Suffering in Silence: The Uyghur Muslim Tragedy as a Symbol of Global Injustice

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Abstract

This paper scrabble about the tangled historical, political, socio-cultural dynamics and the atrocities challenged by the Uyghur Muslim community residing in China’s Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Moreover, this paper traces the rise and eventual decline of the Uyghur Khaganate, their crucial role in the Silk Road trade, and the meticulous relationship they shared with the Han Chinese. Paper also critically analyse China’s policies toward Uyghur Muslims, with a specific focus on the establishment of re-education camps and the widespread human rights violations occurring in those camps. This paper also explores the underlying factors such as Islamophobia, the aftermath of 9/11 attacks, and China’s “Sinicization” campaign as catalysts for the total internment of Uyghurs. Furthermore, the paper highlights the horrific atrocities committed against Uyghur women, including reports of sexual violence and forced sterilization, echoing the words of Desmond Tutu, “If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor.”

Keywords: Uyghurs (Uighur, Uigur and Uyhur); Re-education camps; Sinicization; Islamophobia; Separatism; Wolf Warrior Diplomacy of China

Introduction to Uyghurs

The huge Empire of the Uyghur Khaganate, sometimes also known as the Orkhon Uyghur Empire, flourished across the Plains of Eurasia in 8th and 9th centuries. This empire was inhibited by the Turkic speaking Uyghur pastoral nomads, who showed a blend of sedentary and nomadic administration, also comprising a well-established bureaucratic structure. The scripts that Uyghurs used was three borrowed alphabets: a form of the Sogdian script, a Runic script developed from Indic Brahmi through the Tocharian route, and a Tibetan-based alphabet of Indic origin. They are not originally from Islam originated, prior Islam they practiced Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity, and Buddhism.

In history of Uyghurs, Sogdians played a important role as the tutors of Uyghur, in terms of imparting knowledge in various fields including trade, diplomacy, politics, material culture, writing, and religion. Imparting knowledge to Uyghurs was mutual benefit, as it brought profit to the Sogdians. As any other civilization or kingdom, Uyghur Khaganate’s decline commenced after the death of Kulug Bilge Qagan(832-839), marking the onset of internal conflicts and disintegration. At last, the Uyghurs fell victim to their own success with further intensification of external pressure. The empire came to an end when it was attacked by a force of 100,000 Qirgiz, leading to the capture of the

3 (Review: New Work on the Sogdians, the Most Important Traders on the Silk Road, A.D. 500-1000 on JSTOR, n.d.)
capital city of Ordu Baiq.4

Silk Route
We can notice a complex relationship between the Uyghurs and the Tang Dynasty of China along the Silk Road, showing sign of both cooperation and conflict. The Silk Route then played a major role in diplomatic ties and economic prosperity of Chinese dynasty, but with the Uyghurs holding strategic position in this route made their relations much tense. Territorial conflicts also intensified relations between them. Few historical accounts5 shows confrontations as both sides sought to assert control over the coinciding territories such as the Tarim Basin. Moreover, the political ambitions of Tang Dynasty played a key role in shaping their interaction. The Tang Dynasty tried to expand its political influence and consolidate power in the region, and the Uyghurs sought to create their hegemony over the Silk Road. But after the fall of Uyghur Dynasty in the 9th century the Chinese dynasty were unchecked until the Mongols came into scene in the 13th century absorbing Uyghurs into them. Further, with the fall of Mongols, the Uyghurs fell into several other Turkic and Mongol Khaganate. But in the 18th century, they finally came into Chinese control by the Qing Dynasty after the Dzungar genocide.6

Internment (Re-education Camps)
Since the 2010s, the Chinese government has erected a link of several internment camps for the ethnical Tukic Muslim minorities in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, but post 2017, the number of camps has hiked extensively. A huge amount of population is being transferred into those camps which includes women of different age groups, adolescents, and senior individualities on the orders of Chinese government. Initially, these camps were called “vocation schools”, later called “vocational schools for criminals” but then the authorities labelled them as the “re-education” camps for terrorism and extremists. Camps erected for terrorists included people of the Uyghurs Region, including teenagers and elderly people who ended up in camps and no charges of terrorism set up against them. Very few of them have been charged with activities relating to terrorism. Some officials have also called these internment camps as “hospitals for ideological illness,” portraying Islam as a mental disease or disorder.7

The idea of “re-education” is no new concept in communist China’s history. The government in 1950s has already introduced the concepts of “reform through labor” and re-education through labor” as the official practices. These Chinese government brought a form of punishment which was executed by the police i.e., re-education through labor(known as laodong jiaoyang or laojiao). It was introduced for the first time in 1955, since then it has been an efficient tool for government to address various crises. Laojiao was introduced as a relatively moderate measure to quell counterrevolutionary actions, but later proved to be more convenient tool for chastising nonconcurring intellectuals in 1958, but it was gradually phased out during the more extreme phases of the Cultural Revolution.8

What could be the reason for recent internment of Uyghurs?

5 (Tang China in Multi-Polar Asia: A History of Diplomacy and War on JSTOR, 2013)
6 Mark Elliott. 2001. ‘The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China’
7 (Islamophobia, Chinese Style: Total Internment of Uyghur Muslims by the People’s Republic of China on JSTOR, n.d.)
8 (Re-Education Through Labour in Historical Perspective on JSTOR, n.d.)
One major reason for such internment could be the Islamophobia of Chinese, and seeing Islam as a disease that is eating up China from inside. Chinese authorities has called these internment camps as Hospitals for treating Uyghurs who are affected by an ideology i.e., Ideology of Islam. Internment processes was escalated post espousing the “Regulation on De-extremification” in March 2017. With Chen Quanguo appointment as Xinjiang’s new Communist Party secretary in August 2016, the mass detention and surveillance of Uyghurs was seen.9

Radio Free Asia, an US government funded private Non-profit corporation had transcribed and restated a recording entered from official Communist Party Channel:

*Members of the public who have been chosen for re-education have been infected by an ideological illness. They have been infected with religious extremism and violent terrorist ideology, and therefore they must seek treatment from a hospital as an inpatient... The religious extremist ideology is a type of poisonous medicine, which confuses the mind of the people. If we do not eradicate religious extremism at its roots, the violent terrorist incidents will grow and spread all over like an incurable malignant tumour.*

The Communist party also attempts to justify the reason for mass Uyghur Internment without any committed any crimes, they’re appertained as those are infected with disease of Islam:

*Although a certain number of people who have been indoctrinated with extremist ideology have not committed any crimes, they are already infected by the disease. There is always a risk that the illness will manifest itself at any moment, which would cause serious harm to the public. That is why they must be admitted to a re-education hospital in time to treat and cleanse the virus from their brain and restore their normal wind. We must beclear that going into a re-education hospital for treatment is not a way of forcibly arresting people and locking them up for punishment, it is an act that is part of a comprehensive rescue mission to save them.*

Authority also gave a warming and demanded for more internment camps and why total internment of Uyghurs need to be done:

*However, we must be cautious about one fact: having gone through re-education and recovered from the ideological disease doesn’t meant that one is permanently cured... After recovering from and illness, if one doesn’t exercise to strengthen the body and the immune system against disease, it could return worse than before.*

Now what could be the solution to this disease of what Chinese call ‘Islam’, “Sinicization” becomes the ultimate solution for them to integrate religious Uyghurs into the atheistic Chinese Communist culture. In 2015, Chinese President Xi Jinping brought a religious policy with objective of subjugating persuasions to Communist Party surveillance and aligning them with Chinese cultural norms i.e., “Sinicize Religion”. Due to this policy the Uyghurs Muslims are denied even the most fundamental aspects of their faith, including daily prayers, fasting, and attending mosques.

**“Sinicization” of religions**

The Communist party is attached to their Chinese cultural so much that they can’t even accept any other

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9 (Islamophobia, Chinese Style: Total Internment of Uyghur Muslims by the People’s Republic of China on JSTOR, n.d.)
10 (Xinjiang Political ‘Re-Education Camps’ Treat Uyghurs ‘Infected by Religious Extremism’: CCP Youth League, 2020)
11 (Xinjiang Political ‘Re-Education Camps’ Treat Uyghurs ‘Infected by Religious Extremism’: CCP Youth League, 2020)
12 (Xinjiang Political ‘Re-Education Camps’ Treat Uyghurs ‘Infected by Religious Extremism’: CCP Youth League, 2020)
13 (Falor, 2021)
culture or religion to flourish in their territories. The policy of Sinicization mostly aims towards the so-called “foreign” religions, which includes Islam as well as Catholicism and Protestantism and expects these religions to prioritize Chinese tradition over their and show loyalty to the state. There are several instances where it was seen that Chinese authorities have removed crosses from churches and demolished the minarets and domes so that they look more Chinese.\textsuperscript{14, 15}

A date was fixed by the Communist Party of China i.e., September 1, 2023, since when new regulation to be implemented for monasteries, temples, mosques, churches, and other religious venues are instructed to align with Communist Party of China and stick to leader Xi Jinping’s agenda for the “Sinicization” of religious practices.\textsuperscript{16}

Old “Measure for the Approval and Registration of the Establishment of Venues for Religious Activity” of 2005 is replaced by new “Measure for the Management of Religious Activity Venues” promulgated by the State Administration of Religious Affairs form September 1, 2023. Chapter 1 General Provisions, Article 3 of this document mentions:

\begin{quote}
Venues for religious activities should support the leadership of the Communist Party of China, support the socialist system, thoroughly implement Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, abide by the constitution, laws, regulation, rules and relevant provisions on religious affairs management, and practice the core of socialism Values, adhere to the direction of Sinicization of China’s religion, adhere to the principle of independence and self-management, and safeguard nation unity, ethnic unity, religious harmony and social stability.\textsuperscript{17}

“No organization or individual may use religious venues to conduct activities that endanger national security, undermine social order, harm citizens’ health, hinder the national education system, violate public order and good custom, or otherwise harm national interest, social public interest, and citizens’ legitimate rights and interests.”\textsuperscript{18}
\end{quote}

What’s fascinating about this article is that how activities perceived as threat to national security, disrupts social order, impacts public health, hinder the national education system, violate public order, and disrupts societal norms are all taken into account on the perspective of Chinese authorities. According to them, even praying and preaching one’s religion without any official supervision constitutes a breach of security. Atheism is the religion that People’s Republic of China has opted rather than adopting a major religion. The official of Communist party can visit temples occasionally, but visiting temples for all important religious day may lead to expulsion from the CCP.\textsuperscript{19}

**Life at “Re-education camp”**

Chinese authority had admitted (detained; mainly Uyghurs) many Uyghurs Muslims on their qualification being Muslims. Lives at these camps resembles that of a ‘boarding school’ but with strict authoritarian control. Teachers, here acts as standby parents, enforcing rigorous rules, possibly fearing their higher authorities.

Dress code is to be followed by the detainees which was blue pyjamas, engaging in extensive physical exercise routine, and there were severe punishments for indiscipline, including solitary confinement and

\textsuperscript{14} (Phillips, 2017)  
\textsuperscript{15} (China: Mosques Shuttered, Razed, Altered in Muslim Areas, 2024)  
\textsuperscript{16} (Mandarin, 2023)  
\textsuperscript{17} (n.d.)  
\textsuperscript{18} (n.d.)  
\textsuperscript{19} (10 Things to Know About China’s Policies on Religion | Pew Research Center, 2023)
prolonged sitting on hard chairs. There is one such camp, located in Baijiantan district of Karamay, contained detainees in dormitories with basic wooden beds, each referred to as ‘bunk no.__’. These dorms are put under high surveillance to prevent and unexpected disruption that can hamper the lessons of detainees. Students here are taught manner, to be silence, to learn new subject and abolishing the older ones (their heritage, culture, and religion.) There is no way escaping from such highly surveillance, no opportunity to exchange whispers, cleans one’s mouth, or even yawn without the fear of being pointed out for praying. If anyone refuses to food, then s/he would be labelled as “Islamist terrorist.” There are no clock in dorms for inmates, they had to guess time of day from how cold or hot it felt, additionally, they are instructed not to make direct eye contact with teachers.

The physical education exhausted detainees only physically but the “Theory Classes” were even worse. They had to endure physical and mental exhaustion through repetitive lesion. Teachers always paid their strict attention to their detained students and would slap at every chance they got. Once, they was a detainee who was her in 60s who, feeling exhausted, closed her eyes for a short time. In response, the teacher delivered her a harsh slap, accusing her of praying. She was taken out of the room by guards, an hour later, she returned with a paper depicting her self-criticism. She was made read it aloud to the class, for what, closing her eyes for a brief time.

Students stood up as one at the signal of teacher. They are taught to recite a pledge expressing their gratitude towards China, acknowledging it as their great nation. “Thank you to our party. Thank you to our dear President Xi Jinping.” Students have to attend their class for 11 hours and had to repeat their lesion like parrots. They are taught the glorious history of China- a cleanse version, cleansed of abuses. The manuals that are given to them are having cover inscribed with “re-education programme.” These included the history of mighty dynasties of China and their impressive conquest, as well as remarkable achievements of the Communist Party, with excluding the history of the Uyghurs. Initially, detainees are confident enough to resist (mentally) the propaganda of camps. But with the passage of time, their confidence breaks and fades away, fatigue sets in like an enemy, it exhausts them. Their memories start to fade out, ultimately their own memory becomes both their greatest ally and worst enemy.

The claim of Chinese authorities where it was said that people are not forced to join here was completely false. It was a forced re-education camp, with military rules, and had clear objective to break the Uyghurs’ heritage, culture, and beliefs. Life and death in these “transformation-through-education” camps does not mean what it does in normal world. Detainees has no guarantee of life, they are alive or dead on the wish Chinese authority. Death lurks in every corner of these camps.

“Sterilization” of Uyghur ideologies is the main objective of these camps so that no Uyghurs are born at all, cleansing Uyghurs from their roots. Through this Uyghurs would disappear from Chinese land and no one would even notice.

Atrocities against Women

Women and Children have always been the most vulnerable groups who are severely impacted by any traumatic experience. There are numerous accounts that are surfing on official site of UNHRC regarding instance of sexual violence targeting Turkic Muslim women in “re-education”. Tursunay Ziawdun, born in Kunes County, China, had her own clothing and ironing business and she also

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20 (Haitiwaji & Morgat, 2021)

Tursunay worked as a nurse at her husband Qalmyrza Halyq’s clinic (Qalmyrza, born in 1957, currently a citizen of Kazakhstan). She is seeking asylum in the United States, Tursunay alleges that she was detained in a “re-education” camp for nine months in 2018.

Qalmyrza had gall bladder operation for which they travel China in November 13, 2016. By the December 2016, both of their passports were seized. After continuous attempt straight for 4 months, Qalmyrza managed to retrieve his passport and return to Kazakhstan, but Tursunay was left behind as his “guarantor.” After 28 days she was released but was placed under house arrest till further notice. In February 2018, she was again detained, now she was taken to a “re-education” camp, where she was about to face her nightmares. Tursunay reported that she was gang-raped by masked men on three occasions, was subjected to electroshock on and inside her genitals. She had witnessed several women getting raped “every night” by the camp authorities.

Qulbinur Sedik, a Han teacher who was on the order of Chinese authority was sent to Uyghur internment camps to teach. He had seen such atrocities that women in these detention face which are inhumane in nature, such as forced IUDs, sterilization, genitals examination, and consistent gang rapes from officers. A petition in the House of Commons of Canada was filed by him in 2020.

The seriousness of the situation can be guessed by the fact that Human Rights Watch cannot determine the full extent of sexual violence against Turkic Muslim in Xinjiang region due to the abuses and the potential stigma survivors may encounter. Reports suggesting violation of the reproductive rights of Turkic Muslim can be encountered on web. There are women who had been through these “re-education” camps and reports undergoing medical procedures without their consent.

Having WhatsApp on one’s phone can be a threat to national security of China. Gulzira Mogdyn, a 38-year-old ethnic Kazakh and citizen of China in December 2017, was arrested upon her return from a trip to Kazakhstan due to authorities discovering WhatsApp on her phone in the Xinjiang region. She was put on a house arrest and while doing medical checkup it was found that she was 10 weeks pregnant. Official didn’t wanted another ethnic Kazakh in their country so they did not permitted her to have what would be her fourth child. Mogdyn refreshes her memory and tells how doctors performed operation to remove her fetus without administering anesthesia. Still, she suffers from the complication that she faced during that operation. “Two lives were lost in this tragedy – my baby and myself,” Mogdyn expressed during an interview on the outskirts of Almaty, Kazakhstan.

Another woman born in Ghulja County in Xinjiang, Gulzira Auelkhan comes from a family engaged in cattle breeding. In 2014, she along with her family moved to Kazakhstan, where she and her husband (Tursynzhan Isnali, born in 1974, now a citizen of Kazakhstan) are engaged in farmwork and herding. In 2017, when Gulzira returned to China, after a few days she was detained and taken to a re-education camp. Her husband informs that she was going back to bring her two [step] daughters over to Kazakhstan, though in Gulzira interview to the Globe and Mail she says it was to visit her ill father. Interviews with her and along with direct testimonies, indicate that July 2017 is the accurate timeframe for her detainment. According to her, detainees were given maximum 2 minutes to freshen up in restroom. If one spent more than the allotted time, was then hit with an electric baton on head. A strict military discipline was to be followed by inmates and crying was rigorously prohibited. Displaying any emotion on your face means you’re harbouring incorrect thoughts, which would ultimately led to harsh punishments.

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23 (Petition E-3035 - Petitions, n.d.)
24 (Ferris-Rotman, 2019)
There are several claims by former detainees that younger, unmarried women at night were taken from their cells by the guard and were subjected to sexual assault. They describes that these women would either return next in the morning or not at all. Guard enters cell in night and would place bags over the head of the women they select for this purpose, Gulzira Auelkhan said.

**Separatism to Terrorism to Repression**

As narrated in Gospel of Matter, “A wolf in sheep’s clothing”, would be the perfect idiom for China, as it hides its inhumane methods of ‘repression’ under the blanket of “War on Terror” initiated by USA post 9/11 attacks. There were several separatist organizations functioning in the Xinjiang region of China mostly against the incursion of Han population into their Xinjiang region. In the name and sake of “War on terror”, China focused on counter-terrorism approach started in 1990s, as a blanket to conduct its repression of Uyghur and other Turkic ethnic people.

What could be the reason for Han’s hatred toward Uyghurs?

One reason could be their complex history and events that happened in their history. This complexity can be traced back to 8th – 9th century when the Uyghur Khaganate was flourishing in the Eurasian plains. Uyghurs having great military experience and Tang Dynasty having great economic and political prosperity made it clear that there would be raids by Uyghurs on Tang population (Hans). But there was a unique relation between them, seeing military experience of Uyghurs, Tang Dynasty actually took their help in supressing several mutinies, riots and rebellions. In return to these assistance, Tang Dynasty would ignore Uyghur raids on their villages to some extent. Most of time these raids were done to loot silk from these villages for their further sale in west. But after the fall of Uyghur Khaganate, this advantage of Uyghurs turned against them and later in 1762, Uyghurs region (East Turkistan) was annexed by the Qing Dynasty and named as “Xinjiang” i.e., the new territory.25

However, with the formation of People’s Republic of China (PRC) on October 1, 1949, and further oppression of Xinjiang population, treating them unfairly created a sense of aversion toward the Han had created several separatist groups in 1990s like; ETIM (East Turkistan Islamic Movement) in 1997; TIP (Turkistan Islamic Party); ETLO (East Turkestan Liberation Organization) and others. Furthermore, its important note that labelling these groups as terrorist organization by China could be used to justify its repressive policies in Xinjiang.26

**Is Islamophobia of China influenced by 9/11 attacks?**

The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States and taking up responsibility of those attacks by al-Qaeda, a militant Islamic organization founded by Osama bin laden had impacted the Muslims living all over the world, including those residing in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China. The direct impact of the attacks may have not been immediate on Uyghurs, but it altered the geopolitical landscape, which later led to increased scrutiny and securitization of Muslim community.27

The region experienced a relatively peaceful time without significant conflict, post the end of the Cultural Revolution until the Tiananmen Massacre in 1989. Tiananmen Massacre was a turning point for Chinese government toward treatment of its citizen, it became more assertive including the Uyghurs. For example, the 9/11 attacks in the USA provided the Chinese government to justify that it was also suffering through

26 (UYGHUR VIOLENCE AND JIHADISM IN CHINA AND BEYOND on JSTOR, n.d.)
27 (Petersen, 2021)
Islamic terrorism. Uyghurs face discrimination in their own dominant ethnic populated state on daily basis, in employment and education, corruption and restriction on their freedoms, religious beliefs and practices, and culture. However, any internal criticism against the Chinese government policies is portrayed as separatist and extremist. In 2014, declaration of “People’s War on Terror” by the Communist party had immense detrimental impacts on the lives of Uyghurs.

**China’s response to foreign assertions**

Chinese diplomats execute the Wolf Warrior diplomacy to the Western containment bash and dismiss Western accusation of China’s actions as insignificant and biased interference. The evidences of the re-education camps dates back to October 16, 2018, showcasing a “vocational education center”, to which authorities responded by claiming that these facilities were established for de-radicalization and job training purposes. Later this was followed by regulation allowing local governments to establish “education centers” for individuals suspected of terrorism.

The Governor of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, Shohrat Zakir on March 12, 2019, had dismissed the accusation of concentration camps in the area. Instead, he nurtured with “vocation training” facilities akin to boarding school.

Wang Yi, China’s Foreign Minister, in response to the rising internation condemnation regarding the detainment of more than a million Uyghur Muslims in “re-education” camps , defended the government’s actions, stating, “the efforts are completely in line with the direction the international community has taken to combat terrorism… if we can take care of prevention, then it will be impossible for terrorism to spread and take root.”

Activist claim that upto one million members of Uyghur population and other Muslim groups are being detained, also countries like Canada, France, Germany, and the United States, have called on China to shut down these camps in Xinjiang. Firstly, China dismisses all the allegation that imposed on him of existence of mass internment and then it also asserts that the Xinjiang region is threatened by Islamist separatist.

“Ideological illness” is the justification given by Chinese authorities for their actions and portraying the “re-education” camps as “hospitals” necessary to treat individuals affected by such ideology. China’s ambassador to the US, Cui Tiankai, contend that the objective of such camps is to transform Uyghurs into “ordinary individuals,” while a pro-government asserted that the West should focus on its own value system consistently, questioning the inconsistency in perception between executing terrorists with missile and Xinjiang’s efforts to reintegrate them into society.

**Conclusion**

A joint declaration denouncing the Chinese government’s acts of crimes against Uyghurs and other Turkic communities was issued by 51 member countries of United Nations. This declaration calls on Beijing to shut off its systematic violations of Human Rights in the Xinjiang region.

“Members of Uyghur and other predominantly Muslim minorities in Xinjiang continue to suffer violations

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28 (Understanding Chinese “Wolf Warrior Diplomacy” - the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR), 2021)
29 (Tazamal, 2019)
30 (REUTERS. August 12, 2018. “U.N. says it has credible reports that China holds million Uighurs in secret camps.”)
31 (Samuel, 2018)
32 (Jazeera, 2018)
33 (Charbonneau, 2023)
of their human rights, "..."34 highlighted by Britain’s Deputy Permanent Representative James Kariuki to UN General Assembly’s Third Committee on October 18, 2023. Despite these measures, the Chinese government continues to dismiss all allegations of human rights violation in Xinjiang, instead indicating its policies as necessary measures to combat extremism and promote stability in the region. Monitoring of human rights violation independently in Xinjiang is crucial. There are several modes such as international organizations, NGOs35, and independent journalists36, which can play a key role in documenting abuses and advocating challenges to minorities. Implementing economic measures37 and targeted sanctions38 on individuals and institutions involved in humanitarian rights violation and promoting responsible and humane practices in the region. Engaging into discussion and dialogue between the Chinese government and Uyghur representative, along with international mediator, if needed, can help in finding peaceful resolutions. The international entities can ensure refuge to the exploited people from China. Providing Uyghurs humanitarian aid, legal assistance, and cultural preservation efforts. Exploitation of Uyghurs is a long and complex chain of events and sustained engagement and commitment from the international community can preserve the Uyghur’s identity, culture, lives, humanitarian oath of UNHRC, and humanity in humans.

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