



AN INTERNATIONAL PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL

Witness Name: Teng Biao		
Witness category:	fact <input type="checkbox"/>	expert <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Date of testimony: 10 September 2021		
Link to recording*: <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aHC2tXt8jEY&amp;t=6s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aHC2tXt8jEY&amp;t=6s</a>		
Time stamp (start/end): 05:26:16 – 06:24:57		
Report included:	yes <input type="checkbox"/>	no <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Statement included:	yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	no <input type="checkbox"/>
Transcript included:	yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	no <input type="checkbox"/>
Presentation included:	yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	no <input type="checkbox"/>

\*Please note that all recordings of the Uyghur Tribunal hearings can be found on You Tube: [Uyghur Tribunal - YouTube](#)



Testimony at the Uyghur Tribunal

2021.9

Teng Biao

(Human rights lawyer, Pozen Visiting Professor at the University of Chicago)

### Human rights situation in China

Though there are fundamental freedoms and human rights articles in the Chinese constitution, China's human rights records has remained one of the worst in the world for decades. For example, in RSF's 2021 press freedom index, China was No. 177 among 180 countries. Freedom House rates people's access to political rights and civil liberties annually, in this China ranked 195th among 210 countries and territories and Tibet was the least free region in the world. East Turkestan (Xinjiang) was not rated separately, but it is apparent the human rights situation in Xinjiang is worse than in Tibet. Hong Kong's rule of law and civil society have been almost destroyed after Beijing enforced the National Security Law in 2020. The CCP has without hesitancy torn up its international commitment of "one country, two systems".

Under China's kleptocratic system, regular citizens' assets have never been afforded any institutionalized protection. On the ideological front, the CCP has monopolized the media, created no-go zones in scholarship, instituted a brainwashing-style education system, established the Great Firewall, and persecuted intellectuals for their writing. On the legal front, the CCP has always ridden roughshod over the law. Black jails, forced disappearances, torture, secret police, surveillance, judicial corruption, controlled elections, forced demolitions, and religious persecution have all been rampant. These abuses are key elements in the CCP's system of control. China's Constitution on paper makes beautiful-sounding promises for human rights and basic freedoms, including a right to vote, equality, freedom of speech, belief, and association. But it's clear that the Party's rule of law is merely an empty promise. The Constitution didn't guide the Party toward a rule-of-law democracy, but as Stein Ringen, a professor at Oxford, has documented, China is adopting a "sophisticated totalitarianism." This totalitarianism is strict and refined without being brittle and dogmatic; it's cruel and barbaric without being chaotic. China's booming economy, social stability, and superficially popular support for Xi have fooled both the world and most Chinese citizens.

### The "high-tech totalitarianism"

China has a strict one-party system. The Chinese Communist Party controls all the major political and social forces and thus the current political system in China is not an authoritarianism but a totalitarianism.

The CCP utilizes its lead in Artificial Intelligence to make its total control of Chinese society even more total. China's Great Firewall, social media, Big Data, e-commerce, and modern telecommunications make it easier for the CCP to keep people under a surveillance akin to Jeremy Bentham's panopticon, in which nobody knows if or when they are being watched, but it is always a possibility. The Internet has been used by the CCP as an effective tool for censorship, propaganda, and brainwashing. Facial recognition, voiceprint recognition, gait recognition, DNA collection, and biometric tags have all systematized the CCP's growing control. In Shandong province, virtual reality (VR) was used to test party members' level of loyalty to the CCP (Economic Times, 2018). The social credit system is horrible case that may have surpassed the imagination of George Orwell. The market-research firm IDC recently predicted that China's public surveillance-camera network will keep growing, with some 2.76 billion units slated to be installed by 2022. For every Chinese citizen, then, there will be two surveillance cameras, not counting those on their personal devices that can be digitally commandeered at any time by the CCP.

The "high-tech totalitarianism" is effectively functioning in the network of traditional total control mechanisms which the CCP established in 1949 and strengthened for seven decades. Considering China's networked stability-maintenance, secret police, black jails, paid internet trolls, party stoking of nationalist sentiment, expanded control of the media and Internet, brainwashing, mass arrests of rights activists, and cult of personality around Xi Jinping, what we have seen is a high-technology totalitarianism, that never happened in human history.

In this high-tech totalitarian state, the space for activists and dissidents has been extremely restricted. Some laws and regulations, with a clear purpose of controlling and oppressing the civil society, were put into effect. State Security Law, Foreign NGO Management Law, Charity Law, Cyber Security Law, etc, have already influenced the development of rights activism, the space for domestic NGOs has been much narrower than before. What's worse is that the CCP's propaganda and brainwashing has become more powerful and effective. It is becoming much more difficult than before for people to enlighten themselves with free information, knowledge and education.

#### Extrajudicial detentions

Due to the lack of judicial independence and checks and balances, there are many kinds of extrajudicial detentions in China. Extra-judicial detention is a way for the authorities to deprive citizens of their personal freedom without judicial review (court trial). Over time, some of these practice have been abolished, for example, the Custody and Interrogation system, the Custody and Repatriation system, the internationally infamous re-education-through-labor system, detention, and education.

But some extra-judicial detentions still exist, including compulsory internment in psychiatric hospitals, compulsory drug rehabilitation, "Residential Surveillance at a Designated Location"

(RSDL) and “Legal Education Center,” informally known as a “brainwashing class”. “Legal Education Center” is mostly used to imprison Falungong practitioners. According to MingHui, a website documenting the persecution of Falungong practitioners, between July 1999 and August 2021, 4687 Falungong practitioners have been tortured to death. The provinces where most deaths occurred are Heilongjiang (黑龙江), Hebei (河北), Liaoning (辽宁), Jilin (吉林), Shandong (山东), Sichuan (四川), and Hubei (湖北). The average age at the time of death by persecution is 55 years old. Average number of people persecuted to death per month is 18. Clearly, although the real number is likely much more than the statistics.

There are similarities between the legal education centers and the concentration camps in the East Turkestan (XUAR), regarding its illegality, operation, the number of people being targeted, the use of torture and brainwashing, the impunity of the abusers, and religious persecution.

The main difference between concentration camps and prisons is that the people held in camps generally have "a certain status" and are held without any judicial process and without a set period of detention. It is a kind of prison outside the law, a prison worse than a prison.

The ongoing Uyghur genocide is the worst humanitarian disaster of our time, and it is moving rapidly in an even more horrific direction. The pretext is purging extremism, terrorism and separatism, the means are arbitrary detention, forced brainwashing, torture and state terrorism, and the goal is the eradication of the cultural identity, faith and ethnic identity of Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities, and the complete destruction of their possibility of resistance.

### Systemic Torture

The Chinese government adopted legal prohibitions on the mistreatment of persons in custody as early as 1979, ratified the United Nations Convention against Torture in 1988, and repeatedly made laws and regulations prohibiting the use of torture. But torture is still rampant in China's detention centers, labor camps, prisons and various kinds of extra-legal detentions. Torture methods include electric shock, “tiger chairs” burning, beating and hanging, sleep deprivation, food deprivation, forced chemical injection causing nerve damage, solitary confinement, and many others. Every year, there are reported cases of Chinese citizens being disabled or killed by police torture.

In practice, the use of torture is embedded in China’s political-legal system. Here are some institutional elements of torture.

-Lack of judicial independence. According to the constitution, the court system is to exercise judicial power independently and free of interference from administrative organs, public organizations, and individuals. The CCP's Political-Legal Committees (PLC) coordinate and have direct control over all the court system. This Party organ exists in all level of governments and is responsible for political and legal affairs. In practice, the organization oversees all legal

enforcement authorities, including the police, the procuratorate, the court, and judiciary administrations (the ministry/bureau of justice). In criminal justice, in reality, the police have more power than the court/judges, and the judges are reluctant or unable to challenge the police, and on most occasions, the procuratorate.

- Narrow definition of “torture”. The definition of torture adopted in Chinese criminal law and criminal procedural law is narrower than the concise and widely recognized definition articulated in the CAT. What’s more, in practice, torture is understood by many law enforcement officers as only “physical torture”. Therefore, the police torture people without technically violating the law.

- Flawed criminal procedure/evidence rules. Not all evidence extracted from torture is excluded according to the evidence rules. In practice, it’s rare for the judges to exclude the evidences even when it’s clear that the evidences were obtained by torture.

- Impunity for (most) torturers. Criminal investigations and prosecutions heavily rely on extracting confessions and obtaining evidence. Yet police and other law officers who commit torture and violated the criminal law are seldom arrested or convicted. When some torturers were punished, the punishment is disproportionately slight. Torture is even worse in extra-judicial or extra-legal detentions, but the system protects the torturers in this case. When the more vulnerable people became the victims of torture (for example, dissidents, Falun Gong, petitioners, Tibetans, Uyghurs), it’s extremely difficult, if any possible, to bring the torturers to justice.

- The limited role of lawyers. Lawyer can’t practice law independently and freely, especially in criminal cases. The majority of detainees and criminal defendants do not have a lawyer representing them. Few lawyers in criminal cases are willing to challenge the use of torture or the abuse of power by the police, prosecutors, or the judges.

- Lack of freedom of expression. Media are controlled by the government and internet is severely censored. It’s hard to disclose the cases related to torture, thus public opinions won’t pressure the authorities to deal with those cases properly.

## My experience

I was a scholar, human rights lawyer and dissident in China between 2003 and 2014. I have been dealing with cases related to torture, religious persecution, the death penalty, wrongful convictions, arbitrary detention, forced abortion and forced eviction. As one of the earliest human rights lawyers, I promoted the Rights Defense Movement and founded two human rights organizations in Beijing – the Open Constitutional Initiative and China Against the Death Penalty. I co-signed Charter 08 in 2008, and co-initiated the New Citizens Movement in 2012. Because of my rights activist and dissenting work, I was frequently put under house arrest by the secret police. In 2008, I was disbarred and deprived of my passport. I was forbidden from teaching, and

eventually fired by the University. The Chinese secret police kidnapped me for three times, respectively in 2008, 2011 and 2013. In 2011, I was detained for 70 days, I was put under an extreme form of solitary confinement and physically tortured. I was forced to wear a pair of handcuffs, 24-7, and forced to sit down on the floor in a fixed position. I was slapped and deprived of sleep. I was not allowed to speak, read, write, or communicate with anyone, not to mention to meet with lawyers or family. I had to leave China in 2014, but my wife and one of my children were prevented from exiting China.

To conclude, the concentration camps and genocide do not arise from a vacuum. The PRC has been one the worst human rights abusers for many decades. Every religion is controlled and suppressed, some are more brutally persecuted than others. There are various forms of extra-judicial and extra-legal detentions. Tibetan culture, language and religion have been increasingly destructed. Chen Quanguo, the Party Secretary of Xinjiang, has duplicated and intensified his playbook in Tibet, including mass arrest and torture, religious persecution, travel restrictions, linguistic suppression and grid-system of surveillance. The CCP has a long tradition of thought control or brainwashing. The forced conversion is widely used in both the Uyghur camps and the so-called “legal education centers” where hundreds of thousands Falun Gong practitioners are being detained and tortured. The CCP regime has established and strengthened its “high-tech totalitarianism” with its advanced technologies on AI, DNA, big data, surveillance cameras, and so on. And finally, the CCP manipulates the Han-chauvinism, nationalism, and anti-Muslim narratives to justify its ongoing genocide in Xinjiang.

1 **10 September 2021 (5:26:16 – 6:24:57)**

2 **Teng Biao**

3

4 TENG BIAO – Good afternoon, everyone, I will talk about the Uyghur genocide and  
5 human rights abuses in China, and I will put this into the domestic, political and legal  
6 context in China. The human rights situation in China is deteriorating. China is one of  
7 the worst countries in terms of human rights and freedoms. Chinese government  
8 violates every fundamental freedom and right. The censorship is strict, torture,  
9 wrongful conviction and arbitrary detention are all rampant. Also, there is serious  
10 human rights abuses like extrajudicial killings, organ harvesting, discrimination and the  
11 death penalty. Since Xi came to power he has started a comprehensive crackdown  
12 targeting human rights lawyers, dissidents and NGOs, so-called evil cults, all kinds of  
13 religions, internet, and universities and he also started an anti-corruption campaign.  
14 Targeting private companies and entrepreneurs and of course Tibet, Hong Kong, inner  
15 Mongolia and in Xinjiang/East Turkestan, things are getting worse and worse there.  
16 The Communist party has an exaggerated sense of insecurity. After 1989, up to the  
17 early 1990s, there are some new social energies, in promoting civil society. The  
18 Communist party is also facing an economic crisis, social and ideological crisis. So,  
19 after this sense of insecurity, the communist party crackdown on society brutally. The  
20 Chinese government has established high tech totalitarianism and uses big data,  
21 artificial intelligence like facial recognition, voice recognition, DNA and surveillance  
22 cameras to tighten its control people. This kind of high-tech totalitarianism is working  
23 effectively with the other methods that the communist party established after 1949 like

24 the use of secret police, networking, testability, black jails, the brainwashing and mass  
25 arrest for distance.

26 These are some pictures of surveillance cameras and facial recognition. The DNA and  
27 the gait-recognition (technology). Also, during Covid-19, also the health code is also  
28 used by the government to control people. There are many different extrajudicial  
29 detentions, and extra-legal detentions, including re-educating through labour. It was a  
30 policy in 2013. Some like with the RSDL (Residential Surveillance at a Designated  
31 Location) and Compulsory Mental Hospital Drug Treatment. Black jails detaining  
32 prisoners and the legal education centre targeting Falun Gong practitioners, 100s of  
33 practitioners were illegally detained in those centres. They were forced to work and  
34 they were tortured. I think a 100% of those detainees were tortured in those legal  
35 education centres. And they were forced to convert, to give up their belief.

36 The communist party is obsessed with the idea of education or re-education from the  
37 names of the extra judicial detentions. And the difference between the concentration  
38 camps in the Uyghur area and other legal detention camps include those camps are  
39 targeting certain ethnic minorities, certain religion and culture with the purpose of  
40 eliminating their culture, religious and ethnic and identity. They were forced to give up  
41 their identity and its part of the genocide. And also the systemic rape and assault make  
42 these camps more special. And also the birth control, forced abortion practiced in  
43 Xinjiang. So the torture is rampant at the institutional in China. The reason for it is the  
44 narrow definition of torture. So the definition of it is more narrow than the international  
45 edition. The flawed evidence rules and there is no judicial independence, the police  
46 has a higher power than the judges and also the immunity of the torturers. Most of the  
47 torturers. The political dissidents like the Falun Gong, Uyghurs so torture is more  
48 severe. And also, the lawyers are persecuted in China. So, all religions are

49 persecution, some more brutally than others. The most persecuted religions include  
50 Tibetan Buddhism, Uyghur Muslims and to a lesser extent Christianity.

51 So Chen Quanguo was the head of Tibet and before he became the party secretary  
52 in Japan. He has used and intensified his playbook through travel restrictions and  
53 travel restrictions. And the Chinese Communist party manipulates Han-chauvinism  
54 and the discrimination of Uyghur Muslims, and other minorities. The party is also using  
55 the idea of/long tradition of *dayitong* (the Great unification) of the Chinese nation and  
56 the so-called “Chinese dream” and the dream of a Chinese nation to resort to the anti-  
57 Muslim sentiment and the international anti-Muslim narrative is also used to justify the  
58 on-going genocide. Next, I will speak about my experience. So, to conclude, these  
59 concentration camps or Uyghur genocide do not arise from a vacuum: with respect to  
60 the tradition of the party in thought reform, and brainwashing. And also, its  
61 manipulation of, nationalism, Han-Chauvinism. Thank you very much and I look  
62 forward to your questions

63 *COUNSEL – Thank you very much Dr Biao for your report. You referred to black jails,*  
64 *can you expand on what you mean by black jails.*

65 TB – Yes so two different concepts of black jails. A narrow concept of black jails are  
66 detaining petitioners who are these Chinese people who suffer from wrongful  
67 convictions. And they go to big cities like Beijing to petition the cracks in their cases.  
68 So that is the narrow of the Black jail. And the wider meaning refers to all kinds of  
69 actual legal detention, including legal detention centres detaining Falun Gong  
70 practitioners.

71 *COUNSEL – how many different types of detention centres have you detected in*  
72 *China and which one of them are in Xinjiang?*

73 TB – The most similar to the ones in Xinjiang are legal detention centres that detain  
74 Falun Gong practitioners. As I have documented there are still more than seven  
75 different kinds of judicial detentions but the concentration camps in Xinjiang are part  
76 of the genocide and detain at least a million Uyghurs and Kazakhs and other Turkic  
77 minorities that is totally unacceptable. That is the worst documented

78 *COUNSEL – And can you tell the panel which one of the camps practices more violent*  
79 *torture than the others?*

80 TB – I would say the concentration camps are the worst, the so-called education  
81 centres by the Chinese government and the legal education centres in other parts of  
82 China. Both of them are the worst. But the scale of torture and as I have mentioned  
83 the systemic sexual assault is a practice in the concentration camps in Xinjiang and  
84 that is special.

85 *COUNSEL – Can you explain why there is such a strong focus on Uyghurs? Why have*  
86 *they targeted this group so brutally? Compared to the others.*

87 TB – So, I have explained the legal system and the political system and the rule of the  
88 communist party and the human rights abuse is always there and the Communist party  
89 in facing an economic crisis, it intensified its crackdown on civil society. And what's  
90 special in Xinjiang is that Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims are a different race, have  
91 a different culture, language and religion. The Communist Party sees the Uyghurs and  
92 other Turkic people as a threat to stability, their excuse is that they are fighting  
93 terrorism, extremism and separatism. Simply speaking, the political consideration of  
94 maintaining the political monopoly is the biggest motive to crack-down on the Uyghurs.

95 *COUNSEL – In what way would you say Xinjiang situation is worse than other*  
96 *situations in China? Compared to Tibet, which had a difficult time as well. Is it worse*  
97 *than Tibet?*

98 TB – Yes, so according to a human right report by Freedom House the ranking of  
99 Tibet's human rights situation is worse than North Korea and Freedom House did not  
100 rank Xinjiang separately but according to all the reports and my observations, I keep  
101 regular contact with my friends in main China so it's obvious that the human rights  
102 situation is worse than in Tibet. So regarding the torture, the totalitarian surveillance,  
103 the mass incarceration and yeah almost everything is much worse than in Tibet.

104 *COUNSEL – Thank you very much Mr. Biao, the panel members have questions for*  
105 *you now.*

106 *PANEL – Dr Teng, you've explained the similarities and differences between the legal*  
107 *centres and the re-education camps in 2013. You mentioned in your paper there was*  
108 *a re-education scheme through labour which was abolished in 2013. Could you tell us*  
109 *what that was? And if there was anything comparable with the reports on forced labour*  
110 *in Xinjiang?*

111 TB – Thank you. So, the education through labour system was started in 1947 in the  
112 Mao Ding's era and was abolished in 2013. So these camps detain hundreds of  
113 thousands of dissidents and those people who committed [slight] crimes and also  
114 activism and political dissidents and Falun Gong practitioners and other religious  
115 believers who are detained in those re-education camps and prisons. And they were  
116 forced to work so forced labour is rampant in China and as I observed forced labour  
117 in concentration camps in Xinjiang is also rampant and it has both economic and  
118 political motives.

119 *PANEL – Could the system of abuse, as it is alleged taking place in Xinjiang, in your*  
120 *opinion, could that be taking place without the backing of President’s bureau and other*  
121 *central bodies. Are there individuals that you would identify as principally responsible*  
122 *for the decision-making and the implementation of those policies?*

123 TB – We know ...[inaudible]... in Xinjiang, genocide in China. We should not exclude  
124 those people who have higher power than Chen Quanguo and of course the Politburo,  
125 and the standing members of the Politburo and they make the final decision. And  
126 China has a system where the party controls everything and the General Secretary of  
127 the Party, which is Xi Jinping, has more power than other standing members so from  
128 the scale of the concentration camps and the response responding to international  
129 pressure regarding this issue, we can technically draw the conclusion that without Xi  
130 Jinping’s permission, and Chen Quanguo, Chen Quanguo does not have the power  
131 to detain a million people. So, all the top leaders, especially Xi Jinping, should be  
132 responsible for the genocide.

133 *PANEL – Thank you. Can you explain to us, after Xi became president, I think there*  
134 *was an amendment to the Constitution, about the Chinese people; all Chinese people*  
135 *and the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the guidance of Leninism and*  
136 *Maoism etc., and the new bit was and Xi Jinping thought on socialism with Chinese*  
137 *characteristics for a new era. Could you help us understand the significance of that*  
138 *phrase and its addition to the constitution?*

139 TB – Yes, so Xi Jinping has removed the presidential term limit from the Constitution,  
140 and he is becoming the live long president, dictator and he has resorted to cultural  
141 personality similar to Mao Ding and no one can challenge him or politically rival him  
142 especially the brutal crackdown on civil society. And like the term ‘Xi Jinping thought’

143 is written into textbooks, so he has turned China from a collective dictatorship during  
144 Jiang Zeming and Hu Jintao s era to a more personal dictatorship. So in my opinion,  
145 he has changed the political landscape even though the one-party system did not  
146 change after 1949.

147 *PANEL – You say that the CCP controls all the media and that it is propaganda and*  
148 *brainwashing have become more powerful, effective while its harder at the same time*  
149 *more difficult for people to access independent information. What is your sense of the*  
150 *awareness of the wider Chinse population of the situation of the Uyghurs and how*  
151 *would you say they regard Uyghur people?*

152 TB – The censorship is really strict in China- the party controls all of the media  
153 including the Internet, social media. It is very difficult for Chinese people to know all  
154 the information censored/blocked by the authorities. I think the vast majority of  
155 Chinese people know the details about the concentration camps. The persecution of  
156 Uyghurs, only a few Chinese can use VPN/circumvent the Great firewall(?) and they  
157 know what's happening in Xinjiang. Another point is, they don't care, the fear is  
158 everywhere in China and people are afraid to talk about any sensitive issues. Those  
159 who know what's happening in Xinjiang, cannot talk about things to their friends and  
160 they don't care, indifference is everywhere in China. And another thing is, Han  
161 chauvinism, so Han Chinese are more than 90% of the Chinese population, majority  
162 of them directly or indirectly discriminate against ethnic minorities. And they have  
163 somehow thoughts of a great unification and superiority of Han Chinese. And the  
164 propaganda is very effective, so the Chinese [propaganda] say that Xinjiang people  
165 are separatists/extremists and they want to be an independent country like that. So  
166 many Han Chinese people see Uyghurs as terrorists and separatists and so I have a  
167 few friends in Xinjiang (who are Han Chinese) and I tried to tell them what is happening

168 there and they don't care, they even applaud the policy and they say, they say  
169 social/political stability has improved and they don't know the details but that they don't  
170 care about the human rights abuse in those camps

171 *PANEL – Thank you, you say that the goal, the goal of the party is eradication of the*  
172 *cultural identity, faith and ethnic identity of Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities and*  
173 *the complete destruction of the possibility of their resistance. Given that you've*  
174 *described a widespread system of abuse, in the rest of China and repression and fear*  
175 *what leads you to the conclusion that we're talking about the complete destruction or*  
176 *eradication identity. What are the features that make it that much worse than the*  
177 *situation you've described elsewhere?*

178 TB – Since 1949 the Communist party has strengthened its totalitarian system, but  
179 this kind of high-tech technology is unprecedented. It's different from the Soviet Union  
180 or North Korea in its usage of high technology. This kind of totalitarian surveillance  
181 that really makes the resistance extremely if any possible. They can prevent people  
182 from gathering together especially those activists / potential activists, the government  
183 of these technologies can monitor them closely and control and they also use what I  
184 call collective punishment and even the activists who are brave enough to resist, the  
185 government can silence their family members and the government can use their family  
186 members of take relatives as hostages to punish or silence the activists what we have  
187 seen in the Uyghur activist, including many prominent Uyghur activists overseas the  
188 Chinese governments sentence their brother sister relatives to a long imprisonment.  
189 That is collective punishment, and the Chinese government never hesitates using the  
190 people living in China.

191 *PANEL – Thank you very much, that has been very helpful, and informative. Can I just*  
192 *ask about two medical things? One is about drug rehabilitation and institutionalisation.*  
193 *Can you just tell me who do they do this too and secondly what drugs do they use?*

194 TB – So the Chinese police use the compulsory drug treatment like to those people  
195 who are addicted to heroin, cocaine, marijuana all kinds of drugs. It's a crime to  
196 produce or sell those drugs but not a crime to consume those drugs. The police forced  
197 those people to...

198 *PANEL – Thank you, that isn't quite what I meant. Certainly, the Uyghurs are put into*  
199 *camps and also the actual concentration camps, if that's what they are called. They*  
200 *are given drugs to sedate for various other things and I was never quite sure what they*  
201 *were.*

202 TB – Oh you mean that they gave drugs to the Uyghurs.

203 *PANEL – Yes.*

204 TB – I don't have experience and research on that but ... in Chinese policing and  
205 detention facilities they force detainees to [*inaudible*] many times. So one example is  
206 the 709 crackdown, where many people, over 320 human rights lawyers, were  
207 detained or persecuted so many of them and most of them are my close friends they  
208 were forced to have the drugs during the detention and some of them have mental  
209 problems after several months or more than a year or two years of detention so one  
210 of the human rights lawyers his name is Li Chunfu. He's a human rights lawyer, and  
211 he got severe mental problems after the detention so it's... So, what is happening in  
212 Xinjiang and the labour camps, I think the communist party will use the same method.

213 *PANEL – Thank you very much, so the second question you touched on it but didn't*  
214 *go further about organ transplantation. Is there a system by which they choose*

215 *particular people, for this? I understand that everyone has their DNA. First of all, is*  
216 *that true, for everybody that enters the camps we are told they get blood tests and one*  
217 *of them is on DNA. Would you have any information on how they choose the people*  
218 *from whom they will be harvesting the drugs, sorry, harvest the organs beg your*  
219 *pardon?*

220 TB – Yes, so briefly, the Chinese government are forcibly transplanting the organs and  
221 they are targeting [*inaudible*] – organ harvesting victims are [*inaudible*] Falun Gong  
222 practitioners. They pause of the organ harvesting. After 1999, the party persecuted  
223 Falun Gong and then they organ harvest among the group they have a long  
224 experience in organ harvesting, and the same thing happened to the detainees in  
225 Xinjiang. So, the same experience, of persecuting Falun Gong to Xinjiang

226 *PANEL – Thank you, the last question from me and it's a general one. From what*  
227 *you're saying. That the media is highly stamped on, how much to the Chinese public*  
228 *know about what's going on in Xinjiang?*

229 TB – Most of them don't know what happening in Xinjiang and one thing I should  
230 mention if they know the details, some of them, will speak out and I remember a  
231 Chinese activist, Han Chinese, was sentenced to 4 years because he disclosed  
232 information in Xinjiang. Several months ago, many Chinese people accessed  
233 clubhouse and they listened to Uyghur people and other victims and then they know  
234 and they show their support and some overseas like me, support the Uyghurs and the  
235 Turkic people so not many but the problem is that it is difficult and very risky for the  
236 people in Chinese to get the information about Xinxiang.

237 *PANEL – It's been widely reported and sought to control a wide range of groups from*  
238 *Falun Gong but more recently that group has widened to journalists, entrepreneurs*

239 *(Jack Ma, Alibaba), actors and sportspeople and others. Anybody who could demand*  
240 *loyalty from the party itself, so one imagines that is part a insecurity issue, partly it's a*  
241 *competition for loyalty but the question is how is how is it different from the Uyghurs?*  
242 *Why is it worse? Why is the repression distinct for them in comparison to the other*  
243 *groups so different?*

244 TB – Thank you, so the propaganda and the brainwashing and censorship, are always  
245 there but what's different in Xinjiang and the concentration camps, they use the torture  
246 they use mass detention to practice that brainwashing. So that is torture, not just  
247 misinformation or propaganda without violence, that is different. So, the purpose is to  
248 eliminate the culture, the identity of the Uyghur people. That is different. The  
249 brainwashing of the Han people is for loyalty, to the party or to Xi Jinping, they don't  
250 need to use, rape or mass incarceration. So yeah, I think the two main [*inaudible*]...

251 *PANEL – Could I just ask you about torture which you wrote about in your statement,*  
252 *I suppose at the fundamental level, how do people define it, I assume narrowly, it still*  
253 *includes physical harm and psychological harm as well. Torture is presumably to the*  
254 *law; people seem to get away with torturing. I wondered what the official sanction*  
255 *would be. I wondered what the lawyer's role would be in terms of these criminal*  
256 *offences and their enforcement*

257 TB – Thank you, so torture is legally prohibited in Chinese criminal law and criminal  
258 procedural law and the people who commit torture and be convicted and sentenced to  
259 a few years of prison but in practice very new like the police and the prison guards are  
260 and very few of them, and the torturers are convicted and even some of them. For  
261 example, a policeman, tortured a detainee to death according to the criminal law  
262 should be sentenced life imprisonment or death penalty but in reality, but they long got

263 a few years but that's disproportionate and the lawyers. 420 and but very few of them  
264 want to deal with criminal cases but it's risky to take criminal cases if they are willing  
265 to challenge the abuse of power by the authorities. So many criminal defendants don't  
266 have a representation and I was a human rights lawyer but I was detained, tortured,  
267 and disappeared and disbarred so its dangerous to be a criminal lawyer challenging  
268 power.

269 *PANEL – Thank you, the PRC seems to have their own notion of the human rights*  
270 *they're part of the UN Human Rights periodic review and a white paper has come out*  
271 *this year. What's your view on the PRC's use and understanding of human rights?*

272 TB – Yes so for a long time human rights was taboo and nobody could talk about  
273 human rights but then the Chinese government wanted to use the concept of human  
274 rights, so human rights was written into the constitution but first the Chinese  
275 government manipulates the definition of Human Rights, already has the right to  
276 survival , development to undermine the civil and political rights and second all  
277 degrees of human rights, all the fundamental human rights were written in the  
278 constitution but they didn't care about human rights. Because the number one priority  
279 of the Chinese government is to maintain its one-party rule and China has ratified at  
280 least 24 or 25 human rights treaties but the really manipulate they have to telling lies  
281 when they are being reviewed or criticized for human rights issues. But for example,  
282 there are political prisoners they have committed regular crimes yeah that is it

283 *PANEL – I have two short questions for you, and they must be short because we're*  
284 *short on time. Imagine a visit, there is a record of your entry, your visit, there is a record*  
285 *of the reason for your discharge. Do you know or do you have an opinion about when*  
286 *individuals go into detention there is a record of why they go in, a record of the plan*

287 *for their treatment and there is a record of torture, do you know if there is a record of*  
288 *those– sort of parallel of what you expect in a hospital*

289 TB – You mean in a hospital?

290 *PANEL – No the hospital is just an analogy, where you are taken into a place, and*  
291 *dealt with there is a linear record of your stay there. Is there the same linear record*  
292 *that reason for entry reason for entry, plan for torture and reason for release? Is there*  
293 *a written record of that somewhere?*

294 TB – According to the law, there should a written record of the detainees going into  
295 and going out of the hospital but the government officials' access is arbitrary. If the  
296 detainees are special like human rights activist or dissents or Falun Gong and they don't  
297 follow the law, the regulations so that is even in criminal procedure, the formal  
298 procedure, and regarding the detention camps

299 *PANEL – I'm going to cut you off because we are nearly out of time. Should there be*  
300 *written record but what torture and inmate is going to suffer? Should there be such a*  
301 *record?*

302 TB – Yes there should be, like the physical condition but I'm afraid because of all the  
303 facilities including the hospital I'm afraid– I'm afraid there won't be they won't mention  
304 the term torture and often they don't care about the legal requirement.

305 *PANEL – And should there be a record of the requisition of the thing called the tiger*  
306 *chair the Chinese government denies they the Chinese government denies of its*  
307 *existence. They deny that it exists.*

308 TB – Yes, they deny it even if so, many survivors exist, they deny it



# The Uyghur Genocide and Human Rights Abuse in China

◆ Teng Biao  
tengbiao89@gmail.com

# Human rights situation in China

- ◆ Religious persecution
- ◆ Censorship, jailing journalists, lawyers and activists
- ◆ Torture
- ◆ The death penalty
- ◆ Wrongful conviction
- ◆ Arbitrary detention, enforced disappearance
- ◆ Organ harvesting
- ◆ Extra-judicial killings
- ◆ Discrimination

# Xi Jinping's comprehensive crackdown

- ◆ human rights activists, lawyers, dissidents, NGOs,
- ◆ “evil cults”, underground churches,
- ◆ internet, media, scholars, universities,
- ◆ anti-corruption campaign
- ◆ ‘clearing out the underworld’ (saohei, 扫黑)
- ◆ celebrities,
- ◆ entrepreneurs, private companies,
- ◆ Tibet, Hong Kong, inner-Mongolia, Xinjiang

# the CCP's sense of insecurity

- ◆ post-1989 'new social energies' – in the form of the internet, the market, the spread of liberal ideas, the rights defense movement.....
- ◆ The CCP's crises
  - economic,
  - political,
  - social,
  - ideological crisis...

# High-Tech Totalitarianism

- ◇ big data,
- ◇ GFW, Golden Shield,
- ◇ AI: facial recognition, voiceprint recognition, gait recognition,
- ◇ DNA collections,
- ◇ Social credit system,
- ◇ Wechat, Weibo, Tiktok
- ◇ VR (used to test party members' level of loyalty to the CCP.)
- ◇ Surveillance cameras (2.76 billion units slated to be installed by 2022)

- 
- ◆ The “high-tech totalitarianism” is effectively functioning in the network of traditional total control mechanisms which the CCP established in 1949 and strengthened for seven decades.
  - ◆ networked stability-maintenance 网格化维稳
  - ◆ secret police,
  - ◆ black jails,
  - ◆ paid internet trolls,
  - ◆ party stoking of nationalist sentiment,
  - ◆ brainwashing,
  - ◆ mass arrests of rights activists,
  - ◆ cult of personality around Xi Jinping.



SOFTWARE CHINA PRIVACY

## Latest version of gait-recognition technology rolls out in China

Limping won't fool it

By Rob Thubron on February 26, 2019, 8:58 AM



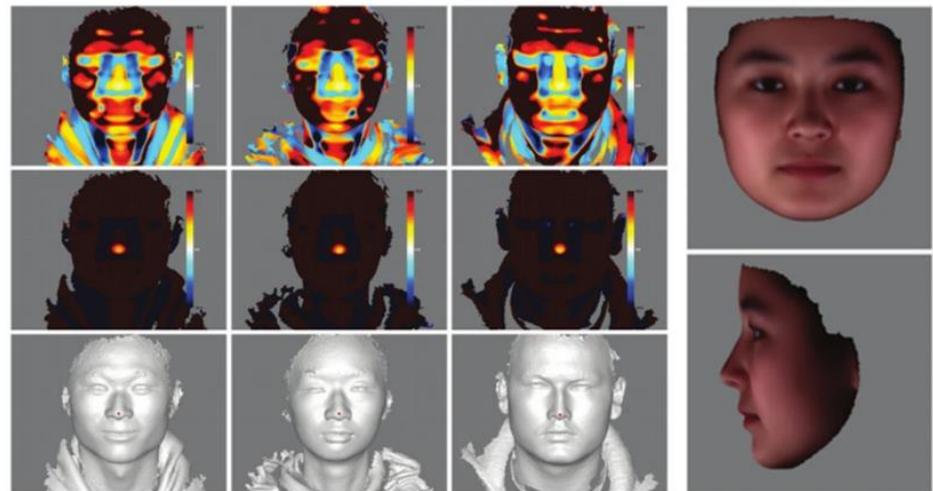
**In brief:** It's no secret that China is a big fan of facial recognition technology, but the system has its limitations, especially if people know to hide their faces. A new startup, Watrix, comes in. Rather than identifying someone by their features, it uses gait-recognition technology. Now, the latest version has arrived.



The New York Times

## China Uses DNA to Map Faces, With Help From the West

Beijing's pursuit of control over a Muslim ethnic group pushes the rules of science and raises questions about consent.





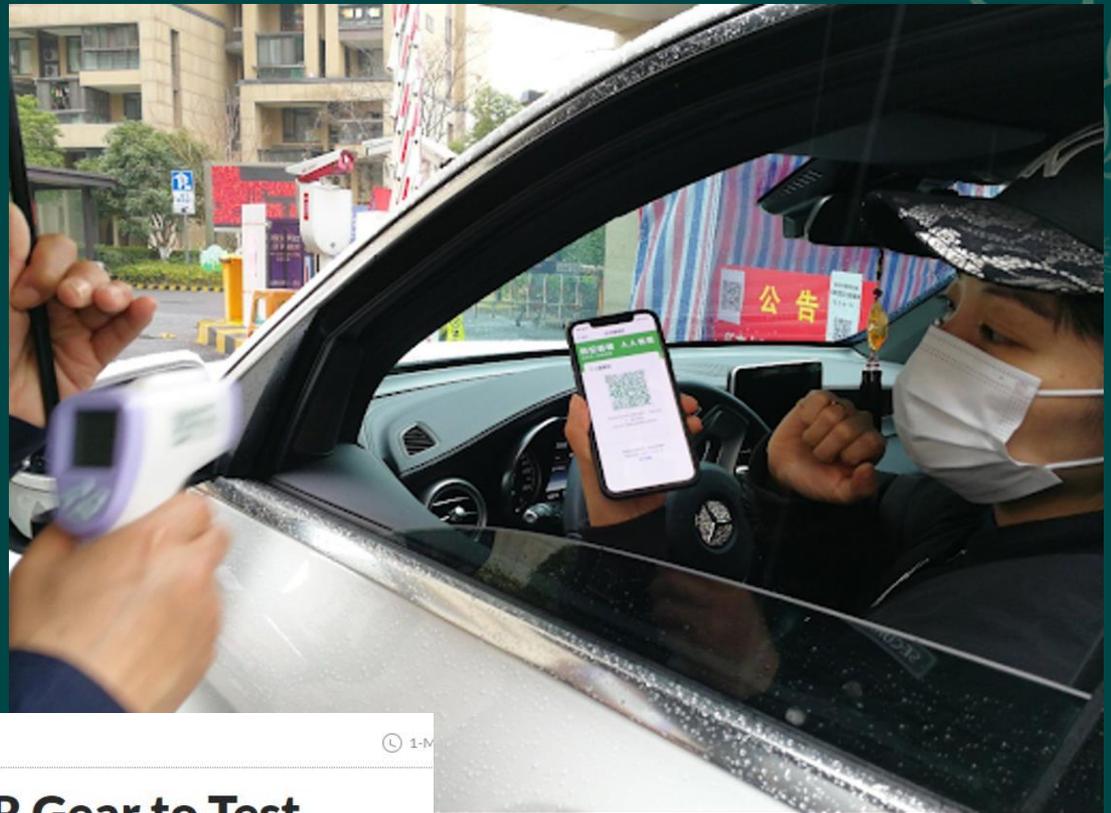
Updated on: 2020-03-24 10:01:31



GREEN

Data sources: National integrated government service platform & Municipal public administrations

FAQ | Customer Service | Feedback



# China's Communist Party Using VR Gear to Test Member Loyalty



CPC members in Qingyang, China were required to wear VR headsets to conduct a test and determine their loyalty and eligibility for the membership.

News18

- PTI
- LAST UPDATED: MAY 7, 2018, 5:02 PM IST

SHARE THIS:



# Extrajudicial Detentions in PRC history

- ◇ 1. **Detention for Interrogation** 1961-1997
- ◇ 2. Custody and Repatriation 1982-2003
- ◇ 3. **“Double designation”** (shuanggui), 1990-2018
- ◇ 4. **Re-education Through Labor**  
(laojiao, 劳教) 1957-2013
- ◇ 5. Retention for in-camp employment, 1949-1994
- ◇ 6. **Detention for Education, 1991-2019**
- ◇ 7. Detention for Re-education, 1952-2020
- ◇ .....

# Extrajudicial Detentions Still in use

- ◆ **1. Residential Surveillance at a Designated Location (RSDL)**
- ◆ up to 6 months
- ◆ enforced disappearance

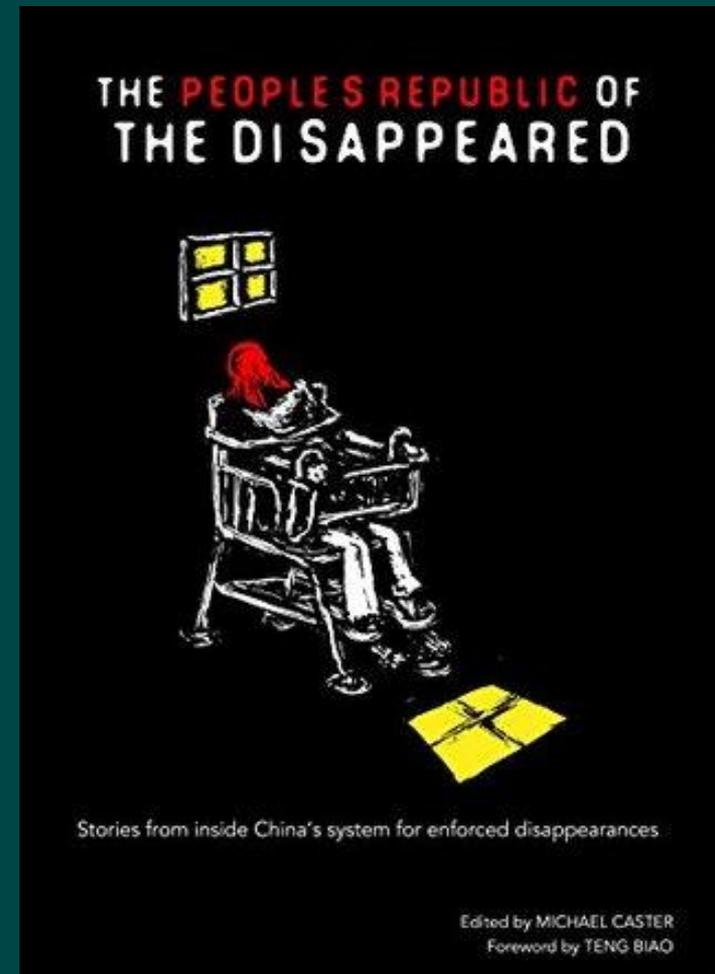
- ◆ **2. Isolation for Compulsory Drug Treatment,**

*qiangzhi jiedu* (强制戒毒)

3–6 months, can be extended to 1 year

- ◆ **3. Involuntary Psychiatric Commitment**

Holding “mentally ill patients”  
in psychiatric facilities



# Extra-legal detention as State crime

## 4、 Black jails (detaining petitioners)



# Extra-legal detention as State crime

- ◆ **5. Legal Education Center** informally known as “brainwashing class,” “Brainwashing Center”
- ◆ mainly targeting members of Falun Gong
- ◆ **Enforced conversion** (qiangzhi zhuanhua, 强制转化)
- ◆ forced labor
- ◆ At least 4687 Falungong practitioners tortured to death. (1999-2021)
- ◆ The average age at the time of death by persecution is 55 years old.
- ◆ Average number of people persecuted to death per month is 18.

# The CCP's obsession with “re-education”

- ◆ Re-education through Labor
- ◆ LaoGai, reform through labor
- ◆ Detention for education
- ◆ Detention for re-education
- ◆ Legal Education Center
- ◆ Study Sessions (‘xuexiban’)
- ◆ vocational education and training centers (Xinjiang)
- ◆ “Thought Reform” /ideological remoulding(1950s)

# The difference between the concentration camps and other extralegal detentions

- ◆ Targeting certain ethnic minorities, a certain religion and culture
- ◆ With the purpose of eliminating the whole people's ethnic, cultural and religious identity.
- ◆ Forced-conversion and brain-washing
- ◆ Part of genocide
- ◆ Systemic rape and sexual assault
- ◆ Birth control, forced abortion, sterilization

# Systemic Torture

- ◆ Narrow definition of “torture”
- ◆ Flawed criminal procedure/evidence rules
- ◆ No judicial independence
- ◆ Criminal investigations and prosecutions heavily rely on extracting confessions and obtaining evidence
- ◆ Purpose of the criminal procedure: priority of combating crimes

# Systemic Torture

- ◆ Impunity for (most) torturers
- ◆ Political punishment (dissidents, Falun Gong, petitioners, Tibetans, Uyghurs.....)
- ◆ Extra-judicial detentions and extra-legal detentions
- ◆ The limited role of lawyers
- ◆ Lack of freedom of expression/media/petition



#	Control	Chinese Buddhism/ Taoism	Christianity (Protestants + Catholics) <sup>a</sup>	Tibetan Buddhism	Islam (Uighurs) <sup>b</sup>	Falun Gong <sup>c</sup>
<b>Total</b>		<b>8/24 (33%)</b>	<b>18/24 (75%)</b>	<b>22/24 (92%)</b>	<b>21/22 (95%)</b>	<b>18/18 (100%)</b>
1	Oversight by "patriotic association"	●	●	●	●	n/a
2	Control over religious leader recruitment/training	●	●	●	●	n/a
3	Numerical limits on ordination/training	●	●	●	●	n/a
4	Closure/destruction of place of worship	●	●	●	●	n/a
5	Imprisonment of state-approved religious leader/monastic	●	●	●	●	n/a
6	Imprisonment of unofficial religious leader/monastic		●			n/a
7	Doctrinal interference/manipulation		●	●	●	●
8	Ban on core religious tenet		●	●	●	●
9	Study of religious scriptures punished		●	●	●	●
10	Religious celebration restricted or punished		●	●	●	●
11	Imprisonment of lay believer	●	●	●	●	●
12	Imprisonment of 50+ believers		●	●	n/a	●

#	Control	Chinese Buddhism/ Taoism	Christianity (Protestants + Catholics) <sup>a</sup>	Tibetan Buddhism	Islam (Uighurs) <sup>b</sup>	Falun Gong <sup>c</sup>
<b>Total</b>		<b>8/24 (33%)</b>	<b>18/24 (75%)</b>	<b>22/24 (92%)</b>	<b>21/22 (95%)</b>	<b>18/18 (100%)</b>
13	Imprisonment of 500+ believers				n/a	●
14	Detention for religious engagement online		●	●	●	●
15	Restrictions on children's participation	●	●	●	●	●
16	Political "reeducation" campaigns		●	●	●	●
17	Widespread torture			●	●	●
18	Extrajudicial killing		●	●	●	●
19	10+ extrajudicial deaths			●	●	●
20	New restrictive legal change			●	●	●
21	Restrictions on movement / passport allocation			●	●	●
22	Vilification in state media		●	●	●	●
23	Economic exploitation	●	●	●	●	●
24	Online censorship of religious communication			●	●	●

# Cultural Genocide in Tibet

- ◇ Mass arrest and torture
  - ◇ Religious persecution
  - ◇ Travel restrictions
  - ◇ Linguistic suppression
  - ◇ Grid-system of surveillance
- 
- ◇ Chen Quanguo's playbook in Tibet (2011-2016)

# Han-chauvinism/nationalism

- ◆ The **Great unification** (dayitong, 大一统)  
(anti-separatism narrative)
- ◆ The Chinese nation(zhonghua minzu, 中华民族)
- ◆ **Han-chauvinism**  
(discrimination against ethnic minorities)
- ◆ **Social Darwinism/Racism/islamophobia**  
(anti-Muslim narrative)
- ◆ The Chinese Dream  
the "great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation"

# My Experience

- ◆ House arrest
- ◆ Travel ban
- ◆ Disbarment
- ◆ Banned from teaching
- ◆ Abduction (enforced disappearance)
- ◆ Torture
- ◆ Collective punishment
  
- ◆ The cases of Hailaite Niyazi and Ilham Tohti

# The concentration camps did not arise from a vacuum

- ◇ Various forms of Extra-judicial detention
- ◇ Religious persecution, esp. of Falun Gong
- ◇ Thought reform/thought control/brainwashing
- ◇ Cultural genocide in Tibet
- ◇ The CCP's sense of insecurity
- ◇ High-tech totalitarianism
- ◇ The manipulation of Han-chauvinism/nationalism