

CHINA AND THE UIGHURS

GRAHAM PERRY APRIL 2021

INTRODUCTION

In recent months China has suffered a bad press on the issue of the Uighurs and the purpose of this article is to address the allegations that China is guilty of genocide and has imposed forced sterilisation on Uighur women. There is a third allegation that China is using forced labour in its production for exports which will be addressed in a separate article.

The issues of genocide and forced sterilisation are considered in two ways – first, the background history of the Uighurs and the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, and, second, the evidence of genocide and the evidence of forced sterilisation. I then consider the overarching geo-political relationship between the US and China which, I contend, is at the core of the two allegations of genocide and forced sterilisation.

I also review the relations between China and the Jews in the light of two matters – first, the link between the Holocaust and genocide, and, second, the criticism of China's alleged conduct of the Uighurs by Jewish leaders.

By way of introduction, I say something about my own background in China.

GRAHAM PERRY AND CHINA

My father, Jack Perry, was the first Western businessman to visit China in 1953. He returned annually to China until his death in 1996. He saw China at close quarters and wrote letters to the family and articles for periodicals about his experiences. I first visited China in 1965 for two months when I travelled extensively, including Ya'nan, Xi'an, Beijing, Shanghai, Hangchow, Nanchang, Kwangchow, Jingtangshan and Wuhan. I attended the Banquet in the Great Hall of the People on 30 September 1965 and the National Parade the following day – both events presided over by Mao Tsetung, Liu Shaochi, Zhou Enlai and other leaders from the Revolutionary War against Chiang Kaishek's Kuomintang and the Patriotic War against the Japanese 1937-1945.

I have returned to China on many occasions on business, legal matters, and sport and cultural events. A visit of note was in the company of Lord Woolf, one of the UK's leading jurists, when, by prior arrangement with Chinese Judges, Lord Woolf gave a lecture in the

Great Hall of the People on the Rule of Law in the UK – which triggered a lively question + answer session with China’s political leaders and lawyers.

Over the years and through regular visits, I have developed an understanding of the rhythms of China and its development which have taken the country from being “The Sick Man of Asia” in 1949 to being the fastest growing economy in the world in 2021. It is a remarkable story which has been praised - and criticised with equal vigour - down the years.

Throughout my student days and, later up to the present day, I have always been on the Left. I was on Aldermaston Marches in the late 1950s and Anti-Vietnam War Marches in the late 1960’s. I have been a member of the Labour Party since 1983 and a past speaker on behalf of the Jewish Labour Movement to Jewish organisations and Labour Party Branches on the issue of anti-semitism. I continue to give such talks in an independent capacity. Uppermost in my talks on anti-semitism, is a full appreciation of genocide and the violent deaths of 6m Jews in concentration camps during World War 11.

By way of personal background, I was also a human rights lawyer in the 1970’s in the East End of London, appearing in Magistrates and County Courts defending local people charged with criminal offences, making bail applications, protecting tenants against eviction and the range of cases covered by the well-known UK-based Secret Barrister. Additionally, I was an Immigration Judge for thirteen years deciding cases of asylum, immigration and deportation and, prior to that, a Justice of the Peace for sixteen years.

GENOCIDE

Genocide is the intentional action to destroy a people usually defined as an ethnic, national, racial or religious group. It was a term used by Raphael Lemkin in his 1944 book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*. The hybrid word geno-cide being a combination of the Greek word for genos being “race, people”, and the Latin suffix – caedo – being an “act of killing”. The United Nations Genocide Convention, which was established in 1948, defines genocide as *"acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such" including the killing of its members, causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, deliberately imposing living conditions that seek to "bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part" Genocide is also preventing births, or forcibly transferring children out of the group to another group."*

Prominent examples of genocide in history include the Holocaust, the Armenian Genocide, the Rwandan Genocide and the Serbian Genocide. The list is not exhaustive. The word “Genocide” is widely considered to be the epitome of human evil. The charge against China is that China has carried out genocide against the Uighur people.

THE UIGHURS

The Uighurs inhabit the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region in Northwest China. Xinjiang covers 1.66m sq km (640,000 sq miles). The Uighurs are one of China's 56 officially recognized ethnic minorities. The Xinjiang region borders eight countries: Mongolia, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikstan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. China has always regarded Xinjiang as an inseparable part of China and it is this, not race, which - in my view - is at the heart of present allegations and counter-allegations about genocide.

Through history, many dynasties have ruled in Xinjiang including the Sui Dynasty in the 7th Century, the Tang Dynasty in the 9th Century, the Song Dynasty in the 13th Century and the Ming Dynasty that ruled Xinjiang between 1368 and 1644. Finally, the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) defined the North Western border of China and in 1884 the Qing government established a province in Xinjiang. The People's Republic of China was inaugurated on 1 October 1949 and has always viewed Xinjiang as an integral part of Chinese territory.

Over the years, many different ethnic groups have made Xinjiang their home – the Sai, the Rouchi, the Cheshi, in the BC period; the Han and the Qin between the 3rd and 6th Century in the Common Era; the Khaitans, the Manchu, the Uzbeks and the Tartars in the period of the Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties. By the end of the 19th century, thirteen ethnic groups had settled in Xinjiang including Uighurs, Han and groups of Russian origin. The Uighurs were the largest group and they were divided into three sub groups – the Gaochang Uygurs, the Yugus, and the Uighurs who merged with the Han and other smaller groups to form the core of today's Uighurs. In 1934 the Xinjiang government made a decree stipulating the Chinese name of the Uighurs.

Xinjiang is, therefore, a mix of ethnic cultures and a multi-religion area reflecting the successive generational experience of Shamanism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Taoism and Islamism. By the early 16th century, many religions co-existed, with Islam being the dominant influence. In the 18th century, Protestantism, Catholicism and the Eastern Orthodox Church were introduced but Islam has been the principal religious influence, although, it should be borne in mind that, a significant number of people in Xinjiang have had no religious observation.

CHINA AND THE UIGHUR SEPARATISTS

What is missing in the UK in the public discussion about the Uighurs is the real context for the events that have taken place in Xinjiang. Chinese actions are condemned because, it is alleged, they focus exclusively on the racial oppression of the Uighurs. China is composed of the Han majority who are, it is claimed by China's critics, racially prejudiced against the Uighurs. China has a population of 1.4bn people. The Uighurs are approximately 12m and

China's attitude to the Uighurs, its critics assert, is dominated by a race hatred of the Uighurs which has led to genocide, forced sterilisations and concentration camps. It is my argument, however, that the recent problems in Xinjiang are all about security, territorial integrity and terrorism and are nothing to do with race, racial hatred or racial oppression.

UIGHUR TERRORISM

Political challenge focused on the creation of an East Turkistan Islamic State (ETIM). In November 1933 Mohammed Imin founded the so called "East Turkistan Islamic Republic.". It failed but, in its wake, other organisations tried to follow the same lead which has created a fundamental conflict between Uighur Separatists/Muslim Extremists on the one hand and China on the other. That is what the dispute is about. The separatism of Islamic extremists versus the territorial integrity of China. It is for this reason that the issues are about security and not about race. China has had uppermost in its mind the need to avoid a second Chechnya; to defeat the Muslim extremists; and to protect and maintain the geographical and political "oneness" of China.

The ETIM is a Muslim separatist group founded by militant Uighurs. The US listed ETIM as a terrorist organisation in 2002 during a period of increased US-Chinese co-operation on anti-terrorism in the wake of the 9/11 Al-Qaida attacks on the Twin Towers in New York and the Pentagon. ETIM seeks an independent state called East Turkistan that would cover an area including parts of Turkey, Kazakhstan, Kryrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region (XUAR). Memetuhut Memetrozi, a co-founder of ETIM, is serving a life sentence in China for his involvement in terrorist attacks. The Turkistan Islamic Party (TIP), was formed in 2006 by Uighur extremists and took credit for the bus explosions in Shanghai and Kunming in 2006.

During the Spring Festival in 1992, bombs planted on buses exploded killing three and injuring twenty-three; in 1997 nine were killed in a bus bombing; in 2011 eight were killed with knives and twenty-seven injured; in 2012 terrorists used knives to kill fifteen civilians and on 1 March 2014 two Xinjiang terrorists knifed to death thirty-one people at Kunming Railway and injured one hundred and forty others. The following month, two terrorists hid in the crowd at Urumqi Railway station, detonated a bomb in a suitcase and killed three and injured seventy-nine people. Thirty-nine victims died from a detonated bomb on 22 May 2014, and in September 2015 terrorists attacked a coalmine in Baicheng County causing sixteen deaths.

Specific terrorist attacks on Islamic leaders have resulted in the deaths of four leading clerics. Incendiary devices have been placed in shopping malls and attempts to cause a mid-air flight explosions have been foiled. In 2013, Xinjiang terrorists drove a jeep carrying gasoline into Tian'anmin Square in Beijing killing two and injuring more than forty

bystanders. Further attacks on government organisations between 1996 and 2016 have led to one hundred and twenty-eight deaths and many injuries. The biggest loss of life occurred on 5 July 2009 when terrorists engineered a riot which led to one hundred and ninety-seven deaths and more than one thousand seven hundred injuries.

There have been many victims – the public and the police – and property losses have been considerable. The focus of the terrorism has been in Kashgar, Hotan, and the Kizilsu Kirgiz Autonomous Prefecture in the south of Xinjiang. Normal religious activities in Xinjiang were seriously disrupted and social and economic development had suffered.

Some Muslim Uighurs joined Taliban and al-Qaida in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria and the matter came before the United Nations with the UN Security Council, US approving, referred to them as ‘Uighur ETIM terrorists’. Two UN Security Council Resolutions 1267 and 1390 – designated ETIM as a terrorist group. There is further information. On 14 July 2015, the Strait Times of Singapore reported that Uighur terrorists had landed in Indonesia and Thailand and a shrine had been bombed in Bangkok. On 11 May 2017 Reuters reported “Syria as saying that up to 5000 Chinese Uighurs are fighting in militant groups.”

XINJIANG, THE UIGHURS AND THE BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE (BRI)

Xinjiang is a strategically important province for China. In the context of the BRI, Xinjiang is the door to China’s New Silk Road linking China with Central Asia and Europe as well as Iran, the Middle East and Africa through the under-construction Gwadar Port in Pakistan. This much is apparent to the US whose withdrawal from Afghanistan has created a power vacuum leading Central Asian countries to look to China for mutual security and development - just at the time China is contending with what they call the “Three Evils” being terrorism, separatism and fundamentalism. China has also acquired a growing reputation for non-interference in the internal affairs of her trade partners.

Two prominent Americans – one a diplomat and the other from the Army – have recently made relevant observations about the significance of Xinjiang;

First, Charles Freeman, the former Assistant Secretary of State for Defence and, subsequently, US Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, said in a video broadcast, that approximately 3,000 Uighurs fought for ISIS and, that Uighurs were also involved in fighting the US and UK troops in Afghanistan with some of the fighters still in detention in Guantanamo Bay.

Second; Lieutenant-Colonel Wickerson, former Chief of Staff to Secretary of State Colin Powell, said the CIA has plans to encourage up to 20,000 indigenous Uighurs to fight against China in the event that hostilities break out in and around Xinjiang.

These two experienced participants in the US military machine are not journalists writing a weekly column but experienced political and military people who are warning that the US has contingency plans to stir the pot and take advantage of turbulence in the region for the purpose of clipping China's power. Additionally, it is relevant to point out that ETIM used to be classified by the US as a terrorist organisation but, recently, the US took ETIM off their terrorist list triggering speculation that the US is planning to send the former terrorists back into Xinjiang as 'freedom fighters' to 'liberate the Uighurs from Chinese oppression.'

CHINA'S RESPONSE TO TERRORISM

China was challenged by terrorism and decided to act. They divided the Uighurs into three groups; the first group are hard-headed terrorists who carried out the acts of violence. The second group is composed of young men who came within the orbit of influence of the terrorists especially when they were thrown together in prison when idle time enabled the terrorist message to be promoted to eager listeners. There is a third group, and numerically very superior to the first two groups, and that is the overwhelming bulk of Uighurs who enjoy a rising standard of living and have no truck with terrorism.

Back to the second group - it was during this period of confinement and inactivity that the terrorists influenced some of the followers into becoming militants. For the first group, China was unyielding and arrest, trial, conviction and either imprisonment or execution has been their lot. For the second group, a quite different approach has been taken and the focus is on vocational centres offering education and training in order to wean impressionable young minds off of extremism. This is what is described as "concentration camps" in the Western media.

The thrust of China's policy is two fold: first, to defeat the terrorists militarily and, second, at the same time, to educate and rehabilitate those responsible for less serious violations of law and order. The emphasis is on education, raising civic awareness through lectures by Judges and lawyers, vocational training including garment making, food processing, interior design and livestock breeding. There is also emphasis on a step-by-step education in laws and exposure of terrorism and religious extremism with the focus of eliminating extremism by freeing the mind.

To the Western media, this is called "brainwashing". To the Chinese, this is called "emancipation" and the process of changing the mindset of terrorist sympathisers and offering them a way back into Chinese society in Xinjiang. The rules specifically permit the use of local ethnic languages and the consumption of Muslim food but there is no teaching

or encouragement of religious observance. The rules also emphasise central heating in the winter and air conditioning in the summer and the availability of other material comforts.

The goal is to eliminate religious extremism and to break the stranglehold that the mind-set of extremism has on young people who have drifted into the reach of extremists. No question that the Chinese are addressing terrorist thinking, ideology and norms. The goal is to turn these criminals - for they have to have been found guilty of participation in terrorist activity albeit at the margins and not at the core, in order to be sentenced to periods of confinement and restriction – back into civic minded citizens free of extremist thinking and ideology. And the Chinese do claim success – religious extremism has been eliminated; there have been no recent incidents of bombs, knife attacks or terrorist activity. The detention and re-education camps have been closed.

China has not relaxed its vigilance. Afghanistan remains unstable; ISIS may have suffered defeats but Muslim extremism remains a challenge to all governments – Muslim or non-Muslim, Asia or Europe. China is constantly alert to renewed terrorist challenges notwithstanding that no such challenges have occurred in the last four years.

DISTINGUISHING TERRORISTS FROM FOLLOWERS IN THE UK

Interestingly, the issue of Prison for Terrorists was addressed in the UK in the Times newspaper on 25 January 2021, when Mr Jonathan Hall QC, the UK government's independent reviewer of terrorism legislation, concluded, first, that convicted terrorists are not being prosecuted for radicalising fellow inmates and, second, that extremism is being encouraged behind bars. The “jails within a jail” in the UK were created to hold the most dangerous prisoners and to “stop them radicalising vulnerable inmates in the general prison population.” But the policy was failing, warned Jonathan Hall QC, and terrorism was being encouraged in prisons by imprisoned terrorists with power and influence within the prison population.

The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR) at King's College, London outlined twenty-two terrorist attacks across Europe in the past five years including five attacks in the UK where the perpetrators had made connections in prison. The United Nations Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism recognises that poverty, unemployment, and low levels of education constitute the soil from which terrorism is nurtured and developed. Separating violent extremists from impressionable young people, who have flirted with terrorism in the UK, is now likely to happen. It is what has been happening in Xinjiang, China for six years from 2013 on a bigger scale.

GENOCIDE, CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND THE JEWS

Has China committed genocide against the Uighurs? That is the allegation and I will come to the specific allegations, but it is right to bear in mind the significance of its meaning.

In the minds of many people, and especially Jewish people, the word 'genocide' has unmistakable links and associations with the Third Reich. Germany's defeat in World War 1 was blamed, in part, on "money-making Jews". In 1919, the victorious powers imposed harsh reparations on Germany which condemned the country to continuing hardship. The difficult times were exploited by the Far Right and allowed Hitler's racial hatred to win a willing audience. Then there was Mein Kampf where Hitler gave the clearest expression of his hatred of Jews. And then there was violence on the streets of Germany, not limited just to Kristallnacht, as Nazi Blackshirts attacked Jews, daubed Jewish shop windows and began the round up of Jews that reached its fulfilment in the Wannsee Conference of 1942 when the Nazis, led by Heydrich and Eichmann, formulated their plan of extermination in the killing concentration camps.

"Genocide" conjures up images of gas chambers, burning furnaces, beatings, killings, baton charging Nazis, grainy newsreel film of Jews being herded into train trucks en route to Auschwitz et al. And then the film of Belsen on liberation in 1945 when Eisenhower ordered the scenes of death, destruction and disease to be recorded on film as evidence of bestiality that would not otherwise be believed. There is more; the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem in 1960; Spielberg's film, Schindler's List, the Yad Vashem Memorial - all such events and occasions linked to the Holocaust. These are the vivid images triggered by the word "genocide". And for each killing camp the lists of names of victims, their shoes, their suitcases their teeth, their eye-glasses and the rings on their fingers – pulled off as they lay dead in the chambers after inhaling the poisonous gasses.

Genocide is not just about violent death though such violence is the most physical manifestation of assault on a group. Other examples are cultural destruction and significant interference with the ability of a group to continue to function as a group. In specific terms, this can include the banning of a language or a celebration of cultural norms, such as music, dance, and films. This can also involve forced sterilisation of women of child-bearing age.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS, THE JEWS + 'NEVER AGAIN'

'Concentration Camp' refers to a camp in which people are detained or confined, usually under harsh conditions and without regard to legal norms of arrest and imprisonment that are acceptable in a constitutional democracy. Actually, the general understanding is much worse and is based on the Nazi killing camps where 6m Jews died during World War II. Jews from many different countries – mainly European – were rounded up and placed in train

trucks in very harsh conditions until they arrived at the Nazi killing camps where many of the women and children were taken straight to the gas chambers – along with weaker men folk. These killing camps were built by the Nazis mainly in Poland. They were not Polish camps but Poland was the country where the Nazis built many of the killing camps and it is where so many Jews were butchered to death – gassed, burned alive, or lined up against a wall and shot. The treatment of the Jews was genocide as was the Rwandans and the Serbians and other groups in history. And the Nazi killing grounds are visible – Jewish people today make a pilgrimage to the Nazi killing camps as an act of solidarity for fellow Jews who died simply because they were Jews. “Never Again” are the words on the lips of most Jews most of the time for understandable reasons. The Jews were not the only victims of the Nazis – there were other groups including mentally disadvantaged people, homosexuals, the Roma population and political opponents. Hitler’s evil was spread very wide but in terms of numbers the 6m Jews is, for all the wrong reasons, an instantly re-callable number.

‘Never Again’ has rightly created a determination among Jews, never again, to stand by whilst genocide is committed. The world did not have to wait until the liberation of Belsen, Auschwitz to learn about the mass killing of Jews in World War II. UK newspapers – Daily Telegraph, the Times, the Daily Mail, the News Chronicle and others – all wrote in June 1942 about the killing of 1m Jews by the Nazis. They may not have seen the concentration camps, the gas chambers and the furnaces in 1942 but the information of the death of 1m Jews was widely reported and the UK Parliament adjourned proceedings for one day as an act of remembrance to the 1m. The UK authorities then nodded in acknowledgement and a further 5m Jews died in the concentration camps between 1942 and 1945.

Jews feel their own loss of 6m so much that they, quite understandably and quite properly, insist on being on the front foot when it comes to protesting genocide inflicted by others. And the “others” in 2021 are, in the opinion of two Leaders of the Jewish Community in the UK - the Chief Rabbi and the President of the Board of Deputies – China, who it is alleged, has inflicted genocide on the Uighurs. The Uighurs have been adopted by the Jewish Community in the belief (mistaken in my view) that the genocide practised by the Nazis on the Jews in the 1940’s is similar to the alleged genocide practised by the Chinese on the Uighurs.

In an article on 15 December 2010 the UK Chief Rabbi Ephraim Mirvis said that *“As Chief Rabbi, I can no longer remain silent about the plight of the Uighurs...That women are forced to abort their unborn children and are then sterilised to prevent them from becoming pregnant again...satellite images, leaked documents and survivor testimonies all paint a devastating picture affecting well over 1 million people.”*

The President of the Board of Deputies, Marie van der Zyl, said in a statement issued in January 2021

“The horrors which are taking place in Xinjiang cannot be denied. As the Foreign Secretary said this afternoon, ‘the evidence of the scale and severity of the human rights violations against Uighur Muslims is now far reaching and paints a harrowing picture’. We are not willing to stand aside and do nothing as millions of people are herded into concentration camps. As people, stigmatised for their ethnicity and religion, are made to do forced labour. As women forcibly sterilised. As children are removed from their parents. We have seen this before. We know exactly where it can lead”

I have stressed the Holocaust as an example of genocide, in part, because it is the Chief Rabbi of the UK and the President of the Board of Deputies who have made critical public comments of China’s alleged actions. But as the world knows, there are other instances of genocide and my focus on the Holocaust is not in any way to minimise other genocides in Rwanda, Armenia, Serbia and other places. The Nazis do not have a monopoly of evil but, to Jews, the Nazi genocide has the clearest memories and closest associations because there is scarcely a Jewish family, even today, that does not have a Holocaust link.

The former Chief Rabbi, the late Lord Sacks, wrote that “the sight of people being shaven headed, lined up, boarded onto trains, and sent to concentration camps is particularly harrowing. That people in the 21st century are murdered, terrorized, victimized, intimidated and robbed of their liberties because of the way they worship God is a moral outrage, a political scandal and a desecration of faith itself”. Strong words from the Lord Sacks. Are they borne out by the facts? Is China terrorizing and murdering Uighurs? Is forced sterilisation a tactic employed by China to reduce and eventually eliminate the Uighurs?

THE US SAYS CHINA HAS COMMITTED GENOCIDE AGAINST THE UIGHURS?

Now to the allegation that China has committed genocide. Is China killing people in ‘concentration camps’? As we approach the allegations and consider the evidence – and with past evidence of ‘genocides’ in mind - it is right to note that, in China, no evidence has been produced, either on the ground or by satellite, of gas ovens, or burial grounds, or rail routes to killing camps, or locations of mass murder, or photos of death marches, or smoke exuding crematoriums, or burial pit executions. We need to remind ourselves that there have been no allegations of death squads lining up people against a wall and shooting them – scenes ever-present in the Holocaust - or the daubing of shop windows or Uighurs having to wear uniquely identifiable clothing. There are other allegations to consider (forced sterilisation, banning local dialects, closing local mosques) but it is right that at the start it should be recognised that the widely understood Holocaust type evidence is absent in allegations relating to alleged Chinese genocide of the Uighurs.

Such observations have not restrained either the past or the present US Secretary of State. The former, Trump’s US Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo, said on 19 January 2021;-

“I believe this genocide is ongoing, and that we are witnessing the systematic attempt to destroy Uighurs by the Chinese party-state. These crimes are ongoing and include: the arbitrary imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty of more than one million civilians, forced sterilisation, torture of a large number of those arbitrarily detained, force labour and the imposition of draconian restrictions on freedom of religion or belief, freedom of expression and freedom of movement”.

Anthony Blinken, the new US Secretary of State, said the following at his Senate confirmation hearing

“the forcing of men, women and children into concentration camps; trying to, in effect, re-educate them to be adherents to the ideology of the Chinese Communist Party, all of that speaks to an effort to commit genocide”.

Later, on the same day as Pompeo made his genocide statement , Antony Blinken, President Biden’s, newly appointed Secretary of State said;-

“My judgment remains that genocide was committed against the Uighurs and that hasn’t changed”.

THE ONE MILLION UIGHURS IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS”

How many Uighurs have been placed in China’s detention camps? The question was put to Mr Omer Kanat. He is the Chairman of the World Uighur Congress. On video he was asked by an American reporter, Max Blumenthal of Grayzone News, where did “the figure of 1m Uighurs in concentrations camps come from”. Mr Kanat replied “We don’t know exactly. It was given to us by Western media experts”.

You may well think that this is not a very convincing answer. After all, Mr Kanat is the top man in the Uighur movement and it is quite reasonable to expect him to have the facts and their source at his fingertips. The “one million” figure is much repeated (see later reference to UK journalists, David Aaronovitch and Jonathan Freedland) so how is it calculated? Where have the figures come from? Who has authored the figure of 1m. Where is the Uighur research that has led to the confident repetition of the 1m figure – increased recently in some media outlets to 2m/3m? We are simply told “from America”. From an American institute or university or think tank? And how did America put the information together? Who are their sources? How did America get to the “one million” number?

We are none the wiser. In his own words the Uighurs’ top man relies on the US media but where does the media get its facts? One name keeps appearing – that of Adrian Zenz. Let’s now consider the Zenz evidence and here I want to acknowledge the work of investigative journalists, Grayzone, who have carried out the investigative research;

<https://news.cgtn.com/news/2021-03-02/What-s-behind-extremist-Adrian-Zenz-s-report-genocide-lies--YiA45BLuOQ/index.html>

THE GENOCIDE CLAIMS OF ADRIAN ZENZ AND THE RESPONSE

FIRST: Zenz argued that China's actions were genocidal because Uighur population growth fell by 84% in the two largest Uighur prefectures between 2015 and 2018. But Zenz's figures show an increase in the Uighur population from 10.1m to 11.8m during the period 2010 to 2018 while the Chinese government figures show an even larger increase from 10.1m to 12.7m. Genocide is meant to result in a fall in population and not an increase.

During the same 8 year period Zenz shows the Han Chinese population in Xinjiang rising from 8.5m to 9.8m while Chinese government figures show a smaller increase in the Han numbers from 8.8m to 9m. The rapid surge in Uighur population growth rates and the increased margin of the Uighur majority over the Han population in recent years is because of one-child policy imposed on Han Chinese couples – not on national minorities such as the Uighurs. In practice rural Uighurs have often had large families – some even with 9/10 children as Zenz has acknowledged.

Zenz failed to acknowledge, however, that China's overall birth rate has fallen in recent years as the population ages and contraceptives become more widely used. The rate of new-born babies, for example, in Guangzhou, in South China, has fallen to its lowest point in a decade.

SECOND: In 2017, China's National Health and Family Planning Commission announced a \$5.2bn healthcare investment in Xinjiang to strengthen health infrastructure in rural areas. There were positive consequences – infant mortality rates fell and life expectancy rose but Zenz views this as evidence of genocide under construction. Zenz highlighted a photo of Uighur residents in rural regions receiving medical consultation and advice. But the photo was of an elderly couple far too old to have children and taken in 2017.

THIRD: Zenz referred to an August 2019 document from Xinjiang's Wenquan County government office as evidence of "greater pressure to implement birth control methods" and highlighted a single mention of 468 "birth control surgeries". There was no evidence from Zenz that this was coercive. He omitted the next line of the report which expressed satisfaction with a birth rate of 8.11%. The question that is asked is how did a big investment to improve the health of previously neglected rural communities sit comfortably with a policy of genocide?

FOURTH: A finding of Zenz that attracted the attention of his followers who have been keen to prove genocide was his claim that 80% of all net added IUD placements in China were performed in Xinjiang despite the fact that the region only makes up 1.8% of the nation's population.

Specifically Zenz stated "By 2019, Xinjiang planned to subject at least 80% of women of childbearing age in the rural southern four minority prefectures to intrusive birth prevention surgeries (IUDs or sterilisations), with actual shares likely being much higher. In 2018, 80% of all net added IUD placements in China (calculated as placements minus removals) were performed in Xinjiang, despite the fact that the region only makes up 1.8% of the nation's population"

According to the 2019 China Health Statistics Yearbook published by China's National Health Commission - which was the source of Zenz's claims – the number of new IUD insertion procedures in Xinjiang in 2018 accounted for only 8.7% of China's total not 80% as claimed by Zenz.

FIFTH: Zenz tried to defend himself that he was making up figures but his response further undermined his calculations. He said he had calculated Xinjiang's 239,457 new net IUD insertions (devices added less those removed) as 80% of the national total in 2018. But Henan registered 206,281 new net IUD insertions and Hebei registered 61% making a total of 210% of national net insertions. These numbers only make sense when calculated alongside provinces such as Jiangsu and Yunnan that had more removals (-60% and -54%) than total net insertions. Zenz has practised a deceptive sleight of hand in order to make Xinjiang appear to be the hotbed of birth control surgery

SIXTH: A more glaring error by Zenz is his assertion that China's government inserted between 800 and 1,400 IUDs per person each year in Xinjiang. This would mean that each woman in Xinjiang would have to have undergone between 4 and 8 IUD surgeries every day.

SEVENTH; It is also alleged that Xinjiang has banned ethnic minority students from using their own languages and closed schools that teach in the Uighur language. While promoting education in Mandarin, Xinjiang also offers courses in the spoken and written languages of ethnic minority groups. Mandarin is now being taught increasingly widely in UK schools because a knowledge of Mandarin will increasingly be a requirement for international exchange. The same applies to the Uighurs – maintain local language and culture but bear in mind that 91% of the 1.4bn population of China speak mandarin so therefore teaching mandarin makes sense.

WHO IS ADRIAN ZENZ?

The Trump and Biden Administrations rely on Adrian Zenz. The Associated Press, CNN and the BBC, too, have credited Zenz for their conclusions about genocide, “mass incarceration”, forced sterilisation and forced labour. Much rests on the shoulders of one man. Zenz has been welcomed in the West as a “leading expert on Chinese genocide” following his report of June 2020 alleging genocide. Zenz’s employers describe Zenz as “one of the world’s leading scholars on China’s government policies towards the country’s western regions”. But there is some relevant public domain information about Zenz that should be borne in mind.

Zenz was born in 1974. He is a Senior Fellow in China Studies at the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation, Washington, D.C. (non-resident) – an indication of his viewpoint on China. He supervises PhD students at the European School of Culture and Theology, Korntal, Germany. He is German by origin but no significance is attached to his nationality. He is a self-described Christian fundamentalist who used to work for the European School of Culture and Theology. In an interview with the Wall Street Journal, Zenz said his work against China is inspired by his biblical world view and said “I feel very clearly led by God to do this”. He deplores homosexuality and gender equality and has taught exclusively in evangelical theological institutions. He co-authored a book with Marlon Sias titled “Worthy to Escape” in which he urges Christian believers to subject unruly children to “scriptural spanking” and condemned homosexuality as “one of the four empires of the beast”. He argued that Jews who refused to convert to evangelical Christianity during the “End Times” would either be “wiped out” or “refined” in a fiery furnace. In the book the two authors stated:-

“For the Jews, therefore, the wrath of God will prove to be both a blessing and a curse for those who belong to the one third that will be refined in God’s fiery furnace and will end up obtaining salvation, ultimately it will be a blessing. For those who are “rebels and transgressors (Ezekiel 20:38) and who will perish in the process, a curse. According to Scripture, God’s refining process will wipe out all unbelieving Jews who refuse to come to Christ”

Zenz also has close links with the members of the right wing Xinjiang Education and Training Centre Research Group and, finally, he is attached to the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) which promotes “human rights and human dignity” for Chinese citizens. NED is popularly regarded as a CIA organisation.

In recent years, Zenz has been busy shuttling between the US Congress, European Parliament and Canadian Parliament, making accusations against China's Xinjiang policies to incite attacks and pressure on China by using the so-called "human rights problems of Uygurs." In March 2020, together with US politicians and members of the "East Turkistan"

separatists, Zenz attended an event themed "China's Systematic Persecution of Uyghurs" at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

It is quite a surprise that so much of the genocide allegation is based on the questionable evidence of just one person with a quite spurious political past, and, further, is based in reliance on figures put together outside China without discussion, or review with the people in China responsible for the research and investigation.

This notwithstanding, Zenz is courted by the New York Times and the Washington Post. In March 2020 he attended an event organised by East Turkistan separatists in the US with the theme "China's Systematic Persecution of the Uighurs." The East Turkistan Islamic Party until 2020 was listed by the US as a terror organisation with links to Al-Qaeda – and you will recall the comments of former US Ambassador Freeman earlier in this article about the links between Uighur separatists and Al Qaeda. Zenz's right wing credentials are burnished by his links to the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) - another think tank funded by US, Western and Australian governments. As Professor EH Carr advised - "Study the Historian before you study his History."

Finally, information has come to light via one of the many twitter writers on contemporary China. He writes under the name of @chinabazaar. He is known as Barrie of China Bazaar and is a former UK journalist who lives in China. In relation to Adrian Zenz, Barrie of China Bazaar provides a photo-shot of a tweet by Zenz. In the tweet Zenz says "*The BBC commissioned my research. They asked me the first time whether it could be done. I said 'No' too hard too little evidence. They asked me again. I said 'let me see what I can find'*"

So the BBC made the first step. They approached Zenz. Zenz declined saying there was "too little" evidence. The BBC persisted. Zenz relented and said he would try.

PERSONAL TESTIMONY AGAINST CHINA

Other allegations against China have surfaced with the involvement of Adrian Zenz.

AAA: **Zumrat Dawut.**

BBC Newsnight reported that Zumrat Dawut was forced to go through sterilisation in a vocational education and training centre – referred to in the western media as "concentration camps". China claims that Zumrat Dawut never attended any such centre and this has been confirmed by her brother, Abduhelil Dawut in a viewed video interview. There has been no subsequent suggestion that Abduhelil is not her brother or that his family information is false.

Zumwat claimed that after her "release" from a centre, she was forced to be sterilised and her uterus was removed because she had already had three children. In fact, in March 2013, when Zumwat gave birth to her third child in Urumqi Maternal and Child Care Service Centre, she signed a childbirth consent form voluntarily to have a caesarean section and

tubal litigation and then the centre conducted the operation. She was never sterilised nor has had her uterus removed.

The same Zumrat Dawut claimed that her ageing father was repeatedly detained and investigated by the Xinjiang authorities and died not long ago from an unknown cause. In fact, her father had been living with his children until he died from heart disease on 12 October 2019.

Zumrat also claimed that she was served pork at a relative's home. The relative is, in fact, her elder brother, Abduhelil's pairing relative partner – Zhao Qilin. In October 2017, Abduhelil was paired with Zhao as "relatives as part of an ethnic unity programme". In January 2018, Abduhelil was invited to Zhao's home as a guest with Zumrat Dawut. The meal was prepared by Zhao's mother, an ethnic Hui and a Muslim who eats only halal food. There was no pork in the house.

BBB; Mihrigul Tursun;

In a media interview, Mihrigul Tursun said she was forced to take unknown medications in a vocational education and training centre and was diagnosed as infertile by US doctors. On 21 April 2017 Ms Tursun was taken into custody by the public security bureau (PBS) on suspicion of inciting ethnic hatred. During this period, she was found to have an infectious disease and the authorities released her as a humanitarian consideration and the PBS terminated the measures against her. Except for twenty days in detention, she was free while in China. She was not sentenced nor did she study in any vocational or training centre. She was not forced to take medications nor, it is reported by the Chinese media, are there any records of her undergoing sterilisation procedures in China.

THE EVIDENCE OF NATHAN RUSER AND THE AUSTRALIAN STRATEGIC POLICY INSTITUTE (ASPI)

The Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) is a defence and strategic policy think tank based in Canberra, Australian Capital Territory, founded by the Australian government and partly funded by the Australian Department of Defence. ASPI's 2018-19 annual report stated that it received some funding from the Embassy of Japan and Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Australia, as well as from state governments and defence companies, such as LockheedMartin, BAE Systems, Northrop Grumman, Thales Group and Raytheon Technologies. It is also funded by the Australian and US governments as well as by military

contractors. Clearly ASPI being a big part of the military-industrial complex is unlikely to be well disposed towards China. The UK Foreign Office contributes funds to ASPI.

I refer now to an alleged expert on Xinjiang. His name is Nathan Ruser. He is aged 22. He is a researcher – not a lecturer or an author or a professor. He has never visited China. You might be surprised that such an important subject – Genocide and the Uighurs – has been left to such an unqualified individual for investigation and comment.

In an undated article believed to be dated September 2020 Ruser, states that *“Xinjiang in China has been reeling from a brutal crackdown outlawing both public and private displays of Uighur culture or identity, not to mention political dissent”*. In fact, there is a considerable amount of evidence, not confined to China’s own tv stations, from reports and film of foreign residents in China available especially on Quora who convey a quite different sense of life and activity in Xinjiang including restaurants, shows, parks and interviews with Uighurs. Details of such reports and films are provided at the end of this article. See below for names of individuals and their links.

Notwithstanding his unsuitability for the task in hand, Ruser make a number of unverifiable generalisations; - Uighurs have been forced into *“obedience and a chilling silence”*. How does he know? What has he seen? He has never been to China. The source of his information is *“scouring satellite imagery”*. As a result, he has *“found 380 separate detention facilities that have either sprung out of the deserts or oases”*. He then calculates that *“the 380 camps equate to at least one new or expanded detention facility for every 37,000 people of non-Han nationality in Xinjiang*. He does not say where the figure of 37,000 comes from nor produces evidence to identify 380 facilities. Certainly, he does not produce any photos of any human beings nor any confirmation that the structures are detention facilities. He concludes with some more wild and unverifiable assertion *“If you upset the wrong local official, say the wrong thing to the party cadre sent to surveil you in your home, or even upset a Han neighbour, you risk detention”*. If you are minded to accept bad things about China then you will not question this report. But if you want to be persuaded that there is tangible and verifiable evidence for the allegations against China I hope you will agree that neither ASPI, nor Ruser, are reliable sources.

THE BBC EVIDENCE

PHOTOS

In addition to the Zenz evidence, there has appeared in the media photos claimed by critics of China to be evidence of Chinese crimes. These photos, seen repeatedly on television, are few in number and one film is of males of an Oriental/Asian facial appearance wearing blue uniforms and sitting in rows. I have seen video film of the blue uniformed detainees on the

web. It was a film of prize giving event to honour inmates and teachers at the detention centre. There were no guns or guards or shackles or handcuffs.

Other photos have appeared showing men in shackles being moved from one location to another. There is no evidence about who took the photos or when they were taken or where they were taken. In any event, they are not evidence of beatings or of torture or of execution or of anything associated with genocide. These kind of photos are regularly seen in US prisons without any accompanying allegations of genocide. But there is no supporting evidence that links the photos to anything to do with Xinjiang.

THE SUDWORTH FILM

There is also BBC film by John Sudworth with a commentary which gives the viewer the distinct impression that Sudworth has come across a Uighur detention centre to which he and his cameraman have been denied entry. The Chinese news channel followed through on this BBC film, as shown in the UK, and provided an explanation which is fundamentally at odds with Sudworth's commentary. Sudworth was stopped by a security guard – not local police - from the building who asked for details of Sudworth's permission to film the building. The security guard had not been informed of the BBC visit and wanted to view documents that the BBC carried to be sure that permission had been authorised.

In fact, the property, which comprised two buildings, had been used as a detention centre but had closed in 2019. One building was empty and unused. The other building was now a factory and China's TV filmed interviews with some of the workers talking about their work, their pay and film of the interior of their work place – none under any form of detention. Sudworth could have done the same had he followed proper procedures. The Chinese concluded that Sudworth was looking for an incident and wanted to convey the impression that his well-intentioned enquiries had been rebuffed by intolerant police – an example, Sudworth claimed, which was evidence of China having something to hide.

In fact, Sudworth was the intentional creator of his own troubles. Additionally, it should be noted that the BBC, in order to add dramatic atmosphere, whisper the commentary to give the impression that they had to conceal it from the Chinese authorities when in fact the commentary would have been completed when the final film/account was compiled back at the BBC studio in China.

TURSUNAY ZIAWUDUN

In recent weeks further new allegations have surfaced claiming that Uighur women have been the victim of widespread sexual assault by camp guards in Xinjiang. They have been distributed by the three BBC journalists – Matthew Hill, David Campanale and Joel Gunter.

The heading on the article is *“Uighur camp detainees allege systematic rape”*. The introduction states *“Women in China’s “re-education” camps for Uighurs have been systematically raped, sexually abused and tortured, according to detailed new accounts obtained by the BBC. You may find some of the details in this story distressing.”*

One of the witnesses – Tursunay Ziawudun – is a Uighur exile (referred to in the Hamilton Panel Video – see below) who lives in the USA and is reported as saying she spent nine months inside *“an internment camp in the Xinjiang region”*. The BBC article says that *“first hand accounts from inside the internment camps are rare”* and the BBC does state *“it is impossible to verify Ziawudun’s account”*. In the same article the BBC refer to internal documents being supplied by Adrian Zenz.

Zenz, in turn, has referred to a September 2019 article in the US government outlet – Radio Free Asia – which contains testimony from Ziawudun in which she claimed she was forcibly sterilised and physically tortured in a Chinese internment centre. In February 2020 she said something very different. She said *“I wasn’t beaten or abused. The hardest part was mental. It’s something I can’t explain – you suffer mentally. Being kept some place and forced to stay there for no reason”*. Her account changed for a third time when she had re-located to the US and had become close to the Uighur Human Rights Project. And in February 2021 she told the BBC and the CNN that she was gang raped by guards in an internment camp. The BBC report relied only on Zenz for its evidence of China’s policy of systematic rape. Photos of satellite buildings are supplied and – you may think surprisingly – Ziawudun is able to identify the site where she says she was raped. The BBC also report a camp guard *“who spoke to the BBC via video link from a country outside China”*. Again, there is no identification of the guard or any authentication of his work involvement at the alleged camp or evidence of where he is located when answering questions.

ORAL TESTIMONY

If you are minded to find China guilty of perpetrating the reported sexual attacks then the weaknesses and inconsistencies in the so-called evidence will not deflect you. You will be satisfied to have evidence, any evidence, which helps to convict China in the court of public opinion. If, however, you are minded to find China not guilty of carrying out sexual assaults then the weaknesses and inconsistencies in the evidence will jump out of the screen and lead you to reject the testimony and find China not guilty of facilitating the occurrence of such alleged crimes.

Assessing personal testimony is a sensitive, challenging but, nevertheless, important question. The evidence cannot be embraced unquestioningly nor can it be rejected out of hand. The evidence has to be evaluated and questions that do arise relate to proof of allegations and include the following;- Are there fundamental inconsistencies in Ziawudun’s

three separate accounts of her alleged treatment? Who took Ziawudun's filmed account? Where was it taken? Who was present at the time? Who was the interpreter?

It is not clear whether any of the three named reporters were present when Ziawudun gave her narrative as they, in their introduction, merely refer to "*detailed new accounts obtained by the BBC*". How were the "new accounts" obtained? How did they reach the BBC? Who was the intermediary who passed the statement from Ziawudun to the BBC? How many photos were shown to Ziawudun to enable her to identify this particular building? And who would have taken her through this process of identification? And how would she be able to recognise this particular detention camp from satellite photos?

Additionally, it should be noted that the BBC accepts that first hand reports are "rare" and it is clear that the information has come to the BBC in an undisclosed manner. This is not a reason for rejecting Ziawudun's evidence but it raises unanswered questions about the reliability of untested personal testimony.

It is also the case that no reference is made in the western media to the rebuttal witnesses produced at press conferences in China - which are attended by the main Western news organisations. These witnesses tell a quite different story of their detention, release and return to society. They are positive about their treatment, their education and their return to Uighur society. But the BBC fails to mention them at all when reporting from China. These witnesses include;- a female called Mamatreyin Narsirdin and a male called Nijat Muhtar who speak about the Chinese detention centres and two females, Turdigal Nier and Mihrensa Nier who give rebuttal evidence on the alleged forced sterilisation allegations.

THE US CONGRESSIONAL EVIDENCE OF NAYIRAH

There is a further reason for caution in accepting the untested allegations. On 10 October 1990 a fifteen year old girl gave testimony to the United States Congressional Human Rights Caucus in Washington. She provided only her first name – Nayirah. Her testimony, which is recorded at the filmed hearing, was described as "riveting" by people at the hearing. It was heard in respectful silence. She spoke of the situation inside Kuwait after the invasion by Iraq in 1990. She said that, rather than flee Kuwait, she decided to remain and volunteered to work in a hospital in Kuwait. She did so with twelve other women aged between 20-30 years. In an unsteady, faltering voice and frequently lapsing into tears, she said that while working in the hospital she saw Iraqi soldiers with guns enter the hospital where she was working and take babies out of their incubators and leave them to die on the cold floor. Her evidence was electric. It was re-broadcast many times on many channels. Her testimony was even quoted by President Bush Snr in filmed speeches as part of his successful efforts to

bring US public opinion into line to support the US invasion of Kuwait to remove the Iraqi army.

About three months after Nayirah gave her testimony, doubts began to emerge about her evidence. It became clear that she was not just another health volunteer but the daughter of the Kuwait Ambassador to the US and that she had been coached by Hill and Knowlton - who were working for the Kuwaiti government - in how to give her evidence to Congress. Human rights organisations could not find any other narrative to support her account. The whole issue was investigated by a well known US journalist, John MacArthur of Harpers Magazine, who concluded that the evidence was untrue.

The over-arching similarity between Kuwait in 1990 and China in 2021 is that in 1990 the US benefited from the false testimony of Nayirah just as the US relies, in 2021, on the hitherto un-challenged testimony of Ziawudun at the very time US military is under orders to review war plans against China.

THE GULF OF TONKIN INCIDENT OF 1964

If there are still have doubts as to the extent to which the US will manufacture evidence to go to war, please bear in mind the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. On 2 August 1964 the USS Maddox, stationed in the Gulf of Tonkin in Vietnam radioed that it had been fired upon by North Vietnamese forces. Two days later the Johnson administration claimed that the vessel had been attacked again. After the second attack, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution almost unanimously allowing the federal government to “take all necessary measures” to protect U.S. forces in Vietnam.

It was as close to a declaration of war as the Johnson administration would ever get. But it was based on a lie. After decades of public scepticism and government secrecy, the truth finally came out. In the early 2000s, approx. 2000 documents were declassified and released by the National Security Agency (NSA). They showed that there was no attack. U.S. officials had distorted the truth about the Gulf of Tonkin incident for their own gains — and for Johnson’s own political prospects. This lie jump-started a war that would claim 58,220 American, and more than 3 million Vietnamese, lives.

THE HAMILTON PANEL VIDEO;- “GENOCIDE IN XINJIANG”

The final evidential item is a Panel Video organised in Canada by the Hamilton Project by Ken Stone. It is well recommended for the following reason;- First, the speakers, including

Omar Latif, Daniel Dumbrill and Max Blumenthal are well known names. Second, they all live in China or visit regularly and, third, they have travelled to Xinjiang. They are particularly sound on evidence issues and of much interest to a UK based audience. I am grateful to Ken Stone for allowing me to distribute the Video Discussion. I recommend it for viewing.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iW7nYwDw0Ss>

THE LINK BETWEEN GENOCIDE ALLEGATIONS AGAINST CHINA AND CHINA'S EMERGENCE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

In the Introduction, the point was made that allegations of genocide would be considered within the global political significance of the arrival of China on the world scene.

The allegations come at a time when China is in the news on a number of issues – the China-Indian border; Taiwan; Hong Kong; the South China Sea, and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), and this, collectively, has led some to view China as the Bad Boy of World Politics. Certainly, the rise of China has challenged the US and caused consternation in Washington.

China in 1949 was the Sick Man of Asia after their part in World War II against Japan from 1937-45 and the Third Civil War against the Kuomintang. China was war-ravaged and impoverished. It was on its knees. The new People's Republic of China was announced to the world on 1 October 1949 and started the process of growth and rejuvenation that has brought China, today in 2021, to a level of progress where it challenges the USA to be the leading economic power in the world. This turnaround has significant implications for world politics.

CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION

1917 ushered in the USSR. The West was challenged by a Marxist-Leninist state in Moscow that threatened to undermine the power and authority of the capitalist Great Powers. Whilst Stalin was the ally of the US/UK in the Second World War against Nazi Germany, Italy and Japan, priorities did change with Winston Churchill's famous Iron Curtain speech in Fulton, Missouri in 1946 which firmly established the USSR as the Number One Enemy and set in motion the Cold War between the USA and the USSR.

In the event, the Soviet State struggled and fell away in 1991 and President Reagan proclaimed "The World is safe from Communism." At this time, China was taking steps to

recover from a trio of failures being the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution and the Tian'anmen deaths. But change was underway inside China, and with Deng Xiaoping in power, and latterly Xi Jinping, China pursued a policy of economic reform, structural change and a search for prosperity and stability. The West comforted itself that it had seen this before with the USSR and expected that China, like the USSR, would lose its commitment to building a Socialist state, become prosperous and politically idle and thereby allow western norms of governance to take hold.

However, the US, its historians, and intellectuals as well as its military and political leaders, had read China incorrectly when they saw the country as a mirror image of the old USSR. They saw the similarities between China and the USSR but not the differences, and the latter were more significant than the former. Western studies assumed that the growing prosperity of China would lead to the emergence of a burgeoning middle class with economic rights of ownership of private property and wealth that would translate - inevitably and seamlessly - into political rights, political parties, regular elections and the marginalisation of the Communist Party of China.

Whilst the first part of the analysis is correct, and the growing middle class in China today do have more economic rights and property ownership and wealth, the second part of the analysis is incorrect because the Party remains in control and, to the surprise of many in the West, there is no evidence that the Chinese people are unhappy or object to being governed by the Party in an authoritarian capacity. On the contrary there is research undertaken by non-China organisations which stress the trust that the people of China have in their government of China;-

First - The 2018 Edelman Trust Barometer reveals that China rose to the top of the Trust Index among the 28 markets surveyed, with an 84% rating among the general population. China was also the market that saw the most significant increases in trust across all of the key institutions: government, media, NGOs and business. The UK figure was 34%.

Second, The Harvard Kennedy School (also known as the John F. Kennedy School of Government and HKS) is the Public Policy School of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts. In an article entitled "**A Turbulent Decade**" published by the School, Xiang Yanjiang states *"China's performance in the realms of governance and the economy has buttressed the legitimacy of the Chinese government for decades...in recent years, the Chinese government has enjoyed increased support not only because of its own performance, but also from the perception that other countries are performing badly"*

So China has made big strides. Its progress has surprised its main opponents – the US and the UK. China is set on a path to become the largest economic power in the world by 2030.

THE UK ROUTE TO THE PRESENT DAY

We now address the perspective through which the two allegations (genocide and forced sterilisation) have been considered in the UK which requires an appreciation of the political systems in the UK and in China and here it is relevant to recognise the quite different routes that the two countries have travelled to reach the present day.

The standout features of the UK journey begin with the Magna Carta in 1215 and continue with Habeas Corpus; the Peasants' Revolt of 1381; the struggle of Parliament against the autocratic rule of King Charles 1; the Peterloo Massacre; the Great Reform Bill of 1832; the struggle for Votes for Women and the ending of property qualification for the right to vote.

Today, the UK has a free press; Elections every five years by a free electorate; a legal aid system, which (whilst short of funding), still enables people without funds to be legally represented in serious cases; a judiciary which is independent of Government; and a media which enables conflicting opinions to be expressed in public without fear of sanction or retribution. It is a truism, but bears repetition nevertheless, that the UK is where it is today politically because of the journey it has travelled.

CHINA'S ROUTE TO THE PRESENT DAY

China is the same. It, too, is where it is today, politically, because of its journey which has been quite different. The Qing dynasty ruled China from 1644 to 1911. It was an absolute monarchy with authority vested in an Emperor who was head of state, head of government and in charge of the armed forces. The judicial branch was organized around a system of imperial courts with jurisdiction over all civil and criminal cases. Confucian legalism stressed adherence to state policies as a moral and legal virtue, and a political philosophy developed from the works of Confucius (551–479 BC), that stressed adherence to state policies as a moral and legal virtue. Brothers and sons of the emperor, designated "princes," were appointed to high-ranking government and military posts, and towards the end of his reign, the emperor had the power to choose a prince to serve as his successor.

Between 1911 and 1927 (when the first civil War commenced) China was governed by the Republic of China which overthrew the Qing Dynasty ending 5,000 years of monarchical absolutism. The dominant influence in the new Republic was Sun Yatsen of the Kuomintang until his death in 1925 but there were challenges by Yuan Shikai and his Beiyang Army and even the brief restoration of the Qing Dynasty. There was little stability or governance. From 1927-1949 China's history was dominated by the invasion of China by Japan (1931-1945) and by the Civil War between the Communist Party of China of Mao Tsetung and the

Kuomintang Party of Chiang Kaishek who, in defeat, fled to Taiwan in 1949, being the year in which the new People's Republic of China was inaugurated.

By the end of last year (2020) – China achieved the building of a moderately prosperous society. Absolute poverty has been eradicated. China's per capita gross domestic product reached \$10,261 in 2019, according to the World Bank but catching up with moderately developed countries likely means reaching \$30,000, roughly matching the likes of Italy and Spain. Looking ahead it is predicted that by 2030 China's Gross Domestic Product will be greater than that of the US. By 2035, China's economic, scientific and overall national strength will rise to the level of moderately developed countries. The journey has seen a move from abject poverty in 1949 to moderate prosperity in 2020 to a moderately developed country by 2035.

So, China has achieved much but still has a long way to go before its level of prosperity matches the size of its economy. China's Long March is still in motion. Its economic achievements are immense but the mindset of China is aware of problems that remain to be overcome. How to handle wage differentials? How to keep Billionaires focused on wealth creation and not the accumulation of power? How to enable the political system to permit the people a greater input into decisions of government without undermining the leading role of the Party? How to handle a falling population number? How to protect political minorities without embracing Western notions of democracy and human rights? A society of 1.4bn people is very much on the move.

CHINA AND THE UK

A mere glance at the comparative history of the UK and China quickly reveals the fundamental differences in political and historical norms of the two countries. China has a story of autocracy and the UK has a story of democracy. China has experienced authoritarian governments and the UK has experienced the two party system. The West sees this difference and assumes, incorrectly, that the people of China must be deep seated in their desire to adopt UK norms of government. But China today compares itself with China of yesterday and likes what it sees. There was progress - between 1949, when the new China was created and 1976 when Deng Xiaoping became the effective leader – in health and education in particular, but the 40+ years thereafter to the present day have seen an acceleration to the point where China, the Sick Man of Asia in 1949, will as stated above, by 2030, become the largest economy in the world. Today, the Chinese have a choice – of jobs, of where to live, of clothes to wear and of holidays to take. In a phrase familiar to UK political observers of the late 1950's, *"The Chinese Have Never Had It So Good"*.

It is accepted that the Chinese do not have the political freedoms of the West; they cannot organise political parties, or vote for their leaders or speak to a free media. And this is

where the West – democrats and human rights activists included – struggle with China. They assume that a people without these basic freedoms must be unhappy. With an awareness of the Stalinist era, Siberian imprisonment camps and Orwell's 1984, the West concludes, wrongly, that the Chinese people are being persecuted by a totalitarian Communist Party and are groaning under its oppression. After all, their reasoning goes, *"China is dictatorship. The people have no rights. They live on meagre titbits. Life is harsh and unrelenting – we must save them"*

I recall an interview that Jeremy Paxman carried out on BBC2 during the Olympic Games in Beijing in 2008. He was interviewing four successful female business executives. They were well-dressed and pleased to take his questions. They were exuding bonhomie and a sense of fulfilment. Paxman, who was looking for evidence of unrest or disenchantment, was becoming frustrated. Eventually he got onto the subject of votes and politics and exclaimed "But you are not free to vote out your government". They were quite taken aback. "But why should we want to?" came the reply. Paxman was puzzled – very puzzled by the answer. The four women were also puzzled – very puzzled but by his question.

Why are the Chinese not demanding the right to vote or the right to follow UK political norms; or to demand Elections every five years? These are questions uppermost in the minds of Western liberals and human rights activists. How come the Chinese, in the main, are happy and content when they are meant to be unhappy and discontented.

TWO RELEVANT NUMBERS

There are two numbers that should be borne in mind when considering China today. In 2019 140m Chinese tourists travelled abroad and all travelled home. No reports appeared in the Western media about any tourist applying for asylum. If China was the country described by Tom Tugendhat or Ian Duncan Smith (that is to say "exploitative, dictatorial, a police state, run by a self-serving corrupted Party clique, prisons full of dissidents, no freedoms, no happiness") it is reasonable to think that any Chinese citizen travelling overseas would jump at the chance to knock on the door of the UK or US Foreign Offices in London or Washington or in any other country and claim asylum. It has not happened. But Why?

China has been successful in taking approximately 750m of its people out of poverty. This is not just a number – it is the significance of the number and what it means in terms of more food, clothes, running water, roads, irrigation, airports, schools, universities, railways, highways, hospitals, theatres, cinemas, sports grounds and more. And it also says something significant about the credibility of life and democracy that the Party has been able to create. Paxman's four ladies and many others in China will have their gripes but, in the great scheme of things, their quality of life improves with every passing year and that includes governance. The Chinese government is popular, not unpopular. China in 2021 is

enormously more successful than in 1949. And there is a political point here which the UK political circles fail to appreciate. UK democracy and UK human rights brought to China in the 19th century the Opium Wars, the sacking of the Summer Palace and Gunboat diplomacy.

This is not to say that China is without its problems and two particular problems stand out. First the growing wage differentials. China is not a classless society. It is not a Communist panacea. The Government has flirted with capitalism and even embraced billionaires in an attempt to bring enterprise and imagination into play in order to help expand the economy and the living standards of the people. This initiative has succeeded and the surge in growth has much to do with giving the capitalists their heads to create profits. But capitalism and the profit incentive creates imbalances in the reward that can be earned by employers and employees. Left unmanaged this could lead to protest and discontent – something the Party is keen to avoid.

A second problem is corruption. It eats away at the spirit of the nation. People in positions of authority can feather their own nests and reward themselves with favoured housing, bigger bonuses and preferential treatment for their families. The rule of law – as we have it in the West – has not prevented the abuse of power in the US and UK by leading businessmen and politicians and a similar phenomenon has occurred in China. But there is a significant difference between China and the UK on this issue. Xi Jinping has elevated the status, power and reach of the Party's own anti-corruption officials and, it was made clear to Lord Woolf, myself and other guests at a Lunch hosted by a member of the Politburo in Beijing, that double punishments awaits anyone who tries to interfere with the work of the officials. The anti-corruption policy in China is a key priority. But the point remains, that regardless of corruption China has come a long way in creating the conditions that point to an optimistic future.

CHINA AND THE JEWS AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN THE UK

I include a reference to the Jews of China because of the comments of UK Jewish leaders about alleged genocide and forced sterilisation.

A Jewish community had existed in Kaifeng since the Northern Song Dynasty (960–1127). Kaifeng was a cosmopolitan city on a branch of the Silk Road. A small community of Mizrahi Jews, most likely from Persia or Jewish refugees fleeing the Crusades, arrived by land/sea routes. It is believed that a Jewish community lived in the city, and built a synagogue in 1163. Their most prosperous period was the early part of the 16th century but by the 19th century numbers had fallen and without a rabbinical leader the community lost its special identity and merged into Chinese culture.

Later, in the 19th Century, Sephardi Jews arrived in China – mainly merchants coming from Baghdad, Bombay and Singapore. They settled and contributed significantly to the development of Shanghai and Tianjin and many buildings – hospitals, schools and hotels - constructed with funds raised by the Sephardi Jews remain standing and in use by Shanghai citizens today - especially the People’s Palace for young people. Prominent Jewish names arriving in Shanghai during this period include the Sassoon and Kadoorie families.

The journey of the Ashkenazi Jews to China was prompted, not by interests of trade and commerce, but by rising anti-semitism in Europe. Tens of thousands of Jews crossed from Eastern Europe to Siberia and North-East China. Their numbers were augmented by Jews fleeing the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 and the two Russian Revolutions of 1917. Some joined the Sephardi Jews in Shanghai but more came to settle in Harbin – approx. 28,000 Jews. Recently, the Harbin Municipal Government has spent \$16.7m to restore the Old (Main) Synagogue of Harbin, built in 1909, to look as it did when it was used as a place of worship and a Jewish communal centre. The reconstructed building is dedicated to the memory of Abraham Kaufman, the long-time President of the Harbin Jewish Community and his son, Teddy Kaufman who led the Israel-China Friendship Association until his death in 2012. Other prominent visitors to Shanghai’s Ohel Rachel Synagogue include former Israel Premier, Yitzhak Rabin, and also former President Ezer Weitzman who thanked China for rescuing Jewish refugees. This brings us to China’s Schindler.

Ho Fengshan was a diplomat for the Republic of China and, when he was assigned to the Chinese consulate in Vienna before and during World War II, he risked his life and his career by issuing visas to Jews so eager to leave Nazi dominated Austria. In order to leave Europe, Jews had to provide proof of emigration – a visa or a boat ticket. After Kristallnacht on 9-10 November 1938, the situation became serious – even more so because of the 1938 Evian Conference when 31 countries, (including the USA, UK and France) refused to accept Jews fleeing Germany. Ho Fengshan, bravely, acted on his own initiative, and issued visas for humanitarian reasons for Jews wishing to go to Shanghai which was still under the partial control of the Republic of China. He issued 1,200 visas in the first three months of holding office as Consul-General. The exact total is unknown but he had signed 1,906 visa forms by 27 October 1938 and continued issuing visas to Jews until he was recalled to China in May 1940. It has been estimated that Ho Fengshan issued in excess of 10,000 visas. He left Taiwan for the People’s Republic of China in 1996 and died on 28 September 1998. His actions were recognised by Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Memorial in Israel, who awarded Ho the title of “Righteous Among The Nations” – a status reserved by Israelis for non-Jews who have displayed courage and determination to assist Jews fleeing Nazi genocide.

Bringing matters to the present, on 8 December 2020 the Shanghai Jewish Refugees Museum was re-opened following expansion and renovation works. The area of the museum has been expanded from 900 sq metres to more than 4,000 sq metres since the refurbishment work commenced in early 2019. New names have been added to the refugee

list taking the total from 13,732 to 18,578 and the number of exhibits has increased from 150 to nearly 1000.

Lawrence Tribe is a well known Jewish Professor of Law at Harvard Law School, USA. He was born in Shanghai in October 1941 and spoke in a video message at the re-opening of the Museum saying “I owe my life to Shanghai’s refuge...and the rest of my life was possible because that harbour was made available. Many thousands of Jewish refugees fled to Shanghai during WW2 and most settled in an area in the northern part of the Suzhou River.”

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Before we reach the Conclusion stage, I want to record my thanks to the organisations and individuals for the material I have drawn upon for this article. They include The Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI); Adrian Lenz; The UK Guardian; the US Council on Foreign Relations; Fiona Sim; Professor Rana Mitter of Oxford University; Dominic Lawson; Max Hastings; Matthew Syed; Jonathan Freedland, David Aaronovitch, the Financial Times; The Times; John Sudworth and BBC News; Matthew Hill, David Campanale; Joel Gunter; Xinhuanet; Bethany Allen-Ebrahimian; Edward Lucas; The Chief Rabbi of the UK; The President of the UK Board of Deputies; Quora website; Mollie Saltskog and Colin Clarke of the Soufan Group; the Inter-Parliamentary Alliance on China; CGTN; China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs; The Diplomat; The Grayzone; The Chollima Report; The Global Times; CNN World; Sylvain Saurel; Foreign Affairs and Haaretz.com;

On this point there are people who claim that the information available from China is all from the official China News Agency. This is not correct. There is information available from people living and working in China – non-Chinese – who have come to the fore in recent months on their own individual initiatives because they are unhappy by Western media coverage of Xinjiang. I list them as follows;- @FerMuBe; @DennisDumbrill; Edward Janssen; @MarioCavolo; <https://chollima.org>; barrie of @chinabazaar; @Jerry_Grey2000; @agatarbair; @GrayzoneES; @TheGrayzoneNews. The Hamilton Project Panel Discussion (video is attached at page 22) contains the best alternative narrative about Xinjiang. Jerry Gray is a former London Metropolitan police officer.

I also attach the link to a Press Conference held in Beijing https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjbxw/t1854674.shtml

CLOSING COMMENTS

The allegations of genocide and forced sterilisation are serious and emotive issues. I want to bring matters together by recalling the world geo-political context and then consider the specific issue of the Uighurs and Xinjiang and close with a reference to the Holocaust.

The readers for this article will likely include people of quite different political views and allegiances. Some people are anti-China. Others are neutral about China but troubled by the allegations. And a third group are pro-China and hoping that the allegations will be proved untrue. Everyone has to make up their own mind. Look at the issues; consider the evidence; ask questions and reach your own conclusion. The most serious allegations have been made against China and none come bigger than genocide. It is the H-Bomb of allegations, and conclusions should be based on a reasonable and objective analysis of the evidence from all sources.

Finally, I have mentioned my links with China and some readers will immediately dismiss anything I write on the basis that I have done business with China in the past and am, therefore, compromised. Others will note the reasonable tone of this article and will want to know more. I have been a speaker about China for many years and speak on my own behalf. I am not China's representative and I have never been approached by China to be their mouthpiece. Suffice to say I am independent and quite capable of standing up to scrutiny and cross-examination.

CONCLUSION [1]

THE USA/CHINA RELATIONSHIP AND THE WAR OPTION

The Uighur issue has a world geo-political context. The focus here is the state of relations between the US and China and I have touched upon this earlier in this article. They are bad and getting worse. Anchorage was a moment in time which reflected the growing power of China. The challenge to the US is from a rising China. This much was clear from Biden's quoted comment after his first phone conversation with Xi Jinping – "China will eat our lunch". Left alone, China will remorselessly become the biggest economy in the world. Biden knows this and, has to stop it. The US cannot surrender its position as the world's largest economy to any country - let alone to a country run by a Communist Party. But how to do? How does the US actually hold China back?

There are two options; the first is War and at this point we come to the principle enshrined in Thucydides Trap - a term popularized by American political scientist, Graham T. Allison, to describe a tendency towards war when an emerging power threatens to displace an existing great power. China threatens to displace the US and war is on the agenda – this is Allison's approach. My article does not argue for the proposition that China is an emerging power that seeks international hegemony - China is not the new Imperialism. The key to present day international politics is as much to do with the decline of the US as it is to do with the rise of China. And the US cannot accept the changing terms of power, control and influence. Its goal is to maintain its position as the dominant world power and it sees - in the rise of China - a real challenge to its hitherto unassailable leading position. After all, the US did not

see off the challenge from the USSR in 1991, only to fail in the challenge from China in 2021. The US was strong in the 1950's. It is weaker in 2020's. But it has to fight.

Military initiatives – steps on the path to war – are always under review. The US has fifty-two military bases surrounding China. Its 7th Fleet regularly sails in the S China Sea and military manoeuvres are always in planning or in execution. War is a real option and is taken seriously by China who cannot afford to be complacent about the possibility of a US attack. This may sound dramatic. After all, this is the 21st Century – we are not in the era of 19th Century gunboat diplomacy and things should be different but they are not different. War is a real possibility. It can be avoided but that depends on the quality of leadership – more in Washington than Beijing as Washington is the international expansionist power not China.

Is that right? The threat of War comes from Washington and not Beijing? Yes, the US has to act. It is losing market share. It faces relegation to the #2 spot. The US needs to disable China. Time does not stand still and the clock is ticking in the Pentagon.

War is never the only option. But does the US have a second string to its bow? Is there an alternative to military confrontation? This is where Xinjiang and the Uighurs come into play.

CONCLUSION [2]

ISOLATE CHINA

The US is ratcheting up its designation of China as a perpetrator of genocide in an attempt to build a world-wide alliance against China. But why now? I have referred earlier to the terrorism in Xinjiang and to the detention camps. In fact, there has been no extremist violence in Xinjiang for four years and the detention camps have been empty during the same period. The US and the West knew this so why did the US delay raising the genocide issue? Why did Trump and Pompeo wait with their allegations when the violence of which they complain had already happened? It was not hidden from them – their overhead satellites buzzing China around the clock, seven days a week for 52 weeks of the year told them what they wanted to believe. Zenz's allegations were in the public domain. So why delay? The answer is that the genocide allegations have been brought into the frame late in the day because it is the rise of China, and not the genocide allegations, that have triggered the dramatic raising of the issue by Pompeo and now Blinken.

It is relevant to note that Trump expected to settle a trade deal with China – on US terms. China resisted. Trump applied more and more tariffs. China stood firm. Trump increased the pressure and expected China to bow. But it did not happen. China remained strong and the Uighur allegations came into play just at the same time that the US realised that there was to be no trade accommodation with China. Other things happened – the US, with the UK in

tow focused on Huawei leading to the arrest of Mme Meng, a senior Huawei executive. Other strains came into play as the then US National Security Adviser, Robert O'Brien, assisted by the Henry Jackson Society, pursued a policy of "Reds Under The Beds" in an echo of the Dulles approach to the USSR in the 1950's.

The US – under Trump and now Biden – wants to clip China's wings and eat away at its powerful collective self-confidence and blunt its hopes for achievement and further strides forward. The US seeks to setback China's progress by de-coupling from China. US/UK politicians will try to create obstacles to China's further economic progress. They want to limit China's participation in the US and UK domestic economies; erect obstacles to further investment by China in the West; limit the number of Chinese students taking places in US/UK universities and generally create a mood of negativism designed to restrain China's advance.

Trump had designated President Xi as "his friend" and someone "I can do business with". But, in a phrase, Trump Got China Wrong. Trump, not for the first time, saw what he wanted to see and believed he "could do a deal" with Xi. But he did not understand China. He did not know from where China was coming. He failed to embrace Tony Blair's advice – view China from China's perspective. He did not appreciate the political dynamic of Beijing. He said he felt "let down" that China had failed to respond to him. Trump failed where so many before him had failed because he looked at China through USSR-tinted glasses. He saw an image of his own making and not reality. It goes for many others.

With Trump's hopes dashed he changed course. He was desperate. He "went for the jugular" and portrayed China as a Genocidal Killer of the Uighurs. Washington dragged up the ageing Zenz material and claimed that China was killing Uighurs in concentration camps and by forced sterilisation and by old fashioned racial prejudice. A PR campaign went into super-gear and words and images flashed around the globe designed to show China as racist killers of innocent Uighurs.

A well orchestrated campaign is underway world-wide to ratchet up the anger and indignation in order to support a world campaign designed to bring China down a peg or two by decoupling, detaching, and boycotting China thereby marginalising China's key strength – its economy. If the US can succeed with this campaign then its position as the number one power in the world will be preserved. A worldwide boycott is what is sought.

CONCLUSION [3]

THE US UIGHUR POLICY – ITS PROBLEMS

The US faces a number of problems with its Uighur Policy.

First, it is not supported by the Islamic states. If the stories of genocide and forced sterilisation were true the Islamic governments would be up in arms – and they are not. On the contrary the Islamic states, time and again, have refused to add their voices to the protests led by the US and UK. And there is a clear reason why they have remained mute; the Islamic extremists in Xinjiang and the Islamic separatists in Xinjiang are the same Islamic extremists (ISIS) who threaten the Islamic leadership in the Islamic countries. The Islamic nation states hope that China is successful in their policy of confronting the extremists. A victory for China is a victory for each Islamic state. They hope China succeeds - not fails.

Second; too many people and too many companies do not buy into the US designation of China as a genocide killer. They do not accept the US narrative and they do not want to withdraw from China – on the contrary they want to intensify their commercial involvement with China. They want to invest more – and not less – in China. JP Morgan, Siemens, AstraZeneca, HSBC and others want to deepen and strengthen in China and there is not a Western automobile company which is not keen to manufacture more cars in China to meet demand from China's growing middle class. China, also, is the only major economy to record economic growth (2.3%) in 2020. These are not arrogant boasts. This is not Arsenal v Spurs. This is about whether the US, in decline, can, like King Canute at the sea's edge, reverse the irreversible. They will try, and China knows that and is ever-braced for the challenge from Washington.

Third; the allegations are not true. The claims of genocide and forced sterilisation have been cobbled together with figures and statistics that do not bear scrutiny or stand investigation. They originate, as they do, from an individual with a questionable political agenda. They are accompanied by oral testimony of assault and rape which is untested and unchecked. And, this notwithstanding, the untrue evidence has been accepted by people who appear to have put to one side their usual concern for truth, veracity and independent investigation in order to convict China of genocide. For some, this is anti-communism "they are all like that aren't they?". For others, it is puzzlement as they see just one side. But there is another side and I will come to it. But a final point about the build up of the genocide allegations.

They coincided with another set of allegations that China purposely promoted the distribution of Covid-19 first, by enabling the virus to emerge from a Wuhan laboratory and,

second, by allegedly delaying notification to the world of the existence of the virus in order to bring about maximum loss of life on the planet – part of China’s ambition for global supremacy. I mention this, not for the purpose of opening up the Covid-19 issue, but to alert the reader that there is an anti-China strategy at work and its focus is “China Kills – by Genocide or by Covid-19”

CONCLUSION [4]

THERE IS ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW

I have mentioned that there is another side. There is information readily available on the web providing details of life in Xinjiang. There are three main sources;- The Grayzone Report on page 11, the Hamilton Panel discussion on page 21/22 and the press conference in Beijing on page 30. Taken together, these three media events are, first, a hard core factual rebuttal of the Zenz evidence, second, the oral testimony of foreigners living and working in China and, third, evidence from Uighurs with quite varied experiences – some former inmates, some labourers in the fields, some workers in the factories. The combination of Chinese and non-Chinese comment on the allegations of genocide and forced sterilisation is disregarded by the Western media. They have already convicted China but this is not balance but imbalance. There are sources of information about China and the Uighurs other than Adrian Zenz and the West’s media. They include, but are not limited to;-

@DanielDumbrill @chinabazzar @Jerry_Grey2000, @GarethParker @MaxBlumenthal Grayzone and Omar Latif in the Hamilton Panel Discussion – see page

Finally, I would add one further point – it was always clear to foreigners visiting Germany after 1933 that the German government, the SS, the Gestapo and many ordinary Germans in the street hated the Jews. Race hate existed in abundance in every newspaper, on every street corner and daubed on every shop front owned by a Jew. Anti-semitism was everywhere in Germany during the Hitler period.

Since 1965 – the year of my first visit to China, later during the Cultural Revolution and from 1976 to the present I have not heard in official or casual conversation any race hate coming from any Chinese nationals aimed at the Uighurs. Strange. If China is committing genocide against the Uighurs it would be expected that race hate would be encountered – a dismissive comment here, an article there, a speech in print or a casual joke or a book showing Uighurs in the worst possible light. I have never experienced such incidents and none have been reported by Western tourists to China – and there have been millions of tourists. It does not add up. On the one hand power crazed Chinese are committing genocide against the Uighurs and on the other hand no one has ever reported hearing, seeing or reading any race hate incidents. The truth? There is no race hate. There is no genocide.

CONCLUSION [5]

CHINA'S "GENOCIDE" AND THE HOLOCAUST

Finally I want to add a word about the Jewish dimension which I have mentioned. I have referred to the Holocaust for good reason because the allegations of genocide conjure up images and thoughts and recollections about the 6m Jews who died in Nazi concentration camps. The evidence of the Holocaust is clear and apparent and the deniers of the Holocaust have been sent packing thanks to persistent and ultimately successful attempts by Jews determined to expose them. I have also urged Jews, who view the alleged genocide allegations against China through the prism of the Holocaust to be diligent, conscientious and thorough in their own investigations of genocide in China bearing in mind it was China's Consul-General in Vienna in 1938-40 who facilitated the escape of Jews from Nazi terror by issuing entry visas to Shanghai at just the time the US, the UK and other countries refused entry to Jews.

And on this issue – the Jewish issue – there is a final point. Professor Lyle Goldstein of the Strategic and Operational Research Department of the Naval War College in the US (founded in 1884) told Grayzone that Adrian Zenz's labelling of the Chinese approach to the Uighurs as "demographic genocide" is "ridiculous to the point of being insulting to those who lost relatives in the Holocaust".

GRAHAM PERRY APRIL 2021