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# CHINA'S UYGHUR GENOCIDE AND ITS HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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## China's Uyghur Genocide and its historical perspective

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Since 2014, the Chinese government has started building a massive network of internment camps or "modern high-tech surveillance prisons" across the Uyghur Autonomous Region, and media reported that some of the camps could host up to 10 thousand detainees. According to various estimated sources, up to three million Uyghurs and other Turkic citizens of China were kept illegally in these camps, which are described by the Chinese authorities as "Vocational Education Training Centres" with Chinese characteristics. The existence of such internment camps was first revealed by Western academics, media, and Human Rights organizations in early spring 2017.

There is no dispute about the urgency of the "Uyghur crisis" today in China. It's arguably one of the most severe crimes that a country has openly committed since the Second World War: a kind of slow-motion "genocide" against a specific ethnicity on a massive scale.



But it has a long history that goes back to when China started building its first defensive wall, the "Great Wall of China." When we recall the region's brutal history, the Uyghur crisis is not a new crisis but an old unsolved one that has only come to the world's attention at the beginning of this digital surveillance century.

We have to remember the region's war-torn history while connecting the current tragical events to the past. We have to talk about the historical perspectives of the ongoing Uyghur Genocide. We cannot forget the scars left by the "Great Game" in Central Asia in the 19th century, played by the British, Russian, and Qing empires.

Unfortunately, the Uyghurs' aspiration to independence was not in the interest of these empires. This game ended in October 1949, when the Republic of East Turkistan was fully occupied by newly established Communist China with the direct military support of Stalin's Soviet Union.

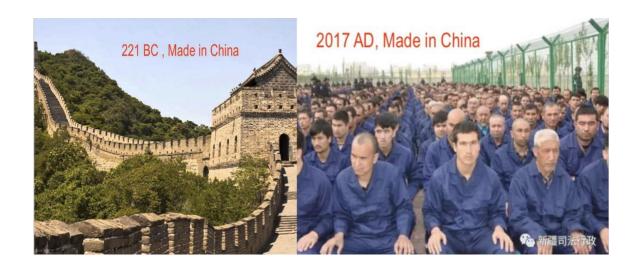
#### So-called Chinese "borderland" and walls and wars

Over two millennia of history, so called the contemporary "North and Western China" and neighbouring territories were fought over by nomadic "Northern peoples," including Huns, Turks, Uyghurs, Mongols, and Manchus. Because of the natural geopolitical and ethnic orientations of the region, throughout history, there were countless wars between steppe people and the Middle Kingdom of the Han Chinese plain. These wars were about gaining control, occupying land, and obtaining natural resources, but they were fueled by nationalism, and the belief that one race or culture is superior to others.

As James Millward argues, "nationalism is about people, land, and the relationship between them. A nationalistic project seeks to define a special relationship between a unique people and a particular piece of the earth's land."<sup>2</sup>

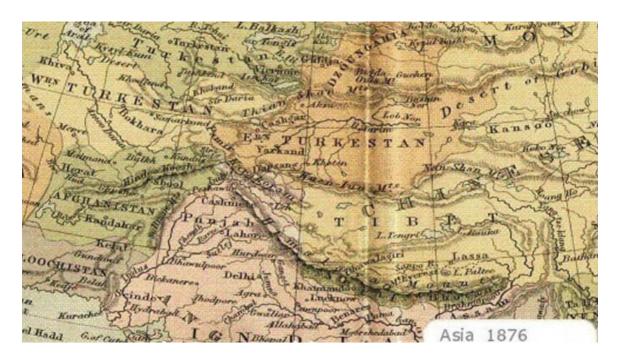
China is commonly known to the outside world by its historic "Great Wall," which is more than 21,000 km long. Chinese emperor Qin Shihuang began to build this wall in 221BC. The purpose of building such a long wall according to Sima Qian, a famous Chinese historian, was to keep out the Huns (Xiongnu - 匈奴 - literal translation from Chinese: Violent slaves).

On 10 March 2017, Xinhua News Agency reported that the Chinese modern emperor Xi Jinping had ordered the construction of a "great wall of iron" around China's Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region to safeguard national unity, ethnic solidarity, and social stability.



#### From Kashgaria to Xinjiang - Chinese "New Territory"

The last two centuries of history in the region have seen many brutal events since the Qing occupation in the 1760s. Often, uprisings and wars were followed by mass revenge killings, and these massacres were mostly racially motivated. For example, Kuropatkin's book "Kashgaria," published in 1882, describes the Manchu general Zuo Zongtang's reconquest of "Kashgaria" (East Turkistan) in the 1870s. He tells how, after Emir Yaqub Beg was defeated, up to one million people were massacred.<sup>3</sup>



Yaqub Beg's Kashgaria - East Turkistan Map 1876. Map by John Bartholmew

#### Re-conquering and Re-designing Uyghurs and their homeland: From the Republic of East Turkistan Republic to the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

On 12 November 1944, Uyghurs and other Turkic people in the northern town of Ghulja established a second "Republic of East Turkistan." This republic had initially received military support from the Soviet Union, designed to bring the Chinese nationalists to the negotiation table with Moscow. However, due to the fast-changing political situation and civil war in China soon after the Second World War, Stalin began to support Mao Zedong and forced the Uyghurs to become part of China. The president of East Turkistan Republic, Akhmetjan Qasim, and another dozen leaders were killed in a "plane crash" while they were on the Soviet plane heading to Beijing to negotiate with Mao Zedong end of August 1949.

Leader of the Republic of East Turkistan Ahmedjan Qasimi. He negotiated about the political future of the Uyghurs with Chiang Kai-shek, president of the Chinese Nationalist Party, on 22 November 1946 in Nanking.



Soon after the "plane crash", Wang Zhen, a nationalist general of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, was sent by Mao Zedong to re-occupy East Turkistan. In October 1949, with direct military support by Stalin's Soviet Union, various forms of resistance by the Uyghur elites, intellectuals and former soldiers of the Republic of East Turkistan were brutally suppressed. During these years, Wang Zhen's army killed hundreds and thousands of Uyghurs and other Turkic people in East Turkistan in the name of land reform and cleaning out the remains of the Chinese Nationalist army.

Beijing rejected the demands of Uyghur politicians and intellectuals to establish a Republic of Uyghuristan as part of China, on the model of Soviet Central Asia Republics. After this, all of them were gradually arrested or killed, expect some who were able to escape to the Soviet Union. On 1 October 1955, the Beijing central government announced the establishment of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.

It is 72 years since the People's Republic of China re-occupied and re-colonized East Turkistan. Despite the establishment of the "Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region," in practice, Uyghurs' demands for political, cultural, and religious freedom, justice, and equal civil rights have been labeled as "pan Turkism," "Pan Islamism," and "Ethnic separatism" and met with ruthless crackdowns. Many of China's so-called minority people's laws and regulations which were written in the Chinese constitution, including "regional autonomy for ethnic minorities," were never respected nor implemented.



Caption from top-left and bottom: China's PLA army enterers to the Qomul (Hami) region to occupy the Republic of East Turkistan on 1st December 1949. Right: Eight thousand Hunan girls heading to Xinjiang are going to be brides.

Since then, the Uyghurs have experienced various forms of oppression under the regime. China has previously used measures of forced assimilation similar to those we see today. During the Cultural Revolution, Uyghur culture and religion was attacked, mosques destroyed, Korans burned, and many people imprisoned.

## The collapse of the Soviet Union and rebirth of hopes of re-establishing an independent Uyghur homeland in the 1990s

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990, a gleam of hope of re-establishing an independent Uyghur homeland was born. Uyghurs witnessed their ethnic kin, Uzbeks, Kazakhs and Kyrgyz, achieve independence overnight. Therefore aspirations for independence grew more assertive, and systematic resistance against the Chinese rule developed among the Uyghurs.



## Ideological turning point: re-writing of Uyghur history and rise of Uyghur nationalism

Before the end of the 1980s, liberalization of academic freedom and tolerance ethnic minority policy in China, a well-known Uyghur historian and poet, Turghun Almas wrote a book about Uyghur history, titled "Uyghurlar" (The Uyghurs). It was published in Urumchi in 1989. It was the first book of its kind to be published under Chinese rule. After the book was published, it hugely influenced Uyghur society, and immediately became very popular. The book was based on Soviet historiography produed during the Sino-Soviet split, that advanced the thesis that the Uyghurs are the historical owner of Xinjiang and should have an independent state. It was also one of the first books to publicize the term East Turkestan, which suggests a kinship to a "West Turkestan" in the independent Central Asian states. In contrast to the official Chinese version of Xinjiang's history, which states that the region was an integral part of China since the Han dynasty, the book takes the Uyghur nationalist view, arguing that many "Uyghur" states throughout history were independent of, or even dominant over, China.

Turghun Almas had used strong evidence, references from both Chinese and Soviet sources to prove various theories, including that the Tarim mummies indicate that the Uyghurs were "older than Chinese civilization itself" and that the Uyghurs invented the compass, gunpowder, papermaking, and printing. It concluded, "If the Jews could reclaim their homeland after 3,000 years, the Uyghurs should be able to reclaim their homeland after 3,000 to 6,000 years".<sup>5</sup>

#### Chinese battle for claiming "Xinjiang" as an inseparable part of China

In response to the Turghun Almas' book's growing popularity among Uyghurs, in February 1991, the Xinjiang Communist Party of China Propaganda Department and the Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences jointly organized an academic conference to discuss the historical claims in *Uyghurlar*, as well as those in two of Almas' other books. The book was banned, and Almas was placed under "virtual house arrest" in Urumchi. Soon after the campaign to criticize Turghun Almas' book, the Xinjiang government hastily published a "Xinjiang local history" (新疆地方史) book for schools and university students for critical study as part of the curriculum. Astonishingly, in the school curriculum before this, there were no history book teachings about Uyghur or the region's history, except learning all Chinese dynasties.

#### From "strike hard" to anti-"splitism" and anti-"terrorism"

During the 1990s China introduced a series of "strike hard" campaigns designed to counter Uyghur independence movements, but Uyghurs never stopped demanding their legitimate civil rights within China. China has tried to legitimize its suppression of Uyghurs' rights in various ways. After the "September 11" terror incident in the US, China used the "war on terror" as a reason for its oppression of the Uyghurs.

As an example of Chinese authorities' relentless policies against the Uyghurs, we can point out two brutal responses to peaceful protests in the region over the last two decades.

#### The Ghulja Massacre and the Urumchi Massacre

"The 5 February Ghulja Massacre" in 1997 was one of the most serious of China's atrocities in the region. In the mid-1990s, Uyghur "meshrep" cultural activities, that aimed to tackle various social problems in Uyghur society, gained momentum among Uyghur youth in Ghulja. In early 1997, many of the Uyghur youth who attended the meshrep were arrested, Uyghurs demonstrated against their arrest, and the Chinese army opened fire on the peaceful demonstrators; an unknown number of people were killed. The army also used water cannon against the crowd in the cold winter, when the temperature in Ghulja was minus 15 degrees, and many demonstrators suffered severe frostbite.<sup>7</sup>

Video clip: 23 years ago from today, "the 5th February Ghulja Massacre" was reported by UK Channel 4 presenter Jon Snow in 1997, London.

http://www.azizisa.org/video/Ghulja\_Channel\_41997.mp4

On 5 July 2009, vicious ethnic clashes occurred in the region's capital of Urumchi following police opening fire on another peaceful demonstration against the killing of Uyghur migrant workers in Shaoguan, Southern China. Soon after this incident, the Chinese government effectively suppressed Uyghurs' demands for justice for Shaoguan killings<sup>8</sup>.

After the "5<sup>th</sup> July" violence, thousands of Han Chinese held protests on the streets of Urumchi. They marched armed with batons and machetes, and shouted "We miss Wang Zhen! Bring another Wang Zhen to Xinjiang!"<sup>9</sup>

Video clip: Urumchi 7<sup>th</sup> July 2009. reported from Urumchi by Lindsey Hilsum for Channel4 on 7<sup>th</sup> July 2009

http://www.azizisa.org/video/Urumqi\_7July2009.mp4

#### Tom Cliff wrote in 2018:

As head of the military government in Xinjiang from 1950 to 1952, Wang Zhen had sized up the Uyghurs as 'a troublemaking minority' and wrote to Mao Zedong advocating that they be 'thoroughly wiped out' to avoid any future problems. Even Mao felt that this was a little extreme - or at least premature - so he redeployed Wang: Now it seems that Mao's successor, Xi Jinping, has found his Wang Zhen. <sup>10</sup>

#### Ghulja massacare in 1997

#### **Urumchi protest 2009**



After 2009, Uyghur and Han residents in the region's cities became self-consciously divided, and mutual hate and suspicion increased. The central government regarded this new crisis as a challenge to the Chinese dream of becoming the world's number one economic and political power. The "Xinjiang work" conference officially took up apartheid policies toward Uyghurs.

When we look at the region's current situation and compare its 200 years of war-torn history, all these events are closely related. They reflect patterns of violence and suppression, followed by assimilation and re-engineering of new generations to align them with Chinese interests and way of life.

## World's largest open prison: build police stations, then concentration camps

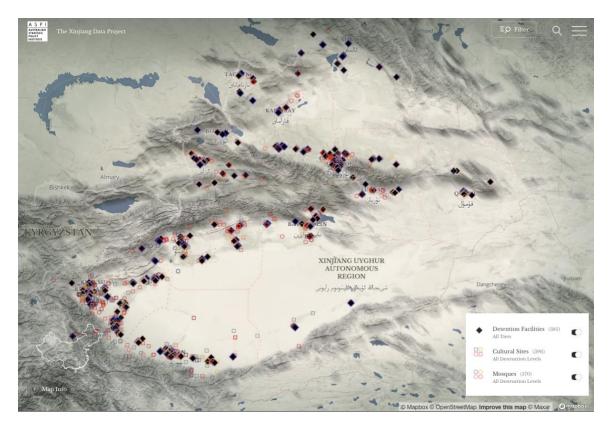
After the "Xinjiang work" conference, the political situation of the Uyghurs has become much worse under Xi Jinping. In 2016, he brought Chen Quanguo from Tibet to Xinjiang and gave him sweeping powers to suppress Uyghur resistance and force assimilation by any means. These policies started in 2016 in the guise of an "anti-terror campaign,"

which aimed to eradicate Uyghur ethnic, cultural, and religious identity and existence, banning Uyghur language schools and closing down mosques.

To eradicate any Uyghur resistance, Chen Quanguo began to build a grid of police stations, 1 for every 100 meters, just as he did in Tibet before 2016. From 2017, Chen Quanguo started building large-scale "concentration camps."

ABC News agency reported on 31 Oct 2018:

"Despite the massive scale of the camps examined in this project, it's likely they make up just a fraction of the detention network in Xinjiang. Estimates of camp numbers range anywhere between 181 to upwards of 1,200." 11



There are reports of many deaths coming out from the camps. We have heard many witness statements by former camp residents like Ömer Békali<sup>12</sup>, and these reveal serious atrocities towards camp inmates.

Now it is estimated that between one to three million innocent Uyghurs, Kazakhs, and other Turkic Muslims, including writers, academics, teachers, and farmers, are kept in these camps. After New Year 2018, Uyghurs in East Turkistan were forbidden to make or receive phone calls from their relatives abroad. All communication for the Uyghurs was cut off.<sup>13</sup>

China has deliberately targeted Uyghur intellectuals, including academics, writers, poets, artists, teachers, and medical doctors. China has claimed that these internment camps are for "re-educating Uyghurs" and for "vocational training," but these intellectuals needed no re-education or vocational training; they are professionals who used to work in the Chinese government. The Chinese authorities' specific targeting of Uyghur scholars reveals that the campaign aims to destroy Uyghur ethnic identity and force them to assimilate.

## Death tolls and sexual abuse of women in the concentration camps are alarming

Mihrigul Tursun, an Uyghur camp survivor, arrived in the USA in September 2018. She gave testimony at a US Congressional Commission in November 2018:

"Unfortunately, I witnessed nine deaths in my cell of 68 people in those three months alone. If my small cell, cell number 210, in a small county, experienced 9 deaths in 3 months, I cannot imagine how many deaths there must be all over my country." <sup>14</sup>

This suggests more than 10% of the detainees in her cell died within a short 3-month period. If this kind of death rate is consistent throughout the camps, then the total number of deaths – among the more than a million detainees - is a secret horror of the Chinese secret camps, which we are still waiting to uncover.

Like myself, there are many sad and tragic stories among the Uyghur diaspora community. In London, there are few hundred Uyghur community members, mostly living in North London. In 2019, I received a message from a friend, saying: "We would like to invite you to come to our house for a funeral. We have received information about my brother's death. He became sick while in a camp, and died two weeks after being released". 15

Video clip: Uyghur activist says: 'We can call this a genocide' - presented by Jon Snow, Channel 4, about the ongoing Uyghur genocide. We spoke to Aziz Isa Elkun, a London-based Uyghur academic, and activist. On 1st October 2020

http://www.azizisa.org/video/UKChannel4\_Elkun01102020.mp4

There have been persistent serious allegations about the sexual abuse of Uyghur and other Turkic women in the internment camps. On 3 February 2021, the BBC reported shocking details of systematic sexual abuse.

It said, "Women in China's "re-education" camps for Uighurs have been systematically raped, sexually abused, and tortured." The BBC interviewed a camp survivor Tursunay Ziawudun, who said:

"Perhaps this is the most unforgettable scar on me forever, I don't even want these words to spill from my mouth." <sup>16</sup>

After the BBC's report, some UK politicians responded in vigorous terms, including the shadow Foreign Office minister Stephen Kinnock, who said that the reports were "a scar on the conscience of the world." <sup>17</sup>

Ms Nus Ghani, Conservative MP, put pressure on the Foreign Office to make a statement. She spoke in Parliament on 4 February and demanded the government take immediate action to save the Uyghurs from the Chinese genocide, introducing an amendment to legislation on international trade. <sup>18</sup>

### China's genocide revealed in documents, persuaded the West, and what's next?

Many Western media have reported on the 'Concentration Camps,' and national governments and the UN have raised concerns, but at UN sessions, Chinese government officials have denied the existence of such camps in the Uyghur region, describing them as "re-education" or "vocational training" centres.

On 16 November 2019, the New York Times published a 403-page set of leaked documents. <sup>19</sup> The detail they provided on the crackdown sparked calls for global action to hold Beijing accountable for the abuses. France called for UN access to Chinese detention camps in Xinjiang. Only the US took state-level action to challenge China's genocide of the Uyghur people.

The US House of Representatives passed a Uighur Human Rights Policy Act in 2019, and just a day before the Trump administration ended its term, on 19 January 2021, the Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo, announced that the Department of State had determined that "genocide and crimes against humanity" had been perpetrated by China against the Uyghur Muslims and other ethnic minorities in Xinjiang. <sup>20</sup> President Joe Biden's incoming Secretary of State, Antony Blinken, quickly voiced his support for the determination. <sup>21</sup>

In the UK, after prolonged pressure on the government by NGO organizations and some MPs, on the 12 January 2021, Foreign Secretary Dominic Raab told MPs that exports would be monitored to ensure goods were not being used in camps where Uyghurs and other minorities were being held.<sup>22</sup>

Another positive step taken by UK politicians are the attempts to introduce a genocide amendment trade bill to allow UK courts to judge whether China is committing genocide on Uyghurs. After a long campaign and many debates, on 2 February 2021, Parliament voted for a second time to amend the trade bill and take a tougher stance on China's human rights record by giving British courts a role in determining whether a country is committing genocide. Any such judicial determination regarding China's abuses against Uyghurs would require the UK to review its trade agreement with Beijing.<sup>23</sup>

#### **Conclusion**

Gardner Bovingdon argues that the episodes of unrest in Xinjiang have not been merely contemporary manifestations of an enduring culture of violence. Nor have they been the product of foreign intrigues. Instead, while the region's conflict has several causes. The system of "regional autonomy" operating in Xinjiang must be seen as a principal source of the unrest. Instead of resolving a longstanding political dispute between Uyghurs advocating independence and the Chinese government, this system has deepened Uyghur discontent and exacerbated the conflict.<sup>24</sup>

Over the 72 years rule by the Chinese Communist Party over East Turkistan (Uyghuristan), regardless of periodic campaigns for "ethnic unity", China has implemented cruel and oppressive policies towards Uyghurs and other Turkic ethnic groups. In recent years we have witnessed a systematic and "slow-motion" cultural and ethnic genocide against Uyghurs. The Chinese government is committing serious crimes against humanity, and the world must hold China accountable.

There have been worldwide calls to take action to stop China's genocide of the Uyghurs as awareness about the Uyghur tragedy has globally increased. There is growing pressure from the international community on China, including NGOs and other Western civil societies that are continuously challenging the regime.

Nowadays, economically successful China has already become the leading challenger to the USA and the leading Western democracies. Many argue that the established world order underpinned by Western democratic values is under severe threat by the authoritarian model promoted by China, which is actively spreading its authoritarianism around the world.

I believe that it is a moral imperative and principal obligation of the world, including all UN member states, to act to prevent genocide. Western democracies should be taking a leading role in this. The world cannot afford to allow any country to commit crimes against humanity without challenge.

#### Read the article from Aziz Isa Elkun's website:

www.azizisa.org/en/china-uyghur-genocide-and-its-historical-perspective

www.azizisa.org/china-uyghur-genocide-and-historical-perspective.pdf

#### Sources

<sup>1</sup> RFA revealed that Kuchar County is home to four large internment camps that can hold between 10,000 and 50,000 detainees, three of which are located in Yengisher district. According to census figures from 2013, some 470,000 people live in Kuchar County.

https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/deaths-10292019181322.html

Xi calls for building "great wall of iron" for Xinjiang's stability http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-03/10/c\_136119256.htm

<sup>2</sup> Xinjiang - China's Muslim borderland: The history of a crossroads region.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A.N.Kuropatkin - Calcutta: Thacker Spink, 1882. First in English. Hardcover. (Eastern or Chinese Turkestan). Historial and geographical sketch of the country, its military strength, industries and trade. 255 pp, ill. One of the earliest and rarest works on this still little known mystical region. https://www.trophyroombooks.com/pages/books/1867/a-kuropatkin/kashgaria

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bellér-Hann, Ildikó Situating the Uyghurs between China and Central Asia Ashgate 21 Dec 2007 ISBN 978-0-7546-7041-4 p.42

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Starr, S. Frederick (2004). <u>"Part V. The Indigenous Response"</u>. Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland. <u>M.</u> <u>E. Sharpe</u>. p. 315.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> More than 140 historians, ethnographers, archaeologists, and literature specialists from different ethnic groups in Xinjiang and Beijing scrutinized the research of the book, concluding that it "distorted and falsified history". The government soon publicized a pamphlet and long length articles at "Xinjiang" Daily newspaper called "One Hundred Mistakes of Turghun Almas's *Uyghurlar*" to publicize the book's historical flaws, which had the opposite effect of increasing interest in the book.

<sup>10</sup> Xinjiang Today: Wang Zhen Rides Again? By Tom Cliff. Published on "Made in China" Journal's 6th issue of 2018. "One legend—with a number of variations, as all good legends must have—venerates disproportionate response. According to this story, in 1950, as Wang Zhen's forces were spreading down into Southern Xinjiang, a Han man had unthinkingly or insensitively prepared a meal of pork in an Uyghur village, and was killed or badly beaten for the transgression. Upon hearing about this, Wang Zhen had his troops surround the village so no one could escape. He then forced the villagers to hand over the perpetrators and publicly executed them in the village square. Next, he had his troops slaughter two or three pigs and boil them up in a large cauldron; at bayonet point, the troops then forced each and every remaining resident of the village to eat a bowl of boiled pork. Given the shortage of meat to feed his own soldiers, this was surely a high-cost exercise. "

https://www.chinoiresie.info/xinjiang-today-wang-zhen-rides-again https://madeinchinajournal.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Made-in-China-01-2018.pdf

11 China's frontier of fear - ABC News agency reported on 31 Oct 2018: "Despite the massive scale of the camps examined in this project, it's likely they make up just a fraction of the detention network in Xinjiang. Estimates of camp numbers range anywhere between 181 to upwards of 1,200." <a href="https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-11-01/satellite-images-expose-chinas-network-of-re-education-camps/10432924">https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-11-01/satellite-images-expose-chinas-network-of-re-education-camps/10432924</a>

In September 2019, expert estimates China Has more than 1,000 internment camps for Xinjiang Uyghurs. <a href="https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/zenz-11122019161147.html">https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/zenz-11122019161147.html</a>

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 Omer Bekali - China Tribunal - UN Human Rights Council: https://youtu.be/18rbnZrekPo

China Sending Muslims to Internment Camps – Associated Press <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kMsE235VXGY">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kMsE235VXGY</a>

<sup>13</sup> Uighurs in China: 'I didn't even know if my mum was alive' Aziz Isa Elkun is one of many Uighur Muslims living in London who have been cut off from contacting their families based in Xinjiang. <a href="https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-england-london-51532812">https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-england-london-51532812</a>

<sup>14</sup> Video: In Full – Ex-Xinjiang detainee Mihrigul Tursun's full testimony at the US congressional hearing <a href="https://www.hongkongfp.com/2018/12/08/video-full-ex-xinjiang-detainee-mihrigul-tursuns-full-testimony-us-congressional-hearing/">https://www.hongkongfp.com/2018/12/08/video-full-ex-xinjiang-detainee-mihrigul-tursuns-full-testimony-us-congressional-hearing/</a>

Uyghur refugee tells of death and fear inside China's Xinjiang camps https://edition.cnn.com/2019/01/18/asia/uyghur-china-detention-center-intl/index.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Down a Narrow Road: Identity and Masculinity in a Uyghur Community in Xinjiang China https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1x07w8b

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> China: Long-standing Uighur grievances behind repeated protests must be addressed <a href="https://www.amnesty.org.uk/blogs/countdown-china/china-long-standing-uighur-grievances-behind-repeated-protests-must-be">https://www.amnesty.org.uk/blogs/countdown-china/china-long-standing-uighur-grievances-behind-repeated-protests-must-be</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 'Invitation to a Mourning Ceremony': Perspectives on the Uyghur Internet RACHEL HARRIS and AZIZ ISA. Inner Asia Vol. 13, No. 1, SPECIAL ISSUE: XINJIANG AND SOUTHWEST CHINA (2011), pp. 27-49 Published by: Brill https://www.jstor.org/stable/24572134

<sup>15</sup> 'Pure evil': Satellites show destroyed Uyghur graves in China <a href="https://edition.cnm.com/2020/01/02/asia/xinjiang-uyghur-graveyards-china-intl-hnk/index.html">https://edition.cnm.com/2020/01/02/asia/xinjiang-uyghur-graveyards-china-intl-hnk/index.html</a>

<sup>16</sup> 'Their goal is to destroy everyone': Uighur camp detainees allege systematic rape <a href="https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-55794071">https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-55794071</a>

<sup>17</sup> UK under renewed pressure to impose sanctions in wake of 'clearly evil acts' against Uighur and Muslim women

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<sup>18</sup> Nus Ghani: China and genocide. Our new proposal answers Ministers' objections. So they should support it.

https://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2021/02/nus-ghani-china-and-genocide-our-new-proposal-answers-ministers-objections-so-they-should-support-it.html https://twitter.com/Nus Ghani/status/1357423134480162819?s=20

<sup>19</sup> 'Absolutely No Mercy': Leaked Files Expose How China Organized Mass Detentions of Muslims

More than 400 pages of internal Chinese documents provide an unprecedented inside look at the crackdown on ethnic minorities in the Xinjiang region. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/16/world/asia/china-xinjiang-documents.html

<sup>20</sup> U.S. Says China Is Committing Genocide Against Uighur Muslims <a href="https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-declares-chinas-treatment-of-uighur-muslims-to-be-genocide-11611081555">https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-declares-chinas-treatment-of-uighur-muslims-to-be-genocide-11611081555</a>

<sup>21</sup> China has committed genocide in its repression of the Uighurs and other mainly Muslim peoples, US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said on Tuesday. President-elect Joe Biden's choice for secretary of state, Antony Blinken, has said he agrees with the finding. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-55723522

<sup>22</sup> UK tightens rules on using Uighur-picked cotton. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-55638566

<sup>23</sup> Lords defeats government over UK courts' role in genocide rulings
Peers vote for second time to amend trade bill and take a tougher stance on China's human rights record
<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/law/2021/feb/02/lords-defeats-government-over-uk-courts-role-in-genocide-rulings">https://www.theguardian.com/law/2021/feb/02/lords-defeats-government-over-uk-courts-role-in-genocide-rulings</a>

<sup>24</sup> Autonomy in Xinjiang: Han Nationalist Imperatives and Uyghur Discontent Gardner Bovingdon. Uyghur discontent and ethnonational conflict in Xinjiang since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Copyright © 2004 by the East-West Center Washington. (page 11)

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