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GENOCIDE

IN EAST TURKISTAN

REPORT

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INTRODUCTION

This report argues that genocide is the reality facing the Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims living under China's occupation in East Turkistan. East Turkistan is located beyond the logical and natural boundary of China, the Great Wall. Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims are ethnically and culturally distinct from China's majority ethnic Han Chinese population. Since People's Republic of China's invasion of East Turkistan in 1949, China has implemented successively more oppressive policies creating a precondition for genocide. The decline of US hegemony, the rising power of China, and an anarchic international system have facilitated China's genocidal behavior. East Turkistan has been turned into a police state and the biggest laboratory for China's experimentation in key emerging surveillance technologies. The people of East Turkistan are subject to torture and death based on their race, religion and culture in mass detention centers identified by locals as concentration camps. Human rights organizations, UN officials and some governments are urging China to stop the oppression and cultural genocide. But none of the human rights organizations or government mention the word "genocide." Many foreign governments keep their silence on China's Orwellian state policy in East Turkistan to appease China for their own economic benefit. What is happening in East Turkistan is far beyond basic human rights violations. This report examines the urgent reality of East Turkistan through the frame of international law, the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

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."¹ 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 the East Turkistan Republic. Leaders of East Turkistan headed by Ahmatjan Kasimi departed to Beijing on 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 leadership². At that time only 6% population of the region was Han Chinese, and the people of East Turkistan never accepted Chinese dominion³.

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

¹ David Brophy, *Uyghur Nation*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 72.

² Linda Benson, *The Ili Rebellion: Muslim Challenge to Chinese Authority in Xinjiang, 1944-1949*. 1st ed. (Armonk: Taylor&Francis Inc, 1990) 176

³ "1949 Nian yi hou xin Jiong guo xiang Xinjiang Han zu yimin de lei xing yu gong xiao" 1949 年以后 新中国向新疆汉族移民的类型与功效 [Types and Effects of New China's Han migration to Xinjiang after 1949], *Min jian zang shi* 民间藏事, November 10, 2011, accessed March 7, 2018, <http://tibet.woeser.com/?p=23210>

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of Genocide:⁴

“Genocide is not necessarily a means to the destruction of nation, accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended to destroy the essential foundations of life of a 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.”⁵

Historically prolonged oppressive crimes against Uyghurs as a racial, religious and national group different from 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, 1923,⁶ as well as in Mao’s later essays, in which the term Zhong Hua implied the process of becoming Hua (Chinese.)⁷

Absorbing and dominating all other nations, transforming them into ethnic Han Chinese constitutes forced assimilation and this was not included as genocide in the UN Genocide Convention. However, according to Lemkin’s definition of genocide that we noted above, ‘forced assimilation’ is just another term for cultural genocide. Even though, act of genocide and cultural genocide are very different according to the UN

⁴ United Nations, *General Assembly Resolution 260, Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, December 9, 1948 (UN Doc. A/RES/260(III))

⁵ Genocide Watch, *Raphael Lemkin Defines genocide*, March, 2013, accessed September 3, 2020, <http://genocidewatch.net/2013/03/14/raphael-lemkin-defines-genocide-2/>

⁶ Sun Zhong San 孙中山, “*Sunzhongsen chuan ji*” 孙中山全集 [The Complete Works of Sun Yat-san] Vol.7, “*Zhong guo guo min dang shuan yan*” 中国国民党宣言 [Chinese Kuomintang Manifesto] (Beijing: Zhong hua shu ju, 2006), 3. Print.

⁷ James Leibold, *Reconfiguring Chinese Nationalism: How the Qing Frontier and Its Indigenous Became Chinese*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 150

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Genocide Convention, there are no differences between the intention. Both are aimed to destroy the existence of a group in part or in whole because of their ethnicity, religion, nationality and race.

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. It is very similar to how the former Nazi government described Jews as 'Bolshevik' or 'Capitalist' that can be dangerous enemy for them.

This has been proved when Chinese government officials declared Islam is a mental disease⁸. 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"⁹ or "eradicating tumors"¹⁰ 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"¹¹.

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

⁸ Eric Levitz, "China Declared Islam a Contagious Disease – and Quarantined 1 Million Muslims", *Intelligencer*, August 28, 2018, accessed February 8, 2019, <https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2018/08/china-muslims-camps-uyghur-communist-party-islam-mental-illness.html>

⁹ Shohret Hoshur, "Chinese Authorities Jail Four Wealthiest Uyghurs in Xinjiang's Kashgar in New Purge", *Radio Free Asia*, June 5, 2018, accessed February 8, 2019, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/wealthiest-01052018144327.html>

¹⁰ Moyu, "Eradicate the tumours': Chinese civilians drive Xinjiang crackdown", *Agence France Presse*, April 26, 2018, accessed February 8, 2019, <https://www.afp.com/en/eradicate-tumours-chinese-civilians-drive-xinjiang-crackdown>

¹¹ Alexandra Ma, "Chinese ambassador to the US says mass surveillance and oppression of Muslim minority is to make them 'normal persons'", *Business Insider*, November 28, 2018, accessed February 8, 2019, <https://www.businessinsider.com/china-ambassador-muslim-uyghur-crackdown-make-normal-persons-2018-11>

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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.

If we look at the holocaust in Rwanda, or Bosnia and other genocides that repeatedly happened until today, it is not possible to read a perpetrator’s genocidal mind. However, if they dehumanize and normalize their genocidal acts this means they are justifying their intention and that their intention is there.

Local Chinese officials of Korla city in East Turkistan, called eye witness Mihrigul Tursun¹² 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 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 two¹³. In the light of this, is not difficult to realize that China intends to eradicate Uyghurs as a nation based on 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 more than 400 Uyghur intellectuals that were arrested between 2017- 2018 including writers, poets,

¹² 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.

¹³ United Nations, *General Assembly Resolution 260, Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*.

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medical doctors, University professors, football players, academic researchers, singers, musicians and lawyers¹⁴. Among these 400 intellectuals Halmurat Ghopur, a medical doctor, and Tashpolat Teyip, a university professor, have already been sentenced to death.¹⁵ 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.

“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 a Wechat 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

¹⁴ Kurban Niyaz and Joshua Lipes, “Chinese Authorities Arrest Xinjiang Intellectual Amid Crackdown on Prominent Uyghurs”, *Radio Free Asia*, January 12, 2018, accessed February 8, 2019, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/arrest01122018152937.html>

¹⁵ Kurban Niyaz, “Xinjiang University President Purged Under 'Two-Faced' Officials Campaign”, *Radio Free Asia*, February 20, 2018, accessed February 8, 2019, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/university-president-02202018173959.html>

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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. Beijing is aware that East Turkistan is a colonized land and is worried to lose it, despite people of East Turkistan has no power to fight for independence. In recent history - most of the major uprisings in East Turkistan in recent years demanded justice and equal treatment rather than independence¹⁶. Based on this belief, China is motivated to eliminate Uyghurs and their identity.

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 are 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.

¹⁶ Nick Cumming- Bruce, "Ilhan Tohti, Uyghur Scholar in Chinese Prison, Is Given Human Rights Award" *New York Times*, October 11, 2016, accessed February 9, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/12/world/europe/ilham-tohti-uyghur-human-rights-award.html>

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The Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language Law¹⁷ (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 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 Gaokao¹⁸ (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 778¹⁹. 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 Development²⁰ " indicated that China will

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

¹⁸ "2108 Xinjiang Gao Kao Jia Fen Zhao Gu Zheng Ce" 2018 新疆高考加分照顾政 [2018, Xinjiang College Entrance Exam Extra Points Policy] *Zhong guo jiaoyu zai xian* 中国教育在线(website), June 8, 2018, accessed February 2019, http://gaokao.eol.cn/xin_jiang/dongtai/201806/t20180608_1606590.shtml

¹⁹ Education Department of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, *Education Statistics of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Urumqi*, (Oct, 2010),

²⁰ "Guo wu yuan guan yu zhichu ji ayu gai ge yu fa zhan de jue ding" 国务院关于基础教育改革与发展的决定[Decision of the State Council on the Reform and Development of Basic Education], *Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China* 中华人民共和国教育, May 29, 2001, accessed February 10, 2019, http://old.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfil/moe/moe_406/200412/4730.html;

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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 region. In 2017, the number of students receiving "bilingual" education in schools reached²¹ 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 their 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 ²² 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.

Another measure which has not been implemented as China as described is "bilingual education." Authorities gradually implemented their "bilingual" education

Chen hong cheng & Ren fei fei 沈洪成, & 任菲菲, "Yu yan zhang ai yu yin xing qu ge: yi yi suo dong bu gao shao de wei wu er zu xue sheng wei ge an minzu jiao yu yan jiu" 语言障碍与隐性区隔: 以一所东部高校的维吾尔族学生为个案 [Language Barrier and Hidden Distinctions: A case Study of Uyghur Students in Eastern University] *Studies in Ethnic Education* 民族教育研究, Vol .2, 2017, 45-51.Print.

²¹ "2017 Nian XinJiang Wei wu er zi zhi qu Jiao yu shi ye fa zhan tong ji gong bao" 2017 年新疆维吾尔自治区教育事业发展统计公报 [Statistical Communique of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Education Development] *Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Ministry of Education* 新疆维吾尔自治区教育厅, May 7, 2018, accessed February 9, 2019, <http://www.xjedu.gov.cn/xjjyt/sytj/2018/105865.htm>

²² Ma Rong, "The development of minority education and the practice of bilingual education in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region", *Frontiers of Education in China*, 4(2), 2009.188-25. Print.

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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 confirmed²³ 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 religious activities, and wearing any kind of religious apparel in preschool education. China

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.

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 applied²⁴ for all 2.9419 million compulsory education students in East Turkestan from the same year (2018).

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-

²³ “Xinjiang jin zhi you jiao xin jiao jiao yu xi tong nei jin wei yu” 新疆禁止幼教信教 教育系统内禁维吾尔语 [Xinjiang Bans Preschool Education and Religion], Radio free Asia 自由亚洲电台, September 25, 2017, accessed February 9, 2019. <https://www.rfa.org/mandarin/yataibaodao/shaoshuminzu/x11-09252017102937.html>

²⁴ “Xinjiang jin nian shi shan guo jia tong yu yu yan wen zi jiao yu chuan fu gai” 新疆今年实现国家通用语言文字教育全覆盖 [Xinjiang Achieves Full Coverage National Common Language Education This Year] *Zhong guo jiaoyu xin wen wang* 中国教育新闻(Website), June 29, 2018, accessed February 9, 2019, http://www.jyb.cn/zgjyb/201806/t20180629_1131510.html

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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 Religious Restriction to Ban Religion

The majority of people in Eastern Turkestan believe in Islam as their religion 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 limited²⁵. 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 separatism²⁶. 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 Regulations²⁷, which indicated that any religious teachings are prohibited in any public places except religious schools.

²⁵ "Constitution of The People's Republic of China," *en.people.cn* 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, accessed February 9, 2019, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2007/07/25/chinas-war-on-the-three-evil-forces/>.

²⁷ "Zong jiao shi wu tiao lie" 宗教事务条例[Religious Affairs Regulations]. *State Bureau of Religious Affairs* 国家宗教事务局, September 7, 2017, accessed February 9, 2019, <http://www.sara.gov.cn/xxgk/gkml20170904204343165711/576572.htm>

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China's new anti-terrorism law was adopted in 2015²⁸, 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 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 Regulation³¹ 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

²⁸ Stephen Evans, “China passes controversial new anti-terror laws,” *BBC News*, December 28, 2015, accessed February 10, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-35188137>.

²⁹ Sean R. Roberts. “The Biopolitics of China’s “war on terror” and the exclusion of the Uyghurs,” *Tandfonline*, March 22, 2018, accessed February 11, 2019, <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, accessed February 11, 2019, <https://jamestown.org/program/xinjiangs-re-education-and-securitization-campaign-evidence-from-domestic-security-budgets/>.

³¹ “Xinjiang wei wu er zi zhi qu jiduan hua tiao lie” 新疆维吾尔自治区去极端化条例 [Regulations on Deradicalization of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region], *Ren min wang* 人民网, March 30, 2017, accessed February 12, 2019, <http://xj.people.com.cn/n2/2017/0330/c186332-29942874.html>.

³² Tanner Greer, “48 Ways to Get Sent to a Chinese Concentration Camp,” *Foreign Policy*, September 13, 2018, accessed February 11, 2019, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/09/13/48-ways-to-get-sent-to-a-chinese-concentration-camp/>

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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 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 down³⁴ 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

³³ “Chun jie he tian shi rou lei, shu sai shu bei huo feng liang zu “ 春节前和田市肉类、蔬菜储备货丰量足 [Before the Spring Festival Hotan City Has Plenty of Meat and Vegetable Reserves] *Archive today*, February 3, 2018, accessed February 3, 2019, <http://archive.fo/UQ36e#selection-21.1-21.18>

³⁴ Benjamin Haas, “China bans religious names for Muslim babies in Xinjiang,” *The Guardian*, April 25, 2017, accessed February 12, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/25/china-bans-religious-names-for-muslims-babies-in-xinjiang>.

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of Uyghurs in concentration camps, cases of mental and physical harm, and forced removal of Uyghur children.

Article 2(a) 1. The 1948 U.N. Convention on the Punishment and Prevention of the Crime of Genocide: 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 Turkistan³⁶. That means that within a short period of 14 years 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 that time. Chinese army trucks came up from each small street and started shooting. I ran very fast and jumped into a

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

³⁶ Xinjiang Daily, March 10, 1954, p. 1. Print.

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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 Baren 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 Baren uprising.³⁷ This number does not include the number of Uyghurs killed during the uprising itself. The total population of Baren 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 Baren 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, it 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 Baren massacre. Baren village was sealed for 3 years and people from other villages were relocated to Baren after these 3 years.

³⁷ "Jie fa chang – Xinjiang Gao xu shi jian" 劫法场-新疆“高旭事件 [Robbery Field- Gaoxu Incident] *Minjian Zang shi* 民间藏事, July 14, 2009, accessed February 12, 2019, <http://tibet.woeser.com/?p=8546>.

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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 estimate 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 immigrate 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 soldiers because he resisted arrest when soldiers 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 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

³⁸ Amnesty International, *Gross Violation of Human Rights in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region*, (London: Amnesty International Publications, April 21, 1999), Accessed February 11, 2019, <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/144000/asa170181999en.pdf>

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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 penalties⁴¹.

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

³⁹ Ibid; Amnesty International

⁴⁰ “Dr. Enver Tohti ~ Testimony (ITNJ Seating)”, *International Tribunal for Natural Justice*, June 5, 2018, accessed February 11, 2019, <https://commission.itnj.org/2018/06/05/dr-enver-tohti-testimony/>

⁴¹ “Use an Iron Fist to Strike Hard Against Destructive Activities” *Xinjiang Daily*, August 19, 2008. Accessed February 11, 2019, <https://society.people.com.cn/GB/41158/7691155.html>

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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 Uyghurs⁴². 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 sources⁴³

“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:

“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

⁴² “Innocent Civilians Make Up 156 in Urumqi Riot Death Toll,” *Xinhua*, August 5, 2009, accessed February 12, 2019, 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 Human Xinjiang’s Protests,” *Human Rights Watch*, Oct 22, 2009, 21, accessed Feb 13, 2019, 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, accessed February 12, 2019, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124701252209109027.html> ; Amnesty International, *Justice, Justice’ July 2009 Protests in Xinjiang China*, (London: Amnesty International Publications, July, 2010), 20, accessed February 15, 2019, http://www.observatori.org/paises/pais_81/documentos/asa170272010en.pdf

⁴⁴ Human Rights Watch, *China: ‘We Are Afraid to Even Look for Them’: Enforced Disappearances in the Wake of Xinjiang’s Protests*, October 4, 2009, accessed February [quoting and citing Kathrin Hille, “Xinjiang widens crackdown on Uighurs,” *Financial Times*, July 19, 2009, and Human Rights Watch’s telephone interview with Kathrin Hille, Sept. 2009].

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*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 protest⁴⁶. In addition, the World Uyghur Congress documented the profiles of 33 Uyghur victims of enforced disappearance in the subsequent years⁴⁷.

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 a grade 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 a street camera. We were not allowed to participate in his trial. They said he had confessed his crime and was sentenced to life. Police refused to inform us of his jail location. We were never able to see him and we don’t know is 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 output⁴⁸, and banned Uyghurs from assembly.⁴⁹

The Chinese government increasingly believes that the US is a super power in

⁴⁵ Ayishe Memet, telephone interview, February 10, 2019.

⁴⁶ Human Rights Watch, *China: ‘We Are Afraid to Even Look for Them’: Enforced Disappearances in the Wake of Xinjiang’s Protests*, 21.

⁴⁷ World Uyghur Congress, *Vanishing Vulnerable Voices for Years of Impunity Cases of Enforced Disappearances of Civilians in East Turkistan*, (Munich: World Uyghur Congress, July 2013), accessed February 12, 2019, <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, accessed February 12, 2019, <https://www.cecc.gov/publications/commission-analysis/xinjiang-authorities-forcefully-suppress-demonstration-restrict>.

⁴⁹ “Urumqi police ban illegal assembly,” *Xinhua*, July 11, 2009, accessed February 12, 2019, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-07/11/content_11693704.htm.

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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 population⁵⁰ of Kashgar city have been placed in re-education camps, and that the Chinese government also ordered the arrest of 40% of the population⁵¹ 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 Southern⁵³ population of East Turkistan are ethnic Uyghurs.

Given the percentages the RFA reports as being arrested, it is likely more 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 million⁵⁴. Based on the percentage of arrest in Kashgar prefecture, there could be more than one

⁵⁰ Shohret Hoshur, "Nearly 10 Percent of Residents of a Xinjiang Township Detained by Chinese Authorities," *Radio Free Asia*, December 14, 2017, accessed February 12, 2019, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/detained-12142017140125.html>

⁵¹ Shohret Hoshur, "Nearly Half of Uyghurs in Xinjiang's Hotan Targeted For Re-Education Camps," *Radio Free Asia*, October 9, 2017, accessed February 12, 2019, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/camps-10092017164000.html>

⁵² Chinese Human rights Defenders, *China: Massive Numbers of Uyghurs & Other Ethnic Minorities Forced into Re-education Programs*, August 3, 2018, accessed February 13, 2019, <https://www.nchrd.org/2018/08/china-massive-numbers-of-uyghurs-other-ethnic-minorities-forced-into-re-education-programs/>

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ "Zui xin Xinjiang ren koushu ju" 最新新疆人口数据 [Latest Xinjiang Population Data] *Sohu*, December 20, 2016, accessed February 14, 2019, http://www.sohu.com/a/122066430_534679

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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 China⁵⁷ describes it as “the largest mass incarceration of a minority population in the world today”.

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.*

⁵⁵ Chinese Human Rights Defenders, *Criminal Arrests in Xinjiang Account for 21% of China's Total in 2017*, July 25, 2018, accessed February 15, 2019, <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. Fergus Ryan, Danielle Cave and Nathan Ruser, “Mapping Xinjiang's Re-education Camps”, *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, November 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 3, 2018, <https://www.cecc.gov/media-center/press-releases/chairs-urge-ambassador-branstad-to-prioritize-mass-detention-of-uyghurs>

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*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 camps⁵⁹ 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 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

⁵⁸ “Lude fang wen mina nushi: jiang shu zai xinjiang zao shou zhong guobaopo hai, shichu yi ge ji ge yue da de haizi, bei qiang po tuo yi jian cha de jingli” 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 [Lude press interview with Mihrigul Tursun: Recounting the experience of being persecuted by the CCP, losing a child a few months old and being forced to strip naked for inspections], *Lude Press* 路德. Online Video Clip, You tube, 1:46, January. 18, 2019, Web, accessed February 12, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P_By_N8U_YY&feature=youtu.be

⁵⁹ Shohre Hoshur, “Uyghur Teenager Dies in Custody at Political Re-Education Camp”, *Radio Free Asia*, March 14, 2018, accessed February 14, 2019, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/teenager-03142018154926.html>

⁶⁰ Interview with Abdul Aziz, Canada, November 2018.

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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 police state causes serious harm to every Uyghur. Outside of the Chinese concentration camps is not much better than inside the camp: police have check points⁶² in every corner of the streets and target only Uyghurs. Uyghurs are controlled by face recognition and voice recognition⁶³ cameras where ever they go; mandatory spyware is installed in their electronic devices; implemented mass

⁶¹ Gu Qi, “Uyghur Dispersion and Detention – Worse Than We Thought’ Bitter Winter”, *Bitter Winter*, February 1, 2019, accessed February 13, 2019, <https://bitterwinter.org/uyghur-dispersion-and-detention-worse-than-we-thought/>

⁶² “China has turned Xinjiang into a police state like no other”, *The Economist*, May 31, 2018, accessed February 14, 2019, <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, accessed February 19, 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/08/china-surveillance-technology-muslims/567443/>

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scale of collecting of DNA⁶⁴ 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 punished⁶⁵.”

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 who didn’t want to disclose her real name for the safety of her 14 year 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 camps⁶⁶:

“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

⁶⁴ Tara Francis Chan, “A Chinese province is collecting DNA and iris scans from all its residents”, *Business Insider*, December 13, 2017, accessed February 13, 2019, <https://www.businessinsider.com/china-collects-dna-fingerprints-biometrics-from-residents-human-rights-watch-2017-12>

⁶⁵ Shohret Hoshur, “Nearly 10 Percent of Residents of a Xinjiang Township Detained by Chinese Authorities”, *Radio Free Asia*, December 14, 2017, accessed March 1, 2019, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/detained-12142017140125.html>.

⁶⁶ Adila, telephone interview, August 28, 2018

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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 Institute⁶⁷. 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. I was electrocuted always and some times they locked me in a small metal cage like a dog 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*

⁶⁷ Tekin, telephone interview, August 25, 2018

⁶⁸ Gayret Samarkand, telephone interview, August 17, 2018

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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 mouth and my nose were bleeding. I lost one of my teeth and fainted then they poured salty cold water on me” said Adila⁷⁰.

Independent analysts from US-based Christian human rights group China Aid have also confirmed that Uyghur Muslims are forced to eat pork⁷¹.

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,

⁶⁹ Omer Bekali, telephone interview, August 17, 2018

⁷⁰ Adila, telephone interview, August 28, 2018

⁷¹ Edwin Mora, "Analyst: China Forcing Muslims to Eat Pork at 'Mind Transformation Centers'," *Breitbart*, April 13, 2018, accessed February 19, 2019, https://www.breitbart.com/national-security/2018/04/13/analyst-beijing-forcing-chinese-muslims-eat-pork/amp/?_twitter_impression=true.

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because the babies were separated from her while they should have been breast feeding⁷². 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 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.

⁷² “Video: In Full – Ex-Xinjiang detainee Mihrigul Tursun’s full testimony at the US congressional hearing,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, December 8, 2018, accessed March 1, <https://www.hongkongfp.com/2018/12/08/video-full-ex-xinjiang-detainee-mihrigul-tursuns-full-testimony-us-congressional-hearing/>.

⁷³ Mihrigul Tursun, telephone interview, January 4, 2019.

⁷⁴ Gulbahar Minahun, telephone interview, January 4, 2019

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

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*“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.

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.

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

⁷⁶ Ayishe Memet, telephone interview, February 4, 2019

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home, aborted my seven month old baby, and at the same time their doctors sterilized me.
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The Chinese government has prevented births⁷⁸ within the population of 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 implemented⁷⁹ 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

77 Gulnar Memet Personal interview, Kashgar, Nov 11, 2001.

78 "Xinjiang Focuses on Reducing Births in Minority Areas to Curb Population Growth," *The Congressional-Executive Commission on China*, March 30, 2006, accessed march 1, <https://www.cecc.gov/publications/commission-analysis/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, accessed March 1, <https://www.cecc.gov/publications/commission-analysis/authorities-begin-new-incentive-initiative-to-continue-population>

80 "Xinjiang tongji nianjian 2005," *Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Statistic Bureau, Zhongguo Tongjiju Chubanshe*, 2005), 110. Print.

81 "A Strategic Policy that Suits National Condition," *Chinese White Paper*, December 2006, accessed February 20, 2019, <http://www.china.org.cn/e-white/familypanning/13-2.htm>

82 Ibid;

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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 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.

⁸³ Permanent mission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations Office at Geneva and Other International Organizations, *Family Planning In China* (Geneva: Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, August 1995), accessed February 23, 2019, <http://www.china-un.ch/eng/bjzl/t176938.htm>.

⁸⁴ "Three Thousand Yuan Bonus for Reducing the Birth of One Child", *Tianshan Wang*, Feb 3, 2019, accessed February 7, 2019, http://www.tianshannet.com/news/content/2007-04/02/content_1775480.htm.

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*“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 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 Starting 2015, birth prevention measurement and sterilization imposed on married Uyghur woman who are in child bearing age, while birth control policies were relaxed to ethnic Han Chinese. According to leading German scholar Adrian Zenz’s report, natural population growth of Uyghurs in East Turkistan dramatically declined, growth rates fell by 84% between 2015-2018.⁸⁷

“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

⁸⁵ Qelbinur Tursun, video interview, Jan 17,2019, 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, accessed February 18, 2019, http://www.tianshannet.com/news/content/2007-04/04/content_1782010.htm.

⁸⁷ Adrian Zenz, “Sterilizations, IUDs, and Mandatory Birth Control: The CCP’s Campaign to Suppress Uyghur Birthrates in Xinjiang” *The Jamestown Foundation*, July 21, 2020. Accessed for update September 1, 2020, <https://jamestown.org/product/sterilizations-iuds-and-mandatory-birth-control-the-ccps-campaign-to-suppress-uyghur-birthrates-in-xinjiang/>.

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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 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?”⁸⁸

“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 University of Istanbul.

Following the Chinese mass detention of Uyghurs, Chinese government officials

⁸⁸ Dilnur, telephone interview, Feb 2, 2018, Turkey. She left her two young kids back home with her parents and came to Turkey for her business trip at the end of 2016, afraid to go back after her parents and kids were arrested.

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forcibly removed Uyghur children from their homes and into Chinese orphanage camps.

There are credible reports that Uyghur children in orphanage camps attempt suicide⁸⁹ by drinking detergent and often ask their Chinese teachers 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 recognized one of my daughters 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...”*⁹⁰

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

⁸⁹ “Xinjiang Bole: Fumu guan jiaoyu ji jing ying 200 duo ming er cheng ‘gua er’” 新疆博乐：父母被关教育集中营 200 多名儿童成“孤儿”[Xinjiang Baghrash: Parents arrested for concentration camps, more than 200 kids became Orphanage] *Bao hu ren chuan zong jiao zi you xie hui* 保护人权与宗教自由协会[*Defending Human Rights and Religious Freedom Association*]. June 28, 2018, accessed February 21, 2019, <https://www.adhrrf.org/news/religious-freedom/160753.html>.

⁹⁰ Kalbinur Tursun, telephone interview, Feb 6, 2019.

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magazine show how⁹¹ 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 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. ”⁹²

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

⁹¹ "Exclusive Video: State Indoctrination of Uyghur Children in Xinjiang Exposed", *Bitter Winter*, January 26, 2019, accessed January 27, 2019, <https://bitterwinter.org/video-uyghur-children-indoctrinated-in-camps/>

⁹² Written Testimony of Abdurahman Toxti, Istanbul, February 3, 2019

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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 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.

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Rukyie Turdush – REPORT TO THE UYGHUR TRIBUNAL

“Genocide in East Turkistan” Report

This report gives evidence of acts amounting to torture, and cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment. These include physical torture, including beatings, electrocutions, skinning, or physical restraint; as well as psychological torture, such as humiliation, isolation, or sleep deprivation. The report also points to the existence of a pattern of forced contraception, sterilisation and abortions inflicted on women from Turkic Muslim minorities. The author also analysed the separation of children from their families, and their displacement to so-called “orphanages.”

The report is based on factual findings: testimonials from direct and indirect witnesses, containing information corroborated by secondary information, including from China’s state media, expert interviews, and social media. A total of 135 people testified about their arrested or disappeared relatives, and six individuals were camp survivors or former detainees themselves.

The report concludes that the behaviour of and institutionalised crimes committed in East Turkistan by the Chinese state reveal a “genocidal intent” on the part of authorities. To support their view, the author recalls the 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; the brutality of mental and physical torture, etc.

The report I wrote in end of the 2018 and published in February 2019 about genocide in East Turkistan in Uyghur Research Institute's website relied following facts:

1. 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.

4. 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, I have changed the name of the interviewee unless there is consent to use their real name.

5. Among these 135 people who testified about their arrested or disappeared relatives, 56 of them currently live in Canada and Kazakstan. 79 of them in Turkey. 52 of them were learned their direct family members were taken to concentration camps. Some of them's entire family members were arrested. Rest of them had lost contact, not able to learn the whereabouts of their family members or their children.

6. Based on these testimonials, I have interviewed 6 camp survivors and one former detainee for this report. Those are include Adila, Tekin, Omir bakali, Gayrat Samarkant, Mihrigul Tursun. Gulbahar Jelilova, Ayshe Memet.

7. Adila, currently live in Turkey. Her name was changed. Because of her family members back home she refused to present at the court.) she described, humiliation and mental torture she experienced in concentration camp as follow:

“They 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 hear. I felt humiliated , degraded and I hate myself.”

Tekin, was arrested in Aksu in 2015 because Chinese police found one Arabic hijabi women’s photo from his phone. It was from Chinese app and he had no idea about this photo. He was badly tortured. he escaped to Turkey after released from concentration camps. Recently he changed his phone number and author unable to contact with him to invite him to present to this court) His testimony as follow:

“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”

Omir bakali, camp survivor . his story is well known by the international media. But I also interviewed him for my report.

Gayrat Samarkand. Ethnicity is kazak. Kazak permanent resident. Currently live in Kazakstan. His story as follow:

“Because I don’t speak Chinese and cannot pronounce it properly, I was often get punished. I was electrocuted always and some times they locked me in a small metal cage like a dog poured freezing cold water on me.”

Ayshe Memet (her name was changed. currently live in Turkey. Refused to testify at this court, because of the safety of her family members back home) her testimony as follow:

“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.”

8. Mihrigul Tursun and Gulbahar jelilova, both camp survivors their story are well known by the international media. Both testified, torture and medication that used for sterilization at the concentration camps.(Gulbahar jelilova’s name was changed to Gulbahar Minahun for her

safety in my report. She was living in Kazakhstan, when I wrote the genocide report for Uyghur research Institute. It was end of 2018.)

Gulnar Memet. Interviewed by author in person in 2001 in Kashgar. Author interviewed dozen of Uyghur women about sterilization in 2001 when she visit East Turkistan. Gulnar Memet is the one of them. (Rest of list of interviewed women in 2001 is attached to this letter)

Qelbinur Tursun, currently live in Turkey. Available to present at the court. Interviewed about her personal experience about China's birth prevention policy and about her forcibly removed children.

9. I have used interviews above in my report as an evidence of China's genocidal policy against Uyghur and other Turkic Muslim which is clear violation of article 2c and 2 b.

10. I also tried to prove China's genocidal intent through their well planned, organized birth prevention policies, policy of forcibly removing Uyghur kids from their home and so called " re-education" policies. I Exampled Chinese officials words that can represent their government and express genocidal intentions. I also briefed China's historical genocidal intentions before they invaded in East Turkistan through China's founding father Sunzhong shen's manifesto and Mao ze dong's essays.

11. I have documented the photos of 141 people who had been arrested, disappeared or sentenced to imprisonment including children that taken to so called orphanage camps. (I am not sure these photos also documented by Xinjiang victim database. I have attached the documented photos of these testimonies and their arrested family members. I is confidential and collected in 2018, never updated. Please do not publish these photos since I have no consent)

Link of my report: <https://www.uysi.org/en/?p=774>

Following are the in person interview with some Uyghur women in November 2001 when I traveled to East Turkistan. (It was impossible to interview Uyghur women openly from house to house in short travelling period. These women were only introduced by friends or relatives during that time. even though, I couldn't access to research on large numbers of women and only

able to interview 11 women, their story are very common and represents entire Uyghur women.) I also gave testimony at Population Institute in Washington after I returned from my trip.

1. Raziye Mahmut, 24 years old, from Ghulja city Bayanday county. She was pale and very sick when I visit her. She couldn't walk at all. She said:

“ They forced me to get IUD insertion after my first child and I am non- stop bleeding. Local family planning workers not allow me to remove IUD and threatening me with heavy fine. I told them I might going to die if I don't remove IUD, it is not good for me. They said that I have to do surgery and remove my wombs. Maybe I should do that. I have no choice.”

2.Nurgul Sayit, 31 years old. From kashgar Kagilik. Sterilized after her 3rd child. She said:

“ Government medical workers and police entered every house in my neighbourhood, forced us to do medical check up in 1999. They said that I have to get my tubes tied because I already have 3 kids. It was not in hospital. Those doctors are not skilled. I don't know what they have done to me. It was painful process. I feel very tired and feel sick since then, I feel like I am no longer a women..”

3.Patem Hamut, 29 years old. From Kashgar Kagilik, Sterilized after her 3th child. She said:

“ I am a primary school teacher. They aborted my 3th child then did surgery. I can't be mother anymore.”

4. Sheripe Peyzul, from Ghulja city, 27 years old, she received her IUD after her first child and experiencing serious medical condition. But Doctors refused to remove her IUD and she refused to get sterilization surgery. She said: “ I don't know, I am very scared. My sister gone through those kind of surgery and died after one month.”

5. Mukeddes Peyzul, Sheripe Peyzul's sister. Sterilization surgery at the hospital after her second child without her consent. Couldn't walk, became very week and died in one month. her family suspect that doctors have done something on her, or could be wrong surgery.

6. Zinnet Hajim, 34 years old. From Ghulja , chapchal county, sterilized after her first child. She said: “ I didn't want to but I am a government worker, so I have to be model for others. ”

7. Reyhan Rozi, 31 years old, from Kashgar, sterilized after her second child. She said: “ I don't want to be sterilized, but they threatened us that they going to destroy our house. Some people can manage to hide and move from one city to another to hide their pregnancy. But I cannot. We have a big house and elderly parents, so I can't go anywhere.”

8. Gulsum Tohti, 33 years old, from Kashgar city, sterilized after second child. Her husband Yasin Nurehmet, a taxi driver said: “ Family planning workers have so much power, they can put you in prison and sentenced to life or long term imprisonment if they want. It was happened to many people. We don't want to aborted our third child, but we couldn't hide. Someone reported to the government I guess. Police came and took us to the hospital. They detained me didn't let me see my wife until they done the abortion of my 5 month old baby. They did sterilization surgery without asking any permission from us. We have no right to get decision for that.”

9. Minever Mijit, 35 years old, from Ghulja, sterilized after 3rd Child. She said: “ I was automatically sterilized at the hospital after my third Child. Every Uyghur women are the same. We cannot refuse because we have no power, we cannot fight with them.”

10. Dilber Mijit, from Ghulja, sterilized after 3rd child. she said: “ I was forced to get surgery after my 3rd child in family clinic in my neighborhood. Doctors are very unskilled. Now I cannot carry 1 kg water even, I feel very sick and we have no money to get medication.”

6971 **7 June 2021 (06:49:50 – 07:31:50)**

6972 **Rukiye Turdush**
6973

6974 RT – The report that I am presenting today was written at the end of 2018, published in
6975 February 2019 and in partially updated in October 2020. Some update on my recent
6976 article on Uyghur women and genocide that I co-authored with Dr Magnus Fiskesjö. I am
6977 continuously updating my report which is called genocide in East Turkestan. I would like
6978 to present again if it is necessary in the September hearings with new information.

6979 I have updated the report with new evidence published in media reports, NGO reports,
6980 and expert reports but I didn't have a chance yet to go back to each interviewee and
6981 update information about their arrested or killed relatives or how many of them were
6982 released or how many of them were sentenced and so on. The report proves China's
6983 intention of genocide as well as China's criminal acts, at least 4-5 criteria of 1948 UN
6984 Genocide Convention. I am continuing my research to find evidence for all five prohibited
6985 acts under the UN Genocide Convention. My reports show how China is well-funded,
6986 planned organised and repeatedly implemented state policy against Uyghurs and other
6987 Turkic Muslims and these nations group identity constitutes acts of genocide.

6988 Methodology – the report was prepared on 135 testimonies of Uyghurs, arrests and
6989 forcible removal of Uyghur children and in prison interview about forced sterilisation on
6990 Uyghur woman in 2001, when I was in East Turkestan, and a video and phone interview
6991 with concentration camps survivors, and eye witness accounts. I also used the secondary
6992 sources such as reviews of experts reports and the Chinese state media evidence. This
6993 methodology was used to obtain evidence about China's mass violations against the
6994 Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims as well as to understand escalation of the violence.
6995 Amongst the 135 who testified about their arrested or disappeared relatives, 56 live in
6996 Canada and Kazakhstan, 59 in Turkey, 52 learned that direct family members were taken
6997 to concentration camps. Some entire families, I have some of the photos. The rest of them
6998 have lost contact, not able to learn about the whereabouts of their family members or their
6999 children.

7000 *Counsel – Mrs Turdush, just to remind you, the panel has read your report. Rather than*
7001 *to provide us with a summary can you focus on the main points?*

7002 RT – I am not going to talk about methodology right now. So I mention in the report
7003 historical background of East Turkestan and China state legislation that target and
7004 implement cultural genocide. I have included historical background of East Turkestan
7005 and the colonisation as the root cause of genocidal intent. I also included cultural
7006 genocide, which is destroying Uyghur language and religion and destroying cultural
7007 heritage and mosques analysed in this report because it is important for China's intention
7008 of genocide. Even though cultural genocide was excluded in 1948 Genocide Convention
7009 however there is no [inaudible]...

7010 *[intervention by Sir Geoffrey Nice]*

7011 *Panel – I am afraid you are speaking at a reading speed not a speaking speed and there*
7012 *are people who have to be able to understand what they have not probably read. Forgive*
7013 *my interrupting you.*

7014 RT – I included historical background as well as cultural genocide because cultural
7015 genocide is important because it proves China's genocidal intention. We know that the
7016 cultural genocide was excluded in 1948 Genocide Convention however there is no
7017 difference between intention of cultural genocide and genocide. I documented cultural
7018 genocide as well in my report. I have raised other examples of China's genocidal intent
7019 in this report, I will mention separately at the end. Third, I wrote in this report China's
7020 genocidal acts violating Art. 2 (a), Art. 2 (b), Art. 2 (d) and Art. 2 (e). China's violations of
7021 Art. 2 (a) which is killing of members of the group whole or in part because of their identity
7022 and religion and culture. As an example of China's implementation of physical genocide,
7023 I have included China's killing and Baren massacre, Ghulja massacre and Urumqi rising
7024 and the killings in other incidences [inaudible] as well as statements of eye witness
7025 accounts. Even though these killings were prompted by China's dissatisfaction, the
7026 Uyghur's people's dissatisfaction China's treatment and Uyghurs and other Turkic
7027 Muslims, the violent Chinese repression during and after each uprising regardless of
7028 whether Uyghurs had participated or not strongly suggested a Chinese intention to
7029 destroy the Uyghur people as an ethnicity not a political reason.

7030 For example, one of the Chinese soldier who participated at the crackdown at *Barun*
7031 stated that that time was very entertaining. We shut anybody human in that Uyghur
7032 village. The conversation was quoted by Chinese officials who wrote the article and
7033 posted on Chinese website. Footnote 37 in my report which is missing, wasn't updated.
7034 China's violation of Art. 2 (b) causing serious bodily and mental harm to members of the
7035 group. China's state surveillance policy that controlling every move of Uyghur people and
7036 policy that placed 1.6 million Han Chinese in Uygur homes destroy Uyghurs mental and
7037 physical autonomy. Several direct victim accounts statements about rape and torture is
7038 evident for serious bodily and mental harm as well.

7039 According to New York Times, half million Uyghur kids were removed from their home
7040 and separated from their parents and I have cited this in my report. Separation from their
7041 parents and their community created long-term psychological and physical damage on
7042 brain cells. It was proven by many neurologists. We do not yet know how poorly these
7043 kids are treated and how many of them are killed and abused but I assume that those
7044 separations are harming those kid's mental development.

7045 China violated Art. 2 (d) as well, which is imposing measures to prevent births within the
7046 group. I have included analysis of Chinese State policy about the birth preventions,
7047 statements of interviews within my report. Further China's forced marriage policy and
7048 forced labour policy that I argue about in my recent article about Uyghur women in China's
7049 genocide co-authored with Dr Magnus Fiskesjö. I argue that China is state-sponsoring
7050 forced marriage, forced labour camps, segregated Uyghur women and men. Different
7051 places also contributed to population reduction and it is violated Art. 2 (d).

7052 Violation of Art. 2 (e) which is forcibly transferring children of the group to another group
7053 is documented in this report as well. China's violation of Art. 2 (c) was not included in the
7054 report as I had not enough evidence when I wrote the report in 2018. It should be updated
7055 because Chinese concentration camps, forced labour camps, deportation, and appealing
7056 number of prison sentences in the region tearing families apart, destroying survival
7057 conditions and a move that could not only cause population reduction but also bring about
7058 physical destruction in whole or in part which is seriously violating both, Art. 2 (d) and 2
7059 (c) after UN Genocide Convention.

7060 Now I would like to give more examples of China's genocidal intent. Its intent was pre-
 7061 dated before its colonisation. All nations in China's territory, including the colonised
 7062 nations, including in East Turkestan are referred to as *zhonghua* (中华) nation and
 7063 China's founding father Sun Yat-sen published a statement on behalf of Chinese National
 7064 Party in 1923, he mentions it as well as in later essays *zhonghua* (中华), the process
 7065 of becoming *hua* (华) means Chinese so they would like to assimilate everyone to ethnic
 7066 Han Chinese. This was cited in several scholars' books. Intention of forced assimilation
 7067 was very clear; it exists here and is just another term for cultural genocide. Even though
 7068 act of cultural genocide is very different according to UN Genocide Convention. Both
 7069 cultural genocide and genocide are aimed at destroying existence of group in whole or in
 7070 part because of their ethnicity, religion, nationality and their race.

7071 *Counsel – My questions relate to genocidal intent. In your report you state 'intent to*
 7072 *destroy the Uyghur nation is verbalised by Chinese leaders increasingly in recent years'.*
 7073 *However, you also state 'even though they have no articulated an official written plan to*
 7074 *the public about destroying Uyghur nation, China's intention is clear'. How is China's*
 7075 *intent to destroy the Uyghur nation has been verbalised by Chinese leaders in recent*
 7076 *years?*

7077 RT – Uyghurs are described by Chinese officials as cancerous tumour, or weeds not as
 7078 human beings with right to maintain distinct culture and religion. Has been described as
 7079 'three evil forces', which must be eliminated. Also, 'break their rules', 'break their roots'
 7080 'break the lineage' are phrases used. Labelled Uyghurs as terrorists for religious beliefs
 7081 are similar to description of Jews by Nazis. Each Uyghur no matter even if innocent is a
 7082 terrorist for Chinese government. That is how they label the Uyghurs and dehumanise
 7083 them. By saying weeds, 'spray the chemicals to kill the weeds'.

7084 *Counsel – Are there sources for these phrases?*

7085 RT – I cited in my report the sources. If it is not in there, I can send you the sources
 7086 separately.

7087 *Counsel – Are there other informal phrases, coded phrases or derogatory terms, which*
 7088 *Chinese authority may use for Uyghurs, Kazakhs or other minorities?*

7089 RT – Also say when they forcibly remove the children, that ‘break their origin’, ‘break their
 7090 roots’, ‘break lineage’ – shows intention too. When they move them to the children’s
 7091 concentration camps, they cannot see parents, they can’t speak their language, can’t
 7092 practice their religion. They are being transformed into ethnic Han Chinese, completely
 7093 cut off from their background and never can find parents again. This is how to break the
 7094 roots; this is how you destroy Uyghur nation. When they grow up they are going to
 7095 become Han Chinese and they cannot contribute to their community for reproduction.
 7096 This explains their intention and I have more examples about this.

7097 *Counsel – I think some of these examples of these derogatory phrases will be of interest.*

7098 RT – Chinese ambassador in the US responded to global criticism on the re-education
 7099 camps that it is to change the Uyghur into ‘normal person’. For them Uyghurs are not
 7100 ‘normal people’ in that sense. Sending them to the camps they justified them by calling
 7101 them not normal. This is de-humanising as well and can explain their intention. The
 7102 Chinese state policy against Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims is completely evident of
 7103 China’s intention – they do not explicitly advertise genocide but are couched in the
 7104 language of re-education and pairing families, and birth prevention policy has destructive
 7105 effect as well as force labour camps. This disruptive effect is plainly evident. It is achieved
 7106 by planning, budgeting and allocating resources to carry out the plans.

7107 *Counsel – Many of these phrases or terms you have cited in your report are either*
 7108 *verbalised or are based on secondary sources, though you have referred to embassy*
 7109 *website, which would be a primary source. On basis of your knowledge of Chinese*
 7110 *government system, is it possible such an official plan or policy would exist in writing*
 7111 *rather than verbalised somewhere in the system.*

7112 RT – They do not write it down especially ‘to kill the Uyghur nation’. They are not going
 7113 to so that. Especially the Chinese government. They try to hide their crime, of course.
 7114 They camouflaging their policies e.g., concentration camps as re-education camps,
 7115 forced labour as poverty alleviation, removing children for education purposes or that it is

7116 an orphanage. They have beautiful words to camouflage their plans. They enforce birth
 7117 prevention policy, too. They do this repeatedly and it was achieved by planning,
 7118 budgeting, and allocating resources. They are doing this despite their being a devastating
 7119 effect. They know that when they use the birth prevention policy it dramatically drops the
 7120 Uyghur population but they are still implementing. The Chinese president, Xi Jinping,
 7121 says their policy is 100% correct and they will continue. They know the devastating effect
 7122 but still they continue – that demonstrates intent.

7123 *Counsel – Family planning workers – they have so much power they can put you in prison*
 7124 *or imprisonment for life, order sterilisation, contraception, abortions... do you think these*
 7125 *workers act on their own initiative or are they following a policy? If yes, what level is that*
 7126 *plan set?*

7127 RT – They strictly follow a plan. They also have a lot of power. Some Uyghur families can
 7128 bribe them and hide their children or get extra children if they have money. At the same
 7129 time in some regions if you don't know the worker, it depends on the region. It is very
 7130 different. Some regions, some family planning workers are very strict and use a harsh
 7131 policy. Some regions can relax and hide bending the rules. If you give them money, this
 7132 is based on my research.

7133 *[Intervention Sir Geoffrey Nice] – We ought to have Mrs Turdush back as well as next*
 7134 *witness [Adrian Zenz] at the September hearings. We don't want to rush things.*

7135 *Panel – What is the aim of data collection? Was it to look for areas compliant with the*
 7136 *word genocide? Did you collect the data under the various aspects of genocide, or did*
 7137 *you fit in the data you already had under these headings?*

7138 RT – No. I didn't collect the data under this aspect. Since 2007, I was thinking the human
 7139 rights violations escalation. That's why I collected data. Once I finished collecting, after I
 7140 had done the interviews, I then I found it fit to the 1948 Genocide Convention's criteria.

7141 *Panel – You said the testimonial is based on hundreds of Uyghur civilians, but only get*
 7142 *data for 135. Were there data which was contradictory with what you wanted to find out?*

7143 RT – I don't think it is contradicting. I did not only use those witnesses' interviews for my
7144 conclusion in my report. The conclusion is based on secondary sources and some of the
7145 other information from East Turkestan based on my contacts, and media reports
7146 internationally, North America, Europe, Chinese State media, Australian, NGO reports
7147 and a literature review I did for the expert report. They are consistent and linked with the
7148 Chinese government's policy. It also then fits to the Genocide Convention.

7149 *Panel – It could be argued you have not included negative data – so if you had hundreds*
7150 *of civilians, why only taken 135, just picked up positive ones and left out negative ones.*

7151 RT – I used structural interview questions – these are most of them as testimonial. Most
7152 are secondary victims. 19 are direct victims. I used both, structured and unstructured
7153 interview questions. Direct victims I used in the report, indirect ones I didn't sue as much.

7154 *Panel – Your words like 'Islam is mental disease' etc. are they coming from higher officials*
7155 *or lower officials in counties?*

7156 RT – Not from Beijing, some are local officials. I do not remember right now. I have the
7157 sources; I was very ill so have not checked over my report but I can send it to you.

7158 *Panel – One official said 'the only crime is being Uyghur' - how official is that? Is that*
7159 *something that comes from the top?*

7160 RT – That is the camp police officers or guards. This related to Mihrigul Tursun. Her only
7161 crime was being Uyghur.

7162 *Panel – If that is the case. Why did they make up excuses to take people into camps, you*
7163 *have a mother abroad or you sent money?*

7164 RT – They have to hide the crime. They are excuses, they also explain their intention too.
7165 They have expressed that Uyghurs are terrorists and with that excuse, they are justifying
7166 killing and detaining Uyghurs.

7167 *Panel – Why do you think they are going after the intellectuals?*

7168 RT – That explains China’s genocidal intent, too. Uyghur intellectuals are the leaders of
 7169 the Uyghur people. When you kill and destroy the leading forces, when you kill the head,
 7170 the body is going to be paralysed. That’s how they want to destroy the Uyghur population.

7171 *Panel – Was the persecution of the Muslims fuelled by anti-terrorism law adopted in*
 7172 *2015? Did the adoption of that law make the persecution worse or within China?*

7173 RT – Yes, that is how they justify their killings and executions against the Uyghurs. They
 7174 just label Uyghurs as terrorists. Is your questions Muslims overseas?

7175 *Panel – Sorry we are short on time. Tell me more about the two things which are*
 7176 *important, the children being sent to camps and then women.*

7177 RT – I have documented 52 children taken from their homes. Many whose parents
 7178 overseas in Turkey. I have a lot of pictures that I can send to you. Those kids whose
 7179 parents arrested first, some family members like grandparents and aunts who can take
 7180 care of them they were still taken away. The example in my report, not the real name.
 7181 Those kids, he has 3 siblings, his parents refused to eat Chinese dumplings made with
 7182 pork, so they were arrested. This happened in Aksu. The person who interviewed them
 7183 was in Holland before he was in Turkey... He said the 14-year-old when taken to boarding
 7184 school. Another person I interviewed. not in my report, he had four children. The girl after
 7185 she fled to Turkey, his wife was arrested and sentenced to ten years. Parents and brother
 7186 arrested. He had four children left, eldest taken to the school by government officials (girl,
 7187 12 years at that time). The other one went to the street and got into a car accident, another
 7188 disappeared. The last one was taken by Chinese officials.

7189 *Panel – I think you have sufficient evidence for that. The women – what you published*
 7190 *today and the efforts to try to interrupt their reproductive system. What evidence do you*
 7191 *have for the abortions and reproductive systems? How strong is the evidence?*

7192 RT – It is very strong. When I went to east Turkestan in 2001. They showed me certificates
 7193 who I saw, the proof how they are sterilised. In Kashgar and such places I did not see the
 7194 certificate as women did not carry them around. But at their house I saw the certificate,
 7195 like an award – Chinese word for it to show how families followed the family planning.
 7196 This exists for a long time. I myself got an IUD after my first child – they could not find it

7197 in Canada. I didn't go sick like those women but some of them got infected. I had to go
7198 back to China to get it removed.

7199 This does not happen but every woman but they escalated this in 2017 and strictly
7200 controlled this birth control policy, use this policy. Any women, sometimes before they
7201 had a chance to if they have a religious brother or family planning worker so they bribe
7202 and hide. Since 2017, it has become very strict. They could not do it. They could not do
7203 anything. This policy was implemented. Not only this policy birth control implemented but
7204 birth control policy strictly implemented to Uyghurs and you may say that it was
7205 implemented to Han Chinese also but that policy was relaxed to Han Chinese. they stayed
7206 in cities where Han people can have 2 children.

7207 *Panel – I want to go back to genocide. We have two definitions, Lemkin's definition and*
7208 *UN Genocide Convention. How does your data fit in with this? You end up saying there*
7209 *is no difference in intention – could you explain this to us?*

7210 RT – Intention fits Lemkin's definition here because in the book 'Axis Rule in Europe' he
7211 was saying it was not only mass killing to be genocide, you don't have to do a mass killing
7212 in front of the public. You can destroy them culturally; it is the same thing. This nation was
7213 going to disappear so it be genocide but it was not included in the UN Genocide
7214 Convention in 1948. So, I didn't not use the Lemkin's definition as a criterion but I used
7215 some of it to prove the cultural genocide and intentions.