



UYGUR ARAřTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ
ئۇيغۇر تەتقىقات ئىنستىتۇتى
UYGHUR RESEARCH INSTITUTE

GENOCIDE

IN EAST TURKISTAN

REPORT

April 2019



ANKARA - TURKEY



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METHODOLOGY

1. This report's factual findings are based on the Testimonials of Hundreds of Uyghur civilians. Testimonials are defined as a sufficient and reliable body of primary information consistent with first hand and second hand witness reports, which would allow an ordinarily prudent person to reasonably conclude that an incident or pattern of conduct occurred.

2. A vast amount of primary information was collected. The information is comprised of 135 testimonials from direct and indirect victims, both specifically and randomly selected. In order to ascertain the credibility and reliability of the information, it was corroborated by secondary information including from China's state media, expert interviews and information distributed in social media.

3. Information was collected in Turkey, where the majority of Uyghur refugees have fled since 2015 when the Chinese government intensified its persecution of Uyghurs. Information was also collected online and on the phone with those from the Uyghur and Kazak diaspora worldwide.

The report strictly adheres to the principles of independence, impartiality and objectivity. It sought consent from sources on the use of information, ensuring confidentiality as appropriate. Specific attention was paid to the protection of victims and witnesses, considering their well-founded fear of reprisals. For their security, the Uyghur Research Institute has changed the name of the interviewee unless there is consent to use their real name.

LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Facts were assessed in light of international human rights law, international humanitarian law and international criminal law, as applicable in Xinjiang (a.k.a. East Turkistan). We consider that the Chinese government's exclusive state terrorism against the people of East Turkistan (not including Chinese settlers) equates to a total destruction of the Uyghur nation.

CONTEXT

History and Intentions

Xinjiang (a.k.a. East Turkistan) is located in the north west of China, has rich natural resources and is of great strategic significance to China's expansion through central Asia to Europe. East Turkistan is mainly populated with Turkic speaking Muslims.

In 1884, the Qing dynasty of the Manchus formally annexed the territory of East Turkistan and named it "Xinjiang" meaning "new dominated land." Following the 1911 Han Chinese revolution East Turkistan was abandoned by the Manchu government as a Chinese colony. In 1933 and 1945, the people of East Turkistan, the Uyghurs and Kazaks, rose up against Chinese colonization and established the new East Turkistan Republic. In July 1949, the Chinese People's Liberation Army was backed by Stalin and attempted to take over East Turkistan Republic. Leaders of East Turkistan headed by Ahmatjan Kasimi departed to Beijing in August 27 to attend a mediation conference with the Chinese government under the pressure of Stalin. All of those leaders were killed in a mysterious plane crash. One month later, Chinese troops invaded East Turkistan and easily conquered the country, which had lost its strategic leadership.^[1] At that time only 6% population of the region was Han Chinese, and the people of East Turkistan never accepted Chinese dominion.^[2]

According to Raphael Lemkin's definition of genocide, genocide is not solely physical killing as stated in Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide:^[3]

[1] Donald Hugh McMillen, "Chinese Communist Power and Policy in Sinkiang 1949-73", Revolutionary Regionalism, Mishigan, Xerox University Microfilm International, 1976, p.46

[2] < 1949年以后新中国向新疆汉族移民的类型与功效>、民间藏事、2010年11月10日、<http://tibet.woeser.com/?p=23210>

[3] Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 9 December 1948, U.N.T.S. 277 (entered into force 12 January 1951) [Genocide Convention]

“Genocide is not necessarily a means to the destruction of nation, accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended destruction of essential foundations of life of national group that creates social death; imposition of the national pattern or identity of dominator for total transformation. The objectives of such a plan would be the disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups.”^[4]

Historically prolonged oppressive crimes against Uyghurs as a racial, religious and cultural group different than Han Chinese may actually prove China’s culpable intent. Not surprisingly, this intention of destroying the existence of the Uyghurs was planned before the Chinese communist party’s invasion of East Turkistan. For example, all nations in Chinese territory including the colonized nation of East Turkistan are referred to as Zhong Hua minzu (Zhong Hua nation) in China’s founding father Sun Zhong Sen’s press release that was published on behalf of the Chinese nationalist party in January 1, 1923,^[5] as well as in Mao’s later essays, in which the term Zhong Hua implied the process of becoming Hua (Chinese).^[6]

The intent to destroy the Uyghur nation is nakedly verbalized by Chinese leaders increasingly in recent years, paralleling China’s rise and gaining confidence in challenging the hegemonic status of the United States.

Even though they have not published or articulated an official written plan to the public about destroying the Uyghur nation, China’s intention was clear however, particularly in labeling Uyghur Muslims as terrorists because of their religious beliefs.

[4] “Raphael Lemkin Defines genocide”, *Genocide watch*, March 14, 2013, <http://genocidewatch.net/2013/03/14/raphael-lemkin-defines-genocide-2/>

[5] 孙中山、〈中国国民党宣言〉(1923年1月1日)、《孙中山全集》第7卷,北京:中华书局、2006:3.

[6] James Leibold, “Reconfiguring Chinese Nationalism: How the Qing frontier and its indigenous became Chinese”, Palgrave macmillan, New York, 2007, p.150

This has been proved when Chinese government officials declared Islam is a mental disease^[7]. Some of the Chinese officials in East Turkistan dehumanized the Uyghurs, and describe their attack on the Uyghur population for mass detention with such terms as “spraying chemicals to kill the weeds”^[8] or “eradicating tumors”^[9]. Similarly, the Chinese ambassador to the United States responded to global criticism about the mass detention of Uyghurs and other Muslims in China’s so-called “re-education camps,” claiming that it is “to change the Uyghur into a normal person.”^[10]

If being a “normal person” means being labeled an extremist and subjected to torture and death, if being a “normal person” means being dehumanized and demoralized and having to convert into Han Chinese ethnicity, If being a “normal person” is to show unconditional obedience to the Chinese state party and transformed into being a Han Chinese, then all of the oppression and inhuman behaviour of the China against the Uyghurs and other Muslims would be “normal” for the Chinese ambassador to the United states. These efforts clearly display his government’s intention of genocide.

Local Chinese officials of Korla city in East Turkistan, called eye witness Mihrigul Tursun^[11] who escaped from a Chinese concentration camp to the USA and told her that her parents would be safe if she returned Korla. During the conversation Mihrigul asked him why she was tortured so badly while

[7] Eric Levitz, “China Declared Islam a Contagious Disease – and Quarantined 1 Million Muslims”, *Intelligencer*, Aug 28, 2018, <http://nymag.com/intelligencer/2018/08/china-muslims-camps-uyghur-communist-party-islam-mental-illness.html>

[8] “Chinese Authorities Jail Four Wealthiest Uyghurs in Xinjiang’s Kashgar in New Purge”, *Radio Free Asia*, Jun 05, 2018, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/wealthiest-01052018144327.html>

[9] Moyu, “‘Eradicate the tumours’: Chinese civilians drive Xinjiang crackdown”, *Agence France Presse*, April 26, 2018, <https://www.afp.com/en/eradicate-tumours-chinese-civilians-drive-xinjiang-crackdown>

[10] Alexandra Ma, “Chinese ambassador to the US says mass surveillance and oppression of Muslim minority is to make them ‘normal persons’”, *Business Insider*, Nov 28, 2018, <https://www.businessinsider.com/china-ambassador-muslim-uyghur-crackdown-make-normal-persons-2018-11>

[11] Mihrigul Tursun is ethnic Uyghur. She was arrested at the airport while she is travelling to East Turkistan with her two month old triplet babies to get her parents support for taking care of her babies. Her children had Egyptian citizenship and the Egyptian consulate rescued her along with her other two kids. She arrived to United States from Egypt after few months and gave congressional testimony about Chinese concentration camps in November 29, 2018.

she was in the concentration camp and what crime she had committed. The Chinese official told her that her only crime is being Uyghur. Many formerly imprisoned Uyghurs who escaped overseas also told us that they didn't know what they had been charged for, but suspect that they had been arrested because they were Uyghur. This intention of destroying Uyghurs, which is manifested by China's racist policies that attack the Uyghur nation just because of their ethnicity and race, fits the context of prevention and punishment of the crimes of genocide article two.^[12] In the light of this, is not difficult to realize that China intends to eradicate Uyghurs and their identity – religion, language and culture, and to extend this eradication to every single Uyghur through a systematic mass detention plan. Particularly, efforts have been made to attack Uyghur intellectual heritage. Since 2016, leading Uyghur intellectuals who have had a major influence on Uyghur culture have been wiped out from Uyghur society and have been prevented from contributing to Uyghur society. The Uyghur Human Rights Project documented the case of 232 Uyghur intellectuals that were arrested between 2017- 2018 including writers, poets, medical doctors, University professors, football players, academic researchers, singers, musicians and lawyers.^[13] Among these 232 intellectuals Halmurat Ghopur, a medical doctor, and Tashpolat Teyip, a university professor, have already been sentenced to death.^[14] In fact, most of these intellectuals had avoided Uyghur politics and did not fit any of China's excuses for arrest and execution. They are physically killing specific members of the nation before they can (or in preparation to) eradicate all members of this nation. However, China's intention is worse than that, since it employs both hidden killings and cultural genocide – both contributing to the destruction of an entire national group. Uyghurs either have to be arrested, tortured, killed or transformed into Han Chinese.

[12] Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 9 December 1948, U.N.T.S. 277 (entered into force 12 January 1951) [Genocide Convention]

[13] Niyaz, K. and Lipes, J., "Chinese Authorities Arrest Xinjiang Intellectual Amid Crackdown on Prominent Uyghurs", *Radio Free Asia*, January 12, 2018, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/arrest01122018152937.html>

[14] "Xinjiang University President Purged Under 'Two-Faced' Officials Campaign", *Radio Free Asia*, Feb 20, 2018, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/university-president-02202018173959.html>

"Our parents are taken away, because they refuse to eat Chinese dumplings that our Han Chinese relatives brought to us during Chinese New Year. The dumplings were made with pork."

This is what 14 year old Otkur from Kucha told his 22 year old brother Elyar in Turkey through we chat video.

"My parents were taken into re-education camps because I was studying abroad. I have no idea what happened to my grandparents and asked my previous Chinese classmate from Beijing to visit my grandparents to see if they still exist. My grandparents are gone, and all the houses are empty in my neighbourhood in Gulja. All of them were sent to a re-education camp. My Chinese classmate learned that even elderly people who are not religious are also sent to camps because they don't speak Chinese and they wear Uyghur hats and have a visible Uyghur identity."

Gul, a university student in England shared her family situation with Uyghur Research Institute.

"Uyghurs are not allowed to practice any kind of cultural ceremonies and scared to do circumcision ceremonies for their male children, or celebrate Uyghur cultural baby showers" said Ekrem, who visited Gulja and Urumchi cities in East Turkistan in 2017 with his Canadian passport.

Geopolitical Ambitions

China's motivation of intention of destroying the Uyghur nation is not only fuelled by racism and opposition to religious and cultural preservation, but also by the Chinese government's geopolitical strategic ambitions. The purpose of the "New Silk Road" or "One Belt, One Road" (OBOR) is to use China's economic power and capital export as leverage to shape its core interest in geostrategic target countries and to export the fascistic form of Han Chinese nationalism. China believes that it cannot gain these imperialistic goals without achieving total Han nationalist dominance in East Turkistan. Because Beijing is aware that East Turkistan is a colonized land and is worried

to lose it, despite there being no independence movement in the region in recent history - most of the major uprisings in East Turkistan in recent years demanded justice and equal treatment rather than independence.^[15] Based on this belief, China is motivated to eliminate Uyghurs and their identity. This motivation shouldn't excuse China's intent to destroy the existence of the Uyghurs, as the concept of genocide includes genocidal intent, requiring that genocidal acts must be based "on grounds of the nationality, racial origin or religious belief of a nation's members"^[16]

SYSTEMATIC ANNIHILATION

Institutionalized state level oppression aimed at the forced assimilation of Uyghurs and other Muslims in East Turkistan began during China's invasion in 1949.

Uyghur Language is Systematically Eliminated

China began its Sinicization strategies in 1949, and has been engaged other ethnic groups in bilingual education with the aim to promote mandarin Han Chinese language (Putonghua) among all ethnic groups.

The Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language Law^[17] (2000) guaranteed to use and develop the original spoken and written languages for all ethnic groups. However, China has been implementing various kinds of measurements for encouraging minority students to get an education in

[15] "Ghulja uprising" and " July 5th Incident" and profile of the respected prominent Uyghur human rights leader Ilham Tohti , April 21, 1999, Asa 17/18/99, <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/3ae6a9eb0.pdf>
<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/12/world/europe/ilham-tohti-uighur-human-rights-award.html>

[16] Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 9 December 1948, U.N.T.S. 277 (entered into force 12 january 1951) [Genocide Convention]

[17] "Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language", *The National people's Congress*, December 11, 2007, http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Law/2007-12/11/content_1383540.htm

the Chinese language. Students are classified into different types according to the education they receive: Min Kao Han (minority students tested in the Chinese language) receive more advantage than Min Kao Min (minority students tested in their own language). For example, they receive additional point scores in university entrance exams, and can choose a better university. The Ministry of Education of China announced the bonus points policy on Gaokao^[18] (university entrance exam website), and promised that Min Kou Han students will get additional 50 points.

From 1977, the Chinese language course for all minority ethnic groups from fourth grade in primary schools began to apply in the Uyghur region. In 1997, China launched a regulation called "Suggestion on Implementing State Distributed Document [1978] No.108 for Student Enrollment". The regulation said that the college entrance exam will be taken in both the ethnic language and the Chinese language for ethnic minority students. From 1960, the Chinese government has been promoting a joint school program for Chinese and minorities, mixing native ethnic students with Han Chinese students in same schools. In 2009, the number of such joint schools in East Turkestan reached 778.^[19]

China has been promoting the Chinese language in Uyghur schools. In 1982, a new regulation was launched requiring minority students taking college entrance exams to attend extra examinations in the Chinese language. In 2001 "State Council's Resolution on Reform of Fundamental Education and Development"^[20] indicated that China will enhance and build "Xinjiang classes" in inner Chinese provinces. In 2004, Chinese authorities in the Uyghur region announced another regulation called "Resolution on Advancing "Bilingual" Education in School Work", deciding to implement Chinese language courses from the first year of elementary school in the

[18] 2018<新疆高考加分照顾政策>、《中国教育在线》、2018年6月8日、http://gaokao.eol.cn/xinjiang/dongtai/201806/t20180608_1606590.shtml

[19] Education Department of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Education Statistics of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Urumqi: Xinjiang Education Department, 2010.10.

[20] <国务院关于基础教育改革与发展的决定>、《中华人民共和国教育部》、2001年5月29日、http://old.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfil/moe/moe_406/200412/4730.html

region. In 2017, the number of students receiving “bilingual” education in schools reached^[21] 2.4039 million; 91.66% of them are minority students in elementary, middle and high schools.

Independent research showed that there are many problems in this “bilingual” education. Parents could not help with children’s study because the parents don’t understand Chinese language. Uyghur parents are saying that their children are reluctant to study in the Chinese language, since they have difficulty understanding what teachers say during classes.

Chinese authorities have been using favorable policies to encourage Uyghurs and other ethnic minority students to enter Han Chinese schools and become Min Kao Han; these policies have resulted in more Chinese speaking Uyghurs, diluting the Uyghur language in the region.

A calculation by Ma Rong based on statistic data of XUAR Bureau of Education from 1998 -2000 indicated that Min Kao Han students dramatically increased during these three years, reaching 3.5 to 4.8 percent in primary, middle and high schools. He cited an example of Moyu County in Hotan, where Uyghur children make up 75% in Han kindergartens, and make up 50% in Han primary schools during that period.^[22]

Another measure which has not been implemented as China as described is “bilingual education.” Authorities gradually implemented their “bilingual” education policy and then induced the shift to monolingual education. As a monolingual education language, the Putonghua (Han Chinese language) was aggressively promoted after the Urumchi riot in the region.

In 2017, RFA confirmed that the Uyghur language is totally banned in all schools of the Hoten district of East Turkestan. The report also mentioned that schools prohibited believing in religion, participating from any kind of

[21] <2017年新疆维吾尔自治区教育事业发展统计公报>、《新疆维吾尔自治区教育厅》、2018年5月7日、<http://www.xjedu.gov.cn/xjjyt/sytj/2018/105865.htm>

[22] Rong, M. A, “The development of minority education and the practice of bilingual education in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region”, *Frontiers of Education in China*, 4(2), 2009, pp.188-251

religious activities, and wearing any kind of religious apparel in preschool education. Chinese language is required for preschool education according to the “Eight Disciplines for Preschool Teachers in Hotan Area”. Another regulation called “Five rules for Mandarin Education in Hotan Area” was set in the education system from primary schools to higher education, so everyone in school is generally required to use the Chinese language and banned from using Uyghur language in public activities as well as during the administration process.^[23]

In 2018, the Chinese Educational Journal, which is a popular educational news website, revealed information that it had acquired from the Xinjiang Educational Bureau. The journalist learned that education in Han Chinese language will be applied for all 2.9419 million compulsory education students in East Turkestan from the same year (2018).^[24]

It has been known that language is a very crucial part of the culture and identity of an ethnic group. Uyghurs believe that the link between the Uyghur language and the Uyghur ethnicity are eternal. Like any other language it has a character, a flavour, a sensitivity, a creativity, and its own uniqueness. Uyghur culture, Uyghur traditional medicine, Uyghur music and songs, Uyghur literature and poems, Uyghur legendary stories and Uyghur histories can only be fully and easily expressed with the Uyghur language. China's harsh policy of banning the Uyghur language causes the inter-generational ethnic cultural continuity of the Uyghurs to vanish. It destroys the Uyghur identity and way of thinking, believing and acting through which Uyghurs can have a valuable contribution to human culture.

From Restriction to Total Ban of Religion

The majority of people in Eastern Turkestan believe in Islam as their religion

[23] <新疆禁止幼教信教 教育系统内禁维语>、《自由亚洲电台》、2017年 9月25日、<https://www.rfa.org/mandarin/yataibaodao/shaoshuminzu/xl1-09252017102937.html>

[24] <新疆今年实现国家通用语言文字教育全覆盖>、《中国教育新闻网》、2018年6月29日、http://www.jyb.cn/zgjyb/201806/t20180629_1131510.html

and follow it as best they can. After China's occupation of Eastern Turkistan, there has been very little room for the population to exercise their freedom of religion. Although the article 36 of Chinese Constitution guarantees freedom of religion, it is in fact limited.^[25] There have been various degrees of attack on religious practitioners, and during the Cultural Revolution there was no opportunity to practice Islam in East Turkistan.

Starting in 1980, China offered a little space for people of East Turkistan to practice their religion and follow their traditions, but even during that time it became illegal to study Islam privately. Official religious practice is closely monitored, and the state has been appointing the religious leaders. Party members were forbidden to practice any religion, and religious practices had to follow state guidelines.

After September 11, 2001, China exploited the War on Terror and religious freedom was severely restricted in East Turkistan. To justify its crackdown against the exercise of Islam, Islam was described as one of the "three vicious things" - religious extremism, terrorism and separatism^[26]. Regular ideological political education were organized by Chinese authorities to ensure that Muslim religious leaders supported the party in terms of participating in religious activities. State employees, students and young people under 18 who were prohibited to perform religious activities under China's Religious Affairs Regulations^[27], which indicated that any religious teachings are prohibited in any public places except religious schools.

China's new anti-terrorism law was adopted in 2015^[28], and several aspects of the law can be directly linked to Islam and led to persecute Muslims more broadly on religious practice. The appointment of Chen Quanguo can be seen

[25] "Constitution of The People's Republic of China", *en.people*, December 4, 1982, <http://en.people.cn/constitution/constitution.html>

[26] Sam DuPont, "China's war on the Three Evil Forces", *Foreign Policy*, JULY 25, 2007 <https://foreignpolicy.com/2007/07/25/chinas-war-on-the-three-evil-forces/>

[27] <宗教事务条例>、《国家宗教事务局》、2017年9月7日、<http://www.sara.gov.cn/xxgk/gkml20170904204343165711/576572.htm>

[28] Stephen Evans, "China passes controversial new anti-terror laws", *BBC*, December 28, 2015, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-35188137>

as part of a decision to reach new high level of repression.^[29] From April 2017, a previously very limited religious freedom in East Turkistan has been subject to further restrictions. In addition to national legislation, the authorities in East Turkistan launched unprecedented “re-education camps” where several million people have been detained in order to abandon their cultural and religious identity by political indoctrination.^[30] Chinese authorities justify its action by relating these to “the three evils” - ethnic separatism, religious extremism and terrorism. A regional De-Extremification Regulation^[31] from April 2017 prohibits a wide range of religious expressions and behaviors. Vague formulations and key concepts that are not defined mean that the legislation can be applied with great arbitrariness and a high degree of unpredictability.

In what may be termed as early reports, there are a number of examples of criteria: those having been asked to pray, possessing religious literature, those who have articulated religious expressions and those having abstained from alcohol and cigarettes were defined as extremist, consequently being sent to “re-education centers”.^[32] All religious activities for Uyghurs, Kazaks and Kirgizs have in practice been banned. Insulting Islamic religious beliefs are widely practiced by forcing Uyghurs to eat non halal foods. For example, the Hoten municipal government set up 24 pork direct sales outlets and planned to supply each outlet with 6 tons of pork each day on the 2019 Chinese new year.^[33] Uyghur Islamic funeral ceremonies were banned and bodies were cremated. Ayzima, 36, who is recently living Turkey told the Uyghur research institute that her uncle was killed in the concentration camp

[29] Roberts, Sean R, “The Biopolitics of China’s “war on terror” and the exclusion of the Uyghurs”, *Tandfonline*, March 22, 2018, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14672715.2018.1454111>

[30] Adrian Zenz, “Xinjiang’s Re-Education and Securitization Campaign: Evidence from Domestic Security Budgets”, The Jamestown Foundation, November 05, 2018, <https://jamestown.org/program/xinjiangs-re-education-and-securitization-campaign-evidence-from-domestic-security-budgets/>

[31] <新疆维吾尔自治区去极端化条例>、人民网、2017年3月30日
<http://xj.people.com.cn/n2/2017/0330/c186332-29942874.html>

[32] Tanner Greer, “48 Ways to Get Sent to a Chinese Concentration Camp”, *Foreignpolicy*, September 13, 2018, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/09/13/48-ways-to-get-sent-to-a-chinese-concentration-camp/>

[33] <春节前和田市肉类、蔬菜储备货丰量足>、*Archive today*、2019年2月3日、<http://archive.fo/UQ36e#selection-21.1-21.18>

and his body was cremated.

The following words are exactly what her mother told her over the phone in July 2017:

“You can’t see your uncle anymore”; we couldn’t see his body even. We had been told his body was cremated. It is happening to many people.”

China also officially have released a list of baby names to crack down^[34] Islamic religion.

“My sister was arrested because her name was Hadiche, and Hadicha is the name of the prophet Muhammad’s wife.”

Amine Dilmurat, who is currently living in Canada, provided the information about her sister’s arrest to the Uyghur Research Institute.

The Religion of Islam is the most significant identity of the Uyghurs and has more than a thousand years of history in East Turkistan. Uyghurs have empowered themselves both emotionally and physically through their strong faith in God. They have enriched their culture though Islam, endured most aggressive colonial oppression and never gave up hope. Individual stability and the Uyghur national soul is sourced from their religious beliefs. China’s attack on the religious freedom of the Uyghurs is destroying Uyghurs’ national values and destroying the Uyghurs’ existence as a nation.

EMBLEMATIC SITUATION

The following section focuses on China’s systematic mass incarceration and killing of Uyghurs in concentration camps, cases of mental and physical harm, and forced removal of Uyghur children.

[34] Benjamin Haas, “China bans religious names for Muslim babies in Xinjiang”, *The Guardian*, April 25, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/25/china-bans-religious-names-for-muslims-babies-in-xinjiang>

1. The 1948 U.N. Convention on the Punishment and Prevention of the Crime of Genocide

Article 2(a) Killing Members of the Group China always claims that East Turkistan was peacefully integrated into China, but the history of East Turkistan is a history of illegal invasion, rebellion and bloody oppression. According to Urumchi Radio report on January 1, 1952, a total of 120,000 enemies of China were eliminated.^[35] Another report from the same radio station in March 1954 said that 30,000 local counter revolutionary insurgents were eliminated in East Turkistan^[36]. That means that within a short period of 14 month after China invaded, a total of 150,000 people in East Turkistan were exterminated as Chinese enemies. Primary and secondary sources among the Uyghurs indicate that from 1960-1963 at least 10,000 Uyghurs were killed by starvation in Aksu city Bay county alone. Countless numbers of Uyghurs were arrested, tortured and killed during the Chinese cultural revolution of the Mao era. Because primary sources for many incidents did not report a specific number killed on each occasion, and instead used vague terms like "several," "many," "the whole village" or "whole county", and because some killings either produced several different death toll estimates or went unreported, we will never know the total number of ethnic Uyghur Muslims and other Muslims killed during the cultural revolution or in other uprising incidents. According to eye witness survivors, several hundred Uyghurs were killed by Chinese soldiers with machine guns during the May incident in 1962. The border between the Soviet Union and China was opened temporarily for 5 days. Ethnic Uyghurs in Ghulja city attempted to flee to the Soviet Union and the border was closed after five days. Thousands of Uyghurs protested the border closure and most of them were killed with machine guns. One of the survivors, who is currently alive, describes the situation as follows:

"Later I learned that hundreds of crowded protestors who had burst into the city's Communist Party courtyard were massacred with machine guns and no one was able to escape. I was in the street and behind the protestors at

[35] Quoted in Central Asian Review, 7:1 (1959), p. 95.

[36] 7HCJP, March 10, 1954, p. 1.

that time. Chinese army trucks came up from each small street and started shooting. I ran very fast and jumped into a dried out riverbed, then hid under the bridge and skipped into somebody's backyard...I rescued myself in that way."

China's genocidal political campaigns against the Uyghur people continued even after the Chinese Cultural Revolution and China's economic reforms. Uyghurs had been arbitrarily arrested and killed in prisons under different names such as "counter – revolutionaries", "local nationalists", "separatists" "illegal religious figures", "fundamentalists" and "terrorists"... Uyghur elites and intellectuals have been persecuted, large numbers of Uyghur youth have been arbitrarily arrested, jailed and executed without any charges, and many of them have been forcibly disappeared.

In 1990, Uyghur farmers in Barin village protested the Chinese government's abortion policy and forced labour. These farmers faced a bloody crackdown. According to a unanimous Han Chinese official's journal that was posted on a Chinese website, more than 3000 Uyghur civilians were arrested and more than 200 of them were executed following the Barin uprising.^[37] This number does not include the number of Uyghurs killed during the uprising itself. The total population of Barin village was more than 10,000 and all of them were ethnic Uyghur. His journal also mentioned a conversation between Chinese army soldiers who had participated in the killings during the Barin uprising. One of the Chinese soldiers from the Chinese construction corps said during the conversation: *"it was very entertaining at that time, we shot whenever we saw humans, didn't matter if they were women or men, elderly or children. Because you cannot identify who is a thug. Uyghurs like to carry knives. If you don't kill them, they might kill you."*

Many other secondary sources from the neighbouring village confirmed the details of the Barin massacre. Barin village was sealed for 3 years and people from other villages were relocated to Barin after these 3 years.

[37] <劫法场-新疆“高旭事件”,《民间藏事》, 2009年7月14日、<http://tibet.woeser.com/?p=8546>

In February, 1997, Uyghur youths in Gulja city protested against the Chinese government's ban on the Uyghur traditional "Meshrep" Party. Hundreds, and possibly thousands, of Uyghurs were killed, imprisoned, or disappeared, after taking part in a peaceful demonstration on February 5, 1997 in the city of Ghulja. Between ten and fifteen thousand demonstrators took part in a peaceful march to protest in support of cultural and religious freedom, and an end to racial discrimination in response to ever more repressive policies and practices against the Uyghurs. Most of the demonstrations were started by young men and later women and children also joined the crowds. Eyewitnesses report that between 300 and 500 demonstrators and bystanders were arrested on 5 February.^[38] Unofficial sources estimates of the number of arrests during the first two weeks of the Ghulja uprising vary from 4000 to over 5,000. Arbitrary arrest and torture immediately following the Ghulja uprising continued for many years; an unknown number of Uyghurs were arbitrarily detained. According to survivor testimonies, at least one or two people were arrested from each Uyghur family resident in Ghulja and many of them were sentenced to life imprisonment, forcibly disappeared or publicly executed.

"I was residing in Urumchi when the Ghulja uprising took place. Later I learned that 9 out of 12 of my male high school classmates had been arrested following the Ghulja uprising; I never heard if any of them had had a trial or been released. They all just disappeared." ... a Canadian woman, who identified her first name as Mevlude, told the Uyghur Research Institute. She managed to emigrate to Canada 19 years ago. Her other female high school classmate who is currently living in Turkey also confirmed the situation.

"My brother was killed one year after the Ghulja uprising. He was shot to death by dozens of Chinese solders because he resisted arrest when solders searched the house. My parents, my elder sister and I were not at home and my 8 years old sister was with him and hid under the bed at the time. She was traumatized and lost the ability to speak." Yasin, who escaped to Kazakhstan, told the Uyghur research

[38] "Gross Violation of Human Rights in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region" Amnesty International, April 1999.
<https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/144000/asa170181999en.pdf>

Institute in march 2017 by phone. We learned later Yasin was taken away by the Chinese police in may 2017 while he was doing business in a “one day bazar” on the China Kazakhstan border.

Amnesty International documented the name of 242 executed Uyghurs between 1997 and 1999. ^[39] This documentation could be only the tip of the iceberg since the Chinese government does not hold public executions for many of the death sentences in order to prevent international criticism.

Enwer Tohti, a medical doctor in Urumchi, who is currently living in England, also gave public testimony to the credible news sources about the execution of Uyghur prisoners:

“I was forced to participate in and witnessed organ harvesting of prisoners in Urumchi, people were alive when I was taking their organs, they moved only slightly, too weak to resist my actions.” ^[40]

The Chinese government has never provided a true account of the massacre that took place during the Ghulja uprising.

Since the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the Chinese authorities have changed their tactics for attacking the Uyghur people by taking advantage of the US led global “war on terror”. The ethnic Uyghur population are subjected to arrest, torture and execution and labeled as three evil forces: “Terrorist”, “Separatist” and “Religious Extremist.” In August 2008, Chinese government extended “Strike Hard” campaigns to all the cities, counties and villages of East Turkestan, intensified house to house searches, and carried out arbitrary arrests and death penalties. ^[41]

In 2009, July fifth, Uyghur youth and students protested and marched in the

[39] Ibid; Amnesty International

[40] “Dr. Enwer Tohti ~ Falun Gong Testimony (ITNJ Seating)”, *International Tribunal for Natural Justice*, June 05, 2018, <https://commission.itnj.org/2018/06/05/dr-enwer-tohti-testimony/>

[41] “Use an Iron Fist to Strike Hard Against Destructive Activities” [Yong tiede shouwan yanli daji pohuai huodong], *Xinjiang Daily*, August 19, 2008.

streets of Urumchi demanding fair treatment for Uyghurs. Protests took place a few days after the Shao Guan incident in southern China in which Uyghur youth who had been transferred by the Chinese government for forced labour were violently killed by Chinese mobs. All the peaceful protestors in Urumchi faced a bloody crackdown by the Chinese army and police forces. The ethnic Han Chinese population in Urumchi supported their government and participated in the violent crackdown on Uyghurs despite the fact that the Uyghur population consisted of only 12% of entire Population of Urumchi. As a result, the Protest turned into an ethnic clash between Han Chinese and Uyghurs. The Chinese government announced in august 2009 that the official death toll was 197 people and most of them were Han Chinese civilians killed by Uyghurs.^[42] Apparently, the Chinese government did not release the accurate number of Uyghurs killed by the Chinese armed forces and Han Chinese civilians. The former president of the World Uyghur Congress stated on the World Street Journal on July 8th that at least 400 Uyghurs had died on July 5th in Urumchi alone, and 100 in Kashgar city based on the organization's credible sources.^[43]

"Anybody who lived in Urumchi during that time knows that gun shots did not stop until the morning of July 6 in 2009. Who has the guns? The Chinese forces of course, not the Uyghurs, and they opened fire against the Uyghurs only ..." Refket, who is currently living in Holland, told the Uyghur Research Institute over the phone.

Kathrin Hille of *The Financial Times* reported back on July 19, 2009 that a source, who had provided briefing to the Chinese Communist Party concerning the crackdown, had informed her that "more than 4,000 Uighurs had been arrested since July 5,"^[44] and several eye witnesses confirmed the number:

[42] "Innocent civilians make up 156 in Urumqi riot death toll", *Xinhua* (in English) (online), Aug. 5, 2009, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-08/05/content_11831350.htm, : "China: 'We Are Afraid to Even Look for Them': Enforced Disappearances in the Wake of Xinjiang's Protests", *Human Rights Watch*, Oct. 2009, p. 21], www.hrw.org/en/reports/2009/10/22/we-are-afraid-even-look-them

[43] Rebiya Kadeer, "The Real Story of the Uighur Riots", *The Wall Street Journal*, July 8, 2009, : <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124701252209109027.html> : "Justice, Justice' July 2009 Protests in Xinjiang China", July, 2010, p20, http://www.observatori.org/paises/pais_81/documentos/asa170272010en.pdf

[44] "China: 'We Are Afraid to Even Look for Them': Enforced Disappearances in the Wake of Xinjiang's Protests", *Human Rights Watch*, Oct. 2009, p. 18, www.hrw.org/en/reports/2009/10/22/we-are-afraid-even-look-them : [quoting and citing Kathrin Hille, "Xinjiang widens crackdown on Uighurs," *Financial Times*, July 19, 2009, and Human Rights

"I saw with my own eyes and I can estimate there were at least more than 3 thousand protestors. People gathered and started from People Square. People started to join and the area from Shandongbei to Beimen was full of protestors at that time. I don't know how many there were in other streets,"^[45] said Ayishe Memet during the phone interview with the Uyghur Research Institute. She is currently living in Turkey.

Human Rights Watch documented the enforced disappearance cases of 43 people after the protest.^[46] In addition, the World Uyghur Congress documented the profiles of 33 Uyghur victims of enforced disappearance in the subsequent years.^[47]

They never had a fair trial and many of them were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment or execution after forced confessions of various crimes or not being loyal to the Chinese state party. *"my brother did not participate in the July 5th incident, he is grade a 9 student, he was only 14 years old and he was wandering about and watching protestors at the front of our house during the July 5th incident was caught on street camera. We were not allowed to participate to his trial. They said he had confessed his crime and sentenced to life. Police refused to inform us of his jail location. We were never able to see him and we don't know if he is still alive"*, Muna Ablimit told Uyghur Research Institute in her oral testimony. She left for Canada after her brother's arrest.

After the July 5th incident in 2009, the Chinese government implemented tight internet security for Uyghurs, strictly controlled information output^[48],

Watch's telephone interview with Kathrin Hille, Sept. 2009].

[45] #2Phone interview with Ayishe Memet, February 2019

[46] "We Are Afraid to Even Look for Them: Enforced Disappearances in the Wake of Xinjiang's Protests", *Human Rights Watch*, 21 October 2009, <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/86103/section/6>

[47] "Vanishing Vulnerable Voices for Years of Impunity Cases of Enforced Disappearances of Civilians in East Turkistan", *World Uyghur Congress*, July 2013, <https://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/wp-content/uploads/Vanishing-Vulnerable-Voices.pdf>

[48] "Xinjiang Authorities Forcefully Suppress Demonstration, Restrict Free Flow of Information" *Congressional Executive Commission on China*, August 6, 2009, <https://www.cecc.gov/publications/commission-analysis/xinjiang-authorities-forcefully-suppress-demonstration-restrict>

and banned Uyghurs from assembly.^[49]

The Chinese government increasingly believes that the US is a super power in decline and that this is an opportunity for China to achieve its imperialistic dream. The new Silk Road initiative of Xi Jinping, the strategy designed for China's dream, has reinforced China's intent to destroy the Uyghur nation. To achieve this geopolitical ambition, China is detaining massive numbers of Uyghurs in concentration camps.

While there is no published data by the Chinese government on concentration camp detainee numbers, information from separate sources allow us to compare and estimate the number of detained people figures between at least more than one million, to probably two million. RFA news reported that 10% of the population^[50] of Kashgar city have been placed in re-education camps, and that the Chinese government also ordered the arrest of 40% of the population^[51] of Hoten region. The percentage of arrests in Kashgar matches the findings of Chinese Human rights defenders. They estimated that roughly 10%^[52] population of Uyghurs are detained based on the data they have solely collected in rural areas of Kashgar prefecture. Hoten and Kashgar are the major cities of Southern East Turkistan that are densely populated with Uyghurs. According to China's 2010 census, the population of Uyghurs in Hoten and Kashgar prefecture totals to 5.9 million, roughly 80% of the Southern^[53] population of East Turkistan are ethnic Uyghurs.

Given the percentages the RFA reports as being arrested, it is likely more

[49] "Urumqi police ban illegal assembly", *Xinhua*, July 11, 2009, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-07/11/content_11693704.htm

[50] "Nearly 10 Percent of Residents of a Xinjiang Township Detained by Chinese Authorities", *Radio Free Asia*, December 14, 2017, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/detained-12142017140125.html>

[51] "Nearly Half of Uyghurs in Xinjiang's Hotan Targeted For Re-Education Camps", *Radio Free Asia*, October 9, 2017, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/camps-10092017164000.html>

[52] "China: Massive Numbers of Uyghurs & Other Ethnic Minorities Forced into Re-education Programs", *Chinese Human rights Defenders*, August 3, 2018, <https://www.nchrd.org/2018/08/china-massive-numbers-of-uyghurs-other-ethnic-minorities-forced-into-re-education-programs/>

[53] "China: Massive Numbers of Uyghurs & Other Ethnic Minorities Forced into Re-education Programs", *Chinese Human rights Defenders*, August 3, 2018, <https://www.nchrd.org/2018/08/china-massive-numbers-of-uyghurs-other-ethnic-minorities-forced-into-re-education-programs/>

than 1.2 million Uyghurs have been placed in so called re-education camps in these two prefectures. The total population of Uyghurs in Southern East Turkistan is 8.9 million and whole Uyghur population in East Turkistan (Xinjiang) is more than 11.3 million ^[54]. Based on the percentage of arrest in Kashgar prefecture, there could be more than one million Uyghurs detained. The percentage of the population arrested may vary between prefectures, however, as Hotan prefecture was heavily targeted and 40% percent of the total Hotan population was arrested. If the estimate is based on the average percentage of total population arrested in Hoten and Kashgar, then approximately more than 2 million or close to 3 million ethnic Uyghurs and other Muslims are detained in East Turkistan and this does not include the number of people who forcibly attended China's mandatory day camps. Adrian Zen figured out that Criminal arrests in East Turkistan account for 21% of all arrests in China (and the East Turkistan population is only 1.5% of all China), meaning the number of arrests of ethnic Uyghurs and other Muslims put under criminal prosecution shockingly high. Adrian Zen twitted the data and confirmed that these figures refer to formal criminal arrests while re-education camp arrests are extralegal and hence separate.^[55] Rapid expansion of concentration camps in size and lack of information about the release of Uyghurs from those camps also suggests that the number who are interned increases daily and it could be higher than our estimation.^[56] The U.S. Congressional-Executive Commission on China^[57] describes it as "the largest mass incarceration of a minority population in the world today".

[54] <最新新疆人口数据（附深度解读）>、《搜狐》、2016年12月20日、http://www.sohu.com/a/122066430_534679

[55] "Criminal Arrests in Xinjiang Account for 21% of China's Total in 2017", *Chinese Human Rights Defenders*, July 25, 2018, <https://www.nchrd.org/2018/07/criminal-arrests-in-xinjiang-account-for-21-of-chinas-total-in-2017>

[56] Note: Australian Strategic Policy Institute analyzed the size of camps and found that they had expanded 465% in size since 2016. "Mapping Xinjinag's Reeducation Camps", *Australian Strategic Policy Analyze*, Nov 1, 2018, <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/mapping-xinjiangs-re-education-camps>

[57] "Chairs Urge Ambassador Branstad to Prioritize Mass Detention of Uyghurs, Including Family Members of Radio Free Asia Employees," *Congressional- Executive Commission on China*, April 3rd, 2018. <https://www.cecc.gov/media-center/press-releases/chairs-urge-ambassador-branstad-to-prioritize-mass-detention-of-uyghurs>

Eye witnesses, media reports and other unofficial sources confirm that many Uyghurs die in camps because of torture, starvation and sleep deprivation.

“We have 68 women in my cell, I have witnessed 9 deaths because of torture in 3 months” said Mihrigul Tursun, the first hand eye witness to have been rescued from a Chinese concentration camp: “we have to take turns to sleep two hours a time at night in the cell. Half of the detainees have to stand up still while the rest of them are sleeping. A young woman fell suddenly while she was standing, and blood came out from her mouth. The police didn’t let us touch her, they didn’t call a doctor. They just pulled her by her two legs and dragged her out. We thought then she might be dead. They have don’t even respect dead bodies. Her head keep hitting on the ground while they dragged her. She is only about 20. Do not know why they brought her there. I have witnessed many such death cases.” [58]

Another witness who was released from the camp for only 24 hours to visit her parents after four months, managed to place quick video call to her friend in Turkey and described the torture and death in the camp:

“They hit me three times a week with belts until some of my skin peeled off. I have witnessed 19 deaths in my cell in four months.”

RFA also reported several deaths in re-education camps. A Uyghur father of two recently died at a re-education camp and a Uyghur teenager was killed in one of the camps^[59] as well.

“My mother was 63 year old healthy woman; she was arrested in January 2017 and killed in March 2018 in a concentration camp. Her body was not returned and was cremated by the Chinese officials”, said Abdul Aziz who currently resides in Canada with his 4 kids; he also told us during the interview

[58] Mihrigul Tursun, exclusive interview : <路德访谈米娜女士：讲述在新疆遭受中共国宝迫害，失去一个几个月大的孩子，被强迫脱衣检查的经历>、 2019 年 1 月18 日、https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P_By_N8U_YY&feature=youtu.be

[59] “Uyghur Teenager Dies in Custody at Political Re-Education Camp”, Radio Free Asia, March 14, 2018, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/teenager-03142018154926.html>

that more than 50 of his direct and indirect family members have been arrested. It is not known if his father and other family members are still alive.^[60]

Bitter Winter, the online magazine on religious liberty and human rights in China published daily in eight languages by CESNUR, the Center for Studies on New Religions headquartered in Torino, learned that 500,000 Uyghur Muslims have been transferred from concentration camps to secret prisons in inland Chinese provinces. Chinese prison guards who reported to Bitter Winter described that detention methods in secret prisons are worse than concentration camps in East Turkistan (Xinjiang). Uyghurs are given electric glove shocks until they admit that they are Chinese, not Uyghur. There is also a clothing item used called a “hedgehog vest” that delivers shocks strong enough to kill. But due to the extreme secrecy, no one knows how many people have been killed.^[61]

Since 2010, The Chinese government has not published statistics about the Uyghurs in East Turkistan. It is not clear how these killings have affected the population growth of the Uyghurs. Since several millions of Uyghurs, men and women of fertility age have been locked up in separate cells for more than two years, the genocidal prevention of Uyghur population reproduction also needs to be considered.

Article 4(2)(b) Causing Serious Bodily or Mental Harm to Members of the Group:

Serious bodily or mental harm to the people of East Turkistan by the Chinese government can be seen in the deprivation their rights as a human beings and in their suffering and torture. Mass detention of Uyghurs in Chinese concentration camps and the conversion of whole East Turkistan into a police state causes serious harm to every Uyghur. Outside of the Chinese concentration camps is not much better than inside the camp: police

[60] Interview with Abdul Aziz, Canada, Nov 2018

[61] Gu Qi, “Uyghur Dispersion and Detention – Worse Than We Thought’ Bitter Winter”, *Bitter Winter*, Feb 1, 2019, <https://bitterwinter.org/uyghur-dispersion-and-detention-worse-than-we-thought/>

have check points^[62] in every corner of the streets and target only Uyghurs. Uyghurs are controlled by face recognition and voice recognition^[63] cameras where ever they go; mandatory spyware is installed in their electronic devices; implemented mass scale of collecting of DNA^[64] samples, finger prints, iris scans, voice samples, and blood types of Uyghurs is also conducted.

The People of East Turkistan are not only controlled physically and mentally with surveillance technology but also by the “twin relationship” policy. More than 1.6 million Han Chinese cadres have been sent to Uyghur and other Muslims homes to live in their homes and spy on them. Gross violation of privacy by sharing individuals beds and homes and invading their personal lives totally destroys their physical and mental autonomy. Those kind of organized policies disempower and isolate Uyghurs and other Muslims and instill horror and helplessness, destroy their self-sense and create dead people without killing.

Almost all of the Uyghurs living outside of China have at least two-to-three relatives detained in these camps. Murder and torture by armed guards is common in Chinese prisons and concentration camps that have quarantined close to two million people. 80% of those arrested have been ordered to be severely punished.^[65]

Based on testimonials and several selected interviews among the 135 former East Turkistan residents conducted by the Uyghur Research Institute including 6 former detainees, the physical and mental harm that have created by the concentration camps are inflicted on every Uyghur. Adila, the Uyghur women

[62] “China has turned Xinjiang into a police state like no other”, *The Economist*, May 31, 2018, <https://www.economist.com/briefing/2018/05/31/china-has-turned-xinjiang-into-a-police-state-like-no-other>

[63] Sigal Samuel, “China Is Going to Outrageous Lengths to Surveil Its Own Citizens”, *The Atlantic*, August 16, 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/08/china-surveillance-technology-muslims/567443/>

[64] Tara Francis Chan, “A Chinese province is collecting DNA and iris scans from all its residents”, *Business Insider*, December 13, 2017, <https://www.businessinsider.com/china-collects-dna-fingerprints-biometrics-from-residents-human-rights-watch-2017-12>

[65] “Nearly 10 Percent of Residents of a Xinjiang Township Detained by Chinese Authorities”, *Radio Free Asia*, December 14, 2017, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/detained-12142017140125.html>

who didn't want to disclose her real name for the safety of her 14 years old sister and mother in East Turkistan, was released from a concentration camp after two months because of her foreign passport. She describes how women are humiliated and demoralized in Chinese concentration camps:^[66]

"They have shaved my head; I was not allowed to wear a bra or underwear under my camp suit. Policemen stripped me and took my naked photo. I am Muslim and I don't even want to show my hair; I felt humiliated, degraded and I hate myself."

"During the interrogation they peeled my skin from my shoulder with some kind of tool; there was no bleeding but extremely painful and it was impossible for any human to tolerate" said Tekin during his phone interview with the Uyghur Research Institute.^[67] He was taken into a re-education camp because police found a photo of an Arab woman with a covered face on his phone at the police check point. "I have no idea where that photo came from, probably from Chinese apps that I have downloaded. But they didn't believe me and keep asking why I kept this photo." He was arrested in Aksu in 2015, "The Chinese concentration camps had just started at that time and had not expanded to all over the East Turkistan yet." He said. Luckily, his father paid a huge bribe to the Chinese police and managed to help him to escape to Europe after two months.

"Before meals, we had to stand and say; 'We feel grateful for the Party, grateful for the Motherland, grateful for President Xi; Long live for President Xi, without Xi Jinping, without the Party we would have nothing!' then we were allowed to sit and eat, and after the food we repeated those slogans again" Ghayret, a Kazakhstan citizen, told the Uyghur Research Institute over the phone:^[68] "because I don't speak Chinese and cannot pronounce it properly, I was often get punished.

[66] #1 Interview with Adila, İstanbul, August, 2018

[67] Interview with Tekin , İstanbul, August, 2018

[68] Phone Interview with Gayret, August, 2018

I was electrocuted always and some times they locked me in a small metal cage like a dog and poured freezing cold water on me.”

Gheytrat was released after 3 months when he tried to commit suicide at the camp by hitting his head against the wall. They didn't let him return to Kazakhstan even though he had permanent residence papers from Kazakhstan. Only after several elderly relatives of him signed the papers in police station and pledged their own lives for him, did authorities allowed him to back to go Kazakhstan to see his children for one week. He obtained his Kazak citizenship as soon as he arrived to Kazakhstan and didn't return.

Gayrat, Tekin and Adila all confirmed:

“we have to learn red songs and sing red songs every morning if one person couldn't learn, all of the others would have no lunch. We have to praise Xi Jinping before food. After lunch we had an hour break, but were not allowed to talk to each other or walk. If anyone broke the rules, they would be physically punished. They could watch us everywhere, even in the toilet. In the afternoon, we had to learn Chinese characters, and speak mandarin. After dinner we started to write self-criticism and memorise it.”

Another witness, Omer Beg, confirmed to the Uyghur Research Institute that Uyghurs are forced to eat pork in the re-education cell and are chained like prisoners when they get punished. He was psychically abused and tortured, despite the fact that he has a Kazakhstan passport during his containment in the camp: “sometimes soup had a strange smell, I felt that might have been made with pork so I didn't drink. But some people drink, maybe they didn't find out or they scared to get punished”...^[69]

“Once they gave us soup for dinner. We were starved and we drank the soup. But it had a strange taste. Later they said it was made with pig heads. I vomited, then they took me out and stabbed me, it didn't stop until both my

[69] Phone Interview with Omer Bekali, August, 2018

mouth and my nose were bleeding. I lost one of my teeth and fainted then they poured salty cold water on me” said Adila^[70].

Independent analysts from US-based Christian human rights group China Aid have also confirmed that Uyghur Muslims are forced to eat pork^[71].

According to China Aid news, before he died, an 87 year old Kazak man said: “Chinese officials broadcast political propaganda through loud speakers in the cells of re-education camps. Some people fainted or went crazy because of it. They forced us to drink alcohol and eat pig head.”

“I was beaten badly and I lost hearing in one ear” said Mihrigul Tursun, in her congressional testimony in US. Her hair was shaved and she was electrocuted in a tiger chair. One of her two month old triplets was died while she was in concentration camp, because the babies were separated from her while they should have been breast feeding ^[72] . Later the Uyghur research institute also interviewed Mihrigul and she described her traumatizing experience in the concentration camp:

“I was electrocuted many times and told how evil I was. They kept telling me that my parents were dead, my brother and my sister were arrested and sentenced to life and my children had died because of me. I believed what they told me, I felt guilty, felt extreme mental pain and developed seizures.”^[73]

“They gave us medication to numb us and we felt as if we had been in the

[70] #1 Interview with Adila, İstanbul, August, 2018

[71] Edwin Mora, “Analyst: China Forcing Muslims to Eat Pork at ‘Mind Transformation Centers’”, Breitbart, April 13, 2018, https://www.breitbart.com/national-security/2018/04/13/analyst-beijing-forcing-chinese-muslims-eat-pork/amp/?__twitter_impression=true

[72] “Video: In Full – Ex-Xinjiang detainee Mihrigul Tursun’s full testimony at the US congressional hearing”, Hong Kong Free Press, December 8, 2018, <https://www.hongkongfp.com/2018/12/08/video-full-ex-xinjiang-detainee-mihrigul-tursuns-full-testimony-us-congressional-hearing/>

[73] Phone Interview with Mihrigul Tursun, January 2019. See also: Mihrigul Tursun, exclusive interview : <路德访谈米娜女士：讲述在新疆遭受中共国宝迫害，失去一个几个月大的孩子，被强迫脱衣检查的经历>、 2019 年 1 月18 日、https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P_By_N8U_YY&feature=youtu.be

concentration camp, as if we never had in any other life. I had a nightmare and developed sudden stomach aches all the time, and I had skin rashes all over my body...” said Gulbahar Minahun, the ethnic Uyghur and Kazak citizen. She was arrested while she was in business trip in East Turkistan and in a concentration camp for more than one year and released after pressure from the Kazak government. She also told the Uyghur Research Institute during the interview: “I had witnessed everyday, how women are taken away to interrogation rooms and returned after they had been badly tortured and looked terrible; some of them fainted and died.”^[74]

These kinds of torture methods are not new to Uyghurs. Similar torture methods were documented by Amnesty international back in 1999 including unidentified injections, insertion of pepper or chili powder in the mouth, nose or genital organs; and the insertion of horse hair or wires into the penis.”^[75] There are also torture methods to create intense anxiety in detainees and not physical pain. One is to convince them that China is almighty, that any resistance is useless, and that life depends upon winning Chinese guards or Chinese police’s satisfaction.

“They locked me in a dark cell alone for 5 days; they brought a big dog to attack me during the interrogation. Each time dog attacked me my heart almost stopped beating, the dog didn’t bite to eat my flesh and kill me, but the fear caused by the constant attacks was worse than killing... I begged them to stop; my life totally depended on their mercy at that time. Though it has already been 10 years now, I still have nightmares often and my anxiety triggers if I see police and animals. I can’t stay at home alone. I am still afraid of the dark.”^[76] Ayishe Mehmet, 28 year old, who is currently has refugee status in Turkey told the Uyghur Research Institute. She was arrested and tortured for having friends who participated in the July 5th protest in 2009.

[74] Interview with Gulbahar Minahun, İstanbul, January 2019

[75] Torture Campaign Leaflets, Amnesty International, August 1, 2000. See also Gross Violations of Human Rights in the Uighur Autonomous Region, Amnesty International, London: Amnesty International, 1999.

[76] #2Phone Interview with Ayishe Memet, February 2019

Several other witnesses also reported to the Uyghur Research Institute that forms of torture include: the use of unidentified injections which cause the victims to become mentally unbalanced or lose the ability to speak coherently; the use of electric batons and wires to give powerful electric shocks; inserting sticks or needles under the fingernails or pulling out the fingernails; using handcuffs, shackles, or ropes to tie prisoners in ways which cause intense pain; exposing prisoners to extreme heat or cold; severely beating prisoners with fists or a variety of instruments; many of them developed permanent leg and back pain . Physical and psychological torture of Uyghurs has created many mild and severe mental illnesses including personality disorder, anxiety, post traumatic depression, and seizures. The threat and the mental pain that the people of East Turkistan experience is as effective as the direct threat and mental pain of their relatives, family members and their friends in East Turkistan. The Uyghur in diaspora frequently reports how China has threatened to kill and torture their parents, relatives, or children and forced them to work as Chinese spies. Many of them also report constant crying, appetite loss, and depression, sleep disturbances, and frequent nightmares.

These meet the Convention's definition of "causing serious bodily harm" to victims on the basis of their group identity and with the intent to destroy the group.

3. Article 2(d) Imposing Measures Intended to Prevent Births within the Group:

"The pregnancy of my second child was less than 3 years after the first one; Family Planning workers found out and came with the armed police, pulled me out from my home, aborted my seven month old baby, and at the same time their doctors sterilized me. " ^[77]

The Chinese government has prevented births^[78] within the population of

[77] Interview with Gulnar. Kashgar, Nov 2001

[78] "Xinjiang Focuses on Reducing Births in Minority Areas to Curb Population Growth", *The Congressional-Executive Commission on China*, March 30, 2006, <https://www.cecc.gov/publications/commission-analysis/>

the Uyghur and other Muslims in East Turkistan while settling Han Chinese migrants in the region for the last 60 years. Punishment for more than three children and reward for less than three children policy is implemented^[79] in the rural regions of East Turkistan that are densely populated with Uyghurs. The constant and massive influx of Han Chinese and reproductive prevention of Uyghurs has made the Uyghurs a minority in their own land. According to the 2005 Xinjiang Tongji Nianjian (Xinjiang Annual Statistics), of the 19.6 million total population of East Turkistan, the Uyghur population is 8.98 million, representing 45.8%, a dramatic decrease from the 1949 proportion of over 80 percent. At the same time, the percentage of Han Chinese has increased from 6 percent in 1949 to 40 percent at the present time. Apart from Uyghurs and Han Chinese, East Turkistan is home to 11 other ethnic groups, many with close ties to countries in Central Asia.^[80] Prevention of the birth of Uyghurs implemented under the policy of China's family planning is also known the one child policy (计划生育); the original purpose of this policy was "to control population growth", and to improve the quality of life as described by the Chinese state.^[81] The Chinese population rapidly grew to exceed 800 million in 1960 compared to the total Chinese population of 541.67 million in 1949.^[82] As a result, the Chinese state, increasingly aware that the rapid growth of the population was unfavourable to its economic and social development, decided to take strong government measures. Starting in 1971, the Chinese government launched a family planning campaign: late marriage and child bearing, birth spacing (second child subjected to birth spacing 3 years apart) and fertility limitation.^[83] When Ding Xiao Ping came to power in 1978, the rule

xinjiang-focuses-on-reducing-births-in-minority-areas-to-curb

[79] "Authorities Begin New Incentive Initiative To Continue Population Control in Xinjiang", *The Congressional-Executive Commission on China*, December 11, 2009, <https://www.cecc.gov/publications/commission-analysis/authorities-begin-new-incentive-initiative-to-continue-population>

[80] Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Statistic Bureau, *Xinjiang tongji nianjian 2005* (Beijing: Zhongguo Tongjiju Chubanshe, 2005), p 110.

[81] "A Strategic Policy that Suits National Condition", *Chinese White Paper*, December 2006, <http://www.china.org.cn/e-white/familypanning/13-2.htm>

[82] "A Strategic Policy that Suits National Condition", *Chinese White Paper*, December 2006, <http://www.china.org.cn/e-white/familypanning/13-2.htm>

[83] 观察者网综合, '新疆新修订人口与计划生育条例生育子女个数不再区分民族' 2017-07-31

of one child policy was introduced and implemented in various forms from location to location. Considering that farmers need more family members for agricultural work, they were allowed to have two children. Approximately 80 percent of the Uyghur population is living in rural areas and the majority of Uyghurs are Muslims who are against abortion. To avoid uprising and resistance of Uyghurs, China announced that rural Uyghur families could have 3 children. However, the reality has been different. Harsh punishment and reward both followed in the implementation of the policy.

Since 1984, the Chinese government has launched a series of extensive birth control and forced sterilization campaigns targeting Uyghur women throughout East Turkistan; the Chinese government has set up a large number of family planning work forces in every town, village, and even in work units. Chinese authorities have also established birth control clinics in all hospitals throughout East Turkistan. Every year, in order to speed up the implementation of birth control and sterilization policies toward Uyghurs, mobile family planning teams are sent out to rural areas to conduct mass abortions and sterilizations. Pregnant women are usually loaded into a truck with a police escort and forced to have abortions and undergo sterilization.

In addition, upon the arrival of their first child, Uyghur couples face family planning officials' constant 'encouragement', 'education', and 'consultation' on sterilization. Family planning officials offer bonuses, certificates, and presents to convince Uyghur couples about the benefits of having only one child and sterilization. These tactics include providing economic and political incentives to encourage couples to "follow government policy and accepting the one child policy."^[84] People who refuse sterilization received harsh punishment.

"I had 5 children, 4 of them were illegal, and I hide them from the Chinese government. When I became pregnant with my 6th child I was scared that I couldn't hide them anymore. So I went to Turkey to safely deliver my baby in

10:59:49, https://www.guancha.cn/local/2017_07_31_420667.shtm, accessed March 28, 2019

[84] <自治区人口与计划生育条例：第四章 奖励与社会保障> 新疆日报, 2017-07-29 11:06:24, http://news.ts.cn/content/2017-07/29/content_12754845.htm accessed march 28, 2019

2016. After I left, the government found out that I had illegal children. They arrested my husband and sentenced him to 10 years imprisonment. I don't know what has happened to my 5 children. Chinese government did not allow my sisters and my parents to take care of my children, and forcibly removed all of them from my home..." [85]

As a result of the intensive birth control policy implemented in East Turkistan, the XUAR government boasts that 3.7 million births have been prevented in East Turkistan since its implementation in 1975. While the population of East Turkistan was already 20.5 million in 2006, the XUAR government has planned to limit the population growth to 22.5 million by 2010 by reducing the average birth rate to 1.6% [86]

"They force us to drink white liquid and inject us. Menstrual periods of women stop or produce heavy bleeding as a result" said Mihrigul Tursun in her congressional testimony in United States in 2018. Her testimony was confirmed with Gulbahar Minahun who was also arrested for "re-education" camp. "Everyone had to get liquid medication and injections from arms and fingers, menstrual periods of many women stopped" said Gulbahar Minahun during her interview with us. These imposed measures in concentration camps are intended to prevent births. Besides, women are kept separate in these detention facilities in order to prevent reproduction.

4. Article 2(e) Forcibly Transferring Children of the Group to another Group:

The Uyghur Research Institute collected testimonials from 56 people who live in Canada and 79 people in Turkey, 52 of them learned that their direct family members were taken to reeducation camps, the rest of them had lost contact, were unable to learn the whereabouts of their family members or their children. This section mainly focuses on Uyghur children who were forcibly

[85] #3 Video testimony of Qelbinur Tursun, 2019, she is currently living in Turkey with her last child.

[86] "Xinjiang Population Does not Exceeds 22 million in Three Years", *Tian Shan Wang*, 4 April 2007, http://www.tianshannet.com/news/content/2007-04/04/content_1782010.htm

removed from their homes by the Chinese authorities.

Forcibly removing Uyghur children could be amounted to biological genocidal destruction that the genocide convention certainly prohibits. China may find excuses that removing Uyghur children from their home is to protect them since they have no parents at home. However, China is not only using direct force to remove children from their family members, by rejecting their grandparents' and relatives' guardianship, but also uses indirect force to remove children from their home by arresting their parents.

"My my parents were arrested in May 2017 and taken into concentration camps. They are still not known to be alive. I have no idea what happened to my young kids. Were they taken into orphanage camps, just left on the streets, or did smugglers take them for organ harvesting?"^[87]

"A month after my parents were arrested, I had a chance to talk to my 14 year old brother through video we-chat. He said he must go to a Chinese Residential School. It is mandatory and he doesn't know what to do with our two other siblings; one is 8 years old and the other one is three year old. I told him to send them to my mother's sister, she is just our neighbour. He said "no one is allowed" I said: "why?" he didn't answer and turned off the phone. That was my last conversation with my brother..." Elyar, 24 years old, told the Uyghur Research Institute, who is currently studying economics at Univeristy of Istanbul.

Following the Chinese mass detention of Uyghurs, Chinese government officials forcibly removed Uyghur children from their homes and into Chinese orphanage camps.

There are credible reports that Uyghur children in orphanage camps attempt suicide^[88] by drinking detergent and often ask their Chinese teachers

[87] Oral testimony of Dilnur, 2018, Turkey. She left her two young kids back home with her parents came to Turkey for her business trip end of 2016, afraid to go back after her parents and kids were arrested.

[88] <新疆博乐：父母被关教育集中营200多名儿童成“孤儿”>、《保护人权与宗教自由协会》、2018年6月28日、<https://www.adhrrf.org/news/religious-freedom/160753.html>

questions such as “is this jail?”

Chinese officials “remove Uyghur children from their homes” and employ other harsh controlling campaigns against Uyghur Muslims demonstrating genocidal intent. Chinese officials announce: “Break their lineage, break their roots, break their connections and break their origins”.

These words of Chinese officials reveal the intentions to destroying the existence of the Uyghur nation and the Uyghur ethnic identity.

To break their lineage is to destroy the biological background of Uyghur children. According to testimonials, the whereabouts of the children removed from their families is kept strictly secret. These children are separated from their siblings as well, in order to make them forget who they are.

“All of my kids were taken away by the Chinese officials and they refused to give any information about my children to my parents. Recently I recognize one of my daughter from a video posted on a Chinese website. The video was distributed from Hoten prefecture orphanage camps and she is learning Chinese with other Uyghur kids in the video. They sent her to Hoten, a city that is far away from my home. I don’t know the whereabouts of my other kids; they separated them and dispersed them to various locations...”^[89]

To break the roots is to destroy these Uyghur kids’ culture and religion, imposing Han Chinese identity on them. Heart breaking videos published by the Bitter Winter magazine show how^[90] these kids are forced to eat pork, forced to wear ancient traditional Han Chinese clothes, prohibited from speaking their own language, and are locked up in prison-style orphanage camps.

To break the origin and connections is to destroy Uyghur kids’ ethnic

[89] #3Video Testimony of Kalbinur Tursun 2019.

[90] “Exclusive Video: State Indoctrination of Uyghur Children in Xinjiang Exposed”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CNAtx4FFIRQ>

identity and is to achieve complete dominance. The Chinese government has isolated these children from the outside world to convince them that their parents and relatives have forgotten or betrayed them:

“My son Abdulaziz Abdurahman, 3 year old, my daughter Toyibe Abdurahman, 5 year old, my youngest daughter Nadire Abdurahman, 2 year old, my niece Gulzibe Ehmet, 10 year old, and my niece Zulhayat Ehmet, 8 year old, have all been forcibly removed from my family and taken away by the Chinese officials. No one knows their whereabouts.”^[91]

According to the Uyghur Research Institute’s information, Uyghur kids in orphanage camps are supervised by Chinese teachers 24 hours a day and any connection with their loved ones are severed to destroy their sense of physical and mental autonomy and to diminish their resistance. These kids easily transform into ethnic Han Chinese. Chinese schools designed for these Uyghur kids are just advanced stages of these orphanage camps, and they will be forced to learn Han Chinese culture and ideology and to be trained as obedient slaves. The purpose is to achieve elimination and destroy the Uyghurs as a nation and as a psycho-biological entity. This practice amounts to genocide, even though it has been practiced as a part of a forced assimilation scheme. Uyghur children are forced to abandon their biological and cultural heritage, their ethnic identity, and are forcibly transformed into Han Chinese. They may never discover their Uyghur origin, and they may never be reproductive within the Uyghur community.

CONCLUSION

Genocide is when a person commits a prohibited act with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such. Muslim people in East Turkistan should be protected as this definition can be applied to their situation. Their treatment by the Chinese state amounts to four of the five defined prohibited acts: (a) killing; (b) causing serious bodily

[91] Written Testimony of Abdurahman Toxti, İstanbul, February 2019

or mental harm; (d) imposing measures intending to prevent births; (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The core element of the crime is “genocidal intent”. The behaviour and institutionalized crimes in East Turkistan conducted by the Chinese state that point to genocidal intent include broader geostrategic oppressive context and racism; specific utterances of Chinese officials; exclusionary policies, including the establishment of mass detention camps; the arrest of up to two million Uyghur and other Muslim civilians; a plan for destruction and the prevention of birth; the expansion of cremations; the mass deportation of male Uyghurs into secret prisons in inland China far away from East Turkistan; a plan for elimination behind the iron curtain; and the brutality of mental and physical torture. Based on the above considerations there is adequate information to warrant the investigation of the Chinese state party and Chinese state officials in order to ascertain their culpability in genocide in East Turkistan, in relation to its treatment against the Uyghur and other Muslims.