



World Uyghur Congress

PRE-5 JULY 2013 ANNIVERSARY AND RAMADAN CRACKDOWNS: LUKCHUN, HOTAN AND URUMCHI

JULY 2013

World Uyghur Congress (WUC)

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

During the past 10 weeks, several incidents have rocked the Uyghur people in East Turkestan (also known as the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region – XUAR), the People's Republic of China (PRC), representing a great cause for concern and a serious degradation in their full enjoyment of their fundamental human rights

Reports have emerged of arbitrary detentions, harsh sentencing, extra-judicial killings and curbs on the freedom of the press as the authorities try to manipulate the narrative of what has been happening in East Turkestan. These human rights violations have principally happened in predominantly-Uyghur areas at Maralbeshi County (Bucha in Mandarin), Lukchun, Urumchi and Hotan.

In this report, the World Uyghur Congress (WUC) has documented, based on reports by media and the Chinese authorities, that a conservative number of 102 people have died, possibly rising to 137, and either 106 or 114 arrests, detentions or both thereof since March 2013; however, the amount of deaths and detentions are potentially much higher, according to information that the WUC has received from the ground.

In view of the recent developments, the WUC concludes that, rather than embracing a freely pluralist society in which the Uyghur people, their rich language, culture, history and religion can play an important role in an emerging China, the Chinese authorities have been cutting off their nose to spite their face with their continued repressive policies, ignorance and reticence towards the underlying issues, and their placing of legitimate peaceful dissent within the framework of a global war on terror.

BACKGROUND

5 JULY AND RAMADAN: WHY ARE THEY SIGNIFICANT?

On 5 July 2009, some of the most egregious human rights violations in modern Uyghur history in Urumchi and throughout East Turkestan. In what started out as peaceful protests against the killings of 18 Uyghurs in a toy factory in Shaoguan, Eastern China, on 26 June 2009, swathes of security forces, police and the army swept into Urumchi and began to violently repress the protests.

In the ensuing days and months, hundreds were arrested and sentenced to harsh prison sentences, whilst approximately 26 were sentenced to death¹ in politically-motivated trials marred by a lack of due process and conditions not acceptable by international legal standards. This is in addition to extra-judicial killings, use of torture, curbs on freedom of expression² and enforced disappearances,³ upon which both the WUC and Human Rights Watch (HRW) have reported.⁴

As with many incidents in East Turkestan, an information black out was put in place, which, on this occasion, lasted for approximately 10 months. During this time, it was impossible for Uyghurs to communicate with one another, in addition to journalists and governmental or UN officials being afforded access to assess the situation.

Since 5 July 2009, the above-mentioned issues have remained the current state of affairs. This has had a dramatic effect upon the ability of Uyghurs to freely observe Ramadan each year. There are restrictions placed upon access to mosques (women, minors, state employees, teachers, among others, are refused to enter, with security and police monitoring, inside or outside, and controlling access to them), fasting, being in “groups”, reading the Koran, limitations on sermons and crackdowns on religious schools; this is in addition to suppression of both traditional and modern means of discussion and access to information on these issues.⁵

The observance of Ramadan and the arrival of each 5 July anniversary are always particularly sensitive periods, notwithstanding the fact that they broadly-speaking fall annually around the same time. Each year, security is tightened, restrictions upon opinion, expression and speech are enhanced (especially in regard to these events), and numerous incidents arise in which Uyghurs are arrested, detained, tortured, hospitalised, executed and extra-judicially killed.

1 'Human Rights Violations Perpetrated by the Chinese Government Against the Uyghur people During and in the Aftermath of the July 2009 Protest and Unrest in Urumchi, the Regional Capital of East Turkestan', *The World Uyghur Congress*, published August 2010 (updated December 2010), p.10. See here: <http://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/wp-content/uploads/WUC-briefing-on-hr-violations-during-July-2009-and-aftermath-revised-03-02-2011.pdf> [Accessed 4 July 2013]

2 'Violation of Freedom of Expression in East Turkestan', *World Uyghur Congress*, published November 2011. See here:

<http://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2011-11-14-FINAL-Booklet-Freedom-of-Expression-East-Turkestan.pdf>

3 'Cases of Enforced Disappearances of Civilians in East Turkestan after 5 July 2009', *World Uyghur Congress*, published on August 2012. See here: <http://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2012-June-21-WUC-Report-on-Enforced-Disappearances-of-Uyghurs-in-China.pdf> [Accessed 4 July 2013]

4 'Human Rights Violations Perpetrated by the Chinese Government Against the Uyghur people During and in the Aftermath of the July 2009 Protest and Unrest in Urumchi, the Regional Capital of East Turkestan', *World Uyghur Congress*, published August 2010 (updated December 2010), p.10. See here: <http://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/wp-content/uploads/WUC-briefing-on-hr-violations-during-July-2009-and-aftermath-revised-03-02-2011.pdf> [Accessed 4 July 2013]

5 'Increased Religious Repression in China Prior to and During Ramadan', *World Uyghur Congress*, published on August 2010. See here: <http://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/wp-content/uploads/WUC-Report-on-Religious-Repression-in-China.pdf>

For more information on the 5 July Urumchi incident⁶ and repression of Ramadan,⁷ you can see in the corresponding footnote.

MARALBESHI INCIDENT

On 23 April 2013, the Chinese authorities revealed through its media that at approximately noon 21 people were killed and 19 arrested (11 immediately after, with a further 8 six days later) at Serikbuya in Maralbeshi.

According to the Chinese authorities, 15 community workers, whose role was not specified, accompanied by police, were notified of “suspicious” individuals who, as Deputy Public Security Minister Meng Honwei stated, were allegedly found to be constructing home-made explosives, “lethal weapons” and flags promoting East Turkestan (the traditional name of the land in which the Uyghurs reside) independence;⁸ other Chinese media reported that there were pro-jihadist slogans on the flags,⁹ without specifying what the slogans actually said, as well as materials for making weapons, combat training equipment and illegal religious materials.¹⁰

In addition to this, Radio Free Asia reported on 26 April 2013 further clashes in Yengi Awat village (Yingawa in Chinese), the Hotan prefecture, in which 2 “community security officers” were killed, without providing further information.¹¹

Within the official narrative, there are many inconsistencies and a lack of independent verification of the facts. We, the WUC,¹² and the Uyghur American Association (UAA),¹³ have strong reasons to believe that the official narrative does not reflect the actual turn of events, doubts echoed by the US State Department acting spokesperson Patrick Ventrill in a Briefing on 24 April 2013.¹⁴ These doubts have also been corroborated by a BBC investigation to Serikbuya.¹⁵

6 'Human Rights Violations Perpetrated by the Chinese Government Against the Uyghur people During and in the Aftermath of the July 2009 Protest and Unrest in Urumchi, the Regional Capital of East Turkestan', *World Uyghur Congress*, published August 2010 (updated December 2010), p.10. See here: <http://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/wp-content/uploads/WUC-briefing-on-hr-violations-during-july-2009-and-aftermath-revised-03-02-2011.pdf> [Accessed 4 July 2013]

7 'Increased Religious Repression in China Prior to and During Ramadan', *World Uyghur Congress*, published on August 2010. See here: <http://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/wp-content/uploads/WUC-Report-on-Religious-Repression-in-China.pdf>

8 '11 More Terrorist Suspects Captured After Xinjiang Deadly Attack', *Xinhua*, published on 29 April 2013. See here: http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-04/29/c_132349574.htm [Retrieved 9 May 2013]

9 For information, please see the following:

'China Arrests 19 Over Xinjiang Deadly Attack', *The Guardian*, published on 30 April 2013. See here: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/apr/30/china-arrests-xinjiang-deadly-clashes> [Retrieved 8 May 2013]

'11 More Terrorist Suspects Captured After Xinjiang Deadly Attack', *Xinhua*, published on 29 April 2013. See here: http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-04/29/c_132349574.htm [Retrieved 9 May 2013]

'Kashgar Unites to Say Farewell', *Chinadailyasia.com*, published on 30 April 2013. See here: http://www.chinadailyasia.com/news/2013-04/30/content_15073520.html [Retrieved 8 May 2013]

10 'Kashgar Unites to Say Farewell', *Chinadailyasia.com*, published on 30 April 2013. See here: http://www.chinadailyasia.com/news/2013-04/30/content_15073520.html [Retrieved 8 May 2013]

11 'Second Clash Reported in Xinjiang', *Radio Free Asia*, published on 26 April 2013. See here: <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/violence-04262013165708.html> [Retrieved 8 May 2013]

12 'Call Issued for Independent Investigation on Maralbeshi Incident by World Uyghur Congress and International Community Urged to Follow Up on Recent Arrests', *World Uyghur Congress*, published on 1 May 2013. See here: <http://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/?p=20278> [Retrieved 8 May 2013]

13 'Unlawful House Search and Arbitrary Use of Lethal Force Results in Nearly Two Dozen Deaths in Kashgar', *Uyghur American Association*, published on 24 April 2013. See here: <http://uyghuramerican.org/article/unlawful-house-search-and-arbitrary-use-lethal-force-results-nearly-two-dozen-deaths-kashgar> [Retrieved on 8 May 2013]

14 'State Department Daily Press Briefing', *US State Department*. 24 April 2013. See here: <http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/texttrans/201304/20130424146374.html#axzz2SgtPycW0> [Retrieved 8 May 2013]

15 'Doubts Over China Government Claims on Xinjiang Attack', *BBC*, published 26 April 2013. See here: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-22319579> [Retrieved 8 May 2013]

to view an accompanying video report to this article, see here:

'China Violence: Ethnic Tension in Xinjiang Province', *BBC*, published on 29 April 2013: See here: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china->

According to reports from the ground, the violent confrontation commenced as Chinese "community workers" and police illegally broke into the house of a Uyghur family, forced the women present to unveil and the men to shave off their beards,¹⁶ subsequently shooting and killing one protesting Uyghur male, which precipitated the violent clash. As the confrontation escalated, the Uyghurs in the house, feeling threatened, defended themselves with knives and axes.¹⁷ Whilst officially the people in the house burned it down, some experts have made claims that the Chinese police may have in fact firebombed the house with all those inside.

A subsequent undercover BBC investigation by Damien Grammaticas into the incident on the ground largely corroborated with this version of events. Mr Grammaticas informed the BBC-readership that : many of the people to whom he spoke were frightened to speak to him due to fears of reprisals ; many people had been informed to not speak to "journalists" and "outsiders"; and that the official narrative was markedly different from the versions of locals. Mr Grammaticas and his team were subsequently temporarily detained and removed from the scene.

For more information on this incident, please see the WUC's short report on the Maralbeshi incident.¹⁸

[22319688](#) [Retrieved 8 May 2013]

16 'China Violence: Ethnic Tension in Xinjiang Province', *BBC*, published on 29 April 2013: See here: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-22319688> [Retrieved 8 May 2013]

17 'China's Black Hole', *Foreign Policy*, published on 26 April 2013. See here: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/04/26/china_s_black_hole_tibet_xinjiang [Retrieved 8 May 2013]

18 'Overview of the Maralbeshi Incident on 23 April 2013', *World Uyghur Congress*, published on May 2013. See here: <http://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/wp-content/uploads/April-2013-Maralbeshi-Incident.pdf>

NARRATIVES

LUKCHUN, PICHAN COUNTY

Picking up from the original Xinhua source, various media outlets reported in the early hours on 26 June 2013 that an incident occurred in the predominantly-Uyghur Lukchun village in the Turpan Prefecture.

The reports alleged that so-called rioters began stabbing people and setting vehicles alight outside a police station, government buildings and at a construction site.¹⁹ Xinhua reported that 9 police and security guards, along with 8 civilians were killed in clashes with so-called “rioters”, of whom 10 were shot dead by police forces. Three other people were reportedly injured during the clash, and another three arrested. Images posted on the internet showed the brutality of this incident.

Whilst the ethnicity of the individuals who died was not revealed, it was indicated by the naming of the rioters as “knife-wielding mobs”, a standard accusation from the Chinese authorities. At the time, the reasons why this incident occurred were not revealed by the Chinese authorities and media, though, after having previously stated that the incident was the result of “mobs”, the Chinese authorities altered the narrative by describing it as a terrorist incident in later statements and publications.

The Chinese-language Uyghur website www.uighurbiz.net, run by eminent Beijing-based Uyghur scholar Ilham Tohti who himself was later placed under house arrest, suggested that it was caused as a result of the government’s forced demolition programmes.²⁰ The Uyghur American Association further remarked in a press release that tensions in the area had been heightened since an incident on 10 April 2013 at Dighar, a village neighbouring Lukchan.²¹ According to Radio Free Asia, a 52 year old Han Chinese man reportedly hacked to death a 7 year old Uyghur boy after he along with two friends were suspected of stealing from a kiln at which the Han Chinese man was employed.²² The timing of the incident coming around the fourth anniversary of 5 July incident and the onset of religious repression ahead of Ramadan should also be taken into consideration when understanding the cause.

HOTAN AND URUMCHI

On 28 June 2013, the Chinese media released information on further disturbances in Hotan and Urumchi. According to the Global Times,²³ a number of casualties were caused following an incident on Friday in which a purported 100 people attacked a police station in Hotan, Qaraqah County (Moyu in Mandarin) after “gathering at local religious venues,” thus inferring that the 100 individuals were Uyghur. Global Times also reported that another 200 people “attempted to incite

19 'Violence in China's Xinjiang Kills 27', *BBC*, published on 26 June 2013. See here: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-23050288> [accessed 4 July 2013]

20 '吐鲁番鲁克沁镇居民：惨案由强拆征地引发', *uighurbiz.net*, published on 28 June 2013. See here: <http://www.uighurbiz.net/archives/16109> [accessed 4 July 2013]

21 'Uyghur American Association Urges Caution on Details of June 26, 2013 Turpan Incident', *Uyghur American Association*, published on 26 June 2013. See here: <http://uyghuramerican.org/article/uyghur-american-association-urges-caution-details-june-26-2013-turpan-incident.html> [accessed 4 July 2013]

22 'Uyghur Boy Hacked to Death', *Radio Free Asia*, published on 9 April 2013. See here <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/boy-04092013190730.html> [accessed 4 July 2013]

23 'New Round of Riots Brings Fresh Violence to Xinjiang', *Global Times*, published on 29 June 2013. See here: http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/792492.shtml#_UdGXmfkwe8x [accessed 4 July 2013]

trouble” at an important shopping area in Urumchi, though no casualties were recorded.

Reports from the ground as illustrated by Radio Free Asia (RFA) differed markedly from the official narrative.²⁴ RFA revealed on 30 June 2013 that Uyghur residents in Hotan were unhappy at a raid on a mosque by the police during prayers, where the local imam was being forced to keep his sermons “in line with political thinking,” following which the Uyghurs protested in the street and were promptly shot at, killing at least 2 people, though later reports suggest the death toll was 15.

As with the Lukchan and Maralbeshi incident, the Chinese authorities were quick to label the incidents as terrorist attacks. However, as the WUC,²⁵ UAA²⁶ and other human rights organisations highlighted on both the Lukchan and Maralbeshi occasions, and were corroborated by independent international media,²⁷ that the lack of ability to verify the facts and the differing reports from the ground compared to the official narrative must urge pause for caution when trying to understand the incidents’ root causes.

It is noteworthy to mention that between the Lukchun and the Hotan and Urumchi incidents, a man was detained for “making up” and “spreading rumours” on 27 June 2013 that 8 people had died in Kashgar.²⁸ No further mention has been made of this incident.

24 'Two Uyghurs Believed Killed in Hotan Violence', *Radio Free Asia*, published on 28 June 2013. See here: <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/violence-06282013173938.html> [accessed 4 July 2013]

25 'Today's Incident Represents Further Evidence of China's Failed Policies Towards Uyghurs', *World Uyghur Congress*, published on 26 June 2013. See here: <http://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/?p=20565> [accessed 4 July 2013]

26 'Uyghur American Association Urges Caution on Details of June 26, 2013 Turpan Incident', *Uyghur American Association*, published on 26 June 2013. See here: <http://uyghuramerican.org/article/uyghur-american-association-urges-caution-details-june-26-2013-turpan-incident.html> [accessed 4 July 2013]

27 Various media have corroborated with the difficulties in obtaining information from the ground. This is highlighted elsewhere at various points in the report.

28 '19 Detained for Spreading Rumors in Xinjiang', *Chinadaily*, published on 1 July 2013. See here: http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-07/01/content_16692477.htm [accessed 4 July 2013]

AFTERMATH

TELECOMMUNICATION BLACKOUTS AND CURBS ON JOURNALISTS' REPORTING

Access to independent verification of human rights abuses in the PRC is extremely difficult at the best of times, as is frequently reported by international media, NGOs²⁹ and journalist-NGOs, such as Committee to Protect Journalists.³⁰ Without independent verification of such events, the validity of the official narrative can only be considered seriously compromised.

Following the Lukchan incident, the WUC and news agencies discovered that there was a telecommunications block put in place on Uyghur phones and internet usage, thus making it difficult to verify. The WUC was able to ascertain via Han Chinese contacts (whose telecommunications were still working) that house-to-house searches were underway in the immediate aftermath.

In spite of the telecommunication crackdown, the Associated Press was able to contact someone at the scene, who reported that the area has been cordoned off and armed police officers were posted at road intersections.³¹ They also reported that police, anti-riot forces and paramilitary police were patrolling the town armed with pistols and machine guns, said their source, who refused to give his name out of fear of government reprisals.

Reporting of these latest incidents has been extremely hampered by restrictions on movement, arbitrary detentions and harassment of the independent international media, making it extremely difficult to ascertain the full extent of what happened on the ground. Most strikingly, it appeared that the local Xinjiang Public Security Bureau and other propaganda offices apparently had no information on the incidents.³²

An AFP article published on 27 June 2013 described how two of their journalists were stopped from entering the area at a manned roadblock 25 miles from Lukchun.³³ A second AFP article dated published on 28 June further elucidated: "Local authorities followed two AFP journalists in their car and detained them for about an hour, stressing that the site of the attacks was closed to media."³⁴ The same article cited an interview with a Uyghur from Turpan who said text messages and calls to friends in Lukchun could not be completed. The Epoch Times has also revealed how journalists are being followed and harassed by security forces.³⁵

29 'Xinjiang Suffers Information Blockade Four Years After Demonstrations', Reporters Sans Frontieres, published on 4 July 2013. See here : <http://en.rsf.org/china-xinjiang-suffers-information-04-07-2013,44897.html> [accessed 5 July 2013]

30 Sumit Galhotra, 'Business as Usual', *Committee to Protect Journalists*, published on 2 May 2013. See here : <https://www.cpi.org/blog/2013/05/business-as-usual-under-new-chinese-leadership.php> [accessed 5 July 2013]

31 'State Media: Violence leaves 27 dead in restive minority region in far west China', *Association Press (found in Washington Post)*, published on 26 June 2013. See here: http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/state-media-riots-in-restive-minority-region-in-far-western-china-leave-27-dead/2013/06/26/98d9c6f0-de22-11e2-bc84-8049224b33e1_story.html [accessed 4 July 2013]

32 'State Media: Violence leaves 27 dead in restive minority region in far west China', *Association Press (found in Washington Post)*, published on 26 June 2013. See here: http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/state-media-riots-in-restive-minority-region-in-far-western-china-leave-27-dead/2013/06/26/98d9c6f0-de22-11e2-bc84-8049224b33e1_story.html [accessed 4 July 2013]

33 'Police Block Site of Deadly China Xinjiang Riot', *AFP*, published on 28 June 2013. See here <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5j2v3ndcPzNo9dpUx0cQqTqWc69dtQ?docId=CNG.8ec4fd1f8299f2d70466a887b180fc9c.261> [accessed 4 July 2013]

34 'Second Clash Hits China Xinjiang in Three Days', *AFP*, published on 29 June 2013. See here: <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jHzbIEA81oIXeZNMziXjtHXHww?docId=CNG.afa1c034eb747fe761a5f96d687ec7d3.391> [accessed 4 July 2013]

35 'China's West Erupts in Violence 2nd Time in 3 Days', *Epoch Times*, published on 28 June 2013. See here: <http://www.theepochtimes.com/n3/139005-chinas-west-erupts-in-violence-2nd-time-in-3-days/> [accessed 4 July 2013]

These sorts of restrictions and harassments placed upon free and independent reporting have sweeping human rights implications which go beyond simply the rights of journalists. As the Chinese media is significantly compromised by political interference whereby all articles must be vetted by the local propaganda office,³⁶ the media is therefore not able to faithfully report the news accurately nor allowing the police, judiciary and the political system to be placed under the scrutiny of civil society.

This also ensures that the full extent of what happens remains hard to ascertain, leaving no accurate picture, and therefore the possibilities of enforced disappearances, torture, arbitrary detentions and corruption are left with free reigns to act in whichever manner they wish, or succumb to political pressures with impunity as trials are invariably held behind closed doors.

The WUC's website also experienced difficulties from 26 June 2013, with it completely non-functionable on 28 June 2013.

ARRESTS AND DETENTIONS

Since the onset of the Maralbeshi incident, between 106 and 114 people have been arrested, detained or both thereof according to the Chinese media. Below is a table for when each of these cases was revealed, which also includes one incident of sentencing from several weeks prior to the Maralbeshi incident.

Date	Arrested ³⁷	Detained	Sentenced	Alleged Reasons, Location and Description
26 March 2013	20	20	20	Kashgar and Bayingolin Mongol Prefectures. Organising, leading and participating in terrorist organisation with intent to "incite splittism." ^{38 39} All sentenced are likely to be Uyghur.
Late March	3	3	Unknown	Three Uyghurs were arrested and detained following an attempted expropriation of their farming-land. ⁴⁰
Late March	17	Unknown	Unknown	A mother-in-law of an alleged Maralbeshi fugitive was detained after he and his wife

36 'Xinjiang Suffers Information Blockade Four Years After Demonstrations', Reporters Sans Frontieres, published on 4 July 2013. See here : <http://en.rsf.org/china-xinjiang-suffers-information-04-07-2013,44897.html> [accessed 5 July 2013]

37 The WUC has used the official UN definitions of 'arrests' and 'detentions' in the compilation of this report.

38 '5起利用互联网、手机及电子存储介质进行犯罪案件在疆审判', *TS News*, published on 26 March 2013. See here: http://www.ts.cn/news/content/2013-03/26/content_7966387.htm [accessed 4 July 2013]

39 'Uyghur American Association Condemns Sentences Handed Down to 20 Uyghurs', *Uyghur American Association*, published on 27 March 2013. See here: <http://uyghuramerican.org/article/uyghur-american-association-condemns-sentences-handed-down-20-uyghurs.html>

40 'Three Uyghurs Held for Resisting Land Takeover', *Radio Free Asia*, published on 12 April 2013. <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/dispute-04122013150515.html> [accessed 4 July 2013]

				died at the hands of local officials. It is known whether she has yet been released. ⁴¹ A further 16 people were arrested around this incident, two of whom were shot and killed. All arrested were likely to be Uyghur due to the context.
23 April 2013 - Present	19	19	Not yet Unknown	19 arrested (11 immediately after, with a further 8 six days later) ⁴² Although ethnicity not revealed, it is clearly inferred due the accusations made that they were Uyghur.
5 May 2013	3 (possibly 8)	3 (possibly 8)	Unknown	Three or possibly 8 students were arrested and detained at Tarim University, Aksu Prefecture. ⁴³
20 June 2013	19	19	19 (in addition to 6 to administrative detention)	Kizilisu, Aksu, Turpan and Karghilik for inciting ethnic hatred, participating in a terrorist organisation and disorderly behaviour. ⁴⁴
26 June 2013	3 or 4	3 or 4	Unknown	The three assailants were reportedly seized subsequently to the incident in Lukchun. ⁴⁵ However, a later report suggested 4 were captured at the scene. ⁴⁶
26 June 2013	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	On the same day as the Lukchun incident, another

41 'Xinjiang Clash Leaves Two Village Officials Dead', *Radio Free Asia*, published on 24 May 2013.

<http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/yengisar-05242013124939.html> [accessed 4 July 2013]

42 For information, please see the following:

'China Arrests 19 Over Xinjiang Deadly Attack', *The Guardian*, published on 30 April 2013. See here:

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/apr/30/china-arrests-xinjiang-deadly-clashes> [Retrieved 8 May 2013]

'11 More Terrorist Suspects Captured After Xinjiang Deadly Attack', *Xinhua*, published on 29 April 2013. See here:

http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-04/29/c_132349574.htm [Retrieved 9 May 2013]

'Kashgar Unites to Say Farewell', *Chinadailyasia.com*, published on 30 April 2013. See here:

43 'Uyghur Students Detained in Region-wide Crackdown', *Radio Free Asia*, Published on 9 May 2013. See here:

<http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/crackdown-05092013114334.html> [accessed 4 July 2013]

44 'Harsh Sentencing of Uyghurs a Sends a Message of Fear before Fourth Anniversary of July 5, 2009 Unrest', *Uyghur Human Rights Project*, published on 20 June 2013. See here: <http://uhrp.org/press-release/harsh-sentencing-uyghurs-sends-message-fear-fourth-anniversary-july-5-2009-unrest.html> [accessed 4 July 2013]

45 'State Media: Violence leaves 27 dead in restive minority region in far west China', *Association Press (found in Washington Post)*, published on 26 June 2013. See here: http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/state-media-riots-in-restive-minority-region-in-far-western-china-leave-27-dead/2013/06/26/98d9c6f0-de22-11e2-bc84-8049224b33e1_story.html [accessed 4 July 2013]

46 'Fugitive of Xinjiang Attack Captured', *WantChinaTimes*, published on 1 July 2013. See here: http://www.wantchinatimes.com/news-subclass-cnt.aspx?id=20130701000097&cid=1103&MainCatID=0&utm_content=buffer07730&utm_source=buffer&utm_medium=twitter&utm_campaign=Buffer [accessed 4 July 2013]

				report of disturbance was revealed in Awat City, Aksu Prefecture. It is unknown if there were any arrests, but the authorities were seeking alleged suspects. ⁴⁷
30 June 2013	19	19	Unknown	China Daily reported that 19 people have been detained for “making up” and “spreading rumours via text messages and the internet” as the Chinese authorities have been tightening security throughout East Turkestan. ⁴⁸ Ethnicity not specified, but the detained individuals were reportedly wearing East Turkestan-style t-shirts and that HIV-contaminated blood was found in food; Uyghurs are the victims of an AIDs/HIV epidemic since the late 1990s. This indicates that they were all Uyghur.
30 June 2013	1	1	Unknown	An alleged suspect of the Lukchun incident was captured whilst on the run. ⁴⁹
1 July 2013	Possibly 2	Unknown	Unknown	An image circulating on Twitter showed two Uyghurs being arrested for wearing an East Turkestan flag. However, this could be connected with the arrests on 30 June 2013. ⁵⁰
3 July 2013	1 arrest and 1 detention	1	Unknown	Various Twitter users, including friends, and Radio Free Asia reported that reputed Beijing-based Uyghur scholar has been placed under house arrest,

47 '12 Uyghurs Killed in an Explosion During Police Raid', *Radio Free Asia*, published on 26 June 2013. See here: <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/explosion-06262013180111.html> [accessed 4 July 2013]

48 '19 Detained for Spreading Rumors in Xinjiang', *Chinadaily*, published on 1 July 2013. See here: http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-07/01/content_16692477.htm [accessed 4 July 2013]

49 'Fugitive of Xinjiang Attack Captured', *WantChinaTimes*, published on 1 July 2013. See here: http://www.wantchinatimes.com/news-subclass-cnt.aspx?id=20130701000097&cid=1103&MainCatID=0&utm_content=buffer07730&utm_source=buffer&utm_medium=twitter&utm_campaign=Buffer [accessed 4 July 2013]

50 The image of the East Turkestan t-shirt wearing suspects was distributed on Twitter. You can view the image at this link: <https://twitter.com/ResearCHina/status/351591746263715840/photo/1> [accessed 4 July 2013]

				after calling for transparency in an open letter ⁵¹ ahead of the fourth anniversary of 5 July 2009 Urumchi incident. He has been repeatedly placed under house arrest, put in detention and other forms of harassment for many years. Professor Tohti also revealed that one of his website administrators had been arrested. ⁵²
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This then brings the total to 106 that have been confirmed as arrested, detained or both during the past 3 months by the Chinese authorities, which could rise to 114 should we include the other 8 where the situation is not so clear.

The WUC, however, has reason to believe that these figures officially released by the Chinese authorities belie full extent of the situation, as Uyghurs have been reporting from the ground that as many as in their hundreds have been detained. This is coupled with past experiences whereby restrictions and crackdowns placed on, *inter alia*, independent media verification have brought to question the validity of the official narratives of such incidents.

This is notwithstanding the fact that the PRC is widely reported to be one of the most severe in terms of press freedom, in which Freedom House has designated the PRC as “not free”, giving it a score of 6.5/7 (with 7 being the least free) for its freedom rating, and 85/100 (with 100 being the least free) for its press freedom.⁵³

The conflicting and contradicting accounts released by the Chinese authorities, and the lack of willingness to allow independent access to the region, should therefore draw suspicion upon the official narrative of the events. The fact that the complete number of detained – some of whom have been confirmed to have been sentenced to harsh terms of imprisonment – is difficult to ascertain speaks volumes.

Furthermore, many people have clearly stated to some journalists that they fear reprisals by the Chinese authorities. This should remain at the forefront of the mind when assessing the numbers as it suggests that what is known will unlikely be the full story as people have expressed their fear to come forward to report cases in which people have been detained or killed. It is therefore not beyond the realms of possibility that the figures are likely to be significantly higher.

All these detentions were justified on the prevention, in some shape or form, of the three forces of evil – namely “extremism, terrorism and separatism” – under the PRC's anti-terror drive. This is extremely concerning as Uyghurs are routinely detained on such charges, which are neither clearly

51 致全国人大、国务院：关于“7•5事件”后失踪维吾尔人的建议', *Uighurbiz.net*, published on 5 July 2013. See here : <http://www.uighurbiz.net/archives/16385> [accessed 5 July 2013]

52 'Call for Transparency Ahead of Urumqi Anniversary', *Radio Free Asia*, published on 4 July 2013. See here : <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/anniversary-07042013171252.html> [accessed 5 July 2013]

53 'China', *Freedom House*, annual report on Freedom in the World 2013. See here : <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/china> [accessed 5 July 2013]

defined in national law nor meeting internationally accepted legal standards.

Furthermore, the extent to which there is a sustained threat of terrorism in East Turkestan has been significantly questioned by independent experts.⁵⁴ It is frequently remarked that the Chinese authorities press politically-motivated charges of terrorism on peaceful protesters, journalists and government critics in order to silence them during situations sensitive to the Chinese authorities. These trials are always held behind closed doors in conditions marred by a total lack of due process and independence of the judiciary.

The PRC has some of the most flexible and arbitrary anti-terror laws in the world. On 1 January 2013, the PRC made sweeping amendments to its Criminal Procedure Laws, in particular Articles 73, 83 and 91, which cover the derided, vaguely-defined endangering state secrets laws. The Dui Hua Foundation discovered that 50% of these charges are handed down in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, which is a region with only 2% of the entire population of the PRC, thus clearly illustrating the discriminatory nature of the application of these types of laws.⁵⁵ These new amendments have now further empowered such laws, which were widely used during and in the aftermath of 5 July Urumchi unrest, and have effectively legalised the already wide-spread practise of forcibly disappearing people.

Since 5 July 2009, many people have been detained and sentenced on these types of charges. These include Uyghur journalist Ms Gulmira Imin (case number: A/HRC/WGAD/2012/29),⁵⁶ on whose case the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention (WGAD) recently disclosed their opinion that she is being arbitrarily detained by the Chinese authorities after having divulged information on the atrocities committed during the 5 July 2009 Urumchi unrest. This ongoing approach by the Chinese authorities towards peaceful Uyghur protesters, who harbour very real grievances, must therefore bring questions upon whether the 106 or 114 have actually committed any terrorist activities at all.

On 2 July 2009, the Xinjiang Public Security Department posted images and names of the purported suspects, along with a notice and detailed information on 3 of them.⁵⁷ The level of details handed out by the Chinese authorities, and the surreptitious timing of such a notice, is especially alarming in view of the fact that, as was revealed, “whistleblowers” would be rewarded should they divulge information about suspects on whom they know something.⁵⁸ Chinese media reported that they were willing to hand out 50,000 to 100,000 RMB (\$8,154 to \$16,308) to informants in a region where, in predominantly-Uyghur areas, the GDP is, for example, 8,000 RMB in Kashgar 8,000 RMB, whilst in Hotan, it is 5,000 RMB.

This allows for the arbitrary discretion on the part of the potential informants to be coerced by, for

54 Sean Roberts, 'Imaginary Terrorism?', *Ponars Eurasia*, published on March 2012. See here : <http://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/ponars/RobertsWP.pdf> [accessed 4 July 2013]

55 'State Security Stats Highlight Ethnic Unrest, Lack of Names', *Dui Hua Foundation*, published on 8 February 2012. See here : <http://www.duihuajournal.org/2012/02/state-security-stats-highlight-ethnic.html> [accessed 4 July 2013]

56 The full text of the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detentions opinion A/HRC/WGAD/2012/29 can be found at this link: http://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?si=A/HRC/WGAD/2012/29

57 '新疆公安厅发布通缉令 追捕11名在逃嫌犯', *TS News*, published on 2 July 2013. See here: http://news.ts.cn/content/2013-07/02/content_8369011.htm [accessed 4 July 2013];

'Xinjiang Posts Most-wanted Terror Suspects', *Global Times*, published on 3 July 2013. See here : <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/793380.shtml#.UdQGzPkwe8x> [accessed 4 July 2013]

58 'Xinjiang to Reward Terrorism Whistleblowers', *China Daily*, published on 2 July 2013. See here: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-07/02/content_16704453.htm [accessed 4 July 2013]

example, financial difficulties or racial prejudice during a highly sensitive time. In view of the independence of the PRC's judiciary, this tactic affords no legal protections for Uyghurs who may be detained on arbitrary and false information.

DEATHS AND INJURIES

In a similar manner to the reported detentions, the amount of fatalities remains murky. In the aftermath of the Lukchun incident, the Chinese authorities altered their death count from originally stating 27 dead (ethnicity not specified, but the number of purported rioters dead was set at 10, and of the other 17, 9 were police and auxiliary officers and 8 were government employees and civilians),⁵⁹ with the number rising to 35 (16 Uyghurs, 2 police officers and 11 “attackers”).⁶⁰ WUC Spokesman Dilxat Rexit, however, confirmed that, contrary to official numbers, according to conversations with people on the ground that at least 67 people were killed at Lukchun, with the youngest being just 13 years old.⁶¹

The rise in the number of deceased was not explained, but it appears that the Chinese authorities were quick to allege the incident was a terrorist attack, which may have hastened their response in order to direct the narrative of the incident. The latter *Global Times* article also reported that 21 police officers and civilians were injured during this incident, whilst not specifying the ethnicity.⁶²

Of the 21 who died in the previous Maralbeshi incident, 10 were of the Uyghur, 3 Han Chinese and 2 Mongolian ethnicities, in addition to the deaths of the 6 Uyghur suspects at the hands of the armed police.⁶³ However, the death toll appears to have increased to 23, according to later reports.⁶⁴

People have died in other incidents too:

- **28 June 2013:** during the Hotan incident at the Hanerik Township, 2 people were initially reported to have died,⁶⁵ but subsequent reports suggest the death toll was closer to 15, while a further 50 were injured, as the Chinese authorities admitted that the police fired on 400 protesters.⁶⁶
- **27 June 2013:** between the Lukchun and the Hotan and Urumchi incidents, a man was detained for “making up” and “spreading rumours” on 27 June 2013 that 8 people had died in Kashgar.⁶⁷ No further mention has been made of this incident.

59 'Riot Kills 27 in Xinjiang', *Global Times*, published on 27 June 2013. See here:

<http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/791984.shtml#.UdPwUvkwe8w> [accessed 4 July 2013]

60 'Riot Toll Rises to 35 in Xinjiang', *Global Times*, published on 28 June 2013. See here:

<http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/792335.shtml#.UdPwJfkwe8w> [accessed 4 July 2013]

61 'Second Clash Hits China Xinjiang in Three Days', *AFP*, published on 29 June 2013. See here:

<http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jHzbIEA81oIXleZNZMziXitHXHww?docId=CNG.afa1c034eb747fe761a5f96d687ec7d3.391> [accessed 4 July 2013]

62 'Riot Kills 27 in Xinjiang', *Global Times*, published on 27 June 2013. See here:

<http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/791984.shtml#.UdPwUvkwe8w> [accessed 4 July 2013]

63 'Overview of the Maralbeshi Incident on 23 April 2013', *World Uyghur Congress*, published on May 2013. See here:

<http://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/wp-content/uploads/April-2013-Maralbeshi-Incident.pdf>

64 'Fresh Clashes Hit Kashgar', *Radio Free Asia*, published on 26 May 2013. See here <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/kargilik-05262013195458.html> [accessed 4 July 2013]

65 'Two Uyghurs Believed Killed in Hotan Violence', *Radio Free Asia*, published on 28 June 2013. See here:

<http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/violence-06282013173938.html> [accessed 4 July 2013]

66 'Chinese Authorities Confirm Police Fired at Protesters', *Radio Free Asia*, published on 30 June 2013. See here:

<http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/violence-06302013201357.html> [accessed 4 July 2013]

67 '19 Detained for Spreading Rumors in Xinjiang', *Chinadaily*, published on 1 July 2013. See here: http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-07/01/content_16692477.htm [accessed 4 July 2013]

- **26 June 2013:** an Awat township official claimed that a group of 12 Uyghurs was killed when they were cornered by police after they had eluded a house-search in Ghoarachol's District No. 1.⁶⁸
- **25 May 2013:** at about noon, 3 Uyghurs and 2 Han Chinese people were killed in Kargilik (Yecheng in Mandarin), Kashgar Prefecture, and others injured, following an unspecified clash. Authorities put in place measures to prevent exact information on the incident getting out. However, Radio Free Asia reported from calls with the authorities that they did not know the exact numbers of deaths or injuries, further reporting from a Kargilik local that the death toll may have been 6.
- **24 May 2013:** an alleged fugitive from the Maralbeshi incident reportedly killed two officials after a search. He was subsequently beaten to death, and his wife died whilst in police custody from a heart attack during questioning. Local residents, however, suggested that the incident occurred following officials demanding that the man's wife remove her veil. In the same article from Radio Free Asia, 16 people were also arrested, two of whom were shot and killed.⁶⁹

This brings the total known death toll to between the conservative estimate of 102 and the higher estimate of 137. In incidents of this kind, the Chinese authorities frequently understate the amount of detentions and deaths, often portraying the deaths as victims of a terrorist attack so as to cover up a security crackdown.

At this present time of publishing this report, it is difficult to disaggregate the ethnicities of those who have died due to the lack of fully disclosed information. However, all the alleged suspects and most civilians were Uyghur. On the other hand, most of the officials and security force personnel were Han Chinese, which can be explained by the fact that Uyghurs are unlikely to hold such positions due to religious and ethnic discrimination.⁷⁰

MILITARY, SECURITY CRACKDOWN AND CURBS ON FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Although security has been increasingly cranked up since the Maralbeshi incident, following the incidents on 28 June 2013 in Urumchi and Hotan, the PRC's response has been to send in swathes of additional police, security personnel and military units into East Turkestan, in particular Urumchi and Aksu.⁷¹ This followed a meeting of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Standing Committee in Urumchi itself, in which President Xi Jinping attended, requesting “they establish an integrated prevention and response system.”⁷²

In spite of some nominal and empty statements mentioning a change from the traditional military approach, there have been a series of proclamations from the Chinese authorities in how they are and will be dealing with the situation, none of which will adequately address the root causes of unrest. During the weekend meeting in which Xi Jinping was present, the head of the Beijing

68 'Twelve Uyghurs Killed in Explosion During Police Clash', *Radio Free Asia*, published on 26 June 2013. See here: <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/explosion-06262013180111.html> [accessed 4 July 2013]

69 'Xinjiang Clash Leaves Two Village Officials Dead', *Radio Free Asia*, published on 24 May 2013. See here: <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/yengisar-05242013124939.html> [accessed 4 July 2013]

70 In order to work within the state structure, the official policy is that employees must be atheist, and at times, they must not wear items of clothing or other outward appearances of belong to ethnic groups.

71 'Unveiled Threats', *the Economist*, published on 6 July 2013. see here : http://www.economist.com/news/china/21580491-more-outbreaks-violence-show-governments-policies-are-not-working-unveiled-threats?fsrc=scn/tw_ec/unveiled_threats [accessed 4 July 2013]

72 'Xinjiang Posts Most-wanted Terror Suspects', *Global Times*, published on 3 July 2013. See here : http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/793380.shtml#_UdQGzPkwe8x [accessed 4 July 2013]

delegation sent by Xi Jinping to Urumchi, Yu Zhengsheng, was quoted as saying that they will, “continue to carry out violence against terrorist groups and extremist organizations, and for special operations to increase the pursuit efforts.”⁷³

Some of the statements from the Chinese authorities' officials have been explicitly racist: “Anyone in the Xinjiang region whose skin is darker than, let’s say, a mild yellow?” police chief Li Baixing said, “should be asking themselves some pretty searching questions over the next few weeks. We certainly will be.”⁷⁴

This comment was made in the context of confirming that round-the-clock patrols will be implemented, in addition to spot-checks⁷⁵ and security drills by the military.⁷⁶ In a post on the Public Security Ministry's website, Meng Jianzhu stated that troops must patrol in all weather conditions, “raise their visibility, maintain a deterrent threat and strengthen the public’s sense of security.”⁷⁷

The Chinese media has also been vocal in their support for the crackdowns on the “three forces of evil” (extremism, terrorism and separatism).⁷⁸ They have also drafted in quotes from religious institutions such as the Islamic Association of China, which is run by the Chinese Communist Party and at whose policies Uyghurs chafe, to release statements condemning the attacks as acts of terrorism.⁷⁹

THE PRC'S OFFICIAL INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

Some aspects of the Chinese authorities’ response have been farfetched. Several officials have issued statements expressing their concerns for the Lukchan incident, including the US,⁸⁰ EU,⁸¹ Turkey⁸² and Germany.⁸³ Some of these states have subsequently been on the receiving end of wild allegations from the Chinese authorities.

The Chinese authorities have condemned the US for double standards,⁸⁴ whilst accusing Syria (both governmental and rebel forces),⁸⁵ Turkey⁸⁶ and Pakistan of training, or acquiescing to the

73 Russel Leigh Moses, 'After Xinjiang Violence, Hints of a New Approach', *Wallstreet Journal*, published on 2 July 2013. See here: <http://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2013/07/02/in-wake-of-xinjiang-violence-hints-of-a-new-approach/> [accessed 4 July 2013]

74 'Dark Skinned Suspects Sought in Connection with Xinjiang Incident', *China Daily Show*, published on 20 July 2013. See here: <http://chinadailyshow.com/dark-skinned-suspects-sought-in-connection-with-xinjiang/> [this article has now been removed, but was accessed 28 June 2013]

75 To view the image, see here: https://fbcdn-sphotos-a-a.akamaihd.net/hphotos-ak-ash4/p480x480/1003261_10151670778518351_1607550493_n.jpg#

76 'Anti-terror Drill Staged in Xinjiang', *China Daily*, published on 3 July 2013. See here: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/photo/2013-07/03/content_16716487.htm [4 July 2013]

77 'Beijing Orders Round the Clock Patrols in Xinjiang Following Recent Series of Bloody Clashes', *Associated Press* (published on the Washington Post), published on 30 June 2013. See here: http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/china-orders-round-the-clock-patrols-in-xinjiang-following-recent-series-of-bloody-clashes/2013/06/29/74340afe-e138-11e2-a0de-145598a7b2b7_story.html [4 July 2013]

78 'CPC Paper Urges Efforts to Safeguard Social Stability in Xinjiang', *Global Times*, published on 2 July 2013. See here: <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/793197.shtml#UdQWfvkwe8x> [4 July 2013]

79 'Islamic Association Condemns Xinjiang Terrorists Attacks', *The Standard*, published on 3 July 2013. See here: http://www.thestandard.com.hk/breaking_news_detail.asp?id=38272&icid=2&d_str= [4 July 2013]

80 US State Department daily press briefing on 26 June 2013 can be viewed here: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2013/06/211168.htm#CHINA>

81 'EU Says China Needs to Release More Information about Xinjiang Violence, Address Causes', *Associated Press* (published on the Washington Post), published on 1 July 2013. See here: http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/eu-says-china-needs-to-release-more-information-about-xinjiang-violence-address-causes/2013/07/01/c0d99cd6-e23a-11e2-8657-fdff0c195a79_story.html [4 July 2013]

82 'Ankara Concerned Over Xinjiang', *Hurriyet Daily News*, published on 1 July 2013. See here: <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/ankara-concerned-over-xinjiang-unrest.aspx?pageID=238&nID=49826&NewsCatID=356> [4 July 2013]

83 'Menschenrechtsbeauftragter: Erwarte von China transparente Aufklärung der Gewalt in Xinjiang', *Auswartiges Amt*, published on 27 June 2013. See here : http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Infoservice/Presse/Meldungen/2013/130627-MRHH_Xinjiang.html [4 July 2013]

84 'Washington's Shameful Response to Terror', *China Daily USA*, published on 1 July 2013. See here: http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2013-07/01/content_16700115.htm [4 July 2013]

85 'China State Media Blames Syria Rebels for Xinjiang Violence', *Reuters*, published on 1 July 2013. See here:

training, of the individuals alleged to be terrorists who purportedly were responsible for these latest incidents.⁸⁷

QUESTIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The developments during the past few months are deeply concerning. Whilst all acts of violence should be condemned, this must not afford the Chinese immunity from criticism in how they have failed to deal with the root causes of this unrest, as well as the manner in which they have handled each of the recent incidents.

The underlying root causes include, but are not limited to, repressive policies on Uyghur language, culture, religion and identity, in addition to the use of harassment, arbitrary detention, enforced disappearances, extra-judicial killings and the death penalty to silence critics.

This report has noted that, according to Chinese sources, between 106 and 114 people have been arrested, detained or both thereof and a further 102 or 137 have been killed. However, the fact that many people have clearly stated to some journalists that they fear reprisals by the Chinese authorities is significant. This should remain at the forefront of the mind when assessing the numbers as it constitutes a *de facto* violation of freedom of expression. It suggests that what is known will unlikely be the full story as people have expressed their fear to come forward to report cases in which people have been detained or killed.

One of the most telling examples is evidenced in reports circulating on Twitter and later confirmed by Radio Free Asia that highly-regarded Beijing-based Uyghur scholar Ilham Tohti has been placed under house arrest for no discernible connection to the recent events other than issuing an open letter causing for transparency surrounding the 5 July Urumchi unrest.⁸⁸ Professor Tohti has been detained on numerous occasions in the past for attempting to raise awareness of the human rights violations perpetrated against Uyghurs in the PRC.⁸⁹ The effect on the Uyghur community cannot be understated as this incident proves that no matter how prominent you are, which is nevertheless a rarity for Uyghurs, one can never be secure from reprisals. The figures are therefore extremely likely to be significantly higher.

Furthermore, the fact that the Chinese authorities altered their initial analysis of the Lukchun incident from being precipitated by “knife-wielding mobs” to an incident by “terrorists” following

http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/07/01/us-china-xinjiang-idUSBRE96005120130701?feedType=RSS&feedName=topNews&utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter&dlvr.it=992637 [4 July 2013]

86 'Xinjiang Terrorists Finding Training, Support in Syria, Turkey', *Global Times*, published on 1 July 2013. See here:

<http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/792959.shtml#.UdHafuDAUwI> [4 July 2013]

87 'Beijing Increases Security in Xinjiang', *New York Times*, published on 2 July 2013. See here:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/03/world/asia/china-increases-security-in-restive-region.html?pagewanted=all&r=0> [4 July 2013]

88 'Call for Transparency Ahead of Urumqi Anniversary', *Radio Free Asia*, published on 4 July 2013. See here:

<http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/anniversary-07042013171252.html> [accessed 5 July 2013]

89 'Scholar Gets Website Warning', *Radio Free Asia* [online]. Published 10 August 2012. See here: <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/ilham-tohti-08102012190908.html?searchterm=ilham%20tohti> [accessed 5 July 2013];

'Uyghur Scholar Harassed', *Radio Free Asia* [online]. Published 4 December 2012. see here: <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/scholar-12042012144309.html?searchterm=ilham%20tohti> [accessed 5 July 2013];

'Uyghur Scholar Taken Back Home', *Radio Free Asia* [online]. Published on 2 February 2013. See here:

<http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/scholar-02022013125856.html?searchterm=ilham%20tohti> [accessed 5 July 2013];

'Detaining Ilham Tohti in Beijing: Xinjiang Security Sector's Extraterritoriality', *Radio Free Asia* [online]. Published on 2 February 2013. See here: <https://xinjiangreview.wordpress.com/2013/02/04/detaining-ilham-tohti-in-beijing-xinjiang-security-sectors-extraterritoriality/>;

'Student Battles Travel Ban', *Radio Free Asia* [online]. Published 20 December 2012. See here: <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/travel-12202012143138.html?searchterm=ilham%20tohti> [accessed 5 July 2013]

the ensuing world-wide media and political attention is an indication that the Chinese have not departed from its usual rhetoric.

All too often when incidents considered trouble by the Chinese authorities erupt in East Turkestan, they attempt to frame such incidents within the context of the global war on terror so as to divert attention from its official policy of the “harmonious society” that it has created. This was one of the principal philosophies of former China President Hu Jintao,⁹⁰ who had previously governed Tibet to much derision by the Tibetan and international communities.

As recently as 28 May 2013, the Xinjiang Deputy Governor Shi Dagang was talking rather patronisingly about this,⁹¹ in spite of the mounting evidence that their policies are clearly not working in East Turkestan, as well as in Tibet and elsewhere.

This is not new. Only ten days after the 5 July 2009 unrest commenced, Xinhua news agency, the CCP's mouthpiece, was claiming that “peaceful and harmonious life” had been restored in East Turkestan,⁹² despite well documented evidence suggesting precisely otherwise. This neither reflects the reality on the ground, nor recognises the frequent reports of increasingly bubbling tensions since due to the Chinese authorities' failure to adequately address the egregious human rights abuses associated with this date. A lot of these violations were perpetrated by the same military and security forces that were drafted into East Turkestan on 29 June 2013.

Indeed, Mr Shi's later comments that the terrorist forces were all external to the PRC seem to show the lack of cohesive policy from the Chinese authorities. The XUAR Chairman, Nur Bekri, at whom Uyghurs chafe, has termed the fight against terrorism as a political struggle in which “you die, I live”⁹³, a phrase coined by his predecessor, Wang Lequan, whose 16-year tenure was bitterly derided by Uyghurs in East Turkestan.

Whilst there has undoubtedly been several serious incidents in which many people have lost their lives, there has been no evidence released to date nor any substantiated claim by the Chinese authorities that these were the result of terrorist activities. Further, reports from the ground by witnesses and locals are markedly different to the official narrative. For example, on 1 July 2013, many Uyghurs were using Chinese social media to decry the accusations of terrorism.⁹⁴

This is in a state which is derided by the UN, EU, national governments and NGOs for its lack of independence and transparency of the judicial, police and political aspects of its justice system, in addition to receiving serious criticisms for its use of torture and a legal system with a vaguely-defined definition of terrorism that fails to come close to internationally accepted legal standards. More worryingly, on 17 May 2013, the People's Daily quoting Xinhua boasted that 96% of terrorist attacks have been foiled. Being that there has been no conclusive evidence disclosed upon the incidents, and the afore-mentioned lack of independence of the judiciary, this figure is startling.

90 Matt Schiavenza, '35 People Dead in Chinese Mass-Murder: what happened?' *The Atlantic*, published on 3 July 2013. See here: <http://www.theatlantic.com/china/archive/2013/07/35-people-dead-in-chinese-mass-murder-what-happened/277463/> [4 July 2013]

91 'China Says Xinjiang Minorities Too Busy Dancing to Make Trouble', *Reuters*, published on 28 May 2013. See here: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/05/28/us-china-xinjiang-idUSBRE94R03Z20130528> [4 July 2013]

92 'Peaceful and Harmonious Life in Xinjiang Resumed', *Global Times*, published on 15 July 2009. See here: <http://www.globaltimes.cn/china/society/2009-07/447241.html> [4 July 2013]

93 '新疆主席：反恐是你死我活的斗争', *BBC*, published on 1 July 2013. See here: http://www.bbc.co.uk/zhongwen/simp/china/2013/07/130701_xinjiang_antiterror.shtml [4 July 2013]

94 'We're Uyghurs. We're not Terrorists. A plea from Xinjiang', *Offbeat China*, published on 1 July 2013. See here: <http://offbeatchina.com/were-uyghur-were-not-terrorists-a-plea-from-xinjiang> [4 July 2013]

One must therefore question whether the evidence of terrorist activities used to “foil” these alleged attacks was in fact true evidence of terrorist activity, or whether it was driven by politically-motivated charges or policies to repress legitimate religious observation and practise. If the latter suggestions were to be correct, as countless precedents suggest, then this figure of 96% uncloaks a sustained repressive policy under the false banner of a war against terrorism, the extent of which was already known is only the tip of the iceberg.

The heavy-handed approach, the flexing of military might and the unsubstantiated terrorist allegations during these latest incidents clearly illustrate that the Chinese authorities have not moved on from their usual method of quelling legitimate dissent. It further stands as a stark reminder to the many families and Uyghur communities affected by the well documented human rights violations from 5 July 2009 that time is not a healer, nor will it ever be if these events periodically repeat themselves due to the Chinese authorities approach to the situation.

Moreover, on 4 July 2013, on the eve of the fourth anniversary of the Urumchi incident, the Deputy Secretary of the CCP's Xinjiang Regional Committee confirmed that 50 department-level officials were being drafted into various townships around the region with a “firm political stance [...] to educate the public about the Party's policies on ethnicity and religion, State laws and the importance of unity and stability.”⁹⁵ Drafting in officials to promote the widely-condemned current policies elucidates that the Chinese authorities are yet to grasp the real issues that underlie the recent unrest.

Rather than embracing a freely pluralist society in which the Uyghur people, their rich language, culture, history and religion can play an important role in an emerging China, the Chinese authorities have been cutting off their nose to spite their face with their continued repressive policies, ignorance and reticence towards the underlying issues and their placing of legitimate peaceful dissent within the framework of a global war on terror.

The Chinese authorities would do well to heed to the advice of George Santayana: “those who fail to learn the lessons of history are doomed to repeat it.” These latest incidents indicate that this is what has happened.

In view of the content of this report, the WUC recommends the following questions for the international community:

1. Upon analysis of these recent events, has there been any substantiated and conclusive evidence of terrorism as the cause of them?
2. In view of the underlying and well reported repressive policies of the PRC towards Uyghurs, alike those towards Tibetans, will the international community make their views better heard?
3. Will the international community undertake measures to re-evaluate its bi-lateral and multi-lateral relations with the PRC to include concrete and measurable human rights

⁹⁵ 'Xinjiang Bolsters Local Officials', *Global Times*, published on 4 July 2013. See here: <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/793668.shtml#.UdVYffkwe8w> [4 July 2013]

provisions within its foreign policy framework?

4. Will the international community draw closer attention to the PRC's inadequate anti-terror laws?
5. Will the international community ask itself whether the PRC's potential readmission as a member of the UN Human Rights Council is appropriate in view of the serious human rights violations being perpetrated against, but not exclusively, Uyghurs and Tibetans?
6. Will the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights make a statement on these latest incidents?

The WUC recommends that:

1. EU High Representative Baroness Ashton and the EU Special Representative for Human Rights Mr Stavros Lambrinidis make firm, clear and direct representations to the Chinese authorities their, and therefore the EU's, concerns and policies on the Uyghur human rights situation – this is in accordance with Mr Lambrinidis' mandate⁹⁶ to show more visibility to the EU's human rights policy, in addition to showing itself fit to be deserving of the Nobel Peace.
2. the EU institutions develop a much more comprehensive, concerted human rights-based approach to its relations with the PRC, and to ring-fence its inclusion into the European Council's Common Foreign and Security Policy;
3. the EU strengthens the EU-China Human Rights Dialogue in view of its criticisms;
4. the EU and US Congress, as representatives of the two largest economies in the world, work together to resolve not only the seriously degrading Uyghur human rights situation, but that of the Tibetans, Mongolians, Falun Gong, North Korean refugees, and others;
- in view of the current US President, Barack Obama, and the EU being Nobel Peace Prize recipients, this relationship would be of great value.
5. the EU establishes a Special Rapporteur with a special mandate for both East Turkestan and Tibet, whilst also a broader mandate to explore other areas of concern as and when it would be deemed necessary to do so;
6. the EU and US to request a permission from the PRC to undertake a fact-finding mission;
7. the relevant UN Special Procedures work closely together to investigate the current state of affairs in East Turkestan
- this includes the Special Rapporteurs on freedom of religion of belief, in the field of cultural rights, on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions; the Working Groups on Arbitrary Detention and on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances; and the Independent Experts on the promotion of a democratic and equitable

⁹⁶ To view the mandate of the EU Special Representative on Human Rights' mandate, please see here : <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2012:200:0021:0023:EN:PDF>

international order

8. the relevant UN Special Procedures and human rights treaty bodies convey collectively their concerns on these recent developments;
9. the Member States of the UN Human Rights Council set up a Country Mandate within its Special Procedures on China.
10. the Member States of the UN Human Rights Council block the PRC's potential upcoming re-election to the Human Rights Council on the grounds that a state cannot be admitted whilst serious human rights violations are ongoing;
11. the international community strongly condemns the reported death of a 13 year old child during the Lukchun incident;
12. the international community make minority rights a major ring-fenced inclusion in their agenda for the PRC's upcoming UPR.

The WUC also recommends the following action-based initiatives:

1. to establish an independent and comprehensive international inquiry into these incidents to uncover, but not exclusively, the full extent of detentions, enforced disappearances and extra-judicial killings that have been documented during this period;
 - that the international inquiry should have full access to East Turkestan to verify the facts, as well as establish the root causes of these incidents, including the longstanding impunity of the 5 July 2009 Urumchi incident;
2. the Chinese authorities should set up an ombudsman with a comprehensive and entirely independent mandate to receive and investigate complaints of human rights abuses.

The WUC makes the following recommendations to the PRC:

1. to overhaul its official policies towards Uyghurs;
 - these include, but are not limited to, arbitrary repression of Uyghur religion, culture, and identity, in addition to restrictions on Uyghur education, forced relocations, and the use of harassment, arbitrary detention, enforced disappearances, extra-judicial killings and the death penalty to silence critics.
2. to bring transparency, openness and fairness to its legal system, and bring its definitions of terrorism into line with internationally accepted legal standards;
3. to allow verification of the facts by an independent investigation, and to extend an open invitation to the UN Special Procedures as one example of an option to achieve this. This will allow the PRC;
4. to open meaningful dialogue with Uyghurs in order to achieve the above, in addition to the prosperity and peaceful society that it so desires;

5. to allow for the full enjoyment of a free, flourishing, transparent and independent judicial system under the scrutiny of a media culture with the same freedoms.