CECC Annual Report 2021

KEY FINDINGS

ETHNIC MINORITY RIGHTS

- During this reporting year, the Chinese Communist Party and government carried out efforts to solidify their control over the cultural and religious identity of the country's ethnic minority groups, in contravention of the PRC Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law and international law. Authorities passed regulations in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (IMAR) promoting "ethnic unity," a year after authorities passed similar regulations in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), in what observers criticized as moves aimed at eradicating ethnic minority cultures. The Chinese Communist Party and government, led by President and Party General Secretary Xi Jinping, carried out policies to further the "sinicization" of religions practiced by ethnic minority groups, including Islam and Tibetan Buddhism.
- Officials in areas with large Hui populations continued to implement policies and restrictions limiting Hui Muslims' ability to practice their religion and culture. Authorities demolished mosques serving Hui communities, placed Hui scholars and religious leaders under detention and surveillance, closed Arabic-language schools serving Hui students, and ordered the removal of religious inscriptions written in Arabic on Hui Muslims' homes and businesses. There is evidence that authorities have begun using mass surveillance technologies and systems first implemented in the XUAR in other areas of the country with sizable Hui populations.
- In August 2020, authorities in the IMAR announced that schools throughout the region that previously offered instruction in the Mongolian language would be required, beginning in September, to implement a policy substantially reducing the amount of Mongolian-language instruction in elementary and secondary school classes and replacing it with Mandarin Chinese. Under the new policy, authorities would, using a phased approach, begin requiring teachers to use Mandarin Chinese to teach history, politics, and literature.
- Security authorities responded harshly to those who expressed opposition to the new language policy in the IMAR, including through detaining and beating protesters, issuing "wanted" notices on social media for protesters, and visiting the homes of parents to pressure them to sign pledges committing them to send their children to school. By mid-September 2020, many Mongol parents in the IMAR had begun sending their children back to school because of the threat of punishment by authorities.

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Recommendations

Members of the U.S. Congress and Administration officials are encouraged to:

 In cooperation with other UN member states, call upon China to allow UN special rapporteurs who work on minority issues such as racial discrimination, freedom of religion or belief, and the protection of human rights while countering terrorism to conduct visits to China to assess the status of ethnic minority rights. Push for the establishment of a standing UN monitor to investigate the status of ethnic minority rights in China. In addition, work with other UN member states to issue joint statements condemning violations of ethnic minority rights in China, and work to ensure that critics of China's ethnic minority policies are allowed to freely and safely voice their opinions in UN forums.

Urge Chinese authorities to allow Hui and other predominantly Muslim ethnic minority populations to freely engage in Islamic religious rituals, as a matter of their right to religious freedom, and in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, as well as China's Constitution, which pro-

hibits discrimination based on religion.

Urge the Chinese government to abide by the protections guaranteed to ethnic minorities to speak, use, and receive an education in their mother tongue, under China's Constitution, the Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law, and international laws such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Urge Chinese authorities to repeal policies that infringe upon the rights of ethnic minorities to teach and learn in their own language. Press Chinese officials to release political prisoners who were detained for their advocacy of language education rights.

○ The U.S. Agency for Global Media should consider establishing a Mongolian language service to provide a reliable, accurate, and timely source of information to Mongols in China.

ETHNIC MINORITY RIGHTS

Party and State Policy Toward Ethnic Minorities

During this reporting year, the Chinese Communist Party and government carried out efforts to solidify their control over the cultural and religious identity of the country's ethnic minority groups, in contravention of the PRC Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law¹ and international law.² Authorities passed regulations in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR)³ and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (IMAR)⁴ promoting "ethnic unity,"⁵ a year after authorities passed similar regulations in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), in what observers criticized as moves aimed at eradicating ethnic minority cultures. The Chinese Communist Party and government, led by President and Party General Secretary Xi Jinping, carried out policies to further the "sinicization" of religions practiced by ethnic minority groups, including Islam and Tibetan Buddhism. In December 2020, officials for the first time appointed a Han Chinese individual with no background in ethnic affairs as the head of the State Ethnic Affairs Commission—an appointment Australian scholar James Leibold said signaled the end of the commission's role in implementing regional ethnic autonomy and representing ethnic minorities and their cultures and languages. According to Leibold, Xi has overseen a Party and state approach to ethnic minorities that seeks to assimilate them rather than accommodate their diversity. 10

Crackdown on Hui Religion and Culture

Officials in areas with large Hui populations continued to implement policies and restrictions limiting Hui Muslims' ability to practice their religion and culture. Authorities demolished mosques serving Hui communities, placed Hui scholars and religious leaders under detention and surveillance, closed Arabic-language schools serving Hui students, and ordered the removal of religious inscriptions written in Arabic on Hui Muslims' homes and businesses. There is evidence that authorities have begun using mass surveillance technologies and systems first implemented in the XUAR among Hui communities in the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. In For more information on freedom of religion for Muslims in China, see Section II—Freedom of Religion and Section IV—Xinjiang.

Protests in the IMAR Over Policy to Reduce Mongolian Language Instruction in Schools

In August 2020, authorities in the IMAR announced that schools throughout the region that previously offered instruction in the Mongolian language would be required, beginning in September, to implement a policy substantially reducing the amount of Mongolian-language instruction in elementary and secondary school classes and replacing it with Mandarin Chinese. ¹⁴ Under the new policy, which officials refer to as "bilingual education," authorities would, using a phased approach, begin requiring teachers to use Mandarin Chinese to teach history, politics, and literature. ¹⁵ According to 2017 statistics from the bureau of education of the IMAR, there were 520 "ethnic minority" primary and secondary

schools in the IMAR, serving just under 355,000 students. ¹⁶ As part of the three-year "bilingual education" plan, authorities also moved to require increased Mandarin-language instruction in schools in ethnic minority-populated areas including Gansu, Jilin,

Liaoning, Qinghai, and Sichuan provinces.¹⁷

According to American scholar Christopher Atwood, central government and Party officials likely pushed for the implementation of the new policy in the IMAR and other areas. ¹⁸ According to Atwood and other scholars, the policy likely reflects the "second generation" of ethnic policies promoted by leading Chinese officials and scholars, under which authorities dismantle frameworks of regional and local autonomy and replace them with policies aimed at eroding ethnic minorities' language and identity. ¹⁹ The right of ethnic minorities to receive an education in their mother tongue is protected under international law ²⁰ and is also protected under China's Constitution ²¹ and the PRC Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law. ²²

NEWS OF IMAR LANGUAGE POLICY EMERGES

In or around June 2020, authorities in Tongliao municipality, IMAR, informed local education officials about a requirement to replace some Mongolian-language instruction with Mandarin Chinese in schools.²³ In early July, opponents of the policy began circulating petitions on the social media platform WeChat.²⁴ On August 17, the bureau of education of the IMAR held non-public meetings to inform local authorities that they would extend the policy throughout the IMAR.²⁵ On August 23, authorities began to censor online posts on the topic within the IMAR.²⁶ and shut down Bainu, the only Mongolian-language-based social media website based in China.²⁷ Some users reported being contacted by security personnel regarding their posts criticizing "bilingual education" on WeChat.²⁸ In late August, IMAR authorities published details of the new policy, stating that it would promote the "high-quality development of ethnic education" and emphasizing the "strategic significance" of providing students with an education in the "national common language." ²⁹

In late August 2020, tens of thousands of Mongol residents from a broad spectrum of society began protesting in eight banners ³⁰ throughout the IMAR.³¹ Parents took part in a boycott and refused to send their children to school; teachers went on strike; and parents, rights advocates, herders, and others participated in demonstrations.³² Many internet users shared footage of the protests and videos containing their own messages of pride in Mongolian identity.³³ Those who resisted the new language policy included government officials, some of whom were reportedly penalized for refusing to send their children to school; ³⁴ civil servants who quit their jobs to avoid carrying out the policy; ³⁵ and police officers who reportedly refused to help carry out authorities' subsequent crack-

down on protesters and boycott participants.³⁶

Reports emerged of Mongols in the İMAR who committed suicide after the announcement of the new policy, including **Surnaa**, a 33-year-old Party official in Alxa (Alashan) League, whose relatives said her death was an act of protest; ³⁷ **Ulaan**, a 46-year-old primary school principal in Erenhot (Erlianhaote) city, Xilingol (Xilinguole) League; ³⁸ **Soyolt**, a teacher and poet in Shuluun Huh

(Zhenglan) Banner, Xilingol; 39 and an unnamed middle school student in Horchin (Ke'erqin) Left Center Banner, Tongliao municipality. 40

OFFICIAL CRACKDOWN ON PROTESTS

Security authorities responded harshly to those who expressed opposition to the new language policy in the IMAR. Reports emerged of authorities detaining and beating protesters, 41 issuing "wanted" notices on social media for protesters, and visiting the homes of parents to pressure them to sign documents agreeing not to criticize the new policy or committing them to send their children to school. 42 Among the thousands 43 authorities detained were Mongol lawyer **Huhbulag** (Chinese: Hu Baolong), who kept his child home from school; ⁴⁴ **Ulaantuyaa**, a teacher from Zaruud (Zhalute) Banner, Tongliao; 45 musician Ashidaa, who faces a possible five-year prison sentence for taking part in the protests; 46 and Nasanbayar, who publicly urged others to engage in protest.47 In addition, authorities reportedly placed veteran Mongol rights advocate Hada under home confinement and restricted his freedom of movement and expression.⁴⁸ Authorities also used the loss of jobs, expulsion from the Communist Party, the refusal of bank loans, travel restrictions, property confiscation, and other methods to threaten and punish protesters and boycotters. 49 Officials also censored social media posts about the protests,50 and in September 2020, police in Hohhot municipality detained L.A. Times Beijing bureau chief Alice Su for over 4 hours, reportedly assaulting her in custody before forcing her to board a train to Beijing municipality.⁵¹ By mid-September 2020, many Mongol parents in the IMAR had begun sending their children back to school because of the threat of punishment by authorities.⁵² In September 2020, officials announced plans to recruit 1,883 Mandarin-language teachers from across China to teach in rural areas of the IMAR with Mongol communities.⁵³

NPCSC Commission's Decision on Language Regulations

In January 2021, Chinese authorities announced a decision that appeared to remove existing legal protections 54 allowing ethnic minorities to receive an education in officially recognized minority languages. In its annual report, presented on January 20, the Legislative Affairs Commission (LAC) of the National People's Congress Standing Committee (NPCSC) concluded that two sets of unnamed local regulations on the teaching of ethnic minority languages in schools were unconstitutional.⁵⁵ According to the blog NPC Observer, the IMAR's 2016 Regulations on Ethnic Education was one of only two sets of regulations throughout China that fit the description contained in the LAC's report.⁵⁶ The Economist referred to the LAC's decision as "shocking," saying it had used the "bluntest of legal instruments to declare a law unconstitutional" and had failed to refer to the constitutional article that protects ethnic minority languages.⁵⁷ Human Rights Watch criticized the decision as a "serious blow to mother-tongue education," as well as to "language, diversity, and cultural rights" in China.⁵⁸ The LAC's decision appears to require ethnic minority schools to teach some courses using Mandarin Chinese, rather than simply requiring them to teach Mandarin Chinese as a subject while providing instruction using ethnic minority languages.59

The bureau of education of the IMAR took additional steps in December 2020 and January 2021 to narrow the space for Mongol students to learn about Mongolian language and culture. On December 8, the bureau held a special training course providing guidance on promoting a "national communal consciousness" in education, with officials from the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and Ministry of Education in attendance. On January 8, the bureau announced that it had conducted an ideological review of five sets of history textbooks for primary and secondary schools because they promoted "ethnic identity" and "ethnic consciousness." Comments made by President Xi Jinping and Communist Party Central Committee Political Bureau Standing Committee member Wang Yang in the spring of 2021 indicated that national-level officials supported the acceleration of a curriculum centered on Han Chinese culture and Mandarin Chinese in the IMAR.

Notes to Section II—Ethnic Minority Rights

¹The PRC Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law contains protections for the languages, religious beliefs, and customs of ethnic minority "nationalities" in addition to a system of regional autonomy in designated areas. *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Minzu Quyu Zizhi Fa* [PRC Regional Ethnic Autonomy Lawl, passed May 31, 1984, effective October 1, 1984, amended February 28,

2001, arts. 10, 11, 21, 36, 37, 47, 49, 53.

² Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by UN General Assembly resolution 217A (III) of December 10, 1948, arts. 22, 27; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of December 10, 1948, arts. ber 16, 1966, entry into force January 3, 1976, art. 1; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of December 16, 1966,

ber 16, 1966, entry into force January 3, 1976, art. 1; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of December 16, 1966, entry into force March 23, 1976, art. 27; Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, adopted by General Assembly resolution 47/135 of December 18, 1992, arts. 2, 4; Eva Xiao, Jonathan Cheng, and Liza Lin, "Beijing Accelerates Campaign of Ethnic Assimilation," Wall Street Journal, December 31, 2020.

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⁹ Linda Lew, "China Puts Han Official in Charge of Ethnic Minority Affairs as Beijing Steps Up Push for Integration," South China Morning Post, December 19, 2020; Ren Jiahui, "Chen Xiaojiang ren Guojia Minzu Shiwu Weiyuanhui zhuren" [Chen Xiaojiang is appointed director of the State Ethnic Affairs Commission], Xinhua, reprinted in People's Daily, December 28, 2020.

¹⁰Shanil Verjee, "James Leibold on China's Assimilationist Turn in Xi Jinping's China," Asia

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