

POLICY BRIEF

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OSCE and OIC Responses to the Crisis in Xinjiang

by Joseph Hammond

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) are both committed, either directly or indirectly, to fighting Islamophobia as a human rights violation. However, the situation of the Islamic populations of the People's Republic of China (PRC)'s Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Republic (XUAR) province has not aroused united action from the OIC and OSCE, whether at the organisational level or the level of their individual member states. This policy brief will explore the intriguing case studies of Türkiye¹, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BIH)², and Albania, all three of whom are connected to both the OIC and OSCE, and who have had strikingly different responses to the crisis in the XUAR. This policy brief will conclude that both the OIC and the OSCE should appoint appropriate special envoys to investigate human rights abuses against Muslim minorities who are facing gross human rights violations. These special envoys should have a global remit so as to avoid being seen as targeting the PRC, but their first case of concern should clearly be the XUAR.

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¹ Turkey at the time of publication formally rebranded itself 'Türkiye', and the OSCE Academy is attempting to respect its wishes by using the new spelling wherever feasible.

² The abbreviation 'BIH' is derived from the country's name in Bosnian and Serbian, 'Bosna i Hercegovina' and 'Босна и Херцеговина', respectively.

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Background

Since 2014, with with steam since 2017,³ the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has undertaken several controversial initiatives with respect to Uyghurs, Tajiks, Kyrgyz and Uyghurs of the XUAR.⁴ These have includes a program whereby ethnic Han Chinese cadres conduct homestays to monitor ethnic Uyghur families,⁵ mass surveillance with a significant element of biometric data collection and pattern analysis,⁶ and perhaps most notorious of all, the internment of possibly one million⁷ ethnic Uyghurs in forced-labour facilities that the CCP describes as education centers but external observers describe as detention camps.⁸ There have even been allegations of 'systematic' use of sexual violence in these facilities.⁹

The response from the OIC and its member states

The OIC is committed to fighting Islamophobia as a human rights violation. It thus may come

as a surprise that the OIC has been rather circumspect in response to the CCP's actions in the XUAR. For example in 2019, at the 46th session of the OIC's council of foreign ministers, which took place in Pakistan, the body adopted positive language about the situation.¹⁰ Also in 2019, the OIC held a ministerial meeting in Abu Dhabi in which, under indirect pressure from the PRC, a resolution was adopted that praised Beijing for its treatment of its Muslims citizens, and also expressed anticipation of 'further cooperation' between the OIC and the PRC.¹¹

In fairness, this behavior is actually somewhat consistent with the OIC's track record. For example, during the Cold War, the body largely refrained from directly condemning not only the PRC, but also the Soviet Union for their treatment of Muslim minorities.¹² Nevertheless, the OIC in the Cold War-era also refrained from outright praising the PRC.

Unsurprisingly, the OIC resolution provoked

³ 'China's Repression and Internment of Uyghurs: U.S. Policy Responses,' Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, United States Congress, 26 September 2018: <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-115hhrg32303/pdf/CHRG-115hhrg32303.pdf> (accessed 14 March 2022).

⁴ E.g., E. Svoboda, 'Has Kazakhstan Failed Xinjiang's Ethnic Kazakhs?' *Lawfare*, 14 April 2021: <https://www.lawfareblog.com/has-kazakhstan-failed-xinjiangs-ethnic-kazakhs> (accessed 14 March 2022); M. T. Al-Sudairi, *Transnational Shi'ism in Southern China and the Party-state's 'Hawza' Diplomacy*, Middle East Institute, 5 November 2019: n.6, <https://www.mei.edu/publications/transnational-shiism-southern-china-and-party-states-hawza-diplomacy> (accessed 14 March 2022); D. Isa, 'Uyghur situation in Central Asia countries (In Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan),' Statement to the OSCE Human Dimension Implementation Meeting, 25 September 2017: <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/3/1/27056.pdf> (accessed 14 March 2022); B. Pannier, 'China's Other New Security Concern - Its Ethnic Kyrgyz,' *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, 25 August 2017: <https://www.rferl.org/a/qishloq-ovozi-china-ethnic-kyrgyz/28697314.html> (accessed 14 March 2022).

⁵ A. Seytoff, 'Xinjiang Authorities Regularly Impose 'Home Stays' on Muslim Uyghur Families: Rights Group,' *Radio Free Asia*, 14 May 2018: <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/homestays-05142018153305.html> (accessed 5 July 2022).

⁶ J. Leibold, 'Surveillance in China's Xinjiang Region: Ethnic Sorting, Coercion, and Inducement,' *Journal of Contemporary China*, v. 29, is. 121 (2020): 50-51; M. Wang, 'China's Algorithms of Repression: Reverse Engineering a Xinjiang Police Mass Surveillance App,' Human Rights Watch, 1 May 2019: www.hrw.org/report/2019/05/02/chinas-algorithms-repression/reverse-engineering-xinjiang-police-mass (accessed on 14 March 2022).

⁷ J. Lemon, 'China 'Arbitrarily Detained' 1 Million Uyghurs, Other Muslim Minorities, Labor Dept Report Finds,' *Newsweek*, 6 October 2020: <https://www.newsweek.com/china-arbitrarily-detained-1-million-uyghurs-other-muslim-minorities-labor-dept-report-finds-1536690> (accessed 5 July 2022).

⁸ S. Alecci, 'The faces of China's detention camps in Xinjiang,' Investigative Consortium of Investigative Journalists, 24 May 2022: <https://www.icij.org/investigations/china-cables/xinjiang-police-files-uyghur-mugshots-detention/> (accessed 5 July 2022).

⁹ M. Hill, D. Campanale and J. Gunter, "'Their goal is to destroy everyone": Uighur camp detainees allege systematic rape,' *BBC News*, 2 February 2021: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-55794071> (accessed on 14 March 2022).

¹⁰ It is unclear to what extent, if any, China's traditionally close relationship with Pakistan played in this situation.

¹¹ 'Resolutions on Muslim Communities and Muslim Minorities in the Non-OIC Member States Adopted by the 46th Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers,' Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, 1-2 March 2019: <https://www.oic-oci.org/docdown/?docID=4447&refID=1250> (accessed on 14 March 2022).

¹² Desk research conducted by the author of OIC Summit Communiqués during the Cold War did not discuss China's policies toward its Muslim population.

outcry from Muslims around the world.¹³ It was also widely noted that with respect to the XUAR, the OIC had not adhered to its traditional policy of receiving representatives from Muslim minorities undergoing oppression, such as the Kashmiri, Rohingya and Palestinian communities. The likely cause of this odd behavior is that the PRC has incredible economic influence in a number of Muslim-majority countries.¹⁴

As for OIC member-states, there have also been inconsistent behaviors. For example, on the one hand, Qatar removed its name from a list of initial signatories supporting the PRC's position on its Muslim minority, while in Bahrain, a parliamentary body passed a resolution of condemnation.¹⁵ On the other hand, at a July 2019 session of the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC), of the some 22 countries that condemned the PRC's actions in the XUAR in a joint letter, not a single OIC member was a signatory, including Qatar and Bahrain.¹⁶ A subsequent statement made in support of the CCP's actions in the XUAR received broad support from 37 states, including Bahrain and Qatar, among many other OIC members.¹⁷

Noteworthy, at a meeting of the United Nations General Assembly Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee (SOCHUM)¹⁸ in October

2020, some 39 countries issued a joint statement condemning the PRC's behavior in XUAR, as well as in Hong Kong. Of the signatories for this statement, only two were connected to the OIC. These were BIH, which is an observer state, and Albania, a member state.¹⁹

The response from the OSCE and its member states

Because a significant number of the OSCE's member-states are either Muslim-majority countries or have significant Muslim minorities within their territories, their human rights matters to the organisation. Indeed, the OSCE has become an important forum for the discussion of the crisis in the XUAR. Notably, the United States (US) Ambassador to the OSCE, James S. Gilmore, decried the PRC's human rights violations on the 'OSCE's doorstep' at a meeting involving OSCE's Asian Partners for Cooperation, Afghanistan, Australia, Japan, Republic of Korea and Thailand.²⁰ Other US envoys have spoken out on the issue in other OSCE fora.²¹ Members of Uyghur diaspora organisations have also been able to petition the OSCE directly.²²

Individual OSCE member states have also taken action. In its final days in office, the Trump

¹³ 'US Muslim groups accuse OIC of abetting China's Uighur "genocide";' *Al Jazeera*, 18 December 2020: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/12/18/us-muslims-press-organization-of-islamic-cooperation-on-china> (accessed 5 July 2022).

¹⁴ 'Myanmar hits out at top UN court over Rohingya genocide case,' *France24*, 21 February 2022: <https://www.france24.com/en/asia-pacific/20220221-myanmar-hits-out-at-top-un-court-over-rohingya-genocide-case> (accessed 5 July 2022).

¹⁵ 'Representatives Council Calls on International Community to Protect Uighur Muslims in China,' *Bahrain News Agency*, 2 January 2020: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200111030803/https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache%3AZk1GkhYpewOJ%3Ahttps%3A%2F%2Fwww.bna.bh%2Fen%2FRepresentativesCouncilcallsonInternationalCommunitytoprotectUighurMuslimsinChina.aspx%3Fcms%3Dq8FmFJgiscL2fwIzON1%252BDhaHOVN%252BJviHhNdlq2oWk4M%253D> (Accessed on 14 March 2022).

¹⁶ 'Joint Statement to the President of the Human Rights Council Regarding the Situation in Xinjiang, 8 July 2019,' Scan of original document published by Human Rights Watch, 18 July 2019: https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/supporting_resources/190708_joint_statement_xinjiang.pdf (accessed 5 July 2022).

¹⁷ C. Putz, 'Which Countries are For and Against China's Xinjiang Policies,' *The Diplomat*, 15 July 2019: <https://thediplomat.com/2019/07/which-countries-are-for-or-against-chinas-xinjiang-policies/> (accessed 5 July 2022).

¹⁸ Also known as the Third Committee (C3).

¹⁹ 'Joint Statement on the Human Rights Situation in Xinjiang and the Recent Developments in Hong Kong, Delivered by Germany on Behalf of 39 Countries,' US Mission to the UN, 6 October 2020: <https://usun.usmission.gov/joint-statement-on-the-human-rights-situation-in-xinjiang-and-the-recent-developments-in-hong-kong-delivered-by-germany-on-behalf-of-39-countries/> (accessed 5 July 2022).

²⁰ 'Statement on the Reports from the Asian Partners for Cooperation,' Ambassador James S. Gilmore III to the Permanent Council, OSCE, 3 September 2020 2020: <https://osce.usmission.gov/on-the-reports-from-the-asian-partners-for-cooperation> (accessed on 16 March 2022).

²¹ 'Response to the Report by the OSCE Special Representative and Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, Val Richey,' Ambassador James S. Gilmore III to the Permanent Council, Vienna, OSCE, 15 October 2020: <https://osce.usmission.gov/response-to-the-report-by-the-osce-special-representative-and-coordinator-for-combating-trafficking-in-human-beings-valiant-richey/> (accessed on 15 March 2022).

²² E.g., 'Written Contribution by the World Uyghur Congress,' 17 September 2019: <https://www.osce.org/odihr/430550> (accessed 14 March 2022).

administration labeled the PRC's treatment of Uyghurs and other Muslim minority groups as a genocide.²³ In February 2021, the Canadian parliament voted unanimously in favor of a resolution labeling the situation a genocide, and subsequently implemented targeted sanctions.²⁴ That same month, the Netherlands became the first European country to label the PRC's activities as a genocide.²⁵ Two months later, the British parliament made a similar declaration, thereby becoming the second Permanent Member of the United Nations Security Council to do so.²⁶ Pressure continued to grow on the PRC with a May 2021 declaration passed by three-fifths of the Lithuanian parliament that designated the PRC's activities as a genocide and also called on Beijing to pursue different policies in Hong Kong and Tibet.²⁷ In June 2021, both the Czech and Belgian parliament declared the situation in the XUAR a crime against humanity and a genocide.²⁸

These are examples from non-Muslim member states of the OSCE, but what about Muslim member states? Strikingly, for the most part they have been silent on this issue. However, three Muslim-majority OSCE member states that have stood out have been Türkiye, BiH, and Albania. Let us discuss them each in-depth.

Türkiye

Türkiye has seen some 50,000 refugees from the XUAR. These are in addition to a steady stream of PRC-originated Muslims who have sought asylum in the country since 1952.²⁹ Türkiye has also served as something of a base of operations for activism targeting the PRC. For example, in January of this year, members of Türkiye's Uyghur community filed a criminal complaint against China.³⁰

Given their shared Turkic and Islamic heritages, Turks have a strong affinity to the Muslim populations of the XUAR, to the point that the situation in the PRC has become a domestic political issue inside Türkiye. In November 2021, Turkish President Recep Erdoğan and Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) chairman Devlet Bahçeli posed for a public photo in front of a 'Map of the Turkic World' that included the XUAR.³¹ The İyi Parti (Good Party) has been outspoken in its condemnation of the situation in the XUAR and has asked for the Turkish parliament to follow the example of other OSCE countries by declaring the situation a genocide.³²

²³ M. Pompeo, 'Determination of the Secretary of State on Atrocities in Xinjiang,' Department of State of the United States of America, 19 January 2021: <https://2017-2021.state.gov/determination-of-the-secretary-of-state-on-atrocities-in-xinjiang/index.html> (accessed 5 July 2022).

²⁴ 'Canada's parliament declares China's treatment of Uighurs "genocide",' *BBC News*, 23 February 2021: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-56163220> (accessed 5 July 2021).

²⁵ 'Dutch parliament: China's treatment of Uighurs is genocide,' *Reuters*, 25 February 2021: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-netherlands-china-uighurs/dutch-parliament-chinas-treatment-of-uighurs-is-genocide-idUSKBN2AP2CI> (accessed 5 July 2022).

²⁶ 'UK parliament declares genocide in China's Xinjiang; Beijing condemns move,' *Reuters*, 22 April 2021: <https://www.reuters.com/world/uk/uk-parliament-declares-genocide-chinas-xinjiang-raises-pressure-johnson-2021-04-22/> (accessed 5 July 2022).

²⁷ A. Sytas, 'Lithuanian parliament latest to call China's treatment of Uyghurs "genocide",' *Reuters*, 20 May 2021: <https://www.reuters.com/world/china/lithuanian-parliament-latest-call-chinas-treatment-uyghurs-genocide-2021-05-20/> (accessed 5 July 2022).

²⁸ 'Belgian Parliament declares Uyghurs at risk of Genocid,' Inter-Parliamentary Alliance on China, 15 June 2021: <https://ipac.global/belgian-parliament-declares-uyghurs-at-risk-of-genocide/> (accessed 5 July 2022); R. Gerin, 'Belgium, Czech Republic Legislatures Pass Uyghur Genocide Declarations,' *Radio Free Asia*, 15 June 2021: <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/genocide-declarations-06152021171101.html> (accessed 5 July 2022).

²⁹ Notably, scores of Kazakhs fled Xinjiang in 1950 and 1962 following actions taken by the CCP. Some of those families ended up in Türkiye. Türkiye's modern population of some 50,000 Uyghurs is frequently cited as the largest such population outside of Central Asia.

³⁰ 'Uighurs In Turkey File Criminal Case Against Chinese Officials,' *Al Jazeera*, 4 January 2022: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/1/4/turkey-uighurs-file-criminal-complaint-against-chinese-officials> (accessed 16 March 2022).

³¹ N. Akcay, 'Amid Tensions With Turkey, China Is Putting the Kurdish Issue in Play,' *The Diplomat*, 4 December 2021: <https://thediplomat.com/2021/12/amid-tensions-with-turkey-china-is-putting-the-kurdish-issue-in-play/> (accessed 5 July 2022).

³² 'Opposition İYİ Party asks Turkish parliament to declare China's treatment of Uyghurs "genocide",' Stockholm Centre for Freedom, 4 March 2021: <https://stockholmcf.org/opposition-iyi-party-asks-turkish-parliament-to-declare-chinas-treatment-of-uyghurs-genocide/> (accessed 5 July 2022).

The Turkish government was not shy about the situation in the XUAR even before the current crisis. For example, in 2009, then-Prime Minister Erdoğan slammed the CCP's treatment of the Uyghurs as a 'genocide'.³³ More recently, in 2019, the Turkish Foreign Minister, Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, denounced the CCP for 'violating the fundamental human rights of Uyghur Turks and other Muslim communities'.³⁴ Last year, the Turkic Council, an intergovernmental organisation of Turkic states, officially changed its name to the Organisation of Turkic States. One analyst, Nurettin Akçay, suspects the timing of the change may have been intended to vex the PRC, as it occurred on the anniversary of the declaration of independence of the Turkic Islamic Republic of East Turkestan (also known as the First East Turkestan Republic) on 12 November, 1933.³⁵

Within the OIC, both Erdoğan and Çavuşoğlu have been vocal about the situation in the XUAR at OIC events. For example, Çavuşoğlu recently criticised the attendance of Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi at an OIC event in Pakistan.³⁶ Additionally, during a trip to the PRC in January 2022, Çavuşoğlu pressed CCP leaders to treat the Muslim community in line with its treatment of other citizens.³⁷

However, like other OSCE member states, Ankara has strong economic ties with Beijing, a

situation that sometimes results in odd decisions.³⁸ For example, a Uyghur language school was closed in Türkiye in 2022,³⁹ while some Uyghurs seeking Turkish citizenship have reported that their efforts have been stalled.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, the PRC has sought to punish Türkiye by offering vocal opposition to Turkish incursions into Syria and Iraq that have been aimed at various Kurdish insurgents.⁴¹

BIH

BIH has been an observer state of the OIC since 1994, although it was formally invited to join in 2013.⁴² As already noted, BIH was one of only two states connected to the OIC that signed the October 2020 SOCHUM statement.

A year later, BIH was the only Muslim signatory of 44 signatories to the UNHRC resolution initiated by Leslie E. Norton, Canada's Permanent Representative to the UN, demanding that the PRC provide transparency and access for the UN into the XUAR. This decision became a political football in HIU. On the one hand, it is one of the few OIC member states that has seen public protests against the PRC's actions in the XUA.⁴³ On the other hand, Milorad Dodik, an ethnic Serb politician, in his capacity as the Chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, condemned the signature as illegal.⁴⁴

³³ 'Turkey Attacks China "Genocide"', *BBC News*, 10 July 2009: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8145451.stm> (accessed 16 March 2022).

³⁴ M. Akyol, 'How China Coopted Turkey to Forsake the Uyghurs,' Hudson Institute, 26 January 2022: <https://www.hudson.org/research/17493-how-china-coopted-turkey-to-forsake-the-uyghurs> (accessed 5 July 2022).

³⁵ Akçay 2021: ¶9.

³⁶ A. Kashgarian, 'Organization of Islamic Cooperation Accused of Ignoring Uyghur Muslims in China,' *Voice of America*, 25 March 2022: <https://www.voanews.com/a/organization-of-islamic-cooperation-accused-of-ignoring-uyghur-muslims-in-china/6501070.html> (accessed 5 July 2022).

³⁷ 'Turkish Foreign Minister Brings Up 'Sensitivities' Of Uyghur Treatment In Visit To China,' *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, 12 January 2022: <https://www.rferl.org/a/turkey-china-visit-uyghurs-cavusoglu/31651339.html> (accessed 5 July 2022).

³⁸ 'Chinese Bank To Loan \$3.6 Billion To Turkey,' *TRT World*, 27 July 2018: <https://www.trtworld.com/turkey/chinese-bank-to-loan-3-6-billion-to-turkey-19186> (accessed 17 March 2022).

³⁹ J. Kashgary, 'Turkey Closes Uyghur School In Istanbul After China Complains,' *Radio Free Asia*, 28 February 2022: <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/hira-school-02282022192306.html#:~:text=Authorities%20in%20Istanbul%20closed%20a,the%20parents%20of%20students%20said> (accessed 18 March 2022).

⁴⁰ A. Kashgarian, 'Turkey Turns Down Citizenship for Some Uyghurs,' *Voice of America*, 16 March 2022: <https://www.voanews.com/a/turkey-turns-down-citizenship-for-some-uyghurs/6488401.html> (accessed 5 July 2022). Q.v., Akçay 2021.

⁴¹ K. Eficendic, 'OIC Invites Bosnia to Become Full Member,' *Balkan Insight*, 16 April 2013: <https://balkaninsight.com/2013/04/16/bosnia-called-to-join-islamic-cooperation-as-full-member/> (accessed 5 July 2022).

⁴² E.g., see this photograph from the Facebook group, 'Talk East Turkestan', posted on 18 January 2022: <https://facebook.com/TalkEastTurkestan/photos/a.1915518072042635/2497445240516579/> (accessed 5 July 2022).

⁴³ 'Bosnia And Herzegovina's FM Signed Xinjiang-Related Statement Without Authorisation: Chairman Of Presidency,' *Global Times*, 24 June 2021: <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202106/1227054.shtml> (accessed 16 March 2022).

Albania

Despite having close relations during the Cold War, Albania has found itself in the PRC's diplomatic crosshairs during the crisis in XUAR. In 2006, when five Uyghurs from the XUAR were released from the US facility in Guantanamo Bay, it was Albania who agreed to host them. Beijing pressured Tirana to return them to the PRC, but the latter did not.⁴⁵ To little fanfare, Albania has since publicly criticised the repression of Muslim minorities in the PRC.⁴⁶ Albania was also one of three OIC member states, alongside Uzbekistan and Saudi Arabia, who sent a single athlete to the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics.⁴⁷ Coupled with the lack of senior political representation in Albania's delegation, this decision can be seen as a minor rebuke toward Beijing.

Policy Recommendations

- Clearly, the OIC needs internal unity among its member states in order to pursue a coherent policy toward the PRC and XUAR. A special envoy for Islamophobia or Muslim minorities should be created within the OIC as a permanent rotating position. It can be given a global remit so as to not target the PRC directly, thereby arousing Beijing's ire, but its first case should obviously be the XUAR.
- While the fate of the OSCE is in some doubt due to the recent crisis within Ukraine – and no doubt Russia, an important OSCE member state, will be leery of criticizing the PRC, as Beijing is a critical ally of Moscow – nevertheless the OSCE should institute a special envoy on the same model as that which is recommended here for the OIC.
- For precedence, the OIC can look to the recent effort by The Gambia to bring Myanmar to trial for its actions against the

Rohingya in 2017, while the OSCE can look to the effort it began in Porto in 2004 to address the situation of Sinti and Roma minorities.

- More generally, member states of both the OIC and OSCE should follow the example of Albania and reject pressure from Beijing to return Uyghurs, as well as Tibetans and democracy activists from the PRC. Member states should also receive asylum seekers from the PRC.

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⁴⁵ 'China Wants Albania To Hand Over Uyghurs,' *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, 28 July 2006: <https://www.rferl.org/a/1070167.html> (accessed 14 March 2022).

⁴⁶ E.g., 'Statement on the 20th Anniversary of UNSCR 1325 on "Women, Peace And Security",' Ambassador James S. Gilmore III to the Permanent Council, Vienna, OSCE, 22 October 2020: <https://osce.usmission.gov/state-ment-on-the-20th-anniversary-of-unscr-1325-on-women-peace-and-security/> (accessed 5 July 2022).

⁴⁷ S. Smith and J. Jett, 'Uyghur athlete delivers Olympic flame in opening ceremony after global criticism of China,' *NBC News*, 4 February 2022: <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/winter-olympics-opening-ceremony-bei-jing-china-rcna14511> (accessed 16 March 2022).

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