## Statement by Enhebatu Togochog, President, Southern Mongolian Human Rights Information Center To The Congressional-Executive Commission on China August 5, 2002

## Ladies and Gentlemen:

My name is Enhebatu Togochog and I am a native Mongol from Inner Mongolia. I am grateful to the Commission for giving me the opportunity to make this presentation about my homeland which I left for political reasons in 1998.

Inner Mongolia is home to 4.5 million indigenous Mongolian people and is that part of the historical Greater Mongolia which was ceded to China by Stalin following World War II against the wishes of the majority of the Mongol leaders in the region. Over the past 50+ years, the Chinese government policy encouraging Han Chinese population transfer into the region has turned the Mongols into a minority in their own lands and the ratio of Han Chinese to Mongols today is 5:1. The pattern of repression of the Mongols over this 50 year period has been documented elsewhere so I will restrict my comments to the current human rights situation. In the addendum of the written report, I have provided additional examples and references. I will bring to the Commission's attention two specific cases. The first concerns two individuals, Mr. Hada and Mr. Tegexi and the second, the forcible displacement of Mongolian herdsmen from their traditional pasturelands.

The first individual is Mr. Hada who was born in eastern Inner Mongolia's Horchin Right Wing Front Banner (banner is a geographical designation). In May 1992, Mr. Hada and other Mongolian students and intellectuals established the Southern Mongolian Democratic Alliance (SMDA), with Mr. Hada as President. The mission of this organization was to promote and preserve Mongolian language, history and culture and to peacefully find ways to obtain greater autonomous rights for ethnic Mongols in the region as guaranteed by the Chinese constitution. In December 1995, the authorities denounced the Southern Mongolian Democratic Alliance as an illegal organization "engaging in separatist activities" and arrested Mr. Hada along with more than 70 members and demonstrators. In December 1996, Mr. Hada was sentenced to 15 years jail for "separating the country and engaging in espionage". Currently, Mr. Hada is serving his sentence in Inner Mongolia Jail No.4 at Chifeng City. Hada's wife, Ms Xinna, and young son Uiles have been subject to police intimidation and allowed only limited visitation rights, According to Ms Xinna, because of the hard labor and constant torture by the police and inmates, Mr. Hada's health condition is extremely poor. Ms. Xinna has also reported that Mr. Hada was beaten by inmates with rubber clubs provided by prison guards and on two occasions, a gun was held to his head by a prison official who threatened to kill him. Equally disturbing, in June 2001, the "Mongolian Study Bookstore" owned by Ms, Xinna was shut down and denounced as an "illegal business" by the authorities. Mr. Hada's wife and young son have been denied the right to pursue a livelihood.

Mr. Tegexi was born in Horchin Left Wing Rear Banner and was the Vice President of the Southern Mongolian Democratic Alliance. He was also arrested in December 1995. In December 1996, Mr. Tegexi was sentenced to 10 years jail for "conspiracy to subvert the government and separate the country". Currently, Mr. Tegexi's prison situation and health condition and even the prison location are unknown. His family members and friends have been denied the right to visit him.

The second case concerns the Chinese government's on-going coercive displacement of Mongolian herding populations. The Inner Mongolian grasslands were considered to be one of the finest natural grasslands in the world, perfectly suited for a herding lifestyle. However, according to the "Inner Mongolia Daily News", 81 % of the territory of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region has turned to desert. The officials do not state that the desertification is primarily due to the intensive over-cultivation of the grasslands by the millions of

Han Chinese farmers, as documented by scientific studies, but instead have made the Mongol herders bear the brunt of the new polices aimed to end the continuing desertifiation. The Chinese Government has recently adopted a new policy targeting Mongolian herding populations under the pretext of "giving rest to the grassland and recovering the eco-system". This policy is called "Environmental Immigration" (Sheng Tai Yi Min in Chinese) whose aim seems to be the relocation of the Mongolian herding populations from their native lands to overwhelmingly Han Chinese populated agricultural and urban areas. Over the past two years, at least 160,000 ethnic Mongolians have been forcibly relocated from their pasturelands. We see no mention of Han Chinese farmers being relocated. The Mongolian herders who have already lost their homes, livestock and lands have been relocated with little regard to their social and other needs, nor has appropriate compensation been made for their losses. These polices are targeted to the wrong populations and their discriminatory nature are a violation of human and civil rights.

Members of the Commission, today, Mongols who struggle to maintain and promote their distinct culture continue to be subjected to harassment and intimidation. Recent cases of individuals arrested for distributing 'separatist' literature and another arrest for merely wanting to celebrate Chinggis Khan's birthday attest to the continuing pattern of repression. In addition, since 1998, at least 5 expatriate Inner Mongolians have been refused entry into China and forced to return directly from the airports in Beijing and Hong Kong, apparently for being associated in one form or another with individuals the Chinese government has blacklisted. We also know of 6 cases of expatriates (5 of them are United States green card holders and 1 of them is even a US citizen) being detained, questioned and monitored by the authorities during their visit to Inner Mongolia.

Let me end by noting that recent releases of Tibetan political prisoners indicate that the United States government's dialogue with China and international pressure in general regarding human rights issues can have some positive results. I would like to ask the commission to urge the Chinese government to: 1. release Mr. Hada and Mr. Tegexi immediately and restore Ms Xinna's right to open and run her bookstore, 2. provide adequate compensation and social services to Mongols displaced by the anti-desertification programs and stop the upcoming larger displacements, 3. allow expatriates to return to visit their friends and relatives. Finally, I request the commission to hold a special hearing devoted to Inner Mongolian human rights issues.

Thank you!

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Note: following 3 pages are addendums.

## Addendum

Details and References on Prominent Human Rights Violation Cases in Inner Mongolia

According to official Chinese data, from 1967-77, 346,000 ethnic Mongolians were arrested, tortured, maimed, and sent to jail; 16,222 Mongolians were killed during the Central Government's "Unearthing and Cleansing" movement (see attached document "*Chinese Genocide Against Mongols*").

In 1981, a 3-month long Mongolian student's peaceful protest against the Central Government's so-called No.28 document authorizing large-scale Han Chinese immigration into Inner Mongolia was harshly

suppressed (see the attached "Crackdown in Inner Mongolia" and "Continuing Crackdown in Inner Mongolia" by Human Rights Watch).

In August 1987, two leaders of the student movement, Mr. Baatar and Mr. Bao Hungguang, were sentenced to 8 years jail for driving across the border and attempting to seek political asylum in the Mongolian People's Republic (see the attached "*Crackdown in Inner Mongolia*" and "*Continuing Crackdown in Inner Mongolia*" by Human Rights Watch).

In May 1991, Chinese authorities ordered a major crackdown on two Mongolian organizations, Ih Ju League National Culture Society and the Bayan Nuur League National Modernization Society. Mr. Huchuntegus and Mr. Wang Manglai, two leaders of these organizations, and 26 other members were arrested (see the attached "Crackdown in Inner Mongolia" and "Continuing Crackdown in Inner Mongolia" by Human Rights Watch). Later that year, Mr. Huchuntegus was sentenced to 5 years jail and Mr. Wang Manglai was sentenced to 4 years jail. In May 1991, Mr. Ulan Shovo, a professor at the University of Inner Mongolia, was arrested and later tried in secret and sentenced to 5 years jail for discussing the Inner Mongolian human rights situation with a foreigner (see the attached "Crackdown in Inner Mongolia" and "Continuing Crackdown in Inner Mongolia" by Human Rights Watch).

In 1995, Mr. Hada, President of the Southern Mongolian Democratic Alliance (SMDA), and Mr. Tegexi, Vice President of the organization, were arrested by the authorities along with 70 other members. In 1996, Mr. Hada was sentenced to 15 years jail for "separating the country and engaging in espionage", and Mr. Tegexi was sentenced to 10 years jail for "conspiracy to subvert the government and separate the country" (see attached document "Huhhot Municipal Intermediate People's Court's verdict on Hada and Tegexi"). More than 10 others were sent to labor camp for 3-9 months and many student members were expelled from their schools. According to Mr. Hada's wife Xinna, because of the hard labor and constant torture by the police and inmates, Mr. Hada's health condition is extremely poor. In her communication to the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights, Ms. Xinna said that Mr. Hada was beaten by inmates with rubber clubs provided by prison guards in Inner Mongolia No.4 jail at Chifeng City. On two occasions, a gun was allegedly held to his head by a prison official who threatened to kill him ( see the attached "The United Nations report on Hada"). Recently, Ms. Xinna has also revealed that the prison authorities have constantly demanded Mr. Hada sign his name on a prepared affidavit stating that Mr. Hada is suffering from serious heart disease.

In 1999, two writers, Mr. Narandalai and Mr. Chingdalai were arrested and tortured during 6 months detention. (see the attached report "Mr. Hada's 16 years old son arrested in Huhhot City", by SMHRIC, July 6, 2001).

In June 2001, the "Mongolian Study Bookstore" and "Mongolian Study Bookstore's Reading Club", both owned by Ms. Xinna, wife of Mr. Hada, were shut down and the documents about the reading clubs were confiscated for "the activities under the name of social association without authorization" (see the attached official document "The Document of Huhhot City Associations Registration Administration" and "Huhhot City Non-governmental Organization Register Administration Social Association Legal Status Checking Form"). According to Ms. Xinna more than 200 students who were members of the reading club were questioned and intimidated by the police. (personal communication Ms Xinna to me, July 15, 2001).

In May 2001, Mr. Dalai, known as Bao Xiaojun was detained for several weeks just for "trying to celebrate Genghis Khan's Birthday" in western Inner Mongolia (see the attached report "An Inner Mongolian dissident arrested because of the Ginggis Khaan celebration", by SMHRIC May 18, 2001).

In June 2001, Mr. Altanbulag, and Badarangui, two musicians, were detained for several months for "distributing separatists' document" which were in fact some open letters published on the Internet regarding

Inner Mongolian human rights situation (see the attached report "Two Inner Mongolian Musicians Arrested", by SMHRIC June 8, 2001).

The statement that 81 % of the whole territory of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region has become eroded and turned to desert is a quote from "Inner Mongolia Daily News" newspaper (*July 14, 1995*). The claim that the desertification is due to the intensive over-cultivation is taken from "*Grasslands and Grasslands Science in Northern China*" (page 70, Washington, D.C. 1992, by the United States Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China (CSCPRC)).

Relocation of the Mongolian herding populations from their native lands to overwhelmingly Han Chinese populated agricultural and urban areas is documented in the attached document "Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region Shiliin-Gol League's (Xi Lin Guo Le Meng) Provisional Regulation on Implementing the Policies of Strategic Encircling and Transferring").

".....Over the past two years, at least 160,000 ethnic Mongolians have been forcibly relocated from their pasturelands. We see no mention of Han Chinese farmers being relocated......" (see the attached document "A Complaint Against Chinese Government's Forced Eviction of Ethnic Mongolian Herders" by SMHRIC). ".....The Mongolian herders who have already lost their homes, livestock and lands have been relocated with little regard to their social and other needs, nor has appropriate compensation been made for their losses....." (see the attached document "Bagarin Right Banner ("Ba Lin You Qi" in Chinese) People's Government Document" and "A Complaint By Bayan-Khan Township's Zuun Khar Mod Gachaa and Khoroochin Gachaa's Herders in Bagarin Rights Banner).

According to the Chinese official news CCTV (China Central Television), starting from this year, 125,000 people will be displaced from their pasture land in eastern Inner Mongolia's Chifeng area. (see the attached document "Inner Mongolia's Largest Environmental Immigration Project Starts" and its original Chinese version "??????????????", June 5,2002, by CCTV and An Hui Online on June 4, 2002) In December 2001, Mr. Ulziitoghtokh and Mr. Unag, co-authors of a book called "I Am From Khara-Khorin", were detained by the authorities for expressing their pro-Mongolian national sentiments through the book (see the attached report "Inner Mongolian Poet and Author Persecuted by the Authorities" by Radio Free Asia on December 5, 2002).

July 2002, Ms. Toli, wife of the President of the Inner Mongolian People's Party, an exile organization based in the United States, was refused entry at Beijing Airport and deported. Since 1998, at least 7 expatriate Inner Mongolians have been refused to enter China and forced to return directly from the airports in Beijing and Hong Kong or detained and questioned after their visits to Inner Mongolia because of their personal relationships with some members of Inner Mongolian exile organizations (see the report "Mongolian dissident's wife deported from Beijing" and "Today's special report" by Radio Free Asia on July 25, 2002); among these 7 Inner Mongolians, 1 is a permanent resident of Germany, 5 are United States green card holders and 1 of them is a US citizen.