



AN INTERNATIONAL PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL

Witness Name: Nathan Ruser		
Witness category:	fact <input type="checkbox"/>	expert <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Date of testimony: 12 September 2021		
Link to recording*: <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tFkr3pC1BmI&amp;t=20235s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tFkr3pC1BmI&amp;t=20235s</a>		
Time stamp (start/end): 02:41:45 – 03:23:01		
Report included:	yes <input type="checkbox"/>	no <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Statement included:	yes <input type="checkbox"/>	no <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Transcript included:	yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	no <input type="checkbox"/>
Presentation included:	yes <input type="checkbox"/>	no <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

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



# The architecture of repression

Unpacking Xinjiang's governance

Vicky Xiuzhong Xu, James Leibold and Daria Impiombato



## About the authors

**Vicky Xiuzhong Xu** is an independent researcher, and former journalist with *The New York Times* and policy analyst with ASPI's International Cyber Policy Centre.

**James Leibold** is a non-resident Senior Fellow with ASPI's International Cyber Policy Centre and a Professor of Politics at La Trobe University.

**Daria Impiombato** is a researcher with ASPI's International Cyber Policy Centre.

## Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank researchers Emile Dirks, Aston Kwok, Kate Wong, Nyrola Elimä, Nathan Ruser and Kelsey Munro for their invaluable contributions to this project, and Fergus Hanson and Danielle Cave for their guidance and support.

Thank you to peer reviewers who provided excellent feedback, including Darren Byler, Timothy Grose, Sam Tynen, Samantha Hoffman, Peter Mattis, Michael Shoebridge and Edward Schwarck. Thank you also to Yael Grauer, who shared access to the *Ürümqi Police Records*. The opinions and analysis presented in this report are those of the authors alone, who are also responsible for any errors or omissions.

The UK Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office provided ASPI's International Cyber Policy Centre (ICPC) with a grant of A\$116,770 for this project, of which this report is a key output. Other components of the project can be found at the Xinjiang Data Project website: <https://xjdp.aspi.org.au/>. Additional research costs were covered from ASPI ICPC's mixed revenue base—which spans governments, industry and civil society. This project would not have been possible without 2020–21 funding from the US State Department, which supports the Xinjiang Data Project.

## What is ASPI?

The Australian Strategic Policy Institute was formed in 2001 as an independent, non-partisan think tank. Its core aim is to provide the Australian Government with fresh ideas on Australia's defence, security and strategic policy choices. ASPI is responsible for informing the public on a range of strategic issues, generating new thinking for government and harnessing strategic thinking internationally. ASPI's sources of funding are identified in our annual report, online at [www.aspi.org.au](http://www.aspi.org.au) and in the acknowledgements section of individual publications. ASPI remains independent in the content of the research and in all editorial judgements.

## ASPI International Cyber Policy Centre

ASPI's International Cyber Policy Centre (ICPC) is a leading voice in global debates on cyber, emerging and critical technologies, issues related to information and foreign interference and focuses on the impact these issues have on broader strategic policy. The centre has a growing mixture of expertise and skills with teams of researchers who concentrate on policy, technical analysis, information operations and disinformation, critical and emerging technologies, cyber capacity building, satellite analysis, surveillance and China-related issues.

The ICPC informs public debate in the Indo-Pacific region and supports public policy development by producing original, empirical, data-driven research. The ICPC enriches regional debates by collaborating with research institutes from around the world and by bringing leading global experts to Australia, including through fellowships. To develop capability in Australia and across the Indo-Pacific region, the ICPC has a capacity building team that conducts workshops, training programs and large-scale exercises for the public and private sectors.

We would like to thank all of those who support and contribute to the ICPC with their time, intellect and passion for the topics we work on. If you would like to support the work of the centre please contact: [icpc@aspi.org.au](mailto:icpc@aspi.org.au)

## Important disclaimer

This publication is designed to provide accurate and authoritative information in relation to the subject matter covered. It is provided with the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering any form of professional or other advice or services. No person should rely on the contents of this publication without first obtaining advice from a qualified professional.

## ASPI

Tel +61 2 6270 5100

Email [enquiries@aspi.org.au](mailto:enquiries@aspi.org.au)

[www.aspi.org.au](http://www.aspi.org.au)

[www.aspistrategist.org.au](http://www.aspistrategist.org.au)

 [facebook.com/ASPI.org](https://www.facebook.com/ASPI.org)

 [@ASPI\\_ICPC](https://twitter.com/ASPI_ICPC)

© The Australian Strategic Policy Institute Limited 2021

This publication is subject to copyright. Except as permitted under the *Copyright Act 1968*, no part of it may in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, microcopying, photocopying, recording or otherwise) be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted without prior written permission. Enquiries should be addressed to the publishers. Notwithstanding the above, educational institutions (including schools, independent colleges, universities and TAFEs) are granted permission to make copies of copyrighted works strictly for educational purposes without explicit permission from ASPI and free of charge.

First published October 2021. ISSN 2209-9689 (online). ISSN 2209-9670 (print)

Cover image: Illustration by artist Badiucao/<https://www.badiucao.com>.



This project was in part funded by the UK Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office.

# The architecture of repression

Unpacking Xinjiang's governance

Vicky Xiuzhong Xu, James Leibold and Daria Impiombato

Policy Brief  
Report No. 51/2021



# Contents

What's the problem?	3
What's the solution?	4
Executive summary	5
1. Background	9
2. The return of mass campaigns	12
3. Hegemony at the grassroots	16
3.1 Police substations	19
3.2 Grid management	19
3.3 The Fanghuiju program	19
3.4 The 'Trinity' mechanism	19
3.5 Ten-household joint defence	20
'There was no abnormal behaviour'	21
4. The party's knife handle	24
5. Weaponising the law	28
6. The frontline commanders	33
6.1 The true believer	35
6.2 The innovator	38
6.3 The model minority	41
7. 'There is no department that doesn't have something to do with stability'	45
7.1 Propaganda	45
7.2 Re-education camps	50
7.3 The Fanghuiju program	52
7.4 Coercive labour assignments	54
7.5 Population control	56
8. Conclusion	58
Notes	59
Acronyms and abbreviations	79

## What's the problem?

Since the mass internment of Uyghurs and other indigenous groups<sup>1</sup> in China was first reported in 2017, there is now a rich body of literature documenting recent human rights abuses in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.<sup>2</sup> However, there is little knowledge of the actual perpetrators inside China's vast and opaque party-state system, and responsibility is often broadly attributed to the Chinese Communist Party,<sup>3</sup> Xinjiang Party Secretary Chen Quanguo,<sup>4</sup> or President Xi Jinping himself.<sup>5</sup>

For accountability, it is necessary to investigate how China's campaign against the Uyghurs has been implemented and which offices and individuals have played a leading part. The current knowledge gap has exposed international companies and organisations to inadvertent engagement with Chinese officials who have facilitated the atrocities in Xinjiang. It has also prevented foreign governments from making targeted policy responses.

Finally, it is essential to carry out such an investigation now. Amid debate internationally about whether the recent events in Xinjiang constitute genocide,<sup>6</sup> Chinese officials are actively scrubbing relevant evidence and seeking to silence those who speak out.<sup>7</sup>

Figure 1: A 'resist infiltration, snatch the two-faced' mass oath for school teachers in Hotan Prefecture in 2017. Many women are visibly crying.



Source: 'Ten thousand teachers in Hotan Prefecture take part in 'speak up and brandish the sword' mass oath in Keriye County' [和田地区万名教师集体发声亮剑宣讲宣誓大会在于田举行], Keriye County official WeChat account [于田零距离], 16 June 2017, [online](#).



## What's the solution?

This project maps and analyses the governance mechanisms employed by the Chinese party-state in Xinjiang from 2014 to 2021 within the context of the region's ongoing human rights crisis. To that end, the authors have located and scrutinised thousands of Chinese-language sources,<sup>8</sup> including leaked police records<sup>9</sup> and government budget documents never before published. This archive of sources is made publicly available for the use of others.

For policymakers, this report will provide an evidence base to inform policy responses including possible sanctions. For the general public and anyone whose interests are linked to Xinjiang and China more broadly, this project can inform risk analysis and ethical considerations.

Finally, a detailed understanding of Xinjiang's governance structures and processes and their relationship to wider national policies can contribute to a more concrete understanding of the Chinese party-state and its volatility.

Figure 2: American brand Nike was implicated in Xinjiang's coercive labour transfer schemes. Uyghurs transferred from Xinjiang receive Chinese language and indoctrination classes at Nike's contractor Taekwang factory in Qingdao, Shandong, around June 2019.



Source: 'Municipal United Front Work Department conducts Mandarin training at Qingdao Taekwang "Pomegranate Seed" Night School' [市委统战部'石榴籽'夜校走进青岛泰光举办普通话培训班], Laixi United Front official WeChat account [莱西统一战线], 1 July 2019, [online](#).

# Executive summary

The project consists of two parts.

- An interactive [organisational chart](#) of some 170 administrative entities that have participated in Xinjiang's governance since 2014. The chart includes a brief profile of each party, government, military, paramilitary and hybrid entity at different bureaucratic layers, and more.<sup>10</sup>
- This report, which highlights the governance techniques and bureaucratic structures that have operationalised the Chinese party-state's most recent campaigns against the Uyghurs in Xinjiang.

The report is structured as follows.

## Section 1: Background

This section is an introduction to the 2014 Counterterrorism Campaign and the 2017 Re-education Campaign in Xinjiang, which represent a top-down response to the perceived radicalisation of Uyghur society and a systematic effort to transform Xinjiang and its indigenous inhabitants.

## Section 2: The return of mass campaigns

The crackdown against the Uyghurs has a striking resemblance to Mao-era political campaigns. ASPI can reveal that, in addition to mass internment and coercive labour assignments, Xinjiang residents are also compelled to participate in acts of political theatre, such as mass show trials, public denunciation sessions, loyalty pledges, sermon-like 'propaganda lectures', and chants for Xi Jinping's good health. In doing so, they're mobilised to attack shadowy enemies hiding among the people: the so-called 'three evil forces' and 'two-faced people'.

Despite widespread recognition that mass political campaigns are 'costly and burdensome', in the words of Xi Jinping, the party-state has again resorted to them in Xinjiang. This section analyses the party-state's reflexive compulsion for campaigns, and *campaign-style governance*, which is an intrinsic feature of the Chinese political system that's often overlooked in the current English-language literature.

## Section 3: Hegemony at the grassroots

ASPI researchers have gained rare and in-depth insights into Xinjiang's local governance after analysing thousands of pages of leaked police files. This section focuses on the case of one Uyghur family in Ürümqi. Like at least 1.8 million other Uyghurs, Anayit Abliz, then 18, was caught using a file-sharing app in 2017. He was interned in a re-education camp and eventually 'sentenced' by his Neighbourhood Committee—a nominally service-oriented voluntary organisation responsible for local party control. While he was detained, officials from the Neighbourhood Committee visited his family members six times in a single week, scrutinizing the family's behaviours and observing whether they were emotionally stable.



Draconian control measures are typical of mass political campaigns, including those in Xinjiang. During the crackdown against the Uyghurs, authorities implemented five key policies (including the ‘Trinity’ mechanism, which is first reported by ASPI here) that led to the unprecedented penetration of the party-state system into the daily lives of Xinjiang residents. Those policies gave Xinjiang’s neighbourhood and village officials exceptional power to police residents’ movements and emotions, resulting in the disturbing situation in which a Uyghur teenager’s social media posts about finding life hopeless were deemed a threat to stability and triggered police action.

Xinjiang’s community-based control mechanisms are part of a national push to enhance *grassroots governance*, which seeks to mobilise the masses to help stamp out dissent and instability and to increase the party’s domination in the lowest reaches of society.

## Section 4: The party’s knife handle

Many Uyghurs become suspects after being flagged by the Integrated Joint Operations Platform (IJOP), which is a ‘system of systems’ where officials communicate and millions of investigations are assigned for local follow-up.

ASPI can reveal that the IJOP<sup>11</sup> is managed by Xinjiang’s Political and Legal Affairs Commission (PLAC) through a powerful new organ called the Counterterrorism and Stability Maintenance Command,<sup>12</sup> which is a product of the Re-education Campaign. One source states that a local branch of the command monitors the re-education camps remotely.

The PLAC is a party organ that oversees China’s law-and-order system, which is responsible for Xinjiang’s mass detention system. The PLAC’s influence tends to grow during times of mass campaigns, and the budget and responsibilities of the Xinjiang PLAC have expanded significantly in recent years—despite efforts by Xi Jinping to abate its status nationally. Two other factors may have contributed to the PLAC’s predominance in Xinjiang: its control over powerful surveillance technologies employed during the two campaigns, and a 2010 governance model in Ürümqi called ‘the big PLAC’, which was masterminded by Zhu Hailun, who is considered by some to be the architect of the re-education camp system.

## Section 5: Weaponising the law

Law enforcement in Xinjiang is hasty, harsh and frequently arbitrary. Senior officials have promulgated new laws and regulations that contradict existing ones in order to accomplish the goals and targets of the campaigns; on the ground, local officers openly boast about acting outside normal legal processes, and their voices are sometimes amplified by state media. ASPI has found evidence that some neighbourhood officials in Ürümqi threatened to detain whole families in an attempt to forcefully evict them from the area.

Many Uyghurs have been detained for cultural or religious expressions, but police records reveal that low-level officials have also interned Xinjiang residents for appearing to be ‘dissatisfied with society’ or lacking a fixed address or stable income. In one case, Uyghur man Ekrem Imin was detained because his ‘neighbourhood police officer was trying to fill quotas’. As reported by Ürümqi police, he then contracted hepatitis B (which went untreated) as well as syphilis inside Xinjiang’s, and China’s biggest detention facility.<sup>13</sup> This raises further questions about the conditions inside Xinjiang’s re-education facilities.

Efforts to weaponise the law in Xinjiang mirror wider legal reforms under Xi Jinping, where previous ideals about procedural accountability and judicial independence have been cast aside and the law is now openly used to tighten the party's grip over society and eliminate social opposition.

## Section 6: The frontline commanders

County party secretaries are the most senior officials at the local level in China, and their role is crucial to the regime's survival, according to Xi Jinping. In Xinjiang, they oversee the day-to-day operations of the two campaigns. Researchers at ASPI have compiled a dataset of Xinjiang's county party secretaries over the past seven years and found that the vast majority of these 'frontline commanders' are Han. At the time of writing (September 2021), not a single county party secretary in Xinjiang is Uyghur, which speaks to the erasure of once-promised ethnic self-rule, and to deeply entrenched racism at the heart of the Han-dominated party-state system.

This section profiles three of the most celebrated county party secretaries in Xinjiang. Yao Ning, a darling of the Chinese media for his elite academic background at Tsinghua and Harvard universities. Claiming absolute loyalty to the party-state from a young age, Yao now sits at the top of a chain of command over nine newly built or expanded detention facilities in Maralbeshi County.<sup>14</sup> He has struggled with mounting pressure and the death of a close colleague due to exhaustion, but finds solace in quotes by both Mao and Xi.

Yang Fasen, who pioneered new governance tools during the campaigns, was recently promoted to vice governor of Xinjiang. His innovative propaganda templates—that the authorities dubbed the 'Bay County Experience'—were copied by other counties in Xinjiang during the Counterterrorism Campaign. During a 2015 speech in front of Xi Jinping in Beijing, Yang claimed that subjecting undereducated Uyghur youth to labour reform (a practice that became commonplace later in the Re-education Campaign) can improve social stability.

Both Yao Ning and Yang Fasen are from the majority ethnic group in China, the Han. The third profile is of Obulqasim Mettursun, a Uyghur official, who like most Uyghurs serve in a deputy position under a Han overseer. He went viral after penning an open letter pleading with fellow Uyghurs to 'wake up' and actively participate in the party-state's stability maintenance efforts. He represents an ideologically captured and dependent class of Uyghur officials committed to serving the party in largely ceremonial roles.

## Section 7: 'There is no department that doesn't have something to do with stability'

During Xinjiang's two campaigns, few offices or officials can escape the political responsibility of 'stability maintenance' work. At times, repressive policies have been carried out by the most innocent-sounding, obscure government agencies, such as the Forestry Bureau, which looked after Kashgar City's re-education camp accounts for a year.

The final section highlights the astounding number of offices involved in key aspects of the Chinese party-state's crackdown in Xinjiang: propaganda, re-education, at-home surveillance and indoctrination, forced labour and population control. Extra emphasis has been placed on propaganda as it has been the least reported aspect of the two campaigns, albeit highly important.



In Xinjiang, re-education work not only occurs in so-called ‘vocational education and training centres’, but is also front and centre in everyday life, as the party-state seeks to alter how people act and speak. Through more than seven years of intense propaganda work, Uyghurs and other indigenous groups now find themselves being assigned fictional Han relatives, and being taught how to dress and maintain their homes;<sup>15</sup> their courtyards are ‘modernised’ and ‘beautified’<sup>16</sup> while their ancient tombs and mosques are destroyed.<sup>17</sup>

## **Section 8: Conclusion**

Xinjiang’s bureaucratic inner workings reflect a wider pattern of authoritarian rule in China. In fact, some governance techniques used in Xinjiang during the two campaigns were conceived elsewhere, and Xinjiang’s ‘stability maintenance’ tools are increasingly replicated by other Chinese provinces and regions including Hong Kong. Further research should be conducted on campaign-style governance in China in general, and its policy implications. Further studies on the cycle of collective trauma through China’s recurring campaigns may also be timely, taking into consideration that many senior Chinese officials, including Xi Jinping and Zhu Hailun, claimed that their personal experiences of being ‘re-educated’ through hard labour have been transformative.

## **Appendixes**

ASPI researchers have curated three appendixes of key Xinjiang officials who have served in party, government, military, or paramilitary roles at the regional, prefecture and county levels from 2014 to 2021. In the sixth section of this report, the frontline commanders, the authors used the third appendix — the names and basic information about Xinjiang’s more than 440 county party secretaries over the last seven years — to generate data for analysis and visualisation. The appendixes have not been published but we will consider requests to access this research.

# 1. Background

The modern history of Xinjiang is marked by conquest and colonialism, with repeated efforts by the Chinese state to assert its sovereignty and control over the region's indigenous inhabitants. Following the 'Global War on Terror' led by the United States in 2001, the People's Republic of China (PRC) began to frame Uyghur dissent and resistance as 'extremism' and 'terrorism'.<sup>18</sup>

In the wake of the 2009 Ürümqi riots and several acts of Uyghur-led violence—some born out of protest and others of a terrorist nature<sup>19</sup>—top party leaders blamed the 'three evil forces' (三股势力) of 'terrorism, extremism and separatism' for the unrest in Xinjiang.<sup>20</sup> International experts agree that Uyghur militants exist in Syria and Pakistan in small numbers, but argue that they pose little direct security threat to China.<sup>21</sup> That view is widely rejected inside China, where a mix of racial discrimination, settler-colonialism and an irrational fear of instability has driven Xinjiang policy in recent times.<sup>22</sup>

Following a visit to Xinjiang in April 2014, Xi Jinping argued that Islamic extremism had infected a large swathe of Uyghur society<sup>23</sup> and called on party officials to chase 'violent terrorists' like rats: 'strike early, strike small, strike fast and use an iron fist to destroy [them]'.<sup>24</sup>

On 23 May 2014, the Xinjiang Party Committee launched a year-long Counterterrorism Strike Hard Campaign in Xinjiang following decisions from the Central Communist Party Committee (中央党委) and the National Counterterrorism Leading Small Group (国家反恐怖工作领导小组), which is an interagency taskforce led by senior security and army officials.<sup>25</sup> Xinjiang, the 'main battlefield' of a national campaign against terror, would employ mass mobilisation (全民动员), tough measures and extraordinary methods, the *People's Daily* reported.<sup>26</sup>

In January 2015, the Xinjiang Party Committee under then Party Secretary Zhang Chunxian (张春贤) announced that the Counterterrorism Campaign<sup>27</sup> would be extended for another year.<sup>28</sup> Zhang was removed from his position in August 2016.<sup>29</sup> Despite having commanded the campaign from the beginning, many commentators suggested that he had been 'soft in his approach to Xinjiang's governance' (柔性治疆).<sup>30</sup>



Figure 3: Thousands of soldiers gather in Hotan City at the start of the Re-education Campaign. Similar military parades also took place in Ürümqi, Kashgar, and elsewhere in Xinjiang.



Source: 'Xinjiang holds "counterterrorism stability maintenance mass mobilisation ceremony" in Hotan' [新疆维吾尔自治区在和田举行反恐维稳誓师大会], *Tianshan News* [天山网], 17 February 2017, [online](#).

Zhang's replacement was Chen Quanguo (陈全国), the former Party Secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Region,<sup>31</sup> who had a reputation for innovative 'stability maintenance' (维稳) measures, using covert spot checks to boost bureaucratic performance.<sup>32</sup> Under Chen, it's widely accepted that between several hundred thousand and 1 million Uyghurs and other indigenous people in Xinjiang have been rounded up and interned in what Chinese authorities call 'vocational education and training centres' (职业技能教育培训中心) since the spring of 2017.<sup>33</sup>

Chen Quanguo instructed the centres, commonly known as 're-education camps' in English, to 'teach like a school, be managed like the military, and be defended like a prison'.<sup>34</sup> Detainees are held without legal recourse for matters as innocuous as using a file-sharing app to download music,<sup>35</sup> and are subjected to indoctrination as well as physical and mental torture.<sup>36</sup>

The 2017 campaign, which this report refers to as the 'Re-education Campaign', was a continuation of the 2014 Counterterrorism Campaign. Nonetheless, under the new regional leader, the 2017 campaign had a distinct five-year plan to radically alter Xinjiang society: to stabilise the situation during 2017; to consolidate during 2018; to normalise during 2019; and to achieve 'comprehensive stability' (全面稳定) by the end of 2021.<sup>37</sup> The 2017 campaign also expanded to include mass coerced labour assignments,<sup>38</sup> mandatory birth-control measures<sup>39</sup> and more intense indoctrination.<sup>40</sup>

Figure 4: A ‘resist infiltration, snatch the two-faced’ mass oath for school teachers in Hotan Prefecture in 2017.



Source: ‘Ten thousand teachers in Hotan Prefecture take part in “speak up and brandish the sword” mass oath in Keriye County’ [和田地区万名教师集体发声亮剑宣讲宣誓大会在于田举行], Keriye County official WeChat account [于田零距离], 16 June 2017, [online](#).

As the 2014 Counterterrorism and 2017 Re-education campaigns differ greatly in scope and intensity, the authors discuss them separately where possible. Together, the two campaigns constitute what some experts assert are crimes against humanity<sup>41</sup> or genocide.<sup>42</sup>

Amid international criticism, in late 2019, Xinjiang officials claimed that most re-education camp ‘trainees’ had been released.<sup>43</sup> There’s some evidence that lower security facilities have been decommissioned,<sup>44</sup> with detainees transferred to mandatory job assignments or ‘community management and control’ (社区管控), which is similar to house arrest.<sup>45</sup> Official statistics also suggest that, since 2019, long and unjustified prison sentences have surged in Xinjiang,<sup>46</sup> coinciding with satellite imagery evidence that shows high-security prisons expanding.<sup>47</sup> Many individuals in the Uyghur diaspora report having multiple family members sentenced, some for up to 10–20 years in prison.<sup>48</sup>



## 2. The return of mass campaigns

International comparisons of Xinjiang’s ongoing human rights crisis are conceptually important, but analysts must also assess the 2014 Counterterrorism Campaign and 2017 Re-education Campaign within the framework of China’s domestic history and politics. With the use of mass imprisonment, re-education camps, and coercive labour assignments, policies in Xinjiang mark a return to the mass political campaigns and extreme campaign-style governance of the Maoist era.<sup>49</sup>

During mass campaigns, Chinese officials often blame an influx of foreign ideas for posing a perceived existential threat to Chinese society.<sup>50</sup> In Xinjiang’s case, they attribute the ‘tumour’ or ‘virus’ of extremism to Uyghur dissent or resistance.<sup>51</sup> In response, all sectors of society must be mobilised against shadowy enemies: during the Cultural Revolution, the ‘five black types’ (黑五类); and in Xinjiang, the ‘three evil forces’. Mao’s term ‘double-dealer’ (两面派)<sup>52</sup> has also been given a new lease on life in Xinjiang, where many have been sentenced after being accused of being ‘two-faced’—supporting the party in public only to criticise it in private.<sup>53</sup>

Old campaign rituals are back, too. Officials in Xinjiang have been punished for not being able to recite quotes from Xinjiang Party Secretary Chen Quanguo,<sup>54</sup> and residents are required to chant their loyalty to the party and wish President Xi Jinping good health.<sup>55</sup>

Figure 5: Officials from Aqyar Township, Aksu Prefecture announcing plans to elicit more gratitude towards the party from villagers.



Source: ‘Aqyar Township holds an advancement meeting to normalise and institutionalise “two studies, one action” party theory studies, and the launch ceremony of the “three gratitudes, three wishes” initiative among party members among farmers and herdsmen’ [阿合雅镇召开“两学一做”学习教育常态化制度化推进会暨在农牧民党员中开展“三感恩、三祝愿”活动启动仪式], Aqyar Township official WeChat account [阿合雅镇零距离], 14 June 2017, [online](#).

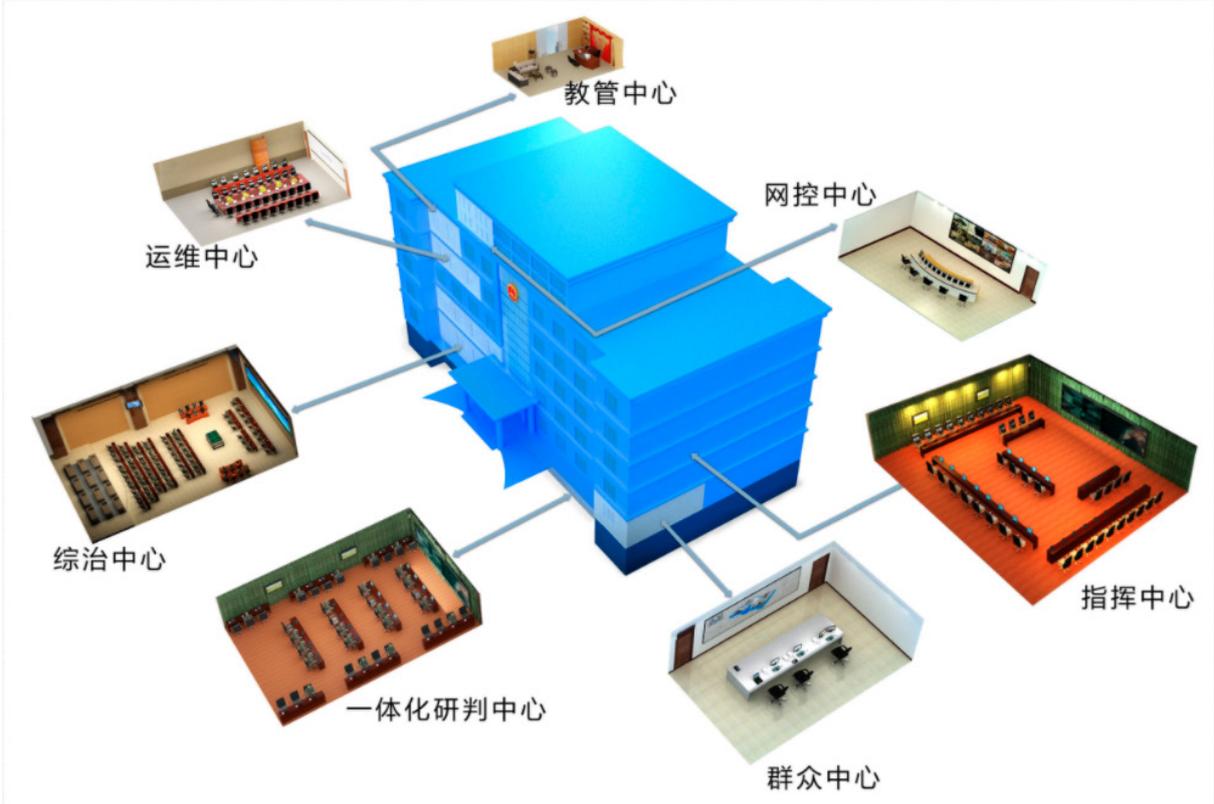
After Xi Jinping personally ordered officials to bring back neighbourhood informants in Xinjiang,<sup>56</sup> another Mao-era technique, authorities have popularised public denunciation sessions (揭批)<sup>57</sup> and public loyalty pledges known as ‘speak up and brandish the sword’ (发声亮剑).<sup>58</sup> Mass ‘show trials’ (公判大会)<sup>59</sup> have also returned,<sup>60</sup> where suspects are paraded and sentenced in front of sizeable audiences.<sup>61</sup> This form of mass political theatre was outlawed in 1988 and has since been met with condemnation when it occasionally occurred elsewhere in China.<sup>62</sup> It has long been one of the ‘most controversial elements of the Chinese criminal justice’, wrote history professor Klaus Mühlhahn in 2010, and prevents China from moving closer to international standards.<sup>63</sup>

Senior party officials intended Xinjiang’s 2014 Counterterrorism Campaign to be a political movement from the outset. In an article from August 2014, then Party Secretary Zhang Chunxian wrote that the campaign was ‘definitely not just about cracking down on a few terrorists, but a serious political struggle against separatism, infiltration and subversion’.<sup>64</sup>

Campaign-style governance is a state-of-emergency approach to governance that entails centralising resources, mobilising the masses and halting regular bureaucratic functions.<sup>65</sup> Before Xi Jinping came to power in 2012, many scholars held the view that, although campaign-style governance persisted in PRC policymaking to an extent, mass campaigns aimed at political realignment had largely perished, replaced by more contained and carefully managed campaigns focused on economic development.<sup>66</sup>

However, in Xinjiang, the party-state has returned to mass political campaigns in an attempt to manufacture loyalty, conformity and stability through a root-and-branch transformation of the society. Compared to previous campaigns, such as the Anti-rightist Movement, the Cultural Revolution and the 1983 Anti-Crime Strike Hard Campaign, Xinjiang’s mass campaigns are delineated along ethnic and religious lines at a time when the party possesses far greater capacity, resources and power, and is aided by superior surveillance technology, while being fully connected to the world.

Figure 6: Chinese company Visionstar’s technology solution for Xinjiang PLAC’s Counterterrorism and Stability Maintenance Command, which connects an ‘IJOP evaluation centre’ with other surveillance and coordination mechanisms at various levels.



Source: ‘Technology solution for the PLAC’s Counterterrorism and Stability Maintenance Command’ [政法委反恐维稳指挥部解决方案], Visionstar Tech [威视讯达], [online](#).



In Xinjiang and elsewhere, the Chinese party-state exhibits a reflexive compulsion for mass political campaigns. Many scholars see campaign-style governance as a core feature of contemporary Chinese policymaking.<sup>67</sup> Sociologist Feng Shizheng considers it to be a legacy of the party-state's revolutionary past. He argues that campaigns occur because party leaders believe they possess superior ideas and therefore a responsibility to indoctrinate or 'pour' (灌输) advanced thinking into people's minds.<sup>68</sup> Political scientist Lang Peijuan describes the authorities' frequent use of campaigns as a 'political habit' or 'superstition'.<sup>69</sup>

Writing in 2017, sociologist Zhou Xueguang argued that the two opposing approaches of campaign-style governance and 'norm-based governance' (常态化治理) have long alternated and coexisted in China.<sup>70</sup> Campaigns can be viewed as a tool for the party-state to correct the perceived failings of its vast bureaucratic machine. Zhou asserts that many bureaucratic structures have adapted during the party's 70-year rule to meet the needs of campaigns, and some campaign practices have become normalised.

Similarly, Chinese professor Li Hui contends that mass campaigns ultimately reflect the gap between the party-state's desired governance outcomes and current administrative capabilities. 'Norm-based governance with continuous effectiveness is an ideal state that can be infinitely approached, but never fully realised. In contrast, the existence of campaign-style governance may be the norm at this stage,' she wrote in 2017.<sup>71</sup> Calling it a 'guerrilla policy style', Elizabeth Perry and Sebastian Heilmann find campaign-style governance to be defined by 'secrecy, versatility, speed and surprise', and to represent a marked departure from the 'democratic norms of political accountability, legal consistency, and procedural stability'.<sup>72</sup>

These chiefly negative views about mass campaigns are in theory shared by every Chinese leader after Mao, including Deng Xiaoping,<sup>73</sup> Jiang Zemin<sup>74</sup> and Hu Jintao.<sup>75</sup> Xi Jinping, whose immediate family experienced imprisonment, re-education, death and torture during the Cultural Revolution,<sup>76</sup> has previously criticised campaigns as costly and burdensome, reportedly asking at one point, 'Hasn't our country suffered enough in this regard?'<sup>77</sup>

Figure 7: Xi Zhongxun, Xi Jinping's father, being paraded at a 'struggle session' during the Cultural Revolution.



Source: 'Bao Tong remembers the Cultural Revolution: Xi Zhongxun was a victim of "father Mao Zedong" [鲍彤忆文革：习仲勋是毛泽东“大大的受害者”], *Voice of America*, 6 May 2021, [online](#).

In a cycle of mass trauma and abuse, the campaigns in Xinjiang bear Xi's imprimatur. In at least three separate speeches between 2014 to 2020, Xi proclaimed that 'the party's Xinjiang governance methods and strategies are completely correct' and that '[we] must adhere to them in the long term'.<sup>78</sup>

Seven years on, the party's war against the Uyghurs has not run out of steam, as many other campaigns have in the past.<sup>79</sup> Consistent with Zhou Xueguang's theory that campaign-style governance can transition into new norms, authorities have sought to permanently remould Xinjiang society and reach a perfect state of 'comprehensive stability' by the end of 2021.<sup>80</sup>

Local residents, too, worry that the campaigns may have become the new reality of life in Xinjiang. 'There has been six years of this already,' Meng You, a Han student from Xinjiang, told anthropologist Darren Byler in 2020. 'So it feels like it might continue on for a long time, even though it is not sustainable to keep it this way. Everyone is unhappy.'<sup>81</sup>



### 3. Hegemony at the grassroots

In 2019, a database used by the Ürümqi City Public Security Bureau (乌鲁木齐市公安局) and the wider Xinjiang Public Security Bureau was compromised, and thousands of police files were leaked to journalist Yael Grauer,<sup>82</sup> who then shared access with ASPI.

Drawing on those files, this section chronicles the story of one family and their neighbourhood in order to demonstrate the unprecedented penetration of the party-state system into the daily lives of Xinjiang residents during the two campaigns. This family's story is a microcosm of Xinjiang's grassroots mobilisation, where the Neighbourhood Committee (社区居委会),<sup>83</sup> a nominally service-oriented voluntary organisation, has morphed into a powerful policing organ. Its new functions now include issuing travel permits for Uyghur residents,<sup>84</sup> monitoring residents' actions and emotions in their homes, committing individuals to re-education camps and subjecting relatives of those detained to 'management and control' orders that are akin to house arrest.

#### **'No other abnormalities were found'**

On 11 November 2018, at around 10:30am, staff members from the Neighbourhood Committee of Ürümqi's Xinmin West Street<sup>85</sup> escorted two residents to attend Anayit Abliz's (阿纳依提·阿布力孜) sentencing hearing at a 'vocational education and training centre', also known as a re-education camp. According to a police memo, the two men, aged 52 and 24, were the father and older brother of Abliz,<sup>86</sup> who was 19 years old at the time.<sup>87</sup>

An hour later at the hearing, Abliz and his family sat at a long table across from four Neighbourhood Committee staff members. Four representatives from the local procuratorate (检察院), China's equivalent to a public prosecutor, were present up on a stage. The hearing, termed 'Two Announcements, One Lecture' (两告知一宣讲), was intended to 'inform students of how they participated in terrorist and extremist activities and lecture [them] about the party and government's policy of lenient treatment according to law.'<sup>88</sup>

Abliz was informed that he would be sentenced to three years in prison for using a file-sharing app called Zapy (快牙) and a virtual private network (VPN)<sup>89</sup> back in 2017. Abliz admitted to having used Zapy but said there was no evidence of him ever using a VPN.

'He was dissatisfied with the verdict and disagrees,' the memo says. However, 'under the persuasion of his family members, he eventually signed the statement.'

In the next paragraph, the memo goes on to say, Abliz's father and older brother were 'emotionally stable' on hearing the verdict, and 'did not disclose to Abliz the fact that his mother had been detained for re-education (收教).'

'No other abnormalities were found,' the memo concluded.

Figure 8: A residential complex in Shuimogou District, Ürümqi, near where the Abliz family resided.



Source: 'Auction announcement' [拍卖公告], Xinjiang Jiasheng Auction Co. Ltd. [新疆嘉盛拍卖有限公司], [online](#).

In urban China, *shequ* (社区) refers to the local neighbourhood or community where hundreds to thousands of residents live. A Neighbourhood Committee is by law a vehicle for residents to self-govern,<sup>90</sup> although it's simultaneously the lowest tier of the party's organisational hierarchy. Its rural equivalent is the Village Committee (村民委员会).<sup>91</sup>

Following the collapse of socialist work units and rural communes, the neighbourhood and village committees emerged as organs of local control in the post-Mao period, helping to strengthen what Chinese leaders call 'grassroots governance' (基层治理). While his predecessor, Hu Jintao, pushed for the committees to more effectively self-govern through competitive local elections,<sup>92</sup> Xi Jinping has sought to exert more direct party control at the grassroots level by emulating Mao's mass mobilisation techniques.

Xi took inspiration from the 1963 'Fengqiao Experience' (枫桥经验),<sup>93</sup> in which work units and commune brigades mobilised the masses in targeting and transforming the 'enemies' hiding among the people.<sup>94</sup> Adapted for contemporary use,<sup>95</sup> Xi has unleashed the neighbourhood and village committees to expand the party's visibility and control at the grassroots and to pre-empt any source of instability.<sup>96</sup> Grassroots mobilisation efforts increasingly blanket China and have been criticised for their arbitrariness during the Covid-19 pandemic, when neighbourhood committees outside Xinjiang denied residents who returned from travel access to their own homes.<sup>97</sup>

Unlike most other places in China, where the party's grassroots mobilisation efforts are still underway,<sup>98</sup> Xinjiang's neighbourhood-based control mechanisms have been tested and solidified through the implementation of five local and national policies. Dividing local communities into micro-policing units as small as 10 families, the authorities have combined human and automated surveillance tools to profile and pre-emptively target mostly ethnic minorities, removing any sense



of privacy or safety from their homes.<sup>99</sup> These policies have also targeted other Xinjiang residents deemed a threat to stability, for example those who had purchased risky financial products, and a former soldier who'd participated in nuclear tests.<sup>100</sup>

The meaning of home, neighbours and the Neighbourhood Committee have all fundamentally altered in Xinjiang. During the two campaigns, many neighbourhood officials reportedly wear military fatigues,<sup>101</sup> and cadres and civilian residents alike are mobilised to perform intelligence and policing tasks. This redistribution of law enforcement power to civilians and civil society groups blurs the line between civilians and cadres, victims and perpetrators.<sup>102</sup> Uyghur poet Tahir Hamut Izzil, who lived in Ürümqi in the early months of the Re-education Campaign, wrote:

‘People eventually felt as though they were part of the police, with a taste for watching and reporting on one another. They remained constantly ready to confront enemies, and at the same time often felt that they themselves were the enemy. I began to sense this indistinctly in the people around me, and even in myself.’<sup>103</sup>

Figure 9: A Fanghuiju cadre sent down to Yarkant County stated in 2019 that in his experience, at least two fully-armed guards typically accompanied the cadres during home visits.



Source: ‘Three years of village-based work honed (my) will, tempered my party spirit and forged my soul...’ [在三年的驻村工作中磨练意志·锤炼党性·锻造灵魂...], Gudao Xifeng [‘古道西风’] via Meipian [美篇], [online](#).

### 3.1 Police substations

A 2012 policy embedded a police substation (警务室) in every neighbourhood or village in Xinjiang, assigning at least one police officer to live in the substation around the clock, and three auxiliary officers in assistant roles.<sup>104</sup> By 2018, Xinjiang had more than 9,000 police substations, of which 7,400 were located in rural villages and 2,100 were attached to urban communities—in total staffed by around 10,700 police officers, 30,870 auxiliary police officers and 48,010 militia guards (民兵).<sup>105</sup> In addition, thousands of new police checkpoints, known as ‘convenience police stations’ (便民警务站), were constructed since late 2016.<sup>106</sup>

### 3.2 Grid management

The grid-management system (网格化管理), first introduced in Beijing in 2004 and later in Xinjiang in 2012, works by dividing local communities into small geographical and administrative cells.<sup>107</sup> In each cell, a grid manager and other staff collect information and report any potential problems to the neighbourhood or village committee and the police.<sup>108</sup> The grid’s political purpose is twofold: extending the party’s reach at the grassroots level and securitising residential communities.<sup>109</sup>

### 3.3 The Fanghuiju program

Initiated in 2014, the *Fanghuiju* (访惠聚) program is a state-sanctioned campaign in which officials and sometimes civilians (mostly belonging to the Han ethnic majority) are mobilised to visit or occupy the homes of Uyghurs and other indigenous families.<sup>110</sup> The officials undertake programs of indoctrination and surveillance, while calling themselves fictional family members of the men and women they might then decide to consign to the camps.<sup>111</sup> (For more detail see Section 7.3)

### 3.4 The ‘Trinity’ mechanism

First reported here in English, the ‘Trinity’ mechanism (‘三位一体工作机制’) was introduced at the start of the Counterterrorism Campaign and later implemented throughout Xinjiang. It ensures that every neighbourhood and village is co-managed by neighbourhood or village committee officials, police officers and external Fanghuiju work teams (‘访惠聚工作队’).<sup>112</sup> During Xi Jinping’s 2014 inspection tour of Xinjiang, he reportedly gave high praise to the mechanism.<sup>113</sup>

The Trinity mechanism mirrors the ‘Revolutionary Neighbourhood Committee’ (革命居民委员会) established around 1968, when a different trinity consisted of party cadres, military officers and residents’ representatives. The 1968 trinity formed the de facto lowest rung of state power and controlled residents’ movements, the interior decorations of their homes and the outfits that they wore. The Revolutionary Neighbourhood Committee damaged the relationship between residents so much so that one academic called it ‘morbid’.<sup>114</sup>

In Xinjiang, the neighbourhood or village committee is the principal arbitrator of the re-education processes. During the Re-education Campaign, the Trinity mechanism holds at least two daily meetings:<sup>115</sup> a ‘morning dispatch’ (早派工) to assign home visits and ‘investigations’, and an ‘evening evaluation’ (晚研判) to decide what actions to take in response to those ‘investigations’, including whether any individuals should be sent away for re-education.<sup>116</sup>



In some cases, individuals are stopped at checkpoints and interrogated at local police stations by intelligence officers before being sent to the camps.<sup>117</sup> When they're released, they return to the Neighborhood Committee's 'management and control'.<sup>118</sup>

### 3.5 Ten-household joint defence

In the first months of the Re-education Campaign, the neighbourhoods' grids were further divided into micro-units made up of 10 households.<sup>119</sup> This hyper-local version of grid management is known as 'ten-household joint defence' (十户联防).<sup>120</sup>

By late 2018, Xinjiang reportedly had more than 60,000 joint households.<sup>121</sup> A 'joint household manager' (联户长), also known as a 'ten households manager' (十户长), receives official training in collecting intelligence,<sup>122</sup> handling potential re-education camp detainees,<sup>123</sup> delivering propaganda lectures,<sup>124</sup> directing daily anti-terror drills and arranging labour assignments.<sup>125</sup> They're financially rewarded based on their performance.<sup>126</sup>

Within the police and intelligence network at the grassroots, there are also informants (信息员).<sup>127</sup> While one Ürümqi Party School journal article claims the informants report to the joint-household manager,<sup>128</sup> police reports indicate that the neighbourhood informants, who are referred to as a series of letters and numbers (for example, DX18-2-80) answer directly to the secret police—formally known as the Domestic Security Bureau (国保)—who serve in the local police station.<sup>129</sup>

Figure 10: Joint household manager Tayir Baq in Shayar County, Aksu Prefecture. There, residents take turns to manage the joint household.



Source: 'Neighbourhood watch and social interactions help to create harmonious and safe households: Aksu, Xinjiang uses the "joint households" mechanism to innovate social governance' (邻里守望户户联动打造和谐平安家园：新疆阿克苏“双联户”机制创新社会治理), *Legal Daily* (法制日报), 22 November 2018, online.

Often, no official explanation is given to family members after detainees are sent into re-education for a few months or years.<sup>130</sup> In some documented cases, the Neighbourhood Committee liaises with re-education camps to arrange a hearing, but not others. When a hearing does happen, sometimes the Neighbourhood Committee asks family members of detainees to bring a letter of gratitude and read it aloud after the verdict.<sup>131</sup>

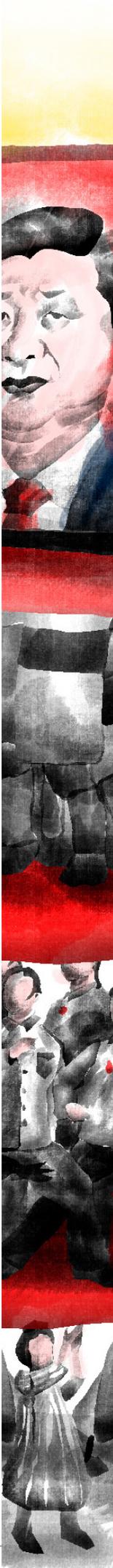
**‘There was no abnormal behaviour‘**

By the time Abliz had his sentence hearing, he had been detained for at least eight months. During that time, leaked police records show that his family members were closely monitored, their daily activities chronicled in a series of reports filed under the heading ‘Situation regarding persons who are detained or going through re-education’ (被收押、教育转化人员情况).

Within a single week in February 2018, a Neighbourhood Committee staff member surnamed Yang and at least three other cadres made six recorded visits to the Abliz family, according to police reports (Table 1).

Table 1: Visits to the Abliz family home by Neighbourhood Committee officials, February 2018

Date	Time	Police report	Source
22 Feb 2018	21:30	Yang entered the Abliz household and found Abliz’s father, mother and sister at home. His father went to work that day as usual; his mother and sister did not go out. His brother had travelled to a different city to apply for a new ID card and was expected to return in 3 days.  ‘No suspicious activity occurred during communication with them, nothing suspicious was found in their home. Items in their home in order. Ideological status is stable. Actively cooperating with the Neighbourhood Committee’s work,’ Yang reported.	‘Report 1646’ <sup>a</sup>
24 Feb 2018	22:10	Yang entered the Abliz home and found the father, mother and sister watching television. Yang chatted with them, ‘promoting the spirit of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China’.	‘Report 1647’ <sup>b</sup>
25 Feb 2018	17:00	Yang entered the Abliz home to have the ‘weekly chat’ with the family.	‘Report 1648’ <sup>c</sup>
26 Feb 2018	21:45	Abliz’s father and sister were home. His mother had not returned home from work. His brother was still out of town for the new ID card, and was anxious about the delay, Yang noted.  ‘There are no suspicious items in the house, the items in the house are neatly arranged and the ideological status is stable. Actively cooperating with the Neighbourhood Committee’s work.’	‘Report 1649’ <sup>d</sup>
27 Feb 2018	21:45	Yang again entered the Abliz household. The family was going about their business. ‘There are no suspicious items in the house, the items in the house are neatly arranged and the ideological status is stable. Actively cooperating with the Neighbourhood Committee’s work,’ Yang observed.	‘Report 1650’ <sup>e</sup>



28 Feb 2018	21:20	<p>Yang entered the Abliz household. The father, brother and sister were home.</p> <p>After propagating information related to the ‘two sessions’ (China’s annual high-level political meetings), a party cadre (unclear whether it was Yang or someone else) informed the family that the police station had asked them to sign an affidavit promising to not make a complaint to a higher level of authority (presumably about Abliz’s detention).</p> <p>The brother said the family wanted to speak with Abliz and that he hoped the Neighbourhood Committee could help contact the ‘school’ (a euphemism for a re-education camp).</p>	‘Report 1651’ <sup>f</sup>
-------------	-------	---	----------------------------

Notes:

- a ‘Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Xinxing Street Police Station, Xinmin West Street Neighbourhood Police Substation’ (乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局新兴街派出所新民西街社区警务室), Ürümqi Police Records, 23 February 2018, [online](#).
- b ‘Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Xinxing Street Police Station, Xinmin West Street Neighbourhood Police Substation’ (乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局新兴街派出所新民西街社区警务室), Ürümqi Police Records, 25 February 2018, [online](#).
- c ‘Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Xinxing Street Police Station, Xinmin West Street Neighbourhood Police Substation’ (乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局新兴街派出所新民西街社区警务室), Ürümqi Police Records, 26 February 2018, [online](#).
- d ‘Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Xinxing Street Police Station, Xinmin West Street Neighbourhood Police Substation’ (乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局新兴街派出所新民西街社区警务室), Ürümqi Police Records, 27 February 2018, [online](#).
- e ‘Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Xinxing Street Police Station, Xinmin West Street Neighbourhood Police Substation’ (乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局新兴街派出所新民西街社区警务室), Ürümqi Police Records, 28 February 2018, [online](#).
- f ‘Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Xinxing Street Police Station, Xinmin West Street Neighbourhood Police Substation’ (乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局新兴街派出所新民西街社区警务室), Ürümqi Police Records, 2 March 2018, [online](#).

Figure 11: According to one Fanghuiju official, many Uyghur families ‘would not talk to the cadres at all’, or ‘acted cold’ towards them.



Source: ‘Three years of village-based work honed (my) will’, *Gudao Xifeng*, [online](#).

Earlier that month, at 21:15 on 9 February 2018, two individuals from the Fanghuiju work team entered the Abliz home.<sup>132</sup>

A Fanghuiju manual used in Kashgar Prefecture (喀什地区) asked its work teams to show warmth to their Uyghur ‘relatives’ and give kids candy. It also provided a checklist that includes questions such as: ‘When entering the household, do family members appear flustered and use evasive language? Do they not watch TV programs at home, and instead only watch VCD discs? Are there any religious items still hanging on the walls of the house?’<sup>133</sup>

The two Fanghuiju officials that visited Abliz’s family on 9 February 2018 found them at home watching television and chatting. One official asked about Abliz’s brother’s health, showing warmth as the manual instructed. His mother and sister did not go out that day. ‘Thoughts are stable and everything is normal,’ the cadres reported.<sup>134</sup>

On 4 January 2019, days before Abliz’s 20th birthday and three months after his sentencing hearing, a re-education camp official phoned the Neighbourhood Committee to say that Abliz’s hand had been injured *again*. It was injured from a fall earlier and ‘relapsed’, the report says. The neighbourhood official told Abliz’s father about the injury and observed that, upon hearing the news:

‘His father was emotionally stable; his tone of voice was normal; there was no abnormal behaviour.’<sup>135</sup>

The Xinmin West Street Neighbourhood, where the Abliz family lives, is part of the Shuimogou District (水磨沟区). In February 2019, under the jurisdiction of the Shuimogou District Police Station, a total of 552 households had family members detained. Relatives of the detainees were ‘getting emotional and constantly went to their neighbourhood committees to ask questions,’ according to an 11 February police memo.<sup>136</sup>

In response, the police station decided to dispatch officers to visit whoever asked questions in their homes more frequently in order to ‘calm their thoughts’. The same police report mentions a teenage Uyghur girl who had dropped out of school and whose father was detained for re-education, stating:

‘[Her] mood has been down lately. She sometimes posted texts on [her] WeChat Moment<sup>137</sup> about finding life hopeless. The neighbourhood police officer has worked on her thinking. The Neighbourhood Committee will pay more attention to this person’s movements and report [to the police station] in a timely manner.’<sup>138</sup>



## 4. The party's knife handle

Individuals often become suspects after being flagged by the Political and Legal Affairs Commission (政法委员会, PLAC). Ürümqi's police records reveal that the PLAC sends push notifications of 'micro clues' (微线索)<sup>139</sup> via the predictive policing system IJOP to the Neighbourhood Committee and police when irregularities are detected: someone having an unexpected visitor at home, driving a car that does not belong to them,<sup>140</sup> receiving an overseas phone call<sup>141</sup> or using file sharing apps such as Zopya.<sup>142</sup> In police reports, these often innocuous acts are described as 'enemy movements' (敌情)<sup>143</sup> or 'important intelligence' (重要情报).<sup>144</sup>

Figure 12: Zhu Hailun, then head of the Xinjiang PLAC, speaking at a military parade in Hotan at the start of the Re-education Campaign.



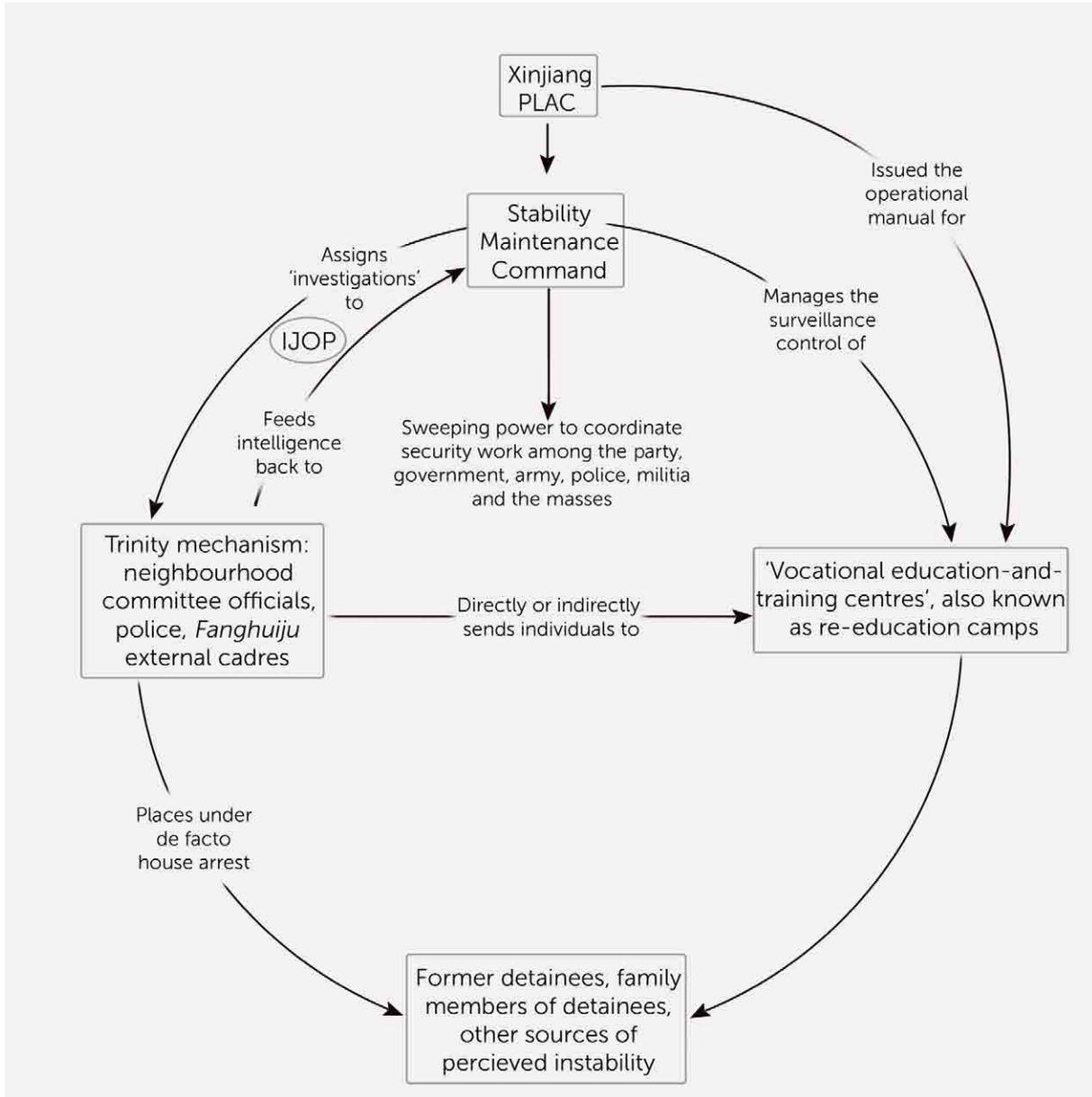
Source: 'Xinjiang holds counterterrorism stability maintenance mass mobilisation ceremony in Hotan' [新疆维吾尔自治区在和田举行反恐维稳誓师大会], *Tianshan News* [天山网], 17 February 2017, [online](#).

The PLAC is a powerful party organ that oversees what Chinese officials call the 'political and legal affairs system' (政法系统),<sup>145</sup> which includes the police, the procuratorate, the court, the justice department and other security organs.<sup>146</sup> At various administrative levels, those agencies fall under the government, but are ultimately answerable to the party via the PLAC. Referencing Mao yet again, Xi Jinping has dubbed the political and legal affairs system the party's 'knife handle' (刀把子) and insisted that the handle be firmly in the hands of the party and the masses.<sup>147</sup>

Elsewhere in China, the PLAC is typically a coordinating body without operational capabilities,<sup>148</sup> but during Xinjiang's campaigns, the PLAC prompted millions of investigations at the grassroots level. Between July 2016 and June 2017, its IJOP flagged 1,869,310 Uyghurs for having used Zopya.<sup>149</sup> This possibly included Anayt Abliz, who was first detained in 2017 for using the app.

The PLAC operates the IJOP via a powerful new body called the Counterterrorism and Stability Maintenance Command, first reported here by ASPI.<sup>150</sup> The regional Stability Maintenance Command was established under the PLAC in September 2016.<sup>151</sup> It has sweeping powers to coordinate security work among the party, the government, the army, the police, the militia and the masses.<sup>152</sup> Local stability maintenance commands were subsequently established at the subregional level.<sup>153</sup>

Figure 13: An illustration of the relationship between the PLAC, the Stability Maintenance Command, the IJOP, the 'Trinity' mechanism and the re-education centres.



Source: ASPI.

In Kelpin County (柯坪县),<sup>154</sup> where ASPI researchers have identified two detention facilities built after 2017,<sup>155</sup> the Stability Maintenance Command under the local PLAC employed 370 staff members in 2018, who worked in military attire.<sup>156</sup> Thirty-one of those employees staffed the control rooms of re-education camps.<sup>157</sup> Budget documents from Bayingolin (巴音郭楞) and Ürümqi show that the local PLAC also operates the technological aspects of the grid-management system.<sup>158</sup>



Information does not just travel one way from the PLAC to the ‘Trinity’ mechanism. Grassroots officers also feed intelligence gathered during routine checks or investigations back to the IJOP.<sup>159</sup> The identities and movements of those who are linked to current and former detainees (what the authorities call the ‘three kinds of people’, 三类人员),<sup>160</sup> are entered into the system and regularly updated, as demonstrated in the case of Anayt Abliz’s family.<sup>161</sup>

Officials also use the IJOP for communication.<sup>162</sup> They are given performance scores and assigned tasks in the system. Maya Wang and her team, who reverse-engineered the IJOP in 2019, described it as ‘a system of systems’.<sup>163</sup> Beyond local communities, the IJOP siphons more data from petrol stations, checkpoints on the streets, and schools.

This significant technological capacity places an enormous amount of unchecked power in the hands of Xinjiang’s PLAC officials. However, technology is hardly the only reason why the PLAC is central to the crackdown in Xinjiang, as the PLAC itself is a product of campaign-style governance and evidence of the Chinese bureaucratic system’s inbuilt flexibility.<sup>164</sup>

Throughout modern Chinese history, the PLAC has acted like a barometer of political mobilisation and upheaval. First established in 1958 at the height of the Great Leap Forward,<sup>165</sup> the PLAC wielded unrestrained power, which was considered to be a contributing factor to the Cultural Revolution.<sup>166</sup> After the upheavals in the 1950s and 1960s, the PLAC took a back seat and was dissolved in 1988, only to be reinstated in 1990 following the Tiananmen Square protests.<sup>167</sup> For many scholars, its very existence proves that there’s no meaningful divide between the Chinese Communist Party and the government.<sup>168</sup>

From 2002, Zhou Yongkang (周永康) ruled over the central PLAC, turning ‘stability maintenance’ into a costly industry and himself into China’s ‘security tzar’.<sup>169</sup> During Xi’s term, Zhou was purged in 2013, and the status and influence of the PLAC at both central and local levels have been curtailed.<sup>170</sup> To get rid of ‘remaining poisons’ left over from Zhou’s time, Xi began another purge inside the political and legal affairs system in 2020 to ensure its utmost loyalty.<sup>171</sup>

Despite a purported national decline, the Xinjiang PLAC’s visibility and political influence rose and its duties have expanded in recent years,<sup>172</sup> consistent with the pattern from previous mass political campaigns. Another contributing factor to its prominence in Xinjiang could be the former head of the Xinjiang PLAC, Zhu Hailun (朱海仑), who is considered by some to be the architect of the re-education camps,<sup>173</sup> and put forward a governance model called ‘the big PLAC’ (大政法委) in as early as 2010.

Following a stint as the head of the Xinjiang PLAC between 2006 and 2009,<sup>174</sup> Zhu was appointed the Ürümqi Party Secretary in the wake of the 2009 riots and the sacking of the previous secretary Li Zhi (栗智). In an effort to restore order, Zhu came up with the idea of ‘the big PLAC’,<sup>175</sup> a model aimed at revolutionising stability maintenance work by improving intelligence gathering, coordination between various security organs and grassroots mobilisation.<sup>176</sup>

More importantly, it marked Ürümqi’s early experimentation with grid management and what became known as the Trinity mechanism. In 2010, a pilot program of the ‘big PLAC’ was implemented in the four central districts in Ürümqi, including the Shuimogou District where the Abliz family resided.

Within one year, 16,900 new surveillance cameras were installed in the pilot program, 16 new neighbourhood committees and eight new police stations were opened, and the spending and staff for each neighbourhood committee more than tripled.<sup>177</sup>

Following the arrival of Chen Quanguo, Zhu Hailun resumed his position as head of the Xinjiang PLAC in November 2016. The following year, he signed off on a re-education camp manual that was later leaked to the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists.<sup>178</sup>



## 5. Weaponising the law

Led by the PLAC, Xinjiang’s political and legal affairs system has driven the most repressive aspects of the two campaigns, including the extrajudicial detention system and the formal carceral system that are estimated to have both detained hundreds of thousands, frequently without due process.<sup>179</sup>

Similar to ‘campaign-style law enforcement’ (运动式执法) in past iterations,<sup>180</sup> during Xinjiang’s campaigns, law enforcement decisions are hasty, harsh and arbitrary. Senior officials have promulgated new laws and regulations that contradict existing ones to meet the expedient needs of the campaigns. On the ground, local officers openly boast about acting outside legal precedes — with the endorsement of senior leaders and state media. At all levels, officers are compelled to swear loyalty oaths to the party and stay ‘politically firm’.

Figure 14: Officers from Xinjiang’s prison system swearing collective loyalty oaths to the party, 2017.



Source: ‘Huge numbers of party members and cadres in the Xinjiang prison system “speak up and brandish the sword” en masse’ [新疆监狱系统广大党员干部集体发声亮剑], Xinjiang Prison Administration (新疆监狱管理局), 10 June 2017, [online](#).

In 2014, a few days into the Counterterrorism Campaign, in an account that was later amplified by state media<sup>181</sup> and a well-known think tank,<sup>182</sup> senior Xinjiang police officer Ma Fei (马飞) wrote:

‘[We] must do everything possible to send the most untrustworthy, extreme religious [people] in our jurisdiction to the most reassuring place—the detention centre. Please don’t talk to me about what constitutes a crime. When a case is established, it’s time to sever heads. With the crackdown on religious extremism, we’d rather be excessive than lenient ...’<sup>183</sup>

That same year, the Xinjiang High People’s Court (自治区高级人民法院) announced plans to conduct mass show trials and denunciation sessions.<sup>184</sup> As discussed in Section 2 of this report, a show trial is a form of political theatre that has been outlawed and widely criticised in contemporary China.

One of the most high profile show trials in Xinjiang took place in the northern city of Ghulja (伊宁市) in May 2014, where truckloads of alleged ‘separatists’ and ‘terrorists’, mostly Uyghurs, were driven into a sports stadium and sentenced before a crowd of 7,000, their heads pushed down by police officers.<sup>185</sup>

Figure 15: A 7,000-people show trial was held in Ili Prefecture in a sports stadium, in May 2014. The event was held under the watch of armed soldiers.



Source: Li Xin'an (李新安), 'Xinjiang's Ili Prefecture holds mass ceremony of public verdict, public arrest and public detention; 55 defendants publicly sentenced' [新疆伊犁州举行公判、公捕、公拘大会 对55名被告人公开宣判], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 27 May 2014, [online](#).

'With a resolute attitude and iron fists, heavy punches and ruthless hands,' then head of Ghulja's PLAC Li Huiming (黎明辉) told the assembled crowd, 'we will resolutely knock out the enemy's arrogance with thunderous strikes and win ultimate victory in the people's war to strike hard against terrorism and instability'.<sup>186</sup> The following year, Li's superior Xiong Xuanguo (熊选国) who headed the regional PLAC, instructed the Xinjiang High Court to increase its show-trial efforts.<sup>187</sup>

In 2016, a social media statement by the Public Security Bureau of Altay City (阿勒泰市) defined the Counterterrorism Campaign as imposing 'severe and heavy penalties':

'If you could have a suspended sentence [in the past], you will [now] be actually sentenced; if you could have been sentenced to 3 to 10 years in accordance with the criminal law, you will [now] definitely be sentenced to 10 years.'<sup>188</sup>

In 2014, the Xinjiang High Court also explicitly ordered an increase in trial speed<sup>189</sup>—a tactic similar to the 1983 Strike Hard Campaign, when some 1.7 million people were sentenced in a period of four years.<sup>190</sup> Setting aside normal criminal law procedures, judicial organs jointly processed cases to reach unprecedented trial speeds during the 1983 crackdown, leading to a large number of unjust, false and wrongful verdicts, and death sentences.<sup>191</sup> In Xinjiang, detainees' fates are also decided by so-called 'political and legal joint conferences' (政法联席会议).<sup>192</sup> Similar to Xinjiang's crackdown, over a six-month period, the 1983 campaign had 563,000 individuals interned at labour reform and re-education facilities.<sup>193</sup>

Back in Xinjiang, in 2017, Chen Quanguo repeatedly instructed officials to 'round up everyone who should be rounded up'.<sup>194</sup> The same year, as head of the PLAC in Xinjiang, Zhu Hailun ordered prefecture and county party secretaries to personally oversee re-education work.<sup>195</sup> However, formal legislation related to the detention and indoctrination facilities did not appear until 9 October 2018, when the 'Xinjiang De-extremification Regulations' (新疆去极端化条例) were retrospectively revised to allow local governments to set up 'vocational skills education and training centres' and other types of 'transformation through education organs' (教育转化机构).<sup>196</sup>



There are numerous examples of other illegal behaviours by Xinjiang officials during the two campaigns, including missing verdicts and records, the fabrication of legal documents and, more broadly, the criminalisation of religious and cultural behaviour by Uyghurs and other indigenous groups.<sup>197</sup> As researcher Gene Bunin points out, the way law is applied in Xinjiang today, even in the Chinese context, is ‘completely illegitimate and egregiously illegal in its behaviour’.<sup>198</sup> Take the following examples.

On 14 September 2017, a log from Ürümqi’s convenience police station SY-150 described that neighbourhood officials had tried to force relatives of detainees to move away from the Minghua Street Area in the Tianshan District, which was set to be demolished and reconstructed. The neighbourhood officials reportedly told some residents:

‘You have family members who have been detained and investigated by the public security organs, so you can no longer purchase properties or live here. If you don’t move away promptly, your entire family will be detained.’<sup>199</sup>

Figure 16: Officials from Changji Prefecture inspecting the operations of Ürümqi ‘convenience police station’ GX-001 at the start of the Re-education Campaign.



Source: ‘Changji Prefecture inspection group visits Ürümqi City to inspect and discuss stability maintenance work’ [昌吉州代表团来乌鲁木齐市考察交流维稳工作], *Sina News* [新浪新闻], 2 June 2017, [online](#).

In 2019, a Xinjiang official told Human Rights Watch that at one stage during the Re-education Campaign:

‘There were quotas for arrests in all the locales, and so we began to arrest people randomly: people who argue in the neighborhood, people who street fight, drunkards, people who are lazy; we would arrest them and accuse them of being extremists. There was not enough room for them all in the centers, so they built new ones.’<sup>200</sup>

Cases in the Ürümqi police records reveal similar behaviours by grassroots officials. In 2017, Uyghur man Ekrem Imin (伊克热木·伊明) was detained and later re-educated at the Dabancheng Detention Centre, where he contracted hepatitis B as well as syphilis, a police report says.<sup>201</sup> The hepatitis B went untreated at the facility and Imin's wife was not allowed to bring him medication. Imin was told he had been detained only because his 'neighbourhood police officer was trying to fill quotas'.<sup>202</sup> The Dabancheng Detention Centre is estimated to be able to hold 10,000 people at once, and is Xinjiang and China's largest.<sup>203</sup>

Uyghur woman Güzelay Memetislam (古孜力阿依·买买提司拉木) was detained by the Xingfu Road Police Station (幸福路派出所) on 3 October 2017. She was sent to a re-education camp for being labelled an 'untrustworthy individual who is dissatisfied with society'.<sup>204</sup> Similarly, an Ürümqi Neighbourhood Committee sent Ekper Tursun (艾可帕尔·吐尔逊), a Uyghur divorcee who travelled frequently for business, to re-education on 8 March 2018 because he 'doesn't have a fixed address or fixed income', a report says, continuing: 'He is difficult for [neighbourhood] management and control'.<sup>205</sup>

Figure 17: Altay Prefecture procuratorate officials swearing a collective oath while holding a banner that promises to 'stay absolutely loyal to the party'.



Source: 'Strengthen ideals and beliefs, be absolutely loyal to the party, be a loyal, clean and responsible people's prosecutor of the new era [坚定理想信念 对党绝对忠诚 做新时代忠诚干净担当的人民检察官], Xinjiang Procuratorate [新疆检察] via Weibo [微博], 22 February 2019, [online](#).

The 'egregiously illegal' law enforcement in Xinjiang is an extreme example of China's harsh and instrumentalist approach to the law under Xi Jinping. Through legal reforms, the party has been increasingly consolidating centralised power and remoulding judicial institutions to its own advantage. In that process, it has shifted away from concepts of procedural accountability and judicial independence,<sup>206</sup> and openly 'turned against the law' in the opinion of Chinese legal expert Carl Minzner.<sup>207</sup>

This turn has ironically occurred at a time when 'governing the nation in accordance with law' (依法治国) is spoken about as a cornerstone of the party's governance model and considered a key aspect of 'Xi Jinping Thought' (习近平思想).<sup>208</sup> In Xinjiang, the party has created the 'Govern Xinjiang in Accordance with Law Committee' (依法治疆委员会)<sup>209</sup> with Chen Quanguo as its head.



The phrase ‘governing the nation in accordance with law’ used to be associated with social justice and fairness<sup>210</sup> and was enshrined in the Chinese Constitution in 1999.<sup>211</sup> Under Xi Jinping, it now refers to law in a Marxist-Leninist sense, in which the law is an expression of the party’s will; and follows China’s ancient legalist tradition, in which harsh punishment is viewed as essential for good governance.<sup>212</sup>

‘We must never copy the models and practices of other countries and must not follow the path of Western “constitutionalism”, “separation of powers” or “judicial independence”,’ Xi Jinping said in a 2018 speech.<sup>213</sup>

## 6. The frontline commanders

According to Chinese state media, Xi Jinping has a ‘county party secretary complex’ (县委书记情结),<sup>214</sup> that is, a fixation on the chief party officials in China’s roughly 3,000 county-level administrations. In his governance vision, the county-level party committee is the party’s ‘frontline command’ (一线指挥部), and the county party secretary the ‘frontline commander’, whose loyalty to the party and ability to mobilise the masses are crucial to the prosperity and very existence of the regime.<sup>215</sup>

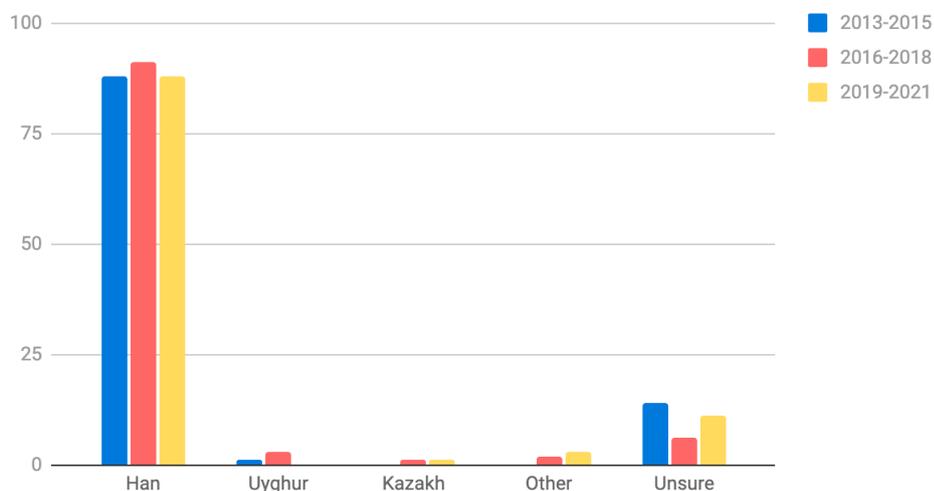
Between 2014 and 2017, the Central Party School and the Central Organisation Department (中央组织部, akin to the party’s human resources division) gave every single county party secretary from across the country two months of in-residence training in Beijing.<sup>216</sup> Xi personally taught some classes<sup>217</sup> and published a book in 2015 setting standards for county party secretaries,<sup>218</sup> demanding that they demonstrate absolute loyalty to the party and be ‘smart on politics’ (做政治的明白人).<sup>219</sup>

In Xinjiang, in line with the frontline commander metaphor, county party secretaries are directly responsible for a number of ‘first-in-command projects’ (一把手工程), from orchestrating the Counterterrorism Campaign in their jurisdictions,<sup>220</sup> to leading a taskforce that oversees the county’s Vocational Education and Training Service Management Bureau (职业技能教育培训服务管理局)—also known as the Re-education Bureau (教培局),<sup>221</sup> to signing ‘statements of target and responsibility’ (目标责任状) for coercive labour transfers<sup>222</sup> and, finally, to overseeing the implementation of population-control measures.<sup>223</sup>

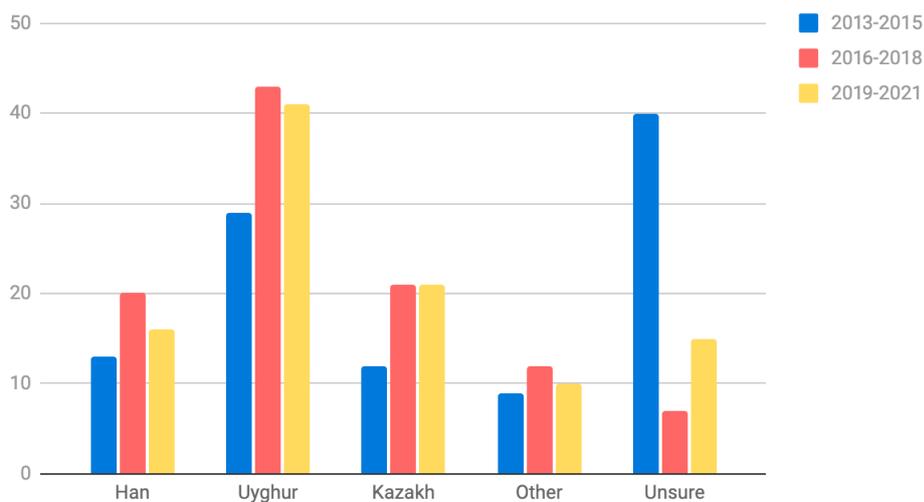
Researchers at ASPI have compiled the names and basic information of Xinjiang’s hundreds of principal and deputy county party secretaries between 2014 and August 2021,<sup>224</sup> and found that throughout the campaigns, the vast majority of Xinjiang’s ‘frontline commanders’ at the local level are Han (Figure 18). In most counties, a Uyghur or other minority official plays the ceremonial role of second-in-command—as deputy party secretary and concurrently county magistrate (县长). Despite Xinjiang’s legal status as a Uyghur Autonomous Region, ASPI researchers could not identify a single Uyghur party secretary at the county level at present (September 2021).

Figure 18: Ethnicity of Xinjiang’s county-level party secretaries (top) and deputy party secretaries/heads of government (bottom) between 2013 and 2021.

### Xinjiang County Party Secretaries



## Xinjiang County Deputy Party Secretaries, Heads of Government



Source: ASPI.

These statistics suggest a systematic distrust of Uyghurs and other ethnic officials, as well as the underlying racial discrimination within the Han-dominated party-state system.<sup>225</sup> They demonstrate how the party's initial promise of ethnic self-rule (民族自治), as codified in the Chinese Constitution,<sup>226</sup> is now a fig leaf held by a dependent class of Uyghur officials serving the party in chiefly ceremonial roles.

Among Xinjiang's county party secretaries over the last seven years, three individuals have been most celebrated by the media, the Organisation Department and sometimes Xi Jinping himself. This section profiles those three officials in order to tease out the dynamics of local politics in Xinjiang and highlight their role in operationalising the two campaigns.<sup>227</sup>

## 6.1 The true believer

1 July 2021 was the Chinese Communist Party's 100th birthday. A day prior, inside Beijing's Great Hall of the People, Xi Jinping met with 103 local officials from across the country who were awarded the title of 'Outstanding County Party Secretary' (优秀县委书记).<sup>228</sup>

The youngest among them was Yao Ning (药宁),<sup>229</sup> 36 years old and Han, who attracted considerable media attention for his unusual academic background. Unlike many of his peers who'd obtained qualifications from local universities or the Party School, Yao was educated at two of the most prestigious universities in the world—Tsinghua and Harvard.<sup>230</sup>

Figure 19: Yao Ning, the Harvard-educated party secretary in Xinjiang.



Source: 'County Party Secretary who was born after 1985 and graduated from Tsinghua, about to receive national commendation' (清华毕业的85后县委书记·拟获全国表彰), *Beijing Daily* (京报网), 7 May 2021, [online](#).

In early 2019, Yao Ning was appointed Party Secretary of Maralbeshi County (巴楚县),<sup>231</sup> a small and predominantly Uyghur county<sup>232</sup> where ASPI researchers have identified nine detention facilities built or expanded since 2017.<sup>233</sup> Months before Yao's arrival, authorities in Maralbeshi sought to recruit 320 new re-education camp staff members; the positions were open to only Han men aged 18 to 45 years.<sup>234</sup>

As party secretary, Yao's duties are likely to have included ultimate responsibility for the operations of the re-education camps in Maralbeshi,<sup>235</sup> as well as mass labour transfers that have resulted in forced labour and the displacement of Uyghur workers.<sup>236</sup> In a recent interview, Yao openly discussed his efforts to promote Maralbeshi's labour transfer policies,<sup>237</sup> claiming that 37,700 individuals in Maralbeshi were assigned employment during his two years in office.<sup>238</sup>



Figure 20: A prison in Maralbeshi County that has been operational throughout Yao's term. This facility was significantly expanded in the first quarter of 2017, with construction ongoing in 2021 in two areas of the facility. Six watchtowers are visible in the satellite imagery.



Source: ASPI.

Yao personifies Xi Jinping's ideal cadre: young, loyal and capable.<sup>239</sup> After spending his early years in Shanxi Province, Yao studied engineering at Tsinghua University. As an undergraduate, he actively participated in student politics, heading the Communist Youth League and the party branch for his cohort, and was elected president of the student association.<sup>240</sup>

As early as a student election held in 2008, Yao demonstrated exceptional patriotism and political ambition, saying he hoped to work in China's frontier regions and serve the country. '[I'd like to] go to the place where the motherland needs [me] the most. Get up on the big stage and have a big career,' he said.<sup>241</sup> Later that year, he was selected by the university to be an 'Outstanding Undergraduate Communist Party Member' (本科生优秀党员).<sup>242</sup>

Between 2010 and 2011, Yao was an Asia Fellow at Harvard University's Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation. The fellowship was part of his PhD program in public policy at Tsinghua University.<sup>243</sup> Upon completing his studies in late 2014, Yao began working in Xinjiang's Kashgar Prefecture, first in predominantly Uyghur Yengisheher County (疏勒县), and then in Maralbeshi County.

In a 2018 Tsinghua alumni interview, Yao sounded grateful for the opportunity to serve the state in Xinjiang, reportedly saying that nowhere in central or eastern China could he obtain equivalent work experience on counterterrorism, stability maintenance and poverty alleviation. His revolutionary idealism, Yao said, stems from the education at his alma mater, Tsinghua.<sup>244</sup>

Occasionally, he spoke about the struggles in his work. In December 2019, he posted on China's Twitter-equivalent, Weibo, that a Xinjiang official close to him had suddenly passed away, 'exhausted by work to death'.

'We were joking around on the phone a few days ago and all of a sudden this person is gone,' he wrote, 'for southern Xinjiang to have today's peaceful situation, so many cadres have sacrificed. RIP ...'<sup>245</sup>

Figure 21: Yao Ning's Weibo post.



Source: 'Yao Ning's Weibo posts' (药宁的微博), Weibo (微博), 25 February to 17 June 2021, online.

Yao's wife, Zhou Lingxiu (周凌休), is a graduate from Tsinghua and an ethnic Mongol from Inner Mongolia<sup>246</sup>—another frontier region where indigenous language and culture are under threat from a recent party-state crackdown.<sup>247</sup> According to Zhou, Yao is under a tremendous amount of pressure in Xinjiang: 'Several times in the middle of the night he called me from Kashgar. Usually he is strong, but even he was bawling.'<sup>248</sup>

Campaign-style governance often compels bureaucrats to give up on their ability to independently process information and make sound judgements, according to sociology Professor Zhou Xueguang.<sup>249</sup> Yao admits struggling with contradictory bits of information he receives in Xinjiang. 'It's difficult to discard what is false and retain what is true,' he said in a 2018 interview, reportedly concluding that one has to learn how to make one's own judgements.<sup>250</sup>



On Weibo, Yao posted in early 2019 a photograph featuring the Maoist slogan ‘Serve the people’ (为人民服务) with the caption: ‘Whenever [I’m] exhausted, I find this picture taken years ago and look at it. [My] only hope is to never lose sight of [my] original aspiration.’<sup>251</sup> ‘Never losing sight of the original aspiration’ (不忘初心) is a catchphrase of Xi Jinping, often used to inspire grassroots officials like Yao Ning to serve the Chinese people and help rejuvenate the Chinese nation.<sup>252</sup>

Figure 22: Yao Ning, centre, leads a collective loyalty pledge to the party in Maralbeshi County in 2021.



Source: ‘Maralbeshi County launches the oath-swearing ceremony of new party’s representative, Yao Ning’ (巴楚县开展新党员代表入党宣誓活动,药宁领誓), Maralbeshi County People’s Government (巴楚县人民政府), 27 June 2021, [online](#).

## 6.2 The innovator

Throughout Xinjiang’s two campaigns, the regional second-in-command had been deputy Party Secretary Shohrat Zakir (雪克来提·扎克尔), a Uyghur official who, until 30 September 2021, had concurrently been Xinjiang’s governor, the head of the Xinjiang Government.<sup>253</sup> Under Zakir, there were 11 vice-governors.<sup>254</sup> Among them, the highest-ranking and most powerful was Erken Tuniyaz (艾尔肯·吐尼亚孜), a Uyghur official who also spent four months in 2012 at the Harvard’s Ash Center as a New World Fellow.<sup>255</sup> Tuniyaz is currently serving as the acting Xinjiang governor at the time of writing.<sup>256</sup>

The lowest ranking and most recently promoted vice-governor<sup>257</sup> is the 50-year-old Han official Yang Fasen (杨发森). A recipient of the 2015 ‘Outstanding County Party Secretary’ title, Yang is now the youngest ministerial-level official (省部级领导) in Xinjiang.<sup>258</sup>

During the years between the 2009 Ürümqi riots and the start of the Counterterrorism Campaign in 2014, Yang served as Party Secretary of Bay County (拜城县), a remote and largely Uyghur county in Aksu Prefecture (阿克苏地区).<sup>259</sup> There, he created what later came to be celebrated as the ‘Bay County Experience’ (拜城经验).<sup>260</sup>

Figure 23: Yang Fasen speaking at the Great Hall of the People in front of Xi Jinping in 2015.



Source: ‘Yang Fasen, born after the 70s, assumes new post, becoming the youngest ministerial-level [official] in Xinjiang. He was once awarded the honour of “the Nation’s Outstanding County Party Secretary” [“70后”杨发森履新，成新疆最年轻省部级，曾获“全国优秀县委书记”荣誉], *Sina Finance News* [新浪财经新闻], 31 March 2021, [online](#).

The Bay County Experience is a set of propaganda policies aimed at bringing innovation and flair to the party’s ‘de-extremification’ work. For Yang’s small-town administration, that meant centralising resources from state media outlets, government websites and foreign-facing propaganda capabilities to form one propaganda superbody, the Bay County Propaganda Centre (宣传中心).<sup>261</sup>

Established in January 2013, the centre boasted three floors and 600 square metres of space and cost ¥2,000,000 (US\$314,000) to build.<sup>262</sup> It arranges media interviews, produces content and pushes out unified messages onto different platforms, including radio, television, social media and village loudspeakers. The centre also makes and disseminates ‘cultural products’ such as propaganda flyers, pamphlets, plays, paintings and jingles.<sup>263</sup>

The centre is similar to a wholesale vegetable market, a Bay County official told reporters, where ‘officials are like the vegetable farmers, propaganda staff are like distributors and the target buyers would be the county’s cadres and the masses of all ethnicities.’<sup>264</sup>



Yang Fasen's Bay County Experience is also characterised by efforts that turn everyday citizens into active propagandists.<sup>265</sup> During his time, sermon-like 'propaganda lectures' (宣讲) were popularised and people from all walks of life—cadres, lawyers, religious leaders, doctors, scientists, farmers, business owners, women and young people—were mobilised to combat 'religious extremism' by delivering the lectures.<sup>266</sup> Bus drivers, especially, were asked to propagate to passengers and simultaneously spy on them for signs of 'extremism'.<sup>267</sup>

Figure 24: A Bay County propaganda lecture in 2019 that asked residents to be grateful to the great motherland and praise their happy lives.



Source: 'Bay County propaganda lectures themed "be grateful to the great motherland, praise [our] happy lives" held in Dawanqi and Laohutai townships' [拜城县“感恩伟大祖国·歌颂幸福生活”主题宣讲走进大宛其、老虎台乡], Bay County People's Government [拜城县人民政府], 11 August 2019, [online](#).

Considered advanced and innovative, the Bay County Experience was frequently promoted by state media during the Counterterrorism Campaign.<sup>268</sup> In the latter half of 2014, Yang was transferred to Kucha County (库车县).<sup>269</sup> Following his departure, propaganda officials from around Xinjiang travelled to Bay County to visit the Propaganda Centre and learn from the Bay County Experience.<sup>270</sup>

In a national TV segment, officials from Onsu, Kelpin, Mekit (麦盖提县) and Akchi (阿合奇县) counties praised Bay County's 'de-extremification' practices, finding them 'innovative', 'down-to-earth' and 'impressive'. Ablimit Hüseyin (阿布里米提·玉素云), who headed the Propaganda Department in Konasheher County (疏附县), told reporters in October 2014 that her county would copy the Bay County model and construct a propaganda centre by end of the year 'at the latest'.<sup>271</sup> Before the end of the year, several other counties had established similar propaganda centres.<sup>272</sup>

Originally from neighbouring Gansu province, Yang joined the People's Liberation Army in Xinjiang at the age of 19.<sup>273</sup> After three years in the army, he slowly worked his way up from an office secretary position. He was hardworking and did not take holidays, according to state media, and during the Counterterrorism Campaign often worked late into the night together with police officers and other cadres.<sup>274</sup> He is reportedly full of energy: one account relates that he once burst into a song about how short life is while giving a propaganda lecture.<sup>275</sup>

In July 2015, in his cohort of some 100 ‘Outstanding County Party Secretaries’, Yang was one of only five to shake Xi Jinping’s hand and speak at the Great Hall of the People,<sup>276</sup> which in China is deemed a great honour. During his speech, Yang claimed that overseas terrorists had posted his photos online and threatened to retaliate against him.<sup>277</sup>

Well before the Re-education Campaign, when many Uyghurs were detained for being labelled ‘untrustworthy individuals born after the 1980s and 1990s’ (80后·90后不放心人员),<sup>278</sup> Yang asserted in front of Xi Jinping that subjecting young, uneducated Uyghurs to labour reform can bring about stability:

‘Because more than 80% of detainees were born in the 80s or 90s and 99% of them had an education level below high school, we have swiftly implemented a plan to ‘train and educate ten thousand youth in order to promote employment and ensure stability’. We have trained 30,000 people for free so the idle youths can have a skill, have something to do, earn some money and have things to look forward to. [This policy] can reduce [stability] risks to the greatest extent possible.

Through unremitting efforts, the religious atmosphere of the county has faded, the people of all ethnic groups have significantly improved their ability to distinguish right from wrong and the positive energy of counterterrorism and stability is forming.’<sup>279</sup>

Following his ‘Outstanding County Party Secretary’ award, Yang experienced an astronomical rise in the ranks. In December 2016, he was promoted to Deputy Party Secretary and PLAC Secretary of the Hotan Prefecture (和田地区),<sup>280</sup> one of the frontline regions in the two campaigns where ASPI researchers have identified 52 detention facilities newly built or expanded.<sup>281</sup> In February 2018, Yang became Hotan’s principal Party Secretary<sup>282</sup> and by March 2021, the youngest ministerial-level official in Xinjiang.<sup>283</sup>

### 6.3 The model minority

Since 2017, almost every ethnic minority deputy party secretary in Xinjiang has published at least one written pledge to ‘speak up and brandish the sword’. In stark, jingoistic and highly repetitive language, they promise to ‘be grateful to the party, listen to the party, and follow the party’<sup>284</sup> and to ‘forever remember the generosity of the party.’<sup>285</sup> They swear to ‘ferret out’ the party’s enemies—the ‘two-faced people’ who are ‘inferior to beasts’;<sup>286</sup> to ‘root out’ and ‘smash’ the two-faced people and the ‘three evil forces’;<sup>287</sup> to fight ‘bloody battles’ with them ‘till death’.<sup>288</sup>

Some Uyghur officials now claim that their people are not descendants of Turks and that Uyghurs have been a part of the Chinese nation-race (中华民族) since ancient times.<sup>289</sup> One official disavowed the Uyghur language, saying that speaking it makes one unpatriotic and thus a ‘two-faced person’.<sup>290</sup>



Figure 25: Uyghur official Obulqasim Mettursun posing for camera, with a copy of Xi Jinping's book on his desk.



Source: 'Obulqasim Mettursun: Emphasise "Unity" with every word and every sentence' [吾布力喀斯木·买吐送:一字一句写团结], *People's Daily* [人民日报], 16 July 2017, online.

The first Uyghur official to publish such a pledge was Obulqasim Mettursun (吾布力喀斯木·买吐送). At the start of the Re-education Campaign, he was the Deputy Party Secretary of Jay Township (加依乡) in Keriye County (于田县), and went viral for penning 'A wake-up call to fellow Uyghurs' (致维吾尔族同胞觉醒书).<sup>291</sup> According to his own account, Mettursun wrote the open letter after being 'inspired' by a series of military parades held throughout Xinjiang that spring—'I have to say something!' he later told reporters.<sup>292</sup>

In the letter, Mettursun expressed gratitude for the party's policies and suggested that Uyghurs were not fully accepted or respected in Chinese society because many Uyghurs had enabled the 'three evil forces' by failing to 'brandish their sword'.<sup>293</sup> He wrote:

'Each of us Uyghurs should adopt a firmer position to fight against the "three evil forces", should be more proactive in opposing the "three evil forces". Only as such ... will Uyghurs be prosperous, and truly recognised and tolerated by everyone.

Fellow Uyghurs, let's wake up! ... Use our courage and responsibility to win the understanding and respect of the people; use our contribution to gain our dignity that has been lost ... Only a sincere awakening from the heart can let us have a happy life ...'

Mettursun was barely fluent in Chinese.<sup>294</sup> According to official account, he wrote the first draft on 19 February 2017 in the Uyghur language and had it translated into Chinese.<sup>295</sup> He then asked for the approval of the township's principal Party Secretary, Han official Li Zhonggang (李仲刚), and took three days to conduct 'propaganda lectures' around the 12 villages under the township's jurisdiction, reciting the letter to villagers until his voice broke.<sup>296</sup> 'Some villagers wiped their tears while listening and then went to the neighbouring village to listen to another one,' state media claimed.<sup>297</sup>

Figure 26: Obulqasim Mettursun delivering a propaganda lecture to villagers.



Source: 'Obulqasim Mettursun: A persistent practitioner of national unity' [吾布力喀斯木·买吐送：民族团结的执着践行者], *Tianshan News* [天山网], 16 January 2018, online.

Late at night on 3 March, Mettursun's letter was published on Keriye County's official WeChat account.<sup>298</sup> On 25 March, the Xinjiang Party Committee mandated a region-wide campaign to 'learn from comrade Obulqasim Mettursun' and awarded him the 'Outstanding Communist Party Member' (优秀共产党员) and 'Advanced Model of National Unity' (民族团结进步模范) titles.<sup>299</sup>

Around April 2017, Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities began to disappear into re-education camps. On 6 April 2017, Ürümqi's New Inmates Prison (新收犯监狱) invited Mettursun to conduct a virtual 'propaganda lecture' to remove the inmates' 'extreme thoughts'. The prison publicised the event on WeChat, reporting that many inmates said they now wanted to follow Mettursun's example, 'learn from his intense patriotism ... listen to the party, be grateful to the party, and follow the party.'<sup>300</sup>

As his voice was amplified, Mettursun's career progressed. On 18 May, two of the most senior officials in the region, Party Secretary Chen Quanguo and the then head of the Organisation Department Ma Xuejun (马学军) met with Mettursun in Ürümqi.<sup>301</sup> Chen spoke highly of Mettursun's 'intense patriotism' and gifted him a copy of Xi Jinping's book, *The Governance of China* (习近平谈治国理政).<sup>302</sup>



Figure 27: Chen Quanguo and Ma Xuejun meeting Mettursun in Ürümqi.



Source: 'Chen Quanguo meets Obulqasim Mettursun' [陈全国在会见吾布力喀斯木·买吐送], Ürümqi City Government Website [乌鲁木齐市政府网站], 19 May 2017, [online](#).

By August, the Xinjiang Party Committee initiated a second round of the 'Learn from Mettursun' campaign<sup>303</sup> and everyone in Xinjiang, from party officials to ordinary citizens, was asked to follow his example. Mettursun was prominently featured in state media, sometimes holding Xi Jinping's book and vowing to 'kill the enemies to the point of their extinction',<sup>304</sup> and other times sitting in his office with the book on his desk.<sup>305</sup>

In August 2017, six months after he first wrote the letter, Mettursun was promoted to be Deputy Party Secretary of Awat County (阿瓦提县).<sup>306</sup> In October, he made a high-profile trip to Beijing to attend the National People's Congress as a Xinjiang delegate.<sup>307</sup> Within a year of becoming a county-level official, he wrote 17 new missives about 'brandishing the sword' and toured the region to present some 130 propaganda lectures.<sup>308</sup>

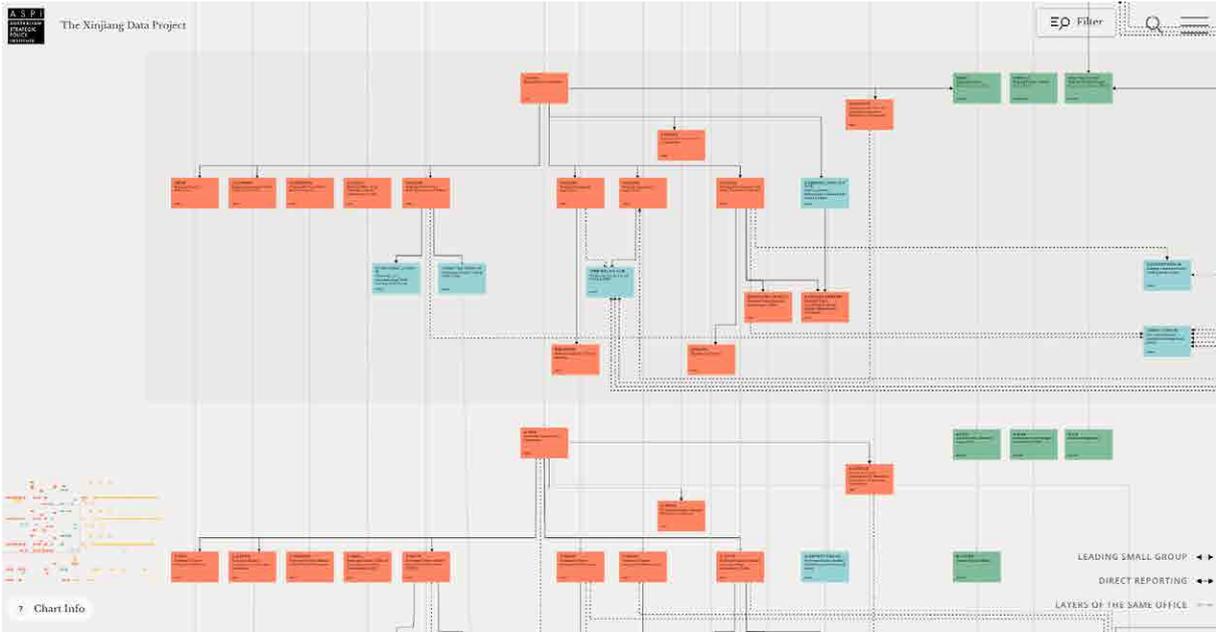
Despite his continued celebrity status, Mettursun's career has so far plateaued at a deputy position like most of his Uyghur peers serving the party-state. More recently, in 2021, he attended press conferences held by the Central Propaganda Department (中央宣传部), testifying to foreign journalists that in Xinjiang 'people's wallets are bulging more and more and the happy smiles on their faces are getting more and more beautiful'.<sup>309</sup>

# 7. ‘There is no department that doesn’t have something to do with stability’

As Zhang Chunxian wrote in August 2014: ‘There is no place, no department, no individual that doesn’t have something to do with stability.’<sup>310</sup> During Xinjiang’s campaigns, few offices or officials could escape the duty to play a part in highly politicised ‘stability maintenance’ work. At times, repressive policies have been carried out by the most innocent-sounding, obscure government agencies, such as the Forestry Bureau (林业局), which looked after the accounts of the re-education camps in Kashgar City (喀什市) for a year.<sup>311</sup>

This section offers an overview of the main aspects of the two campaigns and points out the administrative bodies that are involved. The five aspects discussed here are propaganda, the re-education camps, the Fanghuiju program, coercive labour assignments and population control. Readers can also view [an interactive chart](#), where the authors have mapped out more than 170 administrative bodies that are directly or indirectly connected to Xinjiang’s human rights crisis.<sup>312</sup>

Figure 28: Screenshot of an organisational chart featuring party, government, military, and hybrid entities that have participated in Xinjiang’s governance since 2014.



Source: ASPI.

## 7.1 Propaganda

Compared to elsewhere in China, propaganda efforts in Xinjiang are more intense, omnipresent and racially charged. In chronological order, this subsection outlines Xinjiang’s propaganda work policies, which include public loyalty pledges, ‘propaganda lectures’, chants wishing Xi Jinping good health, and public denunciation sessions of ‘extremists’ and ‘two-faced people’. As discussed in Section 2, these political rituals bear the hallmarks of Mao-era mass political campaigns.



On 28 May 2014, a major Xinjiang work conference was held in Beijing four days after the launch of the Counterterrorism Campaign. During the conference, Xi Jinping instructed that in order to achieve stability and party control in Xinjiang, a key measure was to ‘vigorously promote cadres who are loyal to the party, who dare to speak up and brandish the sword in critical moments.’<sup>313</sup> At this point, ‘brandishing the sword’ seems to be a metaphor for firmly expressing one’s loyalty to the party and being in a combative position to defend it.<sup>314</sup>

Figure 29: School teachers in Hotan Prefecture in a 2017 collective loyalty pledge.



Source: ‘Ten thousand school teachers and students in Hotan Prefecture collectively “speak up and brandish the sword”, voicing the strongest roar of justice, vowing to fight against the “three evil forces” and “two-faced people” till the end’ [和田地区万名教师学生集体发声亮剑 发出正义最强音 誓与“三股势力”和“两面人”斗争到底], Hotan Government Affairs Online [和田政务在线], 27 June 2017, [online](#).

The metaphor soon evolved into acts of political ritual unique to Xinjiang. Nine days after the conference in Beijing, some 10,000 individuals in Cherchen County (且末县) took a public pledge to ‘brandish the sword’ against ‘terror and violence’.<sup>315</sup> In July 2014, following a violent clash between a group of Uyghurs and Chinese security forces,<sup>316</sup> officials in Yarkant County (莎车县) reportedly shouted with raised arms, ‘Resolutely safeguard national unity!’ and ‘Resolutely safeguard the dignity of the law!’ in the yard of a local Village Committee. Some 130 village-level officials jointly signed a pledge to denounce the violent attack.<sup>317</sup> Since then, officials, civilians,<sup>318</sup> religious leaders,<sup>319</sup> entrepreneurs,<sup>320</sup> arts workers<sup>321</sup> and people with disabilities<sup>322</sup> have all signed similar pledges to ‘brandish their swords’.

Public pledge ceremonies called ‘speak up and brandish the sword’ soon became commonplace, where participants put a fist next to their face while standing up, vocally condemn ‘religious extremism’ and praise the party and its policies.<sup>323</sup> Participants are also asked to sign their names on massive propaganda banners and ‘solemnly promise to be grateful to the party, listen to the party, and follow the party’.<sup>324</sup> Some officials claim that these events can cure the disease of ‘extremism’ and improve the psychological health of the masses.<sup>325</sup>

Figure 30: A women's sign and promise ceremony in Tumshuq City, Xinjiang.



Source: 'Massive propaganda lectures: Photographs from Tumshuq City's "Big Denounce, Expose and Criticise" activities' [大宣讲：师市“大揭批大声讨大宣讲”系列活动精彩图集], Tumshuq City's Propaganda Department (市党委宣传部), 28 April 2017, [online](#).

On 26 August 2014, the Xinjiang Organisation Department said in a public work report that the department would promote six minority officials who had led the efforts to criticise the 'three evil forces' in public or in the media.<sup>326</sup> As for the 65 candidates who were found to be 'not politically strong enough', who 'did not dare to speak up and brandish the sword in critical moments', their nominations were dropped.<sup>327</sup>

Four months later, under the instructions of then Xinjiang Party Secretary Zhang Chunxian, the Propaganda Department prepared lecture outlines and hand-picked 'propaganda lecture groups' (宣讲团).<sup>328</sup>

Propaganda lectures are sessions in which a group of speakers spends weeks or months touring local villages and townships,<sup>329</sup> speaking at schools or stadiums to anywhere between dozens and tens of thousands of residents at a time.<sup>330</sup> The speakers typically include party and government officials, law enforcement officers, religious leaders, teachers, former detainees, psychologists,<sup>331</sup> as well as ordinary citizens known as 'grassroots propaganda lecturers' (草根宣讲员).<sup>332</sup>



Figure 31: A ‘grassroots propaganda lecturer’ training session in Kashgar City in 2017.



Source: ‘Kashgar City conducts training on the spirits of the 19th National People’s Congress for grassroots propaganda lecturers’ [喀什市对草根宣讲员进行党的十九大精神专题培训], Kashgar City’s official WeChat account [喀什市零距离], 16 November 2017, [online](#).

During the Re-education Campaign, the Justice Department played a leading role in mobilising and organising propaganda lecture groups, primarily through its ‘Propaganda Lecture Office to Promote Harmony and Prevent Crimes’ (促进和谐预防犯罪宣讲办公室).<sup>333</sup>

In April 2017, the Xinjiang United Front Work Department (自治区统战部) held a series of ‘three loves, three oppositions’ (三爱·三反) seminars in Ürümqi that lasted more than 10 days, with nearly a thousand representatives from all sectors of Xinjiang society in attendance.<sup>334</sup> ‘Three loves, three oppositions’ is a slogan shortened from a Xi Jinping quote: ‘Love the Communist Party of China, love the motherland, love the big family of the Chinese nation-race; oppose separatism, oppose extremism, oppose violence.’<sup>335</sup>

The ‘three loves, three oppositions’ was swiftly adopted as a theme of propaganda lectures and public pledges around Xinjiang<sup>336</sup> and expanded to become ‘three loves, three oppositions, three gratitudes, three wishes’ (三爱·三反·三感恩·三祝愿). The added ‘three gratitudes’ and ‘three wishes’ are recited during group loyalty oaths as:

‘Grateful to the great motherland, grateful to the Communist Party of China, grateful to General Secretary Xi Jinping; wish the great motherland prosperity, wish General Secretary Xi Jinping good health, and wish the people of all ethnic groups unity and harmony.’<sup>337</sup>

Flag-raising ceremonies, propaganda lectures and public pledges are often carried out in combination and later published in state media, which frequently describe audience members becoming emotional and melting into tears during these events.<sup>338</sup>

During the two campaigns in Xinjiang, the authorities also popularised struggle sessions termed ‘big denounce, expose and criticise’ (大声讨·大揭批). These sessions entail public condemnation of individuals accused of being ‘two-faced’<sup>339</sup> and calls for the public to inform on such people living in their community.<sup>340</sup>

Figure 32: A ‘big denounce, expose and criticise’ struggle session in Maralbeshi Township in 2018.



Source: ‘Maralbeshi Township holds “big propaganda lecture, denounce, expose and criticise” rally which is also a “speak up and brandish the sword” advancement meeting’ [巴楚镇召开“大宣讲、大揭批、大声讨·大反思”活动暨发声亮剑大会现场推进会], ‘Pretty women in Maralbeshi’ [巴楚靓丽巾帼] via Wechat [微信], 21 March 2018, [online](#).

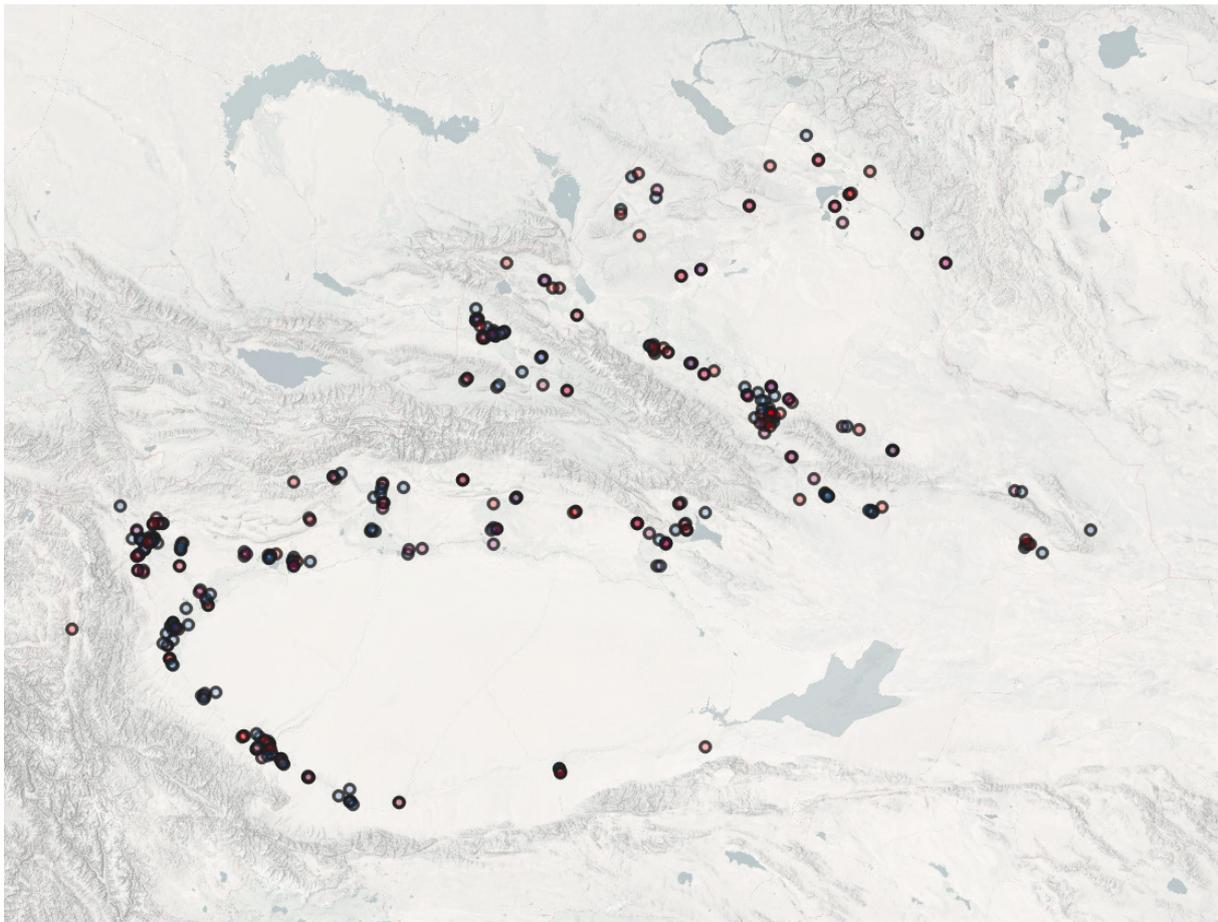
At the local level, smaller scale propaganda lectures have been organised by Fanghuiju work teams, village-based mosque management committees (驻村管寺管委会)<sup>341</sup> and neighbourhood or village committees.<sup>342</sup> Between 2015 and 2020, 12,000 Fanghuiju work teams and 1.1 million officials reportedly went into people’s homes in southern Xinjiang to deliver ‘de-extremification’ propaganda lectures.<sup>343</sup> Local public pledge ceremonies have been organised by government offices (such as the procuratorate or the court),<sup>344</sup> neighbourhood and village officials, local chapters of the All-China Women’s Federation (全国妇女联合会),<sup>345</sup> and private businesses.<sup>346</sup>



## 7.2 Re-education camps

Researchers have identified a broad set of justifications used during the Re-education Campaign to detain Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities, including religious expressions (fasting, prayer, wearing a headscarf or having a beard),<sup>347</sup> foreign links (past overseas travel, contact with someone abroad or applying for a passport),<sup>348</sup> consumption of unapproved information (use of Zappya or WhatsApp) or having too many children.<sup>349</sup> At times, there is no justification at all, as discussed in Section 4 of this report.

Figure 33: ASPI researchers have identified 388 detention facilities in Xinjiang built or expanded after 2017 (as of September 2020).



Source: Nathan Ruser, Xinjiang detention facilities dataset, ASPI, 24 September 2020, [online](#).

A number of party and government organs in Xinjiang began drafting a set of ‘de-extremification’ regulations in 2015, including the PLAC, the Public Security Department (公安厅), the Justice Department (司法厅) and others.<sup>350</sup> Following central approvals, the Xinjiang De-extremification Regulations were enacted on 29 March 2017, only to be amended in October 2018 to retrospectively justify the network of re-education detention facilities.<sup>351</sup>

As stated in Section 3 of this report, the Trinity mechanism is immediately responsible for handing Uyghurs over to the camps. Since 2018, re-education camps have been formally managed by re-education bureaus across Xinjiang at the county and prefecture level.<sup>352</sup> The bureau is overseen by

a taskforce called the Vocational and Education Training Leading Small Group (职业技能教育培训领导小组). The taskforce is headed by the local party secretary and includes bureaucrats from the Public Security Bureau, Justice Bureau (司法局), Education Bureau (教育局) and Health Commission (卫生健康委员会) at the local level.<sup>353</sup>

In Kashgar City, ASPI researchers have identified at least five re-education camps that were constructed or expanded after 2017.<sup>354</sup> Until the creation of the Re-education Bureau, the Forestry Bureau managed Kashgar City's budget for the new detention facilities, which came to ¥9.75 million (US\$3 million) in 2017.<sup>355</sup>

Detainees are required to take classes and pass tests on a variety of subjects, including political ideology and the Chinese language. The local Education Bureau draws up test papers and records detainees' scores.<sup>356</sup> A detainee's test scores are in theory one of the main criteria for their release.<sup>357</sup>

Figure 34: Re-education camp 'trainees' giving a performance wearing traditional Han clothing in a village.



Source: 'Three years of village-based work honed (my) will', *Gudao Xifeng*, online.

According to an official document from Karamay City (克拉玛依市), the local Human Resources and Social Security Bureau (人力资源和社会保障局) handles the paperwork when detainees are released from re-education camps.<sup>358</sup> In at least one location, Pichan County (鄯善县) in southern Xinjiang, the Justice Bureau pays for the detainees' food and living expenses.<sup>359</sup>



### 7.3 The Fanghuiju program

As mentioned in Section 3, Fanghuiju is an ongoing policy that dispatches mostly Han officials and sometimes civilians to surveil and indoctrinate Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities during home visits or stays.<sup>360</sup> In Chinese, Fanghuiju is shorthand for ‘Visit the People, Benefit the People, and Link the Hearts of the People’ (访民情、惠民生、聚民心). In February 2014, the Xinjiang Party Committee announced the initial round of Fanghuiju and plans to send down 200,000 cadres to local neighbourhoods and villages over three years.<sup>361</sup> Fanghuiju later merged with a similar program called ‘Becoming Family’ (民族团结一家亲)<sup>362</sup> and has continued until the time of writing.

Figure 35: Xinjiang deputy Governor Qadarbek Qamza conducting a home visit in a village near Yarkant County.



Source: ‘Three years of village-based work honed (my) will’, *Gudao Xifeng*, online.

The Fanghuiju program is organised by a Fanghuiju Office (访惠聚办公室) that exists at various administrative levels<sup>363</sup> under the Organisation Department.<sup>364</sup> In 2015, Xinjiang’s Organisation Department published several Fanghuiju handbooks, which clarified how to deal with potential issues that participants might encounter, such as what to do when a family refuses to let officials inside their home or how to interact with the family members of detainees.<sup>365</sup> In addition to increasing the short-term visibility of the party-state in Xinjiang, the Fanghuiju program also seeks to cement long-term party control at the grassroots by restructuring the local political landscape.<sup>366</sup>

As of 2016, Xinjiang’s Fanghuiju Office was led by the head of the Organisation Department, Ma Xuejun,<sup>367</sup> and included officials from the United Front Work Department, Propaganda Department, Party School, Women’s Federation, Xinjiang’s PLAC, and others.<sup>368</sup>

Following Chen Quanguo’s arrival in October 2016, the Xinjiang Party Committee launched the ‘Becoming Family’ initiative,<sup>369</sup> which asked all of Xinjiang’s party cadres, government officials and managers at state-owned companies to integrate themselves into the lives of Uyghur or other minority families, creating bonds as fictitious close relatives.<sup>370</sup>

Figure 36: Chen Quanguo speaking at a regional ‘Becoming Family’ mass mobilisation conference.

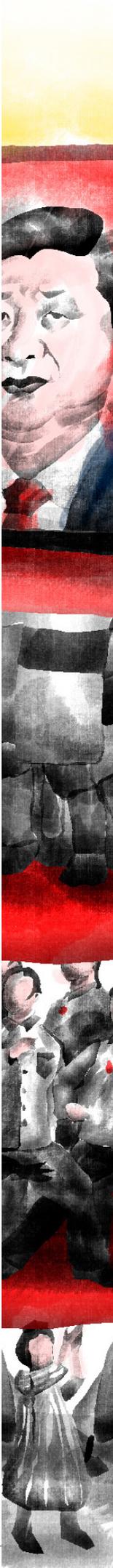


Source: ‘Xinjiang holds mobilisation conference for the “Becoming Family” initiative’ [自治区召开“民族团结一家亲”活动动员大会], Guma County official WeChat account [皮山县零距离], 17 October 2016, [online](#).

In December 2017, the Xinjiang Party Committee launched a second round of ‘Becoming Family’, sending more than 1.12 million cadres and civilians into indigenous households for a five-day stay every two months.<sup>371</sup> In practice, the ‘Becoming Family’ initiative is an extension of and has merged with the Fanghuiju program,<sup>372</sup> although the ‘Becoming Family’ taskforce and office fall under the United Front Work Department<sup>373</sup> and not the Organisation Department.

Since 2017, Chen Quanguo has personally headed the regional Fanghuiju taskforce (which sits atop the Fanghuiju Office).<sup>374</sup> The same year, Xinjiang’s Development and Reform Commission (发展和改革委员会) developed an information management system to improve the efficiency of Fanghuiju visits.<sup>375</sup>

Almost every department and office in Xinjiang sends cadres to participate in the Fanghuiju program, including those that normally have nothing to do with surveillance or ethnic policy, such as the Department of Housing and Urban–Rural Development (住房和城乡建设厅)<sup>376</sup> and the Agricultural Machinery Bureau (农牧业机械管理局).<sup>377</sup>



## 7.4 Coercive labour assignments

During the Re-education Campaign, Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities from rural parts of southern Xinjiang have been labelled ‘surplus labour’ (富余劳动力) or ‘poverty-stricken labour’ (贫困劳动力) and sent to work in factories in other parts of Xinjiang or China.<sup>378</sup> Between 2017 and 2021, 600,000 ‘surplus labourers’ from southern Xinjiang were scheduled to be trained and transferred to new locations for work, according to state media.<sup>379</sup>

ASPI’s previous report *Uyghurs for sale* revealed that in factories far away from home, Uyghur workers typically live in segregated dormitories and undergo organised Chinese-language and ideological training outside working hours. They are subject to constant surveillance, and prohibited from practising their religion.<sup>380</sup> Chinese media reported in 2017 that not a single villager in a remote part of Guma County (皮山县) would voluntarily sign up to a labour-transfer scheme in Anhui Province, 4,000 kilometres away, until party officials visited individual homes to pressure people into taking part.<sup>381</sup>

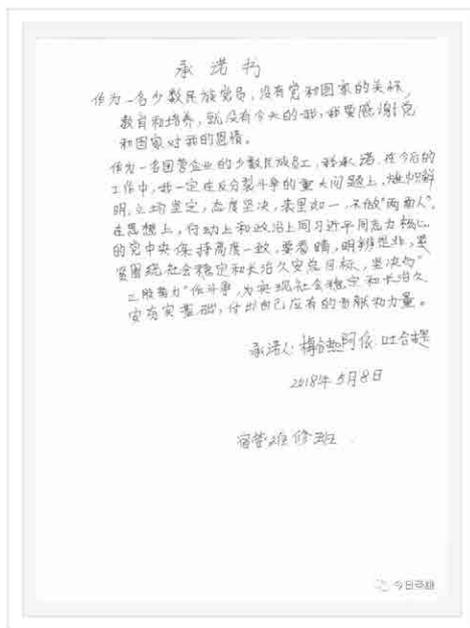
Xinjiang’s Department of Human Resources and Social Security (自治区人力资源和社会保障厅) is directly in charge of the job assignments. The department provides ‘free training’ to ‘poverty-stricken labourers’<sup>382</sup> and gives subsidies to participating companies.<sup>383</sup>

A labour-transfer taskforce known as the Systematic Labour Transfers from Poverty-Stricken Areas of Southern Xinjiang Leading Small Group (南疆四地州深度贫困地区有组织转移就业工作领导小组) was created in late 2018 at the regional level and headed by the head of the Xinjiang Organisation Department.<sup>384</sup> Local branches of the taskforce are typically led by the area’s party and government leaders and are coordinated by the local Human Resources and Social Security Bureau.<sup>385</sup> A 2017 government memo from Iwirghol District (伊州区) in Qumul City (哈密市) states that its labour-transfer taskforce assigned transfer quotas to its member departments.<sup>386</sup> Another government press release says that a transfer quota was imposed on every official in Nilqa County (尼勒克县).<sup>387</sup>

Numerous official sources at all levels state that transferred workers are assigned minders and have limited freedom of movement.<sup>388</sup> The Xinjiang Department of Human Resources and Social Security employs bilingual minders to monitor minority workers and runs a surveillance system called the ‘rural labourer job transfer management system’ (农村劳动力转移就业管理系统), which tracks the workers in real time.<sup>389</sup>

According to a government memo from Karashahar Hui Autonomous County (焉耆回族自治县), transferred workers are not allowed to leave their work assignments or go home without the approval of both the county and prefecture level labour transfer taskforces.<sup>390</sup> Any ‘abnormal circumstances’ (异常情况) relating to the workers’ conduct are reported back to the county-level PLAC, the Public Security Bureau and the labour transfer taskforce in Xinjiang.<sup>391</sup> *Washington Post* reporters who visited a Nike factory in Qingdao in 2020 also found Uyghur workers not allowed to go home, and the exterior of the factory resembling a prison.<sup>392</sup>

Figure 37: Like all other employees at her factory, Uyghur worker Mihray Tohti wrote a loyalty pledge by hand to ‘speak up and brandish the sword’.



Letter of Commitment (Translation)

As an ethnic minority party member, there would be no me today without the care, education, and cultivation of the party and the state. I want to thank the party and the government for their grace and blessings.

As an ethnic minority of a state-owned enterprise, I promise, from this day forward in my work, to hold a firm position on the weighty battle against separatism. My attitude will be resolute; I will stand firm in my position; and stay true to my thoughts -- never a 'two-faced person'. In my thinking, actions and politics, I will remain firmly in line with the Central Party Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core. I will see [sic] things clearly, tell right from wrong, and strictly revolve around the general goal of social stability and enduring peace. In order to resolutely fight against the 'three evil forces' and consolidate the foundation for social stability and enduring peace, I should devote my share of strength and contribution.

Promisor: Mihray Tohti  
8 May 2018

Dormitory management and maintenance

Source: 'National unity | Keep "speaking up and brandishing the sword"; promise to fight against the "three evil forces"' [民族团结|持续发声亮剑 誓与“三股势力”作斗争], Xinjiang Shengxiong Energy Resource Co., Ltd. official WeChat account [今日圣雄], 18 May 2018, [online](#).

As part of the labour-transfer schemes, various departments in and outside Xinjiang are tasked with ‘fixing jobs’ (落实岗位) for Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities in their particular industries.<sup>393</sup> Instead of providing welfare, these acts of ‘job creation’ have displaced Uyghurs and other indigenous people from their homeland, tearing communities and families apart.<sup>394</sup> Transferred workers are typically between 18 and 40 years old,<sup>395</sup> many of whom leave children, elderly relatives and livestock behind.<sup>396</sup> In Kargilik County (叶城县, a 93% Uyghur county),<sup>397</sup> for example, 2,428 elderly residents, 1,941 children and some 336,900 animals were placed under state care following job assignments.<sup>398</sup>

The Xinjiang Development and Reform Commission facilitates transfers of workers to fixed-asset investment projects (固定资产项目), which include infrastructure construction and other state-owned projects.<sup>399</sup> The Xinjiang State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission (自治区国有资产监督管理委员会)<sup>400</sup> facilitated the transfer of 16,000 ‘poverty-stricken labourers’ to state-owned enterprises between 2017 and 2019.<sup>401</sup> The Department of Human Resources and Social Security facilitates transfers to public welfare postings (公益性岗位). The Xinjiang Department of Industry and Information Technology (自治区工业和信息化厅) facilitates transfers of workers to the textile, garment, agricultural and electronics manufacturing sectors.<sup>402</sup> The Department of Housing and Urban–Rural Development facilitates transfers of workers to the construction sector.<sup>403</sup> The Xinjiang Poverty Alleviation and Development Office (自治区扶贫开发办公室) coordinates with the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce (中华全国工商业联合会) to bring private enterprises to southern Xinjiang in preparation for job transfers.<sup>404</sup>



Figure 38: Transferred workers from southern Xinjiang ‘speak up and brandish the sword’ at a factory in Toqsun County.



Source: ‘Keep “speaking up and brandishing the sword”; promise to fight against the “three evil forces”’, Xinjiang Shengxiong Energy Resource Co., Ltd., 18 May 2018, [online](#).

Other government and party agencies are tangentially involved in labour transfers. In 2019, the Women’s Federation in Keriye County, for example, sent 50 women to work at an electronics factory in Qingdao, Shandong, and 500 women to Ürümqi to work in housekeeping and catering services.<sup>405</sup> Fanghuiju work teams have also visited homes and conducted unspecified ‘investigations’ in an attempt to persuade Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities to take up job assignments.<sup>406</sup>

## 7.5 Population control

During the Re-education Campaign, authorities in Xinjiang launched a series of crackdowns on ‘illegal births’ (违法生育) to curb the birthrate among Uyghur and other minority women.<sup>407</sup> Minority women found to have violated ‘family planning’ (计划生育) policies face hefty fines, disciplinary punishment, internment and mandatory sterilisation.<sup>408</sup> ‘Illegal births’ that had occurred as early as in 1992 were retrospectively punished.<sup>409</sup>

As a result, Xinjiang’s official birthrate fell by nearly half (48.74%) in the two years between 2017 and 2019.<sup>410</sup> The decrease has been even more dramatic in southern Xinjiang, where the highest proportions of indigenous people live.<sup>411</sup> These ‘family planning’ measures specifically target Uyghurs and other indigenous groups, while outside Xinjiang the party-state is attempting to boost birthrates by discouraging Han women from getting non-medical abortions.<sup>412</sup>

Figure 39: Crude birthrate ratio, Xinjiang versus the whole of China, 1991-2019.



Source: Nathan Ruser, James Leibold, 'Family de-planning: the coercive campaign to drive down indigenous birth rates in Xinjiang', ASPI, 12 May 2021, [online](#).

In a leaked name list of camp detainees from Karakash County (墨玉县),<sup>413</sup> 149 out of 484 listed detainees had been held for having too many children.<sup>414</sup> In 2017, Abdushukur Umar, a Uyghur fruit merchant, was detained in a camp and later sentenced to seven years in prison—one for each child, authorities told relatives who were interviewed by *Associated Press*.<sup>415</sup>

The key government organ responsible for Xinjiang's family planning policies is the Xinjiang Health Commission. In 2020 alone, the commission spent ¥140 million (US\$22 million) on reducing birthrates and cracking down on 'illegal births' in southern Xinjiang.<sup>416</sup> Following 2017 and 2018 directives from the Xinjiang Health Commission on family planning policy,<sup>417</sup> a taskforce called the 'Targeted Crackdown on Illegal Births Leading Small Group' (违法生育专项治理行动领导小组) was created at the prefecture,<sup>418</sup> county<sup>419</sup> and township levels, as well as inside government departments and companies.<sup>420</sup>

The office of the taskforce is located within the Health Commission, and its members include officials from a wide range of government and party organs, such as the Public Security Bureau, United Front Work Department, Propaganda Department, Education Bureau (教育局), Women's Federation, Commission for Discipline Inspection (纪律检查委员会), Ethnic and Religious Affairs Bureau (民族宗教事务局), Civil Affairs Bureau (民政局), Finance Bureau (教育局), Human Resources and Social Security Bureau Justice Bureau, and others.<sup>421</sup> Xinjiang's Regulations on Population and Family Planning (新疆维吾尔自治区人口与计划生育条例), revised in 2017, also lists most of those agencies as helping to implement family planning policies.<sup>422</sup>

At the grassroots level, neighbourhood or village committee party secretaries, Fanghuiju work teams, family planning clerks and grid managers carry out the day-to-day crackdown on illegal births.<sup>423</sup> Punishing illegal births is a key performance indicator for local officials,<sup>424</sup> and any violation of family planning regulations is grounds for their immediate demotion or dismissal.<sup>425</sup>

This campaign to reduce Uyghur and other minority births follows Xi Jinping's 2014 directive for the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps<sup>426</sup> to 'optimise population resources' (优化人口资源).<sup>427</sup> The Han-dominated paramilitary organisation interpreted the directive to mean prioritising population expansion, especially in the Uyghur-dominated south.<sup>428</sup>



## 8. Conclusion

By examining the Chinese party-state's governance methods, this report illustrates how human rights abuses are being carried out in Xinjiang and by whom. Mass campaigns aimed at political realignment are not artefacts of a bygone era. Rather, they are occurring at a time when Chinese society is more tightly connected with the world than ever before, and pursued along racial and religious lines in Xinjiang with profound social impacts. Consequently, this is the first PRC mass campaign that liberal democracies have experienced up close, while knowingly or unknowingly consuming its outputs, such as products made with forced labour.<sup>429</sup>

Xinjiang's bureaucratic inner workings fit a wider pattern of authoritarian rule in China. In fact, many of the governance techniques used in Xinjiang during the two campaigns were first conceived elsewhere, such as the grid-management system (Beijing, 2004)<sup>430</sup> and the ten-household joint defence (Tibet, 2015).<sup>431</sup>

Some of Xinjiang's governance tools are also being replicated elsewhere. In 2017, the Xinjiang PLAC hosted 22 inspection tours from the central government and other provinces.<sup>432</sup> In 2018, Ningxia's PLAC Secretary, Zhang Yunsheng (张韵声), vowed to 'learn and borrow' from Xinjiang's experiences after inspecting the Stability Maintenance Command and the IJOP.<sup>433</sup> The Hong Kong Government's counterterrorism taskforce also made a high-profile inspection tour to Xinjiang that year.<sup>434</sup>

Further research should be conducted on the psychological drivers of China's mass political campaigns, the collective trauma they generate and their social implications. Many senior Chinese officials who experienced personal trauma during the Cultural Revolution helped orchestrate the Xinjiang crackdown with revolutionary zeal. Two of the most notable cases are Zhu Hailun<sup>435</sup> and Xi Jinping.<sup>436</sup> Both men were subjected to re-education as teenagers (Zhu in Xinjiang and Xi in rural Shaanxi), and subsequently claimed their experience of hard labour was transformative.

After becoming 'redder than red' to survive his family's ordeal during the Cultural Revolution,<sup>437</sup> Xi Jinping has turned to Mao's playbook in mobilising the vast resources of the Chinese bureaucratic system to manufacture stability and conformity across the nation. The Uyghurs and other indigenous communities have borne the brunt of those efforts, and the two campaigns discussed in this report have led to increased interethnic distrust and resentment between Han and indigenous communities in Xinjiang.<sup>438</sup>

Without a fundamental reckoning inside the party-state system, as well as a wider rethink of race relations and settler-colonialism across Chinese society, the campaign policies in Xinjiang are unlikely to be fully unwound; nor are the wrongs of the two campaigns likely to be redressed (平反).

# Notes

- 1 The Chinese party-state officially recognises 56 *minzu* (民族) groups in China: a single Han majority and 55 numerically much smaller groups that currently make up nearly 9% of China's population. The term *minzu* is deeply polysemic and notoriously difficult to translate. Depending on the context of its use, the term can connote concepts similar to 'nation', 'race', 'people' and 'ethnicity' in English. Party officials initially used the English term 'nationality' to render the term into English. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the party gradually pivoted away from nationality, preferring the term 'ethnic minorities' for the non-Han groups and reserving the term 'nation' for the collective identity and name of the 'Chinese nation-race' (中华民族). See James Leibold, 'The minzu net: China's fragmented national form,' *Nations and Nationalism*, 2016, 22(3):425–428. While party officials reject any assertion of indigeneity in China, Harvard historian Mark Elliott argues that China's non-Han peoples are better thought of as indigenous communities rather than as 'ethnic minorities', which is a term widely used to refer to migrant populations in places such as Canada or Australia, as these groups 'continue to live on lands to which they have reasonably strong ancestral claims; in their encounter with the majority Other, all of them assume the status of "natives" vis-a-vis the representatives of a central (often formerly colonial or quasi-colonial) government from the outside; and all of them find themselves in positions of relative weakness as a result of an asymmetrical power structure, often the consequence of technological inferiority.' Mark Elliott, 'The case of the missing indigene: debate over a "second-generation" ethnic policy', *The China Journal*, 2015, 73:207, [online](#). Throughout this report and our website, we've used the terms 'indigenous', 'ethnic minority' and 'nationality' interchangeably to gloss the term *minzu*, depending on the context. When we refer to the Uyghurs generically, we're also referring to other Turkic communities in Xinjiang: the Kazakhs, Tajiks, Kyrgyzs and Uzbeks who have also been targeted in China's crackdown in Xinjiang.
- 2 For two online repositories of this now vast literature see *The Xinjiang Data Project*, ASPI, Canberra, [online](#), and *The Xinjiang Documentation Project*, University of British Columbia, [online](#).
- 3 'China: Crimes against humanity in Xinjiang: Mass detention, torture, cultural persecution of Uyghurs, other Turkic Muslims', *Human Rights Watch*, 19 April 2021, [online](#); Sheena Chestnut Greitens, Myunghee Lee, Emir Yazici, 'Counterterrorism and preventive repression: China's changing strategy in Xinjiang', *International Security*, Winter 2019–20, 44(3), [online](#).
- 4 "Eradicating ideological viruses"—China's campaign of repression against Xinjiang's Muslims', *Human Rights Watch*, 9 September 2018, [online](#); Chun Hang Wong, 'China's hard edge: the leader of Beijing's Muslim crackdown gains influence', *The Wall Street Journal*, 7 April 2019, [online](#); Adrian Zenz, James Leibold, 'Chen Quanguo: The strongman behind Beijing's securitization strategy in Tibet and Xinjiang', *China Brief*, 21 September 2017, 17(12), [online](#).
- 5 James Leibold, 'The spectre of insecurity: the CCP's mass internment strategy in Xinjiang', *China Leadership Monitor*, 1 March 2019, [online](#); Austin Ramzy, Chris Buckley, "'Absolutely no mercy": Leaked files expose how China organised mass detentions of Muslims', *The New York Times*, 16 November 2019, [online](#); Adrian Zenz, 'Evidence of the Chinese central government's knowledge of and involvement in Xinjiang's re-education internment campaign', *China Brief*, 14 September 2021, [online](#).
- 6 Martin S Flaherty, 'Repression by any other name: Xinjiang and the genocide debate', *The Diplomat*, 3 August 2021, [online](#); James Leibold, 'Beyond Xinjiang: Xi Jinping's ethnic crackdown', *The Diplomat*, 1 May 2021, [online](#); Joanne Smith Finley, 'Why scholars and activists increasingly fear a Uyghur genocide in Xinjiang', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 2021, 23(3):348–370.
- 7 Lily Kuo, Gerry Shih, 'China researchers face abuse, sanctions as Beijing looks to silence critics', *Washington Post*, 7 April 2021, [online](#); 'China scrubs evidence of Xinjiang clampdown amid "genocide" debate', *The Washington Post*, 17 March 2021, [online](#); Rebecca Wright, Ivan Watson, 'She tweeted from Sweden about the plight of her Uyghur cousin. In Xinjiang, the authorities were watching', *CNN*, 17 December 2020, [online](#).
- 8 These sources include English and Chinese-language academic papers, local media reports and official party and state documents.
- 9 The *Ürümqi Police Records* were provided to ASPI by journalist Yael Grauer, who wrote for *The Intercept* about the database. See Yael Grauer, 'Revealed: Massive Chinese police database', *The Intercept*, 29 January 2021, [online](#).
- 10 It also walks the viewer through the offices involved in several key aspects of the crackdown against Uyghurs: propaganda, re-education, Fanghuiju, forced labour and population control. The chart isn't meant to be a comprehensive picture of the vast Chinese bureaucracy but rather an illustrative snapshot of the different levels of the Chinese bureaucracy that played an active role in designing, coordinating or implementing the party's policies in Xinjiang, from the central level in Beijing to the villages and neighbourhoods in Xinjiang.
- 11 Integrated Joint Operations Platform [一体化联合作战平台].
- 12 Counterterrorism and Stability Maintenance Command [反恐维稳指挥部].
- 13 This case was first publicised by the Xinjiang Victims Database (@shaitbiz), 'Some months ago, XJ officials told visiting journalists that the Dabancheng facility in Ürümqi was never a camp [Tweet]', *Twitter*, 27 August 2019, [online](#). The Associated Press reported that the detention centre was the largest in the world. See Dake Kang, 'Room for 10,000: Inside China's largest detention center', *The Associated Press*, 1 December 2018, [online](#).



- 14 See the map and dataset at *The Xinjiang Data Project*, ASPI, Canberra, [online](#).
- 15 “Home School” Initiative enters village households, “beautifying” the lives of villagers’ [“家庭学校”进农户活动让村民生活“靓”起来], *Qingfeng Net* [清风网], 20 November 2019, [online](#).
- 16 Timothy A. Grose, ‘If you don’t know how, just learn’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 06 July 2020, [online](#).
- 17 Nathan Ruser, ‘Cultural erasure: Tracing the destruction of Uyghur and Islamic spaces in Xinjiang’, ASPI, Canberra, 24 September 2020, [online](#).
- 18 Sean R Roberts, *The war on the Uyghurs: China’s internal campaign against a Muslim minority*, Princeton University Press, 2020.
- 19 For example, the March 2014 attack on passengers at the Kunming Railway Station. This report follows Sean Roberts’ definition, by which terrorist attacks are premeditated acts of violence that deliberately target innocent civilians who had no direct connection to the political grievances of those who carried out the attacks. *Ibid*.
- 20 ‘Media: Xi Jinping is first to mention “zero tolerance” for terrorism’ [媒体: 习近平首次提出对恐怖主义“零容忍”], *People’s Daily Online* [人民网], 22 May 2014, [online](#).
- 21 Sean R Roberts, *The war on the Uyghurs: China’s internal campaign against a Muslim minority*, Princeton University Press, 2020; Sheena Chestnut Greitens, Myunghee Lee, Emir Yazici, ‘Counterterrorism and preventive repression: China’s changing strategy in Xinjiang’, *International Security*, Winter 2019–2020, 44(3):9–47; Michael Clarke, ‘China’s “war on terrorism”’, in Michael Clarke (ed.), *Terrorism and counter-terrorism in China: domestic and foreign policy dimensions*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2018.
- 22 Paul Mozur, ‘One month, 500,000 face scans: how China is using AI to profile a minority’, *The New York Times*, 14 April 2019, [online](#); Michael Clarke, ‘Settler colonialism and the path toward cultural genocide in Xinjiang’, in Adrian Gallagher, Charles T Hunt, Cecilia Jacob (eds), *Global responsibility to protect*, Brill, Leiden, 2021; James Leibold, ‘The spectre of insecurity: the CCP’s mass internment strategy in Xinjiang’, *China Leadership Monitor*, 1 March 2019, [online](#).
- 23 Austin Ramzy, Chris Buckley, “‘Absolutely no mercy’: Leaked files expose how China organized mass detentions of Muslims”, *The New York Times*, 16 November 2019, [online](#).
- 24 ‘Media: Xi Jinping is first to mention “zero tolerance” for terrorism’, *People’s Daily Online*, 22 May 2014, [online](#).
- 25 Gui Tiantian [桂田田], ‘The “counterterrorism work leading small groups” demystified: Counterterrorism work leading small groups have been set up in different regions, and their functions include counterterrorist intelligence, early warnings, emergency response, etc.’ [揭秘“反恐怖工作领导小组”: 各地反恐怖工作领导小组陆续成立 职能包括反情报预警·应急处置·善后等], *People’s Daily Online* [人民网], 26 May 2014, [online](#); ‘Xinjiang launches the Strike Hard Campaign against violent terrorism’ [新疆启动严打暴恐专项行动], *People’s Daily* [人民日报], 24 May 2014, [online](#).
- 26 *Ibid*.
- 27 Since in Xinjiang and elsewhere in China there have been many ‘strike hard’ campaigns, this report uses the shortened term ‘2014 Counterterrorism Campaign’ to refer to this campaign. The authors note that other researchers have adopted the term ‘2014 Strike Hard Campaign’. See “‘Break their lineage, break their roots’: China’s crimes against humanity targeting Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims”, *Human Rights Watch*, 19 April 2021, [online](#).
- 28 ‘Xinjiang will continue to carry out the Counterterrorism Campaign this year’ [新疆今年继续开展严打专项行动], State Council Information Office [国务院新闻办公室], 8 January 2015, [online](#).
- 29 Zhang Yi [张亦], ‘The story behind the dismissal of Zhang Chunxian: Is Zhongnanhai dissatisfied with his soft approach to governance of Xinjiang?’ [张春贤“出局”背后 中南海不满柔性治疆?], *DuoWei News* [多维新闻], 30 October 2017, [online](#).
- 30 Xiao Zhongren [肖中仁], Yang Qiong [杨琼], ‘Xinjiang secretary Zhang Chunxian discussing his “soft approach to Xinjiang’s governance” (video)’ [新疆书记张春贤谈“柔性治疆”体会(视频)], *Sina News* [新浪新闻], 10 March 2012, [online](#).
- 31 Zhang Ran [张然], ‘Chen Quanguo appointed Xinjiang party secretary, Zhang Chunxian transferred elsewhere’ [陈全国任新疆书记张春贤另有任用], *Beijing Times* [京华时报] via *People’s Daily Online* [人民网], 30 August 2016, [online](#).
- 32 Meng Yaxu [孟亚旭], Shi Xiuli [施秀丽], ‘From Tibet to Xinjiang, Chen Quanguo has kept this unique habit’ [从西藏到新疆·陈全国保留这个特殊习惯], *People’s Daily Online* [人民网] via *Sohu News* [搜狐新闻], 23 February 2017, [online](#).
- 33 Jessica Batke, ‘Where did the one million figure for detentions in Xinjiang’s camps come from?’, *China File*, 8 January 2019, [online](#).
- 34 Ben Dooley, ‘Inside China’s internment camps: tear gas, tasers and textbooks’, *AFP*, 25 October 2018, [online](#).
- 35 See section 7.2: Re-education camps, for a full list of justifications Xinjiang authorities have used to round people up; Raffi Khatchadourian, ‘Surviving the crackdown in Xinjiang’, *The New Yorker*, 5 April 2021, [online](#).
- 36 Gerry Shih, ‘China’s mass indoctrination camps evoke Cultural Revolution’, *The Associated Press*, 18 May 2018, [online](#); “‘Eradicating ideological viruses’—China’s campaign of repression against Xinjiang’s Muslims”, *Human Rights Watch*, 9 September 2018, [online](#); Adrian Zenz, “‘Thoroughly reforming them towards a healthy heart attitude’: China’s political re-education campaign in Xinjiang”, *Central Asian Survey*, 2019, 38(1):102–128, [online](#); Nathan Ruser, ‘Exploring Xinjiang’s detention system’, *The Xinjiang Data Project*, ASPI, Canberra, [online](#).

- 37 Wang Mingshan [王明山], 'Establish and maintain social stability, long-lasting stable rule' [开创维护社会稳定和长治久安新局面], *People's Public Security Newspaper* [人民公安报], 7 November 2017, [online](#); Li Gang, 'Ensure the realisation of continuous stability, long-term stability and comprehensive stability' [李刚: 确保实现持续稳定长期稳定全面稳定], *Tianshan News* [天山网], 17 July 2017, [online](#).
- 38 Vicky Xiuzhong Xu, Danielle Cave, James Leibold, Kelsey Munro, Nathan Ruser, 'Uyghurs for sale: 're-education', forced labour and surveillance beyond Xinjiang', ASPI, Canberra, 1 March 2020, [online](#).
- 39 Nathan Ruser, James Leibold, 'Family de-planning: the coercive campaign to drive down indigenous birth-rates in Xinjiang', ASPI, Canberra, 12 May 2021, [online](#).
- 40 See section 7.1: Propaganda.
- 41 'China: Crimes against humanity in Xinjiang', *Human Rights Watch*, 19 April 2021, [online](#).
- 42 'The Uyghur genocide: An examination of China's breaches of the 1948 Genocide Convention', *New Institute for Strategy and Policy*, March 2021, [online](#).
- 43 'China Uighurs: Detainees "free" after "graduating", official says', *BBC News*, 9 December 2019, [online](#).
- 44 Nathan Ruser, 'Documenting Xinjiang's detention system', ASPI, Canberra, September 2020, [online](#); Chris Buckley, Austin Ramzy, 'Night images reveal many new detention sites in China's Xinjiang region', *The New York Times*, 24 September 2020, [online](#).
- 45 Adrian Zenz, 'The Karakax list: dissecting the anatomy of Beijing's internment drive in Xinjiang', *Journal of Political Risk*, February 2020, vol. 8, [online](#).
- 46 Chris Buckley, 'China's prisons swell after deluge of arrests engulfs Muslims', *The New York Times*, 31 August 2019, [online](#); Gene A Bunin, 'From camps to prisons: Xinjiang's next great human rights catastrophe', *Art of Life in Chinese Central Asia*, 5 October 2019, [online](#).
- 47 Nathan Ruser, 'Exploring Xinjiang's detention system', *Xinjiang Data Project*, ASPI, Canberra, 24 September 2020, [online](#).
- 48 Gene A Bunin, 'The elephant in the XUAR: I. Entire families sentenced', *Art of Life in Chinese Central Asia*, 9 December 2020, [online](#).
- 49 Charles P Cell, *Revolution at work: Mobilization campaigns in China*, Academic Press, New York, 1977, 67–73; Gordon A Bennett, *Yundong: Mass campaigns in Chinese communist leadership*, Center for Chinese Studies, Berkeley, 1976, 44–45.
- 50 Harold M Tanner, *Strike hard! Anti-crime campaigns and Chinese criminal justice, 1979–1985*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1999, p. 89, pp. 143–147.
- 51 Sigal Samuel, 'China is treating Islam like a mental illness', *The Atlantic*, 28 August 2018, [online](#).
- 52 Ding Junping [丁俊萍], 'Reflections on Mao Zedong's theories and thoughts on the party's political construction' [毛泽东关于党的政治建设的理论思考], *Mao Zedong Research* [毛泽东研究], 2018, 52–59, [online](#).
- 53 'China: Two former Uyghur officials sentenced for "separatist activities"', *Deutsche Welle English*, 7 April 2021, [online](#); Mantimin Ala, 'Turn in the two-faced: The plight of Uyghur intellectuals', *The Diplomat*, 12 October 2018, [online](#).
- 54 'Cultural Revolution restored: Seven cadres who cannot recite the quotes of Chen Quanguo are punished' [文革復辟：背不出陳全國語錄·七幹部受罰], *Radio Free Asia Cantonese*, 23 October 2017, [online](#).
- 55 "'Three Gratuities, Three Wishes" lead Uchturpan farmers and herdsman party members to demonstrate their loyalty' ["三感恩·三祝愿"引领乌什农牧民党员践忠诚], *Tianshan News* [天山网], 16 June 2017, [online](#).
- 56 Ramzy & Buckley, "Absolutely no mercy": Leaked files expose how China organized mass detentions of Muslims'.
- 57 'Xinjiang High People's Court orders thorough implementation of "strike hard" targeted actions' [自治区高级人民法院要求：深入推进'严打'专项行动], The State Council Information Office [中华人民共和国国务院新闻办公室], 23 December 2014, [online](#); Pang Congwu [潘从武], 'Xinjiang High People's Court further implements strike hard targeted actions against violence and terrorism, trials are combined with public denunciations' [新疆高院深入推进严打暴恐专项行动, 审判与揭批相结合], *Sina News* [新浪新闻], 23 December 2014, [online](#).
- 58 See section 7.1: Propaganda.
- 59 He Bing [何兵], '1.6 million people participated in show trials' [160万人参加的公判大会], *Sina News* [新浪新闻], 7 November 2014, [online](#).
- 60 'Xinjiang High People's Court orders thorough implementation of "strike hard" targeted actions', State Council Information Office, 23 December 2014, [online](#); Pang Congwu, 'Xinjiang High People's Court further implements strike hard targeted actions against violence and terrorism, trials are combined with public denunciations', *Sina News*, 23 December 2014, [online](#).
- 61 Klaus Mühlhahn, 'How shaming was used in Chinese history', *The New York Times*, 31 July 2010, [online](#).
- 62 Li Yue [李玥], "'Huarong show trial" threatens China's rule by law' ['华容公审'是法治中国的'害群之马'], *People's Daily* [人民网], 24 October 2014, [online](#); Chen Han [陈瀚], 'Why repeated prohibitions cannot stop "show trials"' [陈瀚：'公审判'为何屡禁不止], Institute of Law - Chinese Academy of Social Sciences [中国法学网], 11 May 2016, [online](#).
- 63 Ibid n. 61.



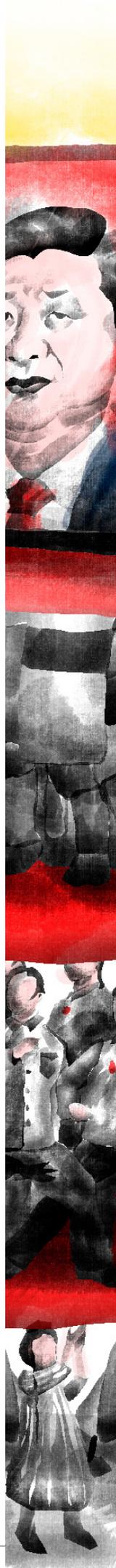
- 64 Zhang Chunxian [张春贤], “Strive to write a new chapter in Xinjiang’s social stability and long-term stable rule” - An in-depth study and implementation of the spirit of the second Central Xinjiang Work Symposium’ [张春贤:奋力谱写新疆社会稳定和长治久安新篇章—深入学习贯彻第二次中央新疆工作座谈会精神], *People’s Daily Online* [人民网], 1 August 2014, [online](#).
- 65 Zhou Xueguang, *The institutional logic of governance in China*, SDX Joint Publishing Company, Hong Kong, 2017, [online](#).
- 66 Elizabeth J Perry, ‘From mass campaigns to managed campaigns: “Constructing a new socialist countryside” in Elizabeth J Perry, Sebastian Heilmann (eds), *Mao’s invisible hand: The political foundations of adaptive governance in China*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2011, [online](#); ‘Feng Shizheng: Formations and variations of China’s national campaigns’ [冯仕政: 中国国家运动的形成与变异], *Aisixiang* [爱思想], 27 March 2011, [online](#).
- 67 Zhou Xueguang, *The institutional logic of governance in China*, p. 127; Elizabeth J Perry, Sebastian Heilmann, ‘Embracing uncertainty: Guerrilla policy style and adaptive governance in China’, in Elizabeth J Perry, Sebastian Heilmann (eds), *Mao’s Invisible Hand*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 17, 2011, [online](#).
- 68 Feng Shizheng, ‘The formation and variation of the national campaigns in China’, [冯仕政: 中国国家运动的形成与变异], *Aisixiang* [爱思想], 27 March 2011, [online](#).
- 69 Lang Peijuan, ‘Characteristics and disadvantages of “fire-fighting” governance’ [郎佩娟:“救火式”治理特点及弊端], *People’s Daily Magazine* [人民论坛] via China University of Political Science and Law [中国政法大学], 15 July 2016, [online](#).
- 70 Zhou Xueguang, *The Institutional Logic of Governance in China*, SDX Joint Publishing Company, Hong Kong, 2017, pp. 146–151.
- 71 Li Hui [李辉], ‘How does “campaign-style governance” become ongoing?’ [‘运动式治理’ 缘何长期存在?], *Aisixiang* [爱思想], 9 December 2017, [online](#).
- 72 Elizabeth J Perry, Sebastian Heilmann, ‘Embracing uncertainty: Guerrilla policy style and adaptive governance in China’ in Elizabeth J Perry, Sebastian Heilmann (eds), *Mao’s invisible hand: the political foundations of adaptive governance in China*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2011, 1–37, [online](#).
- 73 Deng Xiaoping promised repeatedly to never initiate a mass campaign, despite having initiated the 1983 Strike Hard Campaign. Ye Jiefu [叶介甫], ‘Liu Fuzhi and the “Strike Hard” Campaign of 1983’ [刘复之与1983年“严打”], *People’s Daily Online* [人民网], 16 December 2013, [online](#); Zhang Wenxian [张文显], ‘Deng Xiaoping’s democratic rule by law thoughts shall forever shine’ [邓小平民主法治思想永放光芒], *China Social Sciences Net* [中国社会科学网], 22 August 2014, [online](#).
- 74 Jiang Zemin said he would ‘never start some kind of mass campaign’. Jiang Zemin, ‘On politics’ [江泽民: 关于讲政治], *Reform Data* [中国改革信息库], 3 March 1996, [online](#).
- 75 Hu Jintao’s famous *bu zheteng* [不折腾] was translated to ‘no self-consuming political movements’ or ‘avoid self-inflicted setbacks’. ‘Chinese Ambassador to Namibia proposed an English translation for the term “*bu zheteng*” [我国驻外大使提出不折腾 英文译法], *Sina News* [新浪新闻], 18 January 2009, [online](#).
- 76 Evan Osnos, ‘Born red: How Xi Jinping, an unremarkable provincial administrator, became China’s most authoritarian leader since Mao’, *The New Yorker*, 30 March 2015, [online](#).
- 77 A similarly negative attitude towards campaigns was expressed again by Xi in a 2012 public speech. See Xi Jinping [习近平], ‘Speech during the inspection of poverty alleviation and development work in Fuping County, Hebei Province’ [在河北省阜平县考察扶贫开发工作时的讲话], *China Youth Net* [中国青年网], 15 February 2021, [online](#); Qiu Ran [邱然], Chen Si [陈思], “Jinping will always be the county party secretary of Zhengding” - about Xi Jinping in Zhending’ [‘近平是正定永不卸任的县委书记’ ——习近平在正定], *Xinhua Net* [新华网], 8 February 2018, [online](#).
- 78 ‘The Politburo of the Central Committee studies and further promotes social stability and long-term stable rule in Xinjiang’ [中央政治局研究进一步推进新疆社会稳定和长治久安工作], State Council Website [中央政府门户网站], 26 May 2014, [online](#); ‘Xi Jinping affirms that the strategy of governing Xinjiang is correct, and orders to “strike hard” against violent and terrorist activities’ [习近平肯定治疆方略正确·要求严打暴力恐怖活动], *chinanews.com* [中国新闻网], 29 May 2014, [online](#); Xi Jinping, ‘Firmly rely on law-based governance in Xinjiang, unity to stabilise Xinjiang, culture to assimilate Xinjiang, the people’s prosperity to rejuvenate Xinjiang. Strive to build a new era of socialist Xinjiang with Chinese characteristics’ [习近平: 坚持依法治疆团结稳疆文化润疆富民兴疆长期建疆 努力建设新时代中国特色社会主义新疆], *Xinhua Net* [新华网], 26 September 2020, [online](#).
- 79 Ning Wang, *Banished to the great northern wilderness: Political exile and re-education in Mao’s China*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2017; Charles P Cell, *Revolution at work: Mobilization campaigns in China*, Academic Press, New York, 1977, 67–73; Gordon A Bennett, *Yundong: Mass campaigns in Chinese communist leadership*, Center for Chinese Studies, Berkeley, 1976, 44–45.
- 80 Zhou Xueguang, ‘Campaign-style governance mechanism: reflection on the logic of China’s administrative system’ [运动型治理机制: 中国国家治理的制度逻辑再思考], *Open Era* [开放时代], 2012, 105–125, [online](#); Zhou Xueguang, *The institutional logic of governance in China*; Wang Mingshan [王明山], ‘Create and maintain a new situation in social stability and long-term stable rule [开创维护社会稳定和长治久安新局面], *Public Security Bureau News* [人民公安报], 7 November 2017, [online](#); ‘The Xinjiang propaganda lecture group giving lectures in Hotan about the spirits of the party’s 19th National Congress’ [党的十九大精神自治区宣讲团在和田宣讲], *Hotan Prefecture Commission for*

- Discipline Inspection* [和田地区纪委], 14 November 2014, [online](#); Li Gang, 'Ensure the realisation of continuous stability, long-term stability and comprehensive stability' [李刚：确保实现持续稳定长期稳定全面稳定], *Tianshan News* [天山网], 17 February 2017, [online](#).
- 81 Darren Byler, "The atmosphere has become abnormal": Han Chinese views from Xinjiang', *SupChina*, 4 November 2020, [online](#).
- 82 The 'Ürümqi Police Database' was provided to ASPI by journalist Yael Grauer, who wrote for *The Intercept* about the database. See Yael Grauer, 'Revealed: Massive Chinese police database', *The Intercept*, 29 January 2021, [online](#).
- 83 社区居民委员会或社区工作组. Another common translation for it is Residents' Committee. See 'Xinjiang Village Work Team: Must actively speak out to clarify the truth and strive to maintain stability' [新疆住村工作组：主动发声讲真相·打响维稳攻坚战], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报], 25 May 2014, [online](#).
- 84 Byler, "The atmosphere has become abnormal": Han Chinese views from Xinjiang'; "Eradicating ideological viruses": China's campaign of repression against Xinjiang's Muslims', *Human Rights Watch*, 9 September 2018, [online](#).
- 85 Ürümqi's Xinmin West Street Neighbourhood is located in Shuimogou District [乌鲁木齐市水磨沟区新民路片区新民西街社区], one of the four central districts of Xinjiang's capital city.
- 86 His case was first mentioned by Gene Bunin in 'The elephant in the XUAR: III. "In accordance with the law"', *Art of Life in Central Asia*, 19 April 2021, [online](#); 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Xinxing Street Police Station' [乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局新兴街派出所], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 16 November 2018, [online](#).
- 87 As per his Chinese ID number in the police records. 'Profile of Anayit Abliz: Entry 24100', *Xinjiang Victims Database*, [online](#).
- 88 'Today's "focus report" is different (and) clears Xinjiang's name!' [今天的《焦点访谈》不一般 为新疆正名], *Guancha* [观察], 16 October 2018, [online](#).
- 89 Virtual private networks: web services used by many in China to bypass the Great Firewall.
- 90 'Differences between neighbourhood, subdistrict and neighbourhood committees?' [社区、街道和居委会的区别?], People's Government of Gulou District, Fuzhou City [福州市鼓楼区人民政府], 11 July 2019, [online](#); 'China Urban Neighbourhood Committee Organisation Law' [中华人民共和国城市居民委员会组织法], State Council [国务院], 26 December 1989, [online](#).
- 91 Tamara Jacka, Wu Chengrui, 'Village self-government and representation in southwest China', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 2015, 46(1):71–94.
- 92 Hu Jintao, 'Further improve rural grassroots governance mechanisms that are in line with China's domestic circumstances' [胡锦涛：进一步完善符合中国国情农村基层治理机制], Central People's Government of China [中国中央政府], 10 November 2009, [online](#); Monica Martinez-Bravo, Gerard Padró i Miquel, Nancy Qian, Yang Yao, The Rise and fall of local elections in China: Theory and empirical evidence on the autocrat's trade-off, *Global Poverty Research Lab*, 21 February 2018, [online](#).
- 93 Lu Jian [陆健], Yan Hongfeng [严红枫], "Fengqiao experience": China's plan for grassroots social governance ['枫桥经验': 基层社会治理的中国方案], *Guangming Daily* [光明日报] via *Xinhua Net* [新华网], 17 March 2021, [online](#); 'Secretary Xi Jinping said to hold firm to the "Fengqiao experience" and build on it', *QS Theory* [求是网], 2 March 2021, [online](#).
- 94 'Xi Jinping mentions again the 'Fengqiao experience' as advocated by Mao Zedong' [习近平重提毛泽东提倡的“枫桥经验”], *BBC Chinese*, 11 October 2013, [online](#).
- 95 Yang Min [杨敏], 'Citizen participation, mass participation and community participation' [公民参与·群众参与与社区参与], *Chinese Journal of Sociology*, 2005, 25(5):78–95, [online](#); Wen-hui Tsai, 'Mass mobilization campaigns in Mao's China', *American Journal of Chinese Studies*, April 1999, 6(1):21–48; Perry, 'From mass campaigns to managed campaigns: "constructing a new socialist countryside"', Joel Andreas, Yige Dong, "Mass supervision" and the bureaucratization of governance in China', in Vivienne Shue, Patricia Thornton (eds), *To govern China*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2017, 123–152.
- 96 Gong Weibin [龚维斌], 'Strengthen and innovate grassroots social governance' [加强和创新基层社会治理], *CPC News* [中国共产党新闻网], 18 September 2020, [online](#); 'China's Communist Party worries about its grassroots weakness', *The Economist*, 13 June 2020, [online](#); Jun Mai, 'China's Communist Party to reinforce "crucial" grass-roots controls', *South China Morning Post*, 14 June 2021, [online](#).
- 97 Raymond Zhong, Paul Mozur, 'To tame coronavirus, Mao-style social control blankets China', *The New York Times*, 15 February 2020, [online](#).
- 98 Minxin Pei, 'Grid management: China's latest institutional tool of social control', *China Leadership Monitor*, 1 March 2021, [online](#).
- 99 Darren Byler, 'Preventative policing as neighbourhood detention in northwest China', *Made in China Journal*, 25 October 2019, [online](#).
- 100 Minxin Pei, 'Grid management: China's latest institutional tool of social control', *China Leadership Monitor*, 1 March 2021, [online](#).
- 101 Eyewitness Anar Sabit told *The New Yorker* magazine that a Neighbourhood Committee official responsible for her case often wore camouflage. Raffi Khatchadourian, 'Surviving the crackdown in Xinjiang', *The New Yorker*, 5 April 2021,



- online. A 2017 county-level Fanghuiju manual asked cadres to avoid showing camouflage in photos. ‘Key points on Kunes County’s village-based Fanghuiju work in April 2017’ [新源县2017年“访民情惠民生聚民心”驻村工作4月工作要点], *Leading Small Group Office Documents* [领导小组办公室文件], 2017, [online](#). A 2018 police report says that a Neighbourhood Committee staff member was criticised by their superior for only wearing regular camouflage instead of combat clothing. ‘Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Liudaowan Police Station, Wuxing North Neighbourhood Police Substation’ [乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局六道湾派出所五星北社区警务室], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 9 November 2018, [online](#).
- 102 A similar phenomenon was seen during the Chinese Cultural Revolution, see Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, ‘Coping with the trauma: official and unofficial histories of the Cultural Revolution’, preliminary draft, *Non-Western and Comparative Studies*, Brandeis University, 2015, [online](#).
- 103 Tahir Hamut Izgil, ‘One by one, my friends were sent to the camps’, *The Atlantic*, 14 July 2021, [online](#).
- 104 Li Xinting [李欣庭], ‘Reflecting on the current status of Xinjiang’s implementation of rural neighbourhood policing strategy in the context of counterterrorism’ [反恐背景下新疆实施农村社区警务战略现状与思考], *Journal of Yunnan Police Officer Academy* [云南警官学院学报], 2016, 118 (5), [online](#); Yang Rui [杨睿], Li Na [李娜], ‘Concerns and recommendations for rural police work in Xinjiang’ [新疆农村警务工作的隐忧与建议], *Journal of Guangxi Police College* [云南警官学院学报], 2018, 31(1), [online](#).
- 105 Yang Rui, Li Na, ‘Concerns and recommendations for rural police work in Xinjiang’, *Journal of Guangxi Police College*, 2018, 31(1), [online](#).
- 106 Adrian Zenz, James Leibold, ‘Xinjiang’s rapidly evolving security state’, *China Brief*, 14 March 2017, [online](#); Adrian Zenz, James Leibold, ‘Chen Quanguo: The strongman Behind Beijing’s securitization strategy in Tibet and Xinjiang’, *China Brief*, 21 September 2017, 17(12), [online](#).
- 107 Wu Qiang, ‘Urban grid management and police state in China: a brief overview’, *China Change*, 12 August 2014, [online](#); Chen Mengyuan [陈梦媛], ‘Research on optimising the grid management system in Xinjiang’ [新疆网格化治理体系的优化研究], MA thesis, Xinjiang Normal University, 2017, [online](#).
- 108 Sheena Chestnut Greitens, ‘Domestic security in China under Xi Jinping’, *China Leadership Monitor*, 1 March 2019, [online](#).
- 109 ‘Ürümqi, Xinjiang: Establish mechanisms to emphasize urban party-building in order to strengthen the party’s governance foundation in the city’ [新疆乌鲁木齐市: 构建城市大党建工作格局厚植党在城市的执政基础], *People’s Daily Online* [人民网], 22 April 2019, [online](#).
- 110 ‘China: Visiting officials occupy homes in Muslim region—‘Becoming Family’ campaign intensifies repression in Xinjiang’, *Human Rights Watch*, 13 May 2018, [online](#).
- 111 Darren Byler, ‘China’s government has ordered a million citizens to occupy Uighur homes. Here’s what they think they’re doing’, *China File*, 24 October 2018, [online](#).
- 112 Zhang Lizhe [张立哲], ‘Research on “targeted individuals” management in rural Xinjiang from the perspective of social stability’ [社会稳定视角下新疆农村重点人口防治问题研究], *Journal of Hebei Vocational College of Public Security Police* [河北公安警察职业学院学报], 2016, 16(1), [online](#).
- 113 ‘Xinjiang Fanghuiju review: A major fundamental policy to promote long-term stable rule’ [新疆“访惠聚”述评: 推进长治久安的重大治本之策], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报] via *chinanews.com* [中国新闻网], 13 January 2015, [online](#).
- 114 Chen Hui [陳輝], *Examination of China’s urban neighbourhood committees 1949-1979* [1949-1979年中國城市區民委員會的考察], Chinese University of Hong Kong [香港中文大學], December 2003, [online](#).
- 115 ‘Xinjiang Fanghuiju village-based work models explore new paths for harmonious development’ [新疆“访惠聚”驻村工作模式探索和谐发展新路径], *Xinhua Net* [新华网], 27 September 2018, [online](#); ‘Altay City: Do well in ‘morning dispatch and evening evaluation’ work, make community work shine’ [阿勒泰市: 做好“早派工·晚研判”工作 推动社区工作大放光彩], *Qingfeng News* [清风网], 22 September 2017, [online](#); ‘[News bulletin from the village]: Strictly implement the “morning dispatch and evening evaluation” mechanism, further improve work efficiency’ [[驻村快讯] 严格落实“早派工晚研判”工作机制·进一步提升工作效能], Turpan City Gaochang District Land and Resources Bureau [吐鲁番市高昌区国土资源局], 4 October 2017, [online](#).
- 116 ‘Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Shuimogou Police Station’ [乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局水磨沟派出所], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 28 January 2019, [online](#).
- 117 Raffi Khatchadourian, ‘Surviving the crackdown in Xinjiang’, *The New Yorker*, 5 April 2021, [online](#).
- 118 Ibid.
- 119 Or shopfronts in a commercial area.
- 120 The ‘ten-household joint defense’ policy began in Tibet and its implementation in Xinjiang coincided with Chen Quanguo’s arrival. According to an account by Uyghur poet Tahir Hamut Izgil, who was living in Ürümqi at the time, the ‘ten-household joint defence’ was rolled out across Xinjiang around May 2017. Tahir Hamut Izgil, ‘One by one, my friends were sent to the camps’, *The Atlantic*, 14 July 2021, [online](#). ‘Tibet commends 1202 “advanced joint households” families, as more than 3000 representatives of joint households are elected to the village “two committees”’ [西藏表彰1202户“先进双联户”家庭·3000多名联户代表选进村“两委”], *China Peace* [长安网], 6 January 2015, [online](#); Yan Dangen [闫党恩], ‘Qamdo, Tibet has improved its stability maintenance situation, with every resident as a sentinel and every village as a fortress’ [西藏昌都完善维稳格局: 人人当哨兵 村村是堡垒], *chinanews.com* [中国新闻网], 21 August 2014, [online](#).

- 121 'Neighbourhood watch and household associations help create harmonious and safe home: Aksu, Xinjiang uses the 'joint households' mechanism to innovate social governance' [邻里守望户户联动打造和谐平安家园：新疆阿克苏“双联户”机制创新社会治理], *Legal Daily* [法制日报], 22 November 2018, [online](#).
- 122 Zou Jun [邹君], "Joint households" work deployment meeting held in Keyuzi Village, Lower Saadi, Ghulja County' [伊宁县下萨地克于孜村召开“双联户”工作部署会], *Xinjiang Ghulja County People's Government* [新疆伊宁县人民政府], 26 June 2018, [online](#).
- 123 This document is a Xinjiang party order that asked the 'ten-household joint defence' to help investigate those who are flagged for using Zapyra. 'IJOP daily crucial information bulletin' ['一体化联合作战平台'每日要情通报], *The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists*, 29 June 2017, [online](#).
- 124 'Neighbourhood watch and household associations help create harmonious and safe home: Aksu, Xinjiang uses the 'joint households' mechanism to innovate social governance', *Legal Daily*, 22 November 2018, [online](#).; Zou Jun, 'Joint households" work deployment meeting held in Keyuzi Village, Lower Saadi, Ghulja County', *Xinjiang Ghulja County People's Government*, 26 June 2018, [online](#).; 'Kashgar city organises special training for grassroots propaganda lecturers on the spirit of the party's 19th National Congress' [喀什市对草根宣讲员进行党的十九大精神专题培训], *Kashgar Daily on WeChat* [喀什日报微信公众号“喀什零距离”], 16 November 2017, [online](#).
- 125 'Neighbourhood watch and social interactions help to create harmonious and safe households: Aksu, Xinjiang uses the 'joint households' mechanism to regenerate social governance', *Legal Daily*, 22 November 2018, [online](#).
- 126 Ibid.
- 127 Tian Hui [田慧], 'Innovation and practice of urban community management style in Ürümqi' [乌鲁木齐城市社区管理模式的创新与实践], *Journal of the Ürümqi Municipal Party School* [中共乌鲁木齐市委党校学报], December 2013, [online](#); Ma Mingmin [马明敏], 'Considerations on how Fanghuiju village-based work has promoted "de-extremification" work in rural areas of Xinjiang' [访惠聚'驻村'工作对促进新疆农村地区'去极端化'工作的思考], *Journal of Yili Prefecture Party School*, 2017, n. 2, [online](#).
- 128 Tian Hui, 'Innovation and practice of urban community management style in Ürümqi'.
- 129 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Shuimogou Police Station' [乌鲁木齐市水磨沟区分局水磨沟派出所], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 7 January 2019, [online](#); 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Shuimogou Police Station' [乌鲁木齐市水磨沟区分局水磨沟派出所], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 30 December 2018, [online](#).
- 130 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Qidaowan Police Station, Shanrun Neighbourhood Police Substation' [乌鲁木齐市水磨沟区分局七道湾派出所山润社区警务室], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 11 February 2019, [online](#).
- 131 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Qidaowan Police Station, Longsheng Street Neighbourhood Police Substation' [乌鲁木齐市水磨沟区分局七道湾派出所龙盛街社区警务室], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 1 April 2019, [online](#).
- 132 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Xinxing Street Police Station, Xinmin West Street Neighbourhood Police Substation' [乌鲁木齐市水磨沟区分局新兴街派出所新民西街社区警务室], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 10 February 2018, [online](#).
- 133 "'Four Togethers" and "Three Gifts" handbook' [“四同”“三送”活动手册], *Art of Life in Central Asia*, October 2018, [online](#).
- 134 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Xinxing Street Police Station, Xinmin West Street Neighbourhood Police Substation' [乌鲁木齐市水磨沟区分局新兴街派出所新民西街社区警务室], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 10 February 2018, [online](#).
- 135 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Xinxing Street Police Station' [乌鲁木齐市水磨沟区分局新兴街派出所], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 4 January 2019, [online](#).
- 136 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Shuimogou Police Station' [乌鲁木齐市水磨沟区分局水磨沟派出所], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 11 February 2019, [online](#).
- 137 微信朋友圈, a social media feed similar to Facebook.
- 138 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Shuimogou Police Station' [乌鲁木齐市水磨沟区分局水磨沟派出所], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 11 February 2019, [online](#).
- 139 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Liudaowan Police Station, Wuxing North Neighbourhood Police Substation' [乌鲁木齐市水磨沟区分局六道湾派出所五星北社区警务室], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 22 February 2019, [online](#).
- 140 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Weihuliang Police Station, Xiejing South Neighbourhood Police Substation' [乌鲁木齐市水磨沟区分局苇湖梁派出所斜井南社区警务室], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 16 December 2018, [online](#); 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Public Security Bureau, Shirenzigou Police Station, Yushugou Neighbourhood Police Substation' [乌鲁木齐市水磨沟区分局苇湖梁派出所斜井南社区警务室], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 9 November 2018, [online](#).
- 141 'China: Big data program targets Xinjiang's Muslims: leaked list of over 2,000 detainees demonstrates automated repression', *Human Rights Watch*, 9 December 2020, [online](#).



- 142 'IJOP daily crucial information bulletin' ['一体化联合作战平台'每日要情通报], *ICIJ*, 29 June 2017, [online](#).
- 143 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Weihuliang Police Station, Xiejing South Neighbourhood Police Substation' [乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局苇湖梁派出所斜井南社区警务室], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 16 December 2018, [online](#).
- 144 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Shirenzigou Police Station, Xiejing South Neighbourhood Police Substation' [乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局苇湖梁派出所斜井南社区警务室], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 9 November 2018, [online](#).
- 145 'Central Party Committee issues "Regulations on the CCP's political-legal work"' [中共中央印发《中国共产党政法工作条例》], *Xinhua News* [新华社] via *Central People's Government* [中央人民政府], 18 January 2019, [online](#); Sheena Chestnut Greitens, 'Domestic security in China under Xi Jinping', *China Leadership Monitor*, 1 March 2019, [online](#).
- 146 Such as the spy agency, the Ministry of State Security [国家安全部]. Chang Anjian [长安剑], 'What does the PLAC do and manage? We now have the most authoritative answer' [政法委是什么干什么管什么?现在有了最权威的答案], Central PLAC on Wechat via *Sina News* [新浪新闻], 18 January 2019, [online](#).
- 147 Chris Buckley, "'Drive the blade in": Xi shakes up China's law-and-order forces', *The New York Times*, 20 August 2020, [online](#); 'What does Xi Jinping really mean when he raises again the term "knife handle"?' [习近平重提刀把子'论有什么深意?], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 21 January 2015, [online](#).
- 148 Minxin Pei, 'The CCP's domestic security taskmaster: The Central Political and Legal Affairs Commission', *China Leadership Monitor*, 1 September 2021, [online](#).
- 149 'IJOP daily crucial information bulletin' ['一体化联合作战平台'每日要情通报], *ICIJ*, 29 June 2017, [online](#).
- 150 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Xinxiang Street Police Station, Xiangtai Neighbourhood Police Substation' [乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局新兴街派出所祥泰社区警务室], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 1 November 2018, [online](#); 'Solution for the PLAC's Counterterrorism and Stability Maintenance Command' [政法委反恐维稳指挥部解决方案], *Visionstar Tech* [威视讯达], [online](#); '2018 departmental budget report of Chira County' [2018年策勒县部门预算报表], p. 24, [online](#); 'Bid announcement on the installation of IJOP for the PLAC' [政法委一体化平台建设招标公告], *Bidcenter* [采招网], 26 November 2018, [online](#).
- 151 'Chen Quanguo holds Xinjiang stability maintenance work leading small group all-member meeting' [陈全国主持召开自治区维护稳定工作领导小组全体会议], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报], 27 September 2016, [online](#).
- 152 'List of public institutions' jobs in Bayingolin Prefecture (party and masses units)' [2018年巴州事业单位招聘职位表(党群单位)], [online](#).
- 153 'Bid announcement for the Konasheher County Counterterrorism Stability Maintenance Command Construction Project' [疏附县反恐维稳指挥部建设项目施工招标公告], *China E-Tender and Procurement* [中国电力招标采购网], 8 February 2018, [online](#).
- 154 A remote Uyghur majority county in Asku Prefecture.
- 155 *The Xinjiang Data Project*, ASPI, Canberra, [online](#).
- 156 'Release of the Kelpin County PLAC's 2018 final departmental accounts' [2018年度中共柯坪县委政法委员会部门决算公开说明], [online](#).
- 157 *Ibid.*
- 158 'List of 2018 public institutions' jobs in Bayingolin Prefecture (party and masses units)' [2018年巴州事业单位招聘职位表(党群单位)], [online](#); 'Public statement on the 2019 departmental budget' [新疆维吾尔自治区乌鲁木齐市水磨沟区委政法委员会2019年部门预算公开], Ürümqi Shuimogou District PLAC [乌鲁木齐市水磨沟区委政法委员会], [online](#).
- 159 'IJOP daily crucial information bulletin' ['一体化联合作战平台'每日要情通报], *ICIJ*, 25 June 2017, [online](#).
- 160 According to a 2019 Chinese white paper: those who participate in 'extremist' activities 'not serious enough to constitute a crime,' those whose activities 'posed a real danger but did not cause actual harm,' and those who served time for terrorism and still pose 'a potential threat to society.' See 'Vocational Education and Training in Xinjiang', State Council Website, 17 August 2019, [online](#).
- 161 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Tianshan District Branch, Xiheba Police Station' [乌鲁木齐市公安局天山区分局西河坝派出所], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 12 November 2018, [online](#).
- 162 'China's algorithms of repression: Reverse engineering a Xinjiang police mass surveillance app', *Human Rights Watch*, 1 May 2019, [online](#).
- 163 *Ibid.*
- 164 Zhou Xueguang, *The institutional logic of governance in China*, p. 146.
- 165 As the 'Central Political and Legal Affairs Small Group' [中央政法小组].
- 166 Zhou Yongkun, 'The history and evolution of the PLAC' [周永坤: 政法委的历史与演变], *Yanghuang Chunqiu* [炎黄春秋] via *Aisixiang* [爱思想], 10 September 2012, [online](#).
- 167 Qin Qianhong [秦前红], 'The real problem that Qiao Shi was reflecting upon' [乔石思考的真问题], *Sina News* [新浪新闻], 15 June 2015, [online](#).
- 168 'Zhou Yongkun: The history and evolution of the Political Legal Committee', *Aisixiang*, 10 September 2012, [online](#).

- 169 Jonathan Kaiman, 'Zhou Yongkang: oil boss who became China's third most powerful man', *The Guardian*, 30 July 2014, [online](#); Tania Branigan, 'Chinese former security tsar Zhou Yongkang charged in corruption case', *The Guardian*, 3 April 2015, [online](#).
- 170 Minxin Pei, 'The CCP's domestic security taskmaster: the Central Political and Legal Affairs Commission'; 'The CCP will weaken the authority of the PLAC' [中共将削弱政法委书记权限], *Deutsche Welle Chinese*, 30 August 2012, [online](#); Janet Liu, Larry Ong, 'The rise and fall of China's domestic security and legal affairs apparatus', *Sino Insider*, 4 July 2018, [online](#).
- 171 Buckley, "'Drive the blade in": Xi shakes up China's law-and-order forces'.
- 172 'Release of the Xinjiang PLAC's 2017 final departmental accounts' [2017年度自治区党委政法委部门决算公开说明], Xinjiang People's Government [新疆维吾尔自治区人民政府], 31 August 2017, [online](#).
- 173 Sasha Chavkin, 'Xinjiang's architect of mass detention: Zhu Hailun', *ICIJ*, 24 November 2019, [online](#).
- 174 'Resume of Comrade Zhu Hailun' [朱海仑同志简历], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], November 2011, [online](#).
- 175 Wang Ding [王鼎](ed.), 'Great transformation led to great development' [大变革促大发展], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报], 23 November 2014, [online](#).
- 176 Yang Xiaochai [杨晓钊](ed.), 'Zhu Hailun: the pioneer who leads the capital of the western region' [朱海仑: 西域首府引路人], *China Youth News* [中华儿女新闻网], 19 September 2012, [online](#).
- 177 Zhou Ju [周桔], Li Jing [李静], 'Problems and countermeasures in Ürümqi neighbourhood grid-style management' [乌鲁木齐城市社区网格化管理存在的问题与对策], *Journal of the Ürümqi Municipal Party School* [中共乌鲁木齐市委党校学报], March 2012, [online](#); Zhu Hailun [朱海仑], 'Improve the environment and push for leaps and bounds in urban science' [优化环境 推动城市科学跨越], *CCP Members Net* [共产党员网], 11 September 2012, [online](#); Yang Xiaochai, 'Zhu Hailun: the pioneer who leads the capital of the western region', *China Youth Net*, 19 September 2019, [online](#).
- 178 'Official telegram: Opinions regarding further reinforcement and standardisation of the work of vocational education and training centres' [自治区机关发电: 关于进一步加强和规范职业技能教育培训中心工作的意见], Xinjiang PLAC via *ICIJ*, [online](#); Chavkin, 'Xinjiang's architect of mass detention: Zhu Hailun'.
- 179 Gene A Bunin, 'The elephant in the XUAR: II. Brand new prisons, expanding old prisons, and hundreds of thousands of new inmates', *Art of Life in Chinese Central Asia*, 4 January 2021, [online](#).
- 180 Lang Peijuan, 'Characteristics and disadvantages of "fire-fighting" style governance', *People's Daily Magazine*, 15 July 2016, [online](#).
- 181 'Southern Xinjiang frontline public security bureau chief: To solve frequent violent terrorism (we) should rely on "offense"' [新疆一线公安局长: 解决暴恐多发要靠'进攻'], *Sina News* [新浪网], 4 August 2014, [online](#).
- 182 Ma Feng, 'The sentiments of a front-line public security chief in southern Xinjiang' [马飞: 一个南疆一线公安局长的感悟], Kunlun Research Institute on WeChat [昆仑策研究院微信公众号], 16 July 2017, [online](#).
- 183 The author first published this piece on his own WeChat account in 2014. 'The sentiments of a front-line public security bureau chief in southern Xinjiang' [一个南疆一线公安局长的感悟], 'Military Pomegranate Seeds' on WeChat [微信公众号"武装的石榴籽"], 2 June 2014, [online](#).
- 184 'Xinjiang High People's Court', State Council Information Office, 23 December 2014, [online](#); 'Pang Congwu, 'Xinjiang High People's Court'', *Legal Daily*, 23 December 2014, [online](#).
- 185 Li Xin'an [李新安], 'Xinjiang's Ili Prefecture conducts mass public sentencing, public arrest and public detention and publicly sentencing 55 defendants' [新疆伊犁州举行公判、公捕、公拘大会 对55名被告人公开宣判], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 27 May 2014, [online](#).
- 186 Ibid.
- 187 Wang Shulin [王书林], 'Always place top priority on strike hard during trials' [始终把严打置于审判工作的重中之重], *People's Court Daily* [人民法院报], 8 June 2015, [online](#).
- 188 'Never repost or disseminate violent terrorist audio or videos! Otherwise, the consequences will be very serious!' [切勿转发传播暴力恐怖音视频! 否则后果很严重!], Altay City Public Security [阿勒泰市公安], 13 March 2016, [online](#).
- 189 'Xinjiang High People's Court demands', State Council Information Office, 23 December 2014, [online](#); Pang Congwu, 'Xinjiang High People's Court', *Legal Daily*, 23 December 2014, [online](#).
- 190 Lang Peijuan, 'Characteristics and disadvantages of "fire-fighting" style governance', China University of Political Science and Law, 15 July 2016, [online](#).
- 191 Ibid.
- 192 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Xinxing Street Police Station, Xinmin West Street Neighbourhood Police Substation' (乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局新兴街派出所新民西街社区警务室), *Ürümqi Police Records*, 28 February 2018, [online](#).
- 193 Tanner, *Strike hard! Anti-crime campaigns and Chinese criminal justice, 1979–1985*, p. 98.
- 194 Ramzy & Buckley, "'Absolutely no mercy": Leaked files expose how China organized mass detentions of Muslims', *The New York Times*, 16 November 2019, [online](#).
- 195 'Official telegram', Xinjiang PLAC via *ICIJ*, 2017, [online](#).



- 196 Liu Caiyu, Liu Xuanzun, 'Xinjiang revises its anti-extremism regulation', *Global Times*, 10 October 2018, [online](#); 'New revision to "Xinjiang De-Extremification Regulation" published' [新修订版《新疆维吾尔自治区去极端化条例》发布], Standing Committee of Xinjiang People's Congress [新疆自治区人大常委会] via *National Security and Anti-Terrorism Information Net* [国家安全-反恐怖主义信息网], 9 October 2018, [online](#).
- 197 Gene A Bunin, 'The elephant in the XUAR: III. "In accordance with the law"', *Art of Life in Central Asia*, 19 April 2021, [online](#).
- 198 Ibid.
- 199 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, convenience police station SY-150' (便民警务室SY-150), *Ürümqi Police Records*, 14 September 2017, [online](#).
- 200 'China: Big data program targets Xinjiang's Muslims', *Human Rights Watch*, 9 December 2020, [online](#).
- 201 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Shuimogou Police Station' [乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局水磨沟派出所], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 15 January 2019, [online](#); 'Profile of Ekrem Imin', *Xinjiang Victims Database*, [online](#).
- 202 Ibid.
- 203 Dake Kang, 'Room for 10,000: Inside China's largest detention center', *The Associated Press*, 22 July 2021, [online](#).
- 204 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Public Branch, Shuimogou Police Station, Wenxi Neighbourhood Police Substation' [乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局水磨沟派出所温西社区警务室], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 29 November 2018, [online](#).
- 205 'Ürümqi Public Security Bureau, Shuimogou District Branch, Shuimogou Police Station' [乌鲁木齐市公安局水磨沟区分局水磨沟派出所], *Ürümqi Police Records*, 18 March 2019, [online](#).
- 206 Which were in theory acknowledged and embraced by Xi's recent predecessors to some extent. Qian Gang [钱钢], 'Who will terminate "judicial independence"?' [谁要给"司法独立"判死刑?], *FT Chinese*, 19 January 2015, [online](#).
- 207 Carl Minzner, 'Legal reform in the Xi Jinping era', *Asia Policy*, July 2015, 20:4–6, [online](#).
- 208 Jacques deLisle, 'The rule of law with Xi-era characteristics: law for economic reform, anticorruption, and illiberal politics', *Asia Policy*, July 2015, 20:23–29, [online](#).
- 209 'At the Xinjiang Party Committee conference on ruling Xinjiang in accordance with law, Chen Quanguo emphasises the need to deeply implement Xi Jinping Thought and comprehensively push the "Govern Xinjiang in accordance with law" policy to new heights' [陈全国在自治区党委全面依法治疆委员会会议上强调：深入贯彻落实习近平法治思想·推动全面依法治疆迈上新台阶], *Tianshan News* [天山网], 24 May 2021, [online](#).
- 210 'Hu Jintao chairs the the first collective study of the 17th Central Politburo' [胡锦涛主持十七届中央政治局第一次集体学习], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 27 August 2013, [online](#).
- 211 Xiao Hui [肖辉], Zhang Qiao [张乔], 'Governing the nation in accordance with law doctrine enshrined in the constitution in 1999' [1999年依法治国写入宪法], *Phoenix News* [凤凰新闻], 16 September 2009, [online](#).
- 212 Li Lin [李林], 'The origin of Xi Jinping's rule by law theory', [习近平法治思想的理论渊源], *Guangming Daily* [光明日报] via *Xinhua Net* [新华网], 22 January 2021, [online](#).
- 213 'Xi Jinping's latest quotes on rule by law help to analyse the reasons why high-profile cadres commit crimes' [习近平谈法治最新金句·剖析高级干部走上犯罪道路原因], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 15 February 2019, [online](#).
- 214 Zhu Shuyan [朱书缘], 'Xi Jinping's "county party secretary complex" and how that relates to the concept of "frontline commander"' [习近平的'县委书记'情结：为何关注'一线总指挥'？], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 7 June 2015, [online](#); 'Xi Jinping's "county party secretary" complex: how the concept of "sesame official" relates to the rise and fall of nations' [习近平的'县委书记'情结：'芝麻官'关系国家兴衰安危], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 13 January 2015, [online](#).
- 215 Zhu Shuyan, 'Xi Jinping's "county party secretary complex" and how that relates to the concept of "frontline commander"'.
- 216 'The CCP's "all-member training" of county party secretaries tie the "knot" of stable governance' [中共'全员轮训'县委书记打牢执政'纽带'], *Xinhua Net* [新华网], 15 January 2015, [online](#); Zhu Shuyan, 'Xi Jinping's "county party secretary complex"', *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 7 June 2015, [online](#); Gu Baiwen [顾百文], 'Brief discussion on joining the Central Party School county party secretary training program' [浅谈参加中央党校县委书记研修班学习收获], *Suihua Daily* [绥化日报], 21 January 2015, [online](#).
- 217 '200 county party secretaries went to Beijing to 'go to school': They watch historical documentaries about the collapse of the Soviet Union in the evening' [200县委书记进京"上学记"：晚上看苏东剧变等历史剧], *Beijing News* [新京报] via *Xinhua Net* [新华网], 16 January 2015, [online](#).
- 218 "Follow the examples of Jiao Yulu as county party secretary", written by Xi Jinping, is published" [习近平《做焦裕禄式的县委书记》出版发行], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 27 August 2015, [online](#).
- 219 Xi Jinping [习近平], 'Speech delivered upon meeting the nation's outstanding county party secretaries' [在会见全国优秀县委书记时的讲话], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 31 August 2015, [online](#).

- 220 'Chen Quanguo emphasises stability maintenance in Xinjiang during teleconference' [陈全国在自治区维护稳定工作电视电话上强调], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报], 9 January 2017, [online](#).
- 221 The full name is 'Vocational Education and Training Service Management Bureau'.
- 222 'Hotan Prefecture creates innovative mechanism to facilitate labour transfers' [和田地区创新机制助推劳动力转移就业], *Xinjiang Economic News* [新疆经济报] via *Xinhua Net* [新华网], 23 May 2017, [online](#); Yang Tingting [杨婷婷], Shi Kaiwei [石凯伟], 'Around 1200 surplus labourers from urban and rural Lop County have traveled to other parts of China for work' [洛浦县1200余名城乡富余劳动力赴内地务工], *China Xinjiang* [中国新疆], 11 May 2017, [online](#).
- 223 'Notice on Cherchen County's 2018 targeted crackdown against illegal births' [关于印发《且末县2018年度违法生育专项治理工作实施方案》的通知], Cherchen County People's Government [且末县人民政府], 30 May 2018, [online](#).
- 224 Officials whose profiles are publicly available and can be corroborated by credible sources. The lists of official names are withheld from publication due to privacy concerns, but may be available upon request.
- 225 Cheng Yinghong, *Discourse of race and rising China*, Palgrave Mcmillan, New York, 2019; James Leibold, 'China's minority report: When racial harmony means homogenization', *Foreign Affairs*, 23 March 2016, [online](#); Gray Tuttle, 'China's race problem: How Beijing represses minorities', *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2015, [online](#).
- 226 'Constitution of China' [中华人民共和国宪法], Central People's Government [中国中央人民政府], [online](#).
- 227 Because the profiles are written from publicly available sources instead of interviews, they reflect only these individuals' public personas.
- 228 'Xi Jinping met with the nation's outstanding county party secretaries' [习近平会见全国优秀县委书记], *Xinhua Net* [新华网], 29 June 2021, [online](#).
- 229 '36 year-old Yao Ning was awarded the title of 'The nation's most outstanding county party secretary', receiving congratulations from two faculties at Tsinghua University, his alma mater' [36岁药宁获'全国优秀县委书记'称号后·母校清华两院系祝贺], *New Beijing News* [新京报], 2 July 2021, [online](#).
- 230 'Alumnus of the engineering department, Yao Ning, recognised as "The nation's outstanding county party secretary"' [工业工程系校友药宁被授予'全国优秀县委书记'称号], *Tsinghua University Department of Industrial Engineering* [清华大学工业工程系], 1 July 2021, [online](#); 'Ning Yao: Asia Fellow, AY 2010-2011', Harvard Kennedy School Ash Centre for Democratic Governance and Innovation, [online](#).
- 231 '36 year-old Yao Ning was awarded the title of 'The nation's outstanding county party secretary', receiving congratulations from two Schools at Tsinghua University, his Alma Mater' [36岁药宁获'全国优秀县委书记'称号后·母校清华两院系祝贺], *New Beijing News* [新京报], 2 July 2021, [online](#).
- 232 Ilham Tohti [伊力哈木·土赫提], 'Demographics of Maralbeshi County, Xinjiang' [维吾尔自治区巴楚县民族人口结构], *Uyghur Online* [维吾尔在线], 25 April 2013, [online](#); 'Ferocious birth-control policies in Xinjiang are racially targeted', *The Economist*, 26 June 2021, [online](#).
- 233 Nathan Ruser, *Xinjiang detention facilities dataset*, ASPI, 24 September 2020, [online](#).
- 234 'The 2018 Xinjiang Maralbeshi County recruitment of 320 staff for vocational education and training centres' [2018年新疆巴楚县招聘职业技能教育培训中心工作人员320名简章], *Xinjiang Public Sector Net* [新疆公务员网], 15 March 2018, [online](#).
- 235 See section 7.2: 'Re-education camps', which references Xinjiang government order that county party secretaries personally lead a taskforce that in turn oversees the operations for the detention facilities.
- 236 See section 7.4: 'Coercive labour assignments', which discusses how local party and government leaders typically head the area's labour transfer taskforce, and the coercive nature of Xinjiang's labour transfer programs.
- 237 'Yao Ning, the nation's outstanding county party secretary: Take root in the frontier, keep the original inspiration, shoulder the mission and fulfil the promise' [全国优秀县委书记药宁：扎根边疆守初心·勇担使命践诺言], *Xinhua All Media* [新华全媒+], [online](#).
- 238 Ibid.
- 239 'Young cadres look here! Xi Jinping is paying attention to you!' [年轻干部看过来! 习近平在关注你们], *Xinhua Net* [新华网], 3 July 2018, [online](#).
- 240 'Alumnus of the engineering department, Yao Ning', *Tsinghua University Department of Industrial Engineering*, 1 July 2021, [online](#).
- 241 Zhang Rui [张睿], 'Yao Ning: Go where the motherland needs me most' [药宁：到祖国最需要的地方去], *Tsinghua University News* [清华大学新闻], 25 April 2018, [online](#).
- 242 'Alumnus of the engineering department, Yao Ning', *Tsinghua University Department of Industrial Engineering*, 1 July 2021, [online](#).
- 243 'Ning Yao: Asia Fellow, AY 2010-2011', Harvard Kennedy School Ash Centre for Democratic Governance and Innovation, [online](#).
- 244 Zhang Rui, 'Yao Ning: Go where the motherland needs him most'.
- 245 'Yao Ning's Weibo posts' [药宁的微博], *Weibo* [微博], 25 February to 17 June 2021, [online](#).
- 246 The Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region.



- 247 Alice Su, 'Threats of arrest, job loss and surveillance. China targets its "model minority"', *The Los Angeles Times*, 23 September 2020, [online](#); Chris Atwood, 'Bilingual education in Inner Mongolia: an explainer', *Made in China*, 30 August 2020, [online](#).
- 248 'To go to the border town' [去一趟边城], Tsinghua University Department of Industrial Engineering [清华大学工业工程系], 27 April 2017, [online](#).
- 249 Zhou Xueguang, *The institutional logic of governance in China*, 2017, p. 131, [online](#).
- 250 Zhang Rui, 'Yao Ning: Go where the country needs him most'.
- 251 'Yao Ning's Weibo posts' [药宁的微博], *Weibo* [微博], 25 February to 17 June 2021, [online](#).
- 252 'Xi focus-quotable quotes: Xi Jinping on original aspiration of Chinese Communists', *Xinhua Net English*, 29 June 2020, [online](#).
- 253 As of September 2021, out of 11 vice-governors in Xinjiang, six are Han, three are Uyghur and two are from other ethnic groups. See 'Regional leadership database - Xinjiang' [地方领导资料库:新疆], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], [online](#).
- 254 'Regional leadership database: Xinjiang' [地方领导资料库:新疆], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], [online](#).
- 255 'Resume of Erken Tuniyaz, vice-chairman and standing committee member of the Xinjiang Party Committee' [艾尔肯·吐尼亚孜-简历, 新疆维吾尔自治区党委常委、副主席], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], [online](#); Kate Hoagland, 'Ash Center: Two senior Chinese officials perform key research at the Ash Center', Harvard Kennedy School Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, 3 February 2012, [online](#).
- 256 'Erken Tuniyaz is acting chairman of Xinjiang' [艾尔肯·吐尼亚孜任新疆维吾尔自治区代主席], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 2 October 2021, [online](#).
- 257 'Regional leadership database: Xinjiang' [地方领导资料库:新疆], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], [online](#).
- 258 "Post-70s" Yang Fasen assumes his new post and becomes the youngest provincial and ministerial level official in Xinjiang. He was once awarded the title of "outstanding county party secretary" [70后"杨发森履新, 成新疆最年轻省部级·曾获'全国优秀县委书记'荣誉], *Sina Finance News* [新浪财经新闻], 31 March 2021, [online](#).
- 259 'Yang Fasen, Xinjiang's deputy governor and party secretary of Hotan Prefecture' [新疆维吾尔自治区人民政府副主席·和田地委书记—杨发森], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], [online](#).
- 260 'Pioneers of reforms - profile of an outstanding county secretary, Yang Fasen, party secretary of Kucha County' [改革先锋实干标兵—记全国优秀县委书记·库车县委书记杨发森], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报], 7 July 2015, [online](#).
- 261 'Establish joint management of large scale propaganda work' [建立齐抓共管的大宣传工作格局], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报], 29 September 2014, [online](#).
- 262 Ibid.
- 263 Ibid.
- 264 Ibid.
- 265 'In-depth reporting on Xinjiang's "Bay County Experience", part two' [新疆'拜城经验'深度报道之二], *Tianshan News* [天山网] via *Phoenix News* [凤凰新闻], 30 September 2014, 2, [online](#); Zhang Chaowen [张超文], Liu Yanghui [刘旻辉], Wu Hui [吴卉], 'Improve and innovate cultures to achieve the goal of 'reaching people productively and effectively': In-depth reporting on "Bay County Experience", part three' [改进创新文化引领实现'到人管用有效'拜城经验深度报道之三], *Sina News* [新浪新闻], 1 October 2014, [online](#).
- 266 'In-depth reporting on Xinjiang's "Bay County Experience", part two' [新疆'拜城经验'深度报道之二], *Tianshan News*, 30 September 2014, p. 3, [online](#).
- 267 Wang Tao [王涛], 'Xinjiang transportation industry promotes "Bay County Experience" in order to further efforts in "de-extremification"' [新疆交通运输行业推广'拜城经验'深入推进'去极端化'], *Tianshan News* [天山网] via *Sohu News* [搜狐新闻], 11 April 2015, [online](#).
- 268 'Establish joint management of large scale propaganda work' [建立齐抓共管的大宣传工作格局], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报], 29 September 2014, [online](#); 'Report on the "Bay County Experience", part one: Where there is innovation, there is vitality' [拜城经验'启示系列报道: 哪里有创新哪里就有活力], *Tianshan News* [天山网], 29 September 2014, [online](#).
- 269 A Uyghur majority county in southern Xinjiang where ASPI researchers have identified three detention facilities built or expanded after 2017. See Nathan Ruser, *Xinjiang detention facilities dataset*, ASPI, 24 September 2020, [online](#).
- 270 'Leaders of Aksu's Onsu County went on inspection tour in Bay County' [阿克苏温宿县领导赴拜城县观摩], Xinjiang People's Government [新疆维吾尔自治区人民政府], 7 November 2014, [online](#).
- 271 '[Xinjiang News Broadcast] Learn from the Bay County Experience and further implement 'de-extremification' education' [新疆新闻联播]学习拜城经验·深入推进'去极端化'教育], *CCTV* [央视网], 4 October 2014, [online](#).
- 272 'Large scale de-extremification propaganda education programs created in Konasheher County, Xinjiang' [新疆疏附县构建'去极端化'宣传教育大格局], *chinanews.com* [中国新闻网], 9 November 2014, [online](#); 'Chaqliq County took the initiative to establish a large-scale news and propaganda centre in Bayingolin Prefecture' [巴州若羌在巴州率先成立大新闻宣传中心], Xinjiang People's Government [新疆维吾尔自治区人民政府], 16 December 2014, [online](#).
- 273 "Post-70s" Yang Fasen assumes his new post and becomes the youngest provincial and ministerial level official in Xinjiang. He was once awarded the title of "outstanding county party secretary", [online](#); 'Xinjiang Kucha County party

- secretary: Kucha is the forefront of Xinjiang's anti-terrorism and stability maintenance' [新疆库车县委书记: 库车是新疆反恐维稳的前沿], State Council Information Office [国务院新闻办公室], 1 July 2015, [online](#).
- 274 'Pioneers of reforms - profile of an outstanding county secretary, Yang Fasen, party secretary of Kucha County', *Xinjiang Daily*, 7 July 2015, [online](#).
- 275 'Revealed: Who are the five representatives who made speeches after shaking hands with Xi Jinping?' [揭秘: 跟习近平握手以后发言的五个代表都是谁], *Sohu News* [搜狐新闻], 1 July 2015, [online](#).
- 276 Ibid.
- 277 'Kucha County party secretary: Kucha is at the forefront of Xinjiang's anti-terrorism and stability maintenance' [新疆库车县委书记: 库车是新疆反恐维稳的前沿], State Council Information Office [国务院新闻办公室], 1 July 2015, [online](#).
- 278 'Big data program targets Xinjiang's Muslims: leaked list of over 2,000 detainees demonstrates automated repression', *Human Rights Watch*, 9 December 2020, [online](#).
- 279 'Kucha County party secretary: Kucha is at the forefront of Xinjiang's anti-terrorism and stability maintenance', State Council Information Office, 1 July 2015, [online](#).
- 280 'Resume of Yang Fasen' [杨发森:简历], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], [online](#).
- 281 *The Xinjiang Data Project*, ASPI, Canberra, [online](#).
- 282 'Resume of Yang Fasen', *People's Daily Online*, [online](#).
- 283 "'Post-70s" Yang Fasen assumes his new post and becomes the youngest provincial and ministerial level official in Xinjiang. He was once awarded the title of "outstanding county party secretary"', [online](#).
- 284 'Protect our homes | Dorbiljin County's deputy party secretary and county magistrate Mahesu Khan Gamshafu: Labour will bring joy today and unity will bring victory tomorrow' [守护家园 | 额敏县委副书记、县长 马合苏提汗·加木沙甫: 劳动会给今天带来欢乐·团结会给明天带来胜利], *Sohu News* [搜狐新闻], 11 August 2017, [online](#).
- 285 'Konasheher County deputy party secretary of county party committee and county magistrate Rahman Omar: Always remember the kindness of the party and resolutely eradicate the "three evil forces"' [疏附县委副书记、县长热合曼·吾买尔: 永远牢记党的恩情坚决铲除“三股势力”], *Tianshan News* [天山网], 17 August 2017, [online](#).
- 286 'Speak up and brandish the sword: determined to struggle against the "three evil forces"' [发声亮剑 | 坚决同“三股势力”作斗争], *Sohu News* [搜狐新闻], 20 May 2019, [online](#).
- 287 Ibid.
- 288 '[Speak up and brandish the sword in Hotan]: Ereti Yunus, Keriye County's deputy party secretary and county magistrate: Be brave and strive to be the vanguard of counterterrorism and stability maintenance' [【亮剑和田】于田县委副书记、县长 艾提提·尤努斯: 正己身勇担当·争做反恐维稳先锋], *Niye Zero Distance* [民丰零距离] via *Sohu News* [搜狐新闻], 2 October 2018, [online](#); 'Speak up and brandish the swords!': We must resolutely crack down on the "three evil forces" and completely eradicate "two-faced people" [发声亮剑: 坚决打击“三股势力”彻底铲除“两面人”], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报] via *Sohu News* [搜狐新闻], 30 August 2018, [online](#).
- 289 'Iskender Keyum: Absolute loyalty to the party, fight against the enemies until the end, and pledge to safeguard the stability, harmony and unity of Xinjiang' [斯坎旦·克尤木: 对党绝对忠诚·对敌斗争到底·誓死捍卫新疆团结稳定和谐好局面], *Qumul Radio* [哈密电台] via *Sohu News* [搜狐新闻], 19 November 2018, [online](#); Yasin Sidik, 'Uyghurs are not Turkic descendants' [牙生·司地克: 维吾尔族不是突厥人后裔], *Ürümqi Evening News* (乌鲁木齐晚报) via *Aisixiang* [爱思想], 30 August 2018, [online](#).
- 290 Darren Byler, 'The "patriotism" of not speaking Uyghur', *SupChina*, 2 January 2019, [online](#).
- 291 'Flag waving in the wind: a profile on Obulqasim Mettursun, Deputy Party Secretary and County Magistrate of Awat County' [迎风飘扬的旗—记新疆阿瓦提县委副书记、县长吾布力喀斯木·买吐送], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报] via *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 16 July 2018, [online](#).
- 292 'Obulqasim Mettursun: Emphasise "unity" with every word and every sentence' [吾布力喀斯木·买吐送: 一字一句写团结], *People's Daily* [人民日报], 16 July 2017, [online](#).
- 293 "'A wake up call to fellow Uyghurs", Keriye County Jay Township Party Committee Deputy Party Secretary and Mayor, Obulkasim Mettursun' [致维吾尔族同胞觉醒书 于田县加依乡党委副书记、乡长 吾布力喀斯木·买吐送], *Aksu Daily* [阿克苏日报], 25 March 2017, [online](#).
- 294 'Video: Obulqasim, 19th National People's Congress delegate: We must unite and energise in order to seek development' [微视频 | 十九大代表吾布力喀斯木: 团结鼓劲谋发展], *Xigua Video* [西瓜视频], 3 October 2017, [online](#).
- 295 "'Wake up call to fellow Uyghurs": Hope to evoke the awakening of my fellow Uyghurs' [《觉醒书》: 希望能唤起维吾尔族同胞的觉醒], *Sina News* [新浪新闻], 31 March 2017, [online](#).
- 296 Ibid.
- 297 'Flag waving in the wind: a profile on Obulqasim Mettursun, Deputy Party Secretary and County Magistrate of Awat County', *Xinjiang Daily*, 16 July 2017, [online](#).
- 298 'Obulqasim Mettursun: Emphasise "unity" with every word and every sentence', *People's Daily*, 16 July 2017, [online](#).
- 299 'Learn from Obulqasim Mettursun's example and experience' [学习吾布力喀斯木·买吐送先进事迹心得体会], *Xinjiang High People's Court* [新疆高级人民法院], 6 April 2017, [online](#).



- 300 'Evoke inner awakening, eradicate extremist thoughts - New Inmates Prison invites Obulqasim Mettursun to conduct remote propaganda lectures' [唤起内心觉醒·去除极端思想—新收犯监狱邀请吾布力喀斯木·买吐送开展远程视频宣教活动], *Xinjiang Prison* [新疆监狱], 7 April 2017, [online](#).
- 301 'Chen Quanguo meets with Obulqasim Mettursun' [陈全国会见吾布力喀斯木·买吐送], *Hejing County "Becoming Family" Program Leading Small Group on Hejing Zero Distance* [民亲办微信公众号“和静零距离”], 19 May 2017, [online](#).
- 302 Ibid.
- 303 'Notes from the advancement ceremony on “Learn from Comrade Obulkasim Mettursun to speak up and brandish the sword”' [向吾布力喀斯木·买吐送同志学习发声亮剑推进会侧记及综述], *Kashgar Daily* on WeChat [喀什日报微信公众号“喀什零距离”], 4 August 2017, [online](#).
- 304 'Learn from Comrade Obulqasim Mettursun, promote “Speak Up and Brandish the Sword” activities', *Kashgar Daily*, 4 August 2017, [online](#); 'Xinjiang holds advancement meeting on “Learn from Comrade Mattersun to speak up and brandish the sword”' [自治区召开向吾布力喀斯木·买吐送同志学习发声亮剑推进会], CCP Xinjiang Commission for Discipline Inspection [中共新疆维吾尔自治区纪律检查委员会], 16 August 2017, [online](#).
- 305 'Obulqasim Mettursun: Emphasise “unity” with every word and every sentence', *People's Daily*, 16 July 2017, [online](#).
- 306 'Flag waving in the wind: a profile on Obulqasim Mettursun, Deputy Party Secretary and County Magistrate of Awat County', *Xinjiang Daily*, 16 July 2017, [online](#).
- 307 'Delegate Obulkasim Mettursun: From “becoming rich” to “becoming strong”' [吾布力喀斯木·买吐送代表：从‘富起来’到‘强起来’], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 22 October 2017, [online](#).
- 308 'Flag waving in the wind: a profile on Obulqasim Mettursun, Deputy Party Secretary and County Magistrate of Awat County', *Xinjiang Daily*, 16 July 2017, [online](#).
- 309 'Central Propaganda Department holds foreign press conference on “The Chinese nation-race is one close family, building the China dream together sharing the same heart”' [中共中央宣传部就‘中华民族一家亲·同心共筑中国梦’举行中外记者见面会], *chinanews.com* [中国网], 27 July 2021, [online](#).
- 310 Zhang Chunxian, 'Strive to write the new chapter of long-term stable rule and social stability in Xinjiang' [张春贤：奋力谱写新疆社会稳定和长治久安新篇章], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 13 January 2014, [online](#).
- 311 Release of the 2018 Xinjiang Kashgar Forestry Bureau's budget' [新疆维吾尔自治区喀什市林业局 2018年部门预算公开], [online](#).
- 312 *Xinjiang's Architecture of Repression*, ASPI, Canberra, [online](#).
- 313 'Xi Jinping: Must firmly establish the correct national and ethnic identity among the masses of all ethnicities' (习近平：要在各族群众中牢固树立正确的祖国观·民族观), *Xinhua Net* (新华网), 29 May 2014, [online](#).
- 314 'Zhang Chunxian discussing counter-terrorism: Cadres of all ethnicities must dare to “speak up and brandish the sword” at the first moment' [张春贤谈反恐：各族干部要第一时间敢于发声亮剑], *Tianshan News* [天山网] via *chinanews.com* [中国新闻网], 9 February 2014, [online](#); 'Social scientists in Xinjiang support the call to “speak up and brandish the sword” in our struggle against religious extremism' [新疆社科界人士：主动发声‘亮剑’·反对宗教极端主义], *Tianshan News* [天山网] via *Sina News* [新浪新闻], 25 September 2013, [online](#).
- 315 Tao Shuanke [陶拴科], 'Ten thousand masses pledge to “brandish the sword” against terror in Cherchen County, Xinjiang [Gallery]' [新疆且末县万名群众宣誓·向恐怖犯罪“亮剑”[组图]], *Photo China* [图片中国], 6 June 2014, [online](#).
- 316 The Chinese party-state called the incident a terrorist attack, while Uyghur groups said it was resistance following the killing of a Uyghur family over a headscarf check. Andrew Jacobs, 'After deadly clash, China and Uighurs disagree on events that led to violence', *The New York Times*, 30 July 2014, [online](#).
- 317 'Cadres and masses of all ethnicities in Yarkant, Xinjiang “speak up and brandish the sword”, declare war on violent terrorists' [新疆莎车各族干部群众发声亮剑向暴恐分子宣战], *Ürümqi Evening News* [乌鲁木齐晚报] via *chinanews.com* [中国新闻网], 8 August 2014, [online](#).
- 318 'Cadres and masses of all ethnicities in Ürümqi “speak up and brandish the sword”: Joint defence to crack down on violence and terrorism' [乌鲁木齐各族干部群众发声亮剑：联防联控保打击暴恐], *Tianshan News* [天山网] via *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 7 August 2014, [online](#).
- 319 Mihrigul Wu [米日古力·吾], 'Religious figures in Xinjiang “speak up and brandish the sword”' [新疆宗教界人士发声亮剑], *Xinjiang News* [新疆网], 18 April 2017, [online](#).
- 320 'Commentary: “Speak up and brandish the sword” demonstrates the sense of responsibility of ethnic minority enterprises' [评论：发声亮剑彰显民族企业的责任与担当], *Private Corporates' Social Responsibility Net* [民营企业社会责任网], 8 July 2014, [online](#).
- 321 Zhu Kaili [朱凯莉], Pang Xuefang [庞雪芳], 'Cultural workers of Xinjiang “speak up and brandish the sword”: Don't let dark clouds obscure the bright moon' [新疆文化工作者发声亮剑：不让乌云遮明月], *Tianshan News* [天山网] via *Sina News* [新浪新闻], 14 August 2014, [online](#).
- 322 Mihrigul Wu, Fang Feiyang [方菲洋], 'Representatives of the disabled people in Xinjiang “speak up and brandish the sword”, expressing determination to resolutely resist religious extremist thoughts' [新疆残疾人代表发声亮剑,坚决抵制宗教极端思想], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报], 29 August 2014, [online](#).

- 323 'At the regional grassroots propaganda work and winter propaganda lecture mobilization meeting, Zhang Chunxian orders to be a politically determined leader, a fighter who dares to speak up and can speak up, and a caring person to all ethnicities' [张春贤在自治区基层宣传工作暨冬季大宣讲动员会议上要求做政治坚定的引领者敢讲会讲的战斗员各族群众的贴心人], *Huaxia News* [华夏经纬网], 5 January 2016, [online](#); "We love listening to propaganda lectures like this!": Tens of thousands of people attend large-scale public propaganda lectures' [【冬季万人宣讲】这样的宣讲·我们很爱听!], Aksu City Media Communication Centre on WeChat [阿克苏市融媒体中心腾讯微信公众账号阿克苏市零距离], 10 January 2019, [online](#).
- 324 'A hundred women participate in "speak up and brandish the sword", vowing to be pretty women' [百名妇女发声亮剑 做靓丽女性], *Global Times* [环球网], 11 April 2017, [online](#); 'More than one hundred women of all ethnic groups in Tokkuztara speak up and brandish the sword' [巩留百余名各族妇女发声亮剑], Xinjiang Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture People's Government [新疆伊犁哈萨克自治州人民政府], 28 April 2017, [online](#).
- 325 Pan Congwu, 'Xinjiang "de-extremification" propaganda lecture group', *China Peace*, 19 May 2016, [online](#).
- 326 'Xinjiang: Implement stricter requirements and strengthen daily management and supervision of cadres', Central Organisation Department, 26 August 2014, [online](#).
- 327 Ibid.
- 328 'Propaganda lecture activities in Xinjiang are in full swing' [新疆宣讲活动火热展开], State Council Information Office [国务院新闻办公室], 31 December 2014, [online](#).
- 329 'Ten thousand people attended public propaganda lectures in Aksu, Xinjiang: Speeches facilitate confidence, unity and harmony' [新疆阿克苏万人宣讲: 讲出信心讲出团结讲出和谐], *Guangming Daily* [光明日报] via *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 8 April 2019, [online](#); "De-extremification" and rule by law propaganda lectures covered the urban and rural areas of Kashgar' ["去极端化"法制宣讲覆盖喀什城乡], *Kashgar Zero Distance* [喀什零距离], 24 February 2014, [online](#).
- 330 'Xinjiang launches "de-extremification" propaganda lecture educational activities' [自治区"去极端化"系列宣讲教育活动启动], *Xinjiang Economics News* [新疆经济报] via Xinjiang United Front Work Department [新疆统一战线工作部], 21 March 2017, [online](#); Pang Congwu, 'Xinjiang's "de-extremification" propaganda lecture group: Sowing the seeds of harmony and stability among the hearts of the masses' [新疆"去极端化"宣讲团: 把和谐稳定种子播撒群众心中], *China Peace* [长安网], 19 May 2016, [online](#).
- 331 Pang Congwu, 'Xinjiang's "de-extremification" propaganda lecture group: sowing the seeds of harmony and stability among the hearts of the masses', *China Peace*, 19 May 2016, [online](#).
- 332 'Kizilsu launches "de-extremification" winter public propaganda lecture activities' [克州开展"去极端化"冬季大宣讲活动], Xinjiang People's Government [新疆人民政府], 19 November 2014, [online](#); Wang Se, 'Ten thousand people attended public propaganda lectures in Aksu', *Guangming Daily*, 8 April 2019, [online](#).
- 333 Pang Congwu, 'Xinjiang's "de-extremification" propaganda lecture group: Sowing the seeds of harmony and stability among the hearts of the masses', *China Peace*, 19 May 2016, [online](#); 'Launch of "de-extremification" propaganda lecture', Xinjiang United Front Work Department, 21 March 2017, [online](#); 'Xinjiang appoints new officials Xie Huiqing, Li Wei, Abduwahid Seydiwaqqas, He Yuhong' [新疆任命谢惠青、李伟、阿布都瓦依提·赛迪瓦卡斯、何玉红职务], *China Economics News Online* [中国经济网], 26 July 2016, [online](#); Zhang Sifu [张世福], 'Using emotional appeals to reach the hearts and minds of the masses, use reasoning to sooth the emotions of the masses' [用情感敲开心灵大门·用说理舒缓群众情绪], *Baijiahao* [百家号], 14 April 2017, [online](#).
- 334 Wang Yayun [王亚芸], 'General mobilisation for all ethnicities and all walks of life speak up and brandish swords to contribute to the the realization of the overall goals - overview of the "three loves, three oppositions" themed speak up and brandish swords activities' [各族各界发声亮剑总动员·为实现总目标贡献力量—自治区'三爱三反'发声亮剑系列活动综述], Central United Front Work Department [中央统战部], 3 March 2017, [online](#).
- 335 Ibid.
- 336 "Three gratitudes, three wishes" activities lead herdsmen, farmers and party members in Uchturpan County to demonstrate loyalty' ["三感恩,三祝愿"引领乌什农牧民党员践忠诚], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报] via *Tianshan News* [天山网], 16 June 2017, [online](#); 'Burchin County: "Three gratitudes, three wishes" themed public lectures during flag raising ceremony on Monday, stirring patriotic feelings' [布尔津: 周一升国旗'三感恩·三祝愿'主题宣讲,激发爱国情], Central People's Government [中央人民政府], 6 June 2017, [online](#); 'Ili prefecture supply and marketing system launches "three loves, three oppositions" and "three gratitudes, three wishes" themed "speak up and brandish the sword" activities' [伊犁州供销社开展'三爱三反'三感恩三祝愿'主题发声亮剑活动], Xinjiang Supply and Marketing Cooperative [新疆供销社], 27 June 2017, [online](#); Li Yongfu [李永福], "Three loves, three oppositions, three gratitudes, three wishes" propaganda lectures and public pledge activities inspire patriotism among villagers' ["三爱三反三祝愿"宣讲签名活动激发村民爱国热情], *Xinjiang Livelihood News* [新疆民生网], 23 May 2017, [online](#); 'Nilqa County women's federation held embroidery skills competition and "becoming family beautiful projects" themed clothing display' [尼勒克县妇联举办'刺绣技能竞赛'暨'靓丽工程·民族团结一家亲'服装展示活动], *Voices of the Women of Ili* [伊犁女声], 25 May 2017, [online](#).
- 337 "Three gratitudes, three wishes" activities', *Xinjiang Daily*, 16 June 2017, [online](#).
- 338 'Xinjiang launches "de-extremification" propaganda lecture educational activities', *Xinjiang Economics News*, 31 March 2017, [online](#); [Big propaganda lecture] This 'de-extremification' education method is in touch with the masses' [大宣



- 讲”这样的“去极端化”教育方式接地气), *Niye Zero Distance* [民丰零距离] via *Sohu News* [搜狐新闻], 12 September 2017, [online](#); Ma Linrong [马琳荣], Xi Xiaoyu [席晓宇], ‘A hundred women in Ushtala township in Hoshut Township deeply moved by listening to propaganda lectures’ [新疆和硕县: 乌什塔拉乡百名妇女聆听宣讲讲到心坎里], *Yaxin News* [亚心网] via *Sina News* [新浪新闻], 29 November 2017, [online](#); ‘Ghulja City drums up strong “de-extremification” propaganda education atmosphere’ [伊宁市营造“去极端化”宣传教育浓厚氛围], *Yaxin News* [亚心网] via *China Xinjiang* [中国新疆], 21 January 2015, [online](#).
- 339 ‘Chapchal Township launches “the big denounce, expose and criticise” activities’ [察布查尔镇开展‘大声讨大揭批’活动], *Chapchal Town Bulletin* [察布查尔镇微讯], 12 April 2017, [online](#); ‘Using hard measures to cure a lack of discipline and gather [our] strength to build the foundation: the rehabilitation of weak village [community] party committee in Ili Kazakh Prefecture, Xinjiang’ [硬招治软散, 聚力强基石—新疆伊犁州软弱涣散村(社区)党组织如期“摘帽”], *CCP Members Net* [共产党员网], 9 January 2017, [online](#); ‘Improve ideological immunity, educate and guide the masses, Ichyan Village carries out “big denounce, expose and criticise” activities’ [提高思想免疫力教育引导群众依其央村开展‘大宣讲大揭批大声讨大反思’活动], *FX361*, 13 September 2018, [online](#).
- 340 Wang Zhenfei [王振飞], ‘Ergon Village in Qingshuihe Township holds “expose and criticise” mass meeting’ [清水河镇二宫村召开群众揭批大会], Xinjiang Korgas County People’s Government [新疆霍城县人民政府], 30 March 2017, [online](#).
- 341 ‘Yarkant County Court: Kind consideration warms people’s hearts, sympathy expressed to the police stationed at villages and guarding mosques’ [莎车县法院: 关怀暖人心·慰问驻村管寺干警], Yarkant County People’s Court [莎车县人民法院], 24 May 2020, [online](#).
- 342 Mu Min [牟敏], ‘Communities set up grassroots propaganda lecture groups to come up with different ways to promote the spirit of the 19th National People’s Congress’ [社区成立基层宣讲团·形式多样宣传十九大精神], *Xinjiang News* [新疆网], 13 November 2017, [online](#); ‘“Big propaganda lecture, expose, criticise, denounce and reflect” to “speak up and brandish the sword” activities’ [‘大宣讲·大揭批·大声讨·大反思’发声亮剑活动], *Sound of Irtysh River* [额河水之声], 9 May 2018, [online](#).
- 343 Sui Yunyan [隋云雁], ‘“7th Five-year Plan” legal education - laid firm foundation for ruling Xinjiang in accordance with law’ [‘七五’普法: 为依法治疆奠定坚实基础], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报], 26 December 2020, [online](#).
- 344 ‘Regional People’s Procuratorate launches “speak up and brandish the sword” activities, emphasising ‘firm ideals and beliefs, absolute loyalty to the party to create a new generation of loyal and incorruptible People’s procurators’ [地区人民检察院开展‘坚定理想信念, 对党绝对忠诚, 做新时代忠诚干净担当的人民检察官’, 发声亮剑活动], *Altay News Online* [阿勒泰新闻网], 12 February 2019, [online](#); ‘All cadres in Xinjiang’s People’s Procuratorate participate in “speak up and brandish the sword” activities: Absolutely loyal to the party to the end, and comprehensively perform procuratorial responsibilities’ [全疆检干部亮剑: 始终对党绝对忠诚, 全面履行检察职责], *Tianshan News* [天山网] via *Sohu News* [搜狐新闻], 1 June 2017, [online](#); ‘Atush City People’s Court launches “speak up and brandish the sword” activities, everyone is speaking up and brandishing their swords, the activities have reached new heights’ [阿图什市人民法院开展发声亮剑活动, 人人发声, 个个亮剑, 再次掀起发声亮剑新高潮], *Kizilsu Television* [克州电视台] via *WeChat* [微信], 10 January 2019, [online](#); ‘Shihezi City People’s Court holds “speak up and brandish the sword” mass meeting’ [石河子市人民法院举行发声亮剑大会], *Kizilsu Television* [克州电视台] via *WeChat* [微信], 17 April 2018, [online](#).
- 345 ‘Ten thousands women joined a “Speak Up and Brandish the Sword” rally, showing women’s power’ [万名妇女发声亮剑尽显巾帼力量], *China Peace* [长安网], 30 March 2018, [online](#); Wang Guofei [王国飞], ‘A study on grassroots anti-terrorist stability maintenance mechanism in Southern Xinjiang’ [新疆南疆地区基层反恐维稳机制研究], *Journal of Xinjiang Police College*, April 2017, [online](#); ‘[Protect our beautiful homes]: Cadres and masses from Lanzhouwan Village’ [【守护好我们的美丽家园】发声亮剑: 兰州湾村干部群众发声亮剑], Dabancheng District Fanghuiju villiage-based Leading Small Group on WeChat [达坂城区“访惠聚”驻村工作领导小组微信公众平台“达坂城零距离”] via *Sohu News* [搜狐新闻], 23 August 2017, [online](#).
- 346 ‘Derui Company personnel joins “speak up and brandish the sword” activities’ [德瑞公司发声亮剑专题], Derui Hotel Management Company [德瑞酒店管理公司], 24 October 2018, [online](#).
- 347 ‘“Break their lineage, break their roots”: China’s crimes against humanity targeting Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims’, *Human Rights Watch*, 19 April 2021, [online](#).
- 348 Ibid.
- 349 Matthew Hill, David Campanale, Joel Gunter, ‘“Their goal is to destroy everyone”: Uighur camp detainees allege systematic rape’, *BBC News*, 2 February 2020, [online](#).
- 350 Memeteli Tursun [麦提艾力·吐尔孙], ‘Birth of the Xinjiang de-extremification regulations’ [自治区去极端化条例诞生记], China Academic Journal Electronic Publishing House, 5 May 2017, [online](#).
- 351 Liu Caiyu, Liu Xuanzun, ‘Xinjiang revises its anti-extremism regulation’, *Global Times*, 10 October 2018, [online](#); Jeremy Daum, ‘Explainer on Xinjiang regulations’, *China Law Translate*, 11 October 2018, [online](#).
- 352 ‘Official telegram’, Xinjiang PLAC via ICIJ, [online](#); ‘Public statement on Fukang City Vocational Education and Training Service Management Bureau’s 2018 departmental budget, as well as the “three public expenditures” budget’ [阜康市职业技能教育培训服务管理局2018年部门预算及“三公”经费预算: 信息公开报告], [online](#); ‘Notice on the approval to the adjustments of the 2018 budget revenue and expenditures of Pichan County’ [关于批准调整鄯善县2018年财政预算收支的通知], Pichan County People’s Congress [鄯善县人民代表大会], 2018, [online](#).
- 353 ‘Official telegram’, Xinjiang PLAC via ICIJ, 2017, [online](#).

- 354 *The Xinjiang Data Project*, ASPI, Canberra, [online](#).
- 355 'Release of the 2018 Xinjiang Kashgar Forestry Bureau's budget' [新疆维吾尔自治区喀什市林业局 2018年部门预算公开], [online](#).
- 356 'Official telegram', Xinjiang PLAC via *ICIJ*, 2017, [online](#).
- 357 'Official telegram', Xinjiang PLAC via *ICIJ*, 2017, [online](#).
- 358 'List of municipal government personnel and responsibilities, 2018' [市级部门权责清单(2018年版)], Karamay District People's Government [克拉玛依区人民政府], [online](#).
- 359 'Release of the 2017 public final accounts of Xinjiang Pichan County People's Government Justice Bureau' [2017年度新疆鄯善县人民政府司法局部门决算公开], Xinjiang Pichan County People's Government Justice Bureau [新疆鄯善县人民政府司法局], 2017, [online](#).
- 360 'China: Visiting officials occupy homes in Muslim region—"Becoming Family" campaign Intensifies repression in Xinjiang', *Human Rights Watch*, 13 May 2018, [online](#).
- 361 'Release of the 2017 final account of the Xinjiang Pichan County People's Government Department of Justice' [2017年度新疆鄯善县人民政府司法部门决算公开], Xinjiang Pichan County People's Government Department of Justice [新疆鄯善县人民政府], [online](#).
- 362 'Becoming Family' is also known in Chinese as 结对认亲, but this report adopts the usage of '民族团结一家亲' which seems more commonly used in official documents.
- 363 'Xinjiang Fanghuiju review: A major fundamental policy to promote long-lasting stable rule' [新疆"访惠聚"述评: 推进长治久安的重大治本之策], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报], 13 January 2015, [online](#).
- 364 Shi Xin [石鑫], 'Xinjiang: Must ceaselessly continue to deepen Fanghuiju village-based work' [新疆: 不断把"访惠聚"驻村工作引向深入], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报] via Central People's Government [中国政府网], 3 December 2016, [online](#); 'Release of the 2019 final accounts of Shayar County People's Procuratorate' [沙雅县人民检察院 2019年度部门决算公开说明], [online](#).
- 365 "Hundred questions and hundred examples": Cadre handbooks in the Fanghuiju campaign', Xinjiang Documentation Project, University of British Columbia, [online](#).
- 366 'Fanghuiju work teams in Cherchen County help the village "two committees" with elections' [且末县"访惠聚"工作组助力村"两委"换届], *Weekend Stories* [周末故事会], 24 June 2016, [online](#); 'Fanghuiju work teams assist in constructing Aksu Prefecture's grassroots party organisation' [访惠聚工作组助力阿克苏地区基层党组织建设], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报] via *Tianshan News* [天山网], 22 October 2018, [online](#).
- 367 'Xinjiang: Must ceaselessly continue to deepen Fanghuiju village-based work', *Xinjiang Daily*, 3 December 2016, [online](#).
- 368 'Issued by the Xinjiang Fanghuiju Office on 18 March 2016: Notice on changes to the structure and division of responsibilities of the Xinjiang Fanghuiju program leading small group' [2016年3月18日自治区"访惠聚"活动办公室印发: 新民组发〔2016 6号《关于调整自治区"访惠聚"活动领导小组办公室内设机构职责分工的通知》], *Kunlun News* [昆仑网], 23 March 2016, [online](#).
- 369 '1.1 million cadres and 1.6 million people from all different ethnic groups in Xinjiang "become families"' [新疆110万名干部职工与160万户各族群众结对认亲], *Xinhua Net* [新华网], 4 July 2018, [online](#).
- 370 Dake Kang, Yanan Wang, 'China's Uighurs told to share beds, meals with party members', *The Associate Press*, 1 December 2018, [online](#); 'Xinjiang launches "Becoming Family" Initiative mass mobilisation meeting, Chen Quanguo makes a speech' [新疆召开"民族团结一家亲"活动动员大会 陈全国讲话], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报] via *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 17 October 2016, [online](#); 'Our "relatives" have arrived! - True stories from the implementation of the "Becoming Family" Initiative in Xinjiang' [我家"亲戚"来了—新疆开展"民族团结一家亲"活动纪实], *Guangming Daily* [光明日报] via *Xinhua Net* [新华网], 18 April 2020, [online](#); 'Endless heartwarming stories of mutual assistance among ethnicities from the Becoming Family Initiative in Xinjiang' [新疆各族人民"结亲"互助,暖心故事一千零一夜也讲不完], *CCTV* [央视网], 7 July 2018, [online](#).
- 371 "'Becoming Family" and helping each other, a new page in the history book of Xinjiang's ethnic unity' [结对认亲,守望相助!两年了,新疆民族团结史册翻开崭新一页!], Xinjiang United Front Work Department [新疆维统一战线], 3 January 2019, [online](#).
- 372 Chang Chenxuan [张晨暄], 'The Becoming Family Initiative will deepen the progress of Fanghuiju work' [民族团结一家亲'活动将"访惠聚"工作推向深入], *Yaxin News* [亚心网] via *Phoenix News* [凤凰新闻], 20 October 2016, [online](#); 'All levels of Fanghuiju village-based work teams actively participate in the Becoming Family Initiative in Bayingolin Prefecture' [巴州各"访惠聚"驻村工作队积极开展"民族团结一家亲"活动], *Sohu News* [搜狐新闻], 27 August 2018, [online](#); 'Cadres go to grassroots and synergize "Becoming Family" with Fanghuiju campaign' [民族团结] 干部俯下身下基层,把"民族团结一家亲"与"访惠聚"相互贯穿], Prefecture CPPCC Guangming Neighbourhood work team on WeChat [州政协驻光明社区工作队微信公众号"尉犁零距离"], 11 May 2019, [online](#).
- 373 'Toli County tours conference to highlight positive Becoming Family Initiative examples' [托里县开展"民族团结一家亲"先进典型事迹巡回报告会], 'Becoming Family' Initiative Leading Small Group on WeChat [“民族团结一家亲”活动领导小组微信公众号"托里零距离"] via *Sohu News* [搜狐新闻], 4 July 2019, [online](#); 'The County's United Front Work Department arranges batches of training for cadres on ethnic unity - to strengthen their theories and improve their overall capabilities' [民族团结一家亲]强化理论培训 提升综合素质 —县委统战部部分批次举办民族团结工作分管领



- 导培训], *Ürümqi County Zero Distance* [乌鲁木齐县零距离], 28 January 2019, [online](#); 'Hejing County holds meeting on "Becoming Family" Initiative Advancement' [和静县召开'民族团结一家亲'活动推进会], *Hejing Zero Distance* [和静零距离], 24 September 2017, [online](#); 'Window into the leadership team' [领导之窗], Xinjiang United Front Work Department [新疆统一战线], [online](#).
- 374 'Fanghuiju work winning praises' ['访惠聚'工作赢赞誉], Kargilik County People's Government [叶城县人民政府], 6 July 2017, [online](#).
- 375 'Xinjiang Information Centre' [新疆自治区信息中心], *TSP Web* [调色盘网], 15 January 2021, [online](#).
- 376 'Villager Helpitimin organised marriage for his daughters twice, and the two experiences were radically different' [村民海皮提木·依明两次嫁女儿前后大不同], Xinjiang Department of Housing and Urban-Rural Development [新疆维吾尔自治区住房和城乡建设厅], 6 April 2016, [online](#).
- 377 'Xinjiang further implements the Fanghuiju Program: Questions and answers for those who conduct village-based work' [自治区深化'访民情惠民生聚民心':驻村工作应知应会问答], Xinjiang Agricultural Machinery Bureau [新疆维吾尔自治区农牧业机械管理局], 12 March 2018, [online](#).
- 378 'Three years of education and aid have inspired southern Xinjiang 'surplus labourers' to be motivated to rise out of poverty' [三年教育帮扶·激发南疆富余劳动力脱贫'心'动力], *China Xinjiang News* [中国新疆网], 2 April 2020, [online](#); Aynur [阿依努尔], 'Southern Xinjiang implements "surplus labour" transfer and employment with precision' [新疆精准推进南疆富余劳动力转移就业], *Bingtuan Daily* [兵团日报], 13 October 2019, [online](#); Adrian Zenz, 'Coercive labor and forced displacement in Xinjiang's cross-regional labor transfer program', Jamestown Foundation, March 2021, [online](#).
- 379 Li Fangfang [李芳芳], 'Story from southern Xinjiang: labour transfer within Xinjiang helps removing the label of poverty' [南疆故事·疆内转移就业, 摘掉贫穷标签], *Beijing Review* [北京周报], 15 December 2017, [online](#).
- 380 Xu et al., *Uyghurs for sale*.
- 381 John Sudworth, "If the others go I'll go": Inside China's scheme to transfer Uighurs into work', *BBC News*, 2 March 2020, [online](#).
- 382 'Xinjiang trains all of southern Xinjiang's "poverty-stricken labourers"' [新疆维吾尔自治区全员培训南疆贫困劳动力], Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security [中国人力资源和社会保障部], 9 February 2019, [online](#).
- 383 'Xinjiang Department of Human Resources and Social Security: Strengthen cooperation on labour administration within Xinjiang and further long-term stable employment' [新疆自治区人力资源和社会保障厅: 强化区内劳务协作, 促进长期稳定就业], Ministry of Human Resources and Social Stability [中国人力资源和社会保障部], 11 January 2019, [online](#); Zhang Qionghwen [张琼文], 'Organising across regions, matching needs with skills - 50,000 from Xinjiang have been systematically transferred and assumed employment' [跨区域组织, 精准化对接——新疆5万名跨区域有组织转移人员稳岗就业], National Administration for Rural Revitalisation [国家乡村振兴局], 31 July 2020, [online](#).
- 384 'Xinjiang Department of Human Resources and Social Security: Must strengthen cooperation within labour administration in Xinjiang and further long-term employment stability among its people', 11 January 2019, [online](#); 'Six batches of labour transfer help 100,000 people to escape poverty' ['六个一批'转移就业助十万人群众摆脱贫困], *China Public Jobs Announcement Online* [中国公共招聘网], 28 December 2018, [online](#).
- 385 'Nilqa County, Xinjiang: Many measures combined to explore and improve new models to transfer rural labourers outside Xinjiang' [新疆尼勒克: 多措并举探索提升农村劳动力疆外有组织转移就业新模式], *China's Employment Online* [中国就业网], 24 June 2019, [online](#); Guang Xiangli [关祥利], 'Orku District, Karamay City, Xinjiang: Arrange southern Xinjiang's transferred labourers to settle down, in order to win the final battle against persistent poverty' [新疆克拉玛依市乌尔禾区: 妥善安置南疆富余劳动力, 助力决战决胜脱贫攻坚], *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 30 March 2020, [online](#).
- 386 '2017 implementation plan for Iwirghol district, Qumul city to systematically transfer rural "surplus labourers" for employment' [2017年新疆哈密市伊州区农村富余劳动力有组织转移就业实施方案], Qumul City Iwirghol District People's Government [哈密市伊州区人民政府], 30 October 2017, [online](#).
- 387 'Nilqa County, Xinjiang: Need to explore new models of organised labour transfer of surplus rural labour', *China's Employment Online*, 24 June 2019, [online](#).
- 388 Xu et al., *Uyghurs for sale*.
- 389 'Xinjiang Department of Human Resources and Social Security: Must strengthen cooperation within labour administration in Xinjiang and further long-term employment stability among its people', 11 January 2019, [online](#); 'Organising across regions, matching needs with skills - 50,000 from Xinjiang have been systematically transferred and assumed employment' National Administration for Rural Revitalisation, 31 July 2020, [online](#); 'Labour transfer leads to better lives' [转移就业: 让日子越来越美好], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报], 10 August 2019, [online](#).
- 390 'Notice on the further improvement of the employment stability of the organised transfer labour force in deeply impoverished areas of the four Southern Xinjiang prefectures' [关于进一步提高南疆四地州深度贫困地区有组织转移劳动力就业稳定性工作的通知], Office of the Karashahar Hui Autonomous County People's Government [焉耆回族自治县人民政府办公室], 20 November 2018, [online](#).
- 391 Ibid.

- 392 Anna Fifield, 'China compels Uighurs to work in shoe factory that supplies Nike', *Washington Post*, 29 February 2020, [online](#).
- 393 'The 2017 plan to implement organised transfer of surplus labour for the purpose of poverty alleviation in Iwirghol District, Qumul city, Xinjiang' [2017年新疆哈密市伊州区农村富余劳动力有组织转移就业实施方案], Qumul City Iwirghol District People's Government [哈密市伊州区人民政府], 30 October 2017, [online](#); 'Xinjiang Department of Human Resources and Social Security: Must strengthen cooperation within labour administration in Xinjiang and further long-term employment stability among its people', Ministry of Human Resources and Social Stability, 11 January 2019, [online](#).
- 394 Zenz, *Coercive labor and forced displacement in Xinjiang's cross-regional labor transfer program*.
- 395 'Nilqa County, Xinjiang: Need to explore new models of organised labour transfer of surplus rural labour' [新疆尼勒克: 多措并举探索提升农村劳动力疆外有组织转移就业新模式], *China's Employment Online* [中国就业网], 24 June 2019, [online](#); 'The 2017 plan to implement organised transfer of surplus labour for the purpose of poverty alleviation in Iwirghol district, Qumul city, Xinjiang', Qumul City Iwirghol District People's Government, 30 October 2017, [online](#).
- 396 'Organising across regions, matching needs with skills - 50,000 from Xinjiang have been systematically transferred and assumed employment' National Administration for Rural Revitalisation, 31 July 2020, [online](#).
- 397 'About the People's Court of Kargilik County, Kashgar Prefecture, Xinjiang' [新疆喀什地区叶城县人民法院], Xinjiang Judicial Litigation Service [新疆法院诉讼服务网], [online](#).
- 398 'Organising across regions, matching needs with skills - 50,000 from Xinjiang have been systematically transferred and assumed employment', National Administration for Rural Revitalisation, 31 July 2020, [online](#).
- 399 'Notice on the further improvement of the employment stability of the organised labour transfers in deeply poverty-stricken areas of the four southern Xinjiang prefectures' [关于进一步提高南疆四地州深度贫困地区有组织转移劳动力就业稳定性工作的通知], Office of the Karashahar Hui Autonomous County People's Government [焉耆回族自治县人民政府办公室], 20 November 2018, [online](#); 'Investment in fixed assets from January to February 2020', National Bureau of Statistics of China, 17 March 2020, [online](#).
- 400 Commonly known in English by its acronym SASAC.
- 401 'Xinjiang's district-level state-owned enterprises and central-government-level state-owned enterprises absorb nearly a thousand labourers from poor families in deeply poverty-stricken counties in southern Xinjiang's four prefectures' [自治区区属国企及中央驻疆企业吸纳首批近千名,南疆四地州深度贫困县贫困家庭劳动力就业], *Xinjiang Kunlun News* [新疆昆仑网], 31 March 2020, [online](#).
- 402 'Government Information Release: Nijat Ismayil' [政府信息公开: 尼加提·司马义], Xinjiang Industry and Information Technology Department [新疆维吾尔自治区工业和信息化厅], December 2020, [online](#); Li Chunxia, 'Labour transfer leads to better lives', *Xinjiang Daily*, 10 August 2019, [online](#); 'Prefecture Industry and Information Technology Bureau personnel and responsibilities' [地区工业和信息化局班子成员分工], Xinjiang Altay Prefecture Administration [新疆阿勒泰地区行署], 26 May 2019, [online](#); 'Kizilsu Prefecture Industry and Information Technology Bureau information release - Leadership personnel list' [克州工业和信息化局信息公开-领导成员], Xinjiang Kizilsu Kyrgyz Autonomous Prefecture People's Government [新疆维吾尔自治区克州人民政府], [online](#); '7th national Xinjiang Aid work conference met with enthusiastic responses in Xinjiang' [第七次全国对口支援新疆工作会议在新疆维吾尔自治区引发热烈反响], *Xinjiang Daily* [新疆日报] via *People's Daily Online* [人民网], 18 July 2019, [online](#); Amy K Lehr, 'Addressing forced labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Toward a shared agenda', Center for Strategic and International Studies, 30 July 2020, [online](#); 'Record of the Prefecture's Xinjiang Aid efforts (2) Industrial Xinjiang Aid to promote development and help benefit people's livelihood' [州援疆风采录(2)产业援疆促发展增添动力惠民生], *Changji Daily* on WeChat [《昌吉日报》微信公众号“昌吉市零距离”], 31 December 2019, [online](#).
- 403 Gong Houyu [龚后雨], Wang Ganggang [王刚刚], 'Xinjiang Department of Housing and Urban-Rural Development: Provide housing for all farmers and herdsmen from all ethnicities' [新疆维吾尔自治区住房和城乡建设厅村镇建设处: 让各族农牧民住有安居], National Administration for Rural Revitalisation [国家乡村振兴局], 25 February 2021, [online](#); "'Years as long as rivers, waves as loud as songs": Recollections of Quan He, Deputy Director of Xinjiang's Department of Housing and Urban-Rural Development' [岁月如河 澎湃如歌——记新疆住房和城乡建设厅副厅长全河], *China Construction News* [中国建设报], 20 September 2019, [online](#).
- 404 'Speech by Liu Yongfu at the 2019 tour of private enterprises in southern Xinjiang' [在2019'民营企业南疆行'活动上的讲话-刘永富], National Administration for Rural Revitalisation [国家乡村振兴局], 25 February 2020, [online](#).
- 405 'Keriye County promotes women's labour transfer and employment' [于田县推进妇女劳务输出转移就业工作], *Keriye County Government Net* [于田政府网], 25 January 2019, [online](#).
- 406 Duan Yuqiang [段玉强], 'Work team assists the first groups of rural surplus labourers from Baghchi village with labour transfer' [工作队帮助巴格其村首批农村富余劳动力转移就业], *Legal Culture Medias* [法制文化传媒], 9 March 2018, [online](#).
- 407 Ruser & Leibold, *Family de-planning: the coercive campaign to drive down indigenous birth-rates in Xinjiang*; 'China cuts Uighur births with IUDs, abortion, sterilization', *The Associated Press*, 29 June 2020, [online](#); Adrian Zenz, *Sterilizations, IUDs, and mandatory birth control: the CCP's campaign to suppress Uyghur birthrates in Xinjiang*, Jamestown Foundation, June 2020, [online](#).



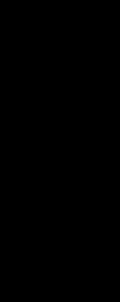
- 408 Ibid.
- 409 'Notice on launching retrospective targeted crackdown against illegal births' [关于开展违法生育专项治理“回头看”工作的通知], Ulughchat County People's Government [乌恰县人民政府], 16 June 2018, [online](#); 'Gumudi Township's plans on "two types of thorough investigations" during targeted campaign against illegal births' [关于印发《古牧地镇2019年违法生育“两个彻查”专项行动实施方案》的通知], Midong District People's Government [米东区人民政府], 21 July 2019, [online](#).
- 410 Ruser & Leibold, *Family de-planning: the coercive campaign to drive down indigenous birth-rates in Xinjiang*.
- 411 Ibid.
- 412 Kaamil Ahmed, 'China to clamp down on abortions for "non-medical purposes"', *The Guardian*, 28 September 2021, [online](#); Sui-Lee Wee, 'China says it will allow couples to have 3 children, up from 2', *The New York Times*, 31 May 2021, [online](#); Nathan Vanderkuppe, 'How China is trying to limit births among Muslim populations in Xinjiang region', *The Globe and Mail*, 24 June 2021, [online](#).
- 413 'Population data of Karakash County' [墨玉县人口数据], Red Black Population Statistics Library [红黑人口库], 20 July 2020, [online](#).
- 414 'China cuts Uighur births with IUDs, abortion, sterilization', *The Associated Press*, 29 June 2020, [online](#).
- 415 Ibid.
- 416 'Release of the 2020 departmental budget of the Xinjiang Health Commission' [新疆维吾尔自治区卫生健康委员会2020年度部门预算公开报告], [online](#).
- 417 'Notice on the launch of Koktogay County's target campaign against illegal births' [关于印发《富蕴县开展违法生育专项治理行动实施方案》的通知], Koktogay County People's Government [富蕴县人民政府], 30 April 2019, [online](#); 'Notice on Cherchen County's 2018 targeted crackdown against illegal births' [关于印发《且末县2018年度违法生育专项治理工作实施方案》的通知], Cherchen County People's Government [且末县人民政府], 30 May 2018, [online](#).
- 418 'Population management leading small group convenes on video conference' [统筹解决人口问题领导小组视频会议召开], Xinjiang People's Government [新疆人民政府], 23 November 2018, [online](#); 'Notice on the establishment of the prefecture's illegal births crackdown leading small group' [关于成立自治州违法生育治理工作领导小组的通知], *Law-Lib* [法律图书馆], 21 August 2017, [online](#).
- 419 'Release of plans on Koktogay County's targeted crackdown against illegal births', Koktogay County People's Government, 30 April 2019, [online](#).
- 420 'Notice on Cherchen County's 2018 targeted crackdown against illegal births', Cherchen County People's Government, 30 May 2018, [online](#).
- 421 'Notice on Cherchen County's 2018 targeted crackdown against illegal births', Cherchen County People's Government, 30 May 2018, [online](#); 'Release of plans on Koktogay County's targeted crackdown against illegal births', Koktogay County People's Government, 30 April 2019, [online](#).
- 422 'Xinjiang Regulation on Population and Family Planning' [新疆维吾尔自治区人口与计划生育条例], Xinjiang Health Commission [新疆维吾尔自治区卫生健康委员会], 17 July 2019, [online](#).
- 423 'Qaradong Township launches the 2017 conference on targeted crackdown against illegal births' [喀尔墩乡召开2017年违法生育专项治理工作会议], Qaradong Township People's Government [喀尔墩乡人民政府], 8 April 2017, [online](#).
- 424 'Notice on launching retrospective targeted crackdown against illegal births' [关于开展违法生育专项治理“回头看”工作的通知], Ulughchat County People's Government [乌恰县人民政府], 16 June 2018, [online](#).
- 425 'Notice on continuing and advancing targeted crackdown against illegal births' [关于持续深入开展违法生育专项治理工作的通知], Qapqal Xibe Autonomous County People's Government [察布查尔县人民政府], 28 May 2018, [online](#).
- 426 A Han-majority paramilitary organisation acting like a state within a state in Xinjiang.
- 427 'Using industries to attract people: Develop industries in order to create jobs and gather more population' [以产引人：发展产业带动就业集聚人口], *Bingtuan Daily* [兵团日报], 25 April 2019, [online](#).
- 428 Ibid.
- 429 Xu et al., *Uyghurs for sale*.
- 430 Wu Qiang, 'Urban grid management and police state in China: a brief overview', *China Change*, 12 August 2014, [online](#).
- 431 '1,202 "advanced joint households" families are commended in Tibet, as more than 3,000 representatives of joint households are elected to the village "two committees"' [西藏表彰1202户“先进双联户”家庭 3000多名联户代表选进村“两委”], *China Peace* [长安网], 6 January 2015, [online](#).
- 432 'Release of the 2017 Xinjiang PLAC's final departmental accounts' [2017年度自治区党委政法委员会部门决算公开说明], Xinjiang People's Government [新疆维吾尔自治区人民政府], 31 August 2017, [online](#).
- 433 Deng Zhihua [邓志华], 'Ningxia PLAC and other departments went to Xinjiang to inspect and dock counterterrorism and stability maintenance work' [宁夏党委政法委等部门赴新疆考察对接反恐维稳工作], *Ningxia Daily* [宁夏日报] via *The Paper* [澎湃], 27 November 2018, [online](#).
- 434 Christy Leung, 'Hong Kong's anti-terrorism task force goes to Xinjiang to study local methods, as China rejects international calls to investigate mass internment centres', *South China Morning Post*, 8 December 2018, [online](#).

- 435 'Zhu Hailun: Pioneer of the capital of the western region' [朱海仑：西域首府引路人], *Youth China News* [中华儿女新闻网], 19 September 2012, [online](#).
- 436 Andreas Lorenz, "'Redder than red": An American portrait of China's next leader', *Spiegel International*, 12 May 2010, [online](#); Evan Osnos, 'Born red: How Xi Jinping, an unremarkable provincial administrator, became China's most authoritarian leader since Mao', *The New Yorker*, 30 March 2015, [online](#).
- 437 Ibid.
- 438 Darren Byler, "'Uyghurs are so bad": Chinese dinner table politics in Xinjiang', *SupChina*, 3 June 2020, [online](#).

## Acronyms and abbreviations

ASPI	Australian Strategic Policy Institute
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
ICPC	International Cyber Policy Centre
IJOP	Integrated Joint Operations Platform
PLAC	Political and Legal Affairs Commission
PRC	People's Republic of China
VPN	virtual private network





**ASPI**  
AUSTRALIAN  
STRATEGIC  
POLICY  
INSTITUTE

**INTERNATIONAL  
CYBER POLICY  
CENTRE**



1 **12<sup>th</sup> September 2021 (2:41:45 – 3:23:01)**

2 **Nathan Ruser**

3  
4 *COUNSEL – Your research I mentioned earlier relates to looking at the physical*  
5 *environment in Xinjiang in the province, increased securitisation, physical changes in*  
6 *urban and rural landscape, widespread demolition of Islamic spaces of worship.*  
7 *Chinese government sources repeatedly said developments in Xinjiang have been*  
8 *made for the people there, from your understanding of and analysis of the imagery*  
9 *you have processed – is this the case, and is it for all the people there?*

10 NATHAN RUSER – China cites the 2008 earthquake to pursue development and  
11 demolition policy. We see a deliberate attempt to severely demolish Uyghur public  
12 space, housing and public sacred sites. Under the guise of urban renewal, there is no  
13 consent from people who lived in these houses and no recourse to say they chose  
14 their houses. Traditional Uyghur houses, low density, but 1-2 storeys tall, suitable, in  
15 landscape for 100-1000s of years, have been demolished you don't see in the rest of  
16 China. One issue that might be illustrative is the demolition of mosques. 900 sacred  
17 sites, 600 mosques, a third are being demolished since 2017. Although this has been  
18 in purview of urban development, as stated in media sources, we found a high  
19 proportion of mosques demolished are bland – empty lots, sometimes parking,  
20 sometimes parks, but not anything to back up urban renewal or development. With  
21 Uyghur housing you are seeing when you go through Hotan, Kashgar, you see signs  
22 of what buildings used to look like and how we have revitalised that. We can see this  
23 stripping away the genuine aspect of culture and making it a cultural Disney land – just

24 blanket demolition exists outside of indigenous housing in Xinjiang. It gives way to  
25 generally high-rise building, more easily securitised in a grid fashion.

26 *COUNSEL – Would it be correct to say that while these developments could develop*  
27 *some proportion of society, they seem to be at the detriment of Uyghur people and*  
28 *culture?*

29 NR – Yes, they target specific areas of Uyghur housing not more generally, also scale  
30 seems greater than urban demolition in rest of China. In last week or two policies put  
31 in place which stems urban demolition without consulting with people who live there.  
32 Hopefully that applies to Xinjiang there. When we look at policies there is disparity  
33 between how applicable in Xinjiang and in rest of China.

34 *COUNSEL – You base your opinion on satellite imagery, give a view on increased*  
35 *securitisation, indigenous housing, tall buildings; can you provide an analysis of what*  
36 *the quality of life or conditions of living in Xinjiang looks like today?*

37 NR – It is hard to make that judgement from a satellite perspective, especially during  
38 2017-2020 the level of securitisation of Uyghurs not detained was quite invasive and  
39 annoying to say the least. Demolition in neighbourhoods, grid roads, separate cities  
40 into easily policed lots. Convenience police stations appeared on most corners in  
41 those blocks. Checks on each street every 100m for Uyghurs to get their biometrics  
42 checked. It indicates more the level of displacement, not so much to indicate the quality  
43 of life is necessarily lower – not living without toilets but it is severing of the cultural  
44 connection to the land in many neighbourhoods has been there for 100s of years.  
45 Connection to land and town has been severed and placed in high rise buildings.

46 *COUNSEL – In your view are these significant changes appear temporary or intended*  
47 *to be permanent?*

48 NR – Blanket securitisation has been limited since 2020, end of 2019 – qualifying  
49 language as convenience police stations scale back, some less securitised. A period  
50 of intense criminalisation of Uyghur culture, to some extent that may be lifting. These  
51 changes in general seem permanent to the urban fabric and not something that can  
52 be wound back. For example, in Urumqi and Kashgar, limited demolition before 2010,  
53 there is not reversing of these demolitions, not building new Uyghur neighbourhoods  
54 in Uyghur style – become unified housing towers. Beyond urban fabric there is the  
55 permanent of relocation of people for labour programs and for farms. These are hard  
56 to turn back. In many cases in the bureaucratic mess in Xinjiang even if there was a  
57 will to reverse – who owns what has been lost. I have heard reports, cannot vouch as  
58 on a satellite is difficult, children are sent to state run schools and boarding schools, a  
59 lineage is being lost. Changes are not so much they don't seem to be loosening of the  
60 firmness. I have confidence harsh measures have affected security there –  
61 government officials have not become softer or more humane, its more what was  
62 being presented as urgent threat to Uyghur culture and ordinary acts of culture were  
63 as in 2017, that has been addressed in many policy makers now which is why we are  
64 seeing policies loosen.

65 *PANEL – Which government authorities might have overseen the commission of the*  
66 *sorts of activities we have discussed such as the demolition of mosques or the*  
67 *construction of detention facilities?*

68 NR – I mentioned a forthcoming report before from my colleagues – this is still  
69 forthcoming. I have not worked on it myself. It's a party drive approach – they have  
70 more control than government. Specific policies in an area, it is quite locally run at a  
71 country level, or county working group that is being given power to implement region  
72 wide directives. Headed by party secretary of the region or township and incorporated

73 low level civil servants or judiciary or education board of the county and that is how  
74 the region wide directives trickle down.

75 *PANEL – Asked details of citation in institute reports in Australian... [Australian*  
76 *Strategic Policy Institute?]*

77 NR – That has been most cited on issue of forced labour than detention centre.  
78 Research is held in high regard in Australian government circles, it is independent and  
79 non-partisan. We see statistics and citing reports back. Being substantive basis of  
80 policy that is largely being forced labour issue as Australian government has taken  
81 less action on camps, but more instrumental on forced labour. The rest of our research  
82 statistics findings are referenced in the preamble of discussions.

83 *PANEL – On question of independence, I believe the Xinjiang Data Project is*  
84 *predominantly funded by the UK foreign office. Could you tell us how they manage*  
85 *independence around those kinds of grants?*

86 NR – We run on specific projects grants and largely funded by the US state  
87 department. We have proposed the research we want to do and we got funding and  
88 grants for those specific proposals, we are quite confident to maintain independence  
89 and we go to them with their findings, and tell them without them being involved in  
90 editorial processes.

91 *PANEL – To go back to what you were saying around the destruction of culture, we*  
92 *heard a witness yesterday who estimated about 24,000 mosques and 10-15,000 have*  
93 *been demolished or altered. That is in keeping with your view?*

94 NR – That fact might come from our findings. It comes from the 2004-2005 census –  
95 which listed all the religious sites, there are about 24,500 mosques – used by  
96 government sources to say there is no persecution. We did extensive research on

97 mosques. What we did was collected point of interest databases from Chinese  
98 commercial sources, google maps for China and we researched mosques and found  
99 16 million points. We culled that to mosques in Xinjiang and found a few hundred.  
100 Then looked outside of this, in each country, picked random townships and visually  
101 searched. We found 600-700 across Xinjiang different prefectures – then returned to  
102 pre 2017 and extracted that using 2005 [*economic centre?*]... One third had been  
103 demolished – about 8000 mosques entirely, 7500 mosques damaged and de-  
104 islamified such as the removal of domes, Islamic architecture, removal of Islamic  
105 architecture. For example, a Heritage mosque in southern Xinjiang: the main  
106 gatehouse and prayer hall were demolished but some still standing. The upshot was  
107 we found 1/3 demolished, 1/3 damaged or rectified they use. Also coupled that with,  
108 this wasn't part of estimation, about 75% of mosques remain standing physically. We  
109 cannot assess this from space, but a lot of more recent visitors report that three  
110 quarters of mosques that remain 1/3 are locked, shut, unopen in some way which is a  
111 huge number. We have found similar percentages of public sacred sites such as  
112 shrines but also cemeteries in some regions.

113 *PANEL – With a third of mosques not demolished, what can you tell us about where*  
114 *they tend to be located?*

115 NR – We found on research was in a state-run journal by party school lecturer which  
116 recommended a unit should have one mosque and should stand by rectification  
117 standards, only opened one day of week and on holidays. I can check the reference.  
118 Remained were low key mosques to start with without Islamic architecture, majority of  
119 mosques had minarets and domes removed and one third undamaged were one's  
120 square buildings before fit with rectification standards. Geographically we see a very  
121 uniform policy where consistent throughout Xinjiang, whether prefecture, rural, urban,

122 still rate one third demolished, the rest have been rectified and de-islamified. Few  
123 exceptions in Urumqi – much higher repropotion of mosques are standing, some  
124 reports say some still open. I am not saying some mosques not demolished in Urumqi  
125 as there has been, but some are still standing. Perhaps as the city is maybe more  
126 cosmopolitan and more in rest of world eyes. Some extent the same in Kashgar,  
127 largescale Islamic sites, shrines and mosques in Kashgar city have not been  
128 demolished – some theme-parkified. Otherwise, we see a blanket rate of demolition.  
129 With the exception of the demolition of cemeteries which seems to be done at local  
130 level. Such as [Arku?] all traditional cemeteries demolished – ecologically sustainable  
131 cemetery project – and individual counties at different rates. Disparity between  
132 cemetery and mosque demolition.

133 *PANEL – Turning to another of your areas, detention centres. We know from your*  
134 *report in June, we identified 380 new and expanded since 2017, also listening to*  
135 *evidence about that this morning. Do you have a sense of how many of the 280 are*  
136 *re-education as opposed to prisons or other kind of a facility?*

137 NR – I can check. But while doing that the differentiation is made on physical  
138 architecture and securitisation, highly secured prisons, or tier 3 camps are pretrial  
139 detention centres. Of tiers we considered re-education camps were tiers 1-2 there  
140 were 111 and 96 facilities, tier 3 (mostly be pretrial and detention centres) 70 of those,  
141 tier 4 (traditional prisons) 110 of those. There are different ways to break it up. For  
142 example, in their investigation BuzzFeed looked at the same data. In ours 111 plus 96  
143 are re-education, 180 are pre-trial detention or prisons.

144 *PANEL – We have also heard estimates about capacity, have you attempted to*  
145 *estimate?*

146 NR - We have been careful. There are too many unknowns to estimate a number. We  
147 don't know how many detainees are in a cell – it varies in the same centre with different  
148 levels of security. BuzzFeed has the most reliable figures on total capacity. We  
149 generally say when we look at the data that the figure of 1 million does not seem  
150 absurd based on size and scale of facilities. We like to look at it not at the total number  
151 of detainees, which is complicated to estimate. We look at how many people in  
152 Xinjiang per detention site. There are 14-15 million Uyghurs and other Turkic minorities  
153 in Xinjiang so about 1 facility for 35,000 indigenous residents of Xinjiang. This is an  
154 astounding figure – it is comparable to Turkey constructing 435 for the Kurdic  
155 population in last 3-4 years, or New York building 55 detention centres for black  
156 Americans just in New York city since 2017.

157 *PANEL - Does that include children?*

158 NR – Yes, the rate potentially higher. There is no scientific index, just a comparative  
159 tool. Detainee estimate cannot be put down.

160 *PANEL – If you say 1 million is not unreasonable, can you suggest what range we  
161 would see, between minimum and maximum?*

162 NR – This is complicated as this is capacity, rather than people detained at one point  
163 – guess currently not at full capacity as number of sites security have closed –  
164 600,000-1,500,000 is a figure maybe not far from that but hard firm estimate.

165 *PANEL – In a city like Shanghai appears to be massive clearance of low-level housing,  
166 displacement of people and creation of high-level buildings. You have told us the scale  
167 is greater in Xinjiang, do you have any numerical data to substantiate that statement?*

168 NR – Not currently, we have a few examples illustrative to look at including a base line  
169 over other cities. I can point to Manas county, an example which very clearly shows

170 an abnormal rate of demolition and Qaraqash county – I can share my screen? In most  
171 cities it is over a quarter, and over a half has been demolished which is different ...  
172 best way to compare in rest of China when neighbourhoods get demolished it's  
173 because of project such as road being built, a need for something to occupy this space.  
174 Not the case in Xinjiang – they stay razed and barren.

175 *PANEL – In the calculation of the range of institutions, clearly two estimates is capacity*  
176 *and the occupants. Is it reasonable to assume that the occupancy is pretty close to*  
177 *the capacity given that the ongoing construction of the new facilities in your view?*

178 NR - I would say that is it safe to say the peak occupancy was close to the capacity  
179 as most sites was built in response to the policy. They were not already there (the  
180 buildings) at peak of project occupancy was close. It is trickier now as construction  
181 seen now is higher security areas, but securitisation appears to be in the lower security  
182 camps. This fits in from what hear from survivors and seen from figures that increasing  
183 numbers of people detained are sentenced to formal prisons and that explains the  
184 growth – can't draw because construction is ongoing capacity is increasing. I believe  
185 a fair number detained are now released into residential neighbourhood super  
186 surveillance or programs but out of the detention system and ones that did not show  
187 satisfactory progress are sentenced to formal prison.

188 *PANEL – Can I ask you to speculate, in your experience or opinion, release from*  
189 *detention centre into the community, the gradient into the community is, motive not*  
190 *much different to being in a centre or in wider community given the security?*

191 NR – There is a different strain on local police officers – in leaked police reports, police  
192 are required to visit formal detainees. We call them three classes – former detainees,  
193 the others I can't remember off top of my head. Certainly, they get a higher level of

194 surveillance, not just physical but also people are regularly assessed on acquiescence  
195 to government policy.

196 *PANEL – Are you able to say on doors of high-rise new buildings are all subject to*  
197 *entry and exit cameras?*

198 NR – This is not something we can tell. We see high level of security there – people  
199 responsible dedicated security of those communities and those building of housing  
200 compounds but that appears to be quite across the board in Xinjiang. Han  
201 communities have level of neighbourhood watch. It is hard to ascertain how that  
202 differs.

203 *PANEL – If there were cameras at every door of high build, whether everyone in home*  
204 *or house, would be easy to check, is it possible to have cameras there/?*

205 NR – I would be shocked if not. It is unclear if they do exist whether they feed into  
206 public security database to say this Chinese ID number is at home right now. I can  
207 suspect they can but I am not the best person to speak on that.