

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES OF THE PRC AND UYGHUR GENOCIDE

AUGUST
2021



Julie Millsap, Campaign for Uyghurs

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1

Introduction

2

**Education Under Genocidal
Regimes**

3

Education Under the CCP

4

Conclusion

INTRODUCTION

"BY TARGETING THE YOUTH OF THE UYGHUR MINORITY POPULATION, THE CCP IS ESSENTIALLY EDUCATING THE NEXT GENERATION OF UYGHURS IN A WAY THAT ERADICATES THEIR CULTURE AND REMOLDS UYGHUR CHILDREN TO THE HAN-CHINESE WAY OF LIFE."

- CIARA FINNEGAN

The Uyghur genocide, now the subject of widespread news coverage, has become a flashpoint in the discussion surrounding the form genocide and cultural destruction take in the 21st century. There has been substantial (and warranted) focus on surveillance systems and genetic modeling, both of which form a strong foundation for the Orwellian state being constructed in East Turkistan as a model for repressive governments globally. What has been less discussed is the role education plays in the long-term cultural annihilation of ethnic minorities.

Education, understood as the bedrock of a society's norms and values, offers a blank slate with which authoritarian regimes can implement their own interests. Often, this means sacrificing more liberalized educational traditions for ideology and non-confrontational historical principles. In East Turkistan, it has taken the form of more aggressive cultural erasure. Educational systems focus largely on eradicating key elements of Uyghur culture, including language, from curriculums.

The justification for these recalibrations is often cloaked in the guise of "National Unity", a phrase that is largely code for subjugation of indigenous populations into the larger body of unified political identity operated by the Chinese Communist Party. According to Zhang Lihua's "An Analysis of National Language Education and Xinjiang's Stable Development" released on July 15, 2019,

"it is necessary to solve these problems fundamentally, and promote the integration and exchange of ethnic groups in various fields, so as to achieve the goal of maintaining the stability of Xinjiang and the reunification of the motherland."

If education truly forms the bedrock of a society's understandings, both of itself and the world around it, then the CCP's ideologically based cultural genocide against Uyghurs amounts to an attempt to eradicate the very identity of the Uyghur people from that understanding.

By analyzing primary sources on educational trends in East Turkistan, we are able to construct a troubling reality. Scholars have recognized that this genocide is being waged on a generational basis, with birth rates declining rapidly in order to curtail future Uyghur populations. This is no less true with existing generations. As future Uyghurs are prevented from existing by draconian policies, existing Uyghurs are systematically taught to reject their culture and indigenous beliefs while embracing the one-party rule of the Chinese state and the culture it endorses.

Alongside these doctrines, the state continues to plunder the Uyghur culture of its unique voices and academics through a repressive campaign of disappearances. By systematically removing Uyghur perspectives from academia and replacing them with ideology that endorses the consolidation of power by Xi Jinping and the one-party-state, the Chinese government is fermenting an a-historical generation of cooperative citizens, rather than free-thinking individuals.

The question at this point in the timeline of atrocities ought to be what the ultimate goal of these policies is. Examining the system piece-by-piece, we can understand the interaction between them and obtain a picture of the world that the CCP aims to craft.

Ciara Finnegan describes the threat facing the youth of the Uyghur people most explicitly, and most correctly:

"By targeting the youth of the Uyghur minority population, the CCP is essentially educating the next generation of Uyghurs in a way that eradicates their culture and remolds Uyghur children to the Han-Chinese way of life. Furthermore, through the carefully planned targeting of the young-adult Uyghurs, who may have formed their own cultural identity by their stage in life, the use of fear tactics coerces their silence, compliance and loyalty to the CCP. The Uyghur youth are most vulnerable to the effects of cultural genocide and thus, their specific targeting by the Chinese State evidences its clear intentions with respect to this minority population."

By examining past genocides, especially those with an educational component, our history can inform the standards by which these actions should be judged. Reflecting on treaties that apply specifically to education and the rights of children, as well as genocide as a concept, gives a framework for defining the policies being implemented in East Turkistan. What these policies constitute, and what role they play in the larger genocide at hand, is the question this report attempts to address.

Whether these policies continue, and whether the goals that drive them are accomplished, can only be determined by the response the international community chooses. As we move about our lives, millions remain at risk of physical and cultural erasure in East Turkistan, victims of one of this century's most brutal genocides. Within these pages we explore not only how this erasure takes place in the present, but how it prevents a future for the Uyghur people, and is a clear example of genocidal intent.

EDUCATION UNDER GENOCIDAL REGIMES

Since the inception of genocide as a concept, education has been a central question for regimes aiming to conduct ethnic cleansing. Education is viewed both as a tool of genocide and as a threat to its performance. It is a tool largely in the cultural genocide that accompanies physical destruction. The education of future generations is the easiest way to eradicate from their minds the cultural realities of their people, and replace those ideas with those approved by the regime set on their destruction.

This is of critical importance to the distinction between genocide and other terms like “Mass Murder” that have been deemed inadequate to describe this specific crime. Because, under the definition as originally conceived by Dr. Raphael Lemkin following the Holocaust, there is both a physical and a mental element to a genocide. The erasure of a people physically is then accompanied by a targeted erasure mentally of the memory of their culture and identity. Since education, both formally and informally, is where these memories are originally built, it is then the origin point of this identity. The origin point then, is the point at which this identity can be targeted for destruction most effectively.



Signing of the Universal Declaration of Human rights, 1948

[...]a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right[...] to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practice his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language."

- Article 30, Declaration of Universal Human Rights

Education as a right is well established in international law. Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (adopted December 10th, 1948 by the United Nations) refers to the right to education directly. The 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child provides an even more stringent defense of the right to education, given that it is the most widely ratified UN treaty of all time. The treaty also defines the standards by which this education should take place, that it should prepare children to engage in a free society, and specifically references that education should encourage friendship among all peoples, including indigenous populations. This reference to indigenous populations is unique among treaties, and unique among those which establish the right to education.

Article 30 of this convention is of critical importance to the issue at hand. It reads:

"In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her own group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practice his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language."

What is simultaneously not lost on regimes aiming to engage in genocidal policies is the deterrent effect on genocide that education holds. The United Nations President Ban-Ki Moon in his remarks in 2016 argued that education was a fundamental bulwark against future genocides, that our memory of past genocides must be at the forefront of our cultural mind. If the path to a world of universal rights is to be found, it necessarily runs through educational policy.

Historically, genocidal regimes have utilized educational systems in a variety of ways, all of them in violation of basic human rights. Some of the best examples of this treatment can be found in the educational systems implemented in order to "civilize" indigenous populations. In the United States, Canada, and Australia, indigenous populations were systematically educated by westernized powers in order to create a cultural assimilation that treated the culture of first nations as a necessary, and even preferred, casualty.

Sarah Shear writes that these policies were widespread, and the systems of boarding schools that were set up across western nations were part of a larger mission to "civilize" indigenous populations. Unable to use sufficient immersion in white culture in day schools, governments resorted to full time education centers where the eradication of language and traditional beliefs was the ultimate goal. This cultural erasure, this genocide, was an attempt to create among native populations a nationally unified population in which the colonizing forces beliefs subsumed those originally present in their shared heritage.

Some nations, like Canada, have held truth and reconciliation commissions on these matters to better understand the extent to which official policy constituted a genocide of culture. Yet, as we recognize the atrocities that were done in previous centuries, we fail to stop new ones being conducted today. A true reckoning requires not only a historical re-envisioning, but a correction to policy and norms moving forward.

In fact, this sort of linguistic genocide is a precursor of the policies being enacted in East Turkistan today. Skutnabb and Kangas write that in nations where indigenous children were being indoctrinated into colonizing societies, brutal punishments were used in response to the speaking of their native tongue. Books in indigenous languages were burned, children were beaten, forced to carry stones, humiliated in front of their classmates, or required to report them.



EDUCATION UNDER THE CCP

A. "ZHONGHUA MINZU": ONE CHINESE NATION

To understand the Chinese Communist Party's idea of education, one must grasp the purpose of the apparatus as a whole. In the eyes of the CCP, the ultimate goal to be realized through educational attainment is the unification of China's various ethnic groups. In 2010, Timothy Grose wrote that:

"Since the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has controlled the apparatus of education, and the expansion of state-sponsored education has been a priority of the CCP in an attempt to unify China's 56 ethnic groups (minzu) into one Chinese nation (zhonghua minzu)."

"This specific definition of a society relies on a sole definition of identity."

The goal of a Zhonghua minzu informs nearly all educational policies for the party. It is especially critical to educational goals in areas like East Turkistan, where indigenous populations like the Uyghurs continue to outnumber Han Chinese, despite efforts to shift the demographics of the region. Lihua Zhang reports that:

"According to the 2015 Statistical Yearbook, the current population ratio of Han and ethnic minorities in Xinjiang is about 4:6. The Han population is mainly concentrated in northern Xinjiang regions and cities, and the vast majority of ethnic minorities are concentrated in four states and villages in southern Xinjiang. A similar situation prevails in the four prefectures in southern Xinjiang. In some grassroots villages in southern Xinjiang, some have only one or two Han residents, and some villages do not even have one Chinese household. The proportion of the basic-level ethnic-Han population is seriously imbalanced, resulting in a lack of language environment, and ethnic minority people only use their mother tongue to communicate in the long run."

This specific definition of a society relies on a sole definition of identity. Meaning, the Chinese Communist Party views the existence of ethnic identities as a zero-sum-game. The identity of the Uyghurs, Mongolians, and Tibetans cannot coexist with a unified Chinese identity, one must subsume the other. This policy is being implemented across the various occupied territories. In order to perpetuate this concept, the very idea of a historical culture must be revised. This process, coupled with educational policies, is known as sinicization.

A 2003 White Paper that was published by the Chinese government made claims that the Uyghur people had no indigenous claim to Xinjiang, and that Uyghurs were instead migrants to a territory that belonged to China. This claim, disputed by many scholars, lays a foundation to the policies of Sinicization and genocide. Jennifer Ang points out that heavy restrictions on the religious practices of Uyghurs under eighteen as well as then-Xinjiang Party Chief Zhang Chunxian expressing that religion needed to be sinicized are expressions of Han chauvinism and reflect the existing racist and discriminatory framework that gave Han Chinese advantages in every aspect of life in Xinjiang. Ang writes:

"Sinicization, masked by the language of industrialization, modernization, and progress, thus gives rise to its own contradiction. From the contrast drawn between self and other, the historiography of the Uyghurs becomes the site of contention as Chinese nationalist policies denied Uyghur indigenous claims to Xinjiang and to their historical independence... the idea of a Zhonguaminzu is thus challenged by the internal contradictions of Han-centric sanitization policies that created a world of contradictions for the Uyghurs and led to reactionary protests and several incidences of violence."

While Ang concludes with the belief that both Han Chinese and Uyghur beliefs must give way to a humanist future, there is little doubt that the structural policies that are taught and propagated from the top-down result in Han supremacist ideology dominating modern China, and the effects of this are a belief in the inferiority of ethnic groups, particularly Uyghurs, and the need to "reform" them. This belief was capitalized by the Party and used as the justification for the ongoing genocide.

A clear distinction between a liberalized education and the one being described here is the lack of focus on the individual. Where western schools of thought attempt to enhance individual interaction with the world around oneself, the party's strategy attempts to further enhance one's place within a larger apparatus. That apparatus of course being defined solely by the party itself, subject to little democratic influence or legitimacy.

B. MINORITY QUALITY

Arienne Dwyer writes that:

"Early PRC language policy was part of a broader economic and social development plan, which aimed to establish a new system of governance and society (eliminating imperialism and feudalism while establishing Marxism and egalitarianism) while also, crucially, building national unity. Based on Article 53, the stated goals of this period included support for officially recognized nationalities to use their own languages and writing systems. National minority education was to be promoted as a way to raise minority suzhi ("quality") (e.g., Liu and He 1989) as well as to train national minority cadres to fill posts in the local and Autonomous Region governments."

The policies that were developed in line with the view of "increasing minority quality" have led to definitive discriminatory policies in education. The removal of the Uyghur language from the curriculum and mandating Mandarin only paved the path, as it devalued the native language of an ethnic group under claims it is "unfit" for participation in society and culture.

This is because, as Dwyer argues:

"The early years of minority-language planning in the PRC were critical in establishing and legitimizing the "low quality" of national minority cultures and, by implication, peoples[...] In minority areas, the argument that minority languages were inherently low quality aided efforts to promote Standard Chinese: Minority languages were allegedly inadequate for the rigorous communicative demands of modern life, especially modern science."

This overpowering of one cultural identity and language for the sake of another is quite definitionally a cultural genocide. Ignoring the widespread destruction of mosques, banning of religious operations, and discrimination against traditional dress we can still in this policy see the seeds of an ethnic cleansing. Understanding the fundamental conceptualization of Uyghurs and other indigenous groups as "less-than" in relation to their Han Chinese counterparts sets the stage for developments later in educational policy.



C. BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The “bilingual” system in the CCP’s pursued model of education is described generally as one that seeks to teach traditional Chinese while preserving the mother tongue. The importance of language to the cultural identity of China is modeled after the Soviet Union, which prized a universal language as integral to the formation of a homogenized Communist state. In contrast with the stated purpose of a bilingual education, the use of the Uyghur language is largely regarded as unnecessary by the state, and often is classified as outright threatening. In fact, The Diplomat writes that:

“In the Chinese Communist Party’s drive to erase markers of Uyghur identity, the Uyghur language is a target because it is a Turkic language with many words of Arabic origin, and loanwords from Persian, and written in an Arabic-based script. These aspects of the Uyghur language serve to connect Uyghurs with Turkic and Islamic communities. The CCP seeks to sever these affinities and is using Mandarin language assimilation as a tool to reorient Uyghur identity.”

Schluessel, in his paper “‘Bilingual’ education and discontent in Xinjiang” wrote that the term “bilingual education” as used by the state was:

“a euphemism for the mandatory increase in the use of Mandarin in minority-language-speaking children’s school environments in place of the languages that are those students’ everyday medium of communication.”

The use of the term “bilingual education” has served as a smokescreen for the actions of the state, which is not to provide language development courses but instead to facilitate the abolition of the languages of ethnic groups such as Uyghurs. The state’s push to replace Uyghur as the language used in education comes from the top-down racist ideology and sentiment of Han supremacy. Uyghurs are seen as simple, backwards and in need of assistance, which plays into the Party’s goals of removing cultural and ethnic differences that have made it harder to fully assimilate Uyghur people.

As early as 2009, reports regarding the unequal treatment of languages began emerging from China. The laws governing minority languages appear quite balanced on first glance, giving assurances that minority languages are given preferential treatment among native populations and adequate consideration within the educational system. The International human rights attorney Aurora Elizabeth Bewicke wrote then that

“First, classrooms where Uyghur is the language of instruction have received only half the number of supplies, such as paper and toys, as Mandarin speaking schools.⁶² At the same time, education in minority languages has been increasingly restricted to the transitional phase of learning, and is only being used as a primary method for instruction long enough to enable the student to learn in Mandarin. Moreover, while the law provides that ‘minority nationalities

shall whenever possible, use textbooks in their own language, and use their languages as the media of instruction . . . ,’ reports demonstrate that educational books are published in Mandarin only.”

Then, to intensify the indoctrination, Dwyer writes that:

“The three extra primary years were coupled with an additional two intensive years of mandatory Chinese study at secondary and tertiary institutions—in effect, doubling formal instruction for non-Han students. Today, Chinese instruction in Xinjiang begins in the first grade.”

The once contradictory policy has grown to outright cultural erasure in recent years. Beginning in 2017, Radio Free Asia reported that:

“Authorities in northwest China’s Xinjiang region have issued a directive completely banning the use of the Uyghur language at all education levels up to and including secondary school, according to official sources, and those found in violation of the order will face ‘severe punishment.’

Bilingual education enforcement is a harsh policy. In as early as 2017, Hotan, East Turkestan have issued a directive completely banning the use of the Uyghur language at all education levels up to and including secondary school. Those found in violation of the order will face ‘severe punishment.’”



Simultaneously, real data supports the idea that the Chinese government has rapidly expanded its reach over the educational policies of the region. Dr. Adrien Zenz's research of primary documents reveals a 148% increase in pre-school enrollment among Uyghur children, compared to just an 8% increase nationally. This data reinforces the official word of the Party, made clear in an announcement published by the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China on April, 2016 which read:

"It is understood that Xinjiang will popularize high-quality preschool bilingual education. During the "13th Five-Year Plan" period, the state will invest special funds to support the construction of bilingual kindergartens in Xinjiang. 1 billion yuan has been invested in construction funds this year to build 52 bilingual kindergartens. Extend the existing rural preschool bilingual education guarantee mechanism from two years before school to three years before school, and strive to achieve a wider range and higher quality popularization of preschool bilingual education."

Indeed, the human impact of these policies is widespread. Uyghur Human Rights Project wrote in their report "Uyghur Voices on Education" that:

"at least 1,000 primary school teachers lost their jobs from 2010-2011 because of their Mandarin level. One teacher of 20 years at Nogayto primary school who lost her job, with 30 other teachers from her village, told RFA: "We are good educators who love the students, but now the government will only allow people who speak perfect Mandarin to teach them." A professor at the Xinjiang Early Childhood Training College also reported that 20 Uyghur professors at his school had no lessons to teach because the government required that their classes be taught in Mandarin. In 2011, only 12.7% of minority teachers in East Turkestan, or 18,342 of 144,780 total teachers, could teach bilingually."

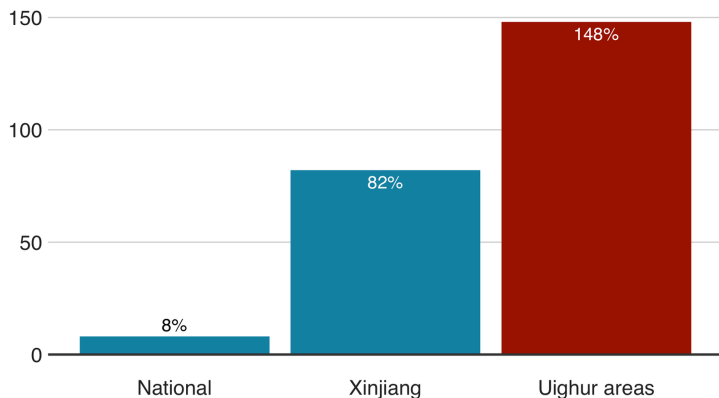
These increases in enrollment have been accompanied by an increased construction of dormitory spaces as well. These boarding schools are fundamental to the goal of cultural erasure, as Dr. Zenz writes that:

"Boarding schools provide the ideal context for a sustained cultural re-engineering of minority societies,".

They are also critical in the long-term separation of families, a policy that has been well documented by academics and witnesses. The Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), citing the BBC, reported in 2019 that:

Rise in Uighur preschool enrolment

Rate of increase 2015-18



Source: Adrian Zenz, 2019

BBC

"In 60 separate interviews, in wave after wave of anxious, grief-ridden testimony, parents and other relatives give details of the disappearance in Xinjiang of more than 100 children."

These educational centers bear striking resemblance to the "re-education" camps holding massive populations of adult Uyghurs as well. The BBC reports (using Zenz's data) that:

"Back in Xinjiang, the research shows that all children now find themselves in schools that are secured with 'hard isolation and closed management measures.' Many of the schools bristle with full-coverage surveillance systems, perimeter alarms and 10,000 Volt electric fences, with some school security spending surpassing that of the camps."

8%
Rise Nationally

148%
Rise in Uyghur
Areas

Radio Free Asia reported in August of 2021 that:

"Children with both parents detained, who are being educated in separate schools, are monitored by police and security guards 24 hours a day, said an official in central Xinjiang's Korla (Ku'erle), the second-largest city in the XUAR."

He said that guards make sure the children do not leave the school and enforce political indoctrination."

This report also states that:

"Twenty-five of the 30 children enrolled in the preschool at one township in Kashgar (in Chinese, Kashi) prefecture have one parent being detained by authorities, while those with both parents detained are being taught at a separate "welfare preschool" – a boarding school that functions like an orphanage for children four to six years old – a security officer at the school told RFA."

Additionally, Zenz writes that these educational facilities bear a striking resemblance to the very boarding schools used to assimilate indigenous children in western powers that were deemed crimes against humanity in their own right. Here we see precisely what Secretary Ban has warned the world of; our cultural memory is failing us at this prescient moment. In order to fully engage with the ideas set forth in the treaties on human rights, we must remember our failures of the past in order to prevent their repetition in the present. This genocide now is built on the precedent laid in previous annihilations, and it lays the framework for more in the future.

We need not look far to determine whether the actions described thus far in this realm constitute a cultural genocide. In 1944, Polish Lawyer Raphael Lemkin constructed the very concept of genocide. His book, "Axis Rule in Occupied Europe" documented the genocide carried out by the Third Reich, as well as other fascist tendencies among the Axis powers. He decidedly wrote that genocide not only consisted of the physical destruction of a peoples, but of their culture as well. He specifically wrote that this sort of cultural genocide could be carried out by the *"the prohibition of the use of a local language and schools, the restriction or ban of artistic, literary and cultural activities"*.

Going further, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights specifically demands in article 27 that:

"[i]n those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language."

Rather than a separate action, the destruction of the Uyghur language is integral to the attempted destruction of the Uyghur people as a whole. Cultural genocide is a part of a larger effort of erasure. Leora Bilsky and Rachel Klagsbrun wrote in 2018 that:



The Economist

"As a legal concept in international law, cultural genocide was devised as a sub-category, or aspect, of genocide - the attempt to systemically and wilfully destroy a group - alongside physical genocide and biological genocide. It denoted the destruction of both tangible (such as places of worship) as well as intangible (such as language) cultural structures."

The educational policies being enacted by the CCP in East Turkistan amount to a coordinated effort to make the Uyghur language less prominent, while spreading the Chinese language in its place. This effort is carried out through state-run educational centers, while alternative educational options taught in Uyghur are curtailed, shut down, and criminalized.

The effects of this sort of policy are catastrophic to the social cohesion of Uyghurs as an ethnic group. Yangbin Chen's quantitative study on the question of social utility of Uyghur language found that the ability to speak their native tongue was critical to the social capital of Uyghur youth, empowering them to draw ethnic distinctions in resistance to assimilation and erasure.

If these bilingual educational policies were once enforced in middle and high schools and universities in the past, they have now expanded to the youngest Uyghurs. In August of 2021, the Chinese government issued "Notice of the General Office of the Ministry of Education on the Implementation of the "Children's Homophony". It stated:

"Starting from the fall semester of 2021, all kindergartens in ethnic minority areas and rural areas that have not used the national standard language for childcare activities will use the national standard language for childcare activities to create a good Mandarin education environment for children.

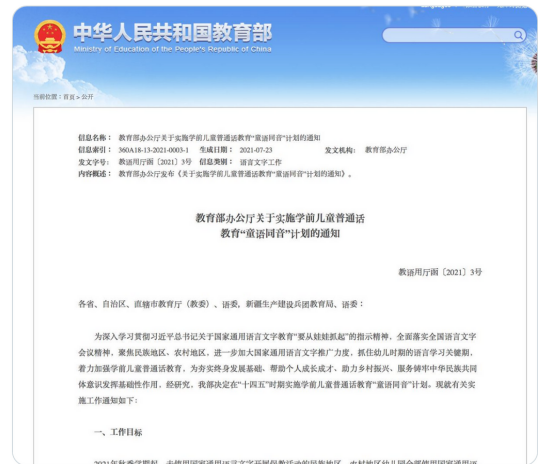
During the "14th Five-Year Plan" period, kindergarten teachers in ethnic minority areas and rural areas will carry out national common language application ability training, basically solving the problem of insufficient national common language education and teaching ability of kindergarten teachers. To enable pre-school children in ethnic minority areas and rural areas to gradually have the basic ability to communicate in national language, and to lay a good language foundation for entering the compulsory education stage."

This policy brought with it significant controversy. Many activists abroad considered it a clear form of cultural genocide.



中国近年来最恐怖的政策之一。

Translate Tweet



D. POLICIES IN MONGOLIA AND TIBET

Following the natural logic of the goal of the CCP's education policies, policies like those detailed above must be extended to all minority populations and their respective languages. In Mongolia and Tibet, repressive policies have also long focused on the use of language. This cross-population cultural erasure is part of the systemic effort to create a unified population out of a broad population of indigenous minority populations.

"The quickest way to destroy a people and a culture is to kill its language, starting with small children and kindergartens."

The Bilingual policy is implemented in the language education of Mongolian children. Reporters from Radio Free Asia called a Kindergarten in Hohhot and were informed by an employee there that the kindergarten discarded the use of Mongolian entirely and is using Mandarin for teaching.

Beginning in 2020, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region will use the "Chinese", "Ethics and Rule of Law" and "History" textbooks compiled by the state in ethnic language schools. In response to what was largely seen as an infringement on the autonomy of the region,

the former president of Mongolia sent a letter to the Chinese government expressing concern.

The Chinese ambassador responded with the following:

"The Mongolian living in China are citizens of the People's Republic of China and a part of the Chinese nation. All affairs related to Inner Mongolia, including the bilingual education reform in Inner Mongolia, are China's internal affairs and no interference from others is allowed."

This perspective is radically different from the policies outlined in the original vision for the autonomous regions of China, where indigenous languages and cultures would receive protection and support. Yet, this is the growing reality on the ground.

An instructor at the Inner Mongolia Vocational College of Chemical Technology was reported to say that:

"In order to firmly establish a correct view of the country, history, nation, and culture, it is necessary to consciously accept national language literature education. This is essential for building a spiritual home for all ethnic groups and forging a sense of unity for the Chinese nation."

Hu Zimo, author at the “The New Preschool Directive: Cultural Genocide Now Starts in Kindergarten” states:

“The quickest way to destroy a people and a culture is to kill its language, starting with small children and kindergartens. It is part of Xi Jinping’s great plan of universal “sinicization,” that the victims call “cultural genocide.” The translation of the Ministry of Education’s “Notice” follows.”

In his article, he detained the specific tasks from the Ministry of Education’s document. Task “create a good environment” states:

“Continue to promote the construction of kindergarten language work to meet the standards, strengthen supervision and inspection, and improve the level of kindergarten language work as a whole. Guide grassroots teachers to change their educational concepts and follow the rules of language learning for preschool children. Instruct kindergartens to create a rich Mandarin education environment, focusing on the development of preschool children’s oral language ability in learning Mandarin; use opportunities in daily life and games to encourage children to communicate with adults and peers in Mandarin, and promote children’s natural application process Understand the language meaning of Mandarin; organize a variety of activities to let children listen more, speak more, want to speak, dare to speak, and have the opportunity to speak Mandarin.”

The bilingual education of the minority kindergarten students has always been of interest to the regime. Several researchers Xiaofei Zhao, Jun Zhang, and Luzheng Wang published an article on June 13, 2018 on Chinese Social Sciences Net entitled “Research on the Monitoring of Chinese Ability of Minority Preschool Children”. It read:

“The “Chinese Curriculum Standards for Ethnic Minorities (Compulsory Education)” lists five aspects that jointly support the development of Chinese ability in the framework of Chinese curriculum goals, including emotional attitudes (such as awareness of the motherland and national unity), cultural awareness (understanding and loving Chinese culture) etc.”

These concepts are materializing in practical action as well. Radio Free Asia reported that:

“Yang Haiying, a professor at Japan’s Shizuoka University, said the move is part of CCP general secretary Xi Jinping’s plan to extend the CCP’s political agenda from cradle to grave. ‘I think that this is part of Xi Jinping’s cradle-to-grave agenda, one that he is now eager to complete by September,’ Yang told RFA. ‘He has already claimed to have lifted China out of poverty, and now he is trying to unify the Chinese nation culturally, too,’ he said. “hat means linguistic unity, according to his beliefs.”

He also mentioned that this method was used last year:

"This approach was successful in Inner Mongolia last year, through the use of comprehensive suppression [of opposing voices]," Yang said."

This sort of indoctrination begins among the youngest inhabitants of the region, in preschool. The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China issued a statement entitled "Xinjiang will popularize high-quality preschool bilingual education" on April 9, 2016, reading:

"It is understood that Xinjiang will popularize high-quality preschool bilingual education. During the '13th Five-Year Plan' period, the state will invest special funds to support the construction of bilingual kindergartens in Xinjiang. 1 billion yuan has been invested in construction funds this year to build 52 bilingual kindergartens. Extend the existing rural preschool bilingual education guarantee mechanism from two years before school to three years before school, and strive to achieve a wider range and higher quality popularization of preschool bilingual education."

In Tibet, scholars have written that the education system is widely viewed within the party as the most important way in which the party can intensify the identity of the Chinese nation. According to Radio Free Asia:

"Instruction in Mandarin has been in effect in most middle and high schools in the region since the 1960s, but in the 2010s, many elementary schools and even kindergartens are now also teaching in Mandarin due to the educational policies of the regional government, Human Rights Watch research showed."

An article in Guangming Daily titled "Tibet launches Tibetan-Chinese mutual learning to promote exchanges between cadres and groups" revealed the intense bilingual education implemented in Tibet since 2014. It reports intensive training of professional legal terminology, "bilingual" knowledge for party members, and cadres of the Ali Prefectural Procuratorate. There exists a punitive system for signaling use of non-native language as well. Green cards signal encouragement, yellow cards signal reminder, and red cards signal warning. The trainers regularly publish information on the students' usual performance, test results, and practical application ability in the bulletin board to encourage public accountability.

In Tibet as well, the priority given to Tibetan in public notices is quietly shifting. In the Tibet Autonomous Region, Tibetan has always been placed above Chinese on all public signboards, notices, and banners in the past. But Human Rights Watch has compiled scores of photographs from official Chinese media over the past year that document a major systemic change:

Chinese is now being placed prominently above Tibetan. This subtle shift is symptomatic of the larger trend in the region of indigenous language being moved to a secondary position in the eyes of the ruling regime.

Official Chinese government logos marking the 60th and 70th anniversaries of what they refer to as “the peaceful liberation of Tibet.”

This violates the very guidelines the CCP has placed regarding the treatment of minority languages, which are to be given full right to existence as well as protection from destruction. Yet, it is the CCP’s own policies which have paved the way for the eradication of the Uyghur language, both as a tool of isolation from other peoples and nations and of assimilation into the larger project of a homogenized Chinese society. In fact, there is no such thing as a bilingual education in East Turkistan. There is again, the subjugation of the Uyghur language for the good of the approved Chinese language.





There are only Mandarin and English language options at one of the prestigious university's website in East Turkestan.



TA sign that says "Please use the national language"(Photo source: Radio Free Asia).

Speaking the national language is shifting from a resource taught as a secondary skill to an expected norm. Human Rights Watch shared a poster in its article “China: Tibetan Children Denied Mother-Tongue Classes”. The poster reads that one should speak Mandarin and write Mandarin correctly, and that mandarin is the working language in school.

This policy has helped perpetuate human rights abuses in the region. According to Radio Free Asia’s report, The Qinghai private Tibetan language school was closed by the authorities. A senior teacher who taught in the school was detained and subsequently has disappeared. The enforcement of this policy thus leads to an extension of brutality across the region where physical intimidation is used to enforce cultural erasure.



E. EDUCATIONAL RESTRICTIONS

The content that is approved to enter the intellectual foundation of Chinese culture is strictly controlled by the CCP. This is especially true of information as it relates to the Uyghur people. The Chinese government has maintained a strong grip on intellectuals who may disseminate information it deems unfit for publication in regards to Uyghur culture and history. This campaign frequently results in the disappearance of academics and critics of the CCP, a policy with a long documented history under one-party rule. Uyghur poet Tahir Hamut IZGIL relates his experience with this threat in *The Atlantic*:

"There were whispers of Uyghur intellectuals being taken one after another. It was impossible, though, to know what was true and what wasn't. Whenever we heard that someone had been detained, we would wonder about the reason. But each time we asked the question, we realized immediately how absurd it was. We knew very well that the majority of alleged crimes were mere excuses to arrest people. We were all constantly aware that we could be taken for no reason at all."

The detention of the Uyghur intellectuals began in earnest in 2013, when Ilham Tohti, an economics professor, was sentenced to life in prison after being convicted of separatism.

According to the New York Times:

"Many scholars trace the assault on intellectuals to the imprisonment of Ilham Tohti, a Uyghur economist, in 2014. Mr. Tohti, who was an outspoken critic of the discrimination Uyghurs face in China, was sentenced to life in prison after being found guilty of separatism. More detentions came in 2017. Many of those targeted worked on preserving Uyghur culture."

Critically, the CCP has not limited physical threats to intellectuals in higher education, but has used intimidation and punishment on primary educators as well. Radio Free Asia reported this year that:

"The No. 5 Intermediate School in Altay (in Chinese, Aletai), the only school in the city where the Uyghur language was the medium of instruction, became a starting place for some of the earliest detentions in that city during the first half of 2017."

They continue that:

"In less than three months, local police said to be working with national security authorities had detained seven educators from the high school, taking them away as they wore black hoods over their heads."

The detainees included school principal Rayhan Amat, who later died during interrogation at one of the many internment camps China set up beginning in 2017 that are believed to have housed 1.8 million Uyghurs and other Muslims, according to sources from the region."

These arrests and disappearances remain largely undocumented, but the University of British Columbia has worked to amass a database of those who have suffered at the hands of the CCP in this regard. Among those they have documented are:

"Arslan Abdulla: Former dean of Xinjiang University, missing since 2017 and is widely believed to be held in detention

Halmurat Ghopur: President of Xinjiang Medical University. Arrested in 2017, sentenced to death with reprieve.

Rahile Dawut: Xinjiang University anthropologist who specializes in Islamic shrines, traditional songs and folklore. She disappeared in December 2017 when travelling from Ürümqi to Beijing. In June 2021, employees from Xinjiang University confirmed that she is currently imprisoned.

Abdulqadir Jalaaladdin: Xinjiang Normal University scholar of medieval Central Asian poetry who works to preserve Uyghur culture and identity. He was arrested after his house was raided and he has been held at an internment camp ever since."

These disappearances are part of a larger crackdown on education that has defined President Xi's rule. Where once reform was possible, doors have now been closed indefinitely as he seeks consolidation of power across all aspects of Chinese society. It has also occurred alongside brutal punishments for attempting to promote Uyghur language and cultural educational texts in East Turkistan. The US Embassy in Georgia writes, for example, that:

"A PRC court on April 6 announced the death sentence against Sattar Sawut, former director general of the education department in Xinjiang, for publishing Uyghur-language textbooks that authorities say "incorporated ethnic separatism" and "terrorism," according to the Associated Press. The sentence has been suspended for two years."

"[...]Yalqun says that the PRC permitted use of his father's textbooks for years, until PRC officials ramped up their repression of Uyghur and other minority cultures."

Similarly, Yalqun Rozi was punished for his efforts to document and collect Uyghur texts. His son Kamaltürk spoke to the U.S. Embassy in Georgia:

"Yalqun says his father, Rozi, edited and compiled more than 100 textbooks on Uyghur culture before he disappeared in October 2016. In 2018, PRC authorities confirmed that Rozi had been imprisoned on allegations of 'inciting subversion of state power.' But Yalqun says that the PRC permitted use of his father's textbooks for years, until PRC officials ramped up their repression of Uyghur and other minority cultures."

Through this recent crackdown, the state has become the de-facto regulator of acceptable indigenous education standards, reinforcing colonial power in the region and systematically erasing Uyghur culture.

Troublingly, the reach of the party does not end at the borders of China. Through international agreements and diplomacy the CCP has managed to create a network of deportations that make it dangerous for many Uyghur scholars and dissidents to travel at all. PEN America made note of this in their press release lamenting the detention of Aimidoula Waili, writing in November of 2020 that:

"[...]the CCP is ensuring that the Uyghur culture cannot be spread through formal education channels."

"Uyghur religious scholar Aimidoula Waili was arrested in Saudi Arabia on Friday at the apparent behest of the Chinese government, raising serious fears that he will be deported to China and either imprisoned or forced into an internment camp there. Waili's arrest represents yet another example of the Chinese government's wholesale attack on Uyghur cultural and intellectual life[...]"

The strong censorship policies of the CCP accomplish the goal of educational control as well, creating realities that shift to meet the approved policies of the party, rather than allowing the truth to permeate its ruling ideology. The issue today is that this ideology is one that views Uyghur peoples as threats to the state, and undeserving of basic existence. The widespread view in the party, reinforced by policies like the "Strike Hard Against Violent Extremism" campaign instituted by President Xi, that the Uyghur people's culture and faith are fundamentally wrapped up in extremist tendencies, is the driving force behind the draconian policies surrounding the flow of information in Uyghur society.

Finnegan articulates the result of these policies, writing that:

"...the Chinese government is strategically reducing the ways in which Uyghur cultural knowledge may be researched and obtained. In doing so, the CCP is ensuring that the Uyghur culture cannot be spread through formal education channels."

This campaign of repression encompasses nearly all groups of the Uyghur population, including those young people who are in the midst of a university education. In 2019, the New York Times came into possession of documents from the government in Beijing that contained details of the Uyghur genocide. One of these documents was a directive on how to handle students returning home to Xinjiang from education in other parts of China.

The Times writes that

"The government sends Xinjiang's brightest young Uighurs to universities across China, with the goal of training a new generation of Uighur civil servants and teachers loyal to the party."

Similar to other trends in education, the rise to power of President Xi Jinping coincides with a marked change in the treatment of Uyghurs in education and academia. A notable example is Uyghur publisher Yalqun Rozi, who was imprisoned for "showing separatist tendencies" in the educational materials published in the 90s and 2000s. These resources were approved by the state, and were only retroactively deemed "separatist". The implications of this are two-fold: it establishes that retroactive punishment and revoking of previously acceptable education materials can and will continue, leaving Uyghurs exposed to the threat of imprisonment or detention for working within the boundaries established by the government. Secondly, it points to a radical deconstruction and recreation of the Chinese state's educational curriculums and policies, one that disregards any multicultural or non-Han recognition.

Restrictions have also been placed on the influence of Western thought on education systems within China. This has always been a feature of the one-party system, but in recent years the CCP has endorsed Cultural Revolution-era repression. Educational institutions are subjected to censorship at a wider scale than in the past. At a political conference in December, 2016, President Xi gave a speech on making the ideological and political ideas of the CCP integral to the entire process of education. He emphasized that the institution must guide the students to learn the Marxist theories and socialist core values that supposedly drive the CCP.

As part of this policy, China has also waged a war on western holidays, under the auspices of promoting traditional Chinese culture. In January, 2017, the Communist Party of China's central committee and state council issued an official document entitled "Suggestions on the implementation of projects to promote and develop traditional Chinese culture excellence." Starting from 2017, many education bureaus started to issue statements related to celebrating western holidays.

This phenomenon has prevailed for many years. Radio Free Asia published an article entitled "China Bans 'Un-Chinese' Christmas Celebrations in Schools, Colleges" on December 25, 2014.

The New York Times on February 9th, 2015 published an article entitled "China Tells Schools to Suppress Western Ideas, With One Big Exception", writing:

"Though many academics have kept their frustrations private to avoid losing their jobs, some have openly expressed concern that limiting the availability of foreign textbooks and stifling classroom discussion would undermine China's quality of education."



University students wearing traditional Chinese outfits hold a banner calling on people to 'Resist Christmas' in Changsha, Hunan province, Dec. 24, 2014.(Source from Radio Free Asia)

In December of 2014, the principals in Wenzhou received a notice from the Municipal Education Bureau stating that "no Christmas-related activities should be held on campus." Those responsible for this policy stated that the purpose of banning the western festival was to promote the Chinese traditional festival, so that Chinese culture would not be diminished.

F. PATRIOTIC EDUCATION

In “Politics of Control”, Chang-tai Hung details the educational policies from early childhood designed to instill political and ideological beliefs through childhood education curricula. These policies were enacted beginning in the 1950s, and restricted the ability for private educators to operate, as well as the use of private educational materials.

Particularly in kindergarten, songs, games, and storytelling were used to develop a sense of nationalism and support for the CCP. In the curriculum submitted to the Beijing Municipal Education Bureau, political lessons were taught to children about heroic figures, the value of labor, and to love Mao, who was praised as a savior.

After Xi Jinping became the president of the People's Republic of China, one course named “Xi Jinping Thought” appeared in the student curriculum. The mandatory text book, titled “Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in the New Era,” is taught in different grades on a weekly basis.

The article “CCP Moves to Indoctrinate School Children With ‘Xi Jinping Thought’” published in the Epoch Times commented on the book:

“The book aims to ‘gradually shape students’ support for the Party’s leadership and the socialist system,” a recent notice from the Ministry of Education reads.”

“If you control education, you, in effect, control the thoughts of the entire populace,” Li Yuanhua, a former associate professor at the Capital Normal University College of Education in Beijing, told The Epoch Times.

Beginning this school year, the CCP is instituting a new curriculum that will expressly educate children on Xi Jinping’s ideology using a new textbook entitled “Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in the New Era”. The Epoch Times writes that:

“The mandatory textbook[...]will have five editions, to be taught to students in grades three, five, eight, and 10 on a weekly basis. The book aims to ‘gradually shape students’ support for the Party’s leadership and the socialist system,’ a recent notice from the Ministry of Education reads.

The move, coupled with an escalating clampdown on Western materials in classrooms, points to the regime’s desire to strengthen ideological control, starting by shaping the world view of the youngest generation, experts say ‘If you control education, you, in effect, control the thoughts of the entire populace,’ Li Yuanhua, a former associate professor at the Capital Normal University College of Education in Beijing, told The Epoch Times.”

While claims to the effectiveness of patriotic education are mixed, it is clear that the CCP has developed a nationalist agenda to be used from a young age throughout the student's education. Within these policies, it is clear that an unwavering loyalty to the party and a belief that the actions of the party are right have contributed to the overwhelming support the CCP seems to enjoy in public opinionated satisfaction polls. A population that supports the actions of its governments without thought or criticism is especially useful in enabling policies such as the oppression in Hong Kong, Tibet, or the genocide in East Turkistan. In fact, the current orchestrators and leaders of the Party are those who received the nationalist curricula developed and implemented throughout the 1950s to today, and are the same who developed "bilingual" education policies under the chauvinist beliefs of improving "minority quality". The genocide perpetrated against Uyghurs today can be viewed from a lens of developing nationalist loyalty and unwavering support for the actions of the CCP combined with the Han supremacist ideals that other ethnic groups under China's rule are of inferior quality and must be "brought up" to the level of educational, cultural, and civilizational enlightenment enjoyed by the Han Chinese majority.

The efforts to eradicate Uyghur culture through education have escalated alongside President Xi Jinping's ambitious plans for the one-party state. Time Magazine writes that:

"Under Xi, 'ideological education' has been ramped up across China over the past couple of years, most intensely in areas of historic resistance. It begins early; in 2019, a CCP directive on patriotic education instructed cadres to "start with the babies" to teach "love for the motherland and pride of being Chinese."



2021年5月25日，江苏省如皋市健康幼儿园老师在指导小朋友绘画《红军过草地》图画。徐慧摄/光明图片

Kindergarten children receiving patriotic education through painting "Red Army Crossing the Grassland".

The Chinese government has been embarking on patriotic education in order to achieve ideological unity, at the expense of erasing the culture of ethnic minorities.

Additionally, patriotic education has become a method for the Chinese government to cover up crimes. They have used this false narrative to call for boycotting western brands that spoke up for the Uyghur forced labor. After the "Xinjiang Cotton" incident, an article entitled "Tell the children: Behind Xinjiang cotton is a national action for patriotic education" was published on Tencent news.

Unfortunately, patriotic education has now become systematic in East Turkistan. Relevant departments in Xinjiang require schools and various departments to implement patriotic education into education and create a strong patriotic atmosphere in schools. This indoctrination goes beyond national unity, instead serving to replace culturally important notions among Uyghur populations with teachings associated with CCP supremacy.

Patriotic education is also applied to those children confined to state-sponsored orphanages. Rushan Abbas, writing in the Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, argues that:

"These state-run orphanages or "boarding schools" also serve to socially engineer a young generation of Uyghurs to be obedient and loyal to the CCP. For instance, this process takes place by teaching Uyghur children to thank "Grandfather Xi" and to verbally praise the CCP in speech and song, serving the larger purpose of "sinicization" which attempts to erase Muslim identities."

These orphanages are quickly becoming engines of social engineering as well. Their use has become widespread in areas where disappearances are highest. Radio Free Asia wrote in August of 2021 that:

"More than 80 percent of the Uyghur children at a village preschool in China's far-western Xinjiang have at least one parent in state custody, while pupils with both parents in detention attend a separate "welfare school" where they are continuously monitored[...]"

Newly released documents suggest that along with the intense patriotic education, labor education serves as an ideological guide that has been initiated by the Chinese Communist Party. This troubling development is indicative of the larger trend of forced labor, a major piece of the Uyghur genocide.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China issued a document entitled "Opinions of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council on Comprehensively Strengthening Labor Education in Universities, Middle Schools and Primary Schools in the New Era". It stated:

"According to the characteristics of each school period, labor education courses are compulsory set up in universities, middle schools and primary schools to systematically strengthen labor education. The labor education class of primary and secondary schools shall not be less than one class hour per week, and the school shall make regulations on the working hours outside of school for students every day. Vocational colleges use practical training courses as the main carrier to carry out labor education, among them the special education on labor



Students study in their classroom at the Yang Dezhi "Red Army" elementary school in Wenshui, Xishui county, Guizhou Province, on Nov. 7, 2016. (Fred Dufour/AFP via Getty Images)

Poster from the People's Daily that were widely used by celebrities in China to boycott western brands like H&M.



spirit, labor role model spirit, and craftsman spirit should not be less than 16 hours. Institutions of higher education must clarify that labor education mainly relies on courses, and should not be less than 32 hours on undergraduate level."

Zenz writes that this integration of education with coercive labor is deeply felt. He points out that:

"Notably, both factory and educational settings are essentially state controlled environments that facilitate ongoing political indoctrination while barring religious practices. As a result, the dissolution of traditional, religious and family life is only a matter of time."

In 2019, new guidelines were issued by the CCP Central Committee and the PRC State Council titled "Implementation Guidelines for Patriotic Education in the New Era". The new guidelines "double down on hardline Communist ideology, and the scope of its ambitions to intensify ideological indoctrination throughout Chinese society", as John Dotson writes. The efforts to promote the cult of personality around Xi Jinping and shut down criticism of the CCP's own history (termed "historical nihilism") focus on youth. The document calls for the fusion of patriotic education "into language, ethics and law, history, and other subject teaching materials".

While patriotic education is not new, Dotson writes:

"However, these policies do represent a dramatic intensification of these efforts, as well as revealing the CCP's totalitarian ambitions to impose these programs ever more broadly throughout Chinese society.", which is highlighted by a call to "merge the patriotic spirit into relevant laws, regulations, and policy systems."

It is evident that patriotic education is a tool of control to indoctrinate the new generation of Chinese youth and continue the base of support the CCP has. Particularly, the concept of "historical nihilism" that Dotson talks about has a direct effect on Uyghurs and other ethnic groups under China's control. While autonomous regions and ethnic groups are given the right to educate their own children on paper, the increasing desire for control over education by the CCP is the attempt to create one China. The direct contradiction of patriotic education and its intolerance for what it sees as incongruent teachings results in autonomous education disappearing in favour of subsuming different cultures into the monolith of the CCP's China.

CONCLUSION

“At present we are witnessing a genocide of growing silence.”

What does a genocide sound like? In the popular imagination, it sounds of fear and wailing, of the cries of those put underfoot within a despotic regime. These genocides are the image that billions carry with them in their modern understanding. Yet, more insidious than this image is a genocide that sounds of silence. Genocides like that of the Uyghurs are defined in part by the absence of a spoken word in an indigenous tongue. Culture and language are the defining features of the global tapestry of human identity. To erase even one part of that tapestry is a grave evil, and is only accomplished by crimes of the highest order. It is likewise an indication of the genocidal intent of those who carry such atrocities forward.

At present we are witnessing a genocide of growing silence. Children are forbidden from speaking their mother tongue, taught to reject their heritage and embrace the highest powers of their one-party state. This systematic coalescence of all identity under the prevailing ideology of the CCP is the second part of a genocide that aims to not only destroy demographically the physical presence of the Uyghur people, but the proof of their existence at all.

Critical to this, history is the story of our existence. It ought to inform our future and create improved outcomes. In past centuries the world watched as indigenous peoples were forced to abandon their culture and language at the threat of abuse and violence, only to express remorse for such a loss decades later. Now is not the time for remorse in regards to the Uyghurs, it is time for action. The greatest form of genocide education a society can engage in is demonstrating how to recognize and put an end to one in real-time.

Today, the world must show the Uyghur people that history's tragedies were not in vain. The demonstrated ideological drivers of educational policy in East Turkistan are giving rise to a generation of children and young people whose identity is not as an Uyghur, but as a nationalistic entity whose purpose is to serve the state and provide labor for its benefit. It is no overstatement to say that the very humanity of the global population is at risk.

Through internal documents, eyewitness testimony, and external academic study the Uyghur genocide, and its cultural component through compulsory education take shape. Demanding an end to oppression in East Turkistan requires demanding the enforcement of critical treaties that guarantee basic rights to children. The inheritors of our world deserve a chance to improve it, a chance being denied to all those born today whose original sin is solely their existence as an Uyghur.

REFERENCES

In order of citation

<https://www.fx361.com/page/2019/0715/5313695.shtml>

Finnegan, Ciara. The Uyghur Minority in China: A Case Study of Cultural Genocide, Minority Rights and the Insufficiency of the International Legal Framework in Preventing State-Imposed Extinction, 2020

[un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide.shtml](https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide.shtml)

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove & Dunbar, Robert. (2010). Indigenous Children's Education as Linguistic Genocide and a Crime Against Humanity? A Global View.

<https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>

<https://news.un.org/en/story/2016/01/520992-education-key-preventing-new-genocides-says-ban-un-special-event-honouring>

Shear, Sarah B. "Cultural Genocide Masked as Education." *Doing race in social studies: Critical perspectives* (2015): 13-40.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2020). Linguistic genocide 1. In *Cultural Violence and the Destruction of Human Communities* (pp. 58-74). Routledge.

<https://sites.mii.se/comparativeeducation/files/2013/01/Education-Integration-and-the-Uyghurs.pdf>

<https://www.fx361.com/page/2019/0715/5313695.shtml>

Jennifer Ang (2016) Sinicizing the Uyghurs, *Peace Review*, 28:4, 399-406, DOI: 10.1080/10402659.2016.1237078

https://etda.libraries.psu.edu/files/final_submissions/8497

<https://thediplomat.com/2019/05/chinas-effort-to-silence-the-sound-of-uyghur/>

Eric T. Schluessel (2007) 'Bilingual' education and discontent in Xinjiang, *Central Asian Survey*, 26:2,251-277, DOI: [10.1080/02634930701517482](https://doi.org/10.1080/02634930701517482)

Bewicke, A. E. (2009). Silencing the Silk Road: China's Language Policy in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. *San Diego Int'l LJ*, 11, 135.

<https://www.eastwestcenter.org/system/tdf/private/PS015.pdf?file=1&type=node&id=32051>

<https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/language-07282017143037.html>

<http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Beijing-bans-the-use-and-teaching-of-the-Uyghur-language-in-Xinjiang-schools-41422.html>

REFERENCES (CONT.)

In order of citation

<https://www.jpolrisk.com/break-their-roots-evidence-for-chinas-parent-child-separation-campaign-in-xinjiang/>

http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xwfb/s5147/201604/t20160429_241381.html

Abdilim, Mihray. (2011 September 23). Uyghur teachers are losing their jobs as authorities ramp up bilingual education in Xinjiang. Radio Free Asia. Retrieved from <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/teachers-09232011160635.html>

Uyghur Human Rights Project, "Uyghur Voices on Education". 2015

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-48825090>

<https://www.jpolrisk.com/break-their-roots-evidence-for-chinas-parent-child-separation-campaign-in-xinjiang/>

<https://unpo.org/article/21567>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-48825090>

https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/welfare-schools-08162021174124.html?fbclid=IwAR0kRK6smmOKZ_P_4G-k67T5hfR6xpOx8ZNWHL9ZBqR52fyXOdNGaBwL4_g

Zenz, Adrian. 2019a. Thoroughly reforming them towards a healthy heart attitude: China's political re-education campaign in Xinjiang. *Central Asian Survey* 38: 102-28.

Lemkin, Raphael. 1944. *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*. New York: Columbia University Press.

United Nations General Assembly. "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights," opened for signature 16 December 1966. *United Nations Treaty Series*, vol. 999, p. 171, art 27.

Leora Bilsky, Rachel Klagsbrun, The Return of Cultural Genocide?, *European Journal of International Law*, Volume 29, Issue 2, May 2018, Pages 373-396, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/chy025>

Yangbin Chen (2010) Boarding School for Uyghur Students: Speaking Uyghur as a Bonding Social Capital, *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, 4:1, 4-16, DOI: 10.1080/15595690903442231

http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/zhengceku/2021-08/02/content_5629074.htm

<https://www.rfa.org/mandarin/yataibaodao/shao-shuminzu/ql0811a-08112021045557.html>

http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xwfb/s5147/202103/t20210315_519736.html

REFERENCES (CONT.)

In order of citation

<https://bitterwinter.org/the-new-preschool-directive-cultural-genocide-now-starts-in-kindergarten/?fbclid=IwAR2IfhmSTp7cDYpngtRoyNez39cj42s-tYX9XpQqgsWH-k2tAj7ykjuhryU>

https://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/banning-08112021130643.html/ampRFA?fbclid=IwAR33cm8ozDUIYO750KyU FKFn_OEV_-kxou0TlrLPPx85z-EKnF5Zg5eyWo

http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xwfb/s5147/201604/t20160429_241381.html

Z.Y. Zhu, *State Schooling and Ethnic Identity: The Politics of a Tibetan Neidi School in China*, New York: Lexington Books, 2007, p. 55.

<https://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/language-04162020170950.html>

http://www.wenming.cn/specials/zxdj/dangqunluxian/gddt/201406/t20140630_2032607.shtml

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/07/21/china-chinese-now-tops-tibetan>

<https://thehill.com/opinion/international/509173-china-is-replacing-languages-of-ethnic-minorities-with-mandarin>

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/03/05/china-tibetan-children-denied-mother-tongue-classes>

<https://www.rfa.org/mandarin/yataibaodao/shao-shuminzu/hx0811a-08112021064741.html>

Finnegan, Ciara. *The Uyghur Minority in China: A Case Study of Cultural Genocide, Minority Rights and the Insufficiency of the International Legal Framework in Preventing State-Imposed Extinction*, 2020

<https://www.theatlantic.com/the-uyghur-chronicles/>

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/05/world/asia/china-xinjiang-uyghur-intellectuals.html>

<https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/high-school-07012021100931.html>

<https://xinjiang.sppga.ubc.ca/timelines/arrests/>

<https://ge.usembassy.gov/uyghur-educators-face-prison-death-in-china/>

<https://pen.org/press-release/prominent-uyghur-scholar-arrested-by-saudi-authorities-on-china-request/>

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/16/world/asia/china-xinjiang-documents.html>

<https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/intellectuals-jailed-10102018172605.html>

<http://politics.people.com.cn/n1/2016/1208/c1024-28935841.html>

http://www.xinhuanet.com//politics/2017-01/25/c_1120383155.html

<https://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/christmas-12252014124013.html>

REFERENCES (CONT.)

In order of citation

<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/09/world/asia/china-tells-schools-to-suppress-western-ideas-with-one-big-exception.html>

<http://opinion.people.com.cn/n/2014/1226/c159301-26277740.html>

Hung, Chang-tai. Politics of Control, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2021.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9780824886905>

https://www.theepochtimes.com/mkt_app/ccp-moves-to-indoctrinate-school-children-with-xi-jinping-thought_3949087.html?v=ul&fbclid=IwAR07qAcPO_EzIKhzRb2afgLKl4MpqqQUhtDnu9wwLqpmC3GMfUaXATYqVTO

<https://time.com/6078961/china-ccp-anniversary-identity/>

<https://new.qq.com/rain/a/20210329A09GO800>

http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xwfb/s5147/202010/t20201009_493548.html

<https://gjia.georgetown.edu/2021/08/17/the-uyghur-genocide-through-the-lens-of-the-child/?fbclid=IwAR2LUqdOYeBCK5AecdgAlxKi2SjOoBf8XXSliKb48pRK-7LirRNTDDDWXpl>

https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/welfare-schools-08162021174124.html?fbclid=IwAR0kRK6smmOKZ_P_4G-k67T5hfR6xpOx8ZNWHL9ZBqR52fyXOdNGaBwL4_g

http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2020-03/26/content_5495977.htm

Zenz, Adrian. "Beyond the Camps: Beijing's Grand Scheme of Coercive Labor, Poverty Alleviation and Social Control in Xinjiang." (2019).

<https://jamestown.org/program/the-ccps-renewed-focus-on-ideological-indoctrination-part-1-the-2019-guidelines-for-patriotic-education/>

CFU is a 501(c)(3) non-profit advocating for the rights of Uyghurs and other Turkic groups around the world.

CONTACT

1101 PENNSYLVANIA AVE. NW
SUITE 300
WASHINGTON, DC 20004

CONTACT@CAMPAIGNFORUYGHURS.ORG
