



Australian Government
Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice
China

China – CHN39791 – Uighurs – Urumqi –
Xinjiang – September 2009 violence –
PSB– Islam
17 February 2012

1. Deleted.

2. What was the security situation in Guohan Yuan, Urumqi in September 2009; for example, was it safe to walk around and was there a large police presence?

Reports from early September 2009 describe the security situation in the Tianshan District of Urumqi – where Guohanyuan is located – as tense; characterised by large-scale demonstrations by Han-Chinese and incidents of violent attacks on Uighurs. Due to safety concerns, the government deployed a significant number of security personnel and closed off sections of the city. The violence followed earlier ethnic violence in July 2009 violence, which left 200 people dead.¹

Han-Chinese demonstrations

During the first week of September 2009, the Tianshan District of Urumqi was the scene of large-scale demonstrations by ethnic Han-Chinese. According to a 10 September 2009 article in *The Economist*, '[b]etween September 2nd and 4th, thousands of ethnic-Han Chinese took to the streets of Urumqi to protest against what they saw as the government's failure to halt an alleged new upsurge of violence' by Xinjiang's Uighurs community.² The article states that local media and Han residents accused Uighurs of carrying out 'wide-spread' stabbings with syringes. The protests reportedly reached their peak on 3 September, with demonstrators congregating around the People's Square (see Figure 3 for the location of the People's Square). According to the *Time* magazine, on 3 September there were 'huge demonstrations', with 'residents gathering in the city center to demand the government improve public security'.³ The *New York Times* reported that on 4 September protesters gathered around regional government offices to demand the resignation of Wang Lequan, the top Communist Party official in Xinjiang.⁴

Government response

¹ "'Five die' in China ethnic unrest" 2009, *BBC*, 4 September <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/8238768.stm> – Accessed 17 February 2012

² 'Tension in Xinjiang: The party under siege in Urumqi' 2009, *The Economist*, 10 September <http://www.economist.com/node/14413290> – Accessed 17 February 2012

³ Ramzy, A. 2009, 'Tens of Thousands Protest in Xinjiang', *Time*, 4 September <http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,1920510,00.html> – Accessed 15 February 2012

⁴ Yang, X. & Wong, E. 2009, 'Deaths Add to Tension in Capital of Xinjiang', *New York Times*, 5 September <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9F0CE5DF1E30F936A3575AC0A96F9C8B63> – Accessed 15 February 2012

News reports describe a rapid government response to the demonstrations, with large numbers police deployed on 4 September, particularly around the People’s Square and nearby government offices. The *BBC* explained that ‘[l]arge numbers of police were deployed overnight’ following large-scale protests during 3 September.⁵ In particular, police ‘were guarding the central People’s Square ...and waiting at roadblocks and in lorries parked on side streets’, the *BBC* reported.⁶ Security forces were also located around government offices and around Uighur neighbourhoods, according to the *Guardian*.⁷ The *Guardian* reported, ‘Security forces used tear gas to disperse protesters as they marched towards government offices’.⁸ Similarly, on 4 September the *BBC* reported that riot police had used tear gas against crowds and ‘China’s top security official’ was sent ‘to try to restore order’.⁹ On 5 September 2009, the *New York Times* reported the government had closed schools, offices and shops and blocked traffic to the city centre. The same article describes the use of government helicopters and the deployment of security personnel to key positions throughout the city.¹⁰



Figure 4. Paramilitary Police at the People’s Square in Urumqi on 4 September 2009¹¹

Attacks on Uighurs

News articles reported cases of mob violence against Uighurs at the time of the protests. The commentary provided on police responses to the violence is mixed. A *New York Times* article cites a Han driver in Urumqi as saying that on 3 September ‘he had seen a Han mob beating a

⁵ ‘Chinese break up ‘needle’ riots’ 2009, *The BBC*, 4 September <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/8237259.stm> – Accessed 15 February 2012

⁶ ‘Chinese break up ‘needle’ riots’ 2009, *The BBC*, 4 September <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/8237259.stm> – Accessed 15 February 2012

⁷ Branigan, T. 2009, ‘Chinese police use teargas to break up deadly protests in Urumqi’, *The Guardian*, 4 September <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/sep/04/xinjiang-urumqi-deadly-protests> – Accessed 17 February

⁸ Branigan, T. 2009, ‘Chinese police use teargas to break up deadly protests in Urumqi’, *The Guardian*, 4 September <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/sep/04/xinjiang-urumqi-deadly-protests> – Accessed 17 February

⁹ ‘‘Five die’’ in China ethnic unrest’ 2009, *BBC*, 4 September <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/8238768.stm> – Accessed 17 February 2012

¹⁰ Yang, X. & Wong, E. 2009, ‘Deaths Add to Tension in Capital of Xinjiang’, *New York Times*, 5 September <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9F0CE5DF1E30F936A3575AC0A96F9C8B63> – Accessed 15 February 2012

¹¹ Ramzy, A. 2009, ‘Tens of Thousands Protest in Xinjiang’, *Time*, 4 September <http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,1920510,00.html> – Accessed 15 February 2012

Uighur woman'.¹² Separately, the *New York Times* reported a witness account that '[a]t least one Uighur was beaten by a crowd as paramilitary police officers watched'.¹³ In a different vein, the *Guardian* wrote that '[w]itnesses reported attacks by Han on Uighurs, with one describing how police intervened to rescue a man'.¹⁴ The *BBC* reported that five people were killed during the violence but did not specify their ethnicity.¹⁵



Figure 5. Paramilitary police surrounded Tianshan hospital, where a Uighur man beaten by a group of Han Chinese protesters was receiving treatment¹⁶

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4. Are there any reports of Uighurs holding prominent positions in the PSB in Xingjian? If yes, are they expected to a) become members of the Chinese Communist Party and b) assimilate into Han Chinese culture?

No information was found on whether Uighurs hold prominent positions in the PSB in Xinjiang but there are examples of Uighurs holding prominent positions in the government more broadly. In general, prominent positions tend to be filled by Han-Chinese. According to a 2009 Human Rights Watch report, while Uighurs have joined the local bureaucracy in

¹² Yang, X. & Wong, E. 2009, 'Deaths Add to Tension in Capital of Xinjiang', *New York Times*, 5 September <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9F0CE5DF1E30F936A3575AC0A96F9C8B63> – Accessed 15 February 2012

¹³ Barboza, D. 2009, 'New Protests Reported in Restive Chinese Region', *New York Times*, 3 September <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/04/world/asia/04china.html> – Accessed 17 February 2012

¹⁴ Branigan, T. 2009, 'Chinese police use teargas to break up deadly protests in Urumqi', *The Guardian*, 4 September <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/sep/04/xinjiang-urumqi-deadly-protests> – Accessed 17 February

¹⁵ "'Five die" in China ethnic unrest' 2009, *BBC*, 4 September <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/8238768.stm> – Accessed 17 February 2012

¹⁶ Barboza, D. 2009, 'New Protests Reported in Restive Chinese Region', *New York Times*, 3 September <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/04/world/asia/04china.html> – Accessed 17 February 2012

Xinjiang, including the police force, most positions of ‘real power’ are reserved for ‘Han-cadres’.¹⁷

Reports indicate that the selection of government employees is politicised and, consequently, Uighurs appointed as senior officials are generally affiliated with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). *Foreign Policy* reported that officials drawn from minority ethnic groups are generally CCP members and connected with prominent Han officials. The report states:

By law, the governor of [China’s] autonomous regions must be a member of the relevant minority group. But the person who fills that position is selected by the political establishment -- and so owes his career and primary allegiance to the powers that be...“Most minority officials rise by association with powerful Han counterparts; they are clearly selected for their early appreciation of the Communist Party.”¹⁸

For example, the Chairman of the Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region – the head of the regional government – Nur Bekri, is Uighur. The *BBC* describes Bekri as a ‘career Communist Party official’, and the ‘deputy regional secretary of the Communist Party since 2005’.¹⁹

Uighur officials, regardless of seniority, are required to refrain from certain religious and cultural practices. Thus, a degree of cultural assimilation is forced upon Uighur officials. In May 2011 the US Commission on International Religious Freedom reported that Uighur government employees have restricted access to mosques. Government employees are prohibited from engaging in public religious activities such as distributing religious materials, reciting daily prayers, wearing head coverings, and observing Ramadan.²⁰ *Reuters* states that government employees ‘cannot show any visible signs of religious affiliation, such as beards or headscarves’.²¹

5. Are there any indications that prominent Uighurs are not subject to the same level of social and government harassment as ordinary Uighurs?

No reports were located that indicate that prominent Uighurs are at more or less risk of harassment by ethnic Han-Chinese than ordinary Uighur.²²

¹⁷ Human Rights Watch 2009, “*We Are Afraid to Even Look for Them*”: *Enforced Disappearances in the Wake of Xinjiang’s Protests*, October, p. 9 <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/xinjiang1009webwcover.pdf> - Accessed 22 October 2009

¹⁸ Larson, C. 2009, ‘China’s minority problem – and ours’, *Foreign Policy*, 30 September http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/09/30/china_s_minority_problem_and_ours?print=yes&hidecomments=yes&page=full – Accessed 17 February 2012

¹⁹ ‘Regions and territories: Xinjiang’ 2010, *BBC News* http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/country_profiles/8152132.stm – Accessed 10 May 2010

²⁰ Tharoor, I. 2009, ‘A brief History of the Uighurs’, *Time*, 9 July <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1909416,00.html> – Accessed 17 February 2012

; ‘Uyghur Radio Employee Fired and Detained’ 2008, *Phayul*, 9 September <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=22776&article%20=Uyghur+Radio+Employee+Fired+and+Detained> – Accessed 16 February 2012

²¹ ‘China defends control over religion in Uighur region’ 2006, Uyghur Human Rights Project website, source: *Reuters*, 17 October <http://www.uhrp.org/articles/317/1/China-defends-control-over-religion-in-Uighur-region/China-defends-control-over-religion-in-Uighur-region.html> – Accessed 23 September 2009

²² For information on the treatment of Uighurs more broadly see the Congressional-Executive Commission on China 2011, *Annual Report*, 12 October <http://www.cecc.gov/pages/annualRpt/annualRpt11/AR2011final.pdf> – Accessed 25 January 2012

However, it is noteworthy that some Uighurs in government positions have been attacked by other Uighurs. In August 2008, two ethnic Uighur police – including the local police chief – were killed in attacks in Kashgar, Xingjian. The news commentary indicated that the perpetrators were Uighurs.²³ An article in the *New York Times* discussing the incident reports

Some of the recent violence in Xinjiang could be aimed at Uighurs seen by other Uighurs as collaborators with the ethnic Han Chinese, who make up the leadership of the Communist Party and govern Xinjiang.

Many Uighurs resent rule by the Han Chinese and advocate greater political freedom and economic benefits or an independent Uighur-run nation. But some Uighurs have also benefited from policies put in place by the Communist Party, including many who work in the security forces or in the local government.²⁴

With regards to government treatment of high profile Uighurs, the case of Uighur activist Rebiya Kadeer, a former CCP elite, indicates that prominence within political institutions does not protect against government harassment should a person be perceived as holding or promoting views that conflict with the CCP's agenda. According to a 2009 article in *The Economist*, Rebiya Kadeer was 'a former member of Xinjiang's political elite' and but 'fell foul of the authorities because of her sympathies with Uighur nationalism and spent six years in prison on state security charges'.²⁵ Kadeer is a former Communist Party member²⁶ and was 'held up as a model by the Chinese government until she was accused of 'endangering national security' in 2000'.²⁷ Kadeer had previously been a member China's national advisory group (the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference) (CPPCC). She was detained in August 1999 and convicted of endangering state security by the Urumqi Intermediate People's Court in March 2000. Released from prison in 2005, she left China in March of that year. She has claimed that her family that are still in China are 'frequently singled out for persecution'.²⁸ Several of her family members are currently in prison.²⁹

A 2010 *Radio Free Asia* article provides information on the reports that the Urumqi Municipal government's perception of its Uighur staff more broadly. The article states that since the 2009 ethnic violence, 'the government no longer trusts Uyghur police officers at all'. According to the article, 'a source close to the Urumqi municipal government said that this lack of trust in Uyghur officials and civil servants extends to every government department'.³⁰

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²³ Wong, E. 2008, 'Uighurs on both sides of conflict in China', *The New York Times*, 2 September

²⁴ Wong, E. 2008, 'Uighurs on both sides of conflict in China', *The New York Times*, 2 September

²⁵ 'Is China fraying?' 2009, *The Economist*, 9 July http://www.economist.com/displaystory.cfm?story_id=13988479 – Accessed 10 November 2009

²⁶ Coonan, C. 2009, 'The grandmother of all protesters', *Irish Times*, 11 July

²⁷ 'Strong Women in Uyghur History' 2009, *Radio Free Asia*, 24 August <http://www.rfa.org/english/women/uyghur-women-08202009140517.html/in-history-08202009141230.html?textonly=1> – Accessed 17 September 2009

²⁸ 'Profile: Rebiya Kadeer' 2009, *BBC News*, 8 July <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4357607.stm> – Accessed 30 November 2011

²⁹ US Commission on International Religious Freedom 2011, *Annual Report 2011 – People's Republic of China*, May, pp.124-140

³⁰ 'China: Hatred 'simmers' in Urumqi' 2010 *Radio Free Asia* 8 July <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4c56ba72c.html> - Accessed 13 April 2011

7. Please provide general background information on Uighur culture and also on how males and females actually practice their religion.

Reports describe Uighur culture as deeply intertwined with the practice of Islam. Sources indicate that Uighurs are generally Sunni Muslims. The World Uyghur Congress describes the Islam practiced by Uighurs as a moderate form of Sunni Islam.³¹ However, many Uighurs also practice – or are at least influenced by – Sufism.³² Further, a number of sources describe distinct north-south and urban-rural variations in Uighur practice of Islam.³³ Despite the diversity of practice, Islam is central to Uighur identity throughout Xinjiang. Sinologist Colin Mackerras writes that Uighurs believe that ‘they should be loyal Muslims’ and that to be Uighur is to be Muslim.³⁴ Arienne Dwyer explains:

While virtually all Uyghurs identify themselves as Muslims, what being Muslim entails varies considerably depending on locale and education. Islam appears to permeate most aspects of daily life in rural areas, while many urban Uyghurs only abstain from pork and observe a few major holidays. However, this urban/rural distinction is superficial; while urban Uyghurs may not pray five times a day at the mosque like their rural counterparts, Islam is nonetheless embedded in many of their daily activities, such as greetings and exclamations, mode of dress, scrupulous personal cleanliness (including the consumption of *halal* food), and a sense of solidarity with other Muslims in the world. For both urban and rural Uyghurs, ethnic identity is linked with religious and linguistic identity.³⁵

In its 2005 report, *Devastating blows: religious repression of Uighurs in Xinjiang*, Human Rights Watch provides the following background on Uighur religion and culture:

The Uighurs have long practiced a moderate, traditional form of Sunni Islam, strongly infused with the folklore and traditions of a rural, oasis-dwelling population. Today most Uighurs still live in rural communities, although large cities have emerged in the region. Their history as commercial and cultural brokers between the different people connected by the Silk Road (through which Buddhism was introduced to China from India two millennia ago) gave rise to a markedly tolerant and open version of Muslim faith and a rich intellectual tradition of literature, science, and music. Nineteenth-century travelers to Kashgar noted that women enjoyed many freedoms, such as the right to initiate divorce and run businesses on their own.

Sufism, a deeply mystical tradition of Islam revolving around the cult of particular saints and transmitted from master to disciples, has also had a long historical

³¹‘WUC Condemns “Terrorism” Allegations after Violent Incident in Hotan Prefecture’ 2011, *World Uyghur Congress*, 29 December <http://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/?p=13091> – Accessed 17 February 2012

³² Dwyer, A. 2005, *The Xinjiang Conflict: Uyghur Identity, Language Policy, and Political Discourse*, East-West Center Washington, Policy Studies 15 <http://www.eastwestcenter.org/fileadmin/stored/pdfs/PS015.pdf> – Accessed 17 February 2012

³³ Dwyer, A. 2005, *The Xinjiang Conflict: Uyghur Identity, Language Policy, and Political Discourse*, East-West Center Washington, Policy Studies 15 <http://www.eastwestcenter.org/fileadmin/stored/pdfs/PS015.pdf> – Accessed 17 February 2012

³⁴ Mackerras, C. 2004, ‘Ethnicity in China: The case of Xinjiang’, *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, Winter

³⁵ Dwyer, A. 2005, *The Xinjiang Conflict: Uyghur Identity, Language Policy, and Political Discourse*, East-West Center Washington, Policy Studies 15 <http://www.eastwestcenter.org/fileadmin/stored/pdfs/PS015.pdf> – Accessed 17 February 2012

presence in Xinjiang. In daily life, Islam represents a source of personal and social values, and provides a vocabulary for talking about aspirations and grievances. The imam is traditionally a mediator and a moderator of village life, and performs many social functions as well as religious ones.³⁶

Restrictions

State restrictions on, and interference with, the Uighur communities' practice of Islam are extensive. In 2005, Human Rights Watch wrote that students at state schools were banned from '[c]elebrating religious holidays, studying religious texts, or showing one's religion through personal appearance'.³⁷ The same reports notes that the 'Chinese government has instituted controls over who can be a cleric, what version of the Koran may be used, where religious gatherings may be held, and what may be said on religious occasions'.³⁸ Violations of these regulations can result in fines, harassment, administrative punishments and detention.³⁹ Villagers from neighbouring towns are banned from attending each others' mosques and religious ceremonies.⁴⁰ Since 2008 all Uighur Muslims have been banned from performing Tarawih prayers, 'special nightly prayers performed during the holy fasting month of Ramadan'.⁴¹ The New York Times summarises the issues faced by Uighur Muslims:

The vast majority of Uighurs are Sunni Muslims, but the practice of Islam is tightly circumscribed. Government workers are not allowed to practice the religion. Imams cannot teach the Koran in private, and study of Arabic is allowed only at designated government schools. Two of Islam's five pillars -- the sacred fasting month of Ramadan and the pilgrimage to Mecca, the hajj -- are also closely managed: students and government workers are compelled to eat during Ramadan, and passports of Uighurs have been confiscated to force them to join official tours to Mecca.⁴²

Similarly, according to the CECC's 2011 Annual Report:

Local governments throughout the XUAR continued to place restrictions on the observance of the holiday of Ramadan, barring some people from fasting, ordering restaurants to stay open, and increasing oversight of religious venues. In April, a court in Shihezi municipality reportedly sentenced Muslim religious leaders Qahar Mensur and Muhemmed Tursun to three years' imprisonment in connection to storing and distributing "illegal religious publications," which Shihezi residents reportedly described as retaliation after Qahar Mensur refused to comply with

³⁶ Human Rights Watch 2005, *Devastating Blows: Religious Repression of Uighurs in Xinjiang*, April, Vol. 17, No. 2(C) http://www.hrichina.org/sites/default/files/oldsite/pdfs/Xinjiang_Report.pdf – Accessed 17 February 2012

³⁷ Human Rights Watch 2005, *Devastating Blows: Religious Repression of Uighurs in Xinjiang*, April, Vol. 17, No. 2(C) http://www.hrichina.org/sites/default/files/oldsite/pdfs/Xinjiang_Report.pdf – Accessed 17 February 2012

³⁸ Human Rights Watch 2005, *Devastating Blows: Religious Repression of Uighurs in Xinjiang*, April, Vol. 17, No. 2(C) http://www.hrichina.org/sites/default/files/oldsite/pdfs/Xinjiang_Report.pdf – Accessed 17 February 2012

³⁹ Human Rights Watch 2005, *Devastating Blows: Religious Repression of Uighurs in Xinjiang*, April, Vol. 17, No. 2(C) http://www.hrichina.org/sites/default/files/oldsite/pdfs/Xinjiang_Report.pdf – Accessed 17 February 2012

⁴⁰ 'Uyghurs targeted over prayers' 2009, *Radio Free Asia*, 2 April <http://www.uyghuramerican.org/articles/2756/1/Uyghurs-Targeted-Over-Prayers/index.html> – Accessed 8 April 2009

⁴¹ 'Ramadan – A Time of Repression for Uyghur Muslims' 2008, Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization website, source: *The Associated Press*, 30 September <http://www.unpo.org/content/view/full/8725/236/> – Accessed 26 November 2008

⁴² 'Uighurs' 2009, *New York Times*, 10 November http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/subjects/u/uyghurs_chinese_ethnic_group/index.html – Accessed 17 February 2012

government demands such as bringing government documents into the mosque where he worked.

Authorities throughout the XUAR also continued campaigns targeting Muslim men who wear beards and women who wear veils or clothing deemed to carry religious connotations, practices authorities connect to “religious extremism” and “backwardness”.⁴³

Women

Uighur women play an important part in their community’s practice of Islam. A 2009 article in *The Guardian* states that Uighur women are traditionally in charge of ‘early Islamic education in the home’.⁴⁴ *Radio Free Asia* echoes *The Guardian*, suggesting that far from being ‘second-class citizens’, women are ‘viewed as the principal educators in Uyghur society, responsible for educating children and passing on traditions through the family’.⁴⁵ Uighur women are generally not subject to the strict rules of purdah (segregation of the sexes) but rules of modesty and a traditional gender-based division of labour do exist.⁴⁶ The wearing of a headscarf to cover one’s hair is expected.

Women in the Uighur community have been particularly affected by government restrictions on religious practice. Felice Gaer, Chair of the U.S. Commission On International Religious Freedom, remarked in 2009 that the Chinese Government has made substantial attempts to limit the participation of women in Islam and ‘weaken religious consciousness among women’, by preventing women from attending mosques, studying, reciting daily prayers or distributing literature that is religious.⁴⁷ *Radio Free Asia* states that all Uighur women are discouraged from wearing head scarfs as they denote ‘a separate, non-Chinese ethnic identity’.⁴⁸ Uighur women who are employed by the state are not permitted to wear a head scarf.⁴⁹ The wearing of both male and female headdresses is stigmatised. According to several reports *chantou*, meaning ‘turban head’, is used by Han-Chinese as a derogatory reference to Uighurs.⁵⁰ In September 2011, the US Department of States reported that 38 Uighur Muslim women ‘were forced to remove headscarves in the Hotan area of southern XUAR’ and were later ‘fined between 200 and 1000 RMB (\$15-30)’.⁵¹ The CECC reports that ‘Under the direction of the Party-controlled women’s

⁴³ Congressional-Executive Commission on China 2011, *Annual Report*, 12 October

<http://www.cecc.gov/pages/annualRpt/annualRpt11/AR2011final.pdf> – Accessed 25 January 2012

⁴⁴ Schlüssel, E.T. 2009, ‘Islam in Xinjiang: an ancient rival for a young China’, *The Guardian*, 14 July

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/belief/2009/jul/14/uyghur-china-islam> – Accessed 24 September 2009

⁴⁵ Vandenbrink, R. 2009, ‘Strong Women in Uyghur History’, *Radio Free Asia*, 24 August

<http://www.rfa.org/english/women/uyghur-women-08202009140517.html/in-history-08202009141230.html?textonly=1> – Accessed 17 September 2009

⁴⁶ Beller-Hann, I. 2001, ‘Work and Gender Among Uighur Villagers in Southern Xinjiang’, Centre for International Study & Research, p.3 <http://www.ceri-sciencespo.com/publica/cemoti/textes25/beller.pdf> – Accessed 10 June 2010

⁴⁷ ‘Statement Of Ms. Felice D. Gaer, Chair, U.S. Commission On International Religious Freedom’ 2009 in *The Uighurs: A History Of Persecution, Hearing Before The Subcommittee On International Organizations, Human Rights And Oversight Of The Committee On Foreign Affairs House Of Representatives One Hundred Eleventh Congress First Session*, Serial No. 111–28, 10 June, p.24 <http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/111/50294.pdf> – Accessed 9 June 2010

⁴⁸ Hoshur, S. 2009, ‘Women Held over Party’, *Radio Free Asia*, 5 June

<http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/party-06052009144059.html> – Accessed 24 September 2009

⁴⁹ Wong, E. 2008, ‘Wary of Islam, China tightens a vise of rules,’ *The New York Times*, 19 October

http://www.nytimes.com/2008/10/19/world/asia/19xinjiang.html?_r=1&oref=slogin – Accessed 20 October 2008

⁵⁰ Millward, J. 2007, *Eurasian crossroads: a history of Xinjiang*, Columbia University Press: New York, p 144

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=8FVsWq31MtMC&pg=PA141&dq=chantou+turban+derogatory&hl=en#v=onepage&q=chantou%20&f=false> – Accessed 17 February 2012

⁵¹ US Department of State 2011, *2010 International Religious Freedom Report July-December*, 13 September

http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2010_5/168351.htm – Accessed 17 February 2012

federation in the XUAR, multiple localities reported continuing a campaign aimed at dissuading women from veiling their hair and faces'.⁵²

Uighur women intending to study Islam (known as Talip Kiz) must do so clandestinely.⁵³ According to the CECC, '[a]uthorities also continued to increase oversight of Muslim women religious specialists known as *bu''wi*'.⁵⁴ In April 2009 the Public Security Bureau (PSB) arrested thirty Uighur women who were part of a Quran study group.⁵⁵ Eighteen of the women were reportedly freed 'after eight hours of interrogation, seven were sent for forced labor for 10 days, and five were sentenced to a month in jail'.⁵⁶ Such rules are restricted to Uighur women. Among the Hui (ethnic Chinese Muslims), women are permitted to study and become Imams (Nu Ahong) of female-only mosques (Nu Si).⁵⁷

⁵² Congressional-Executive Commission on China 2011, *Annual Report*, 12 October

<http://www.cecc.gov/pages/annualRpt/annualRpt11/AR2011final.pdf> – Accessed 25 January 2012

⁵³ 'Won't Anyone Listen to Justice?' 2008, *Radio Free Asia*, 19 November

<http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/uyghur-justice-11192008165957.html> – Accessed 17 September 2009

⁵⁴ Congressional-Executive Commission on China 2011, *Annual Report*, 12 October

<http://www.cecc.gov/pages/annualRpt/annualRpt11/AR2011final.pdf> – Accessed 25 January 2012

⁵⁵ US Department of State 2011, *2010 International Religious Freedom Report July-December*, 13 September

http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2010_5/168351.htm – Accessed 17 February 2012

⁵⁶ Hoshur, S. 2009, 'Women Held over Party', *Radio Free Asia*, 5 June

<http://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/party-06052009144059.html> – Accessed 24 September 2009

⁵⁷ Almog, L. 2010 'The other half of the sky', International Museum of Women website

<http://www.imow.org/economica/stories/viewStory?storyId=4799> – Accessed 19 February 2010

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“‘Five die’ in China ethnic unrest’ 2009, *BBC*, 4 September <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/8238768.stm> – Accessed 17 February 2012.

‘China defends control over religion in Uighur region’ 2006, Uyghur Human Rights Project website, source: *Reuters*, 17 October <http://www.uhrp.org/articles/317/1/China-defends-control-over-religion-in-Uighur-region/China-defends-control-over-religion-in-Uighur-region.html> – Accessed 23 September 2009.

‘China: Hatred 'simmers' in Urumqi’ 2010 *Radio Free Asia* 8 July <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4c56ba72c.html> – Accessed 13 April 2011.

‘Chinese break up ‘needle’ riots’ 2009, *The BBC*, 4 September <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/8237259.stm> – Accessed 15 February 2012.

‘Is China fraying?’ 2009, *The Economist*, 9 July http://www.economist.com/displaystory.cfm?story_id=13988479 – Accessed 10 November 2009.

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