

# National State Construction and Reconstruction of Local Political Order

—Based on the Analysis of Liu Wenhui's Policy in Khams

Ning Zhang\*, Yinghui Yang  
Southwest Minzu University

**Abstract**—Liu Wenhui moved back to Khams after failing the fight for Sichuan with Liu Xiang, and pushed Khams to be a province and became the chairman of it. Customs and cultures vary in Khams and inland, so he adopted a series of national and religious policies, including the policy of national equality, the policy of national “moralization, assimilation and evolution”, and the policy of with religion assisting political power and with political power offering religion hope, in which the policy of national “moralization, assimilation and evolution” focuses on the Ning area, and the religious policy is mainly implemented in the Kang area. These ethnic and religious measures taken by Liu Wenhui have basically maintained the stability of Khams society and have a certain realistic significance for the current ethnic work.

**Keywords**—Liu Wenhui; Khams; nation; policy

## I. INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the Qing Dynasty, taking the place of the dynastic state, the nation-state has become the internal requirement and inevitable result of national salvation. In this historical period, the Khams district, which belongs to the inland frontier and the cultural frontier, need to push forward in the political, economic, cultural, educational, zoning, social management, transportation and many other aspects. In the process of the transformation of the nation-state in modern times, when the west is gradually incorporated into the administrative divisions, Khams as a multi-ethnic region, its political construction of the nation-state will also be full of tension with the society and culture. A series of measures taken by Liu Wenhui after he moved back to Khams eliminated these disadvantages and achieved a certain degree of modern transformation, making the society move towards integration instead of separation. In this paper, the important historical events in the process of building Khams province are presented to show how the local order of Khams is reconstructed in the process of national state construction.

## II. THE POLICY OF “NATIONAL EQUALITY”

Liu Wenhui believes that in politics, all ethnic groups of Kang and Yi share equal rights and obligations with the Han nationality. Those who have the knowledge and ability with high moral prestige are always selected to participate in the political work of Khams province. In terms of economy, the right to subsistence of the ethnic groups of Kang and Yi is

recognized, and provide them legal protection. All trade activities between Han nationality and Yi ethnic groups are carried out in an absolutely fair way, and all forms of exploitation, fraud and discrimination are banned. In term of culture, we respect the customs and religious beliefs of different ethnic groups.

Liu Wenhui believes that the relationship between Han nationality and Tibetan, Yi and other border people in Khams is not harmonious, and both sides regard each other as the problem. The Hans “worry about Yi” in the heart and the Yi people “worry about Han” in the heart. The reason is that the Hans and ethnic minorities are unequal, so Liu Wenhui first advocated “national equality” and insisted that all ethnic groups in the province should be equal since he presided over the Kang administration. “In the past, it was purely to use authority to govern the barbarians and they repeated submission and invasion, which actually was a kind of resistance to competition and survival. In the future, for the sake of humanity and aggression, we should first guarantee the survival right of the barbarians.... As for the rest of the general barbarians, we should adopt the appeasement policy, change the naturalization method of the barbarians, and take the principle of treating the Han and the barbarians equally, seeking harmonious emotion and existing together.[1]” It stipulated the regulations on the handover of the Han nationality, and constrains that Yi people should not despise and bully the equal treatment of the Hans. At the same time, it also stipulated that we should provide the poor and the barbarian governments with allocate funds for relief and resettlement. Different ethnic groups should respect each other's different customs and religious beliefs, guide each other according to the circumstances, and maintain a close relationship with various ethnic groups on the basis of mutual respect for each other's culture. Only in this way can all ethnic groups live in harmony with each other. According to the actual situation in Khams, most of the Tibetans believe in Tibetan Buddhism, which is more important than caring about their life and property. All thoughts and customs, even all aspects of life, are based on Buddhism. “The Buddhists who are called lamas, which account for most of their compatriots in Khams and Tibet, are all proud of their belief in Buddhism. After a long time of studying, scriptures are life, and religion is the life. Most Tibetans are lamas, and Tibetans are Buddhists. [2]” As for the Yi people, although their written religion is only in its embryonic form, they advocate bravery and appreciate

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chastity, which are also good habits. The government should try its best to preserve this kind of virtue, custom and religious culture, and help them to carry forward.

### III. THE POLICY OF "NATIONAL MORALIZATION, ASSIMILATION AND EVOLUTION"

In the Ten Lectures on the Construction of New Khams, Liu Wenhui clearly stated that the target of the policy of "moralization, assimilation and evolution" is the "residents living in the border area", and refined the concept of "residents living in the border area" as "it refers specifically to ethnic minorities, that is, the general name of other ethnic minorities. [3]"

Khams province has a large number of ethnic groups and its ethnic problems are also extremely complex, which are mainly manifested in the following aspects: The lack of connection, deep estrangement, mutual suspicion and discrimination among ethnic groups lead to a antagonistic relationship. The unequal status of different ethnic groups leads to mutual bullying, robbery and even developing into the national war. The extremely backward living standards of different ethnic groups hinders the modernization of Khams province.

Reference to the nationalism of Sun Yat-sen, Liu Wenhui believes that solving national problems in Khams Province requires adherence to nationalism. In order to change the so-called "morbid phenomenon" in Khams and achieve the goal of "nationalism" advocated by Liu Wenhui, he proposed the policy of "national moralization, assimilation and evolution".

#### A. The Policy of "Moralization"

The essence of the "moralization" policy is the concept of the "benevolent policy" in Chinese traditional thought. The "benevolent policy" is the highest theoretical basis of the "moralization" policy, advocates the principle of benevolence and morality as the basis for governing, and requires the rulers to use morality to influence the people and improve their lives appropriately to win the hearts of the people and rule the world. The policy of "moralization" is a governance measure put forward on the basis of "benevolent policy" according to the historical reality of Khams, the opposite of which is the "authoritative" policy. Summing up the lessons of the predecessors especially Zhao Erfeng's inadequate experiences of governing the border, Liu Wenhui changed his views on the former "people who are not our race, their hearts must be different" and "barbarian people are afraid of power without virtue". He believed that the former military attack could not achieve the purpose of "touching the heart" but only attack the body. It can only solve the border problems in a short time, but not a permanent solution to stabilize the border. Even though the military might shows some effect, when the force falls into a decline, the conquered will be out of bondage, turn against the conqueror, and take revenge extremely brutal. The strong hatred to the Hans of the "Yi people" in Khams is the product of the policy of generational authority. Therefore, in order to fundamentally eliminate this repeated tragedy of governing the border and win the permanent acceptance of the border people, the policy of "moralization" must be carried out.

#### B. The Policy of "Assimilation"

The policy of "assimilation" holds that it is necessary to unite the forces of the minorities into a whole, which is what Mencius called "fixed to one". "According to the current situation, assuming that the enemy has come in, instead of uniting them to fight the enemy as one, but still fighting against each other to weaken the people living in the border area, which is actually equivalent to weakening themselves. [4]" Liu Wenhui's policy of "assimilation" is aimed at the old policy of differentiation, that is, Confucius's meaning of "using the Xia to transform the Yi". It is helpful for us to understand the "assimilation" policy through the comprehension of the "differentiation" policy. Although the policy of "differentiation" was allowed and can still be applied in the past, but it is no longer applicable to ethnic equality, of which the reason is obvious. Because the previous government did not recognize the border people as their own people, and even though they did not belong to human beings at all. They recognized them as "barbaric dogs and sheep" and "military animals and beasts", and "they did not belong to our race and order". Based on this understanding, they can take any cruel and ferocious means to the border people who create chaos, which is what we called "murdering is not heartless, robbery is not injustice and lure is not dishonest". Implementing a policy of differentiation and weakening the forces of border chaos to ensure the security of China's own territory is even more reasonable. However, in the case of advocating equal status of all ethnic groups, if we use differentiation methods to make the border people kill each other and suspect each other, there is no doubt that it will create civil strife and promote ethnic separation, which will not only lose the position of the government and deserve moral condemnation, but also betray the Three People's Principles, violate state policies and should be severely punished by national laws. In order to correct such wrong thought and action, the differentiation policy should be replaced by the assimilation policy.

#### C. The Policy of "Evolution"

The policy of "evolution" refers to develop border areas, civilize the people in border areas, so that to promote the social development in Khams. The necessity of adopting evolutionary policy lies in changing the Jimi policies that was widely adopted by the previous generation of government. When governing the border, the previous central government did not want to have its own land, people or wealth, but only passively hoped to eliminate the border trouble for a while. To accomplish this negative task, it is advisable to adopt the negative Jimi policy so that the border people can be foolish, ignorant and useless, and the land on the border can be left barren and useless. As long as the tribute is scheduled and not suffering the border troubles, the governor of the border areas will be satisfied. However, it is doubtful whether this negative gain can be maintained for a long time. As the history shows, "if the power of the dynasty in China was strong they will be obedient, and if the power of the dynasty in China was weak they will fight against", they may be deceitful and rebellious repeatedly, which will be ended by another military expedition. At the time of foreign invasion and national crisis, for the sake of resisting the invaders, the government of Khams feared that the border people will not make progress and the border areas

will not be developed. Then how to implement the Jimi policy? Therefore, we must replace Jimi policy with evolutionary policy.

#### IV. THE POLICY OF WITH RELIGION ASSISTING POLITICAL POWER AND WITH POLITICAL POWER OFFERING RELIGION HOPE

As mentioned above, Tibetan Buddhism has an important social status in the Khams district, and the Tibetan is a people that all the Tibetans believing in religion. How to deal with the relationship among Tibetan Buddhism, Lama Temple and political power is a real problem that Liu Wenhui cannot avoid when he is in charge of Khams, so he started active cooperation with the Tibetan Buddhist circle in Khams.

##### A. *Keep Close Contacts with Religious Circles and the Top Leaders of the Religion*

In the 1930s, Liu Wenhui entrusted Khenpo Ma Ching-oung of Nyitso in Daofu County with an important task, and invited him to participate in the negotiation of the "Dabai incident" as the representative of the 24 army, and Ma Ching-oung precipitated the signature of "Gangtuo Agreement".

In 1939, the "Garze incident" took place in Khams, Panchen Lama and Chieftain Khonsa attacked Liu Wenhui's army, occupied Garze County and attacked the surrounding areas. Although Liu Wenhui sent troops to quiet down the incident, it caused the dissatisfaction of the monks. After the outbreak of the war, Liu Wenhui appointed Nikku Living Buddha to Garze. When Nikku Living Buddha arrived Garze, on the one hand, he was serious about military discipline. On the other hand, he visited various monks and temples, lobbying in the temples, persuaded both sides of the war to cease fighting, abandon resentment and suspicion, and resume Buddhist activities. Through his effort, the Garze area restored its normal order of the past. In 1944, the Tashi Yangcha Temple in Qamdo and the Guwa Temple in Kangting County had conflicts for the identification of the reincarnation, and the two sides appeal to the government of Khams province. Liu Wenhui realized that whether the matter can be resolved smoothly was related to the stability of Khams district, so he asked Nikku Living Buddha to mediate the dispute again. In the process of mediation, Nikku Living Buddha successfully resolved this incident in the interests of both parties and adhered to the principles of religious ordinance and Buddhist laws and regulations.

In the late 1930s, Liu Wenhui divided the 20 counties and setting up bureaus of Khams into four Buddhist "Xuanhua District", and appointed the influential religious leaders of Tibetan Buddhism at that time as "Xuanhua teacher" and "auxiliary teachers". They were asked to carry out itinerant propaganda in their responsible areas, engage in preaching activities, assist the government in regulating disputes, and govern government affairs. Mr. Ren Naiqiang once said that "the Lama spread the slogan of Liu Wenhui that he protect Buddhist doctrine indeed, and he won the support of the local people and stabilized the situation in the Khams District without using any of his forces, so Chiang Kai-shek could not wipe out him. [5]"

Although Kangting was established as the provincial capital after the establishment of Khams province, the economic and cultural center is still Ya'an. Liu Wenhui often lives in Ya'an, but every time he returns to Kangting, he brings enough alms and goes to the Lama Temple in Muya district for a tour. Everywhere Liu Wenhui went, the headmen and the lamas showed their respect for him by lining in the street to welcome. He gave tea bags, silk and satin to temples, awarded the headmen and lamas with gold bars and silver dollars, and even award the young lamas with 1-2 silver dollars.

After the establishment of Khams provincial government in 1939, the Gecong Living Buddha of Shouling Temple in Luhuo County was appointed as a member of the provincial government. Compared with the traditional position of "Xuanhua teacher", being an important member of the government showed that Liu Wenhui and Khams provincial government attached great importance to the social status of Tibetan Buddhist leaders and were willing to cooperate with the religious community in order to stabilize the political power [6].

In the first temporary Senate of Khams province in 1940, Huozhu Xianggen of Choekhoriting Monastery in Litang county, Khenpo Ma Ching-oung of Nyitso in Daofu County and Nikku Living Buddha of Nikku Temple in Kangting were elected as senators. Khenpo Ma Ching-oung was also selected as the "committee member" of the permanent institutions in the temporary Senate [7].

##### B. *Establish Buddhist Research Institution to Promote Cultural Exchanges between the Tibetan in Khams and Han Nationality*

Early in 1928, when the Education Committee of the special administrative region in Khams was established, Liu Wenhui advocated the establishment of the Buddhist Institute. After taking charge of Xikang, he established Five Sciences Buddhism Academy. "Five Sciences Buddhism Academy was established. Last year in order to revitalize Buddhism in Khams and relieve the monks out of school in Khams, Five Sciences Buddhism Academy was planned to set up in western borders. He employed great masters with great virtues from Han nationalities and Tibetan to preside over the affairs of the academy and serve as teachers to communicate the cultures of Han and Tibetan and enhance the harmonious emotion in Khams and Tibet. The preparatory office shall be set up in advance, and a meeting of Sangha representatives shall be convened to consult and select students from the temples in each county for further education in the academy. [8]" The Preparatory Committee composed of well-known Living Buddha in "Five Sciences Buddhism Academy" was elected and funded by the provincial government of Khams. The Buddhist Institute undertakes the responsibility of temple education, and carries out the task of Buddhist research and civil servant training to increase the understanding of Tibetan Buddhism among civil servants. Among them, the "Five Sciences Buddhism Academy" in Kangting also known as "West Frontier Buddhist College", was renamed as "Buddhism Arrangement Committee of Khams Province". Liu Wenhui personally served as the chairman of the committee to show his attention.

During the period of constructing the Provincial Committee of Khams, Liu Wenhui once sent officials to stay in Qamdo to contact with the Tibetans in Khams. For example, when the 9th Panchen Lama was prevented from returning to Tibet in 1937, Liu Wenhui once sent liaison officers of Khams and Tibet “to go to Qamdo and other places personally and to spread the morality and prestige of the central government”. In the 20 years of the Republic of China, when Mrs. Dai Jitao, whose husband was the dean of the examination, was ill, Liu Wenhui recommended Karta Demba Lama of the Valadchin Temple in Qamdo, and Karta Demba sent his disciples to cure Mrs. Dai. After the event, Liu Wenhui donated 300,000 Tibetan coins, Dai Jitao and his wife donated 2,000 Tibetan coins in total [9].

### C. Rectify Temples, Discipline and Respect Religious Beliefs Personally

Liu Wenhui branded himself with the slogan “protecting Buddhist doctrine” very early, so he issued relevant methods to reorganize Buddhism and demanded respect for Buddhist beliefs. In 1942, the government of Khams province promulgated the Measures of Khams Provincial Government for the Arrangement of Buddhism in the Khams District and the Organizational rules of the Khams Provincial Committee for the Arrangement of Buddhism. The “Measures” stipulates the members of the Buddhism Reorganization Committee and the connection between positions and responsibilities, and stipulates that the duties of the Xuanhua teacher in Xuanhua district, that is, to implement the reorganization plan, to rectify the rules and regulations of each temple in the district, to rectify the studying in each temple, to coordinate the disputes of each temple, and to assist the implementation of the teaching orders.

## V. CONCLUSION

Many ethnic and religious measures taken by Liu Wenhui in Khams can respect people’s customs and culture in Khams

and eliminate disputes. Taking the national custom and culture as the breakthrough point to carry out the corresponding governance policy, can make the national relations better to a certain extent and make the society present a more peaceful situation. Reconsider the history may provide a reference for us to do a good job in ethnic work.

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