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The Origins and Evolution of Strategic Partnerships in Indigenous Societies: Past Strategies and Present-Day Tactics

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1. Introduction

This paper examines two aspects of strategic partnerships that are quite different in time and space. The first considers the use of traditional treaties as social mechanisms for achieving a balance of power between ethnic groups in indigenous societies, and the second explores the evolving relationships of the ethnic groups that have engaged in transborder activities.

In the Mongolian language, the types of arrangements described by traditional treaties are called *anda*. This word, which is used extensively in Mongolian studies, is usually translated as “sworn friend.” During the Qing (Manchu) dynasty in Northeast Asia, the *anda* became an institution, and the term *alba anda* (official *anda*) emerged. Following the abolition of this official institution, private *anda* have prevailed as a social mechanism. This “sworn friend” relationship is understandable from the perspective of Mauss’s (1990) essay on gift-giving. In the first part of this paper, evidence of the traditional and historical “strategic partnerships” that have existed in indigenous societies will be demonstrated using accumulated historical research in Japan.

Relations between ethnic groups in the present-day Northeast Asian borderland are surveyed using oral histories collected from elderly people in the Hulun Buir, Inner Mongolia, mainly focusing on Shinehen Buryats. A number of the informants in these oral histories describe relations between ethnic groups. Narratives by other ethnic groups that refer specifically to the Shinehen Buryats reveal reasons for the latent hostility towards them. However, at the time of writing this paper, intermarriages between minority groups have led to the dissolution of boundaries between ethnic groups, and the cessation of hostile feelings. Consequently, they no longer require strategic partnerships. Some narratives describe the migrations of Shinehen Buryats, and elucidate the diversity of migrations. Even though individuals’ situations vary considerably, almost all Buryats who escaped to the southwest in the 1940s had returned to their homeland by the time of the Cultural Revolution from 1966 until 1976, and they are now experimenting with new transborder activities. They are developing techniques for crossing the border using the officially approved procedures, as well as the private connections they developed through their diaspora. They are experienced and canny enough not to rely on the political

system, and, being without a long-term strategy, they have acquired knowledge of various tactics through trial and error under the interstate Strategic Partnership.

2. The *Anda* as a Strategic Partnership

By studying indigenous societies, we can discover long-standing historical relationships that have qualities similar to those of the “strategic partnerships” that characterize modern international relations. This arrangement is called *anda* in Mongolian, a term which is generally used to mean “sworn friend” or “sworn brother.” By interpreting this term according to its use in accumulated Japanese research findings in the fields of history and cultural anthropology, I hope to contribute to an understanding of the true nature of the *anda*.

2.1 The *Anda* in the Period of the Mongol Empire

Two examples of *anda* appear in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. One is, as in Chapter 3, section 116, the oath of *anda* sworn by Chingis Khan and Jamukha on three separate occasions, beginning in childhood and continuing until their desperate battle (1205). The other example is the *anda* between Chingis Khan’s father, Yesugei Baatar, and Wang Khan, the ruler of the Keraits (Chapter 2, section 96).

This type of *anda* has been translated by Vladimirtsov into Russian as *pobratim* or “brother-in-law” (Vladimirtsov 1934: 60–61), and this has been understood as “sworn brother” in Europe as well. In contrast, Isono (1985) has emphasized that the *anda* is a relationship of equality, with none of the superior or inferior connotations that arise with older or younger brothers. Isono’s assertions have been summarized by Masui (2005). According to Masui, in addition to being a relationship of mutual equality, 1) the etymology of the word relates to *anda gar/anda gai*, which means an oath or contract; 2) *anda* can mean *quda*, or in-laws through marriage; and 3) *anda* implies a material exchange of gifts.

As has been pointed out by Vladimirtsov (1934: 61) and Murakami (1970: 155, 158), famous translators of *The Secret History of the Mongols*, the word *anda* is used to mean an oath or contract that ties two different groups together. Consequently, among the Mongols, who have adopted a system of exogamy, it is also possible for *anda* counterparts to be in-laws through marriage. By becoming in-laws through marriage, a mutual non-aggression pact can be strengthened. Uno (2005: 153) has made it clear that in the case of the Mongols, making a point that differs from the exchange marriage theory of Levi-Strauss, the counterpart group with which women were exchanged was not regulated. In other words, it was a politically motivated exchange.

In addition, the Mongolian exogamy system creates an equal partnership between the group that gives the bride, and the group that receives the bride. Fathers on both sides call each other *quda*. Similarly, the mothers on both sides call each other *qudagai*. This equal relationship is quite different from the relationship posited in Levi-Strauss’s theory, namely that the two groups become asymmetrical through the marriage. An equal partnership established by marriage is coincident with the equality created by *anda*.

Masui (2005: 6–7) explains the *anda* by quoting from Mauss's essay on gift-giving and service. That is to say, if there is an underlying threat between two groups, an *anda* is the contract made between certain individuals who represent their respective groups to ameliorate or harmonize it. During this process, they exchange either material gifts or people (i.e. marriage), and make a peaceful relationship manifest. The *anda* can be interpreted as evidence of this notion of gift-giving, and serves as a "non-aggression pact," or is used to create a "united front."

Rather than show how strong the relations between the two of them were, the fact that Chinghis Khan and Jamukha swore an *anda* as many as three times instead shows how great the tensions between them were.

2.2 The *Anda* of the Dagur Mongols

A type of social mechanism such as that of the Mongols' *anda* was also confirmed in later times among the Dagur (or Daur) people, a Mongolian-dialect-speaking people. The Dagur were tied together by *anda* with members of the Orochen (Oroncon), a Tungusic people—hunter-gatherers who lived in the forest.

According to Professor Urgunge Onon, a Dagur researcher at Leeds University in the United Kingdom, when a Dagur and an Orochen went hunting together, the Dagur would prepare rifles and food, and the Orochen would act as guide (Isono 1985: 66). This was a mutual relationship of avowed friendship, in which capital and technical know-how were provided for the purpose of hunting. However, it is clear from historical documents that rather than being "hunting friends" (a pact of friendship for purposes of hunting together), the relationship can be better characterized as a relationship between providers and collectors of sable, as will be explained.

Kicengge (2001) has researched the social systems of the Orochens using the *Manwen dang'an*. According to Kicengge, the word *anda* in the Manchu language means "friend," "honored guest," or "cohort," and free trade *anda* and officially regulated *anda* (*alba anda*) were so designated by the government.

In the officially regulated *anda*, Dagurs would provide grain and cloth in exchange for the Orochens sable pelts. Later, from the Orochens' perspective, the *anda* was likely seen as a public office that collected sable pelts (Qiu 1983: 63). The officially regulated *anda* was also used as a measure for alleviating poverty, under which Dagurs were sent to help the Orochens acquire the necessities of life (Kicengge 2001: 31). However, there were also cases in which the Orochen were exploited from the *anda*'s position of privilege (Masui 2005: 9). Then, in 1858, their hunting grounds were reduced in size by the Aigun Treaty, and in 1882, officially regulated *anda* were abolished. As a result, private or non-governmental *anda* became widespread. Over the course of generations, the *anda* relationship came to be called *ojor* (i.e. ancestor) *anda* in the Orochen language, and was adopted by Dagurs, as well as by Manchus, Han Chinese, and Russians.

According to Ikejiri (1943: 206–207), a government official in the Moridawaa Banner of Manchukuo, the Dagur people would load three or four wagons with items such as flour, millet, gunpowder, primer caps, cloth, salt, opium, distilled spirits, tobacco, molasses, sweets, and cutlery, and attempt to reach a promised place by a promised date,

thereby giving us the impression that it was something akin to Silent Trade or a private festival. In addition to these regularly scheduled exchanges, when the need arose, for events such as weddings, Orochens came down from the mountains to visit the homes of their Dagur *anda* counterparts and to be entertained there.

According to Ikejiri (1943), the Dagurs gave them a lot of material goods, and the Orochens were left in the position of being in debt to them. Whatever the size of this debt was, it might not have been regarded as exploitation. In contrast, according to Hatanaka (1991: 264), who did her field work in the 1980s, exploitation was severe in the Han Chinese *anda*. The trade relationship with the Russians was called *druzhba* or “friendship” in the local Russian language, rather than *anda* (Shirokogoroff 1933: 314). In other words, in Shirokogoroff’s understanding, a customary sense of ethics and morals was assumed in the *anda* relationship, but this was not the case with the *druzhba* trade relationship. However, the truth of this hypothesis cannot be validated, and so here at least I would like to confirm that *druzhba* was an alternative form of *anda*. The expression for “friendship” that appears in Russian documents that record cross-border trade is not a simple attribute, but it is certainly a translation for the word *anda*.

2.3 The *Anda* of the Manchus

Masui, who trawled through historical documents, listed eight examples of *anda* from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries (Masui 2005). These, briefly described, are as follows: 1) In 1433, (during the Ming dynasty that began in 1368 and ended in 1644), the Haixi Jurchen (of the Hulun tribe) and Jianzhou Jurchen (of the Manchu tribe), both Jurchen-speaking groups, formed an *anda* and mounted an assault in war. 2) In 1499, a Han Chinese who was styled as an *anda* seized tribute goods. 3) In 1621, a Jurchen visited the household of a Han Chinese *anda* and was murdered. Thereafter, Nurhachi forbade the creation of *anda* relationships with Han Chinese. 4) In 1621, Koreans living in the border area who made their living by bartering with hunting people were called *anda*. 5) In 1632, Hong Taiji (the second emperor of the Manchu dynasty) ordered that the various rulers of Eastern Inner Mongolia should meet with the rulers of the eight Manchu banners on an equal basis, look at what they desired of each other’s possessions, become *anda* in-laws through marriage, and exchange gifts. 6) In 1651, Prince Regent Dorgon formed a relationship of alliance with the bannerman Rensengi. They belonged to different banners. 7) In 1655, the Emperor Shunzhi gave the title of “duke” (*gongjue*) to a nobleman two years his senior, and at the same time gave him the title of *anda*, written in Chinese. 8) Beginning in 1627, after Chosun Korea was forced into an alliance as a “younger brother,” tribute goods were exchanged every year. In addition, there was an *anda* in the royal family related to the education of the Crown Prince.

These examples can be separated by type: 1) was a united war front between two different groups of the same tribe; 2) and 3) involved trade with the Han Chinese; 4) was private, and together with 8) involved official trade with the Koreans; 5) involved becoming in-laws with Mongols through marriage; and 6) and 7) were initiated to avoid power struggles. Despite their difference, these *anda* were all strategic partnerships, and they were used in boundary areas with a diversity of ethnic groups.

Kicengge (2008: 151), a member of the Xibe tribe of the Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, has written that childhood friends who helped each other when they were in trouble were called *anda*. He also recalls a man of Kazakh ethnicity who was called ‘*anda* with a white beard’ was his grandfather’s *anda*, spoke fluent Xibe, and often came to his home. Historical documents in the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg show that the first Manchu emperor, Nurhachi, formed an *anda* relationship with Ajako Bayan, who lived on the slopes of Paektu Mountain, and thereby unified the Manchu tribes. Just as the oldest of the examples listed above, number 1), this is something very close to the kind of *anda* described in *The Secret History of the Mongols*.

2.4 The *Anda* Between the Mongols and the Solon (Evenki)

Kicengge (2008: 166–169) has also described *anda* between the Mongols and the Solon. In 1693, Solon who were paying a tribute with sable submitted a petition asking permission to meet with relatives who had formed an *anda* with various rulers of the eastern part of Inner Mongolia. They were known to be relatives, but their petition was rejected. The blood relationship was recognized, but they were denied freedom of movement.

As described above, the word *anda* is originally Mongolian, and it signifies an alliance with another group that might otherwise be an enemy. It was a mechanism for building peace, by having different groups engage in gift-giving exchanges or trade on an equal basis. It has been confirmed that it was also used in this sense during the founding of the Qing dynasty. Among the various ethnic groups of China’s northeastern provinces, sable had been a precious commodity since ancient times, but when the area where they originated became a meeting place for the Russian and Chinese Empires, or, in other words, was incorporated within one of the nation’s boundaries, the *anda*, whether official or private, was transformed into a relationship between suppliers and brokers in the sable business. Sable was collected by different ethnic groups, using an equitable gift giving relationship. In other words, even though it was a business, by continuing to use a term adapted from traditional customs, evidence of their support for peace was made manifest. In this way, the term *anda* came to have divergent meanings, but its essence remained, as before, one of cooperation between different groups, against a background of relationships fraught with tension and potential conflict.

3. Oral Histories of Shinehen Buryats

From 2009 to 2013, we three researchers, Professor Sarangerel of Minzu University in Beijing, Professor Soyolmaa of Hulun Buir University in China, and I, conducted interviews on four separate occasions with about 50 elderly people in the borderlands of the Hulun Buir region in Inner Mongolia, China. It was not easy to collect oral histories in this transborder region, because the people are very hesitant to talk outside the bounds of politically correct discourse, or to discuss their history. For example, when I asked a woman about her suffering during the Great Cultural Revolution, she said just one word, *zугеepee*, which means, “as usual.” In actuality, her mother and her brother were

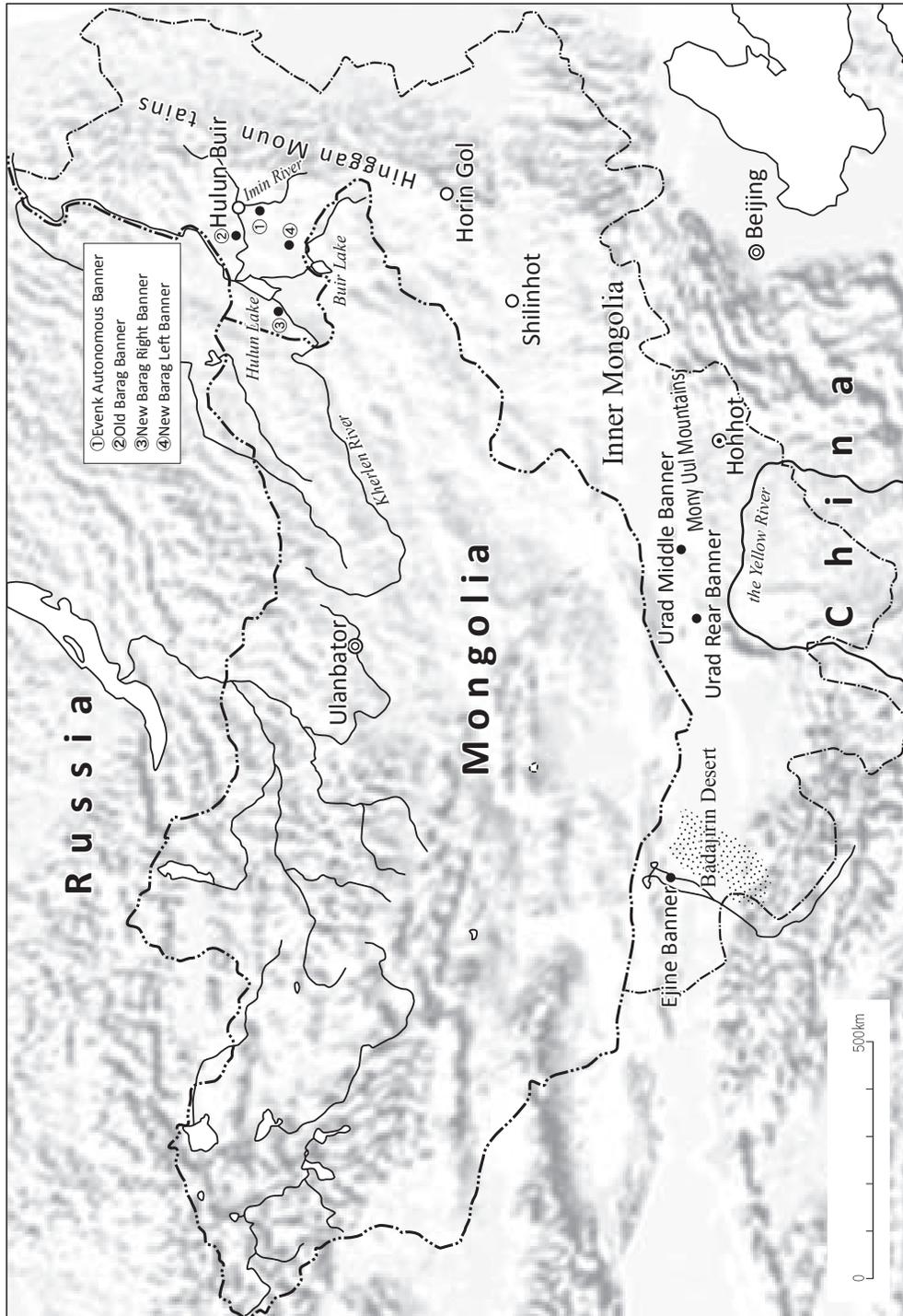


Figure 1 Area of Shinechen Buryats' settlements and migrations in Inner Mongolia

captured, her home was left without any furnishings, and she had no clothing. Some Buryats say, “we became tough through our severe history,” and moreover they became reticent about talking about these experiences.

We have just published a book of 24 oral histories (Konagaya, Sarangerel, and Soyolma 2014). These histories are mainly those of Shinehen Buryats, but also include some from Oold, Dagur, and Evenki individuals, who mentioned their relations with Buryats. In this paper, I will look at some accounts made by the other ethnic groups that refer to the Buryats, and also some that refer to migrations made by the Buryats themselves.

Before analyzing these oral histories, a brief introduction to the Shinehen Buryats might be useful. For this reason, I will summarize the history of this area and this group, based on the work of native scholars (Jamusu 2010; Dolma 2012; Baldano 2012).

3.1 Introductory Information about Shinehen Buryats

3.1.1 Formation of the Shinehen Buryats

The Shinehen Buryats (i.e. Buryats in China or Chinese Buryats) stemmed from a refugee migration from Russia in the early twentieth century. Near the end of the First World War, the October Revolution broke out, after which the Russian Empire collapsed, and was transformed by the establishment of the new Soviet government. A civil war subsequently broke out in Russia, and social disorder continued. The former power groups, which had been overturned in the revolution, gathered in the east, especially in the area around Lake Baikal, and tried to resist the new power of the Soviets. Buryats became involved in the turmoil, and many escaped to Mongolia and China. Four thousand six hundred families, including as many as 16,000 people, fled and settled down in six *sums*. This meant that six districts were provided for these newcomers. On the other hand, Aga Buryats living near the Chinese-Russian border usually moved back and forth, to and from the Hulun Buir region. Therefore, in 1918 Bazariin Namdag, an official of the Aga Doma, and some other people went to the Imin River basin to inquire about the migrations, and sought permission from the local government office in Hulun Buir to settle there. The Aga Buryats moved southeast, and settled in the Shinehen area. At the end of August 1921, the local government publicly granted them permission to live in this area, and to organize themselves into a banner within the permitted area. In the beginning, a county of four *sums* (districts) included 170 households with about 700 people. During the eighteenth century, the Oold had moved in and tried to settle here, but had been forced to leave because of outbreaks of the plague, and consequently the Buryat newcomers were deeply worried about being exposed to the plague, but after Buddhist Lamas performed a purification ceremony they were relieved. In 1929, the Shinehen Buryat people were organized into two counties of eight districts, and as of 2010, they numbered 6,000.

3.1.2 Domestic Exile of the Shinehen Buryats

In the early twentieth century, the *zaisan noyon* (noble officer) Selenjav moved from the Aga district in Russia, to the territory of Mongolia. His son, Rinchindorj, had a wife and

children, and he did not follow his father. However, in 1926 he went to the Shinehen district directly, not via Mongolia, and stayed there. After the Sino-Soviet conflict in 1929, about 60 families who followed Rinchindorj moved south, and stayed in the Bodongagiin Shil in Shilin Gol province, from 1931 to 1947. This group was called the “Buryats of Bodonga,” or “Buryats of Rinchindorj,” according to the name of the place where they stayed, or the name of their leader. The ninth Panchen Lama had run away from his homeland in 1923, and just arrived at Shilin Gol in the autumn of 1931. Rinchindorj informed the Bogd (Panchen Lama) that the members of his group would like to belong to the Bogd, and asked for assurances that they would be allowed to live in this area. The Panchen Lama agreed to their request, and through this religious authority the Buryat people succeeded in having an area of grassland ceded to them by the local nobles. However, in 1947 they fled from the Chinese Civil War, and in a battle at Dolon Nuur, Rinchindorj was captured. The approximately 300 people remaining marched far west to Urad, Alagshan, Kansu, and Qinghai provinces. During the 1950s and early 1960s, many of them returned to Hulun Buir, but their experiences as refugees became a reason for them to be targeted, and they consequently suffered during the Cultural Revolution in China (1966–1976).

3.2 Other Ethnic Groups’ Narratives About the Shinehen Buryats

I next cite two examples from our collection of oral histories. One is from a Dagur, and the other is from an Oold.

The Japanese Army spread bacterial weapons and wreaked enormous damage on the Evenki. However the Buryats were never harmed. It was said that the Japanese were close to the Buryats. In fact the Japanese never injected the Buryats. Evenki and Oold were infected by being given injections. That is one instance. Another instance was that in the early 1940s the Japanese Army mobilized the Buryats and moved them away to the south so they could escape from the worst fighting. They helped the Buryats move over the Khingan Mountains from Shinehen to the Holin Gol, where the Buryat people who had left previously were living happily on the rich meadows. It is a fact that the Japanese led their movement. However no one knows the reason. Did the Japanese really help the Buryats evacuate to a safe place? Or did they have another purpose? I do not know. (Konagaya, Sarangerel, and Soyolma 2014: 405) (Mr. BD, Dagur, born in 1937)

In general we Oold suffered greatly. In the 1730s many Oold coming from Xinjiang died from the plague. Moreover, after coming to Hulun Buir we suffered harm from the bacterial weapons. However, Buryats did not, because they were close to the Japanese. At the Japanese hospitals of the 7th and 8th Divisions during that period there were female doctors and nurses who were Buryats. And they came to us to observe who was infected, but without any medicine. Then they themselves became infected from our patients, and they quickly went back. In the Japanese period Buryats were much respected. For example, a Buryat was appointed to be the top commander of the local militia in this district. Because they came from Russia, the Japanese liked to use them. (Konagaya, Sarangerel,

and Soyolma 2014: 411) (Mr. E, Oold, born in 1935)

Urjin Garmaev (1888–1947) was famous in Japan as the local leader of the Buryats coming from the Aga district (Okamoto 1979, 1988). He was appointed the major general of this regional militia, and sent to the Battle of Khalkhyn Gol (the Nomonhan Incident) with the Manchukuo Army. He was a token symbol of the Japanese Kwantung Army's use of Buryats over other ethnic groups, because of their multilingual talents that stemmed from their origin. Therefore, other ethnic groups often regarded the Buryats as being on the side of the enemy.

The Buryats' migrations to the south to Holin Gol or Shilin Gol can be divided into two periods. Rinchindorj led one during the 1930s, and Urjin guided the other, in the 1940s. In the early 1930s, before the establishment of Manchukuo, the group led by Rinchindorj arrived at Shilin Gol. According to the story of Mr. X, they there supplied youths to the intelligence school, and these youths disappeared after one year of training (the interviewee wished to remain anonymous). In the 1940s, from 1943 to 1945, on three different occasions, refugees were supposed to be organized by the Japanese Army to join with Rinchindorj's group in Shilin Gol. Following the eventual defeat of the Japanese and the ensuing civil war in China, they began their domestic wanderings. Responsibility for the tragic experiences associated with their refugee migration, from Shilin Gol all the way to Qinghai province in the west, is nowadays attributed to just one person, Rinchindorj. The evaluation of Rinchindorj differs between the Buryats who went south with him, and those who were opposed to the migration. Many of the latter and their descendants condemn him publicly. Doing so might be a politically correct position to adopt in China.

What I wish to confirm here is that Japanese colonial activities that made use of the Shinehen Buryats for their ruling purposes gave birth to suspicions and feelings of mistrust in the indigenous society, both between the Buryats and other ethnic groups, and among the Buryats themselves. It is safe to blame Japanese colonial activities in China today, and it brings censure to the Buryats. However, the situation is changing. The informant quoted above, Mr. BD, is a Dagur married to an Evenk, and their four children were registered as Evenk. He said:

Living as an Evenk is beneficial, I once supposed. And in reality my choice was right. Now, one of my sons is the sub-director of the Evenk local government. If he were to be labeled a Dagur, he would have no chance to be a cadre. My wife and children are Evenk. I am half Dagur and half Mongol. (Konagaya, Sarangerel, and Soyolma 2014: 167)

Moreover, others often speak in the same way about their origins or bloodlines.

I am half Oold and half Buryat. My son is a quarter Oold, a quarter Buryat, a quarter Dagur, and a quarter mixed. My husband is Horchin. I am Barga and have four children. The elder daughter's husband is Evenk, the younger daughter's husband is Dagur, the elder son's wife is Chinese, and the younger son's wife is Buryat. I am Evenk and have two

daughters, one is married to an Evenk, and one is married to a Mongol (i.e. Mongolian coming from the northeast part of Inner Mongolia). (Konagaya, Sarangerel, and Soyolma 2014: 26)

As these descriptions show, interethnic minority groups have intermarried, and these mixed marriages bring with them the dissolution of the borders of ethnicity. We can thus understand that marriage is a survival technique, or, in other words, one kind of “strategic partnership.” Alternatively, we can realize there is no need to form an external “strategic partnership” such as the *anda*, because the strategic partnership is embedded in kin relations.

3.3 Shinehen Buryats’ Migration Narratives

The oral histories collected in interviews during the last four years were filled with many kinds of migration stories. Some were transborder migrations, and some occurred inside China. Some are based on people’s own experiences, and some are based on second-hand accounts of stories told by others. Moreover, some are just rumor. On the other hand, some are just based on research they did themselves. In this paper, we do not consider differences in how the story was crafted and told. Instead, we are interested in descriptions of the movements listed in nine cases by thirteen Shinehen Buryats.

These bundles of memories reveal the small streams of movement or migrations when the main stream of movement is already known from the master narrative (Jamusu 2010). These small streams testify to individual diversities. This individual diversity has fostered many tactical techniques that have been accumulated in the indigenous societies (see Figure 1).

3.3.1 Diversity in the 1940s Exile in China

I now summarize five cases as follows:

Ms. H (Buryat, born in 1937): In the summer of 1945, her family, nine persons in all, with 12 ox carriages, left for the Holin Gol. Together with 170 families totaling 700 people and 100,000 domestic animals, they left their homeland. Crossing the woods in the Khingan Mountains, they reached Holin Gol as their first destination 54 days later. Her father could speak Russian, and talked with Russian soldiers, and they decided to go further after staying ten days in Holin Gol. In Ujimchin Banner Russian soldiers robbed them, and Mongolian (Outer Mongolian) soldiers helped them get their animals back. To the north of Dolonnur they fought with the Chinese Peoples’ Liberation Army. At the Taibus Banner most of the animals were lost through fighting and to theft. At the city of Kalgan (Zhangjiakou), an American missionary gave them some food to eat. In Urad Banner they met Demchigdonrov (the leader of the Shilin Gol government alliance), and together entered Ejine Banner in Alagshan province. After being attacked by Kazakh robbers along the Golonai River, 50 families reached Ejine. There, many Buryats worked as laborers to build a dam to stop the flow of Dond Gol. Ms. H entered the university of the region, and after graduation in 1956 she returned home. Her sister got married, had children, and remained there. After the death of her husband in a flood in 1964, she

could return to her homeland (Konagaya, Sarangerel, and Soyolma 2014: 111–116).

Ms. L (Buryat, born in 1931): Her parents divorced after her birth. Her real mother went to the Shilin Gol and never came back. Her real father went to Shilin Gol, and returned to the homeland later. She grew up under the care of her mother's mother. In 1945, when she was 15 years old, she became a bride. Her husband's family was also not rich. She gave birth to 10 children, and five of them survived to become adults. Three are still alive, and the eldest son, born in 1954, went to Ulan-Ude in 1991 (when he was 37 years old), and is successful in the restaurant business (Konagaya, Sarangerel, and Soyolma 2014: 117–120).

Ms. R (Buryat, born in 1932): Her parents came to Shinehen from the Onon River. In the spring of 1945 they left their homeland, and after reaching Holin Gol, they joined the group headed by Rinchindorj at Bodongogiin Shil. They then ran away from the Chinese Peoples' Liberation Army, and her mother, who was riding in an ox carriage, became separated from Ms. R, who was riding on a horse. On the way west she stopped at the Urad Middle Banner for three years, because of her father's sickness. They lost animals on the way, and just barely managed to survive working for others as servants. Another group of Buryats came, and she married one of these newcomers. In 1951 another group passed nearby, and gave her news that her mother was still alive back in the homeland. She immediately got divorced and went back home to live with her real mother. After the death of her mother, she married a second time. After the independent separation of her younger brother-in-law, she became divorced again, and in 1968 she was married for the third time, and adopted her brother-in-law's daughter. According to her, all of the Buryats living in the Urad Middle Banner had come back home to Shinehen (Konagaya, Sarangerel, and Soyolma 2014: 365–372).

Ms. SM (Buryat, born in 1942): Her father was a Buddhist lama, and in 1931 he escaped and arrived at Shinehen. During the same period her mother came to Hailar with 11 others, and she was lucky to meet the Panchen Lama. In 1940, the couple married and lived in Shinehen, where Ms. SM was born in February of 1942. That autumn her parents started out for Holin Gol with an infant baby. Then, in 1945, they reached Ulan-khot where her father died from sickness. From Kalgan, she and her mother travelled in the last carriage of the American missionary to go west. On the way, staying in the Urad Middle Banner, or at the temple of Robonchambo, crossing the sands of Badajirin, they arrived at the temple of Lablan in Kansu province. They stayed at that temple for over two years, and returned home in 1951. After coming back, she entered school at the age of 10 (Konagaya, Sarangerel, and Soyolma 2014: 241–246).

Mr. B (Buryat, born in 1930): In 1945, when he was 15 years old, he left the homeland with five family members, herding 30 or 40 head of cattle intended for the temple of Lablan. The Eighth Route Army (the PLA) took the cattle from them in 1947, and they moved on to Qinghai province. His mother and his grandmother died there, and in 1954 he returned to the homeland. There was no state support, but with a relative's support the family made a new life, and the year after coming back he married an Evenk. His son is registered as an Evenk, and married to a Buryat (Konagaya, Sarangerel, and Soyolma 2014: 175–178).

As these cases show, migrations or domestic exile forced by the special circumstances of wartime diverged greatly, according to individual situations. Notwithstanding this variety, almost all of these exiles managed to return to the homeland and made new lives for themselves after suffering great trials. They never became a “double diaspora” (Shimamura 2014: 112) in that period.

Shimamura’s concept of a “double diaspora” was used to refer to the ethnic discrimination of Buryats in Mongolia, after they had migrated there from Russia. The Buryats in Mongolia, despite their strenuous efforts to build socialism for the sake of their fellow Mongols (even while being subject to purges during the 1930s), found after the collapse of socialism that their efforts had been in vain, that they were discriminated against by other Mongolians, and their pride in their ethnic identity was wounded. Having lost their sense of ethnicity while being in Mongolia was called a “double ethnic diaspora” (Shimamura 2014: 113).

In contrast, the Buryats who migrated from Russia to China were again forced to move, and even though their migrations were still within China, they had lost their second homeland. However, since they had somehow been able to return, they did not lose their sense of ethnic identity.

Their experiences appear to be the reason they dislike state politics and dare to move across borders, however, we cannot prove the correlation between their past experiences in wartime and today’s immigration choices. There may be no correlation, and the choice of immigration may be open to every Buryat. Besides their personal individuality, Buryat people were well experienced in migrating via a diversity of many cases.

3.3.2 Relating to the Neighboring Countries and Trans-border Communities

I will summarize four cases below:

Mr. NA (Buryat, born in 1922): In 1933, the Japanese colonial government established an elementary school at Shinehen, and he entered it. In 1945, he went to Ulan Bator as one of 200 scholarship students. Returning to China in 1952, he worked as a teacher of Cyrillic, before returning to his homeland to care for his parents. He has seven children and 18 grandchildren. The youngest son has been to Mongolia, and his two daughters obtained Mongolian citizenship. Both of them are in now in Shanghai as scholarship students from Mongolia. They know Mongolian and Chinese so well that they can easily pass examinations, and have the opportunity to study free of charge (Konagaya, Sarangerel, and Soyolma 2014: 141–146).

Ms. NM (Buryat, born in 1934): Her father went to fight against the Germans in the First World War, and after coming back home from the battlefield in 1918, came to Mongolia and married a Buryat woman there. In 1921, together with his brother-in-law, he brought his young family to Shinehen. Her father was poor and worked for an Evenk who was a rich businessman. Herding cattle, he made a success of breeding up to 1,000 head of cattle, and for 15 years worked for that rich Evenk, who eventually divided some of the cattle with him. Her father’s younger brother remained in Mongolia, but he went back and forth often to gather intelligence. In 1944, he was captured and hanged as a spy

by the Japanese Army. Her mother's younger brother went to Ejine with her grandmother. Her father would have liked to go along, but the Japanese Army had hanged his younger brother so he was not allowed to go south with them. Her father's younger brother's daughter is alive in Mongolia, so during his stay in Japan as a student in 1986, her son went to Dornod province in Mongolia during a vacation, and met her relatives (Konagaya, Sarangerel, and Soyolma 2014: 147–162).

Ms. SR (Buryat, born in 1945): Her grandfather came from Russia to Shinehen, with his son (i.e. her father) and without his wife. Her mother came to Hailar in 1918, at the age of 16, following her father's brothers. She (i.e., her future mother) intended to go back home, but was never able to do so. Her mother's younger two brothers stayed in Russia. In 1945, her father was captured and brought to Mongolia where he died in prison at Baotou. Her father's brother was also captured and taken to Russia, and after being released he became a monk living in Aga. Her father's younger brother's son is a medical doctor in Moscow. In 1990, her brothers brought her mother to Russia to meet her and the two younger brothers. They had already died, but she met their descendants. She has six children, and the eldest son has been in Ulan-Ude since 2008, where he has been successful in the restaurant business. Her second daughter is also living in Ulan-Ude. The third daughter is engaged in the hotel business in Manchuria. The other two are involved in animal husbandry here in the homeland (Konagaya, Sarangerel, and Soyolma 2014: 189–192).

Ms. DH (Buryat, born in 1940): Her maternal grandfather came to Manchuria in 1919. He was engaged in commerce, and worked as a translator. His daughter (i.e. DH's mother) had gone to Ulan-Ude to study medicine in 1930. Her mother was a nurse working in the Chinese Eastern Railway's hospital, and her father was a soldier in the Manchukuo Army who was sent to the Battle of Khalkhyn Gol. After marrying, and later divorcing her husband, her mother married again, this time a newcomer from Mongolia. Her father remarried, this time a Shinehen Buryat woman. A Russian babysitter cared for her, so she could speak only in Russian up to the age of five. In 1944, her mother died from an infection she caught in the hospital. Her stepfather went to the south in 1945. Her father was captured and died in prison in Mongolia. Her father's younger brother was able to escape prison, but hearing the rumor that people suspected of siding with the Japanese side would be hanged, he escaped to Qinghai province. However, he was captured and imprisoned there, and sentenced to forced labor. He left his adopted child in Qinghai province, and she still lives there. In 1988 he went to Russia and met with his younger sister in Ulan-Ude. Her stepfather had returned from the south to Shinehen, and died there in 1992. His adopted daughter is living in Aga. Her father had another daughter with his second wife, and that daughter's children are her nieces and nephews. They live in Moscow and the niece is a bonesetter and her nephew is the owner of a restaurant. She herself traveled to Russia first in April of 1990, and to Mongolia in 1991. In 1992 she and her children were granted citizenship by Russia, so they can be together, and not be divided, she hopes, and her Mongolian husband also obtained Russian citizenship in 2001. He has a house in Ulan-Ude, and another house in Hailar. She has four children; one is living in Moscow, and one in Tokyo. In 1993 she established an

association for compatriots at Ulan-Ude, in order to get official support from Russia (Konagaya, Sarangerel, and Soyolma 2014: 247–276).

As described above, I would like to reconfirm here that Shinehen Buryats who were connected with the Japanese colonial power, suffered a lot after the Second World War, and some were captured and died in prison. According to the story of a Barga senior born in 1912, in those years with a lot of snow, people usually moved to Ujimchin in the south, or to Khuree in the west (local names of places with tall grass) in Mongolia. However after the Japanese Kwantung Army colonized Northeast Asia and tried to control the border, transborder movements for pasturing became dangerous for them. That danger continued until the end of the Great Cultural Revolution.

In these cases we can find some techniques used for relating with neighboring countries or with neighboring transborder communities. There are two kinds of techniques. One involves using the formal system, and the other is developing or exploring kinship ties. Of course one can use both simultaneously. For example Mr. NA and Ms. DH are talking about having Mongolian or Russian citizenship. In the case of the former, people chose the nationality for access to economic and educational opportunities. They are clever enough to live in China (i.e. the mother country) as foreigners. The latter case does not appear to offer multiple opportunities, because the whole family has the same citizenship. However their children live in four places: Moscow, Ulan-Ude, Hailar, and Tokyo. Russian citizenship appears to be a gateway to the world. The old mother has two houses, one in Moscow and one in Hailar, and usually goes back and forth. The latter case also shows the other technique of utilizing kinship ties. Many families maintain relations not only with blood relatives, but also with adopted family. Moreover, divorces might also serve as resources for them, because the real mother's second husband or the real father's second wife might be one of the kinship nodes.

All their narratives are very informative about their kinship. It might be easy for them to talk about their kinship, because kinship is not a political issue, and moreover, they have the tradition of drawing family trees like a genealogist. However easy it is for them to talk about it, if they did not have enough detailed information, they would not be able to talk as they do. Their explanations of complicated kinship ties make us realize that these ties are important to them. Adoption has been used heavily as a traditional technique for building a safety network in Mongolia, and now it is becoming much more useful internationally, especially for transborder communities. We can easily identify these techniques in the cases discussed above.

In the forced migrations of the 1940s, almost all the people who moved went back home eventually. However, the movements made to access opportunities across the borders, and migrations for purposes of accessing transborder resources, began as early as possible. People went back and forth to Mongolia before democratization. People also went to Russia before democratization, or during the initial aftermath of democratization. Under the umbrella of interstate “strategic partnerships,” people were able to accumulate many tactics through trial and error.

Compared to the border between Mexico and the United States, where transborder

research is quite advanced, the situation here is quite different. In Northeastern Asia, which is the Chinese-Russian borderland, the two states are nearly equally strong, and there are pull-and-push forces for people on both sides. In this region, people's histories in the diaspora of the 1910s and 1920s also form a resource. Moreover, the integrity or unity of communities in the indigenous society was originally quite weak. With regard to Zapotec migrants in Mexico city, associations for immigrants, self-organized to support each other, are based on coming from the same village and broadening to a union with other villages. This is evaluated as cultural capital (Hirabayashi 1993). However, in this Northeastern Asian region, newcomer nomads created organizations that appealed to the government, rather than for the purpose of helping each other. They might not use this organization for immigration, and might choose to use kinship network relationships including non-blood brothers and sisters instead. This could be called "imagined kinship," applying the concept of Anderson's "imagined community" (Anderson 1991). The depth and extent of the kinship network is different for each person, and cannot be equally accessed by all. Therefore, I would like to characterize the kinship network as being not cultural capital, and not social capital, but instead as being a resource. Differences in diaspora resources will make for economic disparities in the indigenous society.

4. Conclusion and Future Issues

Today, the Mongolian word *anda* is usually used to mean a "special friend," and, according to *The Secret History of the Mongols*, in the thirteenth century, this word meant that giving gifts to each other was one way hostile groups reached peaceful settlements. This relationship can be understood using Mauss's (1990) essay on gift-giving, or it can be understood as a ritual exchange revealing equal valences of power, that signify a Strategic Partnership. (Writing it in title case signifies the interstate political term. On the contrary, writing it in lowercase means a relationship between indigenous societies.) Nowadays, this term is easily and frequently used in many countries, and its core meaning appears to be changing. For example, Mongolia and Japan agreed in 2010 that they would construct a Strategic Partnership based on the former integrated partnership. What is the meaning of this double partnership? The nations of Japan and Mongolia are not equal in size, economic status, or equal according to any other statistical measure. We can therefore understand that this new strategic partnership is non-equal, but mutually beneficial. However, the original meaning is clear both for China and Russia, and accords with the indigenous word *anda*.

In Mongolian history, *anda* emerged during the process of political unification, and continued to have the same meaning up to the period of the early Qing dynasty. Then, in the twentieth century, as Shirokogoroff (1933) suggested, the meaning of *anda* changed to mean business partners between different ethnic groups. According to the historical records, during the Ming dynasty (that preceded the Qing dynasty) it also meant transborder business relations between different ethnic groups in the borderland, and in the Qing dynasty it became established as an official system. After the official system collapsed, many ethnic businessmen started using this title freely. Therefore, *anda*

appears to continue to represent a way of making peace superficially. In other words, the strategic partnership called *anda* represents a social technique for enhancing cross-border (not only state borders, but any boundaries) businesses.

In the twenty-first century, an interstate Strategic Partnership might have an influence on strategic partnerships in indigenous societies, or in transborder societies. In this paper, the source materials are mainly limited to the oral histories of Shinehen Buryats. Intermarriages occurred, and strategic partnerships were embedded in kinship ties before interstate Strategic Partnerships were considered. Therefore, there was no need to form an external partnership. Especially in transborder societies, people develop wide kinship networks across national boundaries. They regard kin, including adopted kin such as a stepfather's or stepmother's children, as family. Thus, the history of diaspora became a resource base for the techniques used to facilitate transborder activities.

We can discuss several additional points. First, the techniques used to conduct transborder activities must be discussed in relation to the diaspora. It is well known that Koreans in Kazakhstan are able to make effective use of their diaspora as a resource. Further comparative studies may well reveal the distinct context of Northeast Asia. It is also interesting to note how a diaspora changes through the process of being used as a resource. For example, the people who went back to Russia as part of the diaspora, and became successful, would continue to think of the Shinehen area as a homeland. This means that the diaspora would be replaced. Or they could have two homelands, and we might call these situations a "double *heimat*" (homeland). On the contrary, people who were not successful would lose their homeland again. For such a person, Ulan-Ude is not a paradise, and they cannot go back to China. We might call this situation a "dual diaspora." The situation of the diaspora would be polymorphic and multilayered. In general, people talk about their successes loudly, but do not talk, or are silent, about their failures. That is why we must conduct research, using means other than oral histories.

A second point for consideration is that the techniques used to conduct transborder activities must be discussed in the context of the interstate Strategic Partnership. People initiated transborder activities before the agreements between China and Russia had been concluded in 1996. This means that even without an institutional framework, people can do something. However, without any assurances from the nation-state, transborder activities are very dangerous, as were those conducted during the Japanese period. We understand that private tactics are developing under the umbrella of the official Strategic Partnership at the present time.

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