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# Conference Joint Statement

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# The China Plan

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Paper presented at "Exposing Communist Chinese Government Influence in America" Conference,
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The latest information of our unfolding national security scandal started on Capitol Hill. Senator Richard Shelby, chairman of the Senate Select Intelligence Committee, made reference last week to an "obscure U.S. bank" that was funneling money from the Chinese Communist government to political campaigns in the United States.

Shelby said his investigators had turned over information about the bank, and its ties back to Beijing, to U.S. law enforcement officials and to main Justice in Washington, DC. But so far, nothing has come of it. That should come as no surprise.

On May 13, the New York Times picked up on Shelby's hint, and gave a more complete glimpse of this latest episode in the scandal. Starting in 1996, the Comptroller of the Currency began to discover tens of millions of dollars being transferred from the Bank of China in Beijing to a series of banks in Los Angeles, among them an obscure local outfit run by a Chinese national, the Far East National Bank. In all, investigators traced \$92 million in transfers back to the Bank of China, but they never got a straight answer from any of the bankers what the money was for. Some may have gone into personal accounts for China's Princelings. Some may have gone for legitimate business deals. But undoubtedly, a portion of this money was used to purchase U.S. politicians through campaign contributions, and to finance Chinese communist espionage operations in the United States.

Since 1993, we've seen an extraordinary campaign by the Chinese communist government to expand its influence in the United States. This has involved setting up hundreds, if not thousands, of commercial front companies, a large proportion of them in California. These companies form the network the Communist government uses for a variety of purposes, running from out and out spying and the procurement of so-called dual-use technologies, to all the concomitant operations needed to pull these off successfully, from financing, to shipping, and even customs clearance. Some are direct subsidiaries of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Others are controlled directly by the State Council, the central government of China.

Although the Chinese have long conducted aggressive intelligence gathering operations against America, their U.S.-based networks have mushroomed in recent years, in fact, since Bill Clinton took office in January 1993. China's sprawling defense establishment, unlike our Pentagon, contains a morass of military factories, trading companies, banks, and investment houses that over the past ten years have engaged in a vast expansion of worldwide dimensions, including massive investments here in the United States.

The United States is vulnerable to such infiltration for a number of reasons. Our technology controls are too weak to prevent Chinese entities from purchasing military secrets, our capital markets are so wide open that Chinese state investors can finance military modernization on Wall Street, and our statutes governing direct foreign investment are virtually non-existent, allowing Chinese companies to establish far-flung networks for both commercial and intelligence purposes in the United States.

While federal investigators are just beginning to untie the knots of Chinese government attempts to influence the White House and other elected officials through campaign contributions and other means, it is overwhelmingly clear that Peking has recognized that the United States is easy enough to infiltrate. Chinese state-run companies are snatching up strategic real estate in places like Long Beach, California, where they had planned, with Clinton's warm approval, to turn a former U.S. Naval station into a container port to be used by a company identified by U.S. counter-intelligence officials as a front for Chinese espionage efforts. The Chinese government's flagship conglomerate, China International Trust

and Investment Corporation, CITIC, has been floating bond issues in the United States, tying the knot with major U.S. investment banks who are lobbying Congress against revoking China's Most Favored Nation trading status. People's Liberation Army (PLA) weapons firms have set up shop on our shores through a variety of front companies and obscure subsidiaries. Some of these companies have been targets of U.S. Customs of Commerce Department investigations for importing arms into the U.S. or exporting high technology, but they have never been punished - some believe, because of high-level U.S. government protection. Meanwhile, Chinese state-controlled trading houses are wheeling and dealing throughout the USA and Canada, raising capital on the stock market to modernize rust-belt factories back in China, and in the process establishing a nation-wide network of agents who are purchasing strategic technologies for the Chinese military. The Chinese "invasion" of the United States will require no warships, no bombers, no soldiers, and no missiles. In fact, it has already begun, through the creeping infiltration of the U.S. economy and a relentless intertwining of interests between American and Chinese business, much as Mainland China is taking over Hong Kong. As the Chinese philosopher, Sun Tzu, put it in his classic treatise, The Art of War: "To fight and conquer is not supreme excellence; supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting." China's military leaders still consider Sun Tzu's treatise to be a form of holy writ.

Part of China's offensive in the U.S. could be called classic influence peddling. I suppose I would put the campaign finance scandal in that category.

But the very individuals involved in that scandal also have deep ties back to the Chinese government; in some cases, to Chinese military intelligence.

Take Charlie Trie, the by now famous restaurateur of Little Rock, Arkansas. Charlie Trie played a significant personal role in convincing Bill Clinton of the virtues of doing business with Communist China, documents released by the White House to Senator Richard Shelby show. Well before the 1992 presidential elections, for instance, Trie used his friendship with then Governor Bill Clinton to promote a sister-city relationship between Little Rock and Changchun, the capital of Ji Lin Province in China - at a time when candidate Bill Clinton was fiercely criticizing President Bush for "coddling dictators" in Beijing. On November 10, 1992 - only days after his election as president - Clinton wrote Trie to congratulate him for establishing a branch of his company, Daihatsu International, in the People's Republic of China. "I know that you and your company can serve as a bridge of goodwill and exchange of mutual interest and benefits between China and the U.S." Clinton also noted that a delegation of Changchun City officials Trie brought to Little Rock "met with officials from A.I.D.C. (Arkansas Industrial Development Corporation)," the "I fully recognize the trade potential and contribution to Arkansas by such a venture," Clinton wrote. Trie clearly got the message, and became a major financial supporter of Clinton.

More recently, fellow campaign contributor Johnny Chung has testified in Congress of his own ties to Chinese military intelligence. Chung's contact was Liu Chao-ying, a Lt. Colonel in the PLA, Vice President of China Aerospace Holdings in Hong Kong, and daughter of General Liu Huaqing, who until recently held down the PLA's number two spot as well as being a member of the Politburo. On a trip to Hong Kong in August 1996, Ms. Liu introduced Chung to General Ji Shengde, the head of Chinese military intelligence. As Chung testified last week, General Ji told him: "We really like your president. We hope he will be reelected. I will give you \$300,000. You can give it to your president and to the Democratic Party." In true entrepreneurial style, Chung kept most of the money for his own expenses (and to pay college bills for General Ji's son at UCLA), contributing only around \$35,000 of that money to the DNC.

But General Ji and Ms. Liu told Chung they had many other "agents" who were buying influence in the United States, including John Huang, the former DNC fund-raiser, Lippo Bank official, and Commerce Department appointee. Huang and his Lippo Bank partners have contributed millions of dollars to Bill Clinton and the DNC, and bailed Clinton out at a very delicate point in his career, during a financial scandal back in Arkansas in 1985.

### **The Economic Front**

Much of Communist China's involvement in the United States is perfectly legal. But they did get caught once, in a 1990 attempt to buy up a Washington state aerospace subcontractor working for Boeing. The China National Aero-Technology Import-Export Corporation was blocked thanks to a little-known statute known as Exxon-Florio, passed in 1988, which requires a national security review when foreign firms seek to purchase key defense plants in the U.S. "Since then, they have simply changed tactics," said a Congressional aide who helped draft Exxon-Florio. "Once burned, twice smart," Today if a state-run Chinese company wishes to set up an American subsidiary, or even just a representative office, it can do so without restriction. Similarly, Chinese companies seeking to raise capital on Wall Street may list stocks freely, as long as they submit corporate and financial information as required by the Securities and Exchange Commission. "There are no statutes on our books preventing them," the Congressional aide said.

Since Bill Clinton came to office, in fact, the Chinese have been busily establishing companies that trade publicly in the U.S., with the dual purpose of attracting U.S. capital and purchasing sophisticated technologies for their operations back home. China Yuchai International is one such entity. Initially incorporated in Bermuda, the company went public on the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) in December 1994 and used the \$70 million in proceeds to modernize its diesel engine factories in China. Their engines power military trucks. The company is ultimately controlled by China's State Council through China Everbright International Ltd., a "red chip" which is run by Princeling Wang Guangying and is headquartered in the Lippo Tower in Hong Kong.

The company's Cleveland, Ohio subsidiary, Yuchai America, exists solely to purchase sensitive dual-use technology in the United States. Yuchai representatives attended a Philadelphia auction at the premises of Heinz Corporation, which made jet engines for the Pentagon, and purchased 2 sophisticated five-axis milling machines. When they attempted to ship them to China on May 18, 1994, however, they were intercepted by U.S. Customs and impounded. The case was eventually handed over to the Commerce Department, which brushed aside concerns that the machines would enhance Chinese military manufacturing capabilities, and allowed the company to ship them to China in late 1995. Commerce announced on Oct. 2, 1996 that it was levying a \$200,000 civil fine against the company for violations of the Export Administration Act.

EK Chor Motorcycle Corporation is another publicly traded company on the NYSE. The company is a joint venture between the Hong Kong investment group, C.P. Pokphand Co. and China North Industries, more commonly known as Norinco. In papers filed with the SEC for the new company's Initial Public Offering, Bear Stearns described Norinco as "the PLA's weapons manufacturer." The head of the new company's Hong Kong partner, Dhanin Chearavanont, is an ethnic Chinese born in Fuijian province, who has built one of Asia's largest business empires.

In 1996 Dhanin was introduced to President Clinton by Pauline Kanchanalak, the head of the U.S.-Thai Business Council and a close friend of DNC fund-raiser John Huang. The White House has acknowledged that the participants at that meeting discussed U.S. policy toward China, where the C.P. Group has major investments, including several joint ventures with Norinco. The next day, according to the Washington Times, Kanchanalak donated \$85,000 to the DNC.

Another major state-controlled company that has attracted Wall Street capital is China Resources (Holding), notorious to U.S. counter-intelligence officials for the services it renders to COSTIND collectors. Through China Resources Development Inc., registered in Salt Lake City, Utah, the company raised funds from Wall Street in 1996. Ultimately controlled by China Everbright, it has used the money raised on Wall Street to expand state-owned enterprises back in China, SEC documents obtained by TAS show. Profits from the venture are distributed to directors through a holding company in the British Virgin Islands known as Billion Luck Company Ltd.

By far the largest public offering in the U.S. of a Chinese state-owned company was Huaneng Power International Inc., which raised \$600 million on the NYSE in October 1994. The company operates five

power plants in China, and pledged to use its U.S. money to finance new power plants in China. But a sizable portion of the new funds (\$51.5 million) was earmarked for paying off low interest loans that had been advanced previously by provincial governments, which were given 35 percent of the stock in the new company.

It was, if ever there was one, a sweetheart deal. U.S. investors paid \$600 million to purchase 25 percent of the company, while the directors gave away 35 percent of the stock, worth \$840 million, to their buddies in the local Chinese governments, sweetening the pot even further with a \$51.5 million cash pay-off. And there are many, many more new Chinese entries to the NASDAQ and the New York Stock Exchange.

### **PLA TOYS**

The PLA has also established an extensive presence in the United States through private companies controlled by military trading groups such as Norinco (the PLA's "weapons manufacturer"), which has set up a whole family of trading companies that act as wholesalers for consumer goods, "sporting" rifles, and chemicals made in Chinese military factories. The lead company is Beta First, which operates out of Cerritos, California. Dun & Bradstreet lists it as a wholesaler of optical goods, at the head of a growing empire of subsidiaries and affiliated companies. These include Sunico Industries, of Sante Fe Springs (stone tiles and optical goods); Beta Chemicals, which acts as a wholesale importer of Chinese chemicals; and Larin, an importer of Chinese auto parts, based near Los Angeles in Ontario, Ca. Beta Unitex, based in Fontana, California, appears to be the largest of the Beta First companies, with 31 employees and annual sales in excess of \$7 million. In addition to marketing Norinco-made ceiling fans, it is engaged in "import and export trade... specializing in scientific, technical, optical, electronic products, organic and inorganic chemicals to name just a few." The company told Dun & Bradstreet analysts that trade in machine-tools accounted for 27.5 percent of its annual turnover.

Until 1994, Norinco legally imported "sporting" rifles into the United States, including single-shot versions of the AK-47 assault rifle which were modified locally into fully-automatic rifles and have become a favorite of L.A. street gangs. Under the "China Sports" and other brands, Norinco sells ammunition at gun stores throughout the United States. It uses its own network of distributors known variously as China North Industries Corp. or NIC International Trade Corp. The AFL-CIO, which has tracked Chinese gun and ammunition imports into the United States, has uncovered three NIC outlets in New Jersey, operating in Secaucus, Fairfield, and Carlstadt. They have also identified a subsidiary known as China North Inc. Tan Fang, operating out of Baton Rouge.

Perhaps the most astonishing Norinco activity in the United States, however, is the weapons manufacturer's distribution of Chinese-made toys. Norinco subsidiary Beta Toys, of Cerritos, California, appears to be the main importer, and sells the toys to Walmart and other chain stores. How will you recognize a Norinco-made toy (as opposed to toys made in non-military Chinese factories)? Look for the following trademarks: Nutco, Swan, The Pot Bellies, Pot Belly Bear Wear, Prestige, Sunshine Teddy, Soft Dreams, and NE-Animals. All have all been registered with the United States Patent and Trademark office by Norinco-affiliates.

Another major PLA arms exporter, Carrie Enterprises, has established an outlet in Kings County, New York, that imports bullet-proof vests and other PLA-made goods into the U.S. A third, China Xinxing Corporation, which depends directly from the PLA General Logistics Department, and operates from an office suite at 11111 Santa Monica Boulevard in Los Angeles under a variety of names (China National Medecines and Health Products, China Huaguang corporation, Perfect Treasure Industrial, Ltd., Begin Famous Enterprises Co., Ltd., etc.) China Xinxing also has a bonded warehouse near the Long Beach, California naval station. None of these companies appears to have attracted the attention of the U.S. authorities, although their ties to the PLA are unequivocal.

# INVEST IN MILITARY MODERNIZATION: BUY CHINESE BONDS

Americans wanting to invest in the modernization of mainland China's military factories have another vehicle for placing their money effectively: now they can buy Chinese government bonds in U.S. dollars.

And the man who opened the door to China's entry onto the U.S. bond market is Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin. As managing director of Goldman Sachs just prior to coming to Washington in 1993, Rubin paved the way for a \$250 million bond offering by CITIC, the Chinese government's lead overseas investment arm that is chaired by arms dealer Wang Jun. In all, CITIC has floated four bond issues in U.S. dollars since the Clintons came to Washington, which attracted \$800 million.

ITIC Chairman Wang Jun came to the United States in February 1996 originally to discuss further bond offerings with Clinton crony Ernest Green at Lehman Brothers in New York. His coffee with Clinton at the White House was set up by Green and Charlie Trie to coincide with the bond talks.

Roger W. Robinson, Jr., a Reagan administration National Security Council aide and an investment banker by trade, has been tracking China's penetration of the U.S. bond market. He has found 36 Chinese-government bond issues in the U.S. since 1989, which raised \$6.725 billion for Chinese government owned banks and trading companies. All but four of the bonds, worth \$420 million, have been issued since Bill Clinton became president. "There is a tremendous public consciousness on the part of large institutional bond-holders," Robinson says. "Groups like the California Teachers Retirement Fund or the ATT Pension Fund were instrumental in boycotting South African financial instruments during the apartheid regime. Do they want to be financing the delivery of AK-47 assault rifles to L.A. street gangs? Because that's what these CITIC bonds are financing."

Robinson warns that there is currently no screening of the U.S. bond market, to make sure that "undesirables" are excluded from raising cash in the U.S. "Without some kind of national security screening, we're going to have terrorists, drug smugglers, hi-tech thieves, and the Chinese military, borrowing on the U.S. bond market because it's simply the most accessible and liquid market in the world. The bond market is going to become the principal funding agency for the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the 21st century. This is a massive, global threat to the security of this country." He also warns that in the event of a default by CITIC or one of the many local Chinese state-owned banks (that are somewhat equivalent to our Savings & Loans and engage in similarly risky investments), they will have to be bailed out-by the U.S. taxpayer. And the risk is real. A Wall Street Journal lead editorial recently revealed that 30 percent of China's Gross National Product is debt. "So it is simply not true that China is credit worthy," Robinson believes. "If they default, you and I default."

## Trawling for high-tech

China's thirst for U.S. high-technology goods is legendary in the law enforcement and counter-espionage community. But many U.S. Customs and Commerce Department agents are expressing increasing frustration at their inability to bring these cases to successful prosecution. Unlike the 1980's, when the Reagan administration had a policy of denying the Soviet Union access to American high-technology and vigorously prosecuted Soviet agents caught in the act, the Clinton administration has progressively stripped away layer after layer of national security export controls and failed to prosecute offenders. "Sure, it's demoralizing," one senior U.S. Customs agent said. "You break your neck on a case, and then the Justice Department says they don't want to prosecute, or else the judge throws it out on a technicality." This lack of enforcement has been noticed by the Chinese. "The Chinese are now buying up entire factories, lock-stock-and barrel," says one agent. Of particular interest to the Chinese recently have been microprocessor plants that have been retooled or closed down as production is moved off shore. Since the Clinton administration has decontrolled the export of microprocessor production equipment, even for military-grade gallium arsenide chips, there is little enforcement agents can do except watch the show. To support these purchases, Chinese nationals are using small, defunct U.S. companies that have no obvious ties to the PRC. "They are buying trading companies, manufacturing companies, shipping companies, and banks," one law enforcement official says. "This allows them to buy the equipment, arrange the financing, and ship the products without ever interacting with an American. It makes it extremely difficult to penetrate their operations. We often don't get a clue they are PRC-run until they sponsor somebody needing a visa to enter the U.S.

Among the most active Chinese government-run companies scooping up U.S. technology is CATIC, the China National Aero-Technology Import-Export Corporation. CATIC's purchase of 31 sophisticated machine-tools from a former B-1 bomber plant in Columbus, Ohio in 1994 led to a grand jury investigation that continues to this day. The U.S. seller of the machines, McDonnell Douglas, was fined because CATIC diverted the machines from a civilian airliner plant to a new factory where they intended to assemble the Su-27 fighter-bomber. Despite feeble protests by the Commerce Department (which has never punished CATIC), the machines are still in China. A Washington grand jury is still empaneled and is considering further action-against McDonnell Douglas, which cooperated with U.S. officials by pressing the Chinese to move the machines back to a civilian plant.

CATIC continues to scour U.S. defense plants that have been closed because of defense downsizing in search of used production equipment, and even entire factories, which it can then ship to China. In 1995, CATIC officials based in Stamford, Connecticut, started negotiations with Northrup Grumman, to purchase a Glen Arm, Maryland manufacturing facility which only a few years earlier had been producing parts for the F-14 Tomcat and the B-1 bomber. In the end, CATIC's bid was too low and the plant was auctioned off piece by piece to the highest bidder. But the Chinese did purchase some \$190,075 worth of equipment, which Northrup officials described as "bits, holders, holder bearings, and tools."

**California Dreaming** Many of my investigations took me to California, which I called in one American Spectator article China's 22nd Province, because of the massive penetration of California's economic, political, and banking establishment by Chinese communist enterprises and agents.

One of the more shocking details I uncovered in my investigation of China's California networks was that a front company owned by NORINCO, the PLA's largest weapons manufacturer, had set up shop directly above the CIA office responsible for contacts with U.S. aerospace manufacturers in the Los Angeles area, where some of the Agency's most secret projects have been developed. The Chinese operated there for more than two years without the CIA ever knowing, U.S. law enforcement officers in the LA area told me. The company, Beta First, is registered in California as a seller of optical instruments. The CIA is supposed to be America's premier intelligence organization.

### THE MALOOF MEMO

When the Clinton administration took power in 1993, the Chinese had two ICBMs capable of targeting the United States. Today, says Deputy National Security Advisor Gary Samore, that has grown modestly to "less than two dozen." But thanks to the theft of the W-88 warhead design, and the transfer by U.S. satellite manufacturers of technology used to boost multiple satellites to different orbits, the Chinese may already have the capability to put up to five Multiple Independent Reentry Vehicle (MIRV) warheads on each existing missile. And, according to reports for the Office of Naval Intelligence, they will soon begin building and deploying two new generation missile systems, the DF-31 and DF-41, also equipped with multiple warheads, which could expand their nuclear forces exponentially over the next five to ten years. From the bottom rank among the five declared nuclear weapons states (not including India and Pakistan, which demonstrated their nuclear weapons capabilities last year), China will soon slip into third place, just behind the United States and Russia. All this has happened as a direct result of the Clinton administration's policy of engagement.

Similarly, prior to January 1996, when computer export controls virtually lifted after intensive lobbying from Silicon Graphics and other top DNC contributors, the Chinese had obtained only three U.S. High Performance Computers (HPCs), all of which were subject to stringent Defense Department monitoring. In April 1997 - just 14 months after the decontrol - Undersecretary of Commerce William Reinsch told Congress that U.S. companies had sold 46 supercomputers to Chinese end-users, and that the Chinese were not allowing the U.S. government to verify how they were being used. By June 1997, concern in Congress grew that we were creating a significant new capability in China that allowed the PLA to dramatically improve weapons design, missile targeting, and nuclear simulation. This lead to a measure, adopted by the House but ultimately defeated under intense industry and administration pressure, to restore licensing requirements on HPCs.

In January 1999, Reinsch's Bureau of Export administration delivered its first Congressionally-mandated report detailing supercomputer exports over the preceding 12 months. Out of a total of 390 HPCs exported by the United States during that period, 191 of them had gone to China. [Note: a high-powered computer, or HPC, is now defined as a machine capable of performing more than 2,000 million theoretical operations per second [MTOPS]. A desktop machine running a Pentium II processor can perform between 300 to 400 MTOPS] Despite U.S. efforts, the Chinese only allowed government officials to inspect three of them once they had reached China. Congressional said they had been told by administration officials that as many as 600 HPCs had been sold to the Chinese since the 1996 decontrols - more raw computing power than can be found in the Pentagon and the Department of Energy's nuclear weapons labs, combined.

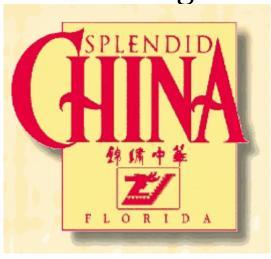
But supercomputers are only one element in a deadly mix of high technologies released for sale to the Chinese by the Clinton administration since 1993. An internal memorandum written by Michael Maloof of the Pentagon's Defense Technology Security Administration, DTSA, subpoenaed by the Cox committee, paints an astonishing picture of the cumulative impact of U.S. technology transfer to the Chinese military over the past five years. The combination of supercomputers, satellite sales, and advanced telecommunications switching technology since 1994 "have provided the Chinese military with a nationwide encrypted command, control, communications, computers and intelligence (C4I) network that will serve it will into the next century," Maloof warned his superiors. "Together, they provide the PLA with a communications infrastructure that it could not have developed on its own." Extensive manufacturing technologies were decontrolled along with the actual products U.S. companies were allowed to ship to China. Since 1993, the PLA has been importing massive amounts of equipment to manufacture fiber optics cable, which allow for secure communications links impervious to electronics eavesdropping. And companies tied to former colleagues of then Deputy Defense Secretary William Perry led the way in transferring encrypted Asynchronous Transfer Mode (ATM) telephone switching equipment, now used by the PLA for its military communications network. "The decision to allow... ATM switching technology in 1994 occurred over the objection of DoD technical experts," Maloof wrote. "Despite initial NSA concerns, it was silent when the decision finally occurred." As I wrote in "Peking Pentagon" in April 1996, it appeared that Bill Perry personally intervened to get NSA to drop their objections to the sale of this technology, despite the fact that the Chinese buyer was a PLA-owned company.

## **The Bottom Line**

While federal investigators are just beginning to untie the knots of Chinese government attempts to influence the White House and other elected officials through campaign contributions and other means, it is overwhelmingly clear that Peking has identified the United States as a soft target. Our technology controls are too weak to prevent Chinese entities from purchasing military secrets, our capital markets are so wide open that Chinese state investors can finance military modernization on Wall Street, and our statutes governing direct foreign investment are virtually non-existent, allowing Chinese companies to establish far-flung networks for both commercial and intelligence purposes in the United States. If, as authors Ross Munro and Richard Bernstein argue in their book, *The Coming Conflict with China*, the U.S. and China are headed on a collision course, then that collision is likely to take place right here on our shores.

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http://www.iran.org/tib/krt/krt\_index.htm

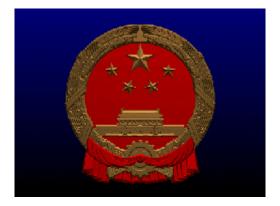
# The Case Against



# Owned and operated by



China Travel Services Holdings(Ltd.) Hong Kong Under the Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs of the



State Council of the People's Republic of China

Until now, discussions about the ownership and purpose of Florida Splendid China have been obfuscated by the continual denials, distortions and misstatements by park employees and officials. The following discourse provides detailed, documented evidence, which sets the record straight. This paper purports to demonstrate that Florida Splendid China in Kissimmee, Florida is a propaganda theme park owned, operated and controlled by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

The bottom line is that Florida Splendid China is an agent of a foreign government masquerading as a legitimate entertainment attraction and engaged in unlawful acts, primarily, the wholesale distribution of Chinese Communist Party propaganda in order to change American public opinion.

1. Florida Splendid China is owned, operated and controlled by the State Council of the People's Republic of China through the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office (OCAO) and China Travel Services (Holdings) HK.

A. Exhibit A provides the details of the ownership structure of China Travel Services (Holdings) HK as reported in a stock prospectus obtained in Hong Kong in the summer of 1997. (1) A quote from a page of this document reads as follows:

### Ownership and Control Structure

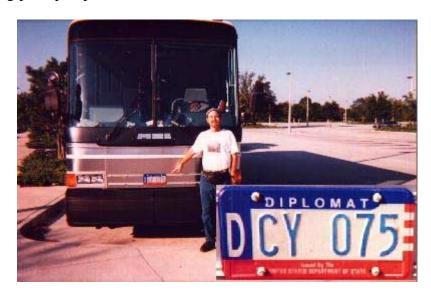
On 9 July 1996, the authorised and issued share capital of the Issuer was increased from HK\$100 million to HK\$700 million. The issued share capital of the Issuer is held by six of its directors and one deputy general manager on trust for China Travel Service Head Office of the PRC, which is owned by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office ("OCAO") of the State Council of the PRC. OCAO is one of the working organisations of the State Council of the PRC, responsible for the liaison and promotion of overseas Chinese affairs. Both the Issuer and the China Travel Service Head Office of the PRC are directly accountable to the OCAO. The appointment of senior management of the Issuer needs to be approved by OCAO. The current General Manager of the Issuer is Mr. Zhu Yue Ning. He was the Deputy Mayor of Shenzhen from 1986 to 1994, responsible for development in industry, communication and technology, and has extensive experience in corporate management and economic development.

The directors and senior management of the Issuer are responsible for day-to-day management and determine policies and strategies. OCAO directly oversees and influences overall policy and strategy of the CTS group.

B. Exhibit B demonstrates the ownership of Florida Splendid China by the China Travel Services (Holdings) HK and is from the same document. In the section that details assets, under the heading Theme Parks is the following:

A sister theme park to Splendid China miniature Scenic Spot was set up in Florida, USA and commenced operations in October of 1993. The site is situated near Disney World and Epcot Centre theme parks. The Issuer has commenced the building of a Windows of the World theme park in Changsha, Hunan, PRC with an anticipated investment of RMB 200 million. The park is expected to open in 1997.

- 2. Despite evidence that details the ownership of Florida Splendid China, it is also important to show how the Chinese Communist Party uses Florida Splendid China theme for it's own purposes and how the theme park and it's message is approved by the highest leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Also demonstrated in the following paragraphs is the hidden agenda of Florida Splendid China.
- A. The Chinese Communist Party uses Florida Splendid China and China Travel Services (Holdings) to further their goals and objectives.
- 1. Within a week after the park opened, full control of Florida Splendid China was assumed by China Travel Services (Holdings) HK and all non-Chinese interests in the park were retired. After the park opened for business, the American partners were removed. This implies that American involvement in Florida Splendid China was viewed as a threat to Chinese government interests. (2)
- 2. It is suspected that the Chinese Embassy staff and visitors use the diplomatically licensed Chinese government bus to travel from Washington DC to Kissimmee, Florida to attend events and entertain visitors at Florida Splendid China. On one such occasion, a picture was obtained and is available at: http://www.caccp.org/phist/p14/p14\_10.html



Pointing Man pointing at Department of State Diplomatic License Plate on bus at Florida Splendid China at 1730 hours October 12, 1996

Used as a showcase of Chinese Communist Party propaganda, Florida Splendid China is used as a venue to impress and educate visitors and serve as an unofficial annex of the Chinese embassy.

3. Further investigation reveals that China Travel Services (Holdings) HK, as well as having business dealings with normal travel related interests, is also a partner in APT Satellite Holdings with other entities connected with the State Council of the PRC. (3)

These entities also have connections with the People's Liberation Army and have been suspected of illegal arms shipments and are being investigated for a range of activities including illegal satellite technology transfer and illegal campaign contributions. (4) Some of the other organizations are (and self-description from their webpages):

**Great Wall Corporation**, the sole government organization in China responsible for the launch service marketing, commercial negotiation, contract execution and performance with a legal person status. (5)

**China Aerospace Corporation.** (**CASC**) is specialized in various space products such as satellites, missiles, launch vehicles and ground support system. (6)

Although China Travel Services (Holdings) HK is a company with diverse assets, the acquisition of an interest in a satellite holding company is a radical departure from previous holdings. This implies that China Travel Services (Holdings) is used in whatever manner necessary to further the aims of the Chinese government (and the Chinese Communist Party). Whether used as a big pot of money to maintain government control of psuedo-commercial enterprises, or as an operator of a propaganda theme park, China Travel Services (Holdings) HK aids and assists in the program of the Chinese Communist Party both inside the People's Republic of China and throughout the world.

While no charges have been filed as of this writing, China Travel Services (Holdings) HK, as a partner of APT Satellite Holdings Ltd is also part of the allegations which indicate that the Chinese government and the People's Liberation Army have engaged in the illegal transfer of satellite technology from the United States for their Long March booster program. This investigation is ongoing in the US Congress.

- 4. Mr. Zhu Yeu Ning, Chinese Communist Party Official, former Vice-Mayor of Shenzhen and General Manager of China Travel Services (Holdings) HK is listed as a director of the Florida corporation which was started and continues in business as Florida Splendid China. Mr. Zhu's connection with APT Satellite Holdings as a member of their board of directors demonstrates the substantial link between the Chinese Communist Party and their secret agenda in pseudo-commercial enterprises.
- B. The Chinese Communist Party approves of the message at Florida Splendid China.
- 1. The People's Republic of China is under the rule of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

"The Chinese Government has always been subordinate to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP); its role is to implement party policies."

United States Department of State, Background Notes (7)

2. The theme park built in 1989 in Shenzhen, People's Republic of China, was visited by many top-CCP officials, including Li Peng, Jiang Zemin, Deng Xiao Ping and others. This demonstrates that the original theme park in Shenzhen has the approval and backing of the highest members of the CCP. (8)



Jiang Zemin tours Splendid China



Deng Xaio Ping tours Splendid China

- 3. Although a subset of the exhibits at Shenzhen Splendid China and thousands of miles away, Florida Splendid China's exhibits are described the same by tour guides and in writing in both parks. This demonstrates that Florida Splendid China's message is the same as that approved by the leaders of the CCP in the Shenzhen Splendid China theme park. (9, 10)
- 4. At the grand opening of Florida Splendid China in 1993, four high ranking CCP officials were in attendance. Foreign Minister Qian, who also serves on the State Council of the People's Republic of China demonstrates Chinese Communist Party support for Florida Splendid China by his presence. (11, 12)
- 5. At the grand opening of Florida Splendid China, many current leaders of the CCP, including Jiang Zemin, Qian Qishen, Li Peng, Li Dao Yu wrote congratulatory messages, again, demonstrating Chinese Communist Party support for Florida Splendid China. (13)
- C. The Florida Splendid China Hidden Agenda.
- 1. In documents from the 1993 Beijing Propaganda Conference obtained and translated by the International Campaign for Tibet, the media strategy towards the West is suggested by the Chinese government in the following passage:

With regard to the attacks by the West and the Dalai Clique and their frequent activities, our external propaganda should launch offensives. We should expand our spheres of influence, in particular, we should infiltrate our propaganda into the mainstream life of the West. Firstly we should continue to send Tibetan scholars and Tibetan singing and dancing troupes abroad to lecture and perform.

Secondly, relevant embassies and consulates should aim at the public opinion and the activities of the Dalai Clique in the countries they are stationed and utilize speeches, picture exhibitions, special articles and other forms to carry out propaganda work, so as to win over officials and people of those countries.

Thirdly, TV programs for external broadcasting should include programs about Tibet. We should broadcast to Europe and America so that our propaganda can directly reach audiences of the Western countries. (Doc. #3, p.26) (14)

This demonstrates that a plan exists, targeted at Western audiences, attempting to change public perceptions on the issue of Tibet.

- 2. Florida Splendid China advertises itself as an educational experience. According to the Orlando Sentinel in February 1996, A mass mailing entitled "Splendid China Learning Adventures" was sent to schools across the state of Florida that offered special discounts rates and a walking tour for children. (15) Communist Party approved and disseminated information is being advertised as an 'educational adventure'. Furthermore, field trips sponsored by public schools implies legitimacy and approval by State and local government.
- 3. Continual statements to the press from Florida Splendid China spokespersons have repeatedly denied any links to the Chinese government and political nature of Florida Splendid China. Instead, they have maintained that their parent company is a 'publicly sold and held conglomerate in Hong Kong' (16), and that Florida Splendid China is "nothing more than an attraction" (17), and "We don't make a political statement..." (18)

Officials and spokespersons from Florida Splendid China have outright lied about the ownership of the park, how can they be trusted to tell the truth about the hidden political agenda?

4. If Florida Splendid China was 'nothing more than an attraction,' then normal correspondence with members of the public might have been expected, however, numerous letters over the past five years (19), addressed to the Chairman of Florida Splendid China, have been unanswered. Florida Splendid China is unwilling to even return a phone call or letter to members of the public that wish to talk about the exhibits. When told about the Pinellas County (Florida) Teachers Association ban on public money for field trips to Florida Splendid China, rather than talking with them about the issue, the response was "Plenty of school children still visit the park" (20)

If park officials are willing to snub the 7th largest school district in the state of Florida (23rd in the US) in order to maintain their signs, this demonstrates that the park's message is more important than income, they are unwilling to speak with anyone (even educators) about the park's message.

- 3. The propaganda message is not hard to uncover. One such message is represented by the inclusion of some 'minority' exhibits in Florida Splendid China. Specifically, the Potala Palace, the Mausoleum of Genghis Khan, the Tomb of Apak Hoja and the Id Gah Mosque, all represent peoples and lands whose people and their Governments or leaders assert that they have been illegally occupied since People's Liberation Army troops invaded their lands. It is the Chinese government's position that these once sovereign people and nations were in need of 'liberation' and that is one excuse that they use to justify the continuing occupation, contrary to international law and the peoples' rights to self-determination of Tibet, Southern Mongolia, and Eastern Turkestan. As well, they further comment that these peoples and lands have been 'Chinese since ancient times' and such, makes it an internal matter. The inclusion of these exhibits, which do not represent Chinese people, cultures or structures is a gross attempt to place a Chinese identity on the Tibetan, Southern Mongolian, and Eastern Turkestani people and end discussions on the human rights situation in China.
- 1. Tibetans are different from Han Chinese people both culturally and linguistically. Although it can be said that during the Tang Dynasty (9th century), the emperor sent a daughter to be the wife of the marauding Tibetan King as a peace offering, might be misinterpreted if taken out of context. At the same time, the rulers of the Himalayas were the unified Tibetans under Srongson Gampo (whom the Chinese refer to as a warlord, in some way to negate the profound influence he had on history.) During this time, Tibetans harassed and harangued the Tang Dynasty, going so far as sacking the Tang Dynasty capitol and burning it. During that time it was customary to placate your enemies with a marriage to a member of your household. It is not an example of the Chinese forcing the Tibetans to accept Chinese control, but rather Tibetans forcing their demands on the Chinese. Srongson Gampo married five women that included three Tibetans, a relative of the Tang Dynasty emperor and a Nepali princess. History records that his 'Number One' wife was not Chinese.

Tibet's Potala Palace is a Tibetan structure. It was designed by Tibetans, built by Tibetans, and housed the Tibetan government offices, the Dalai Lama's personal quarters, and a monastery. The only connection that the Chinese have with the Potala Palace is that they bombed it in 1959 and closed it down after the so-called peaceful liberation of Tibet to make it into a museum.

If Florida Splendid China had a sincere desire to portray the real Potala Palace with an accurate history, then they have made some serious mistakes that they are unwilling to correct. Since we have been attempting to negotiate with them since the opening of the park about this matter, clearly, they have no intent to portray anything other than the propaganda line, "Tibet has been part of China since ancient times.'

2. The name of the great conqueror, Genghis Khan, is defamed in Florida Splendid China. They insist that he was buried in a Mausoleum (hence, the Mausoleum of Genghis Khan exhibit) and that he was somehow Chinese. Genghis Khan is truthfully known as the Mongolian conqueror of Central Asia, China and parts of Europe.

First, the 'Secret History' lets it be known in no uncertain terms that Genghis Khan was buried in secret, there was never a 'Mausoleum of Genghis Khan' created by Mongols. The original structure which the park's exhibit portrays, was built by the Chinese Communist Party in the 1954 to contain the Ordons of Genghis Khan, mobile shrines erected to his memory. The most comprehensive treatment of this subject is contained in a paper entitled "The Eight White Ordon, Offering Ceremonies of Genghis Khan and the Mausoleum of Genghis Khan". It is available at: http://members.aol.com/yikhmongol/cerem-fn.htm If Florida Splendid China had a sincere desire to portray real Mongols with an accurate history, then they have made some serious mistakes that they are unwilling to correct. Since we have been attempting to negotiate with them since the opening of the park about this matter, clearly, they have no intent to portray anything other than the propaganda line, "Mongolia has been part of China since ancient times.' (They don't make a distinction between the Republic of Mongolia (Outer) and Southern Mongolia.)

3. The people of Eastern Turkestan (renamed Xinjiang, or New Dominion, by the Manchu conquerors in the late 19th century), represented by the Tomb of Apak Hoja and the Id Gah Mosque are not Chinese, they are a Turkic people with a different language, different physical appearance and different culture. Florida Splendid China goes so far as to use a Chinese name, "Xiang Fei's Tomb", to give a Chinese identity to the Tomb of a great Uighur leader, Apak Hoja, and seventy-one of his (non-Chinese) relatives. Other Chinese government publications even admit that 'Xiang Fei' is not even buried here, the park refuses to speak with anyone about this error/fabrication. The Id Gah Mosque, another Uighur cultural icon is a typical Central Asian style Mosque, it does not represent Chinese architecture and was not built by Chinese people.

If Florida Splendid China had a sincere desire to portray real Eastern Turkestanis with an accurate history, then they have made some serious mistakes that they are unwilling to correct. Since we have been attempting to negotiate with them since the opening of the park about this matter, clearly, they have no intent to portray anything other than the propaganda line, "Xinjiang has been part of China since ancient times.'

4. In conclusion, this paper demonstrates the links between the Chinese Communist Party, Chinese government, China Travel Services (Holdings) HK, and both the Shenzhen and Florida Splendid China theme parks. As evidenced by publicly available documents, both theme parks are owned, operated and controlled by the Chinese Communist government. An examination of other aspects of the theme parks reveals that they are used as deemed necessary by the Chinese Communist Party, such as entertain/impress guests or serve as representatives in multi-national corporations performing illegal acts, or to disseminate propaganda.

The bottom line is that Florida Splendid China is an agent of a foreign government masquerading as a legitimate entertainment attraction and engaged in unlawful acts, primarily, the wholesale distribution of Chinese Communist Party propaganda in order to change American public opinion.

### Notes

(1) A member of the organization, Citizens Against Communist Chinese Propaganda traveled to Hong Kong in the summer of 1997 and obtained a copy of the stock prospectus for China Travel Services (Holdings) HK from the Companies Registry at the following address: 13th Floor

Queensway Government Offices

66 Queensway Hong Kong

Tel. No. 2867 2579

Copies of either the original microfiche or paper copies are available from Citizens Against Communist Chinese Propaganda.

- (2) Orlando Sentinel; "New order: China controls Central Florida theme park: The communist nation becomes sole owner of Florida Splendid China after U.S. partner pulls out."; 01/15/94 See: http://www.caccp.org/prpc/os011594.html
- (3) APT Satellite Holding Ltd webpages. All companies which make up the group are listed on their webpages.

See: http://www.apstar.com/profile.html

- (4) Collected news articles on Chinese influence in the United States. See: http://www.caccp.org/cts/index.html#scandal
- (5) Great Wall Industries Web pages. See: http://www.cyberexp.com/company/gw/gw.htm
- (6) China Aerospace Corporation (CASC). See: http://www.airshow-china.com/casc.htm
- (7) United States Department of State, Background Notes: China, April 1998, Released by the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

See: http://www.state.gov/www/background\_notes/china\_0498\_bgn.html

(8) China Travel Services promotional literature showing Chinese Communist Party members visiting Shenzhen Splendid China. A partial listing of pictures from that document are available on the internet at:

Jiang Zemin http://www.caccp.org/fsc/jiang 1.html

Deng Xaio Ping http://www.caccp.org/fsc/deng\_1.html

Li Peng http://www.caccp.org/fsc/lipeng2.html

- (9) China Travel Services, Shenzhen Splendid China Guide Book; Getherease Inc, San Francisco, Ca
- (10) China Travel Services, Florida Splendid China Grand Opening Guide Book, 1993
- (11) Orlando Sentinel, "Theme park takes bow as activists create row: The communist nation becomes sole owner of Florida Splendid China after U.S. partner pulls out.", December 19, 1993 See: http://www.caccp.org/prpc/os121993.html
- (12) China Travel Services, Florida Splendid China Grand Opening Guide Book , 1993 A list of the Honorary Committee for the Grand Opening of Florida Splendid China is included. See: http://www.caccp.org/fsc/ch2.gif
- (13) China Travel Services, Florida Splendid China Grand Opening Guide Book , 1993 A collection of letters generated for the Grand Opening of Florida Splendid China is included. See: http://www.caccp.org/fsc/gol.html

(14) ICT; China's Public Relations Strategy on Tibet: Classified Documents from the Beijing Propaganda Conference; 1993; International Campaign for Tibet; Washington DC. See http://www.afn.org/~afn20372/pol/bp.html

(15) Orlando Sentinel, "SPLENDID CHINA'S FORTUNE IS BEGINNING TO IMPROVE"; February 5, 1996.

See: http://www.caccp.org/prpc/os020596.html

(16) Tampa Tribune; "Protest Targets Splendid China"; 03/16/96 See: http://www.caccp.org/prpc/tt031796.html

(17) Orlando Sentinel; "Controversy is a theme of this park"; 03/17/98; See: http://www.caccp.org/prpc/os031898.html

(18) St. Petersburg Times, "Newest Attraction attracts protesters"; 12/20/93 See: http://www.caccp.org/prpc/spt122093.html

(19) Citizens Against Communist Chinese Propaganda web page: Letters; See: http://www.caccp.org/letters/

(20) Orlando Weekly; "Makeover an attempt to cover blemish?"; 09/12/96 See:http://www.caccp.org/prpc/ow091296.html

Exhibit A:Page 15 of a 1996 stock prospectus for China Travel Services (Holdings) HK describing Ownership and and Control Structure for China Travel Services (Holdings) HK

# BUSINESS DESCRIPTION OF THE ISSUER AND THE CTS GROUP

#### I. INTRODUCTION

#### History and Development

The origin of China Travel Service (Holdings) Hung Kong Limited ( 春藤中雅 ( 皇鄉 ) 有限公司 ) (the "Estige") and a subsidiaries and additions makes as a subsit, the "CTS Comp" at the "Group") dates from April 1928 when China Travel Service, a company founced in 1927 by Shangha Commercial Bank, comblished a branch in Hung Kong. The Bong Kong branch regimed in passenger and fortight maniportation services.

to 1984, the thing Kong branch of China Travel Service was newgatived and its business was taken over by China Travel Service (thing Kong) Lid CCUS (HKC) if 香港中藏物行机有限公司, a company incorporated in Hong Kong. CTS (HK) was then the sole PRC-normal travel service organisation in Hong Kong. CTS (HK) was principally engaged in providing travel and travel-related services in Hong Kong and Macau residents, overseas Chrisse and foreigness visiting the PRC and at freight forwarding services from the PRC as the international markets via Hong Kong.

As a result of the accomming development and growing prosperity of the PRC, the returne of triale between the PRC and Hong Kone expanded rapidly in the early 1986s. In 1985, the Issuer was established as the helding compare of the diversified businesses of the CDS Group and CDS (IDC) became its wheth immed subsidiary specialising in providing purisinger trivel services.

### Ownership and Control Structure

Cu 9 July 1996, the authorised and issued share capital of the bouer was increased from HKS100 million in HKS700 million. The resuod share capital of the lower is light by six of its directors and one deputy general managers\* on trust for Clima Travel Service Head Office of the P8C, which is owned by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office (\*TX\*AO\*) ( 傳播辦公文 ) or the State Council of the P8C.

FCACL is one of the working organisations of the State Connell of the PRC, responsible for the Inison and motion of overseas Chinese affairs, Both the Issuer and the China Travel Service Bead Office of the PRC and effectly neconnible to the OCAD. The appearance of senior management of the Issuer nacits to be approved by CCAO. The current General Manager of the Issuer is Mr. Zhu Yur, Ning. He was the Deputy Mason of Abendual from 1986 to 1994, responsible for development to industry, communication and technology, and has extensive experience in corporate management and committed development.

The directors and sensor management of the lower are responsible for day-to-day management and determine policies and strategies CK AC directly oversees and offloatings overall policy and strategy of the CTS Group.

The CR'AD and China Travel Service Deal Office of the PRC round a letter street in Geoder 1986 or the looser, continuing their approval and orderement of the issue of the Noise and qualiforming that the Issuer has the continued support of the OCAD and China Travel betwice Head Office. The force is influenced to the bount and may be regarded as a keller of intent: it does not constitute a paramoge to Noisytonkers.

nomety, Mr. Zha Yae Ning, Mr. Zha You Jan. Mr. Shea Zhu Yang, Mr. Zhang Xiao Sau Mr. Qin Ye Yong, Mr. Zheng thong Qing and Mr. Le Sau On.

Exhibit B:Page 21 of a 1996 stock prospectus for China Travel Services (Holdings) HK detailing ownership of Florida Splendid China as an asset of China Travel Services (Holdings) HK

Theme Proks

his 1988. UTS sHKs concred into a point vertice no torm Shendich Splendid China Development Co-List, for the development of Splendid China Miniature Scenic Spot ( 我職事業), a normal affaction displaying miniaturized verticus of China's restronged scenic limbacipes and hostorical monuments. Splendid China Miniature Scenic Spot opened to the public in September 1989. Based on its success. Shendido Splendid China Development Co., Ltd. developed another institut surraction adjacent to Splendid China Miniature Scenic Spot, China Folk Culture Villages (中國民營文化民), which connected business in October 1991.

In August 1992, CTB acquired a 49 per cent, stratchiding in Stiensheit Splentud China Development Cir., Ltd. from CTS (IEC) and now holds a 51 per cent, shareholding in this company. In December 1993, CTB acquired 51 per cent, equity interest in Shensheit The World Mintanure Co. which owns the Window of the World theme parks 世界之業) in Shensheit.

The Issuer believes that the three theme purks are the most popular artificial sector artifictions not himse spheroid Chem. Manature Science Spot, occupying an arter of approximately 327,000 squa, as a unique tourist attraction featuring approximately 80 decades minimizes of the best known scenic spots in Ulina. It is the Calinie Villages, a gark of approximately 250,000 squa, there are 24 ethnic villages, a gark of approximately 250,000 squa, there are 24 ethnic villages, representing the reprint ethnic cultural and architectural characteristics of 23 nationolities of China selected for display. Wanton to the World, the newest of the three theme parks which commenced broadess in April 1944, displays the bratanack architectura and removated fundscape of South America. Affice and Universe, all creaponatical in Lilliporium proportions.

These theme parks, supported by the hones restorates and transport facilities of the Oversein Chinese Town, have founded in integrand towns area. In 1988 it received 2 million visitors worldwide and has become one of the recordinarial stress in China.

A state: theme park to Splendid Chine Ministure Scenic Spot was set up to Florida, U.S.A. and commenced operations in October 1983. The size is situated near the Disney World and Epott Centre theme parks. The Issuer has commenced the building of a Windows of the World theme park in Chinesia. Huma: 1907 with an anticipated investment at RME 200 million. The project is expected to be completed in 1947.

# 2. Freight Forwarding, Transportation and Warehousing

The mass of the Linuxp can be found in freight, forwarding and transportation services. The business established by the cause department of UTS (HK) is carried on by China Travel Service (Cargue H.K. Lad.) 野港中海社運有限公司 (CTI.) is provided to the first management of CTI. In provided to the first management of CTI.

CTS of argue to the lattest operator authorised by the referent PBC authorities contently the Microstry of covere and Leonanic Unoperation of the PBC (250 PTLC) cand the Microstry of Hadways of the PBC (250 PTLC) cand the Microstry of Hadways of the PBC (after Microstry) on take charge of the record crossly and trapped uniques, which are restraint to the PBC (to a typical transaction in respect of trength forwarding by not from Hong Kong to the PBC (to a typical transaction in respect of trength forwarding by not from Hong Kong to the PBC (known as "outbound" freight forwardings (TTS of argue) is interiord in indexempt the possistent in the constraints in Though Kong, the forwarding of the carries of an interior of microstraints are forwarded from the distance of the Kondoon-Camon Railways Corporation ("KCR;") for logamenties registed for hading the rate freight wagous to Stephelm

CTS (Cargo) is also the only entity allowed by MOFTEC and MOR to take charge of bulk cargo delivery by rail from Shendum to the Kowkom peninsula in thoug Kong of goods from the 1983 and to cosmitione the univading of such goods in Kowkom (Grance as "inbound" beight handlings. Upon the cargoes serving at Stetaffen, CTS (Cargo) arranges with KCRC for the relevant and freight suspens to be builted by KCRC's locamentoes to Hong Kong. files all necessary documentous with the Hong Kong Trade Department and Century and Statistics Department and advises the consignees in Hong Kong to take delivery of poods from the designated point of colorating.

# FALSIFICATION OF TURKIC HISTORY, CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

Copyright ©1999, by Erkin Alptekin

Paper presented at "Exposing Communist Chinese Government Influence in America" Conference, Orlando, Florida May 15, 1999

Throughout centuries, China's policy towards its neighbors has been based on deception, falsification and exploitation. The following record, written by the great Chinese historian Pan Ku of the Han Dynasty (206 BC- 200 AD), exemplifies the mainstream of Chinese policy towards it's neighbors:

"...Punish them when they intrude and guard against them when they retreat. Receive them when they offer tribute as a sign of admiration for our righteousness. Restrain them continually, make it appear that all the blame is on their side. This is the proper policy of sage rulers towards the barbarians..."

The famous Chinese philosopher Wang Fu Zhi, who lived during the 17th century, wrote as follows: "...It is no injustice to conquer the lands of barbarians. It is not an inhuman act to kill barbarians. It is not dishonest to deceive barbarians..."

The Chinese have a wise saying "Yi Yi Zhi Yi," which means 'rule a barbarian through a barbarian'. They have another proverb, "ning zhing weygo bugi jano," which means," I might make concessions to distant lands, but I shall permit no right to the bondsman under my own rule."

The first Turkic ruler who became aware of this policy was Bilge Khagan (716-734). In his appeal carved into the stones known as the Orkhun Inscriptions, 1260 year ago Bilge Khagan warned the Turkic peoples with these words:

"...The expression of the Chinese are flowery and their gifts are pleasant... Their flowery words and pleasant gifts appeal to the peoples living far off...Thereafter they spread the seeds of intrigues... Able and good minded people are not allowed to do their work... Many Turkic tribes died when they were attracted by the flowery words and pleasant gifts of the Chinese...As the Chines are very cunning, they induced the younger brother to rise against the elder...Turkic Khagans (rulers) came into conflict with their people... As a result, the lands of the Turkic peoples were subject to decay and the independent Turkic khanates perished... Although the Turkic peoples gave all their support to them, yet the Chinese emperors wanted to exterminate the Turkic peoples and root them out... O the Turkic peoples wake up and return to yourself before it is too late..."

But unfortunately, our forefathers did not wake up. They did not return to their selves. It was too late. As a result, one after the other the Turkic khanates became a prey of the Chinese rulers. After conquering the lands of the Turkic peoples, the successive Chinese regimes have all pursued a policy of systematic assimilation aimed at the Turkic peoples, eliminating their culture and exterminating their belief. Moreover, under Chinese domination modern literature is charged with falsifying Turkic history, culture and civilization.

The well-known western scholar and sinologist Prof. Wolfram Eberhard, in his work entitled "The Northern Neighbors of China", published in Ankara, in 1947, writes that the Chinese sources gives one-sided information concerning its neighbors such as the Turkic peoples, the Tibetans and the Mongols. Thus, he suggests that it is vitally important to check other independent sources before coming to a final conclusion concerning the history, culture and civilization of these peoples.

German scholar, Anna Marie von Gabain, in her scientific work entitled "The Daily Life of Uighurs in the Kingdom of Karahoja", published in Germany in 1973, wrote that "the Chinese have continuously falsified the Uighur history, undermined their belief and exploited their culture."

Allow me to site some concrete examples of Chinese distortions of Uighur history, belief and culture. Uighur studies in Japan dates back from the 19th century when Prof. Sharatori published the first scientific research on the Uighurs in 1889. By 1942 Prof. Sharatori, had written several valuable works on the Uighurs, including the important two-volume "History of the Tarim Basin". In this book Prof. Sharatori offered scientific evidence that Eastern Turkestan was the original homeland of the Uighurs. In 1963 another Japanese scholar, Sagachi Toro, published his work entitled "Social Life in Eastern Turkestan in 18th and 19th Centuries." This book was an important contribution not only to Japanese scholarship, but also to the worldwide body of knowledge on the subject. It also demonstrated that Uighurs were the ancient inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan, with a rich culture and civilization as old as China's.

In 1970 the established Japanese scholar Massado Hasau published a book entitled "The History and the Geography of the Celestial Mountains" based on many years of hard research. This book explained that Eastern Turkestan had been the cradle of Turkic history, culture and civilization from very ancient times and documented how Uighurs have lived on both side of the Celestial Mountains (known to the Uighurs as Han Tengri or Tengri Tagh).

Despite the scientific nature of these works Chinese scholars have attempted to rewrite the facts in order to prove that "Eastern Turkestan belonged to the Chinese from the times of Stone Ages". Without obtaining the permission of Prof. Sagochi, a Chinese translation of his book was published changing even the name "Eastern Turkestan" to "Xinjiang". Faced with the falsification of his work Prof. Sagochi was forced to officially protest.

Subsequently Chinese scholar Chin Chun Mo, translated Prof. Masado Hasau's book openly falsifying its contents. In the introduction to his version the Chinese translator wrote:

"...This book is valuable research of the area Tengri Tagh, but the author of the book, because of his ignorance, made many mistakes in compiling his work. I have thus tried to correct his mistakes as far as I could. I hope the reader will forgive me if I have missed some mistakes..."

Reading these words one might think that Chinese scholars often spend more time "correcting" works that do not serve the interest of current Chinese policy than troubling themselves to do research which would add to scientific knowledge.

Nationalist Chinese Prof. Li Dung Fang, in his articles published in "Altay Journal," in 1947, tried to prove that the Uighurs and the Chinese shared a common ancestry. Later, Chinese Communist Prof. Geng Shimen also enthusiastically supported his theory.

In April 1987, hundreds of Kazakh students from six colleges, including Ili Teachers College, went on strike to protests the publication in October 1987 of the novel "White House in the Distance" in a Chinese writer's literary bimonthly. In the view of the Kazakh students the depiction of a fickle and lascivious woman toward the end of the last century distorted the habits and customs of Kazakhs and insulted the pride of Turkic people.

In December 1988 hundreds of Uighur Students staged a march in Beijing to protest the showing of two films of historical fiction that the Uighur students found disrespectful to the race. One of the films was about the 18th century Uighur heroine, Ipar Han, who fought together with her husband, Jihangir Khoja, the ruler of Eastern Turkestan, against the Manchu-Chinese. When the Manchu Chinese emperor Chien Lung captured her she killed herself rather than marry him. For this she is honored by the Uighurs as the "Mother of Uighur Pride." The historical facts had been distorted by the film's Chinese makers. The book "Sex Habits", published by the Shanghai Cultural House, has seriously besmirched Islam, harmed religious feelings and created resentment among Muslims in China. In May 1989, thousands of Muslims staged protest marches in Beijing, Shansi, Gansu and Qinghai Provinces. Thousands of Eastern Turkestanis, such as the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz etc. staged fierce demonstrations throughout the country. In the city of Urumchi, the seats of several official buildings were stormed. During the resulting clashes with security forces three people were killed, 152 people were wounded and 53 cars were burnt.

Fearing persecution, Turkic scholars are hesitant to write on any topic which is not of the interest of the Chinese Communist Party. If a Turkic scholar writes about the history, culture or civilization he is accused of propagating "nationalism", "separatism" and "endangering the unity of the great motherland". These scholars are punished, their works, banned and their publishing houses closed.

In May 1991, for example, Chinese authorities launched a scathing attack on three books, "The Hun", "Ancient Uighur Literature" and the "Uighur People", published in Eastern Turkestan. The books were denounced for trying to break up the country and create an independent Eastern Turkestan. Although printed by a government-publishing house, the books have been banned. The books were accused of brazenly advocating independence, agitating for splitting the country and harming ethnic unity and damaging the unity of the "great motherland".

The harshest attack was leveled against the book entitled, "The Uighur People" by Turghun Almas, a well-known Uighur scholar, writer and poet, living in Eastern Turkestan. As a result, Turghun Almas was put under house arrest for a very long time.

As it can be seen from the examples given above, all these publications serve one aim: falsifying history to prove that Eastern Turkestan belonged since Stone Ages to China and undermining Turkic beliefs, culture and traditions.

Thus, under these circumstances, The Splendid China, in Florida, must be seen as a part of China's long term propaganda campaigns. As a matter of fact, in a Chinese classified document leaked from Beijing in 1993 briefly states the following:

We must start to infiltrate our propaganda into the mainstream life of the West by using cultural exhibits, because culture is easily acceptable by people of different ideologies, different countries, different races and different classes. It is very infiltrating and influential. It plays a role of imperceptible influence..."

(China's Public Relations Strategy on Tibet: <u>Report from Beijing Propaganda Confernce held in March 1993</u>)

The leaked propaganda plans also specifically say that Chinese propaganda should be stepped up in major Western countries. United States is the only super power that could influence China. There is also a great support for the Tibetan cause in the United States. Moreover, one of China's greatest fears is the internationalization of the question of Eastern Turkestan. For instance, Prof. Lu Fan Zhi, a member of the Beijing Academy of Science, in his article published on Sing Tao Daily, published in Hong Kong, on May 25, 1902, wrote the following:

The case of Tibet is worldwide known... But they are isolated in their separatist movement. Although the case of Xinjiang is not known, they have millions of related peoples in the neighboring Central Asian Republics, who share the same history, culture, language and civilizations. In the course of a major uprising in Xinjiang, they can voluntarily come to their ethnic brothers. Thus, the situation in Xinjiang is more threatening than in Tibet..."

In this manner, everything must be down to avoid the internationalization of the question of Eastern Turkestan, especially in the United States. The secret Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Document released in March 1996, briefly states the following:

"...Considering the ethnic separatism activities outside of the border, carry out all necessary dialogue and struggle... And be especially vigilant against and prevent, by all means, the outside separatist forces from making the so-called 'Eastern Turkestan' problem international... Develop several types propaganda..."

Chinese Communist Party Document Number 7; March 21, 1996

Propaganda means psychological warfare. The aim of the psychological warfare is to influence public opinion by spreading false beliefs, ideas, news etc. It is ironic that the Chinese Communist leaders sees fit to exploit the cultural heritage of the Turkic peoples at the same time it is systematically undermining and destroying at home.

It is vitally important to continuously encounter propaganda based on false beliefs, ideas, news etc. Otherwise, in the long run, there is always the danger that such propaganda could be legitimized in the eyes of the world public.

At this point, I would like to thank Mr. Jack Churchward, his beloved wife Cindy and the members of the CACCP for their tireless efforts in exposing the Chinese Communist Propaganda in America. Otherwise, China would have gotten away with its deception, falsification and lies.

# PRC Propaganda on Taiwan

Copyright ©1999, by Dr. Sebo Koh

Paper presented at "Exposing Communist Chinese Government Influence in America" Conference, Orlando, Florida May 15, 1999

Because Chinese claim on Taiwan is largely based on the twisted Sino-centric views of the history of Taiwan, a brief description of the history of Taiwan is in order here.

Since the time immemorial, there are people on the Island of Taiwan. These are the Malayo-Polynesian Pacific people, whose tribes still exist on Taiwan today. During the 13th to the 15th century, the Japanese, Dutch and Spanish established settlements in Taiwan for trades and use the island as way stations for their fleets. Portuguese marked the island on their sea charts as "Ilha Formosa", "The Beautiful Island", thus the Western name "Formosa". In small numbers, Han people from China also begin to immigrate to this island. In 1642, Dutch settlement firmly established in southern Taiwan with the consent of the Southern Chinese Commander who said that Taiwan "lay beyond the imperial territory of China." China specifically prohibited its people to set foot on this barbaric island, where "birds do not sing, and flowers do not bloom". But it was during this period of Dutch occupation that Southern Chinese immigrated in larger numbers. Man came alone in these dangerous and harsh ventures and inter-marriage between Han men and the aborigines women became the norm. Presently, most of the Taiwanese carry in their blood the genes of Malayo-Polynesians.

In 1644, Manchurians overran Chinese Ming Dynasty and established, on China, an empire that was regarded as foreign to the Chinese. Koxinga, a Ming patriot, unable to resist Manchurians, defeated Dutch and established his own little kingdom on Taiwan. In 1684, Koxinga's grandson surrendered to the Manchurians. But the Manchurian Ching Dynasty continues to prohibit its people from immigrating to Taiwan, and regarded Taiwan as outside of its civilization.

Therefore it was not regarded as a big loss when in 1895, Manchurian Ching Dynasty lost a war with Japan and ceded Taiwan in perpetuity to Japan at the Shimonoseki Peace Conference. 50 years later, in 1945, at the end of WW2, Japan surrendered. Under General MacArthur's authorization, Chiang Kai-Shek's Nationalists' Army receive the surrender, for the Allied Forces, of Taiwan from the Japanese. In 1952, the concluding treaty of WW2, the San Francisco Peace Treaty, stated that Japan would give up all its claims on Taiwan. The future of Taiwan remains unspecified. The future of Taiwan is to be determined by the people of Taiwan.

In 1947, only two years after Nationalist Chinese occupation of Taiwan, Taiwanese rose up in rebellion against the corruption and oppression of the Chinese -- the "228 Incidence". Chinese brutally suppressed the uprising, killing 20,000 taiwanese and proclaimed marshal law, which lasted for 40 years.

In 1949, Communist Chinese defeated Nationalist Chinese and proclaimed the establishment of People's Republic of China. Nationalist Chinese moved their Republic of China to Taiwan. It has ruled Taiwan since then.

Thus, in the last few centuries, Taiwan has been occupied by various different people, but to be noted is the indisputable fact that PRC has never ruled Taiwan for even one single day. Taiwan has been isolated from China for centuries and has developed its own cultural, economic and political systems different from those of PRC's.

Aside from the propaganda on the "blood line" theory, PRC also has systemically penetrated into various facets of American society. In business, because of advertised potential huge market in China, American big business have become the richest and most influential lobby for China and at no cost to China. Human rights issues have been sacrificed for trade. For the fear of offending China, big business also pushed for discouraging Taiwan independence. China has made the US held off the admittance of Taiwan into the World Trade Organization, despite Taiwan's achievements on the international trade as trustworthy partners.

In academia and government, which are often the revolving doors for scholars, are also have been penetrated by China. Most of the so-called China scholars are pro-China and favors status quo for Taiwan, with eventual unification in mind. China scholars risk the cutoff of information from China, should they speak against Chinese interests. The real benefits received by being pro-China are also substantial. Scholar/politicians like Kissinger and Scowcroft are actually paid to lobby for China. The "New China" lobby are full of past officials of the US government and powerful academia.

PRC also has both of its hands in the party politics of the US. Tens of millions of dollars have flowed into the political campaign process, from local elections to the presidential elections. Has Bill Clinton been bought by Chinese? The investigations have just began. Is there a connection between the pronouncement of the "3 no's" by Clinton in China and the Chinese money? While visiting China, Clinton stated that the US did not support Taiwan independence and would not support Taiwan's entry into international organizations.

We need to expose these Chinese propaganda schemes, not only for the sake of Taiwan, but also for the security of the United States of America.

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# **China's Use of Tibetan Institutions for Their Political Ends**

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The Chinese authorities have in the last several decades attempted to use Tibetan personalities, institutions and history to justify, legitimize and exercise their control over Tibet. Historically, they have used Tibetan institutions like that of the Panchen Lama to create dissents within the Tibetan community and to legitimize their rule over the Tibetan people.

There is a distinct pattern in which Beijing is implementing its policy of misusing distinct Tibetan institutions to serve its political ends. The presence of an exhibit of the Potala Palace in the Splendid China Theme Park in Orlando, Florida, is an example of this.

First, through the exhibit like that of the Potala, there is an attempt at psychological campaign to connect these distinctly Tibetan institutions to China. By including the exhibit in a Chinese theme park, there is a subtle attempt to make the general public think of China, not Tibet, when they see the Potala. Secondly, the exhibits are used to distort Tibetan history. The sign in front of the Potala exhibit has reference to only its connection to a Chinese princess for whom it was built. There is no mention of the Potala as being the heart of independent Tibet's administration and the center of Tibetan political life. In fact, the Potala is a combination of the White House and the Capitol Building together. In 1994, UNESCO inscribed the Potala in its World Heritage List . The inscription statement reads,

"The Potala Palace, an administrative, religious and political complex, is built on the Red Mountain in the centre of the Lhasa valley, at an altitude of 3700 metres. The complex comprises the White Palace and the Red Palace, with their ancillary buildings. The Potala, winter palace of the Dalai Lama since the 7th century A.D., symbolises Tibetan Buddhism and its central role in the traditional administration in Tibet. The beauty and originality of its architecture, its ornate decoration and its harmonious integration in a striking landscape add to its historic and religious interest."

There is no such reference to the Potala in the Splendid China Park. This shows that there is a clear lack of understanding of the significance of the Potala by the Chinese authorities.

Thirdly, through exhibits like this the Chinese authorities are creating a false sense of the situation. Placing Potala in "Splendid China" is to give an impression that there is respect for Tibetan identity and culture. The Potala is being used to symbolize past tyranny and present liberation of the Tibetan people under Chinese rule. This contradicts with independent reports coming out of Tibet on Chinese attitude towards Tibetan religion, culture and identity. There is a renewed campaign to suppress Tibetan religion. The ban on the photo of the Dalai Lama in public places in Tibet is just a clear indication of how the Chinese really feel about Tibetans. The Potala is the residence of the Dalai Lamas.

The Potala is not only the political seat of the independent Tibetan Government, but is also one of the sacred Buddhist sites and a place of pilgrimage. However, the Chinese authorities are undertaking different irreligious activities within the Potala. Recent reports from Tibet indicate that the Chinese authorities are sending prostitutes into the sacred complex to entice the monks living there. Without doubt the Potala exhibit in Splendid China Theme Park is a political tool masquerading as an

Without doubt the Potala exhibit in Splendid China Theme Park is a political tool masquerading as an entertainment center.

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# View of Inner Mongolia

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Ladies and gentlemen, good morning!

It is a great privilege and honor for me to be called up to give this address.

I would like to present a few problems that many of us are faced with. What I am going to discuss today is the human rights situation in the region of China known as Inner Mongolia. I shall first mention some general points about Mongolian History, and then touch on the current policy of destroying the distinct ethnic and cultural identity of the Mongolian people by means of forceful assimilation.

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

I would like to start with a brief overview of Mongolian history. In the beginning of the 13th century Chinggis Khan united the Mongol people and established an empire with stretched across Europe and Asia. The history of the Mongols is interrelated with more than 50 countries of Europe, Asia and Africa. Chinggis Khan can be credited with introducing the Mongolia people to civilization. The influence of the Mongolian Empire on world history during the Middle Ages also cannot be ignored.

In 1368 A.D., Mongolians withdrew to their homeland north of the Great Wall and maintained their rule over the vast Mongolian plains. Some four hundred years later, in1758 A.D., the Mongolians fell under the power of the Manchus, a closely related people occupying grasslands to the east.

The year 1911 saw the overthrow of the Manchu Empire by the Chinese national liberation movement. This event brought a new opportunity for all the nationalities that had been under the Manchu colonial rule, including Mongols, Uyghurs, Chinese, Tibet and others. In August of the same year, under the leadership of Handa Dorjey, the Khalkha Mongols expelled all the functionaries of the Manchu government. Three months later, in November, they declared their independence under the name of Mongolia. A year later the Russian government recognized this Mongolian independence and signed an agreement known as the "Russia and Mongolia Agreement." This document expressly forbids the Chinese army from entering Mongolia and the Chinese people from resettling in Mongolia. Under Russian direction, Choy-Balsan, a communist, declared the formation of the Mongolian Peoples Republic. This event, which took place in 1924, marked the establishment of the second socialist nation.

The Chinese Nationalist leader Jiang-Kaixi sent his foreign minister Wang-Shijie to negotiate with the Russian leader Mr. Molotov. This resulted in the agreement known as the "Friendship Treaty of Alliance between Russia and China." This treaty, concluded on August 14, 1945, recognized Mongolia's independence. Mao-Zedong himself went to Moscow and signed this treaty.

Prince Demchug- Donggurub, who was a 31st generation direct descendant of Chinggis Khan, led the independence movement of the southern Mongols. He declared southern Mongolia's independence from China and established a British style constitutional monarchy. Many elements of the traditional Mongolian form of "rule by nobility" were also preserved. In 1950, the Chinese communist army, bringing his independence movement and constitutional monarchy to an end defeated Prince Demchug Donggurub.

### CHINESE COMMUNIST DOMINATION

The year 1949 marked the victory of the Chinese communist party and the consolidation of the Peoples Republic of China. From that time until now, about 20 million ethnic Chinese have been resettled in Inner Mongolia. As a result, the native Mongols are now an absolute minority of only 20 percent of the overall population. The current demographic imbalance consists of six Chinese for every one Mongolian. To put

this figure in perspective, the Chinese government's own documents show that in 1949 the population ration was five Mongols to every one Chinese.

The Chinese government has been cruelly pushing its colonial totalitarian communist policy in Inner Mongolia. During the past 52 years of rule, They have utilized many forms of political, military, cultural, economic, administrative, and population control to execute its ethnically discriminatory and colonialist policy. It has aimed at completely assimilating the Mongolian nationality and thereby extinguishing the true owners of the Mongolian territory since ancient times.

The 71st rule in- the constitution of the Chinese communist government clearly states that the minority peoples can use their own spoken and written language. However, in 1958 the Chinese communists impose and order prohibiting Mongolians from using their native language. All Mongol students had to learn the Chinese language. Chinese was instituted as the official language of the Mongolian region. In public places, street names, rest rooms, etc. were identified in Chinese names using characters of the Chinese language. This policy continued until 1973, when Mongolians were once again allowed to use their written and spoken language.

All Mongolian leaders who opposed the communist policy of forceful national assimilation were removed. Even today, there is no department of Mongolian culture in Inner Mongolia's main university. The Chinese government has always been persistent in its hardlined political oppression policies. For all these past years, it has long been suppressing people with different political opinions, blocking news information, as well as fooling the people of the free world. Over the last two years, it has again captured and punished people who hold different political views. It suppressed cultural and political movements organized by various ethnic groups. The whole purpose was to deprive the rights of the Mongolian people. The colonization policy of the communist government is a direct violation of numerous international laws. It has successfully hidden these crimes up to the present day.

The Chinese authorities don't care whether the Mongolian nationality continues to exist or not. They use the name of "Chinese people" as a matter of political principle to replace the name of Mongolian nationality. They show no concern whatever to the consequences of this official form of cultural genocide.

The Chinese communists always think that they brought civilization and progress to the Mongolians, pointing to such examples as the railroads, electricity, civil aviation, schools, hospitals, etc. However, the real purpose of all this so-called "help" is to rob Mongolians of their land and property. Yang-Zengxin, who was a Chinese governor from 1912 to 1928, said: "Chinese people take a risk by going to a non-Chinese region. The only reason for doing this is to get a promotion and to make money." Inner Mongolia is rich in natural resources. Coal and iron are abundant. The land is rich in oil and scarce metals. The Bao Tou steelworks is the second largest factory in the whole country. The output of petroleum is 3.5 million tons per year. The output of coal is about 100 million tons. Every industry and state-run enterprise in Inner Mongolia, no matter what kind-oil, coal, steel, etc.-is controlled by Chinese. Factories are 90 percent staffed by Chinese with only 10 % or less workers who are ethnic minorities. Although Inner Mongolia has rich resources of its own, they are mined by immigrant Chinese and transported to Chinese regions without paying one cent. In the government, schools, and hospitals 90% of the staff are Chinese people. Chinese holds even the cleaning jobs. The Chinese people live in buildings with city water and electricity; but most Mongolian people live in the countryside and in poor conditions. Their houses lack running water and electricity. Their life style resembles that of the Middle Ages. The Chinese communists claim to be carrying out the principles of Marxism-Leninism, but in fact it is nothing more than a policy of ethnic assimilation. The autocracy of Han nationalism is an innate characteristic of Chinese communists. It is against their nature to permit local autonomy. The official bodies that hold power in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region are the Peoples' Congress, the Chinese Peoples' Political Consultative Conference (C.P.P.C.C.) and the Party Committee system. If the Mongolian people express any opposition to the Chinese communist policy or voice a different opinion, there are two ways to deal with them: One is to use brutal suppression. During the period of

Chinese communist dictatorship, more than 150, 000 Mongolian nationals have been slaughtered. The second way is to delete and change the territory of Mongolia. There are lots of rich lands, which have been occupied by Chinese immigrants. As a result, more and more Mongolians now have begun to express their disapproval to the Chinese government.

In order to defend the Mongolian people's interest, and to be against colonial aggression, I think it is necessary for all of us to recall President Woodrow Wilson's famous "Fourteen Point Declaration" which he issued during World War 1. This document enunciates such principles as the national right to self-determination. If we are able to take this declaration as our standard, then all the problems of Inner Mongolian can be readily solved.

### **ECOLOGICAL DESTRUCTION**

To satisfy the Chinese communist government's greed in relation to the military, the economy and the population, the continuous resettlement of Chinese people into the grasslands of the Mongolian territory has produced severe ecological damage. The easiest way to distinguish one nationality from another is through identifying unique cultural traditions and values. Inner Mongolia is a nomadic region. The Chinese people are largely an agricultural nationality. From the time of their ancestors they have taken roots of trees and grasses as a source of fuel. Because of this, the forests in China are disappearing. The Chinese government encourages their people to migrate to non-Chinese regions in order to open up new areas to cultivation. This policy is producing large-scale soil erosion that will turn the Mongolian grasslands into desert. In addition, many wild animals are being killed and eaten by the Chinese. Inner Mongolia also has rare metals, which can be used for making nuclear weapons, such as Plutonium, lithium, and uranium. The Chinese have also built a nuclear base in the region. These developments have led to very great danger of atomic pollution. Since the Chinese exploded their first atomic bomb in 1964, nuclear fallout has been a constant threat to the people of Inner Mongolia. Trees wither, the grasslands are becoming desert, and the people are contracting strange diseases. There are many new cases of people with tricfiomacleses; young girls come down with butterfly brown speckle; and the incidence of strange endocrinopathy, blood cancer, etc. has grown to alarming levels. The list of such illnesses is too numerous to mention them all here.

Every time there is a nuclear explosion, people are typically notified by radio on the second day after the detonation has occurred. Sometimes notifications do not come for several months. Even the Japanese, who live far from the detonation sites, have protested against the Chinese government's nuclear experiments. They are worried about environmental pollution in their land, because of the nuclear fallout that is carried there by the wind.

The Mongolian people, however, who live very near the tests sites, must silently endure much more serious levels of atomic pollution. It is sad that these thousands of Mongolian people do not even have the right to protest against this very real threat to their health. They are also not permitted to move to a safer area.

The Chinese communists have built a site for disposal of nuclear waste in Inner Mongolia. In July of 1987 four thousand tons of nuclear waste were transported here from West Germany and buried. When the Mongolian people tried to protest against this situation, Mr. Chai Ying, the military commander of the Inner Mongolia region quickly dispatched troops to suppress all acts of dissent.

### DENIAL OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Most Mongolian people are Buddhist. Some believe in Christianity. But the Chinese communists do not permit anyone to practice religion freely. Chairman Mao said: "National struggle, after all, is a problem of class struggle." So the Chinese communists replaced the Mongolian faithful with atheists who follow the class struggle viewpoint. The Chinese destroyed temples and killed or imprisoned monks. All religious activities were strictly forbidden. I know a Mongolian lama, Venerable Younden Jiamcho, who lives in Howell, New Jersey. He is now 83 years old. He told me about his temple in Mongolia. One night

Chinese communist soldiers surrounded the temple. They gathered all the lamas outside the temple and then shot them with guns. This lama somehow managed to escape. 2,400 temples were destroyed in this brutal manner.

Later on, the Chinese communists also persecuted the Mongolian Jay people who believed in Buddhism. The authorities claimed that these Mongolians wanted to over turn the Marxist-Leninist system by means of their Buddhist religious doctrine. Mongolian Buddhist are a peaceful group. They never mistreat people. However, it is inevitable that Chinese communists who follow a philosophy that values struggle and conflict will attack the Mongolian people who believe in Buddhism.

Ladies and gentlemen, it has been a great pleasure for me to have the opportunity to exchange my views with you here today. Before closing my talk, I want to thank you for your kind attention. Thank you!

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# A Mongol's story about Yurt

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Because I'm a Mongol, people always think and believe that I was born in a Yurt. That's also what the Florida Splendid China theme park tells the American people. Through the exhibit, the park illustrates a picture telling the visitors that the Mongols in Inner Mongolia still enjoying their tradition of being a nomad nation, dwelling place to place, singing and dancing from time to time, happy with the current status of being a member of the big family of People's of Republic of China. But my own experience of being a Mongol from Inner Mongolia will give people a totally different picture.

I was born in 1968 in the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia. My father was a student monk in local Buddhist temple when the Chinese Army first arrived in the region in late 40's. The Chinese army defeated the local Mongol self-defense force and created Communist government all over the region. The Communist government closed all temples and monasteries (later destroyed) and my father had to resume the secular life. He then married to my mother, a lifelong herdsman in early 60's. By the time they married, the Communist government already declared that all the traditional Mongol elements, including clothing, living, song, dance and religious practice, are Feudal remnants and must be destroyed or prohibited. So when my parents build their new home, that was a yellow mud house, instead of a Yurt. So I was born and grew up in the mud house. I couldn't recall there were any yurts left in the region, because the Mongols who dare to risk their lives to protect their tradition were all condemned to jail or labor camps.

First time I saw a Yurt in my life was in mid 80's after I entered high school in the capital city of Inner Mongolia, Hohhot. During a summer picnic, we visited a tourist attraction place 2-hour drive from the city. Houses built from mud and bricks were all along the way until we reach the grassland behind the mountain, which separates the city from the vast Gobi. On a hilltop, there was a single Yurt. At the first sight, it looked so beautiful and sacred for me. But shortly later, another kind of feeling struck me and it has accompanied me ever since. That was a mixture of loneliness and sorrow. The Yurt was so lonely on the entire landscape that I almost believed that it was the last one on the earth. There were also a few Mongol horses, descendants of those amazing creatures, which carried Genghis Khan and his army across Eurasia. To my horror, the horses were tamed so obedient that they even don't know how to gallop. Trotting away only a few hundred yards from the hilltop, they would turn back to their owner, no matter what the riders try to do. They have totally lost their spirit and wildness.

The Yurt and the horses were not just happened to be there by themselves. Like the few monasteries in the city, they were chosen to be there by the Chinese government as a showcase to the foreign visitors. The government wants the visitors to believe the same thing they are trying to tell through the Florida Splendid China Theme Park.

It won't surprise me if the last Yurt on the earth ends up in the Florida Splendid China Theme Park. Oyunbilig, May 31, 1999. Germantown, Maryland.

For more information about the Inner Mongolian People's Party, please visit <a href="http://www.innermongolia.org">http://www.innermongolia.org</a>.

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# **Apak Hoja and Iparhan**

Copyright ©1999, by Gulamettin Pahta
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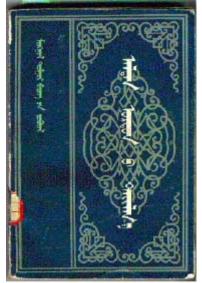
The story about the "Xiangfei tomb" is a shameless fabrication of the Chinese authorities. I grew up in Kashgar city where the tomb is located, I know the place and its legendary stories since my childhood. The tomb is called Apak Hoja Tomb, not "Xiangfei". It is the burial piace of a 17th century Uyghur ruler, Apak Hoja, who is regarded by the local Uyghurs as a holly person. That is why local Uyghurs regard the tomb with reverence. There are always people lying prostrate before his shrine praying piously.

The local people do not know if a woman named Xiangfei or lparhan ever buried there. But the splendid China gave a completely different story about the history of the tomb. It said the tomb is named after Xiangfei, and that people make pilgrimages to the tomb because of her. They even confused the Xiangfei, the fragrant concubine, with Apak Hoja, the Uyghur male ruler who lived a century ahead of Xiangfei (Iparhan). This is a blatant distortion of history. The Apak Hoja tomb was built a century before her death.

The so called Xiangfei is known to Uyghurs as Iparhan. According to Uyghur legends, she was an Uyghur warrior and poet with extraodinary beauty and bravery. She was said to be an excellent horse rider with superior combating skills. In the 18th century, she had fallen captive to the invading Chinese army lead by general Zhonghui. The Chinese general was very impressed by her beauty and talent, therefore brought her to Beijing as captive, to present her to the Chinese emperor. Emperor Qianlong of the Qing court, captivated by her beauty, asked her to be his concubine. But she refused. When she was forced, she killed herself. Before she died, she left words that she wishes her remains to be sent back to her hameland. The Chinese legends say the emperor complied with her wish. But textual research revealed that she was actually buried in the Eastern Mausoleum (Dongling) of the Qing Royal family outside Beijing. However, the Uyghur legend say the emperor sent her clothes to Kashgar and kept her body in Beijing secretly without letting her Mother, who was said to be greatly disturbed by the emperor's possession with Iparhan, know it. This legend can explain why textual research found her body in Beijing. Iparhan is remembered by Uyghurs for her legendary bravery and patriotic love for her homeland and people. But she has nothing to do with the Apak Hoja tomb in Kashgar. The Xiangfei story was intentionally imposed on the Tomb by the Chinese for political purposes. Just as the Chinese don't like the Tibetan leader Dalai Lama, they do not like an Uyghur leader either, even a dead one. That is why they are trying so hard to disconnect him from a tomb that is revered by Uyghurs. They want to show that Uyghurs have never had their own ruler and that East Turkistan have always been an inseparable part of China. This is a different version of the Chinese claim that Uyghurs are happy under Chinese rule. They are getting away with many lies about us, because we are not in a position to argue. But they can not get away with this one, Apak Hoja Tomb is one of the few places where a written record of the buried are kept by tomb keepers who inherit this family business from generation to generation, besides, the Apak Hoja story is so wide spread and deep rooted among the Uyghurs that changing it is impossible.

I am very disappointed that the Chinese government is exporting their wholesale propaganda all the way to the United States. They disregard all the well-known historical facts and cheating the American visitors, specially kids with blatant lies. Twisting the history and current situations of minority peoples is well-known practice of the Chinese communists. Even though the Uyghurs, Tibetans and Mongolians are rising against the Chinese rule, the Chinese government is still shamelessly trying to cheat the world public with the false claim that those peoples are happy with its rule. The Splendid China is a vivid display of that propaganda. I am strongly offended by the park's obvious political motivation in including the Apak Hoja and Id Kah Mosque.

# The Eight White Ordon, the Offering Ceremonies of Genghis Khan and the Mausoleum of Genghis Khan



The front cover of "Altan Ordon nai Dailga"

In Sept. 1983, a book titled " **Altan Ordon nai Dailga**" (*the Offering Ceremonies of the Golden Ordon*) by Mr. **Sain-Jirgal** and Mr. **Sharaldai** was published in classic Mongol script. Although the book was priced only about US\$0.15 at the time according to today's rate, it has been providing the most comprehensive and first hand materials on the offering ceremonies of the Genghis Khan's Eight White Ordon and other related events. Since one of the authors himself is a Darkhad and the other is a long time researcher at the Yikh Juu League's Bureau of Culture, we can count on the contents and facts which stated in the book.

As a Mongol from Ordos, I decided to write something on the Khan's Eight White Ordon and the mausoleum of Genghis khan when I came to the United States and found out that the people of the world know little about the man known as the "Conqueror of the World". Especially when I learned that the Chinese-Government-sponsored "Florida Splendid China Theme Park" near Orlando, US is trying to convince the people of the world that the Khan was an emperor of the Chinese and so the Mongols are also Chinese. I hope the following article, which mainly based on the "Altan Ordon nai Dailga", will give people the historical background and outline of the Khan's offering ceremonies as well as some facts which are useful for understanding the Inner Mongolians who are still suffering from the Chinese rule.

# The Eight White Ordon

After the Khan's death in 1227, his body was buried secretly according to the custom of the Mongols. The burial place still remains as a secret (most likely somewhere in the **Altai Mountain**).

The Mongols started to commemorate their great leader and founder of the nation right after his death. The **Eight White Ordon** in **Ejen-Khoroo**, **Ordos**, **Inner Mongolia** were probably set up in these days.

**Khubilai Khan** (1215-1994, the 5th Grand Khan (Emperor) of the Mongol Empire and also a grandson of Genghis Khan) set up a complete system and rule for the Genghis Khan Ceremonies. By his rule, the **Darkhad**, certain number of Mongols (actually 500 households at that time) from the tribes all over the Mongol Empire, were chosen to handle the matter of ceremonies and protect the Eight White Ordon; **Yaamutad**, officials with certain ranks and responsibilities, were appointed to carry out the ceremonies.

<u>The Eight White Ordon</u>: more accurately, it should be called "The Eight White Shitügen". *Shitügen: object(s) of veneration*.

According to the Darkhad, the ritual to commemorate Genghis Khan started from the days of **Ögödei Khan** (1186-1241, the 2nd grand Khan of the Mongol Empire and the 3rd son of Genghis Khan). So we can speculate that the Eight White Ordon were also set up at that time. The reason to choose Ejen Khoroo to set up the Eight White Ordon has been unclear. Folk tales among the Mongols told us that, one day when the Khan was on his way to punish the **Tanghud people** (a people lived in now-a-day's Ning Xia region in China), his horsewhip fell onto the ground all of a sudden. When his guards were about to pick it up for him, he stopped them and said:

" This must has a reason, I see this place is a very nice place, a place for deer to graze, for hoopoes to lay eggs, a place for shattered nations to be rebuild and for lives to be enjoyed, bury me here after my death."

Also according to the " Golden History", a chronicle book of the Mongols by a Mongol of 17th century:

" (after the Khan's death,) shirts, yurts and socks (of the Khan) were buried there (Ordos) and a false announcement was given (to the Mongols) that (the Khan was buried there)".

So it is possible that the belongings of the Khan were buried in Ordos, posing as the real tomb ( the custom of the Mongols was/is, the remains of a person is buried underground without any sign, even a tombstone) to meet the Mongols' need to worship the Khan and then a few years later, the Eight White Ordon were set up around the place by the decree of Khubilai Khan.

Dr. **Bimbaa Rintchin** of **Mongolia**, prominent specialist in Mongolian language, culture and customs, had said to the Darkhad when he came to visit Ordos in 1950's:

" There are still various explanation over the burial place of Chinggis (Genghis) among the experts. It is lucky for the people who live in felt tents (the Mongols) that the Eight White Ordon have been preserved for hundred of years, no matter in which

only shirts and yurts have been kept. Today, as the Eight White Ordon have become the peerless memorial of history and culture for the Mongols all over the world, so I am, Rintchin, showing my great appreciation to all of you, the Darkhad". The Eight White Ordon were eight special yurts, each for one Shitügen to be kept in.

" Ordon", old Mongol "of Ordo". "ordo" means "palace" and "ordos" is the plural of a "ordo". The area where the Eight White Ordon had been preserved has been named "Ordos" (or "Urdus" as the Ordos people pronounce) ever since the Eight White Ordon were built there. The word "yurt" is the Russian pronunciation of "ordo" or "urdu". The word "Horde" of "Golden Horde Khanate" is also a alteration of the word "ordo". Modern term of a "yurt" in Mongol language is a "ger" or a "Mongol ger".



a typical modern day yurt of the Mongols

The yurts which constitute the Eight White Ordon ware called "Chomchog". The Chomchog was built exactly after the structure of the yurts of the time of Khubilai Khan. Therefore, both the structure and outline of the Chomchog is quite different than the modern time yurts of the Mongols. The Chomchog looks like having a neck on its upper part. It is a real duplication of a kind of yurt used by the Mongols long time ago. Some elders said that, the Chomchog was used as a kind of camp yurt of the Khan when he was sick during his conquest.

The "Khana" (wooden poles serve as the "wall" of the yurt) of the Chomchog are not like the modern day yurts. Instead of being stringed together by leather strings as of a now-a-day's yurt, the Khana of a Chomchog are simply a numbers of separate straight wooden poles. Both lower and upper ends of these poles are inserted into the holes of a "Ulavch" (a square-shaped enclosed wooden band with holes on its upper side) and a "Mörövch" (a wooden structure similar to the "Ulavch", but having holes on both sides) respectively.

There are six poles ( **Khana-in Mod**) on the side ( southward side) which has the door and every nine poles ( including the corner poles) on the rest of each three sides. ( *which means, 4 poles on the door side and each 7 poles on the rest of 3 sides, plus 4 corner poles, there are 29 poles all together*) The height of a pole ( khana-in mod) is 5 Mongolian feet ( **Tokhoi**). " **Uni**" are wooden poles, their lower ends are inserted into the holes of the upper side of the "Mörövch" and the upper ends of the "Uni" are inserted into the holes on the " **Khalgas**" ( *Khalgasu in classic Mongol, a wooden structure, looks like a huge upside-down deep wooden bowl*). The lower ends of the "Uni" are bend inward and upper ends of the "Uni" are bend outward so that those Uni fit best into the holes. The length of "Uni" are 6 Tokhoi, except the four corner "Uni" which are about 6.5 feet

These "Ulavch", "Khana", "Mörövch", "Uni" and "Khalgas" constitute a " **Gashi**" and after the Gashi is covered with felts, it become a "Chomchog".

A " Golden Ganderi" (or Golden Ganjir, a cone-shaped ornament made of metal, usually found on the roof of Lamaist temples) was used to be placed on top of the Chomchog (a sign of Lamaism influence in Mongol region) since the widespread of the Lamaism in Mongol region.

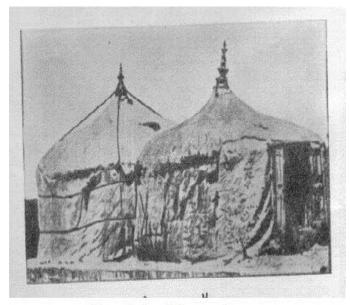
The "Toono" ( the top opening of a yurt, serve as a window of the yurt ) of the Chomchog is not on the center of the roof, it is on the lower front of the "Ganjir". During a ceremony, the upper part of the "Chomchog" would be covered with a golden colored cloth with a bluish green broad brim, this is why the Chomchog is also called "Golden Ordon".

### The Eight White Ordon include the following eight ordons:

### The Ordon of Genghis Khan and Börtegeljin Khatun

Börtegeljin Khatun: also known as Börte, Genghis Khan's senior wife; khatun, wife of a Khan.

Ejen-Khoroo (*Ejen: Lord; Khoroo or Khoroga in old Mongol: court*;), the original place where the Ordon of Genghis Khan and Börtegeljin Khatun had lactated is on the back side of the *Bor Tolgoit* and *Gojgor Ovoot* ( *two small hills* ) which are on the west side of the *Bayan-Changkhug* river in *Ejen-Khoroo Banner* of *Yikh Juu League* (*also known as Ordos*), Inner Mongolia , about 50 Gajar (*Mongolian unit of linear measure*, 1 Gajar equal to 1/2 Kilometer) southwest of today's Town of *Altanshireet*, the capital town of the Ejen-Khoroo Banner (*Banner, administrative unit of Inner Mongolia, equal to a county*). A stele carved with "*the original site of the Genghis Khan's mausoleum*" was placed on the site in 1956 when the Ordon was removed to the new mausoleum by the Chinese government.



Double Chomchog

The original Ordon of Genghis Khan and his wife Börtegeljin Khatun was located on a granite platform, as a "double Chomchog", a structure of two joint Chomchogs. A **Khuurchag** ( Khagurchag in classic Mongol, a case or *chest*) was placed in the center of the rear Chomchog ( remember, the Ordon was a double chomchog) on a table, posing as the relic box of the Khan. The box was made of silver and 120x77x99.5 in dimensions. In the box were a relic bag on a small table and a painting of the Khan with his nine Örlög ( Örlög : the best and favorite generals of the Khan). Also some old historical books about the Khan's ceremonies had been kept in the box. In front of the box, there were a portrait the Khan and a biography of the Khan since the 1910's. Various ceremonial implements had been kept in the Ordon. Unfortunately, these valueless historical treasures the Mongols had been preserving for hundreds of years were destroyed by the Chinese red guards in Sept 1966.

### The Ordon of Khulan Khatun

The Ordon of *Khulan Khatun* had located in a place called "*Khua-Tologai*", 15 Gajar southwest of the Ejen-Khoroo. *Khulan Khatun*, the daughter of *Dair-Usun*, the chief of the tribe of *Merged* ( *according to the Secret History*), was Khan's second wife and the Khan was very fond of her. The Ordon of Khulan Khatun was also a "double Chomchog" and there was also a "Khuurchag" of Khulan Khatun, and a portrait of Genghis Khan with Khulan Khatun was kept in.

### The Ordon of Görveljin-goo Khatun

The original site of the Ordon of *Görveljin-goo Khatun* is on the southern hill of *Davaan Shili* in the *Bor-Tokhoi* Sum, *Jungar* ( or *Jüün Gar*) Banner, Ordos, 240 Gajar east of the Ejen-Khoroo. There have been many dispute over if Genghis Khan had had a wife called Görveljin-goo. The Ordon was also a "double Chomchog", a "Khuurchag" of the Khatun made of sandalwood, coated by silver of gold plate had been kept in and there had been also two swords of the years of Genghis Khan and some historical and ceremonial books.

# The Shitügen of the Öndögön Ch agaan Horse

Öndögön Chagaan Horse was a pure white stallion standing for the sacred horse of the "Eternal Blue Heaven" in which the Khan believed. A live incarnation (Amid Burilwaa in Mongol) of the Öndögön Chagaan Horse was grazing freely in the vast grassland of Bor-Tokhoi and nobody should approach it except the Darkhad. If the Öndögön Chagaan Horse was getting old, a colt of between 1-2 years old (Daaga) would be chosen to substitute the old. The eyes and hooves of the colt should be jetblack, and all the hairs of the colt should be snow-white, even should not supposed to have a string of colored hair after a few years. Any defects were not allowed in any organs of the colt. Since the "Shitügen" of the Öndögön Chagaan Horse was a live incarnation, there was no Ordon for the sacred horse.

### The Ordon of the Bor-Ündür

The Bor-Ündür was a "Eseg-in Khünüg" (a bucket for fermented mare's milk).

At the time when the Khan presented 99 white mares' milk offering to the *Above 99 Heavens* ( *Tengger*) by the river of *Kherelün*, he saved the milk in this bucket. Ever since then, this bucket had been used only when the Khan presents offering to the 99 Heavens every year. After the Khan's death, the bucket was used to save the white mare's milk offering to the "Everlasting Blue Heaven" during the Genghis Khan offering ceremonies. This Khünüg also became one of the eight white "Shitügen" and given the name "Bor-Ündür" by the decree of Khubilai Khan.

The bucket was a 3 "tokhoi" ( *1 Tokhoi* = *1/3 meter*) high sandalwood bucket with three silver hoops. Two silver crocodile heads, with a silver ring attached to each of them, were fixed on the rim of the bucket diametrically. The "Bor-Ündür" had been presented offerings in a small temple by the east side of the *Khatun-Gol* ( *Khatun-Gol*, *the Mongol name of the Yellow River or Huang-He*) in Jungar Banner ( now this place belong to the *West Tümed Banner*). Elders said that, the Bor-Ündür was also placed in a Chomchog Ordon long time ago.

### The Ordon of the Khor Saadag

**Khor**: the part of a quiver where the arrowheads are kept. **Saadag**: a quiver with arrows. A quiver is called a "**Khoromsaga**" or "**Khoromsoo**".

The Ordon of the **Khor Saadag** was a Ordon for the Khan's bows, arrows and quivers. The Ordon was a single Chomchog and located at a place called " *Khudug*", 7-8 Gajar south of the Ejen-Khoroo long time ago. Later it was moved to various places

around the Ejen-Khoroo. In 1944, the Ordon was moved to Ejen-Khoroo and placed by the right side of the Khan's Chomchog. There were three bows and quivers with arrows kept in the Ordon. Bows were made of antlers ( $\ddot{O}l\ buga-nii\ ever$ ). One of the bow's bowstring was 5 Tokhoi long and another was 7 Tokhoi long. The arrowheads were made of steel and fixed on willow (Burgas) sticks and eagle ( $B\ddot{u}rg\ddot{u}d$ ) feathers were glued to the ends of the sticks.

#### The Ordon of the Jiloo

Jiloo: a rein.

The Ordon of the *Jiloo* had two separate Ordon: the *upper Khoroo* of Jiloo and the *lower Khoroo* of Jiloo.

The *upper Jiloo* was a single Chomchog, located at the east side of the *East Ulaan River*, 90 Gajar northeast of the Ejen Khoroo. A **Shitügen** of a isabella ( *yellowish*, "Sharga") gelding, standing for the Khan's eight isabella geldings ( *about the eight horses, refer to the "Secret History"*) had been presented offering here. Also a live incarnation of the isabella gelding was taken care by the Darkhad. A gold plated white sandal saddle, said to be used by the Khan, was also kept in the Ordon of the upper Jiloo. Except the saddle, a whole set of horse utensils, including *Khajaar* ( *halter*), *Jiloo* ( *rein*), *Döröö* (*stirrups*), *Gölöm* (*leather saddlecloth*), *Olong* (*the right-hand saddle girth*), *Jirem* (*the two left-side girths*) and *Daruulga* (*the two pairs of metal ornaments that holds the cushion to the saddle frame*) and some gold and silver plates were kept there.

The *lower Jiloo* had been located south of the upper Jiloo ( *so it was called lower Jiloo*), around a place called " *Khua-Tologai*" in the south part of *Jiun-Wang Banner*. Around 1910's, that place was occupied by the Chinese peasants from the south, and the Ordon had to be moved to various places and finally emerged into the new Mausoleum in 1956. In the lower Jiloo Ordon, similar to the upper Jiloo, a live incarnation of the eight isabella geldings and an entire horse utensil had been presented offerings. The saddle kept there was decorated by steel-made designs.

Experts from *Hungry* and *Mongolia* during 1956-1962 confirmed that the saddle was a 12-century antique. The treasures kept in these Ordon were also destroyed or robbed by the Red Guard of China.

#### The Ordon of the Shang-in Örgöö

Shang: reward(s), award(s), prize(s); treasure. Örgöö: honorary term of a yurt.

This Ordon had located by the Ordon of Khan and Khatun. Golden and silver articles, jewelry and old books on Mongolian history and the Khan's ceremony had been kept in the Ordon. "Chagaan Tükh" (White History), "Ulaan Tükh" (Red History) "Shar Tükh" (Yellow History) and "Altan Bichig" (Golden Document/Book) were among the books. Beside the above eight ordons compose the Eight White Ordon, there were also dozens of ordon Shitügen in Ordos. It is necessary to mention the "Sülde" (or Süld, means spirit, symbol or emblem in modern Mongol language) Shitügens because of their important role among the Mongols. There were Chagaan (White), Khara (Black) and Alag (black-and-white, multi-color or colorful) Süldes in Ordos.

#### Genghis Khan's Khara Sülde

The Khara Sülde or "Chinggis Khan-nii Kharia Yikhit Khara Sülde" is also called "Dörven Khölt Khara Sülde" (Khara Sülde with four feet).



### Sülde in the New Mausoleum

Folk stories mentioned that the Khara Sülde would be raised when the Khan was in a war. The Chagaan (White) Sülde was raised during the time of peace or in a place away from war. The Khara Sülde was the Khan's battlefield banner, standing for the power of the "Everlasting Blue Heaven" which can concentrate and mobilize the spirit and power of all Mongols to defeat their enemies in all time in all directions. The place where the Khara Sülde was worshipped in Ordos was called "Shine-in Khushuu" in the former Jiun-Wang Banner where the *Ulaan Muren* river and *Khökh Usun* river meet. Later when the Chinese peasants started to cultivate the area, the Sülde was forced to move north, finally settled in now-a-day's Sülde-in Khoroo Gachaa ( Gachaa, the lowest Municipal unit in Inner Mongolia) of the Bor-Toig Sumu ( Sumu: township), Ejen-Khoroo Banner (Banner: Khushuu in Mongol, County). On June 14 of the 1956, the Khara Sülde was moved to the new Mausoleum.

The Sülde consists of a about one Tokhoi long double-edged spearhead like steel called "*Jelme*", a plate like silver "*Char*" with 9x9=81 holes along the rim and a "*Shilvi*"--- a long wooden pole serve as the handle of the Sülde.

The "Char" would be fixed to the Jelme a short distance from the Jelme's lower end and the "Shilvi" would be inserted into hole on the lower end of the Jelme and would be wedged by a silver wedge ( *Shongnuurga*) and then the joint would be wrapped by white silk.

" *Khükhüül*", bunches of chestnut stallions mane, would be tied to the holes of the "Char" by leather strings made of black goat's skin. The "Shilvi", was 13.5 Tokhoi long and made of cedar. A 12 Tokhoi long yellow silk "coat" with 1000 buttons

would be put onto the Sülde and a supporting Shilvi would also be fixed to the main Shilvi to ensure the main Sülde's stability. Then the Sülde's main Shilvi and the supporting Shilvi would be inserted into the holes on the back of giant a stone-carved tortoise.

Four " *Elchi*" ( means a messenger or courier, sometimes assistant of a Khan) Sülde ( *Elchi Sülde was shorter than the main Sülde*, the Shilvi of the Elchi Sülde was 9 Tokhoi) stand around the main Sülde and fastened up to the main Sülde with a 13 Tokhoi long rope made of stallion mane with yellow silk coat. The four Elchi Sülde stand around the main Sülde serve as the four feet of the Khara Sülde.

Since the Sülde was said to descend from the high Heaven, it should always be exposed to the Heaven and accompany with the Heaven, and for this reason, the Sülde had been offered in open place for hundreds of years and it should never be placed under any shelter. Also, because the Sülde was the Khan's very important Shitügen, the offering ceremonies of the Sülde had been held separately from the ceremonies of the Khan and had its unique procedures and schedules of ceremonies.

The offering ceremonies of the Khara Sülde were: **Baga Dailga** (**baga** means small or not big, **dailga** means offering ceremony), held on every 1st days of a month and a **Jalgamj**--- continuing offering were held on each 3rd days of a month, **Juslang-in Dailga** (summer time ceremony), held on the 3 day of the 7th month of a year according to the Ordos calendar (the 7th month is the 1st month of the summer). **Yikh Dailga** (grand offering), held on 14th day of the 10th month of a year by Ordos calendar and **Togshiulkh Dailga** on the 5th day of the first month of the winter in every Dragon year.

#### Alag Sülde:

Alag Sülde had been presented offerings in the *Nangsu* Gachaa of *Chagaan-Tologai* Sumu, *Otog* Banner for many years. It had its own Darkhad and Yaamutad. According to elders in the area, the Alag Sülde was the Sülde of *Khavutu Khasar*, one of younger brother of the Khan and known to the world by his excellent archery skills. The Alag Sülde was similar to the Khara Sülde except the decoration on its Shilvi and *Ochir Jelme* ( *the spear-like steel*).

It was called Alag Sülde, likely because of that decorations. The Khükhüül of the Alag Sülde was also made of the mane of chestnut stallions ( *not from black and white stallions as some people say*).

#### Chagaan Sülde:

Yisün Khölt Chagaan Tug (white banner with 9 feet. Tug: banner or flag) or Yisün Khükhüül Chagaan Tug (white banner with 9 Khükhüül) was mentioned in many historical works of the Mongols.

The White Sülde ( or Tug) was presented offerings not only in Ordos, also in Chakhar ( Chakhar: an area including parts of today's Shilin-Gol League, Ulaanchab League, also known as Chakhar Eight Banners) and Khalkha (now-a-day's Mongolia). The place where the Chagaan Sülde had been kept is Muu-Bulag Gachaa, Narin-Gol Sumu, Üüshin Banner. The Khükhüül of the White Sülde was made of mane of white stallions and 8 Elchi Sülde surrounded the main Sülde. The offering ceremonies of the White Sülde had been held several times a years ( one of the ceremony was held in the 13th day of the 8th month, Ordos calendar) and a grand ceremony was in held every 3 year.

According to *Russian* Mongolist *Vladimirtsov* ( "The history of the social structure of the Mongols"?), a Chagaan Sülde was also kept in the *Logosiid* Banner in Khalkha and held offering ceremony in every 3 years.

# The offering ceremonies of the Genghis Khan The Darkhad and the Yaamutad

#### Origin of the Darkhad:

As I mentioned in the beginning of this article, the **Darkhad** are people who were put together by the decree of Khubilai Khan ( *also known as Khubilai Sechin Khan among the Mongols*) to handle the Eight White Ordon's ceremonial matters and protect the ordons.

By the Darkhad elders, they ( the Darkhad) are the descendants of the 500 households who were called up from almost all tribes of the 400,000 blue Mongols in the **Horse** year of Khubilai Sechin Khan to guard the ordons. **Darkhad is not a name of a Mongol tribe**, the 500 families were from various tribes, such as **Kherid** ( a tribe lived in Midwest of Khalkha), **Shiranod** ( said to be from the **Altai mountain**) and **Oirad** ( western Mongols, lived in the area of **Dzungar**). Since they were exempt from any taxation and military service and had the right to collect the needs for offerings from anybody, they were called Darkhad (one meaning of the "darkhan" is someone freed from taxation or official duties).

The Darkhad had two groups, one was called *Baruun* (west side or right wing, right hand side) *Yaamutad* and another was *Jüün* (east side or left wing or left hand side) *Yaamutad*. The Baruun Yaamutad was also called *Yikh Tala* (grand side) or *Bogd-in Darkhad* (Darkhad of the Bogd. Bogd: holly or holiness, Lord. a term to address sb. is considered holly among the Mongols, such as *Genghis Khan*) and the Jüün Yaamutad was also called "Baga Tala" (minor side) or Sülde-in Darkhad (Darkhad of Sülde).

Arulad (descendants of Boorchu's clan, who was a long time friend and one of the best general of the Khan), Kherid (descendants of Wang Khan's tribe, who was the sworn brother of the Khan's father), Joigurchin, Baragud, Merged, Boronud, Torgod, Mangud, Orod, Khongirad were among the Baruun Yaamutad and Jalair (descendants of Mukhulai's tribe, who was also a close friend and one of the best general of the Khan) and Khonkhotan, Agtachin, Khonichin, Süldüs, Sönid, Longkhochin, Bagatur (Baatar), Oriyankhan were among the Jüün Yaamutad (beside these people, many others were also among the Darkhad. Also, apparently, the names of the tribe/clan such as Agtachin, Khonichin are not the original names of the people. About the names of tribes in Ordos, can refer to works of A. Montaert of Belgium and others).

#### The administrative system of the Darkhad

The administrative structure of the Darkhad was set up by the Khubilai Khan's decree and had maintained its original shape for long time. During the *Manchu Empire's* rule over Mongolia, in spite of fatal changes had been made to the original Mongolian administrative structure ( *such as setting up the Banners and Leagues*), the Darkhad's administrative structure had been kept alone without major changes.

#### Jinong:

Jinong was the highest official (Noyan) of the Darkhad. During the Mongol Empire, Jinong was a high ranking official in charge of the ceremonial affairs and after the Mongol state returned to Mongolia (in 1368, Toghon-Temur Khan retreated from Peking to Mongolia with his officials when the Chinese rebellions reached Peking and the Mongol state had been lasted in Mongolia until 1634, when the last Grand Khan of the Mongols died in Khökh-Nuur and the Manchu people took over the Inner Mongolia), the Jinong title was shifted to the official who mainly in charge of the state affairs (a role similar to prime minister) and also in charge of the ceremonial affairs additionally.

Under the Manchu rule, the authority of the Jinong was greatly reduced, but still remained as a head of the Darkhad and appointed directly by the Manchu court. It was common during the Manchu empire that the governor of the *League* ( *or Chuulgan*) or even a head of a Banner was appointed as a Jinong. After the Manchu empire's collapse in 1911, the administrative structure of the Darkhad was also remained and the governor of the *Yikh Juu Chuulgan* ( *league*) *Shagdarjab* was the Jinong and after his death his son *Ochir-Khuyagtu* succeed the Jinong and finally, *Töbshin-Jirgal*, governor of the Jiun-Wang Banner was in charge of the Jinong until his death in Jan. 1949. The Communist Chinese government then abolished the whole administrative system of the Darkhad, along with the Jinong and there has been no Jinong since then. A Jinong was neither a Darkhad nor a Yaamutan (*Yaamutan: single form of Yaamutad*) and only a person who belongs to the *Altan Urug* ( *Golden Branch, people who are descendants of the Khan*) should be qualified to the Jinong position. Yaamutad:

**Yaamutad** were a kind of officials among the Darkhad in charge of holding the offering ceremonies and other matters related to the Eight White Ordon and the ceremonies. As I mentioned, the Jinong had been the head of the Darkhad, but generally, the Jinong had been a kind of honorary title of the official who attend and hold the ceremonies on behalf of the **Mongol court**. The Jinong had been not in charge of the daily/routine matters of the ceremonies and instead of Jinong, the Yaamutad had been handling these matters.

People usually said there were eight Yaamutad, but in fact, except the *Eight Grand Yaamutad* (*Naiman Yikh Yaamutad*), there were many other Yaamutad. I mentioned before that there were *Right Wing Yaamutad* and *Left Wing Yaamutad* among the Darkhad, the 8 Grand Yaamutad known to the people were the *8 executive* (*Guichetkheekh*) *Yaamutad* of the Right Wing. These 8 Yaamutad were:

<u>Taishii</u>: Taishii Yaamutad were the executive head of the Darkhad. There were Manglai Taishii, Ailthhal Taishii, Akhalakh Taishii among the Taishii Yaamutad.

<u>Taibuu</u>: in charge of preparations and arrangements of the ceremonies. There were *Chargi Taibuu*, *Akhalakh Taibuu* and <u>Taibuu</u>.

<u>Manglai</u>: in charge of the general matters. Also in charge of starting ( *announcing*) all the ceremonies. **Dotor-in Manglai**, **Gadna-in Manglai**, **Yikh Manglai** and **Baga Manglai** were the titles of the Manglai Yaamutad.

<u>Khonjin</u>: In charge of the music and songs during a ceremony. There were *Chargich Khonjin*, *Yöröölch Khonjin*, *Yilguusan Khonjin*.

<u>Khökhöö</u>: also called "*Khökhchin*", in charge of reading the oaths and odes to the Khan during a ceremony and also in charge of announcing a khan's decree during the Darkhad collecting needs from the Mongols. The Khökhöö also had *Wüijing Khökhchin*, *Ching Jorigtu Wüijing Khökhchin*, and *Khökhchin* these three titles.

*Tuuli*: in charge of presenting the offerings during the ceremonies.

<u>Khasaa</u> ( *khasaga* in *classical Mongol*): in charge of maintaining the order during the ceremonies. There were *Jasuul Khasaa*, *Akhlakh Khasaa* and *Khasaa*.

<u>Charvi</u> ( *Charbi* in old Mongol): in charge of serving ( *pouring* ) the wine ( *Sarkhud*) during the ceremonies. *Ugtuul Charvi*, *öölön Charvi*, *Khariulch Charvi* were the titles of the Charvi Yaamutad.

Except these Eight Grand Yaamutad of the Right Wing, there had been also many right wing Yaamutad such as *Khuur-Chargit, Khariul-Manglai, Galch, Yörööch, Ugtuul, Süngch, Jasuul,* 

Khaalgach, Khuj-Jalagch, Charguch. But these Yaamutad hadn't had the administrative authority over Darkhad. Jüün (left wing) Yaamutad:

The left wing/side Yaamutad were also called Sülde-in Darkhad (Darkhad of the Sülde) or BagaTala (minor side). The Left Yaamutad somehow had kept the Mongolian military structure innovated by the Khan. Elders said the Baruun Yaamutad were from the Mongolian court/government and the Jüün Yaamutad were from the army. There were also eight major Yaamutad among the Left Wing:

Jaisang, Chingsang, Tümetü, Mingatu, Juutu, Tuuli, Khökhchin and Charvi.

Beside these eight major Yaamutad, there were also Yaamutad such as *Shüürügchi*, *Khushuuchi Baator*, *Darkhan Baator*, and *Gavshgai Baator* among the Left wing.

Darkhad were people who were subjected to be in the mourning for the Khan's death forever by the decree of the Khubilai Khan, so they should not take any official positions, should not be in any other mourning and also were exempt from any taxation and official duties.

### The offering ceremonies of Genghis Khan

From the very beginning, the Mongols have been conducting offering ceremonies to their ancestors and the "Everlasting Blue Heaven".

The offering ceremonies to Genghis Khan's Ordon Shitögen can be described into Süsüg-in Dailga, Monthly Dailga and seasonal Dailga these three categories.



<u>Süsüg-in Dailga(s)</u> were held on the request of the pilgrims. Pilgrims could choose any appropriate days/time to offer their offerings to the Khan. Offerings could be least from a *Khem* (about 1/2 kg) of butter to a "Buda Mal" (Buda Mal, the "large cattle", including horses, camels and ox). Monthly and seasonal Dailga(s) had had fixed days and offerings.

#### Monthly Dailga:

Chagaan Sar-in Dailga: Chagaan Sar (means White Moon or White Month in Mongol) is the first month of a year according to the Mongol/Ordos calendar. Chagaan Sar-in Dailga were held in the first day of the Chagaan Sar (Shiniin Negen in Mongol) and the third day of the Chagaan Sar (Shiniin Gurvan).

The offerings on the Shiniin Negen were: 9 sheep's **ötkhö** ( cooked whole sheep/ox/horse also called **Shüüs**), 9 Khem ( I khem wine = 1/2kg) wine, Over 100 kg **Jangsa Boorsog** ( a kind of braided pastry/cookie fried in butter), 3 buckets of **jujubes** ( ulaan chavga), 5 kg combinations of rock candy, sugar, cane sugar, honey and raisin.

# Offering Table

The offering procedure, according to an old ceremonial book were:

Presenting Nindar (silk or khadag---a long narrow, specially made band of silk or other material for presentation on formal occasions as a gift or mark of esteem), presenting Jula (butter lamp), presenting ötkhö, presenting Khüji (incense stick), Gal Takhikh (presenting offerings to fire, usually wine and pieces of cooked fat of sheep tail), Arban Yaamu Töökh (distributes the shares to the 10 Yaamutad, certain Yaamutad would take certain pieces of meats of the ötkhö), Yikh öchig öchikh (reading the grand oath), presenting Sarkhud (wine offering), Singing the 12 songs, Yaamu Töökh (distributing the shares to the 8 Yaamutad, they also would get certain pieces of meats), Gadnaa-in Yörööl Tevinee (reading Yörööl of outside. Yörööl: an article addressed for blessing or praising, a benediction), Dotor Khüji Duudnaa (reading the Yörööl of incense), Chagu Khariulnaa (returning the wine. Chagu: a ceremonial implement for holding small amount of wine, a kind of wine cup. khariulnaa: take something back to its original place, buchaanaa), ötkhö Khariulnaa (returning the ötkhö), Khunkh-in Yörööl Tevinee (reading the Yörööl of khunkh. khunkh, a ceremonial implement for holding large amount of wine).

These procedures, however, were somehow altered since the time of the wide spreading of the Lamaism in Mongol region. A Lamaism benediction called "*Ejen Sang* (or *Ubsang*)" was read in the beginning of every Dailga (the Ejen Sang would be read again in the afternoon).

The Chagaan Sar-in Dailga conducted in early years of this century had the following procedure: Ejen Sang Tevikh (conducting the Ejen Sang, such as burning Archa----juniper leaves and incense) and reciting the Ejen Sang (click here to read a section of the Ejen Sang in Mongol), Golomt Takhikh (Golomt: hearth or fireplace in a yurt. Golomt Takhikh: present offerings to the hearth) and reciting the Golomt öchig, presenting the Nindar offering and reciting the Nindar Daatgal (Daatgal: an article read in a prayer), presenting the Jula offering and reciting the Jula Daatgal, reciting the öchig, presenting the ötkhö offering and reciting the ötkhö Daatgal, presenting the Sarkhud offering and reciting the Sarkhud Daatgal, singing the 12 songs, presenting the incense offering and reciting the incense Daatgal, reciting the Khonkh Daatgal, returning the ötkhö (from the offering table) and Yaamu Töökh (Yaamutad took their shares of the ötkhö).

The offerings of the Shiniin Gurvan were: 3 sheep's ötkhö, 3 Khem of Arikh (wine) and certain amount of Boorsog and sweets and candies.

Second month's Dailga (in Ordos Calendar, the 2nd month of a year is the Tavan Sar or the fifth month): On the Shiniin Negen (first day of the month): a sheep, a khem of Arikh (wine).

On the Shiniin Gurvan (the 3rd day): 3 sheep, 3 khem of Arikh. Of course there were Boorsog and sweets, needless to mention. I'll only mention the "big offerings" in the followings.

Third month's Dailga (Jurgaan Sar or the 6th month in Ordos calendar): same as the 2nd month's Dailga. The 21st day of this month was the main day of the Genghis Khan's Grand Dailga---''Chagaan Sürügin Yikh Dailga''.

Fourth month's Dailga ( Doloon Sar or the 7th month in Ordos): same as the 2nd month.

In every 3 years, the Gashi of the Khan's Ordon would be renewed. The renewal would start from the *Shiniin Naiman* (the 8th day of a month) of this month and an offering of 1 sheep and 1 khem Arikh would presented on the day before the renewal start

Fifth month's Dailga (Naiman Sar or the 8th month in Ordos): the Shiniin Negen and Shiniin Gurvan Dailga were same as the 2nd month's Dailga.

From 10 to 12 in this month, a offering ceremony called "the Miliyaguud-in Dailga (Chomchog Ordon-aan miliakh)" especially for the Khan's Chomchog Ordon would be held.

Sixth month's Dailga (Yisün Sar or the 9th month in Ordos): the Shiniin Negen and Shiniin Gurvan Dailga were same as the 2nd month's Dailga.

A series of Dailga called "*Uurag Khurgan Dailga*" would be held between 10-25 of this month. *Seventh month's Dailga* ( *Arvan Sar or the 10th month in Ordos*): the Shiniin Negen and Shiniin Gurvan Dailga were same as the 2nd month's Dailga . The 27th day of this month was the day of *Taij-in Dailga* ( *Taij: people who are the descendants of the Khan*). a ötkhö of a mare and 9 sheep, 9 khem Arikh would be offered during this Dailga.

Eighth month's Dailga (Dund Sar or Teriün Khüilüür/Khöölöür Sar in Ordos): same as the 2nd month's Dailga .

Ninth month's Dailga (Süül Sar or Süül-in Khüilüür/Khöölöür Sar in Ordos): same as the 2nd month's Dailga .

**Tenth month's Dailga (övöl-in Ekhin Sar** --- the first month of the winter--- in Ordos): the Shiniin Negen Dailga was same as the 2nd month's Dailga. About the Shiniin Gurvan Dailga, see the Seasonal Dailga.

Eleventh month's Dailga (Khara Khujir Sar in Ordos): same as the 2nd month's Dailga .

Twelfth month's Dailga (ööljin Sar in Ordos): the Shiniin Negen and Shiniin Gurvan Dailga were same as the 2nd month's Dailga.

The 23rd day of this month (on 24th day in some places) is the day to present offering to the fire (Gal Takhikh). On this day a grand offering of 3 sheep and 3 khem Arikh would be presented to the **Golomt** of the Khan's Ordon.

On Bitüün (the last day of a year according to the Mongol/Ordos calendar), there would be also a Dailga.

#### The Seasonal Dailga:

Esüg-in Dailga of the spring: held on the 21st day of the 3rd month. Refer to the "Chagaan Sürügin Yikh Dailga".

Nuur-in Yikh Dailga of the summer: Nuur: a lake. Yikh: grand, big, large.

This Dailga had been held on the 15th day of the 5th month.

ötkhö of 9 sheep and a mare along with 9 khem Arikh were the offering presented during this Dailga. A ceremonial article called "Altan Ordon nu/ni Yikh Manglai Tööl" would be recited only at this Dailga.

*Shürgin Dailga* of the Autumn/Fall: *Shürge*: a halter (?) for a *Unaga* ( *unaga*, a horse under the age of 1 year, a *foal*). 12th day of the 8th month of a year was the day of this dailga. Offerings presented at this Dailga were same as the Summer Dailga mentioned above.

Tesemen Dailga of the winter: Teseme/Tesme: straps made of animal (esp. a goat) skin.

The 3rd day (Shiniin Gurvan) of the 10th month of a year was the day of this Dailga. Offerings were same as the Summer Dailga mentioned above.

Chagaan Sürügin Yikh Dailga was the Dailga of the spring (also called Esüg-in Dailga)

and was the largest Dailga of the Khan and the Eight White Ordon. It is necessary to give some details of this grand Dailga in particular.

## The Chagaan Sürügin Yikh Dailga

According to "Altan Bichig", a classic record of the Dailga of the Eight White Ordon, the following amounts of offerings were subjected to the Dailga: "Ordos Tümen (Ordos Tümen, can be directly translated into the 10,000 people of Ordos. The people of Inner Mongolia are mainly the descendants of the Mongol army. a Tümen or Tümetu which consists of 10,000 soldiers or 1000 Arbatu or 100 Juutu or 10 Mingatu, was the largest unit of the Mongol military structure innovated by the Khan. So we can say in some level that the Ordos people are probably the descendants of the Tümen which garrisoned in Ordos) a horse, 100 Arikh, Uriyankhan/Uriyankhai and Chakhar Tümen also a horse each, 100 Arikh each, Yüshiebü 3 horse, 300 Arikh, Khalkha 3 horse, 300 Arikh, Tümed 3 horse and 300 Arikh,.... Khagan (Khagan, the Grand Khan or the Khan of the Khans in classic Mongol writing), Jinong 3 Araja, Khaad (plural of Khan. Khan was usually a head of a League or sons of the Khagan in classic Mongol writing) 2 Araja, Taij 1 Araja, ...", . Beside the great amount of the offerings, also its long lasting time and the great scale of the Dailga made this Dailga became the largest Dailga of the Khan.

#### The preparation of the Dailga:

The preparation of the Chagaan Sürügin Yikh Dailga would start from the 10th day of the 3rd month.

The bridge over the *Changkhug* river east of the Khan's Ordon should be fixed well for the passing of the Khan's Ordon when the Eight White Ordon assemble together on the Dailga.

#### The assemble of the Eight White Ordon (Naiman Chagaan Ordon Jigilekh):

Only on the Chagaan Sürügin Dailga, the Eight White Ordon would come together ( *Jigilekh*). In the night of the 17th day of the month, the Eight White Ordon should all come to the Ejen Khoroo.

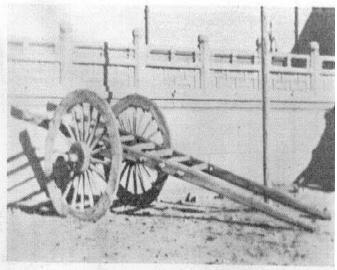


The Khan's Ordon, the Ordon of Khulan Khatun, the Ordon of Khor-Saadag, the Ordon of the Jiloo and the Ordon of the Shang should come to the west bank of the Changkhug river and the Ordon of Görveljin-goo khatun, the Ordon of Bor-Ündür and the Öndögön Chagaan Horse should come the east bank.

Aligned Chomchogs

On the 18th day of the month, the Khan's relic box and the Börtegeljin Khatun's relic box (*Chindar-in Khuurchag*) would be loaded into the *Chomchog of the Khor-Saadag* on the *Shara Khasag (Khasag, Mongolian traditional cart made of w ood; Shara, yellow)* and the cart would be pulled by two white camels to the west bank of the river where the Khan's Golden Ordon was set up.

The Jinong and the Khan's descendants ( *Altan Urug*), all ranks of officials would follow the cart right behind and ordinary Mongols (*Khara*, *Shara*) would also follow behind. After the Khan's relic box was placed into the Golden Ordon, a offering would be offered to every Ordon and then the eight ordons would be led to their official ceremonial locations:



The Ordon of Khor Saadag would be at the west most, then the Ordon of Jiloo, the Ordon of the Khan (Golden Ordon), the Ordon of the Shang, the Görveljin-goo Khatun's Ordon, and the Ordon of Bor ündür would be aligned into a line from the west the east. The Öndögön Chagaan Horse would be tied in front of the Bor ündür.

Then an offering would be presented to all the Ordon. There would be no Dailgas on the 19th day. Pilgrims can offer their own offerings on this day.

On the 20th day, a Dailga called "Garil (or Garili)" would be conducted. 8 sheep and a horse would be presented to the Eight Ordon. A ceremony of special style would be held during this Dailga.

# Shara Khasag

#### The Grand Dailga on the 21st day:

#### Altan Gadas:

In the morning of the day, the "Altan Gadas" (Altan: Golden; Gadas: a pole for tying horse; This "pole", however, was not a real pole, a person would pose as a pole) would be set up in front of the Öndögön Chagaan Horse (however, the horse would not be tied to the Altan Gadas). The man posing as the pole was said to be a descendant of one who had committed crime (the tale is: there was a real golden pole before. But somebody stole and sold the pole. Then he was put into the position of the pole after being captured). The person's feet would be buried in sand and something should be written on the sand (it is unclear what was the writings now).

#### Esüg-in Sachulga (tsatslag):

Esüg: mare's milk. Sachulga: act of casting milk or wine to the heaven or the earth for blessing sb. or asking for blessing. At the dragon hour of the day, the Darkhad would lead Jinong and other official to the table set up in front of the Öndögön Chagaan Horse and would present a ötkhöö and a khem of Sarkhud to the horse and the horse would be decorated by 3x9=27 white silk bands. After then, they would enter the Golden Ordon and offer Jula (butter lamp), Khüj (incense) and 3 Tavig (or Tabig).

Then a khem of *Sarkhud* and a *ötkhö* would be presented to theBor-Ündür. 300 Jing ( *1 Jing=1/2 kg*) of 99 white mare's milk would be filled in theBor-Ündür and the Esüg would be cast into the air and onto the earth, first by the Jinong, then the officials of the Banners. They would run around theBor-Ündür, Altan Gadas and the White Horse one by one and use a implement called "*Chöchöge*" to cast the milk. An article called the *"99 white mare milk's casting yörööl"* (99 Chagagchin nii Süün Sachulgan nii yörööl) would be recite when the Sachulga starts.

#### The Grand Dailga inside the Ordon

After having started the *Sachulga*, Jinong would return to the Golden Ordon to hold the Grand Dailga. Meanwhile, Taijs would hold the Dailga of the other ordons. Thus the offering ceremony of this Grand Dailga of the Eight White Ordon would start. First, at the Jinong's arrival, a *sheep* called *"Shivshilgen nii khoni"* would be killed (by the way, the custom of the Mongols to kill a sheep is: first a short cut would be cut on the belly of a sheep and the man who kill the sheep stretches his hand through

the opening to the sheep's back bone and tear up the artery next to the backbone) by the **Galch Yaamutu** when the Jinong was holding down the sheep. The **Khökhechin Yaamutu** would read the **Yörööl of Shivshilge**.

Then, the Jinong would lead the group, kneeling down on the carpet in front of the Khan's relic box to present offering to the *Golomt. Tuuli* and *Charbi Yaamutu* would present the offerings. Meanwhile, "*Golden Ordon's Grand öchig of the Golomt*" (*Altan Ordon nii Golomt-in Yikh öchig*) would be read. After presenting the offerings to the Golomt, *Ninder*, *Jula* and *ötkhö* would be presented to the Khan. Then the "*Gadana -in Dailga*" (*outside Dailga*) would start.

Jinong and the group would move to outside of the Golden Ordon and Jinong would present three times of *Sarkhud* and then all officials and Taijs would present their Sarkhud offerings until *the 12 songs* came to the end. After *the 12 songs*, *Yikh Duu* (*Yikh: grand, big; Duu: song*) would start. After the Yikh Duu, *Khökhöchin Yaamutan* and other Yaamutan would read the *Yikh öchig*. After then, *Süngch, Manglai, Jasuul* and *Khaalgach* these four Darkhad would present wine offerings and "*Gadana-in Yörööl*" (*Yörööl of outside*) would be read by the *Khökhöchin Yaamutu*. Then the wine (*Sarkhud*) would be distributed to all the Mongols who came to the Dailga as **share** (*Kheshig*) of the Dailga.

Then Jinong and the group would move into the *Chomchog of the Khan* again to start the "*Dotora-in Dailga*" (inside Dailga). Jinong and officials would present the sarkhud prepared by the Darkhad and the Khökhöchin Yaamutu would read the "*Dotora-in Yörööl*" (*Yörööl of inside*). Then the *Kheshig* (share) of the Inside Dailaga would be distributed. There were fixed rule that different titles of Yaamutad would take different parts of the meat (with bones) from the ötkhö. Thus, the Dailga at the Ordon would come to an end and Mongols from all places could enter the Golden Ordon to pay their tribute to the Khan. Yaamutad should lead the pilgrims, no matter they were *Taij* or *Kharach*, poor or rich, to present their offerings to the Khan. Names of the pilgrims would be announced and Yörööl would be read while the pilgrims presenting their offerings. After the inside Dailga, the Jinong would return to the *Esüg-in Sachulga* which would have been continuing when the Dailga was held in the Ordon to finish the *Sachulga*. When the Sachulga came to an end, Jinong would announce the removal of the *Altan Gadas*. Upon the announcement, the Altan Gadas would head the northwest with his full speed and should not come to the *Ejen Khoroo* again during this Dailga. Khadags, copper and silver coins offered by the pilgrims to the Altan Gadas would belong to the poor man.

Right after then, a ceremony called "Altan Khundaga Shinjikh" (Altan Khundaga: golden wine cup; Shinjikh: to observe, to study, to inspect;) would be held. The Jinong would place a golden wine cup on the rump of the Öndögön Chagaan Horse and it was said that the Everlasting Blue Heaven would bless the Mongols in the coming year if the cup fell upward on the ground. This observation of the Golden Cup would be conducted three times.

It was said that this was a custom at the time when the Khan was alive. Then the Jinong would come to the **Batu Jele** ( **Batu:** firm, strong, loyal; **Jele** or **Zel:** a long rope stretched along the ground to which livestock are attached, tethers for livestock) on which white foals were already tied. Jinong would hold cupful of **Airag** (fermented milk) in a silver cup and start to asking the blessing for the **Batu Jele** and the foals. This ceremony was called **Batu Jele** Miliyakh. A **Yörööl** called **Yörööl of Batu Jele** would be read. Thus, the daytime Dailga would come to an end.

Dailga in the night:

Ceremonies of *Jutai Shingeekh*, *Khutug Miliyakh* and *Dalalga Dalalkh* would be held during the night of 21.

The customs on the Dailga:

Men who attend the Dailga should wear *Deel* ( *the traditional Mongol garment*), *hat* and *Gutul* (*Mongolian traditional boots*). Women also should wear *Deel*, *boots* and *hat* or silk *scarf*.

*Foreigners* and *women* were used not to be allowed to enter the Ordons.

# The miserable fate of the Eight White Ordon

For hundreds of years, the Eight White Ordon of the Khan had been preserved as they were built in the beginning and the offering ceremonies had been held year after year without disturbance and interruption. The Eight White Ordon had become the only sacred place for the Mongols, even the Mongols had been converted to the *Lamaism* (*Tibetan Buddhism*) and thousands of temples had been built all around the lands of the Mongols. As the founder of the Mongol nation, the Khan has been regarded as the *son of the Everlasting Blue Heaven* and has become the only icon that can inspire and unite the Mongols together.

During the *Manchu Empire* (1636-1911), the Mongols had high autonomy and the Eight White Ordon, their offering ceremonies and pilgrimage to the Eight White Ordon were protected by the Manchu court. However, followed by the decline of the Manchu empire, the Eight White Ordon and the reserved lands of the Darkhad around the ordons faced increasing disturbance and destruction from the *Chinese*. *Cultivation* by the Chinese peasants in the reserved lands of the Darkhad had become the great threat to the Ordon's existence since the Manchu empire's collapse in 1911 and some of the ordons have had to move from their original locations to avoid the disturbance. *Desertification*, as the result of the cultivation, had totally changed the scene of the beautiful land which the Khan's had admired and chosen as his burial place.

On May 17, 1939, over 200 full armed Chinese (*China was controlled by the KMT at the time*) soldiers and officials came to the Ejen-Khoroo and started to remove the Khan's relic box from Ejen Khoroo. Under the pretext of protecting the Ordon from the *Japanese* (at the time, *Japanese reached Khökh-Khot* (or *Hohhot*), the Capital of *Inner Mongolia* and *Bugut*, a city about 200 km east of *Ejen-Khoroo*, the city is also called *Bao Tou* by the Chinese), they took the relic box of the Khan with them forcibly, despite the protests from the Darkhad and the Ordos Mongols.

A journalist had witnessed the event and wrote: "Genghis Khan's relic box was taken from the holy land of Ejen-Khoroo through the sea of tears of the Ordos Mongols". The KMT government resettled the Khan's relic box in a Taoist Temple in the mountain of Xing Longshan in Gan Su province of China. About 40 Darkhad had accompanied with the relic box to the temple and they had been presenting the offerings to the Khan continuously.

After the **W.W.II**, the Chinese government still kept holding the Khan's Ordon although there were increasing demands from the Mongols, including **Prince Demchegdongrov** to return the relic box to the Ejen-Khoroo. Meanwhile, although the Khan's relic box was taken from the Ejen Khoroo, the Mongols had been continuously conducting the offering ceremonies to the Khan. A portrait of the Khan was on the position where the relic box had been kept.

Also the governor of the Yikh-Juu Chuulgan (Ordos) and other officials had been visiting the temple where the Khan's relic box was kept. In the late summer of 1949, the KMT government removed the Khan's relic box again with them to the Kumbum (known as Gumbum among the Mongols) monastery in Khökh-Nuur when they were defeated by the Communists and retreated southwestward. Dozen's of Darkhad came with the Khan's relic box to Kumbum and Mongol Lamas (Lama: Buddhist monks of Tibet and Mongolia), including Ulaan Gegen, who were at the monastery at the time welcomed and arranged a place for the Khan's relic box in the monastery. Then the offering ceremonies were continued again.

About 20 days after the Khan's relic box arrived in Kumbum, the monastery was "liberated" by the People's Liberation Army'' (PLA) and the Khan's relic box fell into the hands of the Communist China. Mongols from all over the places, including Alagsha, Ordos, Khökh-Nuur and Jungaria (the Oirad Mongols) came to the Kumbum to pay their tribute and offerings to the Khan during the time. In 1950, the PLA reached the Ordos and then took over the Ordos and entire Inner Mongolia after encountering with a series of strong resistance from the Mongols.

Only in my hometown, Üüshin banner of Ordos, about 400 Mongol soldiers were killed when they were rounded up by the PLA. My grandfather was a horse keeper of the local Mongol army and he was taking care of the horses at the night when the PLA rounded up the camp and he became one of the few who were able to escape. The next day, two of my mother's brothers, both about 10 years old at the time, sneaked up to the battle scene and found hundreds of corpses laying in the wilds. The most shocking image they would never forget was two Buddhist monks, with their yellow kasaya (an outer vestment of a Buddhist monk) on and Buddhist sutra in their hands, were found among the dead. After the PLA took control of the banner, they executed many people charging them of being counter-revolutionary. The governor of the Üüshin banner Khas-Uul (also known as Qi Yushan) was the first to be executed. Also many were "struggled" to death in the waves of political campaigns ever after, including the horrifying "cultural revolution".

The communist Chinese government, in one hand, they still kept holding the Khan's relic Box in Kumbum Monastery and in other hand, abolished the entire administrative system of the Darkhad in Ordos and turned the Khan's Grand Dailga --- the Chagaan Sürügin Dailga into a entertaining event of combination of sports, movie show and songs and dances which became the part of the communist propaganda machine.

On *April 7, 1954*, by the continuous demands from the Mongols, the Khan's relic box finally returned to the *Ejen Khoroo*. On the day of the Khan's relic box's returning to Ejen Khoroo, a *15 Gajar long* road to Ejen Khoroo was packed with thousands of Mongols emerged from all over the region. They burst into tears of joy and offered *milk*, *Khadag*, *butter lamp* and other offerings to the Khan's relic box which had been away from them for *15 years* all the way.

# The New Mausoleum of the Genghis Khan

On April 23, 1954, the *Chinese government* announced that they would build a mausoleum for the Khan on the top of the *Altan Gandari* hill (*Altan Gangari-in shili*), without asking for the Darkhad and Mongols' opinions. A typical Chinese imperial palace style mausoleum that consists of main hall, rear hall, east hall, west hall, east wing hall and west wing hall along with a front yard and a rear garden, in spite of the roofs of the main and east, west hall's imitation over *Mongol yurt*, was designed by the government and completed in *May*, 1956. All the Eight White Ordon and other historical relics were summoned to the new mausoleum by the Chinese government.



The New Mausoleum

The relics summoned to the new mausoleum were:

Genghis Khan and Börtegeljin Khatun's Chomchog Ordon along with the relic boxes and all the ceremonial utensils; The Ordon of the Shang-in Örgöö and utensils and books kept inside the Ordon; Shitügen of Khor Saadag;

Chomchog Ordon of Khulan Khatun and relic box along with the ceremonial utensils;

Shitügen of the Eshi Khatun; Eshi Khatun: said to be the Khatun of Toloi. This Ordon had located by the Shabartai river east of the Ejen Khoroo.

Khara Sülde and its ceremonial utensils;

Upper Jiloo Ordon along with its live incarnation of the isabella gelding;

Khashkhiraa Yikht Khadan Ulaan Büree; a large wooden horn said to be used by the Khan's army. Later used to blow the horn during the ceremony of Khara Sülde.

A Khet and a small golden statue of Toloi and other utensils kept in the Toloi's Ordon Shitügen in Otog Banner; Khet: a steel tool used by the Mongols for striking fire; Toloi: the youngest son of the Khan and father of Mönkh Khan and Khubilai khan. Alag Sülde of Khavutu Khasar;

Shitügen of Bökh Belgüdei; Bökh Belgüdei or Belgüdei: he was the half brother of the Khan and one of the best general of the Khan.

Tug Sülde Shitügen of the Uigurjin Kharia (tribe);

Khara Tug of the Khadagin;

Ejen Shitügen, Khanggin Sülde, Chomchog Ordon and utensils from Khanggin Banner; Uigurjin, Khadagin and Khanggin are all Mongol tribes.

A saddle presented to the Khan by the Ligdan Khutugtu Khan from Khanggin Banner; Ligdan Khutugtu Khan (1592-1634): the last Grand Khan of the Mongols.

The Chomchog Ordon of Görveljin-goo Khatun, utensils and books;

Bor-üd&uoumlr;

Shara Khasag:

On May 13, 1956, all these collections of relics were moved to the new mausoleum.

A portrait of the Khan was placed at the center of the main hall and three Chomchog Ordon were set up in the rear hall and the relic boxes of the Khan and Börtegeljin Khatun, Khulan Khatun and Görveljin-goo Khatun were placed in the bigger ordon in the middle. Khavutu Khasar and Bökh Belgüdei were presented offerings in the west and east side Chomchog Ordon respectively. Toloi and his Khatun Eshi were presented offerings in a Chomchog in the east wing hall and the Khara Sülde, Alag Sülde and other relics such as saddles, reins, bows, quivers, swords and horn were placed in the west wing hall. The Shara Khasag were placed outside the rear hall.

In 1955, the Chinese government *arbitrarily* changed the Khan's Grand Dailga's day from the *Chagaan Sürügin Dailga* to the summer's *Nuur-in Dailga* and prohibited the Mongols to attend all other monthly and seasonal Dailga at the new mausoleum. Thus, the Chinese government, in the course of building the new mausoleum, not only turned the *mausoleum* into just a kind of *museum* which serves for the interests of the Chinese and turned *the Khan's offering ceremony* into a *entertainment fair* to prevent the Mongols from developing a strong ethnic feeling around the Khan through the ceremony, but in the meanwhile, they arbitrarily changed and therefore *seriously violated* the *traditional belief* and *customs* of the Mongols:

- --- From the very beginning, the Khan's relic box and other relics had been only kept in felt tents (such as the Eight White Ordon) according to the Mongol custom and should never place under any structures made of other than felt. But the new mausoleum was built with bricks, stones and cement.
- ---From the very beginning time, the Shitügen of the Khan and others had been worshipped and presented offerings separately according to their own schedules, and should only gather once a year during the grand dailga. But the Chinese government put them together forcibly and treats them as usual antiques instead of the sacred Shitügens of the Mongols. Also the Chinese government stopped all other Shitügen's offering ceremonies except the Khan's Dailga.
- ---The Mongols believe the Sülde was descended from the above heaven and should always be worshipped in an open place without any shelter or obstacles between the Sülde and the heaven. But the Chinese government again arbitrarily removed the Sülde into the new mausoleum. Placing the Shitügens into a structure other than felt or placing a shelter over the Sülde are serious taboos for the Mongols and they believe that would bring them great misfortune.

What's more, in Sept. of the 1966, a bunch of Chinese red guards broke into the mausoleum and forced the Darkhad out of the Mausoleum and started to destroy the valueless treasures of the Mongols. In the following years of Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), all the relics kept in the mausoleum, along with the Khan's relic box, were destroyed or robbed (except 3 saddles were able to hide by a Mongol herdsman) and the mausoleum itself also became a salt storage. During that period, tens of thousands of Mongols were accused of being members of a "counter-revolutionary" organization--- the Inner Mongolian People's Party and about 10% of the Mongol population of Inner Mongolia was wiped out. That period have become the "darkest time" of the Mongols ever since the Mongol nation was proclaimed by the Khan in 1206. The miserable fate of the Eight White Ordon exactly reflects the tragedy of the Mongols under the Chinese rule.

Since 1979, the mausoleum has been *repaired* and the Darkhad have returned to the mausoleum and *rebuilt those relics* destroyed during the Cultural Revolution according to their memory, also some photograph and records. What you'll see in the mausoleum are those imitations.

### A few words on the expedition campaign to find the Khan's burial place

Recent years, wheels of *Toyota Jeeps* and *Vaz 69* (*Russian military Jeep*) have been rolling over the *Altai mountain*, breaking the extreme calmness of the sacred mountain and also disturbing the hearts of the Mongols all over the world. It has been said that 10,000 horses were run over the secret site of the Khan's burial place to erase any trace from one who would attempt to break into it and ever since then the *Conqueror of the World* has been resting in peace.

It was His own will and also was the custom of the Mongols that any signs should not be left behind upon his death so that he could enjoy the everlasting peace after His turbulent life or even can be born again after 800 years, according to the 771 years

old (by 1998) folk story among the Mongols. It has been the Mongols' custom that nobody is supposed to be touch their own ancestors bones or even others; It could be a serious crime under the Khan's "Yikh Jasag" (Grand Law).

Whoever by whatever reason to find the burial place of the Khan is outrageous and out-minded, by the tradition of the Mongol, by the moral standard of the Mongols and by the common sense of the Mongols. As the founder of the Mongol Nation, he was not only the Khan of the Mongols, but has been the father of the Mongols, as George Washington is the father of the Americans.

Do the Mongols have become so stupid that they are so eager to dig out, take a look and display to others their father's bone, or do the Mongols have become so poor that they have to sell out their father's bone, or even do the Mongols have become so insensitive that they don't care about what others are doing to their father's bone?

What is more ridiculous, under the 70 years of Communist rule, the Khan had been deliberately depicted as a feudal warlord and barbaric bloodsucker by the communist government and its "big brother", but nobody never tried to find out where the man is resting; Democracy and freedom finally have reached the steppes known to the world mostly by their famous conquerors, and the Khan was re-recognized by His sons to be their father. However, at the same time, democracy and freedom without compatible law and order have given the chance to some people of some nation who had been long waiting to dig out our ancestors bones by the name of archeology or whatever other reasons.

They may have tried to convince the newborn democratic government that finding out the Khan burial place is just as simple as discovering another set of dinosaur bones from the Gobi, by pure scientific reason and for pure scientific purpose, I think. But the Khan, as I mentioned many times, he is not like one of the many emperors of other countries, such as China, that their tombs can be broken into and their bones can be displayed to tourists for profit by their sober-minded descendants' cool judgment and moral standard. As the founder of our nation and father of all the Mongols, the matter of finding the Khan's burial place is a matter of the people of Mongolia instead of just being a matter of government's decision by the meaning of the word " democracy" and also a matter of the over 700 million strong Mongols on this planet by the meaning of the word " the Mongolia".

His last will was to be laying with peace forever under the "Everlasting Blue Heaven", so let the Khan be resting in peace and let the Khan keep blessing the blue Mongols.

#### Credits:

#### Altan Ordon nai Dailaga

All of the first, needless to say, most of the credit should go to Mr. *Sain-Jirgal* and Mr. *Sharaldai*. Please allow me to pay my respect to their enormous effort and great courage to preserve and save the cultural heritage of the Mongols under the unfavorable circumstance they are facing.

#### A Modern Mongolian-English Dictionary

by Gombojav Hangin with John R. Krueger and Paul D Buell, William V. Rozycki, Robert G. Service Indiana University Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies 1986 (Cyrillic)

Many of the Mongol terms' translation to English are based on this dictionary. But there are still a few words that are not in the dictionary and my broken English is unable to translate and explain them, so I just let them stay in their Latin spellings from the Mongol.

Oyunbilig Dec 24, 1997, New York.

#### JOINT STATEMENT

We the participants from Eastern Turkistan, Inner Mongolia, Taiwan, Tibet and the United States in the conference, "Exposing Communist Chinese Government Influence in America," held in Orlando, Florida, from May 15-16, 1999 resolve:

- 1. That we totally deplore the Chinese Communist Government's blatant use of its propaganda machinery to spread misinformation about our communities;
- 2. That we strongly object to the display of Eastern Turkistani, Mongolian, and Tibetan exhibits in the Splendid China Theme Park, Kissimmee, Florida. This is a distortion of our history and is to legitimize China's illegal occupation of our countries;
- 3. That through these exhibits, Splendid China misinforms the visitors about the true situation in our respective countries. While there is blatant destruction of our culture and way of life by the Chinese Communists, Splendid China depicts the wrong image that China respects our cultures;
- 4. That we believe that Splendid China is a political tool of the Chinese Government in the guise of an entertainment center. We call on the U.S. Government to withdraw permission for the Park as it contradicts the rules under which it has been set up;
- 5. That we call on the Communist Chinese Government to bring an immediate halt to its colonialistic and oppressive rule in Eastern Turkistan, Inner Mongolia, and Tibet. By denying human rights, including political rights, and religious freedom to our people, the Chinese Government is violating international norms and United Nations conventions;
- 6. That we assert the right of our people to self-determination and to decide our own future; and
- 7. That we will continue our joint campaign against Chinese Communist Government's propaganda against us and to inform the world of the truth of our situation.

May 16, 1999

The Conference organizers would like to thank the over fifty participants and the following sponsors:

Inner Mongolian Peoples Party http://www.innermonoglia.org/

Dr. Sanj Altan

World United Formosans for Independence http://www.wufi.org/

International Campaign for Tibet http://www.savetibet.org/

**Uyghur American Association** 

International Taklamakan Human Rights Association http://www.taklamakan.org/

Citizens Against Communist Chinese Propaganda http://www.caccp.org/

Check out the online conference web-page (complete with photos) at:

http://www.caccp.org/conf/

For further information or copies, contact:

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