book was published as a private edition. The Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (IMAR) government has added his name to the list of those subjected to constant surveillance. It has adopted various measures to avoid the distribution of his book among the Mongolian people. Despite these desperate efforts, however, Altandelehei's book has been widely read.

History of the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (IMPRP)

The rise of the Mongolian nomads occurred during the 13th century, resulting in the establishment of a powerful kingdom, the Mongol (Yuan) Empire, ruling a huge area of the Eurasian Continent. While the Mongol Empire expanded its territory, China was integrated into it, forming the Yuan Dynasty. During the 14th century, Zhu Yuanzhang, a Chinese rebel leader, launched a revolt against the Yuan dynasty, expelling the Mongolians far to the north of the Great Wall. In China, Zhu Yuanzhang became the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, whose territory was fairly modest. A few hundred years later, during the 17th century, the Manchu living in the north gained enough military power to occupy the entire region of China. The Mongolians acquiesced in the Manchu territorial claim over the Chinese land, and an alliance was established between Mongolians and Manchurians. In 1636, Mongolians in the southern part of the Gobi Desert were placed under Manchurian rule. As time went by, the basis of today's "Inner Mongolia" was gradually shaped. Under Chinese rule, a new administrative system was introduced in "Inner Mongolia", by dividing the region into Leagues and Banners. The aim of the new administration was to disrupt communication between various Mongolian tribes, undermining their solidarity.

In the early days of the Qing dynasty, the government strictly restricted the migration of Chinese farmers to settle in the Great Steppe of Mongolia. In the 19th century, however, the fall of the Qing dynasty became inevitable, while the western superpowers advanced their aggression against China. As the collapse of the Qing dynasty proceeded further, the government finally acquiesced in the invasion of Mongolia by Chinese farmers. A huge number of them, who had been bearing a grudge against government policies, migrated and settled in the Steppe of Inner Mongolia. They began to develop the Steppe, which had been an inherent ground of Mongolian life for generations, causing quick desertification in many places. The antagonism between

the Chinese farmers and the Mongolian people intensified.

In 1891, a Chinese rebellion called the “Jindandao” (金丹道) Rebellion broke out. The Jindandao was a Chinese secret society led by a rebel leader called Yang Yuechun. Yang called himself “*saobei wushengren*” meaning a “brave saint who will expel all Mongolians from the north”. Members of the “Jindandao” invaded the Jost and Juu Uda Leagues in the southeast of Inner Mongolia, perpetrating massacres in various places. Yang Yuechun instigated Chinese people to commit massacres by using slogans such as “Let’s destroy the Qing dynasty by killing Mongolians and Manchus (*saohu mieqing shadazi*)” or “Let’s kill the Mongolians and usurp their land”. This Chinese rebellion planted profound fear in the hearts of the Mongolian people, causing serious damage to society.

In the 20th century, Sun Yat-Sen also propounded a slogan similar to that of the Jindandao in his political movement. He established the Republic of China in 1912, appealing to the Chinese people to “expel Mongolians and restore the glory of China”. He followed the example of Zhu Yuanzhang, the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, and established a new capital in Nanjing. Around the same time, the Mongolians also decided to break away from Manchurian rule. The eighth reincarnation of the line of the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu (Holy Venerable Lord), who resided in the Great Steppe of Mongolia, appealed to fellow Mongolians to achieve unity. He talked to various tribes, spreading the message, “Let us become one people so that we will no longer be abused by the Chinese”. Jebtsundamba (figure 3) prepared and distributed multiple



figure 3, Jebtsundamba Khutuktu and his queen

texts of his teachings among Mongolians, encouraging them to stand against Chinese oppression.

When Mongolians in the Steppe established an independent state of their own, the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu became the Bogd Khan (Holy Emperor) of the nation. Although multiple tribes of Inner Mongolia also aspired for the independence, their undertakings were brutally suppressed by Chinese warlords. One of the leaders of the independence movement of Inner Mongolia was Prince Gungasangnorbu from the Harchin Banner. He was arrested and detained in Beijing for a while. After being released from the detention camp, he was assigned to a powerless position in the government, Secretary General of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission. The overthrow of Prince Gungasangnorbu from the leadership position led to a major loss of momentum for the independence movement. The Mongolian tribes were gradually swallowed up in the “political institutions and mechanisms” of the Republic of China.

In 1921, the October Revolution in Russia ignited the resurgence of the Mongolian independence movement in the Great Steppe of Mongolia. The renewal of this movement significantly influenced Inner Mongolian intellectuals. In China, Sun Yat-Sen was broadcasting a change in his political approach to ethnic minorities for the purpose of fawning over the Comintern (The Communist International). He announced that “the right of self-determination shall be given to ethnic minorities in China”. Under these circumstances, the Mongolian politician Bayantai (白雲梯), alias Tserendongrub, from the Harchin Banner, and his comrades embarked on the organisation of a political party, the “Inner Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (IMPRP)”. Bayantai had graduated from the Mongolian and Tibetan School in Beijing, which had been founded by Gungasangnorbu. Many intelligent young people from various parts of Inner Mongolia had been educated in that school. Bayantai called upon them to participate in a political meeting at Zhangjiakou (Kalgan), a town at the foot of the Great Wall, in October, 1925. This gathering marked itself as the 1st Party Convention of the IMPRP. Included among the participants were representatives of the Comintern and the government of the Mongolian People’s Republic (MPR). Bayantai, Altanochir, Enkhburen, Idechin, Medeltu, Mersei, Sayinbayar (包悅卿) and several others were elected as members of the Central Committee of the IMPRP. A party manifesto was written, which propounded fundamental principles including anti-imperialism, anti-feudalism and anti-Han chauvinism.

In 1929, Temurbagana, Pongsug and Öljeiochir, who had been studying in Moscow, came back to the eastern part of Inner Mongolia, where they started a campaign to

recruit new members of the IMPRP. Promising young people such as Hafunga and Asgan joined the Party, developing into competent new leaders. Although a scheme was devised to launch military insurgencies against the Japanese army in areas which it governed, it was eventually aborted, because the Comintern denied its support to their plan. In 1936 and 1941, Temurbagana, one of the executive leaders of the IMPRP, was suspected by the Japanese army of involvement with the anti-Japanese political movement. He was saved on both occasions by Hafunga, however. Hafunga was working at the Japanese embassy in Manchukuo, a Japanese puppet state in Manchuria. Each time Temurbagana was in danger, Hafunga returned to Inner Mongolia to rescue him. Some agents of the Comintern were also suspected and kept under surveillance by the Japanese army. They were also saved by Hafunga.

On the other hand, in the mid-west of Inner Mongolia, Prince Demchugdongrub (Prince Dewang, 1900-1966, 德王) was commanding the 9th Military Division of Mongolia, in which leading members of the IMPRP such as Biligbaatar and Öljeiochir were being groomed. They were constantly in communication with Hafunga, Asgan and others located in the east. Sayinbayar, Delger and other members were assigned to liaise with the Comintern. As the Japanese army advanced its aggression in China, eastern Inner Mongolia was annexed to Manchukuo. When it was placed under Manchurian rule, younger generations of intellectuals were growing up in Inner Mongolia. They afterwards became the core of the Inner Mongolian independence movement, pursuing the ethnic autonomy and self-determination of the Mongolian people.

In summer 1945, Pongsug, one of the senior leaders of the IMPRP, returned to Inner Mongolia. He was accompanied by the allied military forces of the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR). By that time, Hafunga and Temurbagana had established their leadership positions, being given overwhelmingly strong support from the Mongolian ethnic community. On the 18th August, 1945, Hafunga, Temurbagana, Pungsug and their comrades declared the restoration of the IMPRP.

The "Declaration of Inner Mongolian Liberation" was prepared by Hafunga and other members of the IMPRP, before being promulgated under the name of the "East Mongolian Party District". Shown below are clauses included in the Declaration (Yang 2010a: 520-521):

1. Inner Mongolia shall be integrated into the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR), while the latter shall provide support and guidance for the former together with the USSR.

2. The Inner Mongolian Liberation Army shall cooperate with the Soviet Army to oust the Japanese invaders from the region.
3. A fundamental undertaking shall be launched to oppose feudalism, guarantee the human rights of freedom and make progress in the furtherance of anti-capitalism.
4. Ethnic discrimination shall be eliminated. There shall be no prejudice held by Mongolians against other ethnic groups living in the territory. Support shall be given to the people's liberation movement in China. Cooperative relations shall be established between the IMPRP and revolutionary political parties in China.

Furthermore, the IMPRP sent the following letter to K. Choibalsan and Y. Tsendenbal, the two most powerful politicians in the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR). (Yang 2010a: 521-522)

The Inner Mongolian people have been endeavouring for generations to make progress in the revolutionary fight, and been given the support and guidance of the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Our two million fellow Mongolians of Inner Mongolia strongly hope that they will be integrated into their homeland, the MPR. Now is the time for all Mongolians to be united under one flag.

Sincerely yours,

Chief secretary: Hafunga

Executive Committee: Buyanmandahu, Temurbagana, Sagaljab, Oyundalai, Oyunbilig, Asgan, Eldentei, Nayiraltu, Tsonhab, Lhamjab, Sanjayijab and Vandan

Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (IMPRP), East Mongolian Party District

18th August, 1945

Concurrently, in line with these developments in the east, the Mongolian people

in the western Steppe of Inner Mongolia also declared the establishment of a “Provisional Government of the Inner Mongolian People’s Republic”. The United States became alert and asked Stalin what was happening in Mongolia. Against this backdrop, Stalin disclosed for the first time the existence of the “Yalta Agreement” to Marshal Choibalsan and other leading politicians in the MPR.

Delegations were sent to visit Ulaanbaator by Mongolians in eastern Inner Mongolia and the “Provisional Government of the Inner Mongolian People’s Republic” in the west. During meetings with those delegates, Choibalsan clearly stated:

1. It is only a short while since the MPR was finally acknowledged by the international community after a great deal of effort over many decades. Under these circumstances, the unification of Outer and Inner Mongolia would be very difficult. We advise that further efforts be made by the Inner Mongolian people to enhance communication with the Communist Party of China (CPC), which is interested in the issues of the region.
2. The structure and organisation of the IMPRP are complex. I am afraid that it would be difficult for it to lead the revolution in Inner Mongolia.
3. We advise you not to engage in class struggle in Inner Mongolia.

Given such instructions from Choibalsan and other political leaders of the MPR, the “Inner Mongolian People’s Republic” could not but be dissolved. The East Mongolian People’s Autonomous Government had no option other than start to communicate and negotiate with the CPC. The “Provisional Government of the Inner Mongolian People’s Republic” in the west followed suit. In this context, the CPC tightened their grip over Inner Mongolia by strengthening the operations of the West Manchurian Chapter of the Northeast China Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC.

In April, 1946, representatives of the east and west regions of Inner Mongolia gathered in Chengde, Rehe (Jehol) Province, to discuss issues concerning the unification of Inner Mongolia. In April of the following year, a Mongolian leader, Yunzi, from the Tumed region in the west, whose name was changed to Ulaanhu (figure 4) shortly afterwards, arrived at Wang-un Süme in eastern Inner Mongolia, where he was fervently welcomed by the East Mongolian People’s Autonomous Government. Wang-un Süme was the previous name of Ulaanhota. To welcome his arrival, gun salutes were fired. People called him the “supreme Mongolian leader”. On 1st May, 1947, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (IMAR) was formally established in Wang-un

Süme, and Ulaanhu became the Chairman of the IMAR government.

During the Manchukuo era, the CPC had no presence in Inner Mongolia. It was an extraordinary phase in 20th century history for the Mongolian ethnic group. It was a natural development that Mongolians should aspire to the unification of Inner and Outer Mongolia, and that they should make efforts for national (ethnic) self-determination.

After the annexation of Inner Mongolia as Chinese territory, the CPC denounced Wang-un Süme as the “base of the separatist movement plotting to fragment Chinese ethnic unity”. They condemned the Mongolian intellectuals, who had grown up under Japanese rule, as “those rogues with Japanese swords tied to their belts”. They alleged that the Mongolian movement for the ethnic autonomy was a “treason to the nation, conspiring to fragment the Motherland of China”. This allegation was used to justify the massacre of Mongolian people.

It should be understood that the CPC used the history of the IMPRP as the justification for the massacre of Mongolians during the Cultural Revolution. Eighteen years after the foundation of the People’s Republic of China after World War II, the CPC made the Mongolian people pay for what they had done when Manchuria was ruled by the Japanese army. In the process of accusation, they blamed Mongolians not only for their aspirations for ethnic self-determination but also for their association with Japan. The Mongolian elites and intellectuals, who pursued ethnic autonomy, had grown up under Japanese rule, learning about Japanese modernisation. In fact, the CPC’s involvement with the resistance against Japanese aggression had been very limited. However, they had significant grievances against the Mongolians, who had had special relations with Japan in their historic process to pursue independence from China before the end of World War II.



figure 4, Ulaanhu (right) and Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi

3. Proofs of Genocide

In May, 1966, 146 executive members of the government of Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (IMAR) were summoned to the Qianmen Hotel (前門飯店) in Beijing, where the “Qianmen Hotel Conference” was hosted by the “Northeast China Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC”. During the Conference, Ulaanhu was denounced and dismissed from all his official posts, which led to his downfall. Chinese participants used the word “unmasking” to refer to the massacre of the Mongolian people. The purpose of this campaign was two-fold. One was to “unmask, purge and liquidate those who belonged to Ulaanhu’s black camp, thoroughly eliminating the poison they spread and the wrongdoings they commit”. The other aim was to “unmask and purge the members of the IMPRP”. All was aimed at “unmasking” and “purging”. In the early stages of the upheaval, the Chinese government had drawn a line between “those who belonged to Ulaanhu’s black camp” and “the members of the IMPRP”. As time passed by, however, they no longer bothered to distinguish between the two groups. The ultimate goal was to slaughter all Mongolians. They claimed that “those two groups were both anti-revolutionary, one and the same clique, led by Ulaanhu”.

Here I would like to present an overall picture of the massacres all over the IMAR from east to west based on the writings of Altandelehei. (Altandelehei 2008: 17-47)

Case Reports of the Hulunbuir League

When the Cultural Revolution broke out, about 160,000 members of ethnic minorities were living in the Hulunbuir League. Among them, 48,500 people were denounced as “IMPRP members”. In total, 14,329 people were arrested, and 2,307 victims were brutally murdered.

Atrocities in the Hulunbuir League

Found inside a local retail shop in the League during the Revolution was a signboard with the following words painted on it:

Hey, You! You are an IMPRP member, aren't you? Get out of here and register yourself right away! We know what you are! Get out and register yourself! Go on! Do it! Go on!

Signboards were also put up at bus stops, on which abusive words were painted: “IMPRP members shall emerge and register themselves without delay”. In a barber’s shop in Manjuur, malicious phrases were written on mirrors, such as: “We know who you are. You belong to the IMPRP!” In those days, Mongolians had to endure constant mental and psychological harassment expressed in all sorts of ways (figure 5).



figure 5, Idaghasuren and Wang Zaitian (Namjalsuren) were mistreated by the Chinese

A Chinese leader in the Morindawa Banner instructed people to “work harder for the next two weeks to eradicate all Daghurs living in this area”. The Daghur ethnic group had been especially friendly with Mongolians over generations. The executive committee of the local government of Morindawa Banner had 22 members, 12 of whom were Daghurs. All were accused of “being members of the United Party, the goal of which is to destroy the unity of the Chinese Motherland”. There were 17 people’s communes in the Banner, in which 190 Daghurs were assigned to leadership positions. Among these, 85 were denounced as members of the “United Party”. The truth is, however, that there was no such organisation as the “United Party”. It was a sheer fabrication, set up to dismiss the Daghurs from their posts. Chinese people spread malicious rumours among citizens, saying, “You, “dazi” (鞑子=barbarians) ! You have been befriending those Mongolian revisionists out there! You are plotting to kill all Chinese people, aren’t you?” They called Daghurs “barbarians” (“dazi”) with contempt.

About 3,000 Russians were living along the Ergun River in Hulunbuir League. Interethnic marriages were not uncommon. For example, there were Russian-Chinese couples in the community, as well as Russians married to members of other ethnic minorities. During the Revolution, more than 90% of the Russians in interethnic marriages were persecuted. They were abused and bullied with malicious expressions such as “big nose” or “half-breed”. The use of their Russian mother tongue was banned, as was the wearing of ethnic costumes.

Set in a little corner of the Daxing'anling (Hingghan dabagha) Mountains was a little village with a population of only 1,050. The villagers were members of the Orchon tribe. Amicable relations had been nurtured between the Orchon people and Mongolians over generations. For this reason, 192 villagers, accounting for almost 20% of the total population, were denounced as "IMPRP members". During the crackdown, Chinese assailants tied the villagers to motor vehicles, beat them up and humiliated them. They screamed at the villagers, "Damn all you animals! Look! Say good-bye to your lives!" The Chinese attackers encouraged the violence by shouting to each other, "If you kill one *"dazi"* (=barbarian), you are a good man. If you kill 10, you will be a hero."

The Evenki Autonomous Banner was located near the City of Hailar and inhabited by the Evenki tribe. Historically the Evenki people had been close to Mongolians, and all of them spoke Mongolian. During the Revolution, all the Evenki executives working for the local administration were denounced as members of the non-existent "United Party". Twenty Evenki executives including Tumenbayar, Chief Secretary, and Ünenmandal, Banner Leader, were executed.

There were 66 Local Branches of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in the Hurchin Right Wing Middle Banner, 44 of which were accused of "functioning as local chapters of the IMPRP". In the Hurchin Right Wing Front Banner, more than 10,000 Mongolians were denounced as "IMPRP members", among whom more than 500 were murdered. The methods adopted to kill the Mongolians were extremely cruel:

- Burning to death on a stove
- Electrocution
- Boiling water poured over the body
- Pumping high-pressure air into the anus

Many Mongolian women were gang-raped. Rampant sexual assaults were committed. Some women had their breasts burned. Burning incense sticks were used to inscribe three Chinese characters meaning "IMPRP members" on the skin of Mongolian women, who were condemned as "anti-revolutionary elements" or "national (ethnic) splittists". The three characters were an acronym of the "Inner Mongolia Revolutionary Party". The following horrible tragedy also occurred:

One day, a male teacher of a primary school governed by the Horin People's Commune in the Hurchin Right Wing Middle Banner was murdered. He was beheaded by members of one of the "Mao Zedong's Thought Propaganda Campaign Teams of the

People's Liberation Army (PLA)" which consisted primarily of Chinese blue-collar workers. After the teacher's murder, his father went to meet with executive members of the PLA, carrying his son's bloody head and clothes to show them. However, none of those gory items drew the attention of the PLA leaders, not to speak of evoking their sympathy. They totally ignored what was shown to them. The slaughter of Mongolians was nothing but "liquidation of the enemies of the Chinese people". There was no mercy or pity given to the victims. Slaughter was not the end of the agonies that Mongolians suffered. White flags were put up on the graves of those Mongolian victims, implying that the "deceased were bigoted followers of Ulaanhu". Planting a white flag on a grave was a unique Chinese tradition to insult the deceased.

There was a Mongolian man called Mergensei living in the Aldartu People's Commune in the Jalaid Banner. When the upheaval was in progress, he was already 62 years old. He had been respected in society as a "model labourer for the entire nation". When he visited the USSR and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), he had opportunities to meet with Ulaanhu. Because of those encounters, he was denounced as a "member of the IMPRP", and abused for 2 months. He was constantly tortured for 5 successive nights and days, which was the most horrifying experience. More than 10 different lynching methods were performed on him.

Banning of the Use of the Mother Tongue in the Hulunbuir League

The PLA soldiers deployed in the Morindawa Banner of the Hulunbuir League said, "Don't speak donkey language. It's an animal language". Mongolians and Daghurs were prohibited from speaking their mother tongues. "Donkey" was a word often used by Chinese people to insult national (ethnic) minorities.

Case Reports of the Jerim League

As for the Jerim League, 48,500 people were accused in total as "IMPRP members" and 3,900 were killed. The number of severely injured was 14,000. Commander Zhao Yuwen (赵玉温) of the Jerim League Military District of the PLA addressed a CPC convention as follows:

"There are many enemies in the Jerim League. Even focusing only on the Mongolian ethnic community, there are as many as 700,000 residents here. The po-

litical situation in this region is complicated and Ulaanhu's camp is powerful. The headquarters of high profile spies and traitors are located here”.

Commander Zhao Yuwen summoned a large number of Chinese farmers living in the Chinese-dominant regions to participate in some of these meetings. He addressed the audience saying, “Genghis Khan was an idiot. In contrast, Yuefei (岳飛), a legendary Chinese military general in the Southern Song dynasty, was a true hero. Let us extinguish all the barbarians (“*dazi*”) from our Motherland just as Yuefei did”.

He also said, “The Jerim League is the most reactionary place in the nation. It is a frontline base for Mongolians, who are opposed to the great Motherland of China and the CPC”. He ordered the arrest of 11 out of the 14 executive committee members of the local government of the League. Of them, 2 were murdered. These atrocities committed by Commander Zhao Yuwen were heartily endorsed and supported by Lieutenant General Teng Haiqing (滕海清), who had been dispatched by Beijing to rule the Inner Mongolia Military District. (Yang 2009a: 127)

Atrocities in the Jerim League

The PLA (People's Liberation Army) corps led by Commander Zhao Yuwen played a major role in the Mongolian genocide, devastating the Mongolian community in Inner Mongolia. Li Guozhen and Du Cheng were Chinese military leaders assigned to the Jerim League Military Control Commission. They used whips and canes to torture Mongolians, who had been kept in one of the detention camps called “Political Learning Camps”. They made violent remarks such as “a revolution does not mean a banquet to enjoy meals and drinks” and that “it means efforts to defeat and eradicate enemies”. There were 81 Mongolians working in government agencies in the Jerim League including courts, public prosecutors' offices and the public security bureau. Among them, 57 were con-



figure 6, Temurbaghana and Manijab were mistreated by Chinese

demned as “IMPRP members, who committed treason against the Motherland and fellow Chinese people”. (figure 6)

Commander Zhao Yuwen and his men tortured Mongolians by using cruel methods as follows:

Burning on a stove

Electrocution

Skinning alive

Inscribing Chinese characters on the face with a burning template or incense sticks

Pounding a nail into the skull

Stripping people naked in midwinter before kicking them out and leaving them to freeze to death outside

In the Hurchin Left Wing Middle Banner, there were 210 Mongolians assigned to executive posts in the local government. They were in managerial positions such as section managers or higher ranks. 190 out of the 210 executives were dismissed from their posts as “anti-revolutionary IMPRP members”. While 26 Mongolians were working at a transportation centre of the Banner, 23 were denounced as “IMPRP members”. There was a Mongolian man called Hanzhen living in the Munda People’s Commune. He had planted many trees inside the compound of the commune. Later, he was accused of “planting those trees for the purpose of providing Ulaanhu and his troops with posts to which horses could be tied, once they launched a rebellion against the Motherland of China”. When some food was discovered in his household, he was charged with “keeping the food as military supplies for Ulaanhu and the rebels”. In Hurchin Right Wing Middle Banner, a secretary of the local government called Gensur was beaten to death. He was disembowelled after, and the bloody abdominal organs were thrown into toilets. The murderers urinated over his skull to insult the deceased.

Even those who had passed away before the Cultural Revolution could not necessarily escape posthumous denouncement. They were also labelled “IMPRP members”. For instance, in the same Banner was the grave of Borjigin Shoshinga, one of the descendants of Genghis Khan. His grave was unearthed and destroyed by Chinese assailants. His corpse was dragged out of the coffin to be fouled.

As for the Juliu River Dairy/Livestock Farm (“Juliu (巨流) River” meaning “Giant Stream River”; a nickname of the Liao River) situated in the same Banner, Commander Zhao Yuwen himself led the crackdown. Among about 1700 staff members

working in the Farm, 170 people were condemned as “IMPRP members” and 31 were killed.

At a newspaper company called “The Jerim News”, 3 Mongolians were murdered. Mongolian military officers assigned to the Jerim League Military District of the PLA were all persecuted without exception. Included among the victims were Agudam, First Political Commissar, Huhehada, Deputy Commander and Badarangui, Chief of the General Staff Department (predecessor of the Joint Staff Department of the Central Military Commission of the CPC). In total, 29 military officers were executed.

Sexual Abuses Committed in the Jerim League

Commander Zhao Yuwen of the PLA and his men perpetrated sexual assaults on women:

Gang rape

Burning women’s genital area with a red-hot iron bar

Pumping high-pressure air into the vagina

Some teenage Mongolian girls were also raped by Chinese soldiers. In the aftermath of one of the raids, a baby was found crying and clinging to the body of its mother, who had been raped and murdered.

Banning the Use of the Mother Tongue

Commander Zhao Yuwen of the PLA ordered Mongolians not to speak their mother tongue. He said, “Don’t speak that donkey language”. One day he said, “While 50,000 Mongolians have been unmasked so far, it is not enough”. Given this instruction, the massacre continued in the Jerim League for the next few years.

Case Reports from the Juu Uda League

As for the Juu Uda League (the previous name of Chifeng (赤峰, Ulaan Khada) City, almost all Mongolian citizens were labelled “anti-revolutionary IMPRP members” and persecuted. When the 9th National Convention of the CPC was held in the spring of 1969, it was planned to elect some Mongolians representing the Juu Uda League to

participate. It was revealed in the screening process, however, that there was not a single Mongolian person left in the League who had not been convicted of being “anti-revolutionary elements” or “ethnic separatists”. This fact itself clearly indicates how horrendously the purge was conducted during the Revolution.

Atrocities in the Bagharin Right Banner

About 3,000 Mongolians were living in the Bayanhan People’s Commune in the Bagharin Right Banner. Among them, 364 were labelled “IMPRP members”. Chinese people spread poisonous rumours that “all IMPRP members are Mongolians” and that “they are conspiring to launch an insurgency against China and behead all Chinese people”. While this demagoguery intensified, massacres continued. In another people’s commune named Ehe Nuur in the Bagharin Right Banner, a Mongolian administrative secretary called Rabjai had as many as 4 nails pounded into his head. In this condition, he was taken and tormented in struggle sessions, while surrounded by uproars of bitter criticism. The struggle sessions lasted for 12 days.

Sexual Crimes in the Bagharin Right Banner

In the Bayan Aghula People’s Commune in the Bagharin Right Banner, a veterinarian called Huchid working at a veterinary surgery was buried alive. His 18-year-old daughter was gang-raped. A Mongolian woman living in the same commune was 6 months pregnant when she was dragged into long struggle sessions of harsh and ruthless accusations. Consequently, she suffered a miscarriage of twins. Mongolian women were ordered to say, “I am a female donkey”. Those arrested as IMPRP members were stripped naked and beaten.

Banning the Use of the Mother Tongue in the Bagharin Right Banner

Chinese people in the aforementioned Bayanhan People’s Commune said, “Those who speak Mongolian are obstinate ethnic separatists”. They ordered them not to use their mother tongue but to speak Chinese instead. Mongolians were deprived of their right to speak their own language.

Case Reports from the Shilingol League

In the Shilingol League, 1,863 Mongolians were killed. In killing them, extremely cruel methods were used as shown below. In the early 1970s, about 145,000 Mongolians were living in the region together with about 430,000 Chinese people. Based on these data, we can speculate, to a certain degree, on the demographic structure of the Shilingol League around 1967.

Atrocities in the Shilingol League

There were 26 Mongolian households in the Chagan Hoshuu Production Brigade in the Sunid Right Banner of Shilingol League. Among them, 20 households were alleged to be “farm owners belonging to the exploiting class” by Chinese people, who had migrated to the commune from elsewhere. Historically, no such concept as “farm owner” had existed in the Mongolian tradition. There was no such expression in the Mongolian vocabulary, either. Chinese people, however, contended that an “exploiting class” did exist in Mongolian society. They fabricated the new concept of “farm owner”, as an equivalent to “land owner” in the Chinese dominated areas. Those Mongolian families labelled as “exploiting class” were expelled from their livestock grazing grounds. After they had gone, Chinese people settled in the vacant land. Those Mongolians had to leave their homes with hardly any of their property. They had to shelter in caves in mountainous areas for the next 5 or 6 years.

The ultimate ruling power was possessed by the “Military Control Commission of the PLA” deployed in the Shilingol League. A turning point of the Cultural Revolution came on the 22nd May, 1969, when Mao Zedong issued a statement saying, “The campaign in Inner Mongolia to unmask and purge IMPRP members has gone somewhat too far beyond its original intent”. Despite the release of that statement, suggesting a drastic change in Beijing’s policy toward Inner Mongolia, the “Military Control Commission” in the Shilingol League continued its persecution of Mongolians. In the Hubege Sira Banner, one of the executive members of the local government was a man called Dobchin. After having been tortured ruthlessly, he could no longer take any more, so he falsely confessed that “scores of other Mongolians were IMPRP members just like himself”. Later, Dobchin regretted his testimony that incriminated fellow Mongolians. Although he pleaded with the PLA to let him withdraw his testimony, his pleas were denied even after Mao’s statement. He was commended by the PLA as a “model ex-

criminal”. Suffering from a sense of guilt, Dobchin finally took his own life.

In the aforementioned local government of Hubege Sira Banner, there were 30 Mongolian executives in total. They were working at the public security bureau, public prosecutors’ office and courts. All of them were purged without exception. The verdict at their trial stated that “they were descendants of Genghis Khan and valiant military officers dedicated to Ulaanhu”. While the PLA soldiers continued their violence and rampant behaviour, the number of Mongolian casualties reached 120 in this Banner.

The following is from a speech given by Commander Zhao Derong (趙德榮), in charge of the PLA deployed in the Shilingol League.

To look at a Mongolian makes me feel sick. Even if all Mongolians in the Shilingol League were unmasked and liquidated, the impact would not be great enough from a nationwide point of view.

He also made the following statement at a political meeting held by the government in May, 1968.

Many Mongolian soldiers of the PLA in Inner Mongolia are evil. None of the Mongolians working in local government are of any worth. We should take the opportunity in the current circumstances to eradicate them completely. Please believe me. There is absolutely no Mongolian with a decent spirit or soul. There is nothing wrong with denouncing them as IMPRP members. They should be completely purged and eliminated. If they were to disappear completely, we should not be surprised. It doesn’t matter. If all Mongolians died one after another, it would help us a lot.

Following Commander Zhao Derong’s order, all Mongolian high-ranking military officers in the “4947 Corps of PLA” deployed in the Shilingol League were purged. They were platoon leaders or those of higher ranks. The number of the victims totalled 343.

The Sunid Right Banner in Shilingol was the homeland of Prince Demchugdongrub (Prince Dewang), who had dedicated himself over many years to achieve a high level of self-governance for Mongolian people in Inner Mongolia. Lieutenant General Teng Haiqing was dispatched to this Banner by Mao Zedong himself during the Cultural

Revolution. After advancing PLA troops into the region, he programmed, commanded and orchestrated the purge against Mongolians. He ordered the People's Armed Forces Department of the local government, whose main assignment was to manage local militia organisations, to cooperate in and support the persecution of Mongolian people. The following is from one of his speeches:

I suspect that there are many traitors hidden in the Sunid Right Banner. They committed treason against the Motherland, conspiring to join the revisionist camp in the People's Republic of Mongolia (PRM). All are followers of Ulaanhu. Fighting a class struggle means fighting them. The current situation in this Banner is extremely complicated. With that said, however, I am also aware that perhaps about 40 to 50% of the Mongolians here are good people, and not traitorous.

Subsequent to his speech, a rampant search was launched in the Banner to "unmask" "the pseudo IMPRP" or "subunits of the IMPRP". More than 30 organisations including the "United Party" and the "Desert Party" were alleged to be IMPRP. Mongolians labelled as "IMPRP members" totalled 8,000, accounting for about 55% of the total Mongolian population in this Banner. Among them, 109 were slaughtered in brutal ways.

There was only one criterion to decide who should be slaughtered, namely whether or not they were of Mongolian origin. In the Sayinöljei, Butemji and Noghon Nuur People's Communes in the Sunid Right Banner, all Mongolian executives managing the administration were purged with no exception. After the purge, Chinese people came in and took their posts. The following is part of a speech given by one of the military officers of the PLA deployed in Noghon Nuur People's Commune. The officer's name was Li:

You Mongolians used to be favoured by Ulaanhu. Without the Cultural Revolution, all Chinese people would have been murdered by you. Do you recognise that you have been fed, clothed and taken care of by the great Communist Party of China? Despite its generous help supporting you, however, you have been conspiring and perpetrating crimes against the CPC. Today, our great leader (*lingxiu*; 領袖) Chairman Mao Zedong is ruling this nation. Ulaanhu's era has gone forever.

Included among the PLA troops deployed in the Sunid Right Banner under the

leadership of Lieutenant General Teng Haiqing were Chinese military officers such as Chen, Second Political Commissar, Qiu, Deputy Chief of the General Staff Department and Gao, Deputy Chief of Educational Services. They issued the following order:

“Let us dig the ground deep to unmask the IMPRP members, because they seem to be hiding themselves and their stuff under the ground of the Sunid Right Banner”.

The PLA soldiers faithfully obeyed the order. They marched into more than 100 Mongolian households. They excavated the ground under the floors, endeavouring to find any sign of crime.

A Chinese troop leader called Liu, who was stationed at the Butemji People’s Commune, appealed to the soldiers:

It wouldn’t matter in the least even if all Mongolians should be killed. We have so many brethren living in the south of the country. Let’s skin the Mongolians alive!”

The leaders of Noghon Shili Production Brigade ordered all Mongolians of 14 years old or over to come forward and register themselves as “IMPRP members”. A 67-year-old Mongolian woman called Damdinsuwa was so frightened that she decided to follow the order. She started to walk towards the headquarters of the Brigade for registration. She could not speak Chinese. On her way to the headquarters, she kept whispering “United Party” in Chinese to herself, so that she could memorise the name of the political party. Despite all those efforts, however, the moment she stepped in the headquarters, she forgot the name because she was so scared. She had to walk back home to remind herself of the name before setting off once more towards the headquarters.

In the Ehubulagh Dairy/Livestock Farm in the East Ujimchin Banner, all Mongolian executive staff were purged. In place of the Mongolians, young Chinese people migrated from Beijing, taking the leading posts to manage the farming activities. They had grown up in an urban environment and been sent far into the countryside to engage in hard manual labour. They bragged as follows:

“We have come here to attack Mongolians”.

“Mongolians are plotting to kill Chinese people. Should a war break out, Mongo-

lians would move up to the north, while the Chinese would move down to the south”.

“Obviously 80 to 90% of Mongolian nomads are IMPRP members. How can we trust them? We can’t”.

One day, in the East Ujimchin Banner in Shilingon, an executive member of the Yanchi People’s Commune called Dongrub went missing. Immediately the local government issued a fugitive warrant to search for him. Some people spread a rumour saying that “Dongrub is currently patrolling the area along the national border between Inner Mongolia and the Mongolian People’s Republic (MPR) together with a platoon of MPR soldiers”. Dongrub’s family were denounced as “the family of a traitor who has betrayed the great Motherland China”. They were violently attacked by crowds of Chinese citizens. The violent actions were called “people’s democratic dictatorship”. In 1972, a few years after Dongrub’s disappearance, a body was uncovered from a salt-water reservoir by a group of workers employed in salt production. It was identified as Dongrub’s body, which did not show too many signs of decay. This was probably because the body had been covered by salty mud. This proved that Dongrub had not fled to the neighbouring “revisionist state”, but that he had been murdered before being thrown into the reservoir.

There was an executive member called Choijijamsu working for the local administration in the West Ujimchin Banner, Shilingon. He was an honest and resilient man. No matter how many times he was beaten and tortured, he kept repeating that he “had never been an IMPRP member”. Chinese people hung him from a beam in a building, scorched him with fire and slashed his body with a knife. He was confined indoors for days without food or water. Finally, a young Chinese man called Li Xiurong, a member of the urban youth taskforce sent to the rural community in the Banner for hard manual labour, struck him repeatedly on the head with some heavy steel object. After so many blows to the head, Choijijamsu’s brain matter and fluid spilled all over the room. He died. After his death, Yangjima, Choijijamsu’s widow, went to Shilinhota, where the local government of the League was located. Although she filed an appeal about her husband’s murder with the government, her petition was rejected. When the Chinese man, Li Xiurong, heard about her petition, he came to Yangjima and threatened that if she tried to appeal to the authorities again, he would kill her children.

A Mongolian man working at the Golin Han Dairy/Livestock Farm in the same Banner (West Ujimchin) had 7 nails pounded into his head before being thrown into

a well.

A retired Mongolian military serviceman was living in the Sunid Left Banner, Shilingon. He was alleged to “be an IMPRP member”. He was repeatedly beaten, resulting in bleeding from all his old wounds, sustained during his military service in the Revolutionary Army. Crowds of Chinese people kept attacking him. They said, “This is your second decoration for military service”.

Tumed was the leader and president of the Bayanbulag People’s Commune in the Sunid Left Banner. He was murdered by Chinese people. After his death, Tumed’s widow refused to bury him, conserving his corpse for a long time. She said:

These days, even if one single lamb is found dead on a Production Brigade farm, an inspection is immediately launched to find the cause of death. When it comes to the murder of a Mongolian, however, nobody asks anything. What times we live in! 7

The end of the Cultural Revolution was declared in 1976. The “Gang of Four”, whose leading figure was Mao Zedong’s last wife Jiang Qing, were arrested. It was not until then that Tumed’s widow finally had his body buried.

Sexual Abuses Including Rapes in Shilingol

While the torture of Mongolians continued, many Mongolian women were raped by Chinese men. In Sunid Left Banner, these women were tormented in struggle sessions, part of the “people’s democratic dictatorship” according to Chinese urban youth teams sent to rural communities for hard manual labour. The women were blind-folded and repeatedly gangraped by Chinese men. Many of the rape victims were made pregnant. Adiya was a Mongolian woman in her 20’s. She was raped and beaten by Chinese gangs over many months. On the 27th June, 1969, a nomad living in the Bayan Nuur People’s Commune in the Sunid Right Banner came forward on his own, trying to file a direct appeal with the government. He complained that, before the establishment of the People’s Republic of China (PRP), 3 out of 6 of his family members had been murdered by the Kuomintang army. Because of that experience, he had been faithful to the CPC led by Chairman Mao Zedong, no matter what happened under its administration. In spite of his loyalty to the CPC, however, he was stripped naked and beaten by a gang of Chinese men in front of young local girls of 18 to 19

years old. He was forced to “apologise to Chairman Mao” by Chinese mobs.

Tongdege was a Mongolian man working at the Dunda Usu Production Brigade of the aforementioned Bayan Nuur People’s Commune in the Sunid Right Banner. According to Tongdege’s petition, he was sent to one of the “Political Learning Camps” on the 10th November, 1968. At the Camp, he had his hair cut off. His hair was mixed with that of other Mongolians, who were also detained in the same Camp. Two of them were called Batutoghtohu and Delger. The mixed hair was knitted into the shape of a vagina to insult them. They were forced to “apologise to Chairman Mao” repeatedly at the Camp as well.

Harura was a nomad and leader of the Bayan Tala Production Brigade of the Bayan Jiruhe People’s Commune in the same Banner (Sunid Right Banner). He and the three other members of his family were denounced as “IMPRP members”. During the assault, Chinese mobs stripped them naked. They ordered him to have sexual intercourse with his mother. They ordered his wife and his father to do the same. After the incident, his father could not endure the memory of these despicable sexual humiliations, and he committed suicide by jumping into a well. His wife hanged herself. Harura killed himself with a sword. His mother was left on her own and became insane.

One day, in the Bulag People’s Commune in the East Ujimchin Banner, an old couple named Tsebegjab, their son and his wife were arrested by Chinese assailants, who described themselves as members of the “revolutionary masses”. The mob forced Tsebegjab junior and his mother to have sexual intercourse in front of them. They ordered his wife and Tsebegjab senior to do the same. The Tsebegjabs protested. Upon their resistance, Chinese mobs held Tsebegjab senior’s wife down on the ground, and placed her son on top of her. They humiliated Tsebegjab senior and his daughter-in-law in the same way. While insulting the Tsebegjabs sexually, the Chinese mob was laughing. They said, “Are you ashamed of yourselves? Are you really? This is what you barbarians have been doing since ancient times, isn’t it?” On arriving back home, Tsebegjab senior’s wife took her own life.

Case Reports of the Ulaanchab League

It is recorded that, in the Ulaanchab League, 1,686 people were killed, while 8,628 people were injured, among whom 4,650 people became crippled. The precise population of Ulaanchab during the days of the massacre is unknown. In the early part of

the 1970s, however, it was understood that about 57,000 Mongolians were living in the region together with about 2.7 million Chinese. It would be right to assume that the demographic structure of the League in 1967 was similar to that of the 1970s.

In the Chahar Right Wing Rear Banner of Ulaanchab League, about 200 Mongolians were murdered. In the Sayihantala Production Brigade of the Ulaanhada People's Commune, the "Thoughts of Mao Zedong Propaganda Campaign Team of the PLA" and the "Thoughts of Mao Zedong Propaganda Cam-



figure 7, Many Mongols and "Chinese betrayers" were mistreated by the Chinese

paign Team for Poor and Lower-Middle Class Peasants" became increasingly powerful and violent. Under their command, 18 people were murdered in 18 days, while 33 were seriously injured. On average, one Mongolian was murdered every day. All the members of the two "Propaganda Campaign Teams" were Chinese people coming from outside Inner Mongolia. They perpetrated huge atrocities. Some of them belonged to the Urban Youth Taskforce Teams, and young Chinese gangs were also included. They wilfully participated in the killings. (figure 7)

Atrocities in the Ulaanchab League

A Mongolian man named Biligtu was a member of the Planning Commission of the Ulaanchab League local government. He had his teeth extracted with pliers and his nose and tongue cut off. He died of sepsis as a result of these injuries.

In the Bayan Production Brigade of the Meitan People's Commune in the Chahar Right Wing Front Banner, there were 37 Mongolian households with 146 residents. Among these, 88 people were accused of being "IMPRP members" and 17 were murdered. In another people's commune called Sayinusu in the same Banner, there were

34 Mongolian households with 155 residents. All those aged 20 years old or over were denounced as “ethnic separatists”, and 10 were murdered.

In the Choghtu People’s Commune in the Dorbenkuuked Banner, Ulaanchab, a Mongolian man, was murdered by Chinese people. This victim was the head of the Public Security Department of the Commune. After hiding his body, the murderers announced that “he had fled to the PRM”. His family members were arrested and beaten. After some time, the victim’s body was dug up from the snow-covered ground. The corpse had been heavily damaged after being preyed on by wild dogs.

Boljo was a Mongolian man working at a post office in the same Banner (Dorbenkuuked). He was condemned as a “member of the ethnic separatist cult, the IMPRP” and arrested. He was hung from a beam in a building, with a heavy stone weighing as much as 35 kg attached to his body. He was given high voltage electric shocks. As a result, he became mentally ill. In February, 1970, two Chinese men named Liu Yubo and You Xuezhong, who had taken part in Boljo’s torture, took him from his home, announcing that they would take him to a hospital in Huhhot for treatment. But they came back to the Dorbenkuuked Banner without him, reporting that he had gone missing during the journey. Afterwards, Boljo’s mother came to Dorbenkuuked, longing to see her son. She had undertaken the long journey from the Kuree Banner in the east. She was, however, taken to struggle sessions by Chinese people, where she was violently attacked.

In one of the families living in the Dorbenkuuked Banner, both parents were arrested, leaving a little child behind. Left alone, the child tried to start a fire in a stove, setting fire to the house. The child was killed in the fire. In another case, all the young members of a family were arrested, leaving an elderly person with a physical disability alone in the house. The old person froze to death.

Sexual Assaults in the Ulaanchab League

Ruyi was the head of a Communist Party School in the Ulaanchab League. During an assault, a rope was tied to his genitals. When it was pulled hard by the attackers, his penis and scrotum were completely torn off.

A Mongolian woman named Han Shuying was a secretary at a welding factory in Jining City. She was stripped naked and her pubic hair was pulled out with pliers.

Norbujamsu was a Mongolian man working as a secretary at the Bayan Obo People’s Commune in the Dorbenkuuked Banner. He was attacked by a Chinese man

named Pan Xiuyu working at a post office. Norbujamsu had his back slashed open with a sword. Pan spilled a large amount of salt into the open wound. He struck heavy blows all over Norbujamsu's body with a steel electric iron, eventually killing him. After his murder, Dorjisuva, his widow, was repeatedly raped by Chinese men. In the final stage of her abuse, she had a red-hot iron bar inserted into her vagina. She was killed. A little baby, younger than 5 months old, was left behind. With no one around to take care of the baby, it froze to death.

In the same commune, Bayan Obo, Dorbenkuuked, a young couple were working as the commune secretaries. They were slashed with a sword all over their bodies. Salt was spilled into the open wounds. After her husband had been murdered, the widow was raped by Chinese men. Her groin was burned with fire. After she had been murdered, a little baby was left alone, clinging to its mother's body and sucking her breasts.

In Zhuozi County, as many as 13,000 people were condemned as "IMPRP members", and 95 were slaughtered. More than 170 cruel methods were used to kill them. Many Mongolian women were raped. The wife of a secretary at the Malianba Production Brigade in Zhuozi was repeatedly gang-raped by 40 Chinese men. In another Production Brigade called Liuguangyao, many young Mongolian women were raped.

In Liangcheng County, a Mongolian man, Namsarai, was the Chief of the people's deputies to the Provincial People's Congress. After he had been murdered by Chinese people, his widow committed suicide by jumping into a well. A 16-year-old daughter called Duutagul was left behind. Sometime after May 1969, she joined the "Mongolian Widows' Petitioning Group", visiting Huhhot together with the other members. When Chinese people heard about "Namsarai's daughter participating in the Petitioning Group", they violated her human rights, humiliating her ruthlessly.

Forced Migration out of the Ulaanchab League

In many raids, Mongolian communities were suddenly attacked by a few squads of Mongolian soldiers at night. All the residents were forced to get on military trucks, which carried them to specific destinations such as the administrative headquarters of people's communes. It was not until they arrived at these headquarters that they were told to leave their homes immediately to migrate to other places. They were forced to move to the designated destinations without delay. All that they were allowed to carry with them was a minimum amount of daily necessities. They had to leave almost

all their property behind. They had to abandon livestock, houses, furniture, household appliances and utensils. Within the Ulaanchab League alone, the total loss of property suffered by the Mongolians amounted to 420,000 RMB.

In the Chahar Right Wing Rear Banner, members of 75 Mongolian families living on the national border with the MPR were forced to move away and settle inland. After the Mongolians had left their village, Chinese farmers moved in and occupied the grassland.

In the Dalai Production Brigade of the Bayan Oba People's Commune, Dorbenkuuked Banner, there were 23 Mongolian families. Among them, 21 were forced to migrate to other locations in September, 1969. After the Mongolians had gone, 57 Chinese families moved in and occupied the land.

Case Reports of Huhhot and Baotou Cities

Many businesses and manufacturing plants were operating in Huhhot and Baotou Cities. There were also many government agencies, in which many Mongolians were employed.

Atrocities in Huhhot and Baotou

There were about 200 Mongolian military officers in the 5th Cavalry Division of the Inner Mongolian Military District. By 1971, almost all of them had been purged.

Biliggbaatar, who was Director of the Public Security Bureau of the IMAR government, was purged. After his downfall, the Deputy Director of the Bureau, Yun Shiyang, was also ousted from his office. Tenhe, head of the Political Department of the Public Security Bureau, was arrested in February 1968, and constantly tortured for the next few years in prison. The purpose of the torture was to get information about other Mongolians from him. Since Tenhe adamantly refused to give it, he was murdered on the 21st of May, 1970.

Hafunga (figure 8) was one of the founders of the IMPRP, which aspired for the high-level autonomy of the Mongolian ethnic community. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC), he became vice president of the IMAR government. During the Revolution, however, he was vehemently denounced as "the paramount leader of the IMPRP", and beaten for a long time. He was eventually killed. Temurbagana, another leader of the IMPRP, was violently assaulted by Chinese people

and died in January, 1969. He had been Director of the Supreme Court of the IMAR government.

Urtu was Director of the Civil Administration of the IMAR. He had dedicated himself to the furtherance of self-determination for the Mongolian people since the 1940s. He was arrested on the 12th of December, 1968, and executed on the 19th of the same month.

Garubsenge was Deputy Manager of the Office of Secretary of the IMAR government.

On the 18th of December, 1968, he was abducted by a group of Chinese people headed by Zang Haixian and Wu Chunfang. In detention, he was constantly beaten during the following weeks, before being executed on the 5th of January, 1969. In spite of this malevolent conduct Wu Chunfang was promoted to become General Manager of the Organisation Department of Uhai City following the Cultural Revolution. Mongolians challenged that decision of the CPC by filing a complaint. Nevertheless, their complaint was completely ignored by Premier Hua Guofeng of the People's Republic of China.

There were 446 Mongolian staff members working at the Huhhot Railway Bureau. 444 of them were denounced as "IMPRP members". Thirteen were killed and 347 severely injured. Five women were beaten, resulting in miscarriages. Four children were murdered as well.

Sodu was a Mongolian man working at the Sayihan Tala Branch of Huhhot Railway Bureau. When he and his wife were seized by Chinese people, Sodu's wife was four months pregnant. Chinese assailants inserted a fine iron wire into her uterus and scraped out the foetus. They said, "if this baby is born, we will have yet another IMPRP member. The sooner we get rid of it, the better".

Li Guodao was a Chinese member of the "Geological Expedition to Inner Mongolia", which was headquartered in Huhhot City. He instigated a propaganda campaign to "get rid of all Mongolians". Violence against the Mongolian staff escalated. There



figure 8, Hafunga was killed by Chinese in November, 1970. Source: Mergen, *Wode Aba, Qafenga*, 2013.

were 8 Mongolian members of the Expedition, all of whom were purged. One of the victims was named Bao Guixian, a direct descendant of Genghis Khan. While lynching him, the Chinese staff shouted, “Hey, you bastard, descendent of Genghis Khan and agent of Ulaanhu. We will kill you so that you will meet your ancestor, Genghis Khan, in the next world!”. Another Mongolian member named Pien Fucheng had 7 ribs and some vertebrae broken. In the end, his testicles were destroyed as well. The assault had not yet stopped, however. The Chinese assailants yelled, “You rogues are IMPRP members. All of you should be shot dead. We are showing you what the proletarian people’s dictatorship means”.

Zhu Guangli was a Mongolian geologist from the Tumud Banner near Huhhot. He had entered the Beijing College of Geology (the predecessor of the China University of Geosciences in Beijing) in 1957. After graduation, he became a renowned geology expert in the IMAR. During the Revolution, Zhu was also purged. On the 1st day of the Chinese New Year of 1969, the most auspicious day celebrated in China, his corpse was sent to his family. While the New Year celebrations proceeded in the Chinese community, Mongolians surrounded his remains in deep grief, mourning his death.

There were about 1,800 Mongolians living in the Siramuren Juu People’s Commune in the Darhanmuumingan Banner of Baotou City. Siramuren Juu is an extremely beautiful grassland. Today it is a famous tourist destination, about a two-hour drive south from Huhhot. During the Cultural Revolution, 49 Mongolians of the Siramuren Juu People’s Commune were murdered, and more than 50 were seriously injured. Another people’s commune in the same Banner (Darhanmuumingan) was called Mandula. It was located on the national border with the PRM. In Mandula, 15 Mongolians were killed, 6 of whom were compelled to hang themselves. Four were Tibetan Buddhist priests. The names of the 15 victims were Dandar, Nima, Harjim, Nasunjirgal, Sobje (female), Ondur, Balga, Badma, Soyultu, Norbu, Agun, Genden, Shorigjamsu, Changfung and Babu. Soyultu, one of the 15, was a 3-year-old boy. When the crackdown started in their community, his mother, Nabchima, was about to be raped by Chinese men. She somehow managed to escape, however. Her son, Soyultu, was left behind, suffering from frostbite. Eventually he starved to death. The massacre of the Mandula People’s Commune was planned and implemented under the leadership of a Chinese man named Guo. He was a secretary of the Commune. After the Cultural Revolution, Guo was protected by the CPC and promoted to Director of the Water Authority of Wuchuan County. Another crackdown was exercised on the 4th Production Brigade of the aforementioned Bayan Obo People’s Commune in Darhanmuum-

ingan Banner. During the raid, a Mongolian couple was arrested, leaving a 7-year-old child behind. The child froze to death.

Sexual Crimes in Huhhot and Baotou

Wang Sanxiao was a Chinese man working at the Hara Bayishin Production Brigade of the Zhongtan People's Commune in Totahu County near Huhhot. On the 7th of September, 1968, he became leader of the "Committee to Unmask and Purge IMPRP Members". He was from the aforementioned Darhanmuumingan Banner. He raped a 12-year-old Mongolian girl named Lurma. Shortly afterwards, he raped another teenager, a 15-year-old girl called Oyuntongalag. In the aforementioned Siramuren Juu People's Commune in the grassland of Darhanmuumingan, young Chinese people in the urban youth labour taskforce ordered Mongolians to wash women's underwear, smeared with menstrual blood, in a bowl of water. Then they forced the Mongolians to drink the bloody water from the bowl.

A Mongolian woman named Rinchindorji was working at the 3rd Production Sub-Brigade of the Bayan Obo People's Commune in Darhanmuumingan Banner. Chinese assailants used a pickaxe to strike her, damaging her genital area. That was how she was killed. One of the Chinese assailants was called Yang Qiuyuan, living in the same commune. He and the members of his group caught Mongolians and stripped them naked. Mongolian men had their genital organs tied with ropes, which were pulled by Mongolian women. During the assault, the Mongolians were forced to sing a song titled "The Golden Sun Over Beijing".

Included in the lyrics was: "From that Golden Mountain in Beijing, the sun's rays shoot out to illuminate the four points of the compass". Obviously, the "Golden Sun over Beijing" referred to Mao Zedong, great leader of the people (*lingxiu*;). After the Revolution, Yang Qiuyuan and the other attackers were protected by the PLA and exonerated from punishment.

In the Bayanchagan Production Brigade of the Bayan Huwa People's Commune in Darhanmuumingan, there was a Chinese man named Lan Mishuan. He murdered a Mongolian man and took his widow as his wife, making her pregnant. She became mentally deranged.

In the Dengkou Production Brigade in Guyang County of Baotou City, 1,860 Mongolians were accused of being "IMPRP members", and 83 were murdered. Chinese assailants detained Mongolian men and women in the same buildings. They painted

pictures of female genital organs on the men's faces, and of male genital organs on the women's faces. They called these pictures the "union of male and female IMPRP members" to insult them. Furthermore, Chinese people put women's underwear smeared with menstrual blood on the Mongolian men's heads.

Banning of the Use of the Mother Tongue in Huhhot and Baotou

Chinese staff working at the Jining Branch of Huhhot City Railway Bureau yelled out loud, "Don't nominate Mongolians to be train drivers. What on earth would we do, if they stole the trains and drove them to the neighbouring revisionist country the PRM?" Mongolians were terribly discriminated against in employment. (figure 9)

In the Huhhot Railway Bureau, if Mongolian staff was found talking to each other in Mongolian, they were fiercely bawled at by Chinese people. They were told "not to speak that dirty language". When it came to the question of promoting people to executive positions or recruiting new employees, the Chinese language used in the examinations was intentionally made more complicated, so that the chances of Mongolians getting the posts were reduced.

There were 27 executive members who were either Mongolian or Daghur in the Education Authority of the IMAR. Except for one, they were all arrested and tortured. They were abused and told "not to speak that incomprehensible weird language".

Forced Migration out of Huhhot and Baotou

The Darhanmuumingan Banner was placed under military rule in 1970. A migration order was issued to 360 Mongolian families living near the national border with the PRM. Overnight, 144 families were moved far away from the border. Cattle and sheep were abandoned. After a while, about 400 young Chinese members of the urban



figure 9, Kuibi=Urtunasutu, a Mongolian mistreated by Chinese

labour taskforce came into the vacant grassland, to start livestock grazing. Although it had once been planned to let Chinese residents of Wuchuan County migrate to the area, the programme somehow fell through. Although some Mongolians were married to Chinese people, they were also compelled to migrate, leaving their Chinese spouses behind.

In the aforementioned Mandula People's Commune of Darhanmuuminhan, 218 Mongolians from 63 families were forced to leave their homes. After they had gone, Chinese farmers came in from outside, settling in the vacant land. These schemes were designed to expel Mongolians from the area near the national border. They aimed at preventing them from "fleeing to the revisionist state the PRM" or to the USSR. Underlying this policy was the strategic thinking that should the neighbouring "revisionist state" invade China, the country would be better protected by having Chinese citizens occupying those areas rather than Mongolians.

Case Reports from the Yeke Juu League

In the Yeke Juu League (the predecessor of Ordos City), approximately 150,000 people were denounced as "IMPRP members". In those days, the total population of the League was about 740,000, so 150,000 represents approximately 21% of that. Almost all Mongolians were denounced as "IMPRP members".

The number of those killed was 1,260, while 5,016 were injured. Of these, 2,322 were crippled. The number of those who became unable to perform the activities of daily life (ADL) was 739. Included among those murdered were political leaders of the local governments. There were 11 ex- or incumbent League Leaders. There were 150 local government division or section heads. As for the Production Brigades or their Subunits, 500 leaders were purged. In the Hangjin Banner, 118, and in the Ushin Banner, 149 leaders were murdered.

Atrocities Recorded in Classified Government Documents

Here let us look at a "Briefing Document" issued by the "Policy Implementation Committee of the Yeke Juu League Commission of the CPC" in Ordos on the 5th of August, 1978. "Briefing Documents" were internal documents of the CPC issued during Party Conventions. They were distributed only among the executive members of the CPC and/or political leaders. The following is from one of these articles:

While the *Jingzi Sanwuwu Budui* (京字355部隊) Regiment was stationed in the Tug People's Commune in the Ushin Banner of the Yeke Juu League, a large number of Mongolians were murdered. There were 2,961 residents in the Tug Commune, and 929 were unmasked as "IMPRP members". This accounted for 71% of the adult population. Among them, 270 were convicted as "criminals", and 49 were executed. The number of those crippled was 270. All the victims were Mongolians.

The Mongolian grassland was denounced as the "grazing ground of horses for the Mongol Empire". Irrigation wells, bored for agricultural purposes, were also criticised as "reservoirs prepared by Mongolians for the forthcoming uprisings against China". Chinese people living in the neighbouring province of Shannxi were mobilised to persecute the Mongolians of Yeke Juu. Since the 1950s, a large jobless Chinese population had drifted about from one place to another across the country. A group of these drifters were craftsmen selling felt-made craftwork, and they were employed by the government as "important activists to unmask IMPRP members". The PLA soldiers used more than 50 despicable methods to torture Mongolians. Rampant brutality was observed in many places:

1. A red-hot burning truncheon was inserted in women's vaginas or pressed on their abdomens. These women's genital areas were so badly injured that their gender was hardly recognisable. Some women's abdomens were so severely injured as to expose the intestines.
2. Iron wires were wound round the tip of a whip made of cow hide. When Mongolians were beaten with those whips, their skin was torn and blood spurted. Medical care was denied. The victims were left on the spot till they died. Blood spurting from their wounds splashed all over the walls. The smell of blood lingered for a long time. In some cases, salt or boiling hot water was poured into their wounds. People were brutally murdered.
3. Broad steel strips were wound around people's heads. The strips were gradually tightened with pliers. The torture sometimes continued until the victims' heads burst open.
4. Mongolians indicted as "anti-revolutionary criminals" were pressed down almost onto the surface of a stove with a fire burning inside. They were not burned to death quickly. On one occasion, a burning red-hot iron shovel was

pushed down onto a victim's head to burn him to death.

5. Victims had their arms tied behind their backs, before being hung from a beam of a building. Their joints were dislocated. On one occasion, the rope, with which the victim was tied to the beam, was cut, causing him to fall. He struck the ground heavily and died.
6. A Mongolian woman was stripped naked and kept standing on the spot. A broad rope made of cow hair was pushed against her groin. Chinese people stood in front of the woman and behind her, pulling the rope back and forth. The woman's genital area was severely injured.
7. After killing Mongolian men, the PLA soldiers repeatedly gang-raped their wives. Young Mongolian girls were also raped.
8. The properties of Mongolian people were looted.

The facts noted above were recorded in classified "Briefing Documents" of the Chinese government. Those articles were disclosed for a limited period of time in the past. Let us look at other historic records.

Atrocities in the Yeke Juu League

A Chinese couple was living in the Tugultai Production Brigade of the aforementioned Tug People's Commune in the Ushin Banner. The husband's name was Chen Wenkui, and his wife's Ma Lanfang. The couple brought Mongolians to their home, and tortured them night and day. They invented more than 50 methods. This couple brutally murdered 3 Mongolians, and severely injured more than 30.

The leader of this Production Brigade was a Mongolian man named Batuseren. He and his wife were assaulted by Chinese people while she was pregnant. The couple were forced to admit that the foetus in her womb was also an "IMPRP member".

Danzen was a Mongolian secretary of the Meiren Sume Production Brigade of the same Commune (Tugh). He had a horse's bit inserted into his mouth. Chinese abusers jumped on his back and made him run like a horse. They eventually killed him with a sword.

All six members of a Mongolian family named Shidi, including an 83-year-old man and a 43-day-old baby were condemned as "IMPRP members". Shidi's wife was beaten for a long time. The baby was also killed.

The head of a Mongolian family named Semchug was a secretary of this Commune

(Tugh). While a 9-year-old girl survived, all his other four family members were killed. Chinese people and PLA soldiers said, “If Mongolians die one after another, we can save more food. If all IMPRP members are eradicated, we will no longer have to worry about them”.

Badai was a Mongolian secretary of the Soburgan People’s Commune in the Ejin Horo Banner, Yeke Juu. He had his tongue cut out. Chen Futing was a Mongolian Deputy Chief of the Department of the People’s Armed Forces in Dongshen County. He was tortured in 47 ways and stabbed with a sword 16 times.

Sexual Assaults in the Yeke Juu League

A Mongolian woman named Bai Xiuzhen was a female executive of the local government of Yeke Juu League. She was repeatedly raped by Chinese men. An iron rod was inserted into her vagina, and her genital and abdominal organs were severely injured. After she was killed, her body was thrown into a well. The murderers disguised her death as a “suicide”.

A Mongolian man called Tumenjirgal was tortured in various violent ways. He was also ordered to crawl under his daughter-in-law’s groin.

A young Mongolian woman called Chulmuun (figure 10) was a deputy secretary of the aforementioned Tug People’s Commune of Ushin Banner. She was stripped naked before being beaten for 5 successive nights and days. Dongrub was one of the executives of the same Commune. He was beaten in 12 different ways before vomiting blood from his mouth. He was ordered to have sexual intercourse with livestock including donkeys and pigs. Chinese people made him move as if he were a donkey or a pig. They yelled at him, “You Mongolians are filthy beasts”.



figure 10, a Mongolian lady of Ordos, named Chulmun

Case Reports from the Bayan Nuur League

In the Bayan Nuur League, 8,415 people were convicted of being “IMPRP members”. 363 of them were killed, and 3,608 seriously injured. No demographic data are

available for the Bayan Nuur League in 1967, when the massacre started. It is known, however, that in the early part of the 1970's, approximately 39,000 Mongolians were living in the League together with about 1.18 million Chinese.

Atrocities in the Bayan Nuur League

All Mongolians living in the Bayan Nuur League, including infants, babies and neonates, were denounced as “anti-revolutionary IMPRP members”. In the Sangindalai People's Commune in the Urad Middle and Rear Joint Banner near the national border, a Mongolian couple named Damba was murdered, leaving 4 children behind. One of the children was stretched to death, while another froze. One of the remaining two became mentally ill before dying. The last child was adopted by relatives.

Wu Qinglong in the same Banner was a Mongolian from Liaoning Province in northeast China whose tongue was cut out. Sodub was General Manager of the United Front Department of the local government of Bayan Nuur. A nail was pounded into his head, but he did not die. Since the nail had penetrated deep into his brain, a surgical operation was out of the question. He survived only by depending on drugs.

Sexual Abuses in the Bayan Nuur League

In the Chog Banner, while a Mongolian man was being beaten, his wife and daughter were raped by Chinese men. He died after a short time. A Mongolian man called Delgerbatu of the Oljei People's Commune in the same Banner (Chog) was kept in captivity for 10 months. He was constantly beaten. While he was detained, his family's property was looted. His wife and daughter were repeatedly raped by a Chinese man named Zhang Ailiang. His wife died shortly after.

Military Rule in the Bayan Nuur League

There were 60 households in total in the Yeke Bulag Production Brigade of the Bayin People's Commune in the aforementioned Urad Middle and Rear Joint Banner. Apart from 15 Chinese families, all the other families in the Commune were condemned as “untrustworthy Mongolians”. They were placed under strict military rule.

Case Reports of the Alashan League

The Alashan League was located in the westernmost part of the IMAR. In those days, some Mongolian communities in the region were annexed to Gansu Province of China, while the others were governed by the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. The Mongolian ethnic community was geographically fragmented by the Chinese government. The goal of this policy was to disrupt the solidarity of Mongolian people.

One of the ethnic groups living in the Alashan Region was an ancient Mongolian tribe called the “Torgud Mongols”. During the Cultural Revolution, it was alleged that Mongolians had established the “Torgud Party” “scheming to break up the unity of the Chinese Motherland”. The “Torgud Party” was deemed a “variant of the IMPRP”. The population of the Torgud Mongol tribe was about 2,000. About 200 were slaughtered, that is about 10% of the entire Torgud population.

Atrocities in the Alashan League

The Ejene Banner of Alashan League was located in the westernmost corner of Inner Mongolia. Many political leaders of the Ejene local government were denounced as “paramount leaders of the Torghud Party”. Included in the list were Erdenigerel, Banner Leader, Zang Deming, Chief of the Administrative Office of the local government, Sayinbuyan, Director of the People’s Supreme Court and Serenodu, President of the Federation of Women’s Associations. They were all arrested. Among them, Erdenigerel, Banner Leader, was jailed for 7 years. He was sentenced to death at one time, but the execution was not carried out.

Forced Migration from the Alashan League

In 1973, the government of Gansu Province forced the Mongolians of the Ejene Banner to leave their homes and migrate inland away from the westernmost corner of the IMAR. The family of Erdenigerel, Banner Leader, was also ordered to migrate.

Meanings of Altandelehei’s Writings

In the sections above, I introduced Altandelehei’s writings about “massacres and atrocities”, “forced migrations”, “banning of the use of the mother tongue” and “rapes

and other sexual crimes”, which took place during the Cultural Revolution. They were parts of the genocide committed in the IMAR. These criminal acts undoubtedly meet the criteria of genocide specified in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. A genocide was perpetrated by the Chinese government and people, the proofs of which are provided by Altandelehei’s writings.

It would be right to say that today Altandelehei’s writings, a combination of historical material and theory, are truly the masterpiece of all publications about the Mongolian genocide. They were published in a private edition, because they could not have been published by any official publisher authorised by the Chinese government. Nevertheless, the author submitted his work to the CPC Propaganda Department of the IMAR. This attitude proved his courage, demonstrating that he would not be afraid of censorship. He has been placed under government surveillance. He is officially defined as an “intellectual, whose views are not in agreement with those of the government”.

I am afraid that there is a very worrying situation in the IMAR today. I fear that Mongolian history has been distorted by the CPC. The Chinese government boasts that “they have helped the writing of specific histories for ethnic minority groups in China”, which were annexed to Chinese territory after the establishment of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). In fact, I was taught at school that “those ethnic minorities used to live in uncivilised primitive societies with no written languages. They were transported as if by helicopter from the primitive era to modern times, directly entering this beautiful socialist world. Thanks to that development, they did not have to suffer from the miseries of dark feudalism or brutal capitalism”. The Chinese government was a “kind” guardian of ethnic minorities, “writing their histories on their behalf”. However, those histories needed to be “integral parts of the Chinese history”. This was a mandatory requirement. Does it truly mean a “release” from oppression? Or could it possibly mean the introduction of a new style of “colonial rule”? Anthropologists contend that the distinction between the two is obscure. (Bulag 2002: 137-142; Yang 2013b) The youth of the IMAR has grown up in an educational system designed by the Chinese authorities. They have been reading a Mongolian history written according to the Chinese policies. I was shocked to hear some Mongolian youth say, “China is our homeland”. The truth is that the southern part of Mongolia was annexed to the PRC in 1949, constituting Inner Mongolia. This part of modern history has not been taught to the youth. As for olden times, during the 17th century, Mongolians allied with Manchurians, participating in the rule of Chinese territory during the Qing dynasty.

That alliance did not mean that Mongolians were ruled by Chinese. Mongolians did not become Chinese nationals. In the 19th century, the Qing dynasty gradually declined, eventually being dismantled in 1912. Against that backdrop, it was only natural that Mongolians should pursue the furtherance of ethnic autonomy and self-determination. However, Chinese people living in the Central Plains (*Zhongyuan*) claim territorial rights. That area used to be ruled by the Manchurians. Judged from the historical perspective, therefore, the Chinese territorial claim for the Plains infringes the principle of ethnic autonomy. It is to be regretted that Mongolians in Inner Mongolia failed to achieve self-determination at the time of the demise of the Qing dynasty. If today they are forced to accept the ideology that “China is the Mongolian homeland”, it is a kind of “cultural genocide” for the Mongolian ethnic group.

It is known that the Chinese government, which claims that “China is the homeland of ethnic minorities”, has perpetrated their massacres. I am gravely concerned that, instead of disclosing these facts, the authorities have been concealing them, distorting history. They have been committing a “cultural genocide”. For example, a book titled “*The Recent History of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region: 1947-87 (Neimenggu Zizhi Qu lishi: 1947-1987)*” was edited by Hao Weimin and published by the Inner Mongolia University Press. One of the chapters in this book is titled “Chapter of Key Figures”. Although some Mongolian names appear in this chapter, there is no mention of the murders, persecutions or deaths which they suffered during the Cultural Revolution. Here is an example. Darijaya, Prince Ta, was the King of the Alashan League in the westernmost corner of Inner Mongolia. He was married to one of the cousins of Aisin gioro Pu i, the last emperor of the Qing dynasty. On the 19th November, 1968, he was violently killed in a “struggle session”. (Yang 2007: 80) In the book edited by Hao Weimin, however, his death is not described as a murder, but simply as a “demise”. (Hao Weimin 2000: 512) Likewise, Hafunga and Ulaan are not mentioned in



figure 11, Ulaan, a Mongolian lady

this book at all. Both of them were violently killed. Ulaan was a Mongolian woman (figure 11). This is an organised concealment, I am afraid. It is not only aimed to promote the teaching that “China is the Mongolian homeland”, but also to fabricate a new image of China, as a “great country with nothing dark to be ashamed of”.

How did the Chinese government “succeed” in committing massacre on such an enormous scale? What processes did they follow? In the following chapter, the discussion is centred around one of the high-ranking CPC leaders and military commanders, Teng Haiqing . Commander Teng Haiqing organised and led large scale massacres of Mongolian people in Inner Mongolia. I am going to introduce his lectures and orders to historically analyse them. Given full support by Beijing, he became the ultimate ruler of the IMAR between 1967 and 1970. He instigated people to perpetrate massacres, facilitating a killing field for those crimes.

4. The Ousting of Mongolian Elites from Leadership Positions

The capital of the IMAR was Huhhot. As far as population was concerned, Mongolians were an ethnic minority from the start of the IMAR. Mongolian elites, however, were assigned to prestigious positions in government agencies and the army. In the following section, the process of the purge of Mongolian elites serving in the Inner Mongolian Military District (IMMD) headquartered in Huhhot will be described.

Traditionally, Mongolians have given high regard to martial arts. Because of this culture and tradition, many Mongolian elites gathered in the Inner Mongolia Military District (IMMD). The CPC, Chinese government and Chinese citizens became aware of their presence and felt alarmed. This was why the massacre was launched in this region. It aimed to eliminate the Mongolian elites.

The Mongolian military organisation originated in the eastern part of Inner Mongolia, when it was ruled by Manchukuo, a Japanese puppet kingdom. While the Mongolian ethnic community was being modernised, cavalry regiments were set up, equipped with modern weapons. Japan was actively involved in the inception of those regiments. Most of the military officers commanding the Inner Mongolian army came from the eastern part of Inner Mongolia. When the genocide became rampant during the Cultural Revolution, the victims in the army were primarily elitist military officers coming from the east.

Shortly after the downfall of Ulaanhu, who was Commander of the Inner Mongolia Military District of the PLA as well as First Political Commissar, a purge started

against other high-ranking military officers. Those who became targets were Kongfei, Deputy Commander of the IMMD, Tingmao, Second Political Commissar and Tala (figure 12), Deputy Chief of the General Staff Department. After all these political as well as military upheavals were over, Tala wrote a book titled “*A Commoner’s Mundane Life – Tala’s Memoir of the Cultural Revolution*”. Let us read an excerpt from this book. (Tala 2001)



figure 12, Tala, Deputy Chief of the General Staff Department of the IMMD

The memoir written by Tala, Deputy Chief of the General Staff Department of the IMMD, provides a great deal of detail about the Cultural Revolution. Ulaanhu was vehemently condemned at the CPC Conference held at the Qianmen Hotel in Beijing. One day in early June, 1966, while those “struggle sessions” to denounce Ulaanhu were in progress, Tala was summoned to the office of Wu Tao, Second Political Commissar of the Inner Mongolia Military Regiment. Wu Tao ordered Tala to oust the “former Japanese-associated military officers”, who had been promoted during the Manchukuo era, from their leadership posts. At just the same time as Tala was meeting with Wu Tao in Inner Mongolia, at the Qiamen Hotel, Beijing, executive members of the local government of the IMAR, coming from the east, were wildly criticising groups of senior government officials coming from the west. Ulaanhu was the supreme leader of the IMAR and he was from the west. Those from the east were coaxed by the CPC to condemn those from the west. Both Tala and Ulaanhu were from the western district of Tumed. Tala had graduated from the Yan’an Institute of Nationalities. Ulaanhu was also involved with that Institute. Because of this background, Tala was deemed to be Ulaanhu’s “most trusted colleague”. (Tala 2001: 414-416) Those who were from the east, denouncing Ulaanhu and other executives from the west in those “struggle sessions”, were also destined to be purged and ousted as the Revolution proceeded further. They were accused of being “former Japanese-associated military officers” “with Japanese swords tied to their belts”. All Mongolians were destined to be persecuted. In June, 1966, however, they were not yet aware of what awaited them in the future.

Before the Qiamen Hotel Conference hosted by the North China Party Bureau of CPC ended in June, 1966, all Mongolian military officers in the Inner Mongolia Military District had been summoned and held in captivity at an Army Infantry School, situ-

ated in the northwest suburbs of Huhhot. This place was called the “Learning Camp (*xuexiban*)”. When the Qiamen Hotel Conference ended on the 25th July, all Mongolian military officers were ousted from their posts, while their Chinese counterparts took over their positions. Military ruling power was transferred to them. Ulaanhu was convicted of “treason against the nation”. As the supreme leader of the autonomous government, he had promoted an education policy in which use of the Mongolian language was encouraged. That was condemned as one of his crimes. Tala was also denounced as a “member of anti-Party treasonous clique headed by Ulaanhu”. (Tala 2001: 418-420)

After overthrowing Mongolian military officers, Chinese officers such as Wang Liangtai (王良太) and Huang Hou became the new military leaders. One day in late September, 1966, Mongolian military officers were dragged to one of the “struggle sessions”. Tala was violently attacked together with other Mongolians including Baoqi, Chief of Combat Engineers and Ölje-inaran, Deputy Chief of the Political Department directly governed by the PLA. After the struggle session, a metal gong was handed over to each of the accused including Tala, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, Kongfei (孔飛, figure 13), Deputy Commander, and Tingmao, Second Political Commissar. All those accused were ordered to walk down the street in procession, beating their gongs and screaming aloud, “I am a criminal and a villain”. They obeyed the order. While they were walking, Chinese onlookers on both sides of the street attacked them, beating and kicking them. (Tala 2001: 425) The PLA inflicted organised violence upon Mongolian people. At the same time, as was reported by Tala in his memoir, ordinary Chinese citizens also participated actively and willingly in these assaults. Tyrants and dictators change ordinary citizens into violent assailants. All Chinese society became a cluster of mobs.

In December, 1966, an Expanded Party Congress was held in the Inner Mongolia Military District. On that occasion, it was declared that the Cultural Revolution inside the Military District had accomplished a great victory. As the “outcome of the victory”, a list of 17 “anti-revolutionary elements” was disclosed. Apart from one Chinese national, all the other 16 criminals were Mongolians. On the 3rd of January, 1967, three



figure 13, Kongfei, a Mongolian Deputy Commander

Mongolian military leaders, that is, Kongfei, Deputy Commander, Tingmao, Second Political Commissar, and Tala, Deputy Chief of the General Staff Department, were taken out of the Military Infantry School. “Struggle sessions” were held to condemn them at a School of Public Health in the Military District and the “253 (*Erwusan*) Corps Hospital” managed by the PLA. During the “struggle sessions”, they were spat on by crowds of Chinese people. When the sessions were over, they were ordered to handstand and walk on their hands all the way back to the Military Infantry School. In his memoir, Tala says, “Handstanding was impossible for people in their 40s and 50s. Above all, the humiliation was most unbearable”. He also depicts in detail in his writings how other Mongolian military officers were persecuted and humiliated. (Tala 2001: 426-427)

The Settlement of Past History with the Mongolian Ethnic Community

Tala, former Deputy Chief of the General Staff Department of the IMMD, analysed in detail the reasons why the PLA was so fervently committed to the Cultural Revolution. Even after depriving all Mongolian military leaders including Ulaanhu of their ruling power, the Chinese officers were not yet totally satisfied. They wanted to acquire all ruling power over the IMAR, running local government as well. (Tala 2001: 431)

Political unrest intensified in spring, 1968, when people adopted the slogan, “Let’s unmask all members of Ulaanhu’s black camp, and completely rid society of Ulaanhu’s poison”. Violence resurged over the whole IMAR. On the 22nd of February, the Mongolian military officers including Tala were again taken to the Military Infantry School to be detained in the “Thoughts of Mao Zedong Learning Camp”. Every day they endured violent attacks. They also had to study the “*Selected Works of Mao Zedong*”. Soon Boyinjab of the Political Department of the Inner Mongolia Military District was forced to tell “the names of IMPRP members”. Based on Boyinjab’s statement, Tala and the other Mongolian officers were officially denounced as IMPRP members. Various assaults were inflicted upon them. The following is an excerpt from his book (Tala 2001: 433-440):

. One day in February, I was beaten up by PLA soldiers all day and night. The violence reached an extreme level, and I tumbled from a chair to the floor. I happened to hit my head on a stove. Blood spurted out and my head would not stop bleeding. The PLA soldiers made me squat on the floor near the stove, press-

ing myself close to its hot surface. While being burnt in this way, sweat was pouring from me like rain. Despite all these tortures, the soldiers were not yet satisfied. They told me to hit my face with my hands and tear off my beard. One of the attackers was a prison warden. He cut deep into my earlobes with his long nails, so that my ears were deformed. I was beaten for more than 20 days on end. I was interrogated during the day and assaulted by the soldiers at night. Gradually I started to think about suicide. . . . Finally I decided to acquiesce in admitting that I was an “IMPRP member”. I falsely confessed to them that, one night in 1942 in Yan’an, “I had been invited by Ulaanhu to join the IMPRP”. I also “confessed” that “I had been ordered by Ulaanhu to go underground for the activist movement”. (Tala 2001: 441-442)

For anybody with common sense, it was evident that the IMPRP had nothing to do with Yan’an, the “Sacred Base of the CPC to launch the revolutionary movement”. Tala’s confession was completely false.

The 9th National People’s Congress of the Communist Party of China began in Beijing on the 1st of April, 1969. It was during this Convention that violence peaked in the Cultural Revolution. People were encouraged to “celebrate and report achievements to the CPC”. During one of the “struggle sessions”, Tala was struck so hard that he passed out. While he was unconscious, a red ink pad was pressed to one of his thumbs. His “Letter of Confession” had been prepared in advance. The red thumbprint served as a stamp. While Tala was being purged, his wife, Saran, was arrested in spring, 1968. She was tormented and humiliated in indescribable ways. As a result, she became mentally unstable. Later, she was sent to a prison labour camp called (*“laogai”*, 劳改) in the Ordos Highlands, where political prisoners were subjected to hard labour as punishment. She was finally released from the camp on the 13th of May, 1973. (Tala 2001: 444-450)

All military regiments, in which many Mongolian elitist officers were in service, were purged. According to Tala’s writings, in the Bayan Nuur League Military District, two Deputy Commanders named Tobshin and Yang Fuchun were executed. In addition, company-grade officers were also executed. After the turmoil, their widows formed a “Military Widows’ Petitioning Group”. Tala says in his book, “In total, about 60 or 70 military officers were executed in Inner Mongolia, including five or six Division Commanders. None of the murderers who executed them have ever been punished, however”. After going through all those hardships, his grief is deep. (Tala 2001: 464-

465) Even after the Revolution, Mongolian officers were not trusted by the Chinese authorities. Tala describes in detail the processes by which they were all forced by the government to give up their military careers and resign. (Tala 2001: 451-496) His memoir is an in-depth record of how the Chinese government and people schemed and implemented the programme to uproot the Mongolian military officers. Tala defined himself as a “commoner” and called his life “mundane”. In the title of his book, he stated that it was about the “Revolution”. Notwithstanding these words, however, his book could not be excluded from the list of forbidden books in the IMAR.

Ex-Kuomintang Army and Chinese Counterattacks

A Chahar Mongolian writer, Zhao Jinbu (趙金寶, figure 14), published a book titled *“Colourful Life, Difficult Paths”*. He was born in the Chahar region of Inner Mongolia. He was the head of the Organisation Department of the 2nd Mongolian Cavalry Division of the Inner Mongolia Military District (IMMD) governed by the IMAR government. Described in this book are the processes by which the line troops of the PLA were swept into the vortices of the Cultural Revolution. It also describes how the scheme was concocted and carried out to purge the Mongolian officers within the PLA.



figure 14, Zhao Jinbu

Zhao Jinbu analysed how the Cultural Revolution was ignited. His analysis is incisive, stating that, “in the first phase of the Revolution, the Chinese government schemed to oust Mongolian military officers coming from the western part of Inner Mongolia from leadership positions. When that was done, in the second phase, they wanted to oust Mongolian officers from the east. The latter were called a gang of “bastards with Japanese swords tied to their belts”. “The conspiracy was obvious”. (Zhao Jinbu 2006: 214)

After the downfall of Ulaanhu as a result of the “struggle sessions” at the Qiamen Hotel Conference, the IMAR fell into political turmoil. Local Red Guards from Inner Mongolia and those from Beijing “exchanged experiences of the Revolution with each other”. The sentiment to “rebel” intensified, justifiably according to the thoughts of Mao Zedong thoughts. The PLA forced Zhao Jinbu and other executive members of

the Mongolian Cavalry Divisions of the IMAR government to put on civilian clothes to disguise themselves as workers or peasants. They were sent undercover to spy on the activities of the Red Guards. After a while, the PLA openly took the side of the establishment, namely, the conservative faction within the CPC. As political tensions increased between the conservative and rebel factions, skirmishes broke out, in which rebel students were shot dead by PLA soldiers. The conflict was aggravated. Representatives of both sides, the rebels and the conservatives, visited Beijing, where they met with Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai. They appealed to him directly to justify their conduct. Zhao Jinbu was present in those meetings as a member of the PLA. (Zhao Jinbu 2006: 214-215; 231-234; 243)

Zhao Jinbu pays special attention to Kang Sheng and his roles. Kang Sheng was Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee in those days, overseeing the work of the CPC's internal security and intelligence activities. On the 27th April and the 16th, 19th and 21st May, 1967, there were meetings between Beijing's political leaders and multiple delegations from Inner Mongolia. One delegation represented the rebel revolutionary faction. Another represented the conservatives. There were leaders from the Inner Mongolian CPC as well as those from the Inner Mongolian Military Districts. When Kang Sheng met with all those delegates from Inner Mongolia, he said, "I regret to say that, although these Inner Mongolians are now visiting Beijing in the south of China, to be honest, their hearts are longing for the north, the People's Republic of Mongolia (PRM)". (Zhao Jinbu 2006: 243) Mongolians were coerced to collaborate in the Cultural Revolution. They did not participate in it actively or willingly. They were always sidelined. Those who took the initiative were Chinese. Since Ulaanhu, the supreme leader of Inner Mongolia, had been overthrown, they feared that a terrible misfortune might be awaiting the Mongolian ethnic minority. Most delegates from Inner Mongolia, who came to Beijing to "directly appeal" to the CPC's Central Committee, were Chinese as well. It was in front of such an audience that Kang made the above remarks. It would be fair to say that the true goal for the CPC leaders was to launch a massive purge of Mongolians. They were persuading both rebels and conservatives to direct their hostility against Mongolians.

On the 13th April, 1967, a notice was issued by the government titled the "Notice of the CPC Central Committee's Decision concerning Dealing with the Problems of Inner Mongolia". Immediately after the issue of this Notice, the military division directly governed by the Beijing Military District of the PLA advanced into the IMAR. According to Zhao Jinbu, all the soldiers in the division wore a badge on the chest, on

which Mao Zedong's image was portrayed. By wearing those badges, the soldiers of the Beijing District Army could be distinguished from local soldiers of the Inner Mongolia Military District. It is worth noting that this division sent from Beijing had originated from the Kuomintang army regiment involved in the "Peaceful Liberation" in Suiyuan on the 19th September, 1949. They had left the Kuomintang government and declared their allegiance to the CPC. (Zhao Jinbu 2006: 244) The name of the regiment had changed to the "28th Division of the 69th People's Liberation Army". Back in the days of civil war, all soldiers of the Kuomintang Army were Chinese nationals. In 1967, by dispatching the all-Chinese Division to the Region, the Chinese government successfully disarmed the Inner Mongolian Army ruled by the IMAR government.

It was under those circumstances that the political campaign to "unmask the members of the black camp ruled by Ulaanhu, thereby completely ridding society of his poison" began. At the same time the purge of the IMPRP started. All Mongolian officers of the Mongolian Cavalry Divisions of Inner Mongolia were arrested and detained. There were Chinese people who had personal grievances against Mongolians. Some Chinese had been unhappy about the CPC's policies concerning ethnic minorities. These Chinese were particularly keen on persecuting Mongolians during the Revolution. (Zhao Jinbu 2006: 250-254)

Zhao Jinbu was among those arrested. He was labelled the "paramount leader of the IMPRP" in the 2nd Mongolian Cavalry Division.

The IMPRP is a political party of Mongolians, you bastards. You should belong to it, shouldn't you? You rogues are scheming to unite outer and Inner Mongolia, establishing the Great Mongolian Empire, aren't you? You barbarians have continued to invade the northern border of our homeland China since the ancient time of the Huns (匈奴). We know that you had meetings, in which you were speaking Mongolian with each other. We know that you were attending the IMPRP meetings.

The words above were used to accuse Zhao Jinbu. (Zhao Jinbu 2006: 272-273) It proves that from its inception the Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia took the form of ethnic conflict. The testimonies given by the survivors are evidence for the truth of this.

Victim's Voice, "I Wanted to be a Han"

After being arrested, the Mongolian military officers were tormented in various inhuman ways. Some of them were forced to eat human faeces. When he could no longer endure these abuses, Zhao Jinbu made the false confession that he had been "involved with the separatist movement aiming at ethnic division in China". His children were persecuted as well. One day in May, 1969, he walked into a police station in Huhhot City, to file a petition to change his ethnic identity. He pleaded, "Only because I am a Mongolian, I have been condemned as an IMPRP member. My wife is a Han. She was not indicted. I would like to change the ethnic identity of my children and myself to become Han". His petition was rejected, however. (Zhao Jinbu 2006: 291; 322-323) The following is an excerpt from his book:

Only because I was a Mongolian, I was denounced as an IMPRP member. The police said that not all those who had been denounced as IMPRP members were Mongolians. It was true. . . . There were some Han people among the victims, who had been arrested by Commander Teng Haiqing. Some were crippled from torture. Others were slaughtered in brutal ways. The point is, however, that those Han people had some connection with Mongolians. They had either been brought up in Inner Mongolia or acquainted with Mongolians.

Chinese people should sincerely listen to Zhao Jinbu's voice. These days, Chinese people in the IMAR say, "During the Cultural Revolution, not only Mongolians but also Chinese people were victimised". Mongolians do not deny that. What is important is that the crime, which those Chinese victims allegedly committed, was to be "IMPRP members". This fact unequivocally points out that, as far as the Chinese government was concerned, the true target of the horrendous violence was Mongolian ethnicity. Unless this core issue is understood, the most critical aspects of the Cultural Revolution would be mistaken, distorted or overlooked.

After a while, the 2nd Mongolian Cavalry Division of the Inner Mongolia Military District was transferred to Tianjin City. The reason was that "the government feared that those troops and regiments of the IMAR Division might rebel against China, fleeing to the PRM". (Zhao Jinbu 2006: 321) The Mongolian military forces completely disappeared from the IMAR. After they had gone, the Chinese army marched in. The occupation of the Mongolian homeland by the Chinese army continues to this day.

Although the region is called an “Autonomous Region”, autonomy is only nominal. In reality, the IMAR is nothing but a Chinese colony.

Intentions of the Establishment with Ruling Power and the Logic of Denunciation

In spring 2010, an academic researcher named Amulan published a biography of her father, General Kongfei, former Chairman of the IMAR. Amulan is a professor of Hebei Normal University. In her book, she discusses the Cultural Revolution, touching on the share of hardships which her family experienced. The book is based on experiences of her own, General Kongfei’s diaries, government archives and testimonies contributed by former high-ranking government officials, who were acquainted with her father and the family.

Kongfei came from the Hurchin Left Wing Middle Banner in the east of Inner Mongolia. During the Sino-Japanese War, he joined the Communist Party of China. He spent many years in Yan’an, which was the ground of the growing political power of the CPC in its early days. He married Yunqing (figure 15), Ulaanhu’s younger sister. Ulaanhu was one of the most important leaders of the ethnic movement for Mongolian self-determination and autonomy.



figure 15, Kongfei, a Mongolian general and his wife Yunqing

During the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, people in the eastern part of Inner Mongolia received a modern Japanese-style education. For this reason, after the establishment of the PRC, Mongolians from the east were often despised by Chinese people, who called them contemptuously “rogues with Japanese swords tied to their belts” or “bastards carrying the Japanese national flag”. As for the Yan’an Sect, however, it primarily consisted of Mongolians from Tumed in the west of Inner Mongolia. Ulaanhu was from Tumed as well. Within the Yan’an Sect, Kongfei was one of the minority group of people from the east of Inner Mongolia.

Here I would like to introduce a very important testimony disclosed in Amulan's book. This testimony was made by a Chinese man, General Liu Chang, during the 1980s. He was Second Political Commissar of the Inner Mongolia Military District. He testified about his experiences of the Cultural Revolution in front of many people, expressing deep repentance for his conduct in the past. (Amulan 2010: 52-353)

“In 1964, the Chief of the General Staff of the PLA visited this region to inspect the Inner Mongolia Military District. He said to me and Deputy Commander Xiao Yingtang, ‘Both of you are honest men, and have served loyally as executive leaders since the days of the Chinese Workers’ and Peasants’ Red Army. That’s why I am telling you the truth. “XX” is planning to purge Mongolians. So don’t support stupid Mongolians, will you?’ As a matter of fact, it seems that Deputy Commander Xiao Yingtang had known about this plot for a long time before we met with the Chief of the General Staff.”

Amulan does not disclose the name of the Chief of the General Staff in her book. The other politician is referred to only as “XX”. However, the Chief of the General Staff of the PLA in 1964 was General Luo Ruiqing, and “XX” was obviously Mao Zedong, the supreme leader of Communist China. The CPC started a clandestine intelligence operation no later than 1964, collecting as much information as possible about Mongolian political leaders including Ulaanhu. They used whatever means were available. I have disclosed part of such “Strictly Classified Materials” collected by the CPC in my previous publications. (Yang 2011a, 2012) This testimony of General Liu Chang is in perfect agreement with those materials.

According to Amulan's writings, while Ulaanhu was tormented in the “struggle sessions” in Beijing in May, 1966, the other main political leaders of the IMAR government were leading a socialist educational movement in rural areas. Included in this group were four leading Mongolian politicians, that is, Kongfei, Deputy Commander, two Second Political Commissars, Wu Tao and Tingmao and Tala, Deputy Chief of the General Staff. When the Cultural Revolution broke out, all military officers of the PLA were transferred back to the capital of the IMAR except for Mongolian officers. They were left behind. In those days, Amulan was a student of Beijing University of Political Science and Law (the predecessor of the China University of Political Science and Law). One day, she happened to walk past a bulletin board in Beijing, on which a newspaper was stuck. There was a report about Ulaanhu being ousted from all leadership

posts. It also said that her father, General Kongfei, had been denounced as the “the War Minister of the Ulaanhu dynasty”. (Amulan 2010: 339-345)

In mid July, 1966, Deputy Commander Kongfei returned to the Inner Mongolia Military District. On the 6th of August, the commanding power of the army was handed over to Chinese military officers. First Deputy Commander Liu Huaxiang and Deputy Commander Xiao Yingtang (肖应棠) convened a large meeting to criticise and denounce three Mongolian military officers. Deputy Commander Kongfei was condemned as “an ethnic separatist and the War Minister nominated by Ulaanhu, conspiring to launch a coup d’état against China”. Among those Chinese military leaders, First Deputy Commander Liu Huaxiang was particularly dishonest and despicable. Later Kongfei talked about his experiences to his daughter (Amulan 2010: 346-348):

I was taken to one of the “struggle sessions”, during which Deputy Commander Liu Huaxiang criticised me and said, “On the 15th August, 1951, Kongfei accused the Han about their perpetration of “*shadazi*” (殺韃子), meaning “killing “*dazi*”, barbarous Mongolians”. I confronted him and said, “In 1951, I was still working in the Xing’an Military District in the northeast. I had not yet been assigned to any military post in Huhhot City”. In response, Liu said, “Oh, then, it must have been in 1952”. I confronted him again and said, “In 1952, I still was not in Huhhot”. Liu contended, “If it was not 1952, then it must have been 1953”. I could not believe that a leading military officer in such an important position could fabricate such a ridiculous lie. How outrageous!

The Chinese term “*dazi*” was a derogatory reference to Mongolian people. There is an old legend that, during the Yuan dynasty, Chinese people buried a little note saying “*shadazi*” inside mooncakes, distributing them among the Chinese community, before launching an uprising against Mongolian rulers. “*Shadazi*” meant “Let’s kill barbarians, Mongolians, together”. It has been used by Chinese people to express their intense hatred of Mongolians. Whenever this phrase “*shadazi*” was used, Mongolians strongly protested. (Yang 2005a: 163-192) First Deputy Commander Liu Huaxiang was antagonised by Kongfei, when the latter complained about the use of that expression “*shadazi*” in the proceedings of the “struggle session”.

Rogues Carrying the Japanese National Flag and Those with Japanese Swords Tied to the Belts

Furthermore, in November, 1966, the two Chinese Deputy Commanders, Liu Huaxiang (劉華香) and Xiao Yingtang, held a public meeting in a traditional religious hall in the Military District. During the meeting, they disclosed a list of 17 criminals including Kongfei, who had been condemned as “anti-revolutionary elements”. Included in the list were Tingmao, Second Political Commissar, Tala, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, Li Chunyi, another Deputy Chief of the General Staff and Yun Yili, Division Leader of the Inner Mongolian Army’s 5th Cavalry Division. This conference marked the beginning of violent attacks on all Mongolian military officers. One of the features of political campaigns in China is that not only were those actually convicted but also their families were persecuted in public. Kongfei’s mother was beaten by Chinese people, and so was his son, Heping, Amulan’s younger brother. The attacks permanently damaged Heping’s hearing. (Amulan 2010: 354-363; 367-368)

As Amulan stresses in her book, Kongfei was convicted of multiple felonies. He was Deputy Commander of the Inner Mongolia Military District. In addition, he was married to a younger sister of Ulaanhu, who had already been denounced as the “leader of IMPRP, the organisation of ethnic separatists”. Ulaanhu was also the “supreme leader of the Ulaanhu anti-party treasonous clique”. In those days, all Mongolians were almost unconditionally condemned as “ethnic separatists belonging to the IMPRP”, if they had been born with Mongolian ethnic identity. They were purged almost unconditionally. (Amulan 2010: 384; 389) While Kongfei was detained, abused and tormented in jail, his mother died, because she was denied access to medical treatment. When the Cultural Revolution was over, Kongfei strongly requested that his military career be reinstated. However, his appeal was denied by Liu Huaxiang, Xiao Yingtang and other Chinese military officers, who had stripped him of his commanding power. There was intense distrust of Mongolian officers. They were strongly discriminated against in the Chinese army. The hostility was shown by Chinese phrases such as “*da gaoyaoqide*” (打膏藥旗的) or “*kua yangdaode*” (挎洋刀的). The former meant “bastards upholding the Japanese national flag”, while the latter meant “rogues with Japanese swords tied to their belts”. (Amulan 2010: 372; 423)

In this section, I have introduced one memoir and one book. Both authors are Mongolians, and they were afflicted by organised violence for a long time, systematically perpetrated by the Chinese government and people. Here are several fundamen-

tal issues that we should consider.

Firstly, the Mongolian genocide started in the Inner Mongolia Military District, in which elitist Mongolian military officers gathered. Once the political campaign began, all Mongolians were purged as national (ethnic) splittists. It did not matter whether they had come from the west or the east of Inner Mongolia. There was no distinction. Those who belonged to the “Yan’an Sect” in the west were just as malevolent as those from the east with Japanese swords tied to their belts. The purge against Mongolian military officers had been schemed long before the first crackdown. Likewise, the purge against Mongolian political leaders in the IMAR government had been planned long before the campaign started. Based on various historic records, it is evident that the plan had been made no later than 1964.

Secondly, in the process of genocide, Mongolians were usurped of their right to possess military power of their own. It was lost forever. Inner Mongolia was supposed to be an autonomous region. Until the launch of the Cultural Revolution, there were some military forces under the command of the local government. Mongolian Cavalry Divisions were under the command of the IMAR government. Chinese people took advantage of political and social upheavals during the Cultural Revolution, and took over military power from Mongolians. Mongolian officers could not have their military careers reinstated after the Revolution. Today the Chinese government officially acknowledges that the Cultural Revolution was unjustifiable. However, they have denied the restoration of the Mongolian people’s right to have military forces of their own.

Thirdly, if the concept of national (ethnic) autonomy should include the possession of military power, Mongolians have lost their autonomy completely since the Cultural Revolution. As a matter of fact, this autonomy has never been substantiated in Inner Mongolia. It was only present in the name IMAR. Today, however, it has completely disappeared in both nominal and real terms.

Records Written by Assailants vs. Those Written by Victims

Between 1978 and 1980, after the massacre had ended, Hua Guofeng was in power in China. He was Chinese Premier as well as Chairman of the CPC. Under his leadership, the Chinese government put in place a “reinstatement of honour”, at least to a limited extent, for the victims in Inner Mongolia who had been purged during the Revolution. (Qizhi 2010: 478-479) In order to implement this new policy, the Central

Commission for Disciplinary Inspection of the CPC was set up in the Inner Mongolia Military District. The “Administrative Office of Policy Implementation” was set up to manage the actual procedures. In the following sections, I will describe some specific cases recorded in the public archives of the Inner Mongolia Military District. They will show the circumstances under which Mongolian military officers and citizens were executed. Contained in the archives are letters of petition filed by victims or families of the deceased. They appealed to the authorities to “reinstate their once lost honour”. In addition, there are testimonies of assailants who attacked the victims, together with accounts from third party witnesses. Furthermore, although the number of cases was limited, some final rulings from the authorities of the Military District can be found.

I have a copy of a booklet titled “Registry of Comrades Killed during the Political Campaign to Unmask and Purge IMPRP Members”. I found this on the 5th December, 1978, when I was pruning various historic materials in my collection. (Yang 2014: 229-238) There were eight victims’ names in the Registry. Among them seven were Mongolians, while one was a Daghur officer. Daghurs used to be called Daghur Mongolians until the 1950s, and they have been particularly close to Mongolians. The following is a list of the names and affiliations of the victims. It shows when and where they were executed:

1. Serennadamud, PLA 251 (Erwuyi) Corps Hospital, 29th Nov., 1968
2. Baofeng (鮑風), Political Section of the PLA General Logistics Department of the Military District, 8th Dec., 1968
3. Qishicai, PLA 253 (Erwusan) Corps Hospital, 31st Dec., 1968
4. Wang Renmin, War Horse Inspection Station of the PLA General Logistics Dept., 30th Aug., 1970
5. Buyan, Combat Medics Station of the PLA General Logistics Dept., 30th June, 1972
6. Jirum, Medical Inspection Station of the Military District, 24th Feb., 1974
7. Okaifu, PLA 356 Corps Hospital, 29th Sept., 1974
8. Song Baolin, PLA Logistics Command Dept. of the Military District, 26th Feb., 1975

This Registry also recorded when they had joined the PLA and become Party members of the CPC. There is no mention, however, of why and how they had been “killed”.

Genocide in Communes

Here I would like to focus on the details of a particular genocide, which took place in the Sijiayao (四家堯) People's Commune in Tumed Right Banner located between the capital Huhhot and the industrial city of Baotou in the west of the IMAR. This report is based on public archives kept by the authorities. Some of the documents were stored in public archives by the governments of the IMAR and Baotou City. The Sijiayao People's Commune came under the Baotou administration. Other materials were letters of petition filed by Mongolian victims. These documents reveal the details of massacres, abuses and atrocities which the victims had to endure. Furthermore, the testimonies of assailants were also found, in which the perpetrators confessed their crimes. The letters of petition bore the official stamps of the local governments, showing that all the details in the documents were true. I would like to stress that this paper was written based on primary historical records stored in the public archives of the Chinese government. It should also be noted that, before writing this paper, I reviewed the documents filed by both victims and assailants. They talked about their own direct experiences.

When the massacres were at their peak, there were about 1,046 people's communes in the IMAR. Mongolians were victimized by Chinese people not only in the people's communes but also in many businesses and government agencies. On the 3rd December, 1978, the administration of the Sijiayao People's Commune embarked on a "new survey to identify the victims of the political campaign to unmask and purge IMPRP members". The survey concluded that 129 people had been persecuted, among whom eight had been killed.

5. Sexual Violence Inflicted on Mongolian Women

Based on the petitions filed by the victims, the administration of the Sijiayao People's Commune compiled a "Report on the Efforts Necessary to Further Resolve the Problems Caused by the Political Campaign to Unearth and Purge IMPRP Members in the Past". The Report identified several criminals including Bai Gaocai, Chief of the Commune, Ren Deliang, Chen Misuo and others. They tortured 656 victims denounced as IMPRP members. More than 30 different methods of torture were used. Mongolian men were hung upside down from a ceiling with ropes tied to their penises. Hands were inserted in the wombs of pregnant women to scrape fetuses out. (Yang 2013a:

480, 483) The perpetrators called this despicable act “*washin*” (挖芯), meaning “scrape out a core”. One of the petitioners confessed in grief, “When being tortured with such extreme violence, who could continue to deny their involvement with the IMPRP? No one could.” Although I do not know all the details of crimes committed by the Nazis against Jewish people, I would like to stress that the international community should not forgive those crimes when perpetrated by Chinese people.

The following describes other cases of sexual abuse found in the archives (Yang 2013a: 483):

A Mongolian woman named Zhao Horshu was tied with a rope and beaten fiercely. She was ordered to squat over the blade of a sword. Then a torture called “*qiqinglong*” (騎青龍), meaning “ride on a blue dragon”, began. Her underwear was taken off. While she was standing naked, a water-soaked hemp rope was pushed against her perineum. The rope was pulled back and forth like a saw. Her genital organs were badly damaged, causing serious bleeding. She fell to the ground. Although she has been treated in hospital many times, she is still unable to walk. She has been disabled.

A Mongolian woman named Zhang Wanhar was accused as a “criminal, who had committed felonies” by Chinese people named Bai Gaocai and Zhang Wangqing. She was tortured violently. They performed “*washin*” by inserting a hand into her uterus and scraping out a 4-month-old foetus. She suffered serious sequelae, and eventually died in 1976.

Members of the Sijiayao People’s Commune filed a petition to the authorities, demanding that “Bai Gaocai be arrested and punished by law”. Perhaps Mongolian women had not experienced such dreadful sexual crimes since the advent of the Mongolian ethnic group on this planet. It was probably the first time for them. It might be true that every ethnic group in the world has experienced war crimes in history. However, Chinese people boast that “Chinese civilization is 4,000 years old. We are civilised people, reading the works of Confucius and Mencius”. By contrast, they contemptuously call Mongolian people “barbarians”. In this context, the crimes committed by the Chinese had a special meaning. As for the Sijiayao People’s Commune, the crimes were not perpetrated by a few villains such as Bai Gaocai. They were organized and officially recommended by the Chinese government and people. Therefore, the

government and people were both liable. Despite that, they have never apologised to the victims. These were inhuman crimes, so today Mongolians believe that it is time for them to appeal to the United Nations Human Rights Committee.

Inhumane Crimes which are to be brought before the United Nations Human Rights Committee

In the section above, I focused on one particular people's commune, to illustrate the organised crimes planned and perpetrated by the Chinese government and people. During the Cultural Revolution, there were as many as 1,046 people's communes in the IMAR. I strongly hope that in-depth surveys will be conducted across the IMAR to identify and record all the victims and the atrocities they suffered. It will be a huge undertaking, requiring the efforts of many people. The scope of the work is so enormous that it will not be accomplished by myself alone. I would be extremely happy, therefore, if the efforts were to be continued in the future by others as well, to make progress together toward the mutual goal.

Sexual crimes were committed against Mongolian women not only in the Sijiayao People's Commune in the Tumed Right Banner, but also in other places. The following shows some case reports that I have discovered through the survey:

There was a village called Abdar Ying in the Chahar Right Wing Rear Banner of Ulaanchab. From October 1968 onwards, the village was attacked in the political campaign to purge IMPRP members. A group of Chinese people headed by a man called Li Shan stripped Mongolian women naked. They placed a coarse rope in their groin right beneath their perineum, before pulling the rope back and forth like a saw. The women's genital organs and lower abdomens were severely injured. (Pan Yongzhen 2009: 200) Two Mongolians named Zhao Sangdao and Zhao Jie testified that, in the 3rd Platoon of the Saihan Battalion of Ulaan Hada People's Commune, pig dung was rubbed onto the faces of Mongolian women. They were forced to lick the dung from their faces. At night, the assailants stripped the Mongolians naked and accused them of being IMPRP members. The villagers were forced to have sexual intercourse with each other in public, while surrounded by a crowd of spectators. The women were ordered to squat on a rope, which was pulled back and forth like a saw by Chinese people. Their groins and perinea were severely injured. (Zhao Sangdao and Zhao Jie 2009: 219)

There was a Mongolian man called Dalintai in the Chahar Right Wing Rear Ban-

ner of Ulaanchab. Dalintai talked about his family's sufferings as follows (Dalintai 2009: 221-226):

My elder brother was called Norbujamsu. He was born on the 7th July, 1932. . . . After he was murdered, his wife was arrested. Her name was Dorjisan and she was a typical nomad woman. One night, a "Workers' Thoughts of Mao Zedong Propaganda Team (*Gōngxuānduì*, 工宣隊) headed by the team leader named Zhang Huigen attacked her home. They stripped her naked and tied her hands and legs with ropes. They slashed her breasts with a sword before rubbing salt into the open wounds and stirring the salt with chopsticks. Blood spurted from the wounds and spread over the floor. . . .The torture still continued. The attackers said to her, "You want to die quickly, don't you? But, no, we won't kill you yet. Who are the IMPRP members in this village? Tell us who. Until you confess who the members are, we'll keep you alive". She had been tortured brutally for more than 10 days before she died in a hospital in the Dorbenkuuked Banner.

I was told later that before my brother's wife, Dorjisan, died, she had said to people around her, "I come from the Chahar Right Wing Rear Banner. My younger brother-in-law lives in a village called Abdar Ying. I have five children. Please take them to Abdar Ying. My brother-in-law will take care of my children". . . . In May, 1969, I went to the Dorbenkuuked Banner, where the remains and blood-smeared clothes of my elder brother Norbujamsu and his wife Dorjisan were handed over to me. I found my brother's five children and took them to my home. During the journey, I took a photograph of those children.

Dalintai's story was incorporated in Altandelehei's work, which I introduced at the beginning of this paper. According to Altandelehei, in total, 1,686 people were killed in the Ulaanchab League, where the Chahar Right Wing Rear Banner was located. (Altandelehei 1999: 85)

Secondary Attacks to Keep Victims Silent about Sexual Crimes Perpetrated on them in the Past

After reading Altandelehei's work, I started my own survey about the Chahar Right Wing Rear Banner, collecting more information about the victims and the atrocities.

The following is a testimony given by a Mongolian woman living in Huhhot City. When the Revolution stormed the Banner, she was living in the Ulaanhada People's Commune. Since this woman wants anonymity, her name will not be disclosed. She not only talked about her experiences, but also provided me with what she had written about them:

One day in February, 1968, my husband and father-in-law were arrested. Left at home were my mother-in-law, my children and myself. My elderly mother-in-law and I were summoned to those "struggle sessions" almost every day, in which we were bitterly criticised and condemned. We were living in a fairly big house, but we were expelled from it. The house was confiscated by the Revolutionary Committees, (triple alliances of the rebel people, the PLA and CPC cadres). We had to move to a small building like a warehouse. The village I lived in consisted of 5 Mongolian households. There were three women in their 20s including myself, two women in their 30s and four elderly women. We could not understand Chinese at all. The executive members of the Revolutionary Committees were all Chinese, and they did not speak Mongolian. I had absolutely no idea what "crimes" we were supposed to have committed. We were prohibited from talking to each other in Mongolian.

The Committees brought a Chinese/Mongolian interpreter to the village. They ordered us through the interpreter to "confess to the adulteries we had committed". They said, "We know how dirty and immoral you are in your sex lives. You are filthy beasts!" Each Chinese executive member was holding a copy of the *"Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong"* in one hand, while gripping a whip in the other. They beat all nine women with the whips. Among us there were young pregnant women as well as the elderly. They kept hitting us until the whips were torn and truncheons broken. One of my relatives was a young woman in her 20s called "N", and she was pregnant. Due to the torture, she had a miscarriage. The Chinese people were very pleased with the miscarriage and laughed out loud. Another woman called "J" was brought to our village from a neighbouring community. She also had a miscarriage due to the sexual abuses inflicted on her.

Almost all the wives and daughters of IMPRP members were raped repeatedly by executive members of the Revolutionary Committees. At that time, for several

tens of kilometres around the area where we lived, there was absolutely no hiding place. No matter how we tried to escape, we were found and recaptured by the Revolutionary Committees. One night in summer 1968, five women including myself were stripped naked and taken to some grassland. They ordered us to stand on the ground with our legs wide apart. They placed flaming kerosene lamps beneath our groins. Numerous mosquitos, moths and bugs were attracted to the flames, swarming round our legs and abdomens. These tortures continued for many days and nights. In winter 1968, the Chinese people ordered a Mongolian woman called “S” to “cross breed” through “sexual intercourse” with her father-in-law. While we were sexually abused in such ways, we were watched by Chinese spectators including military leaders, executives of communes, and farmers. They enjoyed the torture and laughed happily.

One day I was ordered by the Chinese people to hit an elderly woman called “M”. When I refused, they hit me. “M” said to me, “Go on, hit me. It’s all right. You are young and you have children. You have to survive”. One week later, she committed suicide. I was in despair, but I had to endure the hardships for the sake of my children. After experiencing these tortures, all the women in the village were physically disabled, and the disabilities were severe. I lost my hearing in one ear and my hips were damaged. My arms do not function properly. The Chinese leader commanding those assaults on women was called Shi Yuting. He was one of the PLA leaders and an executive of the Department of the People’s Armed Forces in the local government of the Chahar Right Wing Rear Banner. Shi’s boss was called Li Tingshu, one of the executives of the Instruction Management Committee of the Banner.

Those Mongolian women sexually assaulted by Chinese men could do nothing but endure the atrocities. There was no chance for them to charge the Chinese criminals. The difficulties are still the same today. In today’s China, victims cannot testify about sexual violence inflicted on them during the Cultural Revolution. This means that secondary assaults are being committed today, keeping the victims silent.

If we tried to identify all the crimes committed by military leaders of the PLA, executive members of the CPC and Chinese farmers against Mongolian women during the Cultural Revolution, the list would be very long. It was probably the first time in history for Mongolian women to experience such sexual violence. These were crimes

against humanity, and their memories are still present in society. Unless those sexual abuses perpetrated on Mongolian women are officially recognised, apologised for and settled, they cannot be completely resolved. Today society is still overcast by the shadows of those inhumane crimes committed in the past.

Mongolian Women were Sexually Abused to Defeat Mongolian Men

Chizuko Ueno, a Japanese renowned sociologist, has been analysing crimes against humanity around the world. According to Ueno, “There are reasons why, in wartime, women are often made the targets of sexual crimes by male enemies. One is that the sexual abuse of the female enemy is a most effective and powerful way to humiliate the male enemy. Another reason is that men know that, by committing sexual assaults on women, their overwhelmingly stronger power can be ostentatiously demonstrated to their male enemy”. (Ueno 2012: 113)

The Cultural Revolution was not a war. It took place in a supposedly peaceful era, when “people were sharing happy lives in a big socialist family”. Mongolian women were sexually assaulted by Chinese men. The aim was to completely defeat all Mongolians. Mongolian women were humiliated by Chinese men to insult Mongolian men. Would it be acceptable if Mongolian men in the world remained silent and let the past be forgotten? Can they obliterate the memories of these crimes? They were humiliated, while their sisters, wives, daughters and mothers were sexually humiliated. The Chinese Cultural Revolution was, in fact, an inhumane crime not only against the Mongolian people but also against all human beings. Many problems have not yet been resolved. We should continue to ask for the justice. We should continue to appeal for help from the international community and the International Court of Human Rights.

6. Estimated Damages over the Whole IMAR

How many Mongolians were massacred altogether in the IMAR? The answer is unknown (figure 16). The truth is still veiled in ambiguity. We simply cannot trust the statistics officially announced by the Chinese government.

According to some statistical data, the total number killed in the Hulunbuir League was 2,794, while 6,612 people were severely crippled. It is said that, as of 1968, “there were seven leagues, two cities and 1,046 people’s communes” in the IMAR. In the two cities of Huhhot and Baotou were many government agencies and enterprises.

These also suffered horrendous purging. There was no district or institution in Inner Mongolia which escaped the waves of massacre.

In the Sijiayao People's Commune of Tumed League, 32 people were killed. In the Tug People's Commune of Ushin Banner, Ordos, 54 (or 69 according to other statis-



figure 16, a famous propaganda film: “where is the motherland of Mongols?”

tics) people were killed. (Yang 2009c: 124; 2011: 185) In a little experimental laboratory of the Inner Mongolia Bureau of Geology, one Chinese woman named Wu Guiying put four people to death on her own. How many people really became victims in the “seven leagues, two cities and 1,046 people's communes plus many government agencies and enterprises”? The Chinese government announced that “while 346,000 people were arrested, 27,900 people were killed. In total, 120,000 people were crippled”. Certainly these figures are too small. The true numbers should be much larger. Based on my own research, I believe that the statement of Shirabjamsu, a Mongolian journalist, is highly reliable. After conducting surveys of his own, Shirabjamsu concluded, “If we combine the number of those who were killed on the spot during the crackdowns with that of those who died after being released from prison, the total number of Mongolian victims would reach the order of 300,000”. (Shirabjamsu 2006: 44)

The Cultural Revolution did not break out in wartime. As time went by, the Chinese government gradually changed its view of that horrendous political upheaval. More recently they have come to call it a “civil war”. It is beyond doubt, however, that the Cultural Revolution was a political movement, which took place in a nation when it was not waging war. The international community should take note of the gravity of this fact. As for Mongolians, they should not regard that genocide simply as a tragic incident in the past. Efforts should be made to demonstrate to international society that the Mongolian genocide is still an unresolved problem of human rights

violation to this day. While that problem remains unresolved, the ethnic status of Mongolians will be eroded, causing the colonisation of Inner Mongolia. This would have major implications not only for the Mongolians in Inner Mongolia, but also for the Buryats and the Kalmyks, the two ethnic groups closely related to Mongolians. Mongolians were condemned as “spies of the People’s Republic of Mongolia” (predecessor of Mongolia) or as “traitors scheming the resurgence of the Mongolian Empire”. They were brutally murdered. The genocide was performed against all Mongolian ethnic communities. I believe, therefore, that all Mongolian people should ponder what they can do to resolve the problem, and thus contribute to the furtherance of human rights in the world.

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