

# **CRACKDOWN IN INNER MONGOLIA**

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**July 1991**

**An Asia Watch Report**

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## CRACKDOWN IN INNER MONGOLIA

### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

On May 11, 1991, the top Communist Party authorities in China's Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (IMAR) ordered a major crackdown on two small organizations which had been recently formed by ethnic Mongolian intellectuals and Party cadres in the region. The organizations were called the *Ih Ju League National Culture Society* and the *Bayannur League National Modernization Society*.<sup>2</sup> On May 15, Huchuntegus and Wang Manglai, two leaders of the *Ih Ju League National Culture Society* were arrested, and 26 other members of the society's provisional council were placed under house arrest. As of late May, they were being investigated by the security police. Details of the crackdown against the National Modernization Society are not yet known, but the authorities have depicted the group as being more radical in its demands than its *Ih Ju* counterpart, so official repression may have been more severe.

The two organizations, which had tried to register legally with the authorities, were dedicated to researching and promoting traditional Mongolian culture and identity. In an internal document, however, the authorities branded them as "splittist" and "subversive" groups whose real aim was to promote the secession of the Mongolian ethnic minority areas of China and to bring about the disintegration of China.

Asia Watch has obtained a copy, marked "top secret", of the internal Party directive ordering this crackdown, together with the handwritten text of an appeal issued 10 days after the crackdown began, on May 21, 1991, by a group called the *Inner Mongolian League for the Defense of Human Rights*. Full translations of both these documents are presented below, along with a namelist of the 26 people placed under house arrest. Also included are extracts from another key internal Party document (Document No. 28) on Inner Mongolia, dated August 5, 1981, which assesses the appalling damage inflicted on the region during the Cultural Revolution. According to this document, 790,000 people from throughout the region "were directly incarcerated, struggled against or kept incommunicado under investigation...Of these 22,900 people died and 120,000 were maimed. During the period of 'unearthing and ferreting out,' close to 1,000 herdsman families were forced to move from the frontiers to the interior. As a result, some 1,000 people died..."

This document is significant because its release by central government authorities sparked a major protest movement in late 1981 by Mongolian students opposed to the dominant Han Chinese presence in the region. The 1981 protests in Inner Mongolia were succeeded by others during the 1980s, culminating in large-scale demonstrations there during May-June 1989, at the height of the Tiananmen Square demonstrations in Beijing. The formation and suppression of the two unofficial research groups in *Ih Ju* and *Bayannur* Leagues marks the latest phase in an apparently fast-developing pro-Mongolian ethnic identity movement in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

These documents reveal in remarkable detail a previously unknown history of Mongolian ethnic struggle against Han domination of the region from the time of the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) onwards.

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<sup>1</sup> Asia Watch is grateful to the Tibet Information Network and Jasper Becker for providing valuable background materials for this introduction.

<sup>2</sup> *Ih Ju* and *Bayannur* are places in Inner Mongolia. "League" is an administrative unit; there are eight leagues in Inner Mongolia, each subdivided into "banners."

Observers in the West have long been aware of the independence struggle in Tibet, as evidenced by the demonstrations since 1987 in the streets of Lhasa by Tibetan monks, nuns and others and the subsequent bloody repression of these protests.

Similarly, ethnic unrest among China's Muslim minority peoples, especially in the vast northwestern region of Xinjiang, has also been known for some time. An uprising in April 1990 by Muslims in Baren, near Kashgar in the far west of Xinjiang, led to armed clashes with the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and several dozen deaths. Another major clash was reported in northern Xinjiang in May-June 1991 between Muslim separatist and pro-democracy forces on the one hand and the PLA on the other, which is said to have resulted in several hundred deaths.<sup>3</sup>

Almost no information, however, has been available hitherto concerning ethnic unrest among China's Mongolian minority. Aside from reports of massive abuses inflicted during the Cultural Revolution, the dominant image of the region in the West has tended to be one of smiling herdspeople, colorful ethnic costumes and festival displays of wrestling, horseriding and archery. The documents contained in this report afford an unusual insight into the darker side of contemporary Inner Mongolia. They also reveal the uncompromising determination of Chinese authorities to crush ethnic Mongolian dissent.

Asia Watch is concerned that Huchuntegus and Wang Manglai, the two leaders of the *Ilh Ju League National Culture Society*, have been arrested for their peaceful efforts to promote Mongolian culture and calls for their immediate and unconditional release. It also calls on the Chinese government to allow organizations such as the *Ilh Ju League National Culture Society* and the Bayannur League *National Modernization Society* to function openly, in accordance with the internationally recognized right to freedom of association.

#### **Brief History of the Mongols to 1949**

In the late 12th and early 13th century, the Mongol leader Temujin, later known as Ghengis Khan, used force and diplomacy to unite all the disparate nomadic tribes of the central Asian steppes, including the region now known as Inner Mongolia. By 1280, the legendary Mongol cavalry had created an empire stretching from west of the Caucasus to the Pacific Ocean, including most of present-day China. With the swift collapse of this empire in the mid-14th century came a long period of intertribal conflict and disunity sometimes known as the Mongol Dark Ages.

In the late 16th century, the Mongols converted to Tibetan-style Buddhism, and the title Dalai Lama was first conferred by the Mongol leader of the day. But the Mongolian state continued to disintegrate, and its final collapse in 1635 brought the *khans* or warlords of northern and eastern Mongolia increasingly under the control of the Manchu state, which went on to conquer China. The western Mongols, also known as the Oirat, who lived in present-day northern Xinjiang, were not finally conquered by the Manchu Qing dynasty until 1759.

By the 19th century, Inner Mongolia was becoming increasingly sinicized, while Outer Mongolia, the vast, sparsely populated region north of the Gobi Desert, became a focus of intense diplomatic and trading rivalry between China and Tsarist Russia. By 1911, the Qing dynasty had collapsed, and the following year Outer Mongolia declared its effective independence of China's new warlord regime. At that

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<sup>3</sup> *Cheng Ming*, July 1, 1991; see translation in the BBC's *Summary of World Broadcasts* (SWB), July 3, 1991.

time, apparently, "Chinese troops forcibly stopped Eastern [Inner] Mongolia from joining the new state."<sup>4</sup>

In 1921, Outer Mongolia established itself as the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR). The second Communist state in the world, it quickly fell into the Soviet sphere of influence. Inner Mongolia, meanwhile, had from the 1910s onwards, fallen increasingly under Japanese domination. In response to this threat, 'The warlord governments which ruled northern China from 1911 to 1927 vigorously promoted Chinese colonization of the region. Their main purpose was presumably to assimilate the Mongols of Inner Mongolia...the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai Shek pursued the same policies and thereby alienated the local people.'<sup>5</sup>

After Japan's occupation of Manchuria and its creation of an autonomous Mongol province in western Manchuria, Chiang Kai Shek redoubled his efforts to boost the Han population of Inner Mongolia and control its economy. This in turn prompted the emergence of an Inner Mongolian nationalist movement led by Prince De (De Wang or Demchukdonggrub in Mongolian), a Mongol noble who claimed to be a direct descendant of Ghengis Khan. Prince De was actively supported by the Japanese, who gave him money and weapons. In 1936, Prince De launched an armed uprising against Chinese authority, but it was crushed by the troops of local Chinese warlords.

With the Allied defeat of Japan in 1945, the Chinese Communists with their well-developed system of "base areas" in the northwest were best placed to fill the political vacuum in Inner Mongolia. By May 1, 1947, they had established the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, with a large number of Mongols in key governmental positions. In 1949, the Mongol nationalists under Prince De made one last attempt to set up an independent Inner Mongolian government. It failed, and Prince De fled to the Mongolian People's Republic. Under pressure from Stalin, the MPR extradited Prince De back to China in 1950, and he was imprisoned, together with China's last emperor, Pu Yi, in Fushun Prison. Some accounts say Prince De was pardoned and released in 1963.<sup>6</sup> According to others, he died in prison around that time.<sup>7</sup>

### Inner Mongolia under Communism

After 1949, Inner Mongolia became the showcase of the Communist Party's "minority nationalities" policy. Although the Han Chinese by then outnumbered the Mongols in the region of some six million people by roughly five to one, the majority of government leadership positions were in fact held by Mongols.<sup>8</sup> Ulanhu, a sinicized Mongol who spoke no Mongolian, had been recruited into the Party in the early 1920s, and a strong leadership core of ethnic Mongolian Communists had emerged in subsequent decades. Under Ulanhu's leadership, moderate policies prevailed in the region, at least until Mao's Great

<sup>4</sup> Jasper Becker, *The Lost Country*, Hodder and Stoughton (forthcoming)

<sup>5</sup> Morris Rossabi, *China and Inner Asia: From 1368 to the Present Day* (London:1975), p.246-47.

<sup>6</sup> June Teufel Dreyer, *China's Forty Millions*, Harvard University Press (Cambridge: 1976), p.82

<sup>7</sup> Becker, *op. cit*

<sup>8</sup> "On the eve of the Great Leap, four out of five party secretaries and deputies in the IMAR were Mongols. At the time, the Han population of Inner Mongolia was estimated to have outnumbered the Mongol population by a ratio of approximately seven to one." Dreyer, *op.cit* p.161. The current population of Inner Mongolia is 21.5 million of which 17.3 are Han and 3.3 million are Mongols.

**Leap Forward of 1958**, when leftist zealots arrived from Beijing to impose radical collectivization and pressure the pastoral Mongols to become sedentary farmers. As in other parts of China, the excesses of the Great Leap were quickly reversed, as a desperate, largely manmade famine hit the country in the early 1960s, claiming upwards of 15 million lives nationwide.

With the onset of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, Inner Mongolia entered what was probably its darkest period for centuries. Mao's Red Guards directed their attack against Ulanhu, accusing him of "inciting discord between the Han and Mongol peoples," promoting "national splittism" and advocating a chauvinist policy of "Mongolia for the Mongols." In January 1967, pitched battles between opposing Red Guard factions and others took place in Hohhot, the regional capital, and the army was sent in the following month to quell the disorder, with devastating effect. This military suppression, known as the "February counter-current," was later cited by the Central Committee in Document No. 28 [1981] as one of the three "major and unjust cases" perpetrated upon the Inner Mongolians during the Cultural Revolution. In addition, what little remained of Buddhist culture in the region was suppressed.

The second major injustice was the so-called "case of the Ulanhu anti-Party and treasonous clique." The ultra-leftist attacks on Ulanhu culminated, in the summer and autumn of 1967, in public accusations that he had planned to carry out a "counterrevolutionary coup" on the twentieth anniversary (May 1, 1967) of the founding of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (IMAR) and that he had "plotted to reunite Inner and Outer Mongolia as an independent kingdom with himself as ruler." (The fact that "Ulanhu" means "Red Sun" in Mongolian did not help matters; for the Beijing radicals, there was room for only one "Red Sun" in China, and that was Chairman Mao.) The entire Mongol Communist elite of the region was overthrown, and when, in November 1967, a new ruling body – the IMAR Revolutionary Committee – was formed, it "contained no Mongols among its top leaders, and there were apparently only two Mongols on the committee as a whole."<sup>9</sup> (Ulanhu was rehabilitated in 1973 and restored as leader of the IMAR. He died in 1988.)

The third of the "major and unjust cases" cited by the Party in Document No. 28, their 1981 apologia for the horrors of the Cultural Revolution in Inner Mongolia, was a ferocious campaign waged by Maoist radicals and the army between 1968 and 1969 to "unearth" members of a so-called "New Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party" (NIMPRP). The authorities were later to acknowledge that this alleged insurrectionary Mongol nationalist organization had never in fact existed. But at the time, Maoist radicals insisted that the NIMPRP had penetrated every corner of Inner Mongolian society, and a massive purge ensued. The fictitious NIMPRP was said to be the reincarnation of a shadowy organization which had been active in the 1920s and 1940s.<sup>10</sup>

According to the official indictment brought against the "Gang of Four" at their trial in December 1980, 346,000 persons were wrongfully accused in Inner Mongolia in connection with the fabricated case of the NIMPRP; of these 16,222 were persecuted to death.<sup>11</sup> By one writer's estimate,

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<sup>9</sup> Dreyer, *op.cit* pp.212-213.

<sup>10</sup> For an account of this latter organization, see Dreyer, *op.cit* p.66-67. For its activities in the 1940s, see below, p.17 and Becker, *op.cit*.

<sup>11</sup> see *A Great Trial in China's history*, Beijing 1981. A comparison of death tolls indicates that 5,678 people died, according to the authorities, in the course of the other two "major and unjust cases."

If the Mongolian component of the population of Inner Mongolia was 1.45 million in 1965, then more than 20 percent of the Mongolian population was persecuted in connection with this affair, and more than one percent killed...In Inner Mongolia, it was said that the Cultural Revolution had claimed more lives among the Mongols than the massacres of the famed 'Slayer of the Mongols' (a famous Han general) of the Ming dynasty.<sup>12</sup>

According to the dissident appeal of May 21, 1991 (see translation below), as many as 50,000 people may actually have died in Inner Mongolia during Cultural Revolution. In 1969, moreover, more than half of the territory of Inner Mongolia was annexed by the authorities to adjacent, predominantly non-Mongol provinces. It was not restored to Inner Mongolia until 1979. Finally, the serious question of wholesale environmental destruction in Inner Mongolia since 1949 should also be considered. Unchecked Han colonization, the conversion of grasslands to grainfields, overgrazing and indiscriminate tree felling have greatly accelerated the desertification process in the region.<sup>13</sup>

### **Protest Movements in Inner Mongolia since 1981**

In 1980, party leader Hu Yaobang went to Tibet on an inspection tour; he was horrified at the damage caused there by the Cultural Revolution and ordered a thorough investigation to be carried out. As a result, a period of relative liberalization followed in the region. Similarly, Hu ordered an investigation into the situation in Inner Mongolia. The result was the Central Committee's Document No.28 (1981). Appalling though the details in that report were of what transpired in Inner Mongolia between 1967 and 1969, many Mongols evidently regarded the report as a whitewash. They also strongly objected to its failure to place firm restrictions on further Han immigration into the region. According to the May 21, 1991 appeal by the Inner Mongolian League for the Defense of Human Rights:

In the fall of 1981, all Mongolian students of the universities and secondary professional schools in Hohhot, the capital, boycotted classes. Thousands demonstrated in the streets again and again, demanding that the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party recall its Document No. 28. That student movement lasted more than two months. It was the largest student protest movement in all the years since the Communists came to power, prior to the June 4 pro-democracy movement of 1989.

A forthcoming book on the Mongolians contains new information on the 1981 protests.<sup>14</sup> According to a journalist from the MPR recently interviewed in Ulan Bator, the student demonstrators were joined by workers and by Han Chinese opposed to the government. The police tried to suppress the demonstrations with water cannon but did not arrest any of the student leaders until considerably later. A number of student representatives went to Beijing to plead their case with Hu Yaobang, and Hu apparently agreed to meet their demands. These were 1) respect for human rights and full rehabilitation of all those persecuted

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Heberer, *China and Its National Minorities: Autonomy or Assimilation?* (Armonk, NY:1989), pp.27-28.

<sup>13</sup> See Vaclav Smil, *The Bad Earth* (Armonk, NY: 1984).

<sup>14</sup> Jaspar Becker, *The Lost Country*, forthcoming

during the Cultural Revolution; 2) restructuring of the economy to prevent and reverse the turning over of pastureland to agriculture; and 3) an end to resettlement in Inner Mongolia of thousands of Han Chinese who left Tibet on Hu Yaobang's orders.<sup>15</sup> About 10 student demonstrators were reportedly arrested and sentenced to two or three years in labor camps.

In 1984, a pro-independence flyer was circulated to foreign students at Beijing University. It was entitled, "Proclamation of Committee for Formation of Asian Republics' Confederation." Among other things, it said, "You...must know that the Chinese national systematically oppresses national minorities, tried to assimilate them, destroy their culture, tradition, rob them of their historical territories and exhaust all natural resources...Despite the fact that we, the inhabitants of non-Chinese nationalities [sic], count several tens of millions in the territory of the People's Republic of China, it has been simple for the Chinese nation to suppress us because we have not been united, our actions have not been coordinated. In August 1984, however, an event occurred which will make a page in world history. The representatives of non-Chinese nations in the territory of the People's Republic of China agreed on [a] joint course of action in the struggle for the liberation from Chinese oppression and adopted their first programme of action...The final objective of our struggle is the elimination of the existing solution of the question of nationalities and forming an independent Confederation of Asian Republics, independent of the People's Republic of China..."<sup>16</sup>

In 1986, exiled ethnic leaders from the territory of the PRC joined forces to publish a new journal called *Common Voice ("Journal of the Allied Committee of the Peoples of Eastern Turkestan, Mongolia, Manchuria and Tibet presently under China")*.<sup>17</sup> In early August 1987, a Party secretary in Inner Mongolia named Bater and an engineer named Bao Hongguang drove across the border to Sukhbator Aimak in the Mongolian People's Republic. After four days, MPR leaders were forced to extradite them, and they were reportedly sentenced to eight years in prison. Both Bater and Bao, according to one report, had been leaders of the 1981 student protest movement.

In May and June 1989, there were major protests in Inner Mongolia. According to an official "internal circulation" account of the nationwide pro-democracy movement of 1989, more than 10,000 people demonstrated in Hohhot in late May.<sup>18</sup> More than 30 policemen were reportedly injured in the unrest.

The unrest in Inner Mongolia was not, however, halted by the June 4 massacre in Beijing. According to an article by Wang Qun, secretary of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Regional Chinese Communist Party Committee, which appeared in *Renmin Ribao or People's Daily* on May 14, 1990, "Since last spring and summer, there have been two incidents in the Inner Mongolia region in which a small number of people started up trouble. At first a small number of people exploited ethnic issues to stir things up in a vain attempt to destroy nationality solidarity and the unity of the motherland. Then came troubles stirred up by a very small number of people stubbornly adhering to a bourgeois liberalized stand; political turmoil

<sup>15</sup> These instructions from Hu Yaobang were intended as a friendly gesture toward the Tibetans. Figures vary wildly on the number who left. According to one unconfirmed report, as many as 400,000 Han came to Inner Mongolia in the early 1980s; official Chinese figures are 15,000.

<sup>16</sup> This flyer was kindly made available to Asia Watch by the Tibet Information Network in London.

<sup>17</sup> *Jingxin Dongpo De 56 Tian* ("56 Soul-Stirring Days"), State Education Commission (Beijing:1989).

was fomented..."<sup>18</sup>

Between December 1989 and April 1990, according to a report in the Hong Kong newspaper *Cheng Ming*, some 20 rallies and demonstrations demanding democracy and independence had taken place in Inner Mongolia. In early February, according to the article, about 80,000 nomads, students and workers demonstrated in the streets. Two organizations, the *Inner Mongolia National Autonomous Committee* and the *Asia-Mongolian Front for Freedom* were named in the article as leading the drive for independence. Between May 26 and 28, 1990, according to the same article, more than 40,000 people demonstrated in Hohhot. Armed police opened fire, clashes with demonstrators ensued, and more than 200 people were injured. Seven people were reportedly killed.<sup>19</sup>

The catalogue of serious abuses committed by the central authorities in Inner Mongolia since the Cultural Revolution provides, then, the social and political backdrop against which the evident resurgence in the 1980's of ethnic Mongol culturalist and nationalist trends should be viewed. Given the scale of those past abuses, the authorities' suppression in the Ih Ju and Bayannur Leagues of two small study groups formed to promote Mongol culture seems to provide fresh evidence of a government that knows no remorse.

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<sup>18</sup> See *Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB)*, June 6, 1989 and May 17, 1990.

<sup>19</sup> *Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB)*, July 4, 1990 citing a report from *Cheng Ming*, July 1, 1990.

# **Document of the Office of the Inner Mongolia Communist Party Committee/Inner/Party/Office/Issue (1991) No. 13**

## **Circular on the Unearthing of Two Illegal Organizations in Ih Ju and Bayannur Leagues**

**TOP SECRET**

**To the Communist Party committees of the various leagues and municipalities, the various departments and commissions of the Communist Party committee of the [Inner Mongolian] Autonomous Region, and the party groups of the various departments, commissions, offices, agencies and bureaus of the [Inner Mongolian] Autonomous Region and the people's organizations:**

During the recent period, some elements of social instability reappeared in specific areas of our region. In order to call attention of the organizations at various levels and the broad masses of the cadres and people to this fact and arouse their vigilance, and in accordance with the opinion of the Communist Party committee of the region, we now issue the following circular on the recent unearthing of two illegal organizations in Ih Ju and Bayannur Leagues.

### **I. INFORMATION ABOUT THE TWO ILLEGAL ORGANIZATIONS**

Recently, the departments concerned of the autonomous region, working closely with (the authorities of) Ih Ju and Bayannur Leagues, uncovered two illegal organizations: the "Ih Ju League National Culture Society" and the "Modern Nation Association" (also known as "National Modernization Society"). Preliminary investigations show that in March 1991, a preparatory group of eight people was formed on the initiative of several cadres of Ih Ju League to found the "Ih Ju League National Culture Society." They contacted many units and successively applied to the Association of Societies, Association of Literature and the Arts and the Department of Civil Affairs of the league in a vain attempt to gain legal status. They organized, without authorization, a series of activities in the name of the "preparatory Group of the Society." They remained active for more than a year before they were unearthed. Eight backbone members regularly took part in those activities. There were 26 members. Quite a few are party and government cadres; some are members of the Communist Party or the Communist Youth League; most are young cadres.

**The major activities of this illegal organization were:**

(1) Organizing family meetings and lectures. According to our preliminary record, they had organized 12 small-scale family meetings known as "family teas" since last year. They discussed mainly matters related to the founding of the "society." They exchanged reading materials and discussed their understanding of those materials, and talked about "malady of the times." They also organized speeches on specific topics. They termed that period one for "self improvement." Since 1990, they had started organizing lectures on fairly large scale. So far, six of these are known to us.

(2) They drafted, printed and distributed all kinds of illegal propaganda materials. We have so far collected the following: "An Open Letter to Mr. 'Man,'" "An Appeal to All Mongolians South of the Desert for the Renewal of Mongolian Culture," "The Past, Present and Future of Mongolian Culture," etc. Materials distributed in tandem include: foreword to the reprinted articles by B. Bagbar (?), member of the Central Executive Committee of the Mongolian Democratic Party [in Mongolian People's Republic -- tr.] Eight articles by Bagbar were reprinted under the general title of "Do not Forget. Forgetting Means Destruction -- On the Threshold of the 21st Century." The eight articles are : "Greater Russia," "Stalin," "The Mongolia of Tsedenbar," "Political Power of the People," "Cholbasan, the Puppet," "On

### **Subjective Initiative," "Political Power," and "More."**

(3) They established contacts in and outside of the region to extend their influence. In Ih Ju League, they distributed propaganda materials, established contacts and extended their influence primarily through their schoolmates, fellow villagers and acquaintances. They went to Hohhot [capital city of Inner Mongolia] and through their former teacher-student relationship invited college teachers to give "scholarly lectures" on five occasions. They also got in touch with students from Ih Ju League who were studying elsewhere to distribute their illegal propaganda materials in other leagues and cities as well as outside the region. According to our information, they had contacts with students at Xinjiang University and several universities and colleges in Inner Mongolia. They discussed with these students such issues as "The New Mongolian Cultural Movement Emerging in Ordos." In certain areas, their materials were reprinted and distributed. They had also raised funds to the tune of 1,000 *yuan* since the second half of last year.

In addition, some members of the Ih Ju League "National Culture Society," working in collusion with a handful of people in Hohhot, tried in vain to stir up trouble during the "two meetings" [of the People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.] It was discovered on April 16 that they concocted the statement "Why We Advocate the Renewal of Traditional Mongolian Culture" in the name of the society. Usurping the name of the cadres and people working in Hohhot, they wrote a letter to the People's Congress of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region to be printed in Hohhot and presented or distributed during the "two meetings" of the autonomous region.

The "National Modernization Association" [the name given earlier in the document was "National Modernization Society -- the inconsistency is in the original document] in Bayannur League was discovered in April of this year. Most of the members of the "Association" are cadres and teachers of the Rear Ulat Banner. Its major activities included the drafting of a programmatic document "The Tasks of the Mongolian Nation in the Near Term." It was distributed in the banner and several sumus in the vicinity.

The two illegal organizations ostensibly used the discussion of "national culture" and "national modernization" in public. But in fact their erroneous stand and reactionary views and the many illegal activities they engaged in clearly show that their real aim was to oppose the leadership of the Communist Party, the socialist system, to incite a national split and undermine the unification of the motherland.

#### **Following are some of their major problems:**

(1) Opposition to the Communist Party and the party's leadership and opposition to the socialist system. These illegal organizations directed the spearhead of their attack at the party's leadership and the socialist system. They claimed that the Mongolian people "had started to lose massively, or had already lost their national culture," and that this was primarily due to the "tremendous impact of the backward agricultural culture." They talked such nonsense as "In this century, we were forced to accept an alien political culture, and that dealt a heavy blow at our traditional culture, and finally brought on a crisis of the Mongolian culture." As a result of the "serious trampling and aggression by the red communist culture," the "Mongolian culture finally became distorted beyond recognition. . . and was turned into an appendage of the Han culture." They proposed to "renew culture, and that means to renew the social ideology, the social system and the political system." The essence of the above-mentioned views is to abolish Marxism, change the character of socialism and overthrow the leadership of the communist party. In the article "The Tasks of the Mongolian Nation in the Near Term," they put forward the so-called major tasks in the three phases that they visualized. In phase one, "it is planned that in from two to four years, propaganda work will be done in a big way, studies will be made of the strategy and tactics for national prosperity, and the policy and target for national reunification will be determined." In phase two, "it is planned that in from three to five years," "a complete organization will be established which will strive for the prosperity and modernization of the nation," it was unequivocally proposed that a "Mongolian Democratic Party" will be established. In phase three, "the foundation will be laid for the prosperity of the nation," and "fifteen years of hard work will bring about the reunification of the Mongolian nation, and place it in the advanced ranks of the world's nations."

In their view, "the party now in power advocates the policy of 'one country two systems,'" and "East and West

**Germany with different systems have finally become reunified as one country," "now that North and South Korea will also bring about peaceful reunification through negotiations, therefore the present offers "a very opportune moment and favorable conditions for the reunification of the Mongolian nation." "We must under no circumstances let this opportune moment and favorable conditions slip away. This is a key moment, a matter of life and death for our entire nation."**

**They also formulated their most important task as "energetic propaganda work with a long-term target." "First of all, it is necessary to conduct extensive and in-depth education, a national soul-searching." "It is necessary to establish and perfect an all round systematic program for the present and future prosperity of our Mongolian nation." They declared: "If we don't see our own shortcomings, we shall never be able to free ourselves from the oppression and bullying by other nations."**

**Their so-called "strategic principle and strategic method" is "not to miss any opportunity," "and fully utilizing the right to autonomy and the state policy toward the minority nationalities," "to establish a staunch organization" (i.e., the Mongolian Democratic Party). They also declared that "our tactic is to place our backbone forces in the party and government offices, the economic realm, the political and legal departments, and especially the leading posts in every profession."**

**(2) They sowed dissension among the various nationalities, incited nationalist sentiments, created national splits and undermined the unity of the motherland. One of the illegal organizations tried to stir up trouble, saying "our own affairs can only be decided by ourselves and not by the big-wigs or all sorts of isms." They described the Han cadres and people as "presumptuous guests usurping the host's role and occupiers." They incited (the Mongolians) to fight for so-called national independence and freedom.**

**(3) They slandered and hurled invective at the broad masses of Mongolian cadres and people who supported the leadership of the party, upheld the socialist orientation, and safeguarded national unity. They negated the great contributions made by the Mongolian cadres and people to the unprecedented development and progress of their own nation in the course of the prolonged revolutionary struggle and especially in the great cause of socialist construction. In their articles, the illegal organizations slandered the Mongolian nation as "resigning themselves to their fate and attempting and accomplishing nothing," and "having cultivated a servile mentality, relying on others," "disunited," "idle about" "self-important and vacillating now to the left and now to the right." They vilified the Mongolian cadres as "depending on their official position, becoming vassals, walking slowly and talking in a subdued voice before high officials, full of servility, but displaying an arrogance and putting on bureaucratic airs in front of the common people." They described the history of the Mongolian nation since the 17th century, and especially since the beginning of this century, as a complete mess. As human society progressed continuously with the industrial revolution and the rapid advance of science and technology, they asserted, "the Mongolians, and especially those south of the desert, are still using the lasso and the plow. They are wasting their time, accomplishing nothing and getting intoxicated in the life style of the Middle Ages."**

## **II. HOW TO LOOK AT THE TWO ILLEGAL ORGANIZATIONS**

**As a result of great efforts and meticulous work on the part of the comrades from the party committees of Ih Ju and Bayannur Leagues and the league offices as well as the public security and political and law enforcement agencies at the two levels of the autonomous region and the leagues and municipalities, the situation is now under control. But the development itself should set people thinking. Analyzing and summing up experience and drawing the necessary lessons, we are of the opinion that:**

**(1) The two illegal organizations did not surface by accident. They represented the new development of an old problem, the concrete expression of the ideological tendency of national splittism under present conditions. From what they advocate, their arguments and activities, it is clear that they came down in a continuous line as the ideological trend and activities that have undermined national unity and divided the nationalities on several**

occasions in our region since 1981. There were four similar developments of some significance in the last ten years. The first took place in 1981. There were national splittist activities centered round opposition to Document No. 28 issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The second happened in 1987. Some national splittists hijacked vehicles to escape across the border in betrayal of their motherland. The third occurred in 1989 under the direct influence of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalism of recent years. These were national splittist activities centered around direct attacks on the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the party committee and government of the autonomous region. The national splittist activities of the two illegal organizations that were recently unearthed represented the latest of such developments, and these centered on opposing the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system. In addition, there were individual splittists who wrote to the regional party committee leadership, spreading reactionary views, and who openly congratulated the Mongolian Democratic Party on its founding. They did this by usurping the name of the people in Inner Mongolia.

The above-mentioned illegal activities occurred at different times and took different forms. But the essence of the matter remained unchanged. Looking at it in a more profound way, an important reason why national splittist activities, including those of the recently uncovered illegal organizations, took place in our region in recent years, submerged again and emerged again and have still not been rooted out is that they merged with the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalism that has surfaced in our country since 1979. The essence of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalism is the overthrow of the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system, the introduction in China of a multi-party system and eventually the capitalist system. As a result of our deviation for a time when we played "one of our hands hard and the other soft," that reactionary ideological trend spread and for a fairly long period of time was not brought to a halt. It clearly had a very harmful influence in the region. The main thing was that it merged with national splittism and abetted a handful of people who stubbornly undermined national unity and engaged in national splittist activities. Now that this reactionary political ideological trend has long been recognized and spurned by people throughout the country and lost its appeal to the masses, the illegal organizations, in advertising their "national modernization" and "national culture," still upheld the bourgeois liberal view, and advocated "industrialization of the economy, democracy and equality in the political realm, and freedom of thought and independence in culture." They wanted to introduce the so-called "advanced culture" of Western capitalist countries to the Mongolian people. Those who engaged in splittist activities talked about the "May Fourth Movement" and the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalism of recent years in the same breath, and attacked the suppression of the rebellion of 1989 (the Tiananmen Square crackdown) as "yet another attack on reform by tradition." They embellished the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalism as the "second new culture movement" after "May Fourth" claiming that "if this cultural movement peaked with the [TV series] 'River Elegy,' it ended in failure with the Beijing Incident [the June 4, 1989 massacre]. "They called the Lhasa riots staged by the splittists "the independence movement of the Tibetan people" and supported the activities of a few Tibetan splittists to undermine the unity of the motherland. These ideas and the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalism belong to the same system of thought, only they exhibited some local color.

(2) From what we already know, the emergence of these two illegal organizations was not an isolated event. It was closely linked with the activities of hostile domestic and foreign forces trying to subvert, infiltrate and split our country. Hostile international forces have intensified their infiltration and disruptive activities in our country and our region since 1988, and especially since changes in the political situation in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic. In 1985, the "Dalai clique, the "Isa clique"<sup>20</sup> and "Mongolia" met in Switzerland and formed a united front to overthrow the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system. Between the end of 1989 and the beginning of 1990, the "Mongolian Democratic League," the opposition party organization of the Mongolian People's Republic, sent people disguised as traders to our region to establish contacts and stir up trouble, claiming that "the time has come for the reunification of the 'three Mongolias'." In July 1990, "International Alert," the international human rights group, called a conference in London, at which the various hostile international forces

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<sup>20</sup> The reference is to Isa Yusuf Alptekin, elderly exiled leader of the Uighur nationalists. He now lives in Ankara, Turkey, and is one of the organizers of *Common Voice* (see *Introduction*, above.)

colluded to take joint action against Inner Mongolia in the international arena.<sup>21</sup> The infiltration and impact of the above-mentioned word and deed of the hostile international forces in our region are quite obvious. Most of the large quantities of reactionary propaganda materials reprinted by the two illegal organizations which we have recently unearthed came from the Mongolian Democratic Party. For example, the basic view expressed in the articles of B. Bagbar, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Mongolian Democratic Party, is the negation of the communist party, socialism, the Marxist doctrine of scientific socialism and the achievements of the Mongolian people in revolution and construction. Those articles advocate changing the social system and introducing a multi-party system. These ideas and theories constituted an important ideological and theoretical basis for the two illegal organizations in our region. They played a role of reinforcing the national splittist activities of a very few number of people in our region.

(3) The two illegal organizations were characterized by disguise and deception in the way they expressed their political views. Under the signboard of "national modernization" and "renewal of national culture", and in the name of "academic organization" and "academic activities," they tried to make their activities legitimate. Many of their political views were expressed disguised as cultural views. For example, they held that the decline of the traditional stock breeding culture of the Mongolian people was the result of the impact of the agricultural culture of the Han people, and that led to dependency and stagnation of the entire Mongolian nation. They therefore held that "maintaining the characteristics and independence of (its) national culture" was of the utmost importance for the independence, freedom and prosperity of a nation. On the surface, these views appear to be of only cultural significance, whereas in fact they were expressing in a roundabout way their political stand of undermining national unity, splitting the motherland, and breaking away from the socialist system led by the communist party. Again for example, in describing the history of the development of the Mongolian people and their culture under different social systems, the illegal organizations blurred class alignments, ignored class contents and distorted the antagonism and conflict between the reactionary ruling class and working people of the various nationalities as the cultural antagonism and conflict between one nation and another, in an attempt to show that the estrangement and conflict between the Mongolian and the Han people were of long standing. The holders of these views in fact harbored malicious intent to undermine the relations between nationalities, sow dissension among nationalities in order to split the unification of the motherland. Compared with previous national splittist activities, they disguised their political stand as "renewal of national culture." They were more tactful in formulating their views. This gave them a certain duplicity and deceptiveness.

From our analysis above, it is clear that our struggle against these illegal organizations is in fact the continuation of our struggle against bourgeois liberalism. It is the concrete expression of the struggle between subversion and anti-subversion, infiltration and anti-infiltration, peaceful evolution and anti-peaceful evolution in our region. From the characteristics of the activities of these two illegal organizations, we can clearly see the prolonged nature, complexity and difficulty of this political struggle. The unearthing of these two illegal organizations once again sounded the alarm for us. Speaking of our Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the present political and economic situation is good, the foundation of the party, the cadres and national unity is also good. But the fact that we are located on the northern frontier of our motherland and that ours is a region of minority nationality, all kinds of objective factors have placed us in a forward position in the fight against subversion, infiltration and peaceful evolution staged by hostile international and domestic forces. Therefore, we must not lower our guard against the activities of hostile international and domestic forces to infiltrate, subvert and split our country.

### **III. HANDLING THE ILLEGAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE MAJOR TASKS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED**

The party committee and government of the autonomous region and the party committees and governments of Ih Ju and Bayannur Leagues have attached great importance to the matter since the surfacing of the two illegal

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<sup>21</sup> The International Alert conference was sponsored by British and other European parliamentarians and by the U.S. Congressional Human Rights Foundation, among others.

organizations. They called many meetings to hear reports from the departments concerned in the leagues and the autonomous region, carefully analyzed the cases, and made timely arrangements for investigation and handling. The party committee of the autonomous region also promptly reported the cases, together with its suggestions for handling the matter, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

(1) Immediately announce the outlawing of the two illegal organizations, the "Ih Ju League National Culture Society" and the "Modern Nation Association," confiscate all their propaganda materials, end all their activities, make a thorough study of the background of their emergence and all their activities from the very beginning to the very end and especially of their links with forces outside the region and outside the country, so as to nip the problem in the bud and stabilize the overall situation.

(2) Handle the illegal organizations and their members properly in accordance with the party's principle of seeking truth from the facts, and policy of strictly distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions, and educating and uniting with the greatest majority. As long as they admit their mistakes, the rank and file members will not be prosecuted. The very few backbone members who have previous records and refuse to recant shall be dealt with according to law and on the basis of the facts. At the same time, those backbone bourgeois liberal elements who had escaped punishment must be ferreted out so as to continuously purify our ranks.

(3) A restricted circular should be issued on these two illegal organizations, using them as a negative example in educating the broad masses of the cadres and people in patriotism, socialism, nationalities theory and the policy toward the nationalities. It is especially important to organize cadres at various levels to study seriously the ninth of the twelve basic experiences of socialism expounded in the proposals on the Eighth Five-Year Plan and the Ten-year Program adopted by the Seventh Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Committee, so that they can carry out the party's policies toward the minority nationalities completely and accurately.

(4) Focus on educating students of the various types of schools in patriotism, national unity and the policy toward the nationalities. Educate the children and young adults so that they would love the party, socialism, the great motherland and become socialist successors loyal to the party, the people and the motherland. At the very heart of the matter is the building of a teacher corps, and the key to this is the successful building of the party organizations in the schools, so that they can embody the firm leadership of the party.

The above circular may be communicated orally to party members of the rank of department chief and above by the party committees of the various leagues and municipalities, the party groups and committees of the offices directly under the autonomous region. Studies and discussions should be organized in accordance with point three of the above suggestions. How the circular is communicated and discussions carried out should be promptly reported to the office of the party committee of the region.

Office of the Inner Mongolia Communist Party Committee

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# **Appeal and Statement of the Inner Mongolian League for the Defense of Human Rights**

**May 21, 1991**

In accordance with the instructions issued by Li Peng and others that "harsh methods and even extreme measures may be taken" in dealing with the Mongolians, the Chinese Communist Party Committee of Inner Mongolia issued a top secret document on May 11, 1991, which declared that two Mongolian "illegal organizations" have been "unearthed." The leaders of these two organizations have now been arrested and thrown into prison. The Preparatory Group for the founding of the Ih Ju League National Culture Society, which has been declared an "illegal organization" in the document, was in fact an open learned society of Mongolian intellectuals, college students and cadres. Between September 1990 and March 1991, they sponsored several scholarly conferences and academic lectures in the Dongsheng area of Ih Ju League. These were warmly greeted by the local intellectual and educational circles, and as many as hundreds attended them. Huchuntegus and Wang Manglai, leaders of the Preparatory Group were arrested at their homes on the evening of May 15, 1991. The freedom of 26 other members is being strictly restricted. They were ordered by the authorities not to keep in touch with the outside world, not to leave the places where they live, and be ready at all times to be subpoenaed and questioned. It is said that some of them will also be arrested.

According to reliable sources, the authorities suspect that there are also "illegal organizations" and "national splittist cliques" organized by the Mongolians in Hohhot, the capital city and other leagues and municipalities in Inner Mongolia. The authorities believe that they are working in collusion with the Outer Mongolian Democratic Party and other "reactionary international forces." More people have now been blacklisted throughout the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Many are under surveillance and being followed or have been secretly investigated and questioned. Certain learned societies also face the fate of being banned or forcibly disbanded because most of their members are Mongolians.

Wang Qun, the present secretary of the communist party in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, is using high-handed methods to intimidate and threaten Mongolian intellectuals and cadres. Many Mongolians fear this incident may evolve into a campaign of political persecution. It has not only effectively silenced the Mongolian intellectuals but also caused great unease among certain high-level Mongolian officials. This is because their memory of the massacre known as "unearthing the new Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party" in which tens of thousands of people were killed 22 years ago is still fresh. Mongolians hope that their plight will cause concern on the part of the international community. Under the present circumstances, any voice of concern and any form of practical assistance from the democratic countries and the various human rights organizations will inspire and encourage the people here.

## **HUCHUNTEGUS AND WANG MANGLAI FOUNDERS OF THE IH JU LEAGUE NATIONAL CULTURE SOCIETY BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES**

### **Huchuntegus**

**Male, born in Taoli Sumu, Wushen Banner, Ih Ju League, Inner Mongolia, in 1956.**

**1974: studied at the Inner Mongolian College for Professional Training in the Mongolian Language.**

**1976: taught at the Wushen Banner Middle School for the Nationalities in Ih Ju League.**

**1978-1987:** studied in the department of political education of the Inner Mongolian Normal College. In 1981, he was one of the major leaders of the student movement against "Document No. 28" (issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on August 5, 1981, see excerpts below).

**1982:** returned to teach at the Wushen Banner Middle School for the Nationalities after graduation.

**1982-1984:** imprisoned for two years for arousing and organizing the herdsmen to fight against mining and factory construction on the grassland by the authorities.

**1985-1986:** returned to work at the Wushen Banner Middle School for the Nationalities after release from prison.

**1986-1991:** worked for the research office of the Ih Ju League Department of Education.

**May 15, 1991:** once again thrown into prison for making preparations for the founding of the Ih Ju League National Culture Society.

#### **Wang Manglai**

**Male, 30 years old.**

**1985:** graduated from the department of Mongolian language and literature of the Inner Mongolian Normal College. Became graduate student after successfully passing entrance examination. Graduated in 1988 and earned the master's degree in literature. Assigned to work for the Department of education of Ih Ju League that same year.

**May 15, 1991:** arrested at the same time as Huchuntegus.

### **OTHER MONGOLIAN STUDENT LEADERS STILL BEING PERSECUTED AND INCARCERATED**

#### **Xi Haiming (alias Temuchiletu)**

**Male, born 1956 in Hohhot, but a native of Senaiman Banner, Zhelimu League, Inner Mongolia.**

**1977:** entered department of history of the University of Inner Mongolia after successfully passing entrance examination. He was not assigned work after graduation in 1982 because he took part in the student movement of 1981. In the nine years since then he has been under constant surveillance and followed. He started a small bookstore in 1988, trying to make a living. But in the summer of the following year, the bookstore was closed by the authorities under the pretext of "no stores in the vicinity of a school." The authorities also persecuted his family members. In 1983, his girlfriend (whom he later married), Tao Li, graduated from the department of foreign languages of the University of Inner Mongolia. She could have stayed on to teach at the university. But instead she was assigned to work elsewhere on account of her boy friend. In 1987, Tao Li passed the examination for overseas study in Japan, but was disqualified because she was Xi Haiming's wife. Even Xi Haiming's three-year-old daughter was questioned and harassed by the police because of her father.

#### **Bater**

**Male, born 1956 in Hohhot.**

**1978: entered the department of economics of the University of Inner Mongolia. Was a student leader in 1981. Assigned to work for the government planning commission of Silingol League in 1982 upon graduation. In the summer of 1987, he escaped to Outer Mongolia to seek political asylum, but was extradited back to China and was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. He is still in prison.**

### **Bao Hongguang**

**Male, born 1956 in Hohhot.**

**1982: graduated from the Engineering College of Inner Mongolia. He was a student leader in 1981. In 1987, he escaped to Outer Mongolia together with Bater, and was extradited back to China. He was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment and is still incarcerated.**

## **THE HISTORY OF INNER MONGOLIA AND THE PRESENT SITUATION: SOME BACKGROUND MATERIAL**

### **The Independence of Outer Mongolia and the Rule of Inner Mongolia by China**

**The division between Outer and Inner Mongolia began only when the Ching Dynasty began ruling the Mongolians. In 1911, Outer Mongolia launched an independence movement, to which many leagues and banners of Inner Mongolia responded. They were brutally suppressed and massacred by the Chinese. In 1921, Outer Mongolia again became independent. There were several attempts by the Inner Mongolians to achieve independence, but all failed. The government of the Republic of China carried out colonial rule over this region between 1912 and 1949. After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Inner Mongolia became an autonomous region of China.**

### **The Founding of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region**

**In their fight for independence, the Mongolian people of Inner Mongolia have since the very beginning made autonomy for all of Inner Mongolia the political goal of their nation and fought long and hard for its realization. In 1933, the famous Mongol Prince Demchukdonggrub (known in short as Prince De) led the Mongolian people in launching a "movement for a high degree of autonomy for Mongolia." That was a movement for autonomy of the largest scale and the most far-reaching influence in Inner Mongolia. In 1945, after the conclusion of World War II, a large-scale movement was launched to merge (unify) Inner and Outer Mongolia, and the people demanded to join a unified Mongol state. But Outer Mongolia, at the bidding of the Soviet Union, rejected the demand of Inner Mongolia, so the latter turned to fight for autonomy. At the beginning of 1946, the Eastern Mongolian Autonomous Government was founded under the leadership of the Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (better known in its abbreviated form the Neirendang). At the same time, movements and organizations for autonomy of varying sizes emerged in other parts of Inner Mongolia. Then Inner Mongolia became involved in the civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists. The then National government refused to recognize the legitimacy of these autonomous organizations and rejected the Mongolian people's demand for autonomy. The various movements for autonomy in Inner Mongolia came under the control of the Chinese Communist Party one after another.**

**In May 1947, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government was founded in eastern Inner Mongolia under the guidance of the Chinese Communists, and Ulanfu, a veteran Chinese Communist, became its president. At the end of the '40s, most of eastern Inner Mongolia came under its jurisdiction. During the '50s, Mao Zedong gradually placed the western part of Inner Mongolia under the jurisdiction of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region out of his consideration for Outer Mongolia and other political needs. The capital city of the autonomous region was moved to Hohhot. The present area of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region is 1.18 million square kilometers, with a population of 21.6 million, of whom 3.6 million are Mongolians.**

## **History of the Han Migration to Inner Mongolia**

Up until the end of the 17th century, almost all residents in Inner Mongolia were Mongolians. The law of the Ching Dynasty prohibited the Han people to enter Mongolia. By the mid-18th century, a few Han peasants were employed by Mongolians in the border areas to engage in farming. Han migration had gradually increased since the 19th century. The Han population, however, was still smaller than that of the Mongolians and was concentrated in a few southern leagues and banners. With the advent of the 20th century, the central government encouraged Han migration to Mongolia and forced some Mongolians to give up their land. Han migration increased rapidly, and its total number soon became twice the size of the Mongolian population. However, up until the 1940s, the Han people were still concentrated in the southern agricultural areas, and there were very few Han people in the other parts of Mongolia.

In the forty years since the communists came to power, Han migration has been the largest and most rapid. After mid-50s, the Chinese Government began large-scale migration into Inner Mongolia in a planned way. The proportion of the Han people rose steadily. In 1949, the ratio between Mongolian and Han population in Inner Mongolia was 1:5 (it was 1:1 in eastern Inner Mongolia in the area under the jurisdiction of the former Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government). By 1962, that ratio became 1:7. According China's fourth census, the present Inner Mongolian population was 21.6 million, of which 3.6 million were Mongolians, and among these were hundreds of thousands of Hans who were re-classified as Mongolians. That figure, therefore, does not reflect the real number of the Mongolians.

## **China's Policy Toward the Minority Nationalities**

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese communists have pursued a policy of "regional national autonomy." Over the years, however, the people of Mongolia, Xinjiang and Tibet never enjoyed political, economic or cultural autonomy for a single day. All the decisions were made in Beijing. The autonomous power of these autonomous regions is actually smaller than that of the various inland provinces and regions. History of the past forty years and more shows that China's policy toward the minority nationalities only serves one single purpose: to occupy the land and resources of these nationalities, and move the surplus population in the inland areas to those nationalities areas as much as possible, and to assimilate the real masters of these land and resources -- the Mongolians, Uighurs, Tibetans and other non-Han people. The so-called policy of "national regional autonomy" is simply a hoax. China's policy toward the minority nationalities is essentially a most despicable mixture of authoritarianism and colonialism. For forty years, the people of Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang and Tibet have been the victims of that policy. They experienced great hardship and suffered untold losses.

## **Inner Mongolia Before the Cultural Revolution**

During the 50s and the beginning of the 60s, Inner Mongolia was China's "model autonomous region," a window to display its policy of "national regional autonomy" to the outside world and to the other minority nationalities. Ulanfu, the president of the autonomous region, was a Mongolian. Mongolians also made up a certain percentage of the cadres of the various government offices of the autonomous region. But they could not do anything before asking Beijing for instructions and receiving permission from communist Han officials. Their status and role were in fact no different from those of the officials of the inland provinces. And this is not all. The proportion of Mongolians in governments at the various levels actually declined year after year. In 1950, Mongolians made up more than 80 per cent of the autonomous region's high-ranking officials. By mid-50s, that proportion fell to about 60 per cent. By mid-60s, it fell to about 50 per cent. Even so, the Mongolians were still considered unreliable. In the late '50s, a number of Mongolian intellectuals and cadres were labeled "national splittist elements" or "national rightists" and

purged and punished. In 1965, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party began purging Ulanfu and some other high-ranking Mongolian officials.

### **The "Massacre" of "Unearthing the New Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party"**

After the Cultural Revolution got under way in 1966, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and the ultra leftists hoped to take advantage of that opportunity to solve the "Inner Mongolian Problem" once and for all. In 1966, Ulanfu and a large number of Mongolian officials were labeled a "reactionary gang" and deprived of their jobs and freedom. In the spring of 1967, a large number of People's Liberation Army troops marched into Inner Mongolia. General Teng Haiping, commander of that Han army, became the chairman of the newly established Inner Mongolian Revolutionary Committee. At the instruction of Beijing, Teng Haiping launched in 1968 a campaign to "unearth Ulanfu's sinister line and liquidate Ulanfu's pernicious influence." That winter, the campaign evolved into one for unearthing the non-existent "New Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party." With Beijing's support, General Teng Haiping used army troops, ultra leftists and hoodlums in a large-scale persecution and massacre of the Mongolian people.

During the high tide of unearthing the "New Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party" campaign between the end of 1968 and May 1969, the Mongolians were thrown into extreme terror. Thousands of Mongolian men and women, even teen-age boys and girls were taken from their homes or work places, imprisoned, insulted and tortured. The activists of the campaign to unearth the "New Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party" forced their victims to admit that they were members of that party and name others. Many people, who suffered indescribable torture, and were still unwilling to drag in the others, or who could not stand the humiliation and torture any more, took their own lives.

Several months later, the intensity and absurdity of that national persecution – one seldom seen in the entire history of mankind, made even the despots uncomfortable. In late May of 1969, Mao Zedong issued a directive to Teng Haiping, telling him the political campaign had gotten out of hand. That mad persecution began to moderate. Some people were allowed to go home to their loved ones. But others remained in prison, many of them until the mid-70s.

According to the official figures released in 1981, in that persecution, more than half a million people were incarcerated, more than 16,000 people died, and tens of thousands were injured and crippled. Other unofficial statistics show that as many as 50,000 people might have died, and that does not include those injured and crippled people who returned home and died later, and those children and the old and the weak who died because of lack of care. As a point of reference, the Mongolian population in Inner Mongolia at that time was only 2 million.

That catastrophe caused permanent damage to the Mongolian nation. Many people died, many were injured and crippled, and the injury to people's hearts may never be healed. The damage to those children who lost their parents or other loved ones, or were separated from them, was unmeasurable.

But those Chinese communists who were responsible for all this never apologized, nor even showed a trace of compunction. They also never reviewed their policy toward the nationalities. At that time, Mao Zedong only casually described it as having gotten out of control. Zhou Enlai later said that the campaign to "unearth the New Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party" was not a mistake; only it went too far. During the last stage of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese communists rehabilitated the victims of the campaign to "unearth the New Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party," but still blamed it on Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four," who had fallen from power. Even though the Mongolians have time and again asked that Teng Haiping, the culprit directly responsible for the catastrophe, be put on trial and more than 10,000 people signed the petition for it, he remains scot free. He is carefully protected and continues to enjoy all the privileges of a high communist official.

After the high tide of the frenzied campaign to "unearth the New Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party" was over, Beijing again took a series of political measures to deal with Inner Mongolia. In the summer of 1969, it

placed Inner Mongolia under military control. Inner Mongolia was dismembered. Most of its territory was incorporated into the neighboring provinces.

To fill the vacancies left by the departure of many Mongolian officials, the Chinese communists sent many Han cadres from the inland provinces to occupy virtually all the important positions in Inner Mongolia. At the same time, Beijing started production and construction corps and used the garrison troops to open up waste land and grow food grain. In order to grab land for the troops and new immigrants from the inland provinces, the military control authorities forced the Mongolian herdsmen in the border areas to move away and forcibly purchased their livestock at unreasonably low prices. Many families thus lost their pastures, property or even loved ones.

#### **Document No. 28 Issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Mongolian Student Movement**

In the latter part of the 70s, Beijing started to rehabilitate the victims of the Cultural Revolution. Many Mongolian officials regained their positions. Things were also getting better for the Mongolians in other ways. For example, more Mongolians were admitted to schools, etc. But the relatively lenient policy was opposed by the greater Han chauvinists in the Beijing government and by those Han officials who were the beneficiaries of the Cultural Revolution. In accordance with their demand, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued its document No. 28 in 1981. It demanded that people's representatives at various levels be elected and local officials appointed according to the population ratio in Inner Mongolia. This means that Hans would occupy all the key positions in most places in Inner Mongolia. This is so because in the thirty years and more of "national regional autonomy" and the Mongolians as the "masters exercising autonomy," large-scale Han migration changed the population ratio in most of the banners and counties in Inner Mongolia. In all 70-odd banners and counties, only a very few remained, where Mongolians outnumbered the Hans. Yet in that same document, it was instructed that no restraining measure should be taken to keep the migrants from coming to Inner Mongolia from the provinces.

That document No.28 of the Beijing authorities aroused the indignation and protest of the Mongolians. In the fall of 1981, all Mongolian students of the universities and secondary professional schools in Hohhot, the capital, boycotted the classes. Thousands demonstrated in the streets again and again, demanding that the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party recall its document No. 28. That student movement lasted more than two months. It was the largest student protest movement that took place before the June 4 pro-democracy movement of 1989 in all the years after the communists came to power.

Although that student movement failed to force the Chinese communists to openly recall its document No. 28, . . . . (last three lines of MS illegible)

## **Composition of the Provisional Council for the Establishment of the Ih Ju League's National<sup>22</sup> Cultural Association**

- 1. Name: Wang Buu Shan**  
**Age: 57**  
**Sex: male**  
**Date and place of education:**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: assistant manager; League's Political Council's Committee on Religion**  
**Role within the Provisional Council: Chairman**
  
- 2. Name: Manglai**  
**Age: 30**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1982, Inner Mongolia University; 1985, Inner Mongolia Normal University**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Office of Education**  
**Role within the Provisional Council: Vice Chairman**
  
- 3. Name: Sechnebayar**  
**Age: 29**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1984, Inner Mongolia Normal University**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Chinggis Khan Research Center**  
**Role within the Provisional Council: Vice Chairman**
  
- 4. Name: Huchuntegus**  
**Age: 36**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1983, Inner Mongolia T. C.; Political Affairs Department**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Office of Education**  
**Role within the Provisional Council: Vice Chairman and First Secretary**
  
- 5. Name: Sechenbaatar**  
**Age: 31**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1983, Inner Mongolia Normal University; History**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Mongolian High School**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**
  
- 6. Name: Bayan**  
**Age: 29**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1985, Inner Mongolia University**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Records Office**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

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<sup>22</sup> National should be understood as Mongolian.

7. **Name: Uljel**  
**Age: 28**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1986, Inner Mongolia University**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Political Advisory Committee**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

8. **Name: Altan**  
**Age: 28**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1983, Inner Mongolia University; Language**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Party school**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

9. **Name: Batuchinggel**  
**Age: 27**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1985, Inner Mongolia University; Philosophy**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Party school; Philosophy section**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

10. **Name: Udhaochir**  
**Age: 32**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1983, Inner Mongolia University; Language**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Party school; Scientific Socialism section**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

11. **Name: Sarangua<sup>23</sup>**  
**Age: 25**  
**Sex: Female**  
**Date and place of education: 1985, Inner Mongolia University; Mongolian Language**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Party school**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

12. **Name: Amurheshig**  
**Age: 39**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1969, Uyushin Banner's 1st High School**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: Marin caidam unit, cooperative of Tonegchi, of Toli commune**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

13. **Name: Sechennerbu**  
**Age: 30**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1991 Central Committee's Party school; Economic management**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Office of Investigation**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

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<sup>23</sup> Unclear copy; name may not be spelled correctly.

14. **Name: Hasachingge**  
**Age: 30**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1983, Inner Mongolia Normal University, History**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Mongolian High School**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

15. **Name: Nasun**  
**Age: 39**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1976, Inner Mongolia Special School for Mongolian Language; Translation**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's News Bureau**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

16. **Name: Wang Hashbayar**  
**Age: 34**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1983, League's Health Welfare school**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's 3rd woolen textile factory**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

17. **Name: Haschuluu**  
**Age: 23**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1982, Inner Mongolian Special School for Mongolian Language**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Ordos News Bureau**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

18. **Name: Haserdeni**  
**Age: 28**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1986, League's Special Teacher's School**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Mongolian School**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

19. **Name: Sechentu**  
**Age: 27**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1989, Inner Mongolian Normal University**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Office of Education**  
**Role within the Provisional Council: Assistant First Secretary**

20. **Name: Jiang Peng**  
**Age: 28**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1989, Inner Mongolia Normal University**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's College of Education**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

21. **Name: Oyunbaatar**  
**Age: 24**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1990, Inner Mongolia Special Mongolian Language School**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Second light industry factory**  
**Role within the Provisional Council: Recording secretary**

22. **Name: B. Jorigtu**  
**Age: 25**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1990, Inner Mongolia Normal University; History**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: Recording secretary**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

23. **Name: Jiyang Hung**  
**Age: 23**  
**Sex: Female**  
**Date and place of education: 1990, Inner Mongolia University; Law**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Party school**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

24. **Name: Mandula**  
**Age: 23**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1990, Xinjiang College of Commerce and Economy**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Bank for Commerce and Industry; Dungshiang**  
**Branch** **City**  
**Role within the Provisional Council: Assistant First Secretary**

25. **Name: Sechenbaatar**  
**Age: 23**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1990, Inner Mongolia School for Industry and Marketing**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: Dungshiang City's Office for Commerce and Industry**  
**Role within the Provisional Council:**

26. **Name: Hasbayar**  
**Age: 25**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1990, Xinjiang University; Law**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: League's People's District Court**  
**Role within the Provisional Council: Treasurer**

27. **Name: Oula**  
**Age: 27**  
**Sex: Male**  
**Date and place of education: 1985, League's Mongolian Teacher's School**  
**Occupation/Place of employment: Mongolian Kindergarten**  
**Role within the Provisional Council: Treasurer**

**28. Name: Hashuyag**

**Age:**

**Sex: Male**

**Date and place of education: Inner Mongolia University**

**Occupation/Place of employment: League's Propaganda Bureau**

**Role within the Provisional Council:**

# Document of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Central/Issue [1981] No.28

Secret

## Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Transmitting the "Summary of Minutes of the Discussions of the Secretariat of the Central Committee on Work of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region"

*(This document was only transmitted to the provincial and army levels, which was more restricted than most other documents. In Inner Mongolia, however, it was transmitted to the county and regimental levels. The discussions were held on July 16, 1981, at the 111th meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, chaired by Hu Yaobang. The meeting heard a report by Zhou Hui on the work of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region--see outline of the report below. The letter of transmittal was dated August 3, 1981. The document was issued on August 5, 1981. A total of 10,750 copies were printed. Excerpts follow.)*

The meeting unanimously approves Comrade Zhou Hui's report, and draws the following conclusions:

1. During the '50s and '60s, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region was an advanced region in the country. It was a model autonomous region, where a minority nationality autonomous region practiced national regional autonomy, firmly implemented the party's policy toward the nationalities, and correctly handled the relations among the nationalities, thereby exerting a favorable impact both at home and abroad. Later it took a roundabout course in its work as a result of the influence of the leftist guiding ideology. The heavy industries grew too rapidly and stock breeding suffered; production in the entire region was adversely affected. During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" fabricated three major unjust cases and persecuted people on trumped up charges. The three cases were:

the so-called "Ulanfu anti-party treason clique," the "February counter current in Inner Mongolia" and (unearthing) the "New Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party." Many cadres and people, and especially Mongolian cadres and people, were devastated. Many people were killed, crippled or injured. Inner Mongolia was one of the country's "disaster areas". . . .

2. The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region should have the courage to compete politically and economically with the Mongolian People's Republic. . . . The Central Committee holds that this competition is of great political significance. It is a matter of competition between the Chinese Communist Party and Soviet hegemonism, a matter of who really advocates Marxism and who is a sham Marxist, a matter of consolidating the frontline of national defense. . . .

3. The party, cadres and people of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region should have sufficient confidence in successfully building Inner Mongolia. . . .

4. The guiding principles of building Inner Mongolia. . . .

**5. The principle for solving the population problem suggested in the "Outline of the Report on the Work in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region" is a correct one. The principle of not encouraging people to migrate to Inner Mongolia is a correct one. But Inner Mongolia should not adopt a policy of trying to block natural migration from the other provinces to Inner Mongolia. One should realize that it is impossible to block natural population flows. In the future, as work in Inner Mongolia proves successful and people become more affluent, more people from the other provinces will move to Inner Mongolia. It is expected that the Inner Mongolian population will exceed 20 million in ten years. Those who have moved to Inner Mongolia on their own should be properly settled and well taken care of. They should be allowed to engage in farming, forestry or stock breeding, but must not try to open up virgin soil. They should be educated in the policy toward the nationalities so as to improve the relations among the nationalities.**

**6. Continue to stress the importance of solidifying national unity. It is necessary to give consideration not only to the 2 million Mongolians who make up the "main body," but also to the 16 million Hans and other nationalities. For the Han cadres in Inner Mongolia, they must realize that work cannot be successful without the minority cadres. For the minority cadres in Inner Mongolia, they also must realize that work in Inner Mongolia cannot be successful without the Han cadres. Han and minority cadres must continue to solidify their unity so as to become as close to one another as brothers and sisters and depend on one another for survival. In appointing cadres, minority cadres must make up a certain percentage at the autonomous region level. They must make up the main body where the minorities live in a compact community. Han cadres should make up the main body where Hans live in a compact community. In a word, solidifying national unity is the key to success in the construction of Inner Mongolia; it is also the key to consolidating frontier defense to protect the motherland.**

**7. Importance must be attached to scientific research and the development of education. . . .**

**8. This Summary of minutes should be issued, together with the report on work in Inner Mongolia, to the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions as well as the various ministries and commissions of the central government for reference.**

## **Outline of the Report on Work of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region**

**(Report by Comrade Zhou Hui in the morning of July 16, 1981 to the Secretariat of the Central Committee)**

**In my report to the Central Committee, I would like to deal with two issues, one concerning political matters, and the other deals with economic construction. The two are interrelated, and both are closely connected with the nationalities question. . . .**

**(I)**

**Even though construction and work in Inner Mongolia suffered tremendous losses and faced difficulties as a result of the impact of the "left" errors and mistakes in work, and especially the ten-year catastrophe of Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four," work as a whole has progressed in the past thirty years and more. . . .**

**(II)**

**Since the Third Plenum of the Central Committee, we have...accomplished three major tasks:**

**1. We have thoroughly redressed the three major unjust and mishandled cases:the case of "Ulanfu anti-party and treasonous clique," "the February countercurrent in Inner Mongolia" and the "New Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party". (Throughout the region, 790,000 people were directly incarcerated, struggled against, or kept incommunicado under investigation mainly as a result of these three major cases. Of these, 22,900 had died and 120,000 were crippled. During the period of "unearthing and ferreting out" close to 1,000 herdsmen families were forced to move from the frontiers to the interior. As a result, some 1,000 people died.). . . .**

**In accordance with the written instruction on properly handling the case of unearthing the "New Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party" issued by the Central Committee and the spirit of Document No. 48 issued in 1978 by the Central Committee, we investigated and dealt with "four categories of people" (criminal offenders who had committed murder; former landlords and rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and evil elements who had engaged in class vengeance; elements who engaged in personal vendetta with serious consequences and must be punished to satisfy popular demand). In all 1,102 people were investigated and dealt with, of these 416 were convicted on criminal charges.**

**2. We have begun readjusting our principles and policies for economic construction. . . .**

**3. We have reshuffled the leading groups at the various levels in an initial way, appointed some younger cadres who support the party line, and we have paid special attention to selecting many minority cadres. At the present time, 37.5 per cent of the chairman and vice-chairmen of the standing committee of the people's congress of the autonomous region are minority cadres; 45 per cent of the president and vice-presidents of the government are minority cadres; and 50 per cent of the chairman and vice-chairmen of the people's political consultative conference are minority cadres; they also make up 52 per cent of the leaders of the people's organizations. Minorities make up 44.8 per cent and 47.4 per cent respectively of the leaders of the party committees of the leagues and municipalities and the banners and counties. They make up 51.7 per cent and 44.2 per cent respectively of the leaders of governments of the leagues and municipalities and banners and counties. The overwhelming majority of the leaders of the leagues and banners in the stock breeding, forestry and hunting areas are minorities. Among the leaders of the various departments, commissions and offices of the communist party committee of the autonomous region, 28.2 per cent are minority cadres. Minorities constitute 36.8 per cent of the leaders of the commissions, offices, departments and bureaus of the autonomous region government.**

... But . . . work is still in progress . . . and much remains to be done. . . .

(II)

As the situation develops, old contradictions are resolved in the main, but new ones stand out. At the present time, there are five problems:

1. The population problem. The rate of growth of the Inner Mongolian population far exceeds the rate of economic growth. Total population increased to 18.7 million from 6 million at the time of liberation. Among them, the number of people depending on the supply of commodity grains rose from 750,000 to some 6 million; the number of people who have moved in from the other provinces plus the natural growth within the region also come to some 6 million. This intensifies the contradiction between the growing population and the limited supply of goods; it also gives rise to certain new contradictions among the nationalities. It is especially acute in the stock breeding and forestry areas. But the important thing is whether the leadership can look at things in an all-round way. Last year, in a few places, those who had moved in from the other provinces, were forced to move out, and that complicated the problem. That was stopped, but the matter is not over. It is a matter that affects both the higher and the lower levels. It remains a major problem that the entire region follows with great interest.

In the opinion of the communist party committee of the region, the general principle for resolving that problem should be one that promotes stability and unity and production growth. Therefore, those migrants who have already moved in, should basically be "digested" on the spot. Arrangements should be made to enable them to engage in production and get on with their lives.

As for those few people who have just arrived, who have no residence cards and no sources of income, and must be persuaded to return to where they came from, their native place should be consulted, and their cases handled with great care. Assistance should be solicited from the relevant ministries and commissions of the central government and the provinces and autonomous regions.

Those few people who committed mistakes in the campaigns should be criticized and educated so that estrangement could be ended and unity strengthened. As for the very few people who had violated the law and discipline, and engaged in beating, smashing and looting, they should be dealt with according to policy and the law.

From now on, the movement of rural population both within and outside the region into cities and towns, stock breeding, forestry or hunting areas should be strictly controlled.

Personnel needed by the industrial and mining enterprises built by the state should strictly be hired from among the local population, with the exception of the specialized technical personnel not locally available. We are formulating the "Regulations for the Management of the Population in Inner Mongolia." With production growth, those personnel that must be hired from outside should be employed strictly according to those regulations.

The Han population must practice family planning. As for the minorities, they should also practice family planning, but with greater flexibility. No limit should be imposed on those minorities who live in compact communities in the forestry, stock breeding and hunting areas. Assistance should be given if they themselves want to practice birth control.

2. The problem of the principle of economic construction. . . .

3. The problem of the system of production responsibility. . . .

4. The problem of education. . . .

In recruiting students for the universities and colleges in the region, the percentage of minority students

accepted should be higher than their population ratio, but not too much higher. Minorities now make up 12 per cent of the population. This year, minorities should make up 20-25 per cent of the new students accepted.

Han students should be encouraged to learn minority languages and vice versa. . . .

Various nationalities should be guided to organize joint activities, and especially activities of young people. Generally speaking, new minority organizations and activities should not proliferate.

**5. The cadre problem.** The conditions of the cadre corps in Inner Mongolia improved considerably in the past two years. But there are still quite a few problems. For example, there is the problem of the so-called "three sides" (east and west Mongolians and the Han people) and "two factions" (conservatives and rebels) formed in the history of Inner Mongolia and during the Cultural Revolution. The existence of these sides and factions is reflected in many places and units from time to time and has been the talk of the region. This is a problem of the unity of the cadres; it is also a problem of national unity, a factor that affects the four modernizations construction.

The contradictions among the nationalities and the regional differences between east and west Mongolia have been formed over a long period of time and are relics of history. They can only be resolved gradually with economic and cultural growth. . . .

At the present time and for a considerable period hereafter, we must continue energetically to propagandize and educate the people in the policy toward the nationalities, with special emphasis on national unity. Cadres of the various nationalities must be guided to work hard to overcome their limitations, exercise self-criticism, do away with factionalism, strengthen their party character and solidify unity.

In all this, the key is the core of the party committee of the region. They must have a high degree of tolerance and magnanimity, a high degree of consciousness, constantly guard against their own limitations, and take the whole situation into account in their decision making, so as to rally the cadres and people around themselves and build Inner Mongolia with one mind and one heart.

Hereafter, it is necessary to continue to cultivate, select and promote minority cadres in accordance with the cadres policy of the Central Committee of the party to select cadres who are loyal to the revolution, who are young, well educated and professionally competent. . . . Leading posts of the standing committee of the people's congress, the government, the people's political consultative conference and people's organizations in the autonomous region and areas where minorities live in compact communities should be occupied, as much as possible, by minority cadres. The same spirit applies to the leading organs and cadres of the party, but must not be mechanically overemphasized. The ratio of Mongolian and other minority cadres should be higher than that of their population. But it is important to have a sense of proportion, and everyone should be included.

To sum up, the problem of correctly handling the relations among the nationalities, i.e., the relations between the "main body" (2.02 million) and the "great majority" (16 million), figures in the handling of either the political or economic problem. We made "left" errors in the past few years, fought against this "ism" or that "ism," blindly waged all kinds of struggles and left deep traumas. It is only after we have set to right things which have been thrown into disorder since the third plenum of the central committee, that things gradually improved.

In order to eliminate the inequalities among the nationalities left over from history, heal the traumas caused by our "left" errors in the past few years, we have to depend, in the last analysis, on economic and cultural development. But there are many problems of policy and work in creating the prerequisites for economic and cultural growth--stability and unity. For example, how do we make regional autonomy really work? We did not work out a "law governing autonomy" in the past. It now seems we must have one. But to legislate a "law governing autonomy," we need to conduct investigations and researches and depend on the masses. We must do it, but it takes time. Therefore, while trying hard to work out a "law governing autonomy," we shall begin with the most urgent problem, and work out

specific regulations such as "regulations of population management, . . . .

**(IV)**

**The situation in Inner Mongolia is good on the whole. . . . We must specifically pay attention to the following three things:**

**1. Work hard to improve agriculture and animal husbandry. . . .**

**2. Readjust and reform, pay special attention to increasing production and income and economizing on expenditures. . . .**

**3. Readjust and reshuffle the leading groups at the various levels in accordance with the Central Committee's policy of selecting cadres who are loyal to the revolution, who are young, well educated and professionally competent. . . . The key to success in every line of work is to select and promote competent middle-aged and young cadres to the leading groups at the various levels.**

**Secretariat of the Office of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Issued on August 5, 1981.**

**Number of copies printed: 10,750**

**The documents published in this report reveal in remarkable detail the previously unknown history of a movement in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region of China to promote Mongolian ethnic identity and struggle against Han domination.**

**The documents include a top secret directive of the Chinese Communist Party dated May 11, 1991, ordering a crackdown on two small cultural organizations called the Ih Ju League National Culture Society and the National Modernization Society. Also included is the text of a handwritten appeal issued 10 days after the crackdown began by a group called the Inner Mongolian League for Human Rights.**

***Crackdown in Inner Mongolia* analyzes the impact of appalling abuses inflicted on the region during the Cultural Revolution, when by the Party's own admission, 790,000 people were detained of whom over 22,000 died and 120,000 were maimed. Excerpts from a 1981 Party document acknowledging these "injustices" are appended to the report. Release of that document sparked a major protest movement in 1981 by Mongolian students, and protests have continued ever since. The suppression of the Ih Ju League National Culture Society and the National Modernization Society marks the most recent effort of the Chinese government to deny freedom of expression and association to minority groups under its control.**

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