



SINOPSIS

Comparing genocides:

**Forced assimilation in Nazi
Europe and East Turkestan
(Xinjiang), China**

*Magnus Fiskesjö
Cornell University
Dept. Anthropology*



| | |
|--|----|
| Abstract | 2 |
| 1. Introduction: Forced assimilation and the comparative study of genocide..... | 2 |
| 2. Nazi Germany's forced assimilation as genocide in occupied Europe, esp. Czechia..... | 8 |
| 3. China's forced assimilation as genocide in East Turkestan, since 2017 | 13 |
| 4. Comparative Discussion and Conclusions..... | 26 |
| References..... | 29 |



Abstract

The role of forced assimilation in genocide has been overlooked and badly misunderstood. This is partly due to how the Nazis, defeated, were unable to complete their plans for a massive ethno-racial re-ordering of all of Europe, to be completed largely through the forced assimilation of non-German majority populations. After WWII, it was instead the Nazi extermination camps for Jews and other minorities that came to define genocide in the minds of many, even though forced assimilation is a major component of both Nazi and other genocides. This paper discusses forced assimilation as genocide through a sustained comparison of the current Chinese genocide against the Uyghurs, with the Nazi genocide against the Czechs in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, during WWII, which launched massive, targeted 'Germanization.' The paper compares the campaigns led by two prominent leaders of these genocides, Reinhard Heydrich and Chen Quanguo, in their historical context, and argues that they are strikingly similar. The paper applauds the recent moves to re-integrate "cultural genocide" (forced assimilation) into the legal identification and prosecution of genocide — after it was partly left out in the 1948 U.N. Genocide Convention. Any classification of the ongoing mass atrocities in East Turkestan (Xinjiang) should take into account forced assimilation as a key component of genocide.

1. Introduction: Forced assimilation and the comparative study of genocide

Serious comparative study of genocides can be productive, in identifying shared patterns. But such comparisons may be challenging, not least since they may clash with claims that the Nazi Holocaust was unique and cannot be compared with other atrocities. And yet the Genocide Convention itself (U.N., 1948), was put together to counter all genocides, precisely by identifying shared features — as a warning and as a prompt for us to recognize the signs, to prevent future genocides, or stop them, and prosecute the perpetrators.

In my view, every genocide is necessarily unique, but also comparable. We must insist on the comparability of the Nazi Holocaust and other atrocities, to



similar events elsewhere.¹ Such comparison does not, as it is sometimes asserted, minimize the horror of the Nazi Holocaust. Nor is it “whataboutism”, false comparison intended to block the condemnation of one or other genocides. On the contrary, it is to investigate those horrors, past and present, in order to help us prevent or stop other genocides, in the spirit of “never again.”²

One of my key arguments here is that the unfortunate tendency to set the Nazi horrors apart, and off limits for comparison, already has obscured important aspects of the Nazi genocide project itself, not least their mass forced assimilation intended to destroy unwanted national and cultural identities — a project the Nazis started, but left unfinished when their regime was defeated and terminated. This, in turn, is obscuring the massive use of forced assimilation in the current Chinese genocide against the Uyghurs and other peoples.

Comparison is also important because the genocidaires often draw inspiration from others. In her book on *The American West and the Nazi East* (2011), Carroll Kakel showed how Hitler admired the United States for the dispossession and genocide of American Indians, and he even adopted the American displacement of “weaker races” as a model for his own reordering of Europe, guided by his concept of *lebensraum* (living space for a master race). The racist-supremacist ideologies that justified and shaped the genocides in American and Nazi cases overlap in significant ways and this is an example of the value of comparison.³

Similarly, today's Chinese genocide against the Uyghurs and other native peoples in Xinjiang (East Turkestan, today part of westernmost China), which started in 2017, also finds parallel in other genocides. It draws on past imperial-era examples in China itself, and it has also been compared with the early twentieth-century German colonial-era Herero genocide in Namibia, as part

¹ See, inter alia, Fripp 2018.

² Imre Kertész, the Auschwitz survivor and Nobel literature prize recipient, rejected the “Holocaust puritans, Holocaust dogmatists, and Holocaust usurpers” (Kertész 2001), who claim sole ownership to these past tragedies of the past.

³ On comparisons with the Holocaust and the Nazis, see too Baberowski 2012, Clarke 2019, and others.



and parcel of empire-building and colonialism. The ongoing Uyghur genocide has also been compared with both Nazi and Soviet totalitarianism.⁴

In this paper,⁵ I compare the current Chinese genocide against the Uyghurs with the Nazi past, with a focus on the use of forced assimilation as a genocidal tool.

In China, forced assimilation is known by the euphemisms of Sinicization, "the amalgamation of peoples," or the "unification of nationalities." Forced assimilation, which can also be described as "cultural genocide," figures as a key component in the ongoing Chinese genocide of the Uyghurs. This has a direct parallel with the Nazi genocides, including especially the large-scale Nazi forced Germanization (Germanisierung) in occupied Europe, from the late 1930s and up until the German defeat in 1945 — first implemented in what is today the Czech Republic, notably in Bohemia and Moravia (called Böhmen and Mähren in German; in Czech, Čechy and Morava).

In part, my comparison focuses on the striking parallels between two key officers appointed to execute an overall genocidal plan which was initiated by classifying and identifying those targeted for assimilation and eradication, both in China and under Nazi Germany. In China, Chen Quanguo, was appointed Party Secretary of Xinjiang (East Turkestan) by the Communist Party chief Xi Jinping, to carry out the first five-year phase (2016-21) of the long-term campaigns of mass atrocities, concentration camps, imprisonment, forced labor, family separations, and forced assimilation launched in 2017, and which still ongoing after Chen was replaced in 2021.

Chen Quanguo finds his direct parallel in Nazi Germany's Reynhard Heydrich, a fast-rising Nazi official who had already advanced high up in the Nazi hierarchy when Hitler put him in charge of Bohemia and Moravia, the Czech lands conquered in 1938-39, as the first part of WWII. Heydrich started in his Prague post as deputy Reichsprotektor (German governor) in 1941, while he was still concurrently secret police chief and SS leader. He lasted only until he was assassinated in 1942.

⁴ On the Herero, see McKenna 2021; on Nazi and Soviet totalitarianism, Klimeš 2020.

⁵ First presented as a paper entitled "Chen Quanguo and Reinhard Heydrich: Parallel Features of Communist Chinese and Nazi German genocidal and forced-assimilation policies" at the "Mapping China's footprint in the world, III;" Sinopsis workshop on the CCP's global influence, Prague, Oct. 12-13, 2020. I thank the organizers, participants, and several friends for valuable comments and encouragement, and for forgiving my delays.



After Heydrich's assassination and the subsequent defeat of the Nazis in 1945, the Nazi plans for the ethno-racial re-ordering of Europe were not fully realized, so we did not get a final scorecard. Still, we actually do have considerable information on the Nazi intentions, as well as on what they did accomplish. The parallels are clear: Both the Nazis and the Chinese Communist government developed grandiose plans for the ethno-racial remodeling of their region, with a master race replacing native inhabitants who would either be force-assimilated, annihilated, or deported. There are differences: For example, deportations were contemplated only in the Nazi case, and, as is well known, the tentative original Nazi plans for deportation of natives and for minorities (such as, deporting Jews to places like Madagascar), were later replaced with measures of outright annihilation, notably targeting Jews and other minorities.

This paper is focused on the fate of the majority native populations in conquered regions, and draws attention to the often-overlooked role of forced assimilation as a key measure in the implementation of genocide, both by the Nazis and by today's Chinese rulers. In this regard, the Chinese genocide is already progressing beyond what the Nazis were able to do, with their plans for occupied Europe. But this is overlooked, because the failure of the Nazi project for Europe not only gave us a distorted understanding of the Nazi project, but also of genocide generally — and thus, it is now obscuring what is happening in China.

It is important to note that genocide, per international law (the U.N. Genocide Convention, 1948, and the Rome statute), is the forcible eradication of an identity — national, ethnic, racial or religious. It is clear from the Convention that no-one even has to die, for genocide to occur, in legal terms. While many people think genocide means mass death, in fact, the Convention lists several other means by which identity may be illegally eradicated — such as the confiscation and control of others' children to be raised in the master language, as happened under the Nazis (including in Czechia, Poland, etc.)⁶ and which is currently a huge component of China's ongoing Uyghur genocide. The forcible transfer of children is the one aspect explicitly remaining in the Convention text, from the otherwise unsuccessful struggle by the drafters to include cultural destruction as part of the definition of genocide.

⁶ See f. ex. Zahra 2004, 2008; and on Poland, DW Documentary 2020, Harvey 2003, and Heinemann 2003, esp. Ch. 3.



My argument here is not to deny or minimize the importance of outright killings in genocide, such as the industrial-scale killings of Jews and other minorities under Hitler. In fact, the overall trajectories of the Nazi and the Chinese genocides suggest that we may also uncover mass killings in East Turkestan — we should always remember that the full scale of the Nazi industrialized killings developed late, and was not uncovered until after Germany was invaded by foreign troops. In China, large numbers of people have been disappeared since 2017, and remain unaccounted for, and they may well be the victims of similar measures.

As for the eradication of cultures by means of forced assimilation, also known as cultural genocide, it is not directly mentioned in the Genocide Convention other than in the paragraph §2e which addresses the transfer of children from the targeted group to the imagined master race. This omission was due to how in 1948, some former colonial powers refused to include things like the elimination of cultural and religious monuments, or the targeting of indigenous leaders, in the Convention, as Raphael Lemkin and other key drafters had wanted to do.⁷

Interestingly, the European former colonial powers opposed the inclusion of cultural destruction as genocide despite how Jaroslav Žourek, the Czechoslovak delegate to the Geneva drafting discussions, brought examples of Nazi forced assimilation, and argued alongside Lemkin and others that this should be included. Žourek specifically quoted

"numerous instances of cultural genocide of which the Czech and Slovak [peoples] had been victims during the Nazi occupation. Those acts were designed, [he argued,] to pave the way for the systematic disappearance of the Czechoslovak nation as an independent and national entity. Such Nazi activity had been accompanied by a thorough attempt to destroy everything which might remind the people of its national past and to prepare the way for complete Germanification.... All those acts of cultural genocide had been inspired by the same motives as those of physical genocide: they had the same object, the destruction of racial, national or religious groups."⁸

⁷ On the fate of genocidal cultural erasure in the U.N. Genocide Convention, see f.ex., Cooper 2008, Luck 2018, and Fiskesjö 2022; as well as, notably, Morsink 1999.

⁸ Morsink 1999, 1030.



The drafters even wrote up a special article III, which would specify how cultural destruction is part of genocide.⁹ Yet these arguments failed, and the article was dropped from the final text — even though Lemkin himself had long explicitly linked cultural destruction to “physical” genocide, as when he linked the burning of synagogues and killing of rabbis to the mass killings of Jews, echoing the older but oft-quoted dictum by German poet Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), that “where they burn books they will eventually also burn people.”

As a result, the other cultural aspects of genocide (book-burning, prohibiting native languages, destroying holy houses, memorials, religious paraphernalia, etc.) did not appear in the Genocide Convention's criteria of genocide (that is, other than the theft and transfer of children, in §2e), and until recently these other aspects had no standing in international law.

However, the omission has since been partially remedied, firstly by other later-adopted new conventions protecting heritage in wartime and in peacetime; protecting the rights of children to access their own cultural heritage, and so on.¹⁰

More directly, the International Criminal Court's prosecutor recently specified that acts of cultural eradication may strengthen the case for genocide prosecution, when cultural destruction co-occurs with other elements of genocide:

“Crimes against cultural heritage occurring simultaneously with other acts targeting protected groups may provide evidence of the specific intent (*dolus specialis*) required for genocide” ... [and] “may assist to demonstrate the specific intent and the manifest pattern, as required” [for the crime of genocide to be demonstrated].¹¹

This new guidance can clearly refer to the destruction of cultural heritage in both the Chinese and the Nazi genocides, and overlaps with the mass confiscation of children while eradicating their culture, language, places of

⁹ The draft of the originally proposed Article III is found in Morsink 1999, p. 1023.

¹⁰ On children's rights and the Chinese genocide, see especially Fiskesjö and Turdush 2023.

¹¹ ICC policy on cultural heritage crimes, 2021 (also cited in Fiskesjö 2022).



worship and therefore their identity, as is happening today in China, and as also took place in Nazi-occupied Europe.

Below, I first offer a compact overview of how forced assimilation was a central component of the Nazi genocides in Europe, especially in the Czech Republic (then, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia). I then do the same for East Turkestan (Xinjiang) since the start of the Chinese genocide there in 2017. Lastly, I return to a concluding comparative discussion of forced assimilation as genocide.

2. Nazi Germany's forced assimilation as genocide in occupied Europe, esp. Czechia

The Nazi annexation of Czech regions in 1939 was part of a much larger Nazi project that anticipated a future Europe under their total control — a Nazi Europe, that would in turn dominate the world.¹²

This Nazi Europe would not only be "cleansed" of undesirable minorities like the Jews (about ten million people); and other smaller minorities like the Roma, but the majority non-German populations across the continent of more than five hundred million people were all to be Germanized or, if un-Germanizeable, subjugated into slavery or outright cleansed away. As we shall see, this Nazi project of ethno-racial engineering and domination has a direct parallel in China today, in terms of both scale, policy, and methods.

The massive Nazi project was first launched as soon as they started WWII, first in Czechoslovakia, then in Poland in the heart of Europe, and then in other parts of eastern Europe and beyond.¹³

The Nazis claimed that their erstwhile neighbor Czechoslovakia had an older, prior, German history, overrun by the influences of alien, Slavic cultures. Thus, like other parts of Europe, it required re-Germanization as well as ethno-racial cleansing. This especially applied to the Czech regions of Bohemia and

¹² Many scholars have noted Hitler's own pronouncements on the mastery of Europe. Goebbels (1970, entry for 8 May 1943) noted how this domination of Europe would by extension mean world domination. This may seem megalomaniac, but it was rooted in a belief in innate supremacy.

¹³ Masiuk 2019; on the Nazi "Generalplan Ost" concept for the subjugation and elimination of eastern European Slavic peoples, see also Browning 2010, Snyder 2010, and many others. Snyder's useful comparison of the Nazi and Soviet-Stalinist ethno-racial re-ordering projects is also discussed in Baberowski 2012.



Moravia, named in German as "Böhmen and Mähren," which the Nazis occupied and made a "Protectorate."

Reinhard Heydrich, already a leading Nazi,¹⁴ came to Prague for the new task of managing Bohemia and Moravia as acting Reichsprotector (German governor), in mid-1941, very much with the agenda of Germanization and domination. Heydrich did not invent this agenda, but took charge of implementing it in practice, and to push for a more aggressive and rapid assimilation than his predecessors had managed to achieve, since 1939.

Heydrich's role in Prague echoed his career as a Nazi enforcer and implementer. He was a concentration camps pioneer, who took part in the establishment of first Nazi camp at Dachau, outside Munich, in 1933.¹⁵ Later, building on his role as a secret police chief, he also assumed a key role in implementing Hitler's wish to remove and eliminate the Jews and other undesirables — most infamously by chairing the Wannsee Conference held outside Berlin in January 1942, which centralized power over the Holocaust in the hands of the SS, and forced co-responsibility for the Holocaust on various members and bodies of the Nazi bureaucracy.¹⁶ Additionally, Heydrich also established the infamous new Holocaust transit camp, Theresienstadt, located in his Bohemia-Moravia protectorate.

Heydrich in 1941-42 was hardly an original ideologue, but served as a ruthless implementer of the policies ordered by his superiors — much like Chen Quanguo in China during 2016-21.

In 1941, arriving in the Protectorate, Heydrich was also a dedicated supporter of the concept of a Nazi ethnic reordering of Europe. As with the extermination of the Jews, plans were not fully concretized until the tasks were faced in

¹⁴ For Heydrich's biography, see f.ex. Wighton 1962, Deschner 1981, Dederichs 2006, Gerwarth 2011, and others such as Mastny 1971 (Chapter 10); and Suppan 2014, Ch. 7, "Nationalsozialistische Herrschaft in der Tschechoslowakei 1939-1945."

¹⁵ Like Chen Quanguo and his successor genocidaires, Heydrich also oversaw the propaganda work surrounding such camps. I discussed the striking similarities between Nazi and Chinese cover-up propaganda, both surprisingly successful in deceiving naive outsiders, in Fiskesjö 2018b.

¹⁶ Top Nazi leaders like Heydrich often had multiple concurrent roles. The several film versions of the event all allude to this accretion of roles, as well as to the Nazi grand plans for the ethnic reordering of Europe beyond the Holocaust agenda (cf. Wannseekonferenz, 2022; also the 1984 version).



practice, as they had only just become, in occupied Poland.¹⁷ This, precisely, was the challenge for Heydrich's implementation of Hitler's policies. Consequently, he laid out a vision in his own first major Prague speech. He described the future of Europe as ruled by his own master race, with other people relegated to inferior service or outright slavery, deportation, or extermination. He asserted that the Bohemia-Moravia region must become German-dominated forever, with no chance for the Czechs to ever reclaim it as their own.¹⁸ (The speech was delivered to a closed Nazi audience, so as not to alarm the Czechs).

Note that Heydrich specifically spoke of these policies as an *Endlösung* ("final solution")¹⁹ — not in the limited sense of the Jewish Holocaust also under way, which is how many readers today might perhaps misread it. Instead, he was referring, confidently, to the Nazi vision of ethno-racial cleansing and domination of the region and of Europe as a whole — similarly "final" in nature.

Heydrich made a point of rejecting the old Germanization methods of both the Habsburg empire and of his immediate Nazi predecessors, as too slow and ineffective. This once again echoes the situation in China, where both the old empires and the recent pre-genocide regime (up to 2017) also had worked to assimilate the natives, but more slowly, less efficiently, leaving the undesirable ethnicities (the 'barbarians') still viable, therefore requiring a bold, radically new *Endlösung* effort.

Heydrich, in 1941, demanded immediate survey work that would produce actionable intelligence by delineating the racial-ethnic components of the native population, numerically and geographically. This is, again, a direct parallel to his later-day counterpart in China, Chen Quanguo, and today's Chinese

¹⁷ Cf. Gerwarth 2011, 148 ff.; 248-49. On these policies and the general situation also see Kárný 1997, in Kárný et al, 1997, pp. 9-75; Wiedemann 2000, 15-24; Heinemann 2001, esp. 290-294.

¹⁸ Speech in Prague, 2 October 1941; cf. Jelinek 1969; Mastny 1971, 185-87, citing the speech from Král & Fremund 1960; also Deschner 1981, 228-29 (also citing Král & Fremund); Bryant 2007, 159; Gerwarth 2011, 247; ČTK et al, 2012. The full text of this long, important and originally secret speech is not in the Germany-focused documentary collection of Mund et al, 2014, but it is included as Document #22 in Kárný et al, 1997, 107-22, which presents it as authentic, a transcription of the original record, including typographical errors. Mastny referred to a stenograph note version; Wighton (1962, 246-51, without a scholarly apparatus), translates it extensively, referring to Heydrich's own handwriting, made available to him by the Czech authorities during his research.

¹⁹ Wighton 1962, 250-51.



genocide project. Heydrich's idea was to identify which Czechs would be possible to convert to a German identity, and also those impossible or undesirable to assimilate, and who would therefore be deported or eliminated.

Of course, the Nazis in their day lacked the extensive modern genocidal classification toolkit deployed by China today (digital databases and total surveillance, 24/7; genetics, with DNA collecting and analysis, applied to the total population; and so on, more on this in the next section). Instead, the Nazis relied on the cruder "scientific racism" of their day, based on anatomical features and other superficial traits. This work built on prior efforts of scholars such as the racist anthropologist Karl Müller, further "developed" by non-scientist Nazi party hacks.²⁰

In the Czech lands, Heydrich regarded those of "good racial stock and well-disposed" towards Germany as easily ready for Germanization; those of "bad racial stock and ill-disposed" to Germanization, were also easy to target and handle. There were also additional fine-grained categories, including for those of "bad stock yet well-disposed," plus those of "sound stock but ill-disposed" — whom Heydrich regarded as the most dangerous, and trickiest to handle.²¹

This Heydrich scheme mirrors the current Chinese classification, which is also racially based but avoids the explicit racist vocabulary, and instead deploys terms like the degree of "trustworthiness" with regard to the State, which determines the fate of those surveyed, and their families. Uyghurs in their own land today are regarded as inherently "untrustworthy" overall, as opposed to trustworthy Han Chinese settler-colonists in their region.

In Nazi Germany, Nazi leaders, obsessed with racial determinism, diverged over the "suitability" vs. the "capability" of Germanization in potentially targeted people. Some (such as Bormann, another of Hitler's deputies), were obsessed with the "scientific" Nazi race theories which said that those "objectively" evaluated as "non-Aryan" could not ever be successfully Germanized.²² But the

²⁰ Mastny 1971, 130-32; Gerwarth 2011, 249-51, on Müller and on the Nazi demographer Hans Joachim Beyer; see also Wiedemann 2000, 15-24; Heinemann 2001, 2003.

²¹ Deschner 1981, 230; ČTK et al, 2012.

²² Deschner 1981, 231-32; on these unresolved debates, also see Mastny 1971, 123-24.



pragmatic Heydrich relied on his new total survey data,²³ which showed that the population in the Czech lands actually had a higher "Aryan" percentage than that of the ostensibly "objectively German" Sudetenland (which Hitler had annexed first, because it was "German"). Heydrich's belief in the viability of forcible identity transformation closely mirrors today's China.

Already Müller and other Nazi scientists had argued that about half of the Czech population was Czech in name only, and actually German enough to be re-Germanizable. This suited Heydrich, the implementer.²⁴ He believed that these people had been turned aliens while actually preserving an inner German essence — they had suffered an unfortunate *Umvolkung* or identity "replacement," that could be reversed.²⁵ Even the Führer (Hitler) himself, even though he himself had earlier explicitly endorsed the elimination of racially dubious Czechs as inherently disloyal and "objectively" alien to Germany, came around to accept the idea that many Czechs were really Germans waiting to be re-converted.²⁶

Thus, while Nazi "race" discourse does diverge from Chinese Communist ethno-theory in certain ways, the agenda still strongly resembles China's current Sinification. Like for the Uyghurs in China today, in the Czech lands, a campaign for mass Germanization of ethnically distinct people was launched — including for their use for Nazi German causes, such as armament production, and even war-fighting — along with the elimination of those deemed not Germanizable. In addition, the Nazis also promoted the new settlement by more Germans, where possible.

Also similar to China, as we shall see, is how Heydrich singled out leading intellectuals for scrutiny and/or destruction. He saw those of "good racial stock" (Aryan-like) as inherently more capable, to organize and lead others, and thus

²³ Mastny 1971, 132; Deschner 1981, 232.

²⁴ Gerwarth 2011, 250. Kárný 1997 (in Kárný et al, 1997), esp. pp. 29-31, also discusses how Heydrich "solved" this problem by accepting that a higher proportion of Czechs could be Germanized.

²⁵ cf. Němec 2021. — In China, due to strong beliefs in innate Chinese cultural supremacy, such cultural "loss" of Chinese populations to barbarian others has often, even today been regarded as inconceivable. When it did occur historically, it was framed as the descent of Chinese criminal elements into barbarian ranks (Fiskesjö 1999).

²⁶ See Wighton 1962, 246. It is important to realize that for true authoritarians, whether Nazis or Communist in name, logic is optional, policy objectives are everything.



firmly believed that such elite Czech people must be watched closely, and not be spared. He saw such people as a potential vanguard of resistance to Germanization and as representing the threat of a future return of Czech identity. He thus said: "I cannot afford to exile them, because they would form a leadership group ... to turn upon us." Instead, they would either have to be isolated and subjected to special Germanization measures, and if that *umerziehung* (re-education) did not work, they would be "put up against a wall" (executed).²⁷ In this regard it is also noteworthy that the Nazis did not want Czech fascists in positions of power, even though they were supposedly ideologically aligned with the Nazis. As Czechs, they were suspect,²⁸ — much like the Uyghur intellectuals who had joined and worked for China's Communist Party, but after 2017 were denounced and tormented as "two-faced" elements (with dual loyalty; see below).

Heydrich moved quickly with measures to screen candidates for Germanization and with other measures to launch the process. Once again similar to China today, he mobilized all youth between 10 and 18 for Nazi service duty and for indoctrination to break with any Czech sentiments inherited from their parents.²⁹ Early on, this was done as extracurricular activities in their existing schools (where all teachers already were required to speak German, and salute the Nazi leader), but soon the Hitlerjugend would organize indoctrination camps for all of them — which is exactly what millions of Uyghur children suffer in China today.³⁰

3. China's forced assimilation as genocide in East Turkestan, since 2017

The region that many Uyghurs and other native people know as East Turkestan, is called the "New Frontier," Xinjiang, in Chinese. "New Frontier" was once a generic term for new territorial conquests in the historic Chinese empires, but in the case of "Xinjiang," the term has stuck as a permanent

²⁷ Deschner 1981, 230; also, Mohn 2014, 180-82. As with many other aspects of the Nazi pan-European ethnic reordering, as the war situation turned to Germany's disadvantage this could not be fully realized, since armaments and warfighting took priority.

²⁸ Jelinek 1969, 232.

²⁹ Mastny 1971, 202.

³⁰ Fiskesjö and Turdush 2024; İzbasar 2023; UHRP 2022.



name. Similar to the Nazis in 1940s Bohemia and Moravia, the current Chinese regime argues that its historical ownership and its organized settler-colonialism in the region today is justified by an ancient presence in the region, which thus "naturally" belongs to China.

In reality, the region was first conquered by the pre-modern Chinese empire in the 1700s, when the Manchu Qing emperor Qianlong conducted one of the bloodiest genocides in history, to eradicate the Dzungar Mongol people.

In a complete turnaround from their original anti-imperialist style, today's nationalistic Chinese Communist regime instead identifies with the conquest empires it criticized in the past. Its leaders even praise the empires of the past, for promoting "the great national unity of the Chinese nation," effectively equating the modern nation with those past empires.³¹

In the 1930s, the Chinese Communists had publicly promised the peoples conquered by the empires past (Tibetans, Uyghurs, Miao, etc.), that after the Communists seized power, they would be able to separate and be independent from China. This promise was abandoned as the Communists came to power and instead only offered a hollow autonomy arrangement.³² Today's aggressive actions mean that the 1930s promise has been completely jettisoned, and it has become taboo to discuss it.

In Europe, the equivalent to China's embracing the past empires might have been if the Nazis had claimed continuity with Rome, or the continental Holy Roman Empire, but, as true fascists the Nazis were also nationalists who were bent on embracing their "people" (Volk, nation) and making their own imaginary nation great again, not resuscitating a Roman empire.³³

Today's Chinese genocidal policies build both on imperial traditions, and an ultra-nationalist rhetoric that is rooted in the same European traditions that the Nazis descended from. In China, this today has developed into an oppressive Chinese supremacism. Similar to that of the Nazis, it can't be confined to the original borders, but extends into expansionism abroad. Chinese expansionism is today not only expressed in the creation of economic and political

³¹ Lopsang Gurung, 2021.

³² Fiskesjö 2006.

³³ Eco 1995.



dependencies worldwide, but also in an aggressive military buildup that menaces many neighbors, as well as in outright annexations made to "correct" borders. Some have already taken place, in China's "near abroad," often justified in a way that, like Hitler, sets aside international law and embraces an ultra-nationalist ideology arguing China's "natural" ownership of every disputed place (like the Nazis did in Czechia), and bullying neighbors into accepting defeat.³⁴

Returning to the situation inside China's inherited imperial borders: Apart from mobilizing history and archaeology as weapons in the efforts to conceptually erase the native nations of the Uyghur region and elsewhere on the old Chinese empires' maps, it now also involves mobilizing modern genetics and its related discourses as powerful new tools — which were not yet available to the Nazis.

In China, even ancient DNA (aDNA) research is politicized and used to frame the Uyghurs as a mixture without coherence, as a troublesome appendix destined to disappear into the body of the more viable Chinese nation.³⁵ The underlying conception is of the nation as an organism, and this of course is not a traditional or imperial Chinese notion, but one borrowed from classic European nationalism — as is the pseudo-scientific language about the "genetic makeup" of "China" the organism, which is frequently deployed by China's leaders today (and this again, inadvertently, reveals the close kinship with Nazi ideas, themselves also an extreme form of European nationalism).

These Chinese framings are obviously designed to deny any Uyghur aspirations for autonomy — or for their own state. In reality, a modern East Turkestan republic was set up twice during the twentieth century, but each was extinguished by Chinese forces. As with Tibet, which long had its own independent government and state apparatus, Uyghur or Mongolian claims to formal independence have a great deal of legitimacy. Compare Mongolia,

³⁴ This applies to the South China Sea, countries in the Himalayas, independent Taiwan, and elsewhere in Asia and beyond. On Nepal and Bhutan, see Beech et al, 2024, Barnett 2024. On the annexation and militarization of the South China Sea, Panda 2016. On Taiwan, China's current chief diplomat for European affairs Lu Shaye famously foretold the forced "re-education" of its people, to be imposed after it is annexed (cf. Quinn 2022), on the model of Hong Kong, thoroughly silenced after 2020.

³⁵ For Chinese state propaganda, see *Global Times* 2017; *China Digital Times* 2019; on the recent use of genetics discourses as propaganda and their intellectual history, going back to the late 19th century, see Fiskesjö 2024.



another former conquered part of older Chinese empires, in the early twentieth century did manage to break free as an independent modern nation and remains so today. But independence seems a difficult prospect for the nations trapped in the New China, especially given how the post-WWII UN-led decolonization strangely failed to recognize China and Russia (the Soviet Union) as conquest empires in need of decolonization.³⁶ (In contrast, the Czech nation was soon resurrected after the defeat of the Nazis in 1945).

During the Mao era, which started in 1949, the Chinese Communist regime re-conquered the domains of the previous empire (minus Mongolia). It proceeded to forcibly integrate the Uyghur region militarily and economically. One key component was the military-industrial corporation known as the bingtuan, which expropriated land and natural resources and brought massive new numbers of Chinese settler-colonists to the Uyghur region, so that Uyghurs and others are now minorities in their own land. China also cracked down on any lingering aspirations for real autonomy as "separatism."³⁷

After the Al Qaeda terror attacks on the U.S. in 2001, and in the context of new trade links with the U.S., the regime adapted its earlier rhetoric, to additionally focus on "terrorism." This paralleled China's sharp shift in the direction of neo-nationalist rhetoric. In the context of increasing ethnic tensions in East Turkestan, between settlers and its increasingly marginalized native populations, a few jihadist-styled terrorist attacks did take place, and these were immediately seized upon by the regime as a further pretext for branding Uyghurs, their culture, and religion, as "terrorism" tout court.³⁸

Then came the massive new genocidal campaign against the Uyghur and other minority peoples, launched in 2017. There is an argument over whether the genocide can be said to have started with the increasingly harsh policies inaugurated from about 2014 (symbolized by the life sentence for Ilham Tohti, the Beijing-based, Chinese-speaking Uyghur professor of economics, who

³⁶ Turdush 2023. While the collapse of the Soviet Union brought about the independence of multiple nations which had been locked inside the Soviet empire, there was no such development for China.

³⁷ At the same time, to ensure that any ethnic continuity could never imply political autonomy, all indigenous institutions were systematically cancelled or neutered (Bulag 2010). On the nominal recognition of "minorities" in the People's Republic of China after 1949, see Fiskesjö 2006.

³⁸ Roberts 2020a, 2020b.



advocated Uyghur-Chinese coexistence).³⁹ But for me, the mass arrest drives launched in spring 2017, enabled and preceded by the vast concentration-camp construction campaign in 2016-17 and accompanied by the sudden severance of all communications, surely qualify as the starting point.

In any case, the trajectory of this new Chinese campaign against the 12+ million targeted ethnic populations of the region, can be described as the following 8 steps, some of which are concurrent:⁴⁰

1) Surveillance, to sort out targets for forced conversion to Chinese identity. The Chinese regime's new surveillance machine, built up in the years immediately preceding the start of the mass detentions, is a formidable, intrusive total-awareness surveillance, unprecedented in human history in scope and intensity. All phones have mandated monitoring software, as with cars, etc.; all domiciles are Q-coded and referenced in databases with comprehensive biodata ranging from fingerprints, faces, irises, blood, to gait, and DNA; cameras are everywhere and coupled with facial recognition databases, as well as an extensive system recruiting Chinese settlers for home visits with intrusive interviews intended to reveal "untrustworthiness," such as any sign of commitment to religion or to Uyghur culture (even the ownership of Uyghur-language literature, of the Koran, or the like). The system is of course itself highly oppressive, but as in Heydrich's Protectorate, the identification and sorting function of the measures is even more important: This is about surveying the population to detect and secure priority targets for detention and indoctrination or elimination, while also intimidating the population at large.

2) Identity conversion camps (also known as concentration camps, or re-education camps, often euphemistically labeled by the authorities as "vocational training schools"). These are extrajudicial, newly constructed prison-camp-like institutions, often called concentration camps, which is technically correct. I call them "identity conversion camps," based on numerous eyewitness accounts that describe how the camp schedule is focused on transformation to Chinese identity: The use of Uyghur language and customs is prohibited, and severely punished, and there is endless indoctrination in

³⁹ On Ilham Tohti, see Holzman 2024; on the policy buildup, note 48 and below.

⁴⁰ For references on all aspects of the genocide, see the continually updated UHRP Bibliography, [online](#); I will also add select references in text notes here.



Chinese Communist party documents, songs, as well as speeches by the leader, Xi Jinping, and additionally forcing inmates to endlessly self-accuse in the Chinese Communist style, and "confess" to "crimes" that notably include ordinary religious beliefs, praying or going to a mosque, owning a Koran, having travelled to Turkey or other foreign countries, taking pride in Uyghur culture, etc.⁴¹

The camps do of course also function as a sorting mechanism for sending detainees to different fates (prison, forced labor, house arrest or death — see below). Many die in the camps, and some are sent home to die (of starvation and illness). Survivors appear zombie-like, as if "having just survived a car crash," as one eyewitness noted.⁴² Perhaps 2m or more Uyghurs, Kazakhs, and others have passed through these camps. The figures are uncertain, but represent between 10 and 20% of the total native populations.

3) Forced labor. Many camp survivors, as well as people from the general population not yet detained, are sent to perform forced labor, either inside refitted camps, or in new or refitted factories to which able-bodied detainees are transferred or transported by shuttle. Uyghurs in the population not yet detained in camps are also "recruited" quasi-voluntarily and sent to forced labor; some are sent far outside of East Turkestan (apparently also to escape the partial foreign sanctions on slave-made products made in the Xinjiang territory). Young people are often sent in male-only and female-only cohorts, to discourage courtship and marriage. An estimated total of 3m may have entered the forced labor system in industries related to cotton, textiles, mining and solar panel production, and so on.⁴³ The overall logic may be to extract what remains of usefulness to the Chinese state, of those detained; similarly, the harvesting of human organs from Uyghur detainees, persistently alleged but difficult to prove conclusively,⁴⁴ can be regarded as another element of this.

⁴¹ Fiskesjö 2020.

⁴² Op. cit., also see Cook 2019, on the development of the Chinese system for coerced conversion and the precedent in force-converting Falungong sect believers out of their faith.

⁴³ Bureau of Investigative Journalism, 2025; also see note 32, as well as Murphy 2023, and multiple other related reports, linked [here](#).

⁴⁴ For example, in RFA 2024.



4) Imprisonment: Non-usable camp survivors are sent on to prisons, including the elderly who cannot perform hard labor, and other problematic detainees (presumably, people who resist). Prisoners can be seen as victims of the sorting and processing mechanism of the genocide as a whole: Some prisoners are released after their prison terms, to return home to quasi house arrest in the open-air prison that society has now become. This may be partly because they are no longer deemed a threat; anecdotal evidence suggests many such prisoners likely perish and vanish. Credible sources suggest at least 500,000 sentences have been meted out since the start in 2017.⁴⁵

5) Meanwhile, mass sterilization of women of native ethnicity. Multiple testimonies speak of forced medications inside the camps, which disrupt or halt women's periods. Forced abortions and sterilizations are also done, including in society at large. In addition, there is a semi-official campaign to have Uyghur women marry Chinese settler men, which is facilitated by the fact that many more men than women have been disappeared into the camps. The separation of male and female young Uyghurs in the forced labor transfer schemes and other measures also serve to limit or block the regeneration of the Uyghur and other native peoples of the region.⁴⁶

6) Further, there is now mass confiscation of children, permanently separated and isolated from their families, and placed in “boarding schools,” for Chinese identity conversion — to convert them into future Chinese workers without their own cultural identity. As with the forced sterilizations, this is one more item that has clinched the definition of China's campaign as genocide, according to the Genocide Convention's explicit criteria. The detained children may already amount to well over 1m, including the children of many camp detainees and prisoners. But the plan is that all children will be similarly segregated, to eliminate any future generation of Uyghurs. In children, the language replacement is quick: Evidence suggests that within less than two years of such isolation, children are successfully forced to forget their mother

⁴⁵ HRW 2022. Also see Bunin 2025. HRW 2022. Also see Bunin 2025. On elderly prisoners, see Ingram 2023, and the Xinjiang Victims Database, [online](#).

⁴⁶ Associated Press 2020; Zenz 2020; Turdush and Fiskesjö 2021; Ruser et al 2021.



tongue.⁴⁷ In this arena, the Chinese regime has already proceeded far beyond what Heydrich and the other Nazis were able to accomplish in their Protectorate.

7) Concurrent all-society campaign against Uyghur culture, language, and religion, including the systematic erasure of historical and cultural sites, items, and people, all elements that could otherwise serve as an anchor of a revived Uyghur culture in the future. This is why monuments and shrines are now destroyed, often by bulldozing.⁴⁸ In one highly symbolic example, the historic cemetery of Sultanim in the ancient city of Hotan, dating to at least 960 AD and in active use, was destroyed in 2019 and turned into a parking area for new housing complexes.⁴⁹ In another egregious act, an ancient desert shrine was physically annihilated right about the same time Rahile Dawut, the Uyghur folklorist who had researched this site for decades, was detained and disappeared.⁵⁰

Concurrent with the physical destruction, large numbers of prominent Uyghur intellectuals, including cultural and other leaders, are disappeared, removed from public life: Musicians, writers, academics, artists, preachers and others, who share the key feature of representing Uyghur pride in their culture and identity, and the potential for sustaining it⁵¹ — close parallels to Heydrich's deep suspicion and wariness of Czech cultural leaders, and similar figures, and the Nazi destruction of such leaders, as well as of cultural and religious monuments, in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and beyond.

8) Dispossession and displacement: The genocidal remaking of the Uyghur region is rounded out by dispossession and displacement. Where Uyghur populations are emptied out or removed, Chinese settlers are moved in. Settler colonialism has a long history in China going back to imperial times, and has been a cornerstone of Chinese policy in the Uyghur region since the 1950s. However, since 2017 it is carried out at an accelerated pace, using a range of

⁴⁷ *The Economist*, 2020; Byler 2021a; Emily Feng, NPR, 2022; Fiskesjö & Turdush 2024. Similarly aggressive mass campaigns to collect and convert children are now under way in Tibet, too.

⁴⁸ UHRP 2019; ASPI 2020; Fiskesjö 2021.

⁴⁹ AFP / *Daily Mail*, 2019 (also published elsewhere, but this carries the best set of satellite pictures).

⁵⁰ ASPI 2020, 22-24; cf. Ruser 2023.

⁵¹ UHRP 2021b; 2022.



modern tools to dilute Uyghur presence, as preparation for their assimilation and eventual extermination.

Chinese colonization today is even outsourced to recruiter-entrepreneurs who sell and rent "empty" real estate, previously owned by disappeared Uyghurs. Meanwhile, in another direct evocation of Nazi practice, the property of those seized and disappeared is seized by genocide perpetrators and sometimes sold at online auctions.⁵²

The rapidly enforced dilution and destruction of the Uyghur and other peoples is also carried out by shifting remaining populations both into forced labor or in prisons, by breaking up former ethnic communities and traditional neighborhoods, and then moving and atomizing the denizens of new housing complexes as model Chinese workers, without their own culture, or religion.⁵³

The last several measures on my list (5, 6, 7, 8) clearly map directly onto the Nazi program for ethnic re-ordering and selective erasure. Also, like in the Nazi case of long-term Germanization, the Chinese measures obviously find their significance as a set of measures, timed in succession, to erase the Uyghur people through its irreversible Sinicization. It is a planned program for erasure through selective destruction coupled with forced conversion and repurposing — very much like the Nazi program for selective destruction and (re-)Germanization.

The overall responsibility for conceptualizing and ordering the set of policies that compose the genocide clearly lie with China's Communist Party leaders, and particularly Mr. Xi Jinping, the general secretary. His key role has been seen on public occasions where he gathers Party officials to force them to share responsibility, and declaring the brutal policies "entirely correct,"⁵⁴ — and also, revealingly, in multiple secret Party documents leaked abroad, not least the "Xinjiang Papers" which show his and other officials' direct involvement. Most leaks are from when the focus was on the mass collection of detainees,

⁵² ARTE's 2023 film. UHRP 2021b describes online auctions. On demographic engineering, also Zenz 2021b, citing the secret Chinese goal to "End the dominance of the Uyghur ethnic group."

⁵³ For an architect's analysis of how such city revamping on Chinese models is used to kill Uyghur culture, cf. Hanlon 2019; also, Thum 2020, and others.

⁵⁴ *China Digital Times* 2020.



thus revealing the infamous slogans of “Seize all that must be seized” (associated with Chen Quanguo personally); “Show no mercy” and the like.⁵⁵

Publicly, the genocidal campaign is justified by way of euphemisms such as Chineseness and national unity, and security. In reality, Xi and other top leaders reached the decision to launch the campaign through developing a nationalist and imperial vision that convinced them that China should eventually discontinue the Soviet-styled recognition of ethnic minorities, in place since 1949. Now, it will be China for the Chinese, and cultural and linguistic diversity will no longer be welcome, or tolerated. The post-1949 “minority nationalities” constitutional framework will likely, in time, be scrapped, and ethnicities within China will likely disappear, other than as tourist tokens.⁵⁶

In both Chen's and Heydrich's cases, others provided the ideological scaffolding for the new campaign of state terror. In China, it was provided by neo-nationalist ideologues like the scholars Hu Angang and Hu Lianhe, as well as the key ideologue now elevated to the Party politburo, Wang Huning;⁵⁷ Chen Quanguo and his successors implement their genocidal vision, as commanded by the Party Secretary-General Xi Jinping.

To do this, Chen Quanguo, like Heydrich in his day, developed and enforced a much more activist set of measures to police and suppress local culture and religion, and to enforce Chinese assimilation at a much more accelerated pace than the predecessors had achieved.

Chen Quanguo is believed to have earned his Xinjiang position due to his service as an innovative oppressor of Tibet, as Party Secretary there during 2011-2016, just before he was transferred to Xinjiang.⁵⁸ In Tibet, his technology-supported and massively expanded policing recruited and implicated native Tibetans in their own oppression; the main emphasis was on mass forced conversion, not least by children in boarding schools, advancing

⁵⁵ New Lines Institute for Strategy and Policy, 2022; see too Zenz 2021a (“The Xinjiang Papers: An Introduction”). All leaks, and links to more analysis, are [here](#).

⁵⁶ Fiskesjö 2015.

⁵⁷ On this policy shift, see f.ex. Leibold 2018, 2019; Klimeš 2018 and 2020; Byler 2021a, Zhai 2021, Glasserman 2023, and Zenz 2021b.

⁵⁸ Zenz and Leibold 2017; International Campaign for Tibet 2018; on Chen's career, also see Bloomberg News 2018; Wong 2019; Zheng 2019, and Cook 2019.



the goal of permanently transforming Tibet's population into a Chinese workforce with no aspirations for their own identity, language or culture. Overseeing the massive construction of a new Gulag of building concentration camps for Uyghurs was simply an escalation of this Tibetan work.

Importantly, even before arriving in Tibet, Chen had shown his capabilities in his previous work in Henan Province, where he force-converted adherents of the Falungong sect, on a mass scale.⁵⁹ The secretive Falungong sect once represented an internal threat to the Chinese regime, due to its appeal among poor ordinary Chinese unable to thrive in China's new economic environment. The sect generated a fervent, religious commitment to the cause, and has still not been completely eradicated, even though it was formally branded an evil sect and outlawed already in 1999.

To understand the significance of the Falungong in the context of a comparison of China and the Nazis, we must note that the Nazis transformed a democratic state into an authoritarian state after 1933 and then turned to suppressing and coopting domestic opposition, empire-building and ethno-racial re-ordering. Yet in China's case, authoritarian (Communist) dictatorship was imposed already in the early 1950s, eliminating all possibility of opposition. The Falungong threat was a renewed domestic political threat that emerged in the context of new poverty and new ideological disillusionment. Today, the regime controls the remains of its underground movement by way of a renewed emphasis on total social control, aided by China's formidable all-seeing surveillance systems, taken to new heights in the Uyghur region and increasingly introduced across the country.

After the surveying and mass targeting phase, the core aspect of Chen Quanguo's approach to both the Falungong and the Uyghur problem was to destroy any previous religious and cultural commitments held by each captured individual, and replace it with the performance of a docile obedience towards the Communist regime. To this end, Chen Quanguo refined the torture methods of the longstanding Chinese Communist practice of "brainwashing" (forcible conversion). This typically includes the "clean torture" complex, a formidable tool even when no bones are broken, with prolonged interrogation-persuasion sessions designed to produce submission. We know there is experimentation with memory-altering drugs and other psycho-pharmaca, and there may now

⁵⁹ See esp. Robertson 2018, and Cook 2019.



be new uses of AI persuasion, but the classic formula involved intimidation and threats to self and family, sleep deprivation, isolation, disorientation, darkness and light, hot and cold temperatures, and so on. This has been used effectively both on Falungong sect members, and on a grand scale in the Chinese concentration camps for Uyghurs after 2017. As in Nazi Germany, the oppression of detainees can and does also include both physical torture and executions of those deemed irredeemable, especially since Uyghur victims are generally not put on public display, to confess on TV for propaganda purposes (unlike victims in China proper, who often are displayed and then cannot be too bloodied up). Still, Chinese oppression overall is framed in terms of correction, in outward propaganda.⁶⁰

A different aspect shared by Nazi Germany and China today is that officials arguing for leniency will be pushed aside. As I have argued elsewhere,⁶¹ those arguing for violent escalation will be favored by a Party elite that is concerned above all with its own power and survival. On cue from officials such as supreme Party leader Xi, and his underling Chen Quanguo, a spiral of violence emerges, in which the ruthless win out, and climb the ladder. No-one can say "stop" — that would end their career. In this sort of situation, there is no recourse to outside mediating forces. Every man either turns into a yes-man, or he is doomed. The boldest, most ruthless will prevail.

There are many signs of this kind of cruelty race in China, which also recruits ethnic subjects as enforcers. For example, Darren Byler writes of Uyghur prison-guard recruits who were told that if they try to escape, they will be next; Gulpiya Qazybek, a former Kazakh enforcer, writes of the agony involved.⁶²

One outstanding example of a daring dissenter inside the Chinese Communist Party is that of Wang Yongzhi, once an administrator of the Uyghur-majority Yarkand area in East Turkestan. He refused orders to detain thousands of Uyghurs in his jurisdiction, possibly because he felt it would hurt economic targets. In any case, he was expelled from the Party, imprisoned, and denounced as disobedient in internal Party meetings that were later leaked. It is astonishing that some Chinese netizens, in the tightly controlled media

⁶⁰ Fiskesjö 2017, and 2020. On Nazi and Chinese propaganda in comparison, also see Fiskesjö 2018b.

⁶¹ Fiskesjö 2018a.

⁶² Byler 2021b, 57-58; Gulpiya Qazybek interview, 'We did it to our own people', *Telegraph* 2024.



environment in China, managed to express sympathy for Wang Yongzhi, before they too were shut down.⁶³

Meetings are an ubiquitous feature of Chinese political life but often seem utterly predictable, and therefore boring, to those who take part. They are, however, another key instrument for imposing obedience and shared responsibility on all those participating, and this may be the very reason why they are so ubiquitous. In the case of Xi Jinping's brutal genocide, as implemented since 2017, this may be why he needed to have his policies affirmed as "entirely correct" in a meeting attended by large numbers of office-holders — a meeting which was even publicly reported, and his speech openly published.⁶⁴ This element of the imposition of shared responsibility also appears as a key theme in the Nazi context, including in the infamous, semi-secret Nazi Wannsee Conference.

In Chen Quanguo's case, the dynamic of social maneuvering is also apparent in another, more trivial or farcical way: plagiarizing his doctoral dissertation, supposedly written while he served full-time as deputy governor of Henan Province. This was part of the insidious "arms race for credentials" among Chinese officials eager to be able to call themselves a "Dr" (again, not unlike Nazi Germany).⁶⁵ This petty obsession again compares to Reinhard Heydrich, in a personal way: Heydrich too, was an accidental late-comer to the Nazi hierarchy, haunted by early missteps, who similarly had to earn himself his credentials. Chen Quanguo, too, unlike China's many powerful "princeling" officials gaining access to power because of their Party pedigree, Chen Quanguo lacked a pedigree that could grant him fast-track "natural" access to their elite. This may help explain the exceptional brutality and ruthlessness that we see in both these historical figures — highly appreciated by their superiors.

In 2021, Chen Quanguo was retired and replaced in East Turkestan with Ma Xingrui, a technocrat and governor of Guangdong, a coastal province near Hong Kong. The Western press went along with the propaganda picture of Mr.

⁶³ Li 2019. In recent Chinese history, compare how Mao's successor supremo, Deng Xiaoping, dismissed and imprisoned the Communist Party leader Zhao Ziyang after he pleaded for leniency towards the Tiananmen students in 1989. The rest of the Party leadership endorsed the massacre of the peaceful protestors (Nathan 2019), yet Zhao is still widely remembered as having a conscience.

⁶⁴ *China Digital Times*, 2020; Millward 2020 (also includes the text of Xi Jinping speech).

⁶⁵ Hancock and Liu 2019; Poornima 2019. For Heydrich, see note 10 above.



Ma as the sign of a "new" focus on "the economy," even though he, of course, professed total loyalty to and continued the genocidal policies, which prominently included economic exploitation as discussed above (as well as the mass family separations, and so on).⁶⁶ Already in 2019-20, the regime increasingly re-focused on transferring able-bodied detainees from the identity transformation camps into forced labor in various industries, and eliminating others. Indeed, this can be considered the conclusion of the initial phase of China's genocide against the Uyghurs, which is being carried out according to a master plan, much as the Nazis attempted to do in central Europe.

4. Comparative Discussion and Conclusions

We have seen that in the Nazi case, the framing of the enemy ostensibly turned on the ill-defined concept of race, and this was translated into the appalling mass-industrial murders of the Jewish Holocaust. We do not yet have evidence for such industrial killings in the Chinese case, though as I have emphasized, such evidence may still come to light for the many people of an unknown fate.

But when we expand our horizon to the Nazi grand plan for an ethnic reordering of Europe, including as documented in the Nazi Czech Protectorate (as well as in Poland, etc.), we see that the Nazi and the Chinese projects are similar. We are faced with an expansionist imperialism, intent on force-homogenizing its metropolitan homeland, by force-assimilating the bulk of those populations that seem possible to convert to the master race identity. We see how this also coincides with other such projects that have often escaped the label of "genocide," as in the U.S. and Canadian emphasis on cultural conversion, illustrated by the infamous American mantra to "Kill the Indian, Save the Man" which justified the so-called Indian Schools (or, Residential Schools, for native populations, now copied on a grand scale, in China).⁶⁷

The Nazi Germanizability yardstick and their associated measures amounted to much the same as China's current discourse of a homogenized "national unity" supported by national security measures. Exception for the somewhat

⁶⁶ Cf. Bloomberg, 27 Dec. 2021. In July 2025, Ma was in turn replaced as Communist Party chief of Xinjiang by Chen Xiaojiang, previously the first, unprecedented, Han Chinese director of the state Ethnic Affairs Commission. Again, there is no sign this implies any shift in the Chinese government policies.

⁶⁷ Pratt 1892.



divergent concepts of race and ethnicity, the Nazi case actually thoroughly mirrors the situation in China.

For me, a key illustration of this is how Uyghur cultural leaders, academics, preachers and anyone else in culturally influential positions to uphold and further the Uyghur identity are all disappeared, and either force-changed by coercion, or eliminated, out of view. It is significant that any past display of loyalty does not matter -- it is denied by the logic of the Chinese theory of "two-faced people," which claims that longtime commitment to the Chinese Communist state (including from those who worked within the system, even joined the Communist Party and professed loyalty), is annulled by how they nevertheless kept speaking Uyghur and harbor Uyghur identity, even a religious identity. One prominent example is the aforementioned Ilham Tohti, the prominent bilingual Uyghur professor in Beijing sentenced to life imprisonment for "separatism" because he advocated reconciliation and coexistence; dared to use the Uyghur language on his websites; and so on.⁶⁸ The Chinese branding of Uyghur intellectuals as "two-faced" or inherently untrustworthy due to their ethno-racial identity is a striking parallel to Heydrich's special targeting of Czech intellectuals as representing the danger of a future revival and reconstitution of Czech identity and nationhood.

This is why the 1990 Soviet-Turkmen film *Mankurt* resonates so deeply with Uyghurs today. The film, based on Chinghiz Aitmatov's novel *The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years*, depicts a fictional history where the men of a conquered people somewhere in Central Asia are converted into zombie-like slaves of their conquerors. While many of their compatriots were massacred in the conquest, these survivors now mindlessly serve the new power, incapable of opposition. When a surviving mother tries to rescue her manipulated son, he is unable to recognize her and he kills her, so as not to disobey his new rulers. Incidentally, this horror scenario is re-enacted in a different form today, when the Chinese authorities mobilize the family members of those who have managed to escape abroad, to denounce them on camera, as part of the concerted efforts to discredit the voice of those exposing the Chinese crimes.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ See note 32 above.

⁶⁹ Safeguard Defenders 2019, incl. on the video on the Chinese platform Kuaishou, in which Mr. Abdulhelil Dawut is made to perform a denunciation of his younger sister Zumret Dawut, who escaped abroad and denounced the genocide; the supposedly spontaneous statement was somehow subtitled in English — revealing the real intent of transnational repression extending anywhere in the world.



Overall, regarding the Chinese and Nazi genocides compared here, I would argue for several main conclusions. First, the widespread but incorrect idea of genocide as only equivalent to the kind of industrial-scale mass killings that the Hitler regime undertook against the Jewish minority is incomplete and a grave misunderstanding. It is likely due to the fact that the Hitler regime's overall plans for forced assimilation were not fully carried out as planned — as they are now, in China.

Secondly, the element of forced assimilation, or identity conversion, is a key element in both the Nazi and the Chinese genocide, which resemble each other closely. This means that forced assimilation itself as well as the preparatory work of surveying, identifying, and classifying people to be targeted, should be regarded as integral parts of the crime of genocide and must be clearly recognized, and prosecuted.

The U.N. Genocide Convention remains a powerful and useful document and tool for bringing and prosecuting probable cases of genocide — as we see in the cases today pending in the Hague, brought by South Africa over Israel in Gaza and by the Gambia over the Rohingya in Myanmar. In China's case, the Convention already clearly provides for identifying China's mass sterilizations, and the identity conversion of the next generation, as genocidal acts; indeed, its Uyghur genocide arguably covers all the required criteria.⁷⁰

The jurisprudence of forced cultural assimilation and erasure, originally partially excluded from the Convention's text (though not entirely, and not from the spirit of the law), has also evolved, and should now be closely considered in the future prosecution of the Chinese genocidaires. Along with all the other destructive actions, China's ongoing efforts to erase language and culture, carried out on a massive scale, must be regarded as core aspects of the crime of genocide.

⁷⁰ Fiskesjö 2022.



References

AFP. "Satellite images reveal China is destroying Muslim graveyards where generations of Uighur families are buried and replacing them with car parks and playgrounds 'to eradicate the ethnic group's identity.'" *Daily Mail/AFP*, 9 Oct. 2019. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7553127/Even-death-Uighurs-feel-long-reach-Chinese-state.html>

ARTE. China: Pro-Colonisation Influencers. Film directed by Manon Bachelot & Poline Tchoubar. Paris: Arte, 2023 [available until 29/11/2026]. <https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/113682-006-A/china-pro-colonisation-influencers/>

Associated Press. "China Cuts Uighur Births With IUDs, Abortion, Sterilization." June 29, 2020. <https://apnews.com/269b3de1af34e17c1941a514f78d764c>

ASPI (Australian Strategic Policy Institute). "Cultural Erasure: Tracing the destruction of Uyghur and Islamic spaces in Xinjiang." Sep. 4, 2020. <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/cultural-erasure> [Report supported by companion website Xinjiang Data Project, <https://xjdp.aspi.org.au/>]

Baberowski, Jörg. "Once and For All: The Encounter Between Stalinism and Nazism. Critical remarks on Timothy Snyder's Bloodlands." *Contemporary European History* 21.2 (2012), 145-148.

Barnett, Robert. "Forceful Diplomacy: China's Cross-Border Villages in Bhutan." *Turquoise Roof*, 15 October 2024. <https://turquoiseroof.org/forceful-diplomacy-china-cross-border-villages-in-bhutan/>

Beech, Hannah, and Bhadra Sharma. "China's 'New Great Wall' Casts a Shadow on Nepal." *New York Times*, Oct 14, 2024. <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2024/10/14/asia-pacific/china-new-great-wall-nepal/>

Bryant, Chad Carl. *Prague in Black: Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Bloomberg News. "The Architect of China's Muslim Camps Is a Rising Star Under Xi." September 27, 2018. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-09-27/the-architect-of-china-s-muslim-camps-is-a-rising-star-under-xi>



Bloomberg News. "New Xinjiang Chief Vows No Reversal of Stability-First Policy." 27 Dec. 2021. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-12-27/new-xinjiang-chief-vows-no-reversal-of-stability-first-policy>

Browning, Christopher. "The Nazi Empire." In Donald Bloxham et al, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. <https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/40215/chapter-abstract/344571312>

Bulag, Uradyn E. "Twentieth-Century China: Ethnic Assimilation and Intergroup Violence." In: *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*, ed. Donald Bloxham et al. Oxford: Oxford University press, 2010. <https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/40215/chapter-abstract/344571501>

Bunin, Gene. Review of where [claim of] ~500k prisoners comes from – [THREAD]. @GeneBunin, Aug 31, 2025. <https://x.com/GeneBunin/status/1962049862163370114>

Bureau of Investigative Journalism. "China's Economy Runs on Uyghur Forced Labour. More than 100 global brands are linked to a scheme that ships Xinjiang ethnic minorities to work in factories thousands of miles away." 29 May 2025. <https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/stories/2025-05-29/chinas-economy-runs-on-uyghur-forced-labour>

Byler, Darren. 2021a. "'Ethnic extinction' in northwest China. State policies in education are forcing Uyghur children to grow up in non-Muslim, Mandarin-speaking environments. Uyghur culture is being lost as a result." *SupChina*, July 7, 2021. <https://supchina.com/2021/07/07/ethnic-extinction-in-northwest-china/>

Byler, Darren. 2021b. *In the Camps: Life in China's High-Tech Penal Colony*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2021.

China Digital Times. "White Paper Claims Xinjiang 'Inseparable' Part of China." July 23, 2019. <https://chinadigitaltimes.net/2019/07/white-paper-claims-xinjiang-an-inseparable-part-of-china/>

China Digital Times. "Xi Defends Xinjiang Policy as 'Entirely Correct.'" Sep. 30, 2020. <https://chinadigitaltimes.net/2020/09/xi-defends-xinjiang-policy-as-entirely-correct/>



Clarke, Donald. "On Nazi comparisons." The China Collection, May 30, 2019. <https://thechinacollection.org/on-nazi-comparisons/>

Cook, Sarah. "The Learning Curve: How Communist Party Officials are Applying Lessons from Prior 'Transformation' Campaigns to Repression in Xinjiang." *China Brief* (Jamestown Foundation), 19:3 (Feb. 1, 2019). <https://jamestown.org/program/the-learning-curve-how-communist-party-officials-are-applying-lessons-from-prior-transformation-campaigns-to-repression-in-xinjiang/>

Cooper, John. *Raphael Lemkin and the Struggle for the Genocide Convention*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

ČTK, František Kostlán & Gwendolyn Albert. "70th anniversary of Reichsprotektor Heydrich's rule over Bohemia and Moravia." *Romea.cz*, 22 October 2012. <http://www.romea.cz/en/news/czech/70th-anniversary-of-reichsprotektor-heydrich-s-rule-over-bohemia-and-moravia>

Dederichs, Mario R. Heydrich: *The Face of Evil*. London: Greenhill, 2006.

Deschner, Günther. *Reinhard Heydrich: A Biography*. New York: Stein and Day, 1981 (orig. 1977)

DW Documentary. *The Kidnapping Campaign of Nazi Germany*. March 11, 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2GLsM169izM>

Eco, Umberto. "Ur-Fascism." *New York Review of Books*, June 22, 1995. <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/umberto-eco-ur-fascism>

Economist, The. "Orphaned by the State: How Xinjiang's Gulag Tears Families Apart." Oct. 17, 2020. <https://www.economist.com/china/2020/10/17/how-xinjiangs-gulag-tears-families-apart>

Feng, Emily. "Uyghur kids recall physical and mental torment at Chinese boarding schools in Xinjiang." *NPR*. Feb. 3, 2022. <https://www.gpb.org/news/2022/02/03/uyghur-kids-recall-physical-and-mental-torment-at-chinese-boarding-schools-in>

Fiskesjö, Magnus. "On the 'Raw' and the 'Cooked' Barbarians of Imperial China." *Inner Asia* 1.2 (1999), 139-68. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23615574>



Fiskesjö, Magnus. "Rescuing the Empire: Chinese Nation-Building in the Twentieth Century." *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 5.2 (2006), 15-44. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23615666>

Fiskesjö, Magnus. "Wa Grotesque: Headhunting Theme Parks and the Chinese Nostalgia for Primitive Contemporaries." *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology* 80.4 (2015) (special issue on "Primitivist Tourism"), 497-523.

Fiskesjö, Magnus. "The Return of the Show Trial: China's Televised 'Confessions.'" *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, Volume 15, Issue 13, Number 1 (June 25, 2017). <http://apjif.org/2017/13/Fiskesjo.html>

Fiskesjö, Magnus. (2018a) "The Xinjiang Camps as a 'Stanford Prison Experiment.'" *Asia Dialogue—The Online Magazine of the University of Nottingham Asia Research Institute*, Oct. 24, 2018. <http://theasiadialogue.com/2018/10/24/the-xinjiang-camps-as-a-stanford-prison-experiment/>

Fiskesjö, Magnus. (2018b) "How Beijing is Using the Nazi Propaganda Playbook to Justify Its Concentration Camps to the World." *Hong Kong Free Press*, Oct. 27, 2018. <https://www.hongkongfp.com/2018/10/27/beijing-using-nazi-propaganda-playbook-justify-concentration-camps-world/>

Fiskesjö, Magnus. "Forced Confessions as Identity Conversion in China's Concentration Camps." *Monde chinois* 62 (2020), 28-43. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-monde-chinois-2020-2-page-28.htm>

Fiskesjö, Magnus. "Bulldozing Culture: China's Systematic Destruction of Uyghur Heritage Reveals Genocidal Intent." *Cultural Property News*, June 23, 2021. <https://culturalpropertynews.org/bulldozing-culture-chinas-systematic-destruction-of-uyghur-heritage-reveals-genocidal-intent/>

Fiskesjö, Magnus. "Genocide and Cultural Genocide in China." YetAgain [UK], June 28, 2022. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/368337289_Genocide_and_Cultural_Genocide_in_China_Yet_Again_UK_28_June_2022

Fiskesjö, Magnus. "Ancient DNA and the Politics of Ethnicity in Neo-Nationalist China." In *Critical Perspectives on Ancient DNA*, eds. Daniel Strand & Anna Källén, & Charlotte Mulcore. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2024, 145-166. <https://mitpress.mit.edu/9780262548090/critical-perspectives-on-ancient-dna/>



Fiskesjö, Magnus and Rukiye Turdush. "Mass Detention and Forced Assimilation of Uyghur Children in China." CETNI [Centre for East Turkistan National Interest], July 19, 2024. <https://cetni.org/mass-detention-and-forced-assimilation-of-uyghur-children-in-china/>

Fripp, Deborah. "Why we should compare current events to the Holocaust." *Israel Times blog*, June 25, 2018. <https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/why-we-should-compare-current-events-to-the-holocaust/>

Genocide Convention: Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. UN, 1948. https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/atrocities-crimes/Doc.1_Convention%20on%20the%20Prevention%20and%20Punishment%20of%20the%20Crime%20of%20Genocide.pdf

Gerwarth, Robert. *Hitler's Hangman: The Life of Heydrich*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.

Glasserman, Aaron. "China's Head of Ethnic Affairs Is Keen to End Minority Culture. Pan Yue is doubling down on the party's hard-line policies." *Foreign Policy*, March 2, 2023. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/03/02/china-minorities-uyghur-racism/>

Goebbels, Joseph. *The Goebbels Diaries, 1942–1943*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1970.

Hancock, Tom and Nicolle Liu. "Top Chinese officials plagiarised doctoral dissertations. High-ranking party members' academic 'arms race' fuels copying, one observer says." *Financial Times*, February 26, 2019. <https://www.ft.com/content/2eb02fa4-3429-11e9-bd3a-8b2a211d90d5>

Hanlon, Don. "The Case of Turpan, China: How to Destroy a Culture." *American Geographical Society Library blog*. Posted Oct 3, 2019; Updated Oct 4, 2019. <https://agslibraryblog.wordpress.com/2019/10/03/the-case-of-turpan-china-how-to-destroy-a-culture/>

Harvey, Elizabeth. *Women and the Nazi East: Agents and Witnesses of Germanization*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003.



Heinemann, Isabel, "Another Type of Perpetrator': The SS Racial Experts and Forced Population Movements in the Occupied Regions." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 15 (2001), 387–411.

Heinemann, Isabel. 'Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut'. Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2003.

Holzman, Marie. "Thoughts on İlham Tohti's Arrest in 2014." *China Digital Times*, Sep 23., 2024. <https://chinadigitaltimes.net/2024/09/marie-holzman-thoughts-on-ilham-tohtis-arrest-in-2014/>

Human Rights Watch. "China: Xinjiang Official Figures Reveal Higher Prisoner Count. Half-Million Prosecuted, Imprisoned During Crackdown." September 14, 2022. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/09/14/china-xinjiang-official-figures-reveal-higher-prisoner-count>

Ingram, Ruth. "Elderly Uyghurs Die Alone in Jail, Detained on Trumped-Up Charges." *China Project*, June 22, 2023. <https://thechinaproject.com/2023/06/22/elderly-uyghurs-die-alone-in-jail-detained-on-trumped-up-charges/>

International Campaign for Tibet. "The Origin of the 'Xinjiang Model' in Tibet Under Chen Quanguo: Securitizing Ethnicity and Accelerating Assimilation." December 10, 2018. <https://www.savetibet.org/the-origin-of-the-xinjiang-model-in-tibet/>

International Criminal Court (ICC), Office of the Prosecutor. Policy on Cultural Heritage. June 2021. <https://www.icc-cpi.int/itemsDocuments/20210614-otp-policy-cultural-heritage-eng.pdf>

İzbasar, Nureddin. "Being a Child in East Turkistan." In Amine Erturk, ed. Yetim ve Kimsesiz Çocuklar Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı / Symposium on Orphans and Abandoned Children [2022]. Proceedings. Chapter 4, "Orphans and Disadvantaged Children in the Doom Spiral of War, Occupation and Poverty." Istanbul University press, 2023, 369-398 (English version = pp. 385-398). Open Access. <https://iupress.istanbul.edu.tr/en/book/yetim-ve-kimsesiz-cocuklar-sempozyumu-bildiriler-kitabi/home>

Jelinek, Yeshayahu. "Bohemia-Moravia, Slovakia, and the Third Reich During the Second World War." *East European Quarterly* 3:2 (1969), 229-39.



Kakel, Carroll P. *The American West and the Nazi East: A Comparative and Interpretive Perspective*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Kárný, Miroslav. "Reinhard Heydrich als Stellvertretender Reichsprotector in Prag." In M. Kárný et al, Berlin: Metropol, 1997, pp. 9-75.

Kárný, Miroslav; Jaroslava Milotová; and Margita Kárná, eds. *Deutsche Politik im "Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren" unter Reinhard Heydrich 1941-1942: Eine Dokumentation*. Berlin: Metropol, 1997.

Kertész, Imre. "Who Owns Auschwitz?" *Yale Journal of Criticism* 4.1 (2001), 267-272.

Klimeš, Ondřej. "Advancing 'Ethnic Unity' and 'De-Extremization': Ideational Governance in Xinjiang under 'New Circumstances'" (2012–2017). *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 23.2 (2018), 413–436.

Klimeš, Ondřej. "China's genocidal policies in Xinjiang: Hardline policies against the Uyghurs prompt comparisons with Nazi and Soviet totalitarianism." *Sinopsis*, 1.9.2020. <https://sinopsis.cz/en/xinjiang-genocidal-policies/>

Král, Václav & Karel Fremund, ed. *Die Vergangenheit warnt: Dokumente über die Germanisierungs- und Austilgungspolitik der Naziokkupanten in der Tschechoslowakei*. Prague: Orbis, 1960.

Leibold, James. "Hu the Uniter: Hu Lianhe and the Radical Turn in China's Xinjiang Policy." *China Brief (Jamestown Foundation)* 18:16 (Oct. 10, 2018). <https://jamestown.org/program/hu-the-uniter-hu-lianhe-and-the-radical-turn-in-chinas-xinjiang-policy/>

Li, Jane. "He Refused: China sees online tributes to an official who freed Muslims in Xinjiang." *Quartz*, November 18, 2019. <https://qz.com/1750441/china-sees-online-tributes-to-official-who-freed-uyghurs-in-xinjiang/>

Lopsang Gurung. "Puning Temple: Why Xi Jinping Celebrated a Genocide." *Bitter Winter*, 08/31/2021. <https://bitterwinter.org/puning-temple-why-xi-jinping-celebrated-a-genocide/>



Luck, Edward C. Cultural Genocide and the Protection of Cultural Heritage. J. Paul Getty Trust Occasional Papers in Cultural Heritage Policy, No. 2, 2018. https://www.getty.edu/publications/pdfs/CulturalGenocide_Luck.pdf

Mankurt. 1990 film, based on the novel by Chinghiz Aitmatov, *The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years*. Directed by Hojaguly Narliyev. In Turkmen. Posted with English subtitles by the Durdy Bayramov Art Foundation & Bayramov Museum, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gbrNpdS0bto>

Masiuk, Tony. "Hitler's Manifest Destiny: Nazi Genocide, Slavery, and Colonization in Slavic Eastern Europe." Academia.edu, 2019. https://www.academia.edu/41303748/Hitlers_Manifest_Destiny_Nazi_Genocide_Slavery_and_Colonization_in_Slavic_Eastern_Europe

Mastny, Vojtech. *The Czechs under Nazi Rule: The Failure of National Resistance, 1939-1942*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.

McKenna, Konstantin. "Germany's First Genocide Looked a Lot Like China's. The killing of the Herero has disturbing parallels with the treatment of Uyghurs." *Foreign Policy*, Dec. 4, 2021. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/12/04/germany-china-genocide-xinjiang-uyghurs-herero-nama/>

Millward, James A. "Notes on Xi Jinping's speech to the 3rd Xinjiang Central Work Forum, 25–26 September 2020." *Medium*, Sep. 27, 2020. <https://medium.com/@millwarj/notes-on-xi-jinpings-speech-to-the-3rd-xinjiang-central-work-forum-25-26-september-2020-768b43242b8f>

Mohn, Volker. *NS-Kulturpolitik im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren Konzepte, Praktiken, Reaktionen*. Essen: Klartext, 2014.

Morsink, Johannes. Cultural Genocide, the Universal Declaration, and Minority Rights. *Human Rights Quarterly* 21.4 (1999), 1009-1060.

Mund, Gerald, ed. *Deutschland und das Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren: Aus den Akten des Auswärtigen Amtes 1939-1945*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014.

Murphy, Laura. "Forced labor in the Uyghur region: why is this happening?" Report. Sheffield Hallam University, 2023. <https://shura.shu.ac.uk/35124/> (plus multiple additional reports on forced labor in the Uyghur region, linked here:



<https://www.shu.ac.uk/about-us/our-people/staff-profiles/laura-murphy#fourthSection>)

Nathan, Andrew J. "The New Tiananmen Papers: Inside the Secret Meeting That Changed China." *Foreign Affairs*, May 30, 2019. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2019-05-30/new-tiananmen-papers>

Němec, Jiří. "Re-education as Ethnocide: Beyond the Nazi Concept of 'Umwolkung.'" *UR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2.19 (2021), 132–43. https://www.academia.edu/77649604/Beyond_the_Nazi_Concept_of_Umwolkung

New Lines Institute for Strategy and Policy. "The 'Xinjiang Papers': How Xi Jinping commands policy in the PRC." Streamed live on July 27, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x9XK6w_B2xY&t=26s

Panda, Ankit. "It's Official: Xi Jinping Breaks His Non-Militarization Pledge in the Spratlys." *The Diplomat*, December 16, 2016. <https://thediplomat.com/2016/12/its-official-xi-jinping-breaks-his-non-militarization-pledge-in-the-spratlys/>

Poornima Weerasekara. "Top Chinese Officials Plagiarised University Theses." *Digital Journal*, March 8, 2019. <http://www.digitaljournal.com/news/world/top-chinese-officials-plagiarised-university-theses/article/544823>

Pratt, Richard H. "Official Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction," (1892), 46–59; reprinted in Richard H. Pratt, "The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites," in *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian" 1880–1900*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 260–271; and online, in *History Matters: The U.S. Survey Course on the Web* (2018), <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/4929/>

Quinn, Jimmy. "Top Chinese Diplomat Vows 'Reeducation' of Taiwan after 'Reunification.'" *National Review*, August 3, 2022. <https://www.nationalreview.com/2022/08/top-chinese-diplomat-vows-reeducation-of-taiwan-after-reunification/>

RFA [Radio Free Asia]. "Experts: China is sequencing Uyghur DNA for organ harvesting. US Congress is told that medical tourists from Gulf states seek



organs from Muslims who abstain from pork and alcohol." March 20, 2024. <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/forced-organ-harvesting-03202024133851.html>

Roberts, Sean R. *The War on the Uyghurs: China's Internal Campaign against a Muslim Minority*. Princeton University Press, 2020a.

Roberts, Sean R. "Why Did the United States Take China's Word on Supposed Uighur Terrorists? The Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement barely existed, but Washington wanted Beijing on board for the war on terror." *Foreign Policy*, November 10, 2020b. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/11/10/why-did-the-united-states-take-chinas-word-on-supposed-uighur-terrorists/>

Robertson, Matthew. "Comparing the Brainwashing of Uighurs With the Party's Anti-Falun Gong Campaign." *ChinaChange*, June 18, 2018. <https://chinachange.org/2018/06/18/comparing-the-brainwashing-of-uighurs-with-the-partys-anti-falun-gong-campaign/>

Ruser, Nathan & Dr James Leibold. *Family De-planning: The Coercive Campaign to Drive Down Indigenous Birth-rates in Xinjiang*. Barton ACT, Australia: *Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI)*, 12 May 2021. <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/family-deplanning-birthrates-xinjiang>

Ruser, Nathan. "Rahile's story." *X.com*, Sep. 21, 2023. <https://x.com/Nrg8000/status/1704993872710144174>

Safeguard Defenders. "China Takes Forced Confessions To New Platforms." Oct. 19, 2019. <https://safeguarddefenders.com/en/blog/china-takes-forced-confessions-new-platforms>

Snyder, Timothy. *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*. New York: Basic Books, 2010.

Suppan, Arnold. *Hitler - Beneš - Tito. Teil 3: Konflikt, Krieg und Völkermord in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014.

The Telegraph, "'We did it to our own people': How China forced Kazakhs to implement its ethnic crackdown. Now safe in Kazakhstan, Gulpiya Qazybek lays bare how she was ordered to round up Muslim families in Xinjiang who were then never seen again." By Sophia Yen, Jan. 6 2024. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2024/01/06/china-kazakhstan-ethnic-crackdown/>



www.telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2024/01/06/china-forced-kazakhs-implement-ethnic-crackdown/

Thum, Rian. "The Spatial Cleansing of Xinjiang: Mazar Desecration in Context." *Made in China*, 24 August 2020. <https://madeinchinajournal.com/2020/08/24/the-spatial-cleansing-of-xinjiang-mazar-desecration-in-context/>

Turdush, Rukiye. *East Turkistan's Right to Sovereignty: Decolonization and Beyond*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2023.

Turdush, Rukiye and Magnus Fiskesjö. "Dossier: Uyghur Women in China's Genocide." *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* 15.1 (2021), 22–43. <https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/gsp/vol15/iss1/6/>

Uyghur Human Rights Project (UHRP). "Detained and Disappeared: Intellectuals Under Assault in the Uyghur Homeland." May 21, 2019. <https://uhrp.org/report/update-detained-and-disappeared-intellectuals-under-assault-in-the-uyghur-homeland/>

Uyghur Human Rights Project (UHRP). "Detained UHRP Documents Continuing Assimilationist Policy Targeting Uyghur Children." January 27, 2022. <https://uhrp.org/statement/uhrp-documents-continuing-assimilationist-policy-targeting-uyghur-children/> = https://uhrp.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/Coerced-Kinship-Report-Formatted_2021-12-20-1.pdf

Uyghur Human Rights Project (UHRP). 2021a. "Islam Dispossessed: China's Persecution of Uyghur Imams and Religious Figures." UHRP report by Peter Irwin. May 13, 2021. <https://uhrp.org/report/islam-dispossessed-chinas-persecution-of-uyghur-imams-and-religious-figures/>

Uyghur Human Rights Project (UHRP). 2021b. "Under the Gavel: Evidence of Uyghur-owned Property Seized and Sold Online." Sept. 24, 2021. <https://uhrp.org/report/under-the-gavel-evidence-of-uyghur-owned-property-seized-and-sold-online/>

Wannseekonferenz, Die [The Conference]. Film directed by **Matti Geschonneck**, featuring Philipp Hochmair as Reinhard Heydrich. 2022. English subtitles. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=URSNN5mnl2g>

Wiedemann, Andreas. *Die Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung in Prag (1942-45)*. Dresden: Hannah-Arendt-Institut für Totalitarismusforschung, 2000.



Wighton, Charles. *Heydrich: Hitler's Most Evil Henchman*. Philadelphia: Chilton Co., Book Division, 1962.

Wong, Chun Han. "China's Hard Edge: The Leader of Beijing's Muslim Crackdown Gains Influence. Chen Quanguo's social-control methods in Xinjiang are spreading to other parts of China." *Wall Street Journal*, April 7, 2019. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-hard-edge-the-leader-of-beijings-muslim-crackdown-gains-influence-11554655886>

Zahra, Tara. "Reclaiming Children for the Nation: Germanization, National Ascription, and Democracy in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1945." *Central European History* 37.4 (2004), 501-543.

Zahra, Tara. *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1948*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2008.

Zenz, Adrian, and James Leibold. "Chen Quanguo: The Strongman Behind Beijing's Securitization Strategy in Tibet and Xinjiang." China Brief (Jamestown Foundation) 17:12 (Sept. 21, 2017). <https://jamestown.org/program/chen-quanguo-the-strongman-behind-beijings-securitization-strategy-in-tibet-and-xinjiang/>

Zenz, Adrian. "Break Their Roots: Evidence for China's Parent-Child Separation Campaign in Xinjiang." *Journal of Political Risk* 7.7, July 2019. <http://www.jpolrisk.com/break-their-roots-evidence-for-chinas-parent-child-separation-campaign-in-xinjiang/>

Zenz, Adrian. "Sterilizations, IUDs, and Mandatory Birth Control: The CCP's Campaign to Suppress Uyghur Birthrates in Xinjiang." *Jamestown Foundation*. 27 June 2020. <https://jamestown.org/product/sterilizations-iuds-and-mandatory-birth-control-the-ccps-campaign-to-suppress-uyghur-birthrates-in-xinjiang/>

Zenz, Adrian. "The Xinjiang Papers: An Introduction." Uyghur Tribunal, November 27, 2021. <https://uyghurtribunal.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/The-Xinjiang-Papers-An-Introduction-01.pdf> (also see thread: <https://twitter.com/adrianzenz/status/1465409699575042050>)

Zenz, Adrian. "Research Article: 'End the dominance of the Uyghur ethnic group': an analysis of Beijing's population optimization strategy in southern



Xinjiang.” *Central Asian Survey*, online: 24 Aug 2021. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02634937.2021.1946483#.YSZAhjKaFzc.twitter>

Zhai, Keith. “China’s Communist Party Formally Embraces Assimilationist Approach to Ethnic Minorities. Quiet changes to education policy, personnel in minority regions follow Xi’s call for forging of a ‘collective consciousness’.” *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 8, 2021. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-communist-party-formally-embraces-assimilationist-approach-to-ethnic-minorities-11633702544>

Zheng, William. “Architect of China’s Muslim Camps Chen Quanguo Expected to Stay on in Xinjiang For Now.” *South China Morning Post*, March 24, 2019. <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/politics/article/3003047/architect-chinas-muslim-camps-chen-quanguo-expected-stay>