

Statement by Enhebatu Togocho,
President, Southern Mongolian Human Rights Information Center
To The Congressional-Executive Commission on China
December 9, 2002

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As you know, the mission of Radio Free Asia is to bring uncensored and non-partisan news and information to Asian populations which might otherwise be denied such access by their governments. This is the essential criterion for the choice of RFA's broadcasts. There is also the implication that RFA as a US government sponsored organization secondarily seeks to encourage democratic values. One important virtue of RFA is that it beams its broadcasts in the native languages of the Asian populations it seeks to service. In the new millennium, information and news is a more critical part of the social and political functioning of nations and governments than ever before. When information and news becomes a political tool and falls under the control of a single agenda, the essential quality of this important function becomes distorted and in direct opposition to democratic values. RFA plays an important role in counteracting such distortions. Given this backdrop, it will be argued that RFA broadcasts in the Mongolian language are completely in line with the RFA mission and there is a vital need for such broadcasts. We begin by providing a brief picture of the extent to which disinformation is being used at the detriment of the Mongolian populations of China.

Chinese government interference and censoring with the free flow of news and events has been well documented. In Inner Mongolia, all kinds of media such as TV, radio broadcasting, newspapers, Internet, and publications, especially those in Mongolian language, are strictly controlled by the Chinese government. No independent agency exists dealing with news, press and publication nor is there any provision allowing for open dissent of government decisions or policies. Those who try to express their opposing political, ethnic, religious, cultural or historical opinions and ideas are subject to arrest and jail. According to incomplete figures of the *Southern Mongolian Human Rights Information Center (SMHRIC)*, since 1990, at least a hundred different titles of books, magazines and other publications, 20 movies and videos have been banned; more than 70 Internet sites have been blocked; at least 40 bookstores, Internet cafés and reading clubs have been shut down; Thousands of books, video tapes, CDs and tape recordings of Mongolian songs thought to be against national policies in one form or another have been confiscated from individuals and retail stores without any compensation. At least 100 Mongolian authors, writers, correspondents, editors and translators and other dissidents have been detained, arrested and sent to jail for alleged acts of government opposition (about the most prominent cases, please see the annex). The official government policy of sinicization of the Mongolian populations and regions causes them to see expressions of Mongol cultural identity as a threat and establishes the basis for official distortion and disinformation about these repressive actions.

The Chinese government not only strictly controls all information sources but also regularly misinforms the Mongols about Western countries, especially the US's policies, society and culture. School textbooks emphasize that the US is an "imperialist country, like a 'paper tiger', doesn't have any real power". School authorities stress that the only purpose of the US's foreign policy is "to split our great mother country by using 'sugar-coated bullet' or 'peaceful revolution' ". American democracy is said to be a "fake democracy whose beneficiaries are just a few rich people". In colleges, students are forced to attend the so-called "political study" classes on every Thursday afternoon. Absences are not allowed. The main purpose of the "political study" is to indoctrinate the Mongolian intellectuals into believing that the best political system in the world is "the Chinese style socialist system". They also describe American society as "a monster's hole which is the darkest part of the world where people eat people". Propaganda Committees at various

levels give speeches or show movies, videos and slides stating that the US is a society where violence and crime are spread everywhere and people have no social or moral values, therefore, people's life and property are not safe and everybody faces the threat of robbery and murder at anytime. They also say that in America, relationships between people are based on money and people don't have any family connections, where everybody has at least one extramarital sexual partner. These and other distortion are intended to encourage a hostile attitude towards western countries, particularly the United States. For example, shortly after the 9/11 disaster, China's largest official news agency, Xin Hua News, stated that in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, especially the capital Huhhot City, Osama Bin Laden's pictures and toys with his name became the best selling goods in many stores. This is a reflection of the relative success of the government disinformation campaign.

Official news about the Mongolians themselves is also similarly distorted in order to push the interests of the government. All kinds of publications and the media have taught people that Chinggis Khan is Chinese and that the Mongols are a part of the great Han Chinese (Zhong Hua Min Zu) Nation. They stress that not only Inner Mongolia but also the independent country of Mongolia was a part of the great mother nation of China. Many publications insist that Mongolia should return to its "mother country of China" and some even go so far as to say that now it is time to take Mongolia back because most of the Mongolians are willing to "return to the embrace of their homeland China". Similarly, news about native Mongols in opposition to official Chinese policies is suppressed. The government uses misinformation to push their political, economic and cultural agenda with little regard to historical truth or objectivity.

China has been condemned by human rights organizations and the international community in general for violations of civil and human rights. There is extensive documentation on their harsh suppression of non-Han Chinese cultural and ethnic expressions on the part of individuals and groups. But international attention has not been paid to their policies of disinformation and distortion of world and national events to the same degree, yet we would argue that these are as reprehensible as their human rights record. The substantial Mongol population in China of 5 million people are victims of this information distortion. The only way in which the total control of the media can be neutralized is through independent reporting and access to broadcasts such as RFA's. We request that the Mongol populations of China be given access to RFA broadcasts in the Mongolian language. They too, like the Tibetans, Uyghurs and the Chinese should have the privilege of hearing clear and objective reporting that only the RFA can provide.

Thank you,

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Annex:

The followings are the most prominent cases about free press, free speech, and free assembly in Inner Mongolia:

- Banned books:

1. *Way Out of Southern Mongolia* ---- A Mongolian book by Mr. Hada, president of the Southern Mongolian Democratic Alliance, who was arrested in 1995 and sent to 15 years jail. This book has been banned since 1995;
2. *Kang Sheng and the False Case of Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party* ---- A Mongolian book, published in 1995, revealing the truth of the 10 years-long genocide against ethnic Mongolians during the Cultural Revolution, by Mr. Tumen, an ethnic Mongolian high ranking official who has been accused and put under house arrest after publishing the book. This book has been banned since 1996;
3. *Do Not Forget, Extinguished If Forget!* ---- A Mongolian book by B. Baabar, an Outer Mongolian author, promoting and protecting the traditional Mongolian culture and identity. This book has been banned since 1992;
4. *Ethnic Problems in Inner Mongolia* ---- A Mongolian book by Mr. Muunohai, an ethnic Mongolian prominent dissident who had served 8 years jail, using Marxism to analyze the Chinese authorities ethnic policy in Inner Mongolia. This book has been banned since 1995;
5. *Prisoners Outside the Prison* ---- A Mongolian book by Mr. Unag, publishing some ethnic Mongolian dissidents' articles, has been banned since 1998;
6. *I Have Nothing Wrong, Never!* ---- A Mongolian poetry anthology by Mr. Chingdalai, expressing his strong desire to basic human rights and fundamental freedom, has been banned since 1999;
7. *I Am From Harahorin* ---- A Mongolian poetry anthology by Mr. Ulziitogtoh, describing his dream of freedom, has been banned since 2001;
8. *The Truth of the Cultural Revolution's "Unearthing the Inner Mongolian Revolutionary Party Members" and "Cracking Down Traitor groups" Movements in Inner Mongolia* ---- A book by Mr. Bayantai, revealing the truth of the Chinese Communist Party's massacre against ethnic Mongolian population in Inner Mongolia during the Cultural Revolution, has been banned since July 2002;

- Banned books:

1. *Voice of Southern Mongolia*---- A Mongolian language magazine by the Southern Mongolian Democratic Alliance, publishing dissident's articles and human rights documents, has been banned since 1995;
2. *History of The Great Mongolia* ---- A Mongolian language magazine edited by the Mongolian scholars, publishing Mongolian history, has been banned since 1997;

3. *The Freedom-Seeking People* ---- A Mongolian language magazine by college students in Huhhot City, publishing ethnic Mongolian student's articles regarding freedom, has been banned since 1992;

- Banned movies and videos:

1. *The Great Mongol* ---- A documentary film made in Japan and translated into Chinese in Taiwan, showing the different version of Mongolian history, has been banned since 1992;
2. *Tsokht Taij* ---- A Mongolian movie made in Mongolia, describing the Mongolian hero Tsokht Taij who tried to unify Inner and Outer Mongolia centuries ago, has been banned since 1990s;
3. *Queen Manduhai Tsetsen* ---- A Mongolian movie made in Mongolia, telling the story of Queen Manduhai Tsetsen who tried to unify all of Mongolian tribes centuries ago, has been banned since 1993;
4. *A Beautiful White Yurt* ---- A Mongolian movie made by Inner Mongolian Film Making Corporation, has been banned since 1996 because one of the scenes in the film "over emotionally describes the relationship between Inner Mongolians and Outer Mongolians";

- Blocked Internet sites and e-news:

1. www.innermongolia.org ---- website of the Inner Mongolian People's Party, the largest exiled organization established by Inner Mongolian political refugees in the United States. This site has been blocked since 1997;
2. Southern Mongolian Watch ---- an e-mail based magazine edited by the Southern Mongolian Human Rights Information Center (SMHRIC) publishing Inner Mongolian human rights situation and general human rights issues, has been blocked by the Chinese Internet police since 2001;
3. <http://www.caccp.org> ---- website of the Florida based Citizens Against Communist Chinese Propaganda (CACCP), has been blocked since 1998;
4. <http://www.taklamakan.org/mutti-1> ----a website regarding Southern Mongolian, Tibetans, Eastern Turkestan and Taiwan's issues, has been blocked since 2001;
5. <http://southernmongolia.hypermart.net/forum/mainpage.pl> ---- An Internet forum called "Southern Mongolian Forum" (later changed to "Inner Mongolian Cultural Saloon") created by the Inner Mongolians in abroad, has been blocked since 2001;
6. www.voa.gov and www.rfa.org ---- websites of Voice of America and Radio Free Asia have been blocked since they were created;
7. www.smhric.org ---- website of the Southern Mongolian Human Rights Information Center (SMHRIC), blocked since October 2002;
8. www.mongolculture.com ---- an Internet forum created by Inner Mongolian intellectuals in Inner Mongolia, discussing about Mongolian cultural issues, has been blocked before the Chinese Communist Party's 16 th National Congress in November 2002;

- Bookstores, reading clubs, and Internet cafés shut down:

1. *Mongolian Study Bookstore* ---- A bookstore owned by Mr. Hada, president of the Southern Mongolian Democratic Alliance (SMDA), and his wife Mrs. Xinna, has been shut down and demolished by the authorities after the SMDA was cracked down in 1995;
 2. *Mongolian Students Reading Club* ---- A free academic association established by ethnic Mongolian students in Huhhot City, has been cracked down and announced as "an illegal organization" since 2001;
 3. *Blue City Internet Café* ---- An Internet café providing ethnic Mongolians with low price Internet access, has been shut down and announced as illegal business since 2001;
- Books, video tapes, computers and copy machines confiscated:
 1. Mongolian Study Bookstore's all books valued at 200,000 Yuan (approximately 23,000 US dollars) were confiscated by the authorities without any compensation after the crack down of the SMDA in 1995;
 2. Mongolian Students Reading Club's more than 500 books and other facilities such as copy machine and computers have been confiscated after its crack down in 2001;
 3. Blue City Internet Café's 47 computers, 2 copy machines and other facilities were confiscated by the authorities in 2001;
 4. According to the ethnic Mongolian victims, thousands of video tapes of "The Great Mongolia", "Manduhai Tsesten", and "The Great Mongol" have been taken back from the buyers and retail stores without any compensation;
 5. According to many ethnic Mongolian readers, thousands of Mongolian books such as "Kang Sheng and the False Case of the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party", "Prisoners Outside the Prison", "I Have Nothing Wrong, Never!" have been taken back from the buyers and bookstores without any compensation;
 6. According to the November 7, 2002's report of the Chinese official news, Xinhua News, in order to welcome the China's 16th National People's Congress, Inner Mongolian authorities has conducted a 10-month long so-called "Publication Market Cleansing Movement", and confiscated and burned 50,000 books and magazines. The report also says, many book stores have been shut down;
 - Ethnic Mongolian victims of the Chinese authorities' violations against free speech, free press, and free assembly:
 1. Mr. Hada ---- Author of "Way Out of Southern Mongolia", also the president of the Southern Mongolian Democratic Alliance, has been sent to 15 years jail. Currently, he is still serving his imprisonment in Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region No.4 Prison in Chi Feng City;
 2. , Mr. Tegexi ---- Vice president of the Southern Mongolian Democratic Alliance and the editor of "Voice of Southern Mongolia", has been sent to 10 years jail since 1995. Currently, he is still in a jail near Huhhot City;
 3. 70 members of the Southern Mongolian Democratic Alliance were detained respectively 6 months to 3 days in 1995 for the so-called "illegal association, illegal gathering, illegal lecturing";

4. Mrs. Xinna ---- Wife of Mr. Hada, co-owner of "Mongolian Study Bookstore", had been detained three times for total length of 99 days for receiving Voice of America's telephone interview in 1996;
5. Hutsuntegus ---- A leader of the Ih Ju League National Culture Society who tried to legally register the organization, has been sent to 5 years jail for "illegal publish and illegal propaganda". In 1991, he translated and distributed a book called "Do Not Forget, Extinguished If Forget!";
6. Wang Manglai ---- Another leader of the Ih Ju League National Culture Society, has been charged 3 years jail for the same reason;
7. 26 key individuals of the Ih Ju League National Culture Society were put under house arrest in 1991;
8. Ulaan Shovuu ---- A teacher at Inner Mongolian University, has been sent to 5 years jail for "passing on confidential document to foreigner" in 1991. In fact, the so-called "confidential document" is a document regarding the authorities' violation against ethnic Mongolian basic human rights and fundamental freedom;
9. Zhang Haiquan ---- A Mongolian student at Inner Mongolian University were detained 5 months for writing a 4-word sentence, "Min Zhu Wan Sui" which means "Long Live Democracy!", on his classroom blackboard in 1992;
10. Unag ---- Author of "Prisoners Outside the Prison", had been detained three times for more than 9 months and brutally tortured during the detention;
11. Chingdalai ---- Author of "I Have Nothing Wrong, Never!", had been detained for 6 months in 2001 and brutally tortured by the police for expressing his desire to freedom;
12. Ulziitogtoh ---- Author of " I Am From Harahorin", had been detained for 3 months and now still being under house arrest for expressing his "strong national sentiment" through the book;
13. Altanbulag and Badarangui ---- Two young musicians, was arrested in 2001 for "distributing the splittism materials". In fact, the so-called "splittism materials" are some open letters by ethnic Mongolian dissidents;