

Letter to Temchilt Shobtsuud (Xi Haiming)

Dear brother Temchilt Shobtsuud,

We are a group of Southern Mongolians writing to you regarding your recently expressed doctrines on Southern Mongolia's nationality question and political future. We greatly admire and respect you for your tireless struggle and tremendous efforts for the independence and well-being of 6 million Southern Mongolians as a nation. We want to express our profound thanks to you for your clear vision and firm stance in fighting for the complete political independence of Southern Mongolia from China over the past 30 plus years. Your words and deeds have inspired not only the Southern Mongolian people but also Tibetans, Uyghurs as well as millions of freedom loving people around the world.

However, over the past several years, we have noticed a disturbing trend in your political views which have served to discourage Southern Mongolian freedom fighters both home and abroad. It has also provided an opportunity and convenient pretext for the Chinese regime to further suppress movements and calls for the independence and self-determination of Southern Mongolia by courageous men and women like Mr. Hada and Ms. Huuchinhuu. Independence has long been considered impossible not only by people around the world but also by Southern Mongolians themselves. Southern Mongolia however, thanks to her ever-underestimated internal strength, strong national identity and deep historical consciousness, emerged as a new force with incredible potential to free themselves from the Chinese yoke. This was evidenced recently through the recent nonviolent rallies across China to protest the Chinese regime. The moral and spiritual victories of Hada, his family members, and Huuchinhuu over the brutality of the Chinese prison system and police apparatus and the heroic actions of young students and brave herders in Shiliin-gol and elsewhere fully confirm that the Southern Mongolians indeed have a tremendous potential to make the impossible happen.

At this historic moment of hope, your recently expressed doctrines, in particular the theories of "Mongol-Chinese Dual Integration" and "China's Democratization is the Prerequisite of Resolving Nationality Question in Southern Mongolia" have dampened our spirits. Your doctrine does not represent the aspirations and will of the Southern Mongolian people to be free from China. Of equal concern, such a doctrine goes a long way towards nullifying your great efforts to keep the hope of self-determination alive during the darkest three decades in the history of Southern Mongolia.

We would like to take a closer look at the aforementioned doctrines you have developed recently:

1. Theory of "Mongol-Chinese Dual Integration" or known as "liang yuan zhu ti lun" appeared on many Chinese language news media and has been cheerfully welcomed by the so-called "overseas Chinese democratic activists" most of whom in fact are even more close-minded, more racist and more Chauvinistic than their counterparts in the Chinese Communist Party. The main idea of your "Mongol-Chinese Dual Integration" theory is that Southern Mongolia is home to Mongolians and Chinese both of whom

should be legitimate owners of Southern Mongolia. Claiming that both Mongolians and Chinese are in a relationship of mutual benefit and mutual assistance to coexist, not only does this theory fail to highlight and prioritize the urgency of the suffering of Southern Mongolians inflicted on them by the Chinese occupation but also denies the validity of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) that guarantees the legitimacy of ownership of indigenous peoples on their ancestral land. Even the Minority Region Autonomy Law of the Chinese authoritarian regime, as titular as it may be, still recognizes the Mongolians as the primary owners of Southern Mongolia at least in principle. No Chinese from the current Chinese regime is as flagrant as to trash this legitimacy as is Mr. Temchilt Shobtsuud, a Southern Mongolian and a prominent leader of Southern Mongolia. Southern Mongolian intellectuals abroad regard the “Mongol-Chinese Dual Integration” theory as a derivation or even an awkward pirated copy of “Zhonghua Nationality Pluralistic Integration Theory” by Fei Xiaotong, a senior Chinese scholar and advisor to the CCP who established a theoretical framework for China’s political oppression, territorial occupation and cultural eradication over other indigenous nations or the so-called “national minorities” within the borders of China. Many Southern Mongolians consider the “Mongol-Chinese Dual Integration” theory as an unacceptable degree of concession. Some equate it to a submission to the Chinese regime. Others even call it a “betrayal to the nation of Southern Mongolia”.

2. Recently, you expressed another theory titled “China’s Democratization is a Prerequisite of Resolving Nationality Question of Southern Mongolia” which has appeared multiple times on overseas Chinese language media. Quite self-explanatory, this theory states that the so-called “minority nationality” question cannot be resolved before China is democratized. We all consider that China’s “minority nationality” question, at least Southern Mongolian nationality question, is a struggle against the Chinese colonial occupation. Southern Mongolians, except for you dear brother, are not genuinely interested in distinguishing what form or what name the Chinese come up with to occupy our nation and territory. Whether they are Communist Chinese or Kuomintang Chinese or Democratic Chinese or whether they are liberal Chinese or conservative Chinese is not of primary interest to the Southern Mongolians. In fact, as you know, there are a good number of countries around the world occupying other nations under the name of “spreading democracy” or “bringing about democratic change”. We must be clear that the collapse of the CCP regime is not equal to China’s democratization. Due to the deep-rooted Chinese mentality of de facto aversion towards social justice, equality, human rights and human dignity that are critical ingredients for democracy, Chinese society simply does not have the soil to grow democracy. If you take a closer look at China, the population is extremely fragmented and the society is deeply fractured, corruption is endemic, making it highly unlikely that any revolution would lead to democracy. It’s more likely that anarchy, chaos, and even civil war would follow the collapse of the current regime. The Cultural Revolution is a shining example of the Chinese response to socio-political change. Recent violent skirmishes of Chinese citizens with CCP riot police and paramilitary forces show no sign of healthy change toward a just society but hint at the most probable path towards violence and conflict. Dear brother, we must acknowledge that the so-called “overseas

Chinese democratic activists” are not for social change but for regime change. What they want is to topple their Communist regime and put up their own under the name of “democracy” by mobilizing all possible forces including the Southern Mongolians. We will remain a colony of the Chinese even under a future so-called “democratic China”. Let’s not count on them to rescue us. All Chinese “democratic” activists consider the Southern Mongolia question under the framework of “zhonghua nationality” only. In this sense we must give credit to Mao Zedong over these Chinese “democratic” activists owing to his promise of recognizing the Southern Mongolians to “enjoy self-determination or even a complete independence from China” in 1935. No single Chinese “democratic” activist today has the “sincerity” and “generosity” even superficially to admit the right to self-determination and independence of Southern Mongolia. No “democratic” Chinese including the Nobel Peace Prize laureate Liu Xiaobo has the mentality readiness to pass this entry-level test of democracy. We are totally puzzled what made you believe that this group of Chinese associated with the name of “democracy” is better than the other group of Chinese with the name of “Communism”. To us, it is crystal clear that China’s regime change which might be conveniently called “democratization” is neither a prerequisite nor a guarantee to the self-determination of Southern Mongolia.

These two theories you’ve expounded on do not serve the best interests of Southern Mongolia. What they have done is to allow the Chinese “democrats” and Communists alike to collectively breathe a sigh of relief now in their belief that Southern Mongolians accept “being part of zhonghua nationality” and “give up the idea of separatism”. Equally disturbing to us is that you publicly announced these theories without any consultation with other Southern Mongolian freedom fighters. Yet, in defense of the doctrines during the communication with some of us, you came up with two invalid and illogical justifications. They are:

1. “I have shouted for the independence of Southern Mongolia for 30 years. No one responded to my call, and nothing happened to Southern Mongolia.” It does not necessarily follow that promoting the occupiers of our nation to owners will somehow lead to the whole world standing up and supporting you tomorrow or that Southern Mongolia will get its independence over night. In fact, conceding independence at this point will embolden our enemies to be less inclined to enter into any kind of dialogue. Although it is unfair to blame you for the unfruitfulness of the struggle for independence of Southern Mongolia, you should voluntarily take some responsibility for your failure to better manage the organization you led to achieve a better outcome. Unpopularity and the lack of success of our struggle is largely due to the lack of strategic planning to associate our movement closely to the general populace of Southern Mongolia. It is not because the idea of self-determination or independence itself is defective. Discarding the idea of independence by no means guarantees future success.
2. “What else can you do with the 20 million Chinese of Southern Mongolia? We must come up with a proposal to address this.” No one is forcing us to come up with a definitive solution to take care of these Chinese occupiers before any deadline. Why

must we be responsible for the well-being of these invaders before our own suffering caused by them is addressed? Why is it our obligation to make these uninvited Chinese invaders happy by sacrificing our nation and people? Even His Holiness the Dalai Lama, symbol of hope and compassion to mankind, has not come with a proposal to address the issue of the Chinese occupiers in Tibet. Even Ms. Kadeer Rebiya, mother of the Uyghurs and a Nobel Peace Prize nominee, has not mentioned how to guarantee the rights and well-being of the Chinese invaders in Eastern Turkistan. Why must the Southern Mongolians be the ones to come up with such a proposal which merely serves to placate the Chinese?

It is our greatest hope that you disavow these recently expressed doctrines and accept again the positions and beliefs you have held for 30 years. If you cannot do that, at least develop a modified position that is consistent with the will of the Southern Mongolian people. At the very least, if you must cling to these doctrines, we urge you not to preach these doctrines on behalf of Southern Mongolia, but on behalf of yourself only.

Sincerely Yours,

Signed by Southern Mongolians from the United States, Canada, Japan, Sweden, Norway and Mongolia

November 2, 2011