

ISLAMOPHOBIA

LEADS TO THE PERSECUTION AND
GENOCIDE OF MUSLIM MINORITIES

UYGHURS IN CHINA • ROHINGYA IN BURMA • MUSLIMS IN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC • INDIAN MUSLIMS

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ISBN # 978-1-960709-03-5

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Aiden Alexio

Preface

It was an editorial in the New York Times that warned against hate speech and violence directed toward minorities, entitled “Deadly Alliances Against Muslims.” Published in 2014, the editorial alerted the world about the Indian paramilitary organization Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), which was collaborating with extremists in Burma and Sri Lanka against their Muslim minorities. The editorial highlighted the responsibility of the international community to speak out against this danger.

During that same year, South Africa’s Desmond Tutu became the only world leader to give a warning about the genocide in the Central African Republic (CAR). Within a year of his warning, which went unheeded, almost the entirety of the country’s Muslim population had become refugees, forced into residing in neighboring countries. As well, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations declared that almost all of the 436 mosques in the Central African Republic had been destroyed in 2014.

By now, the United States has determined that Muslim minorities in both Burma and China—the Rohingya and the Uyghur respectively—have been subjected to genocide. Unfortunately, little work has been done by any international entity to determine the genocidal nature of the persecution of the Central African Republic’s Muslim minority. The Early Warning Project of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum does warn of high-risk mass killings occurring again in the CAR as well as in India. But their warnings are being ignored, just as Desmond Tutu’s warnings were ignored in 2014, and Genocide Watch’s emergency alerts about India are being ignored today, thanks to interest in geo-strategic relations with India.

Islamophobia kills.

To prevent both the persecution and the genocide of Muslim minorities, the world needs to address the source of this violence: Islamophobia, be it in Western democracies or in the Global South, where Muslim minority communities are increasingly more vulnerable. They face rampant discrimination, ghettoization, and persecution. And these Muslim minorities are not a small number. About 500 million Muslims—one-third of the global Muslim population—live as minorities in 149 countries around the globe.

To our knowledge, this report is the first meaningful effort to provide insight into how Islamophobia is leading to genocide and persecution of Muslim minorities.

I am thankful to our team member, Aiden Alexio, who is the author of this report. Thanks are also due to Zahir Adil, Adem Carroll, Zahirah Eppard for editing, and Abdullah Ibrahim for graphic design.

Abdul Malik Mujahid
President
Justice For All

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Executive Summary

This report focuses on Islamophobia and its relation to genocide in four countries of concern: China, Burma, the Central African Republic, and India. In each of these four countries Islamophobia has either led to a genocide that is currently underway, or has created the conditions for a genocide to occur in the future. This report also highlights the obligation on the international community, including the United States and Canada, to prevent and punish the crime of genocide pursuant to the Genocide Convention as well as customary international law.

China’s Uyghur Muslims: Victims of Genocide and Extreme Suppression

In China, Islamophobic perceptions that Muslims represent a national security and terrorism threat has led to the criminalization of practicing the Islamic faith, particularly for the Uyghurs in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. The Chinese Government has arbitrarily detained up to two million Uyghurs in what they term as “re-education camps”. In reality, these detention facilities are concentration camps according to witness accounts.¹ Chinese authorities subject the Uyghurs to forced labor,² force Uyghur children into indoctrinating schools,³ suppress cultural and religious belief inside and outside the camps,⁴ destroy historical mosques,⁵ and employ intrusive surveillance techniques over the entire Uyghur population.⁶ A systematic campaign has also been employed to reduce Uyghur birth rates, through methods such as forced sterilization.⁷ There have also been credible reports of the Uyghurs being subjected to organ harvesting.⁸ Despite extensive evidence of the grave human rights abuses faced by the Uyghurs, China’s response to criticism has been one of denial.

The United States Secretary of State, the Canadian House of Commons, and Canadian Subcommittee on International Human Rights have all recognized the oppression of the Uyghurs as a genocide.

Burma’s Rohingya Muslims: Victims of Genocide and Mass Displacement

In Burma, the systematic promotion of Islamophobia and the narrative that the Rohingya Muslims are “Bengali foreigners” and a “problem” has been an important driver in their severe persecution. For decades, the Rohingya Muslim minority have been systematically disenfranchised and been the victims of grave human rights abuses by Burmese military leaders as well as Buddhist nationalists. In 2017, the Burmese army and other security forces launched a pre-planned military operation against the Rohingya Muslim minority in Rakhine State, which forced almost one million Rohingya to flee their homes and seek refuge in Bangladesh.⁹ The genocidal attacks included the burning, looting, and razing of entire villages, seizure of property, mass killings, as well as systematic sexual violence.¹⁰ At least 10,000 Rohingya were murdered,¹¹ and almost 400 villages burned.¹²

The Rohingya who have been forcibly displaced to Bangladesh endure one of the largest refugee crises

in the world,¹³ where they face poor conditions in overcrowded refugee camps.¹⁴ The Rohingya who managed to remain in Burma continue to suffer from state persecution, such as arbitrary detentions,¹⁵ deprivation of liberty,¹⁶ and discriminatory laws.¹⁷ Moreover, in February 2021 the Burmese military staged a coup in Burma which plunged the country into civil war.¹⁸ Peaceful protests are met with mass arrests and violence from the military, who have opened fire on protestors.¹⁹

The United States Secretary of State has formally recognized mass killings perpetrated against the Rohingya Muslims of Burma in 2017 as genocide.²⁰ Additionally, The Gambia filed a case under the Genocide Convention at the International Court of Justice, seeking redress for the atrocities committed against the Rohingya. However to date, there has been little accountability for those responsible for the genocide.

Central African Republic's Muslims: Targeted for Extermination

The genocide of Muslim minorities in the Central African Republic (CAR) commenced after a rebel group known as "Séléka" staged a coup and took over the country in 2013. In response, a counter rebel group known as the "Anti-Balaka" was formed, who targeted Muslim civilians based on Islamophobic narratives and as a scapegoat for the actions of the Séléka rebel group. Specifically, Muslim civilians were considered to be foreigners to CAR and terrorists, and the "solution" was that they should leave the country or be killed. Sectarian violence in CAR continues to this day, with the primary victims of attacks being Muslim minority civilians.²¹

Muslims have been subjected to grave human rights abuses by various parties including rebel groups, CAR authorities, as well as state-sanctioned Russian foreign fighters.²² Specifically, Muslim communities have been the victims of pogroms, lootings, lynchings, enforced disappearances, arbitrary arrests and detentions, inhumane treatment, extrajudicial and indiscriminate killings, torture, and sexual violence.²³ Due to the increasing conflict and instability in the country, to date over 1.1 million Central Africans have been displaced, the vast majority being Muslim.²⁴ Muslims civilians who remain in CAR live in a climate of fear and face significant discrimination. They are subject to an informal "Muslim Tax," and almost all their places of worship have been destroyed.²⁵

The political unrest and sectarian violence that began in 2013 resulted in an extermination of Muslims and their places of worship. Multiple actions prohibited under the Genocide Convention were committed, and the situation has never improved for the victims.

India's Muslims: A Minority Subjected to Persecution and a Slow Genocide

India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi as well as his Hindu nationalist party, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), have been increasingly using Islamophobic narratives to place Indian Muslims under state-enabled attacks. The BJP is the political arm of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a Hindu nationalist paramilitary organization. Prime Minister Modi is also a member of the RSS.²⁶

Indian media has become a tool for vilifying Muslims by spreading disinformation, depicting harmful stereotypes, and holding debates that allow religious fanatics to use their platforms to spew hate and anti-national rhetoric against Muslims.²⁷ As a result, the country has become polarized between Hindus and Muslims.²⁸ Open calls for genocide against Muslims is now an ongoing occurrence, and through the silence of the Modi regime, such calls for genocide enjoy a tacit acceptance. BJP & RSS leaders and supporters have made these calls themselves and have participated in religious parliaments where such calls were made.²⁹

Indian states have also passed laws which are blatantly discriminatory towards Muslims, such as the

banning of the hijab at schools and colleges, anti-conversion laws targeting inter-faith marriages (derogatorily termed as “Love-Jihad” laws), laws targeting halal food, as well as national laws which could render Muslims stateless and make it more difficult for Muslims to obtain citizenship.³⁰

In 2019, the Indian Government stripped the region of Kashmir of its special status and autonomy by interpreting the constitution to its benefit.³¹ Since then, India has dramatically extended its control over the Kashmir region, mobilized an increased military presence, and intensified the repression against Kashmiris.³² Kashmir is one of the most militarized zones in the world, and human rights violations have increased.³³ Human-rights violations by Indian forces include mass killings, extrajudicial executions, enforced disappearances, torture, rape, sexual violence, and the detaining of children.³⁴

The Indian Government has largely adopted a stance of denial towards the situation faced by Muslims in the country and has instead directed violence and the use of draconian laws against peaceful protesters. There has also been a failure to hold the perpetrators of violence (such as Indian security forces and vigilante groups) accountable for their actions. If a concerted effort to stop the genocidal processes occurring in India is not made immediately, Hindu nationalists may well act on their declared plans for a Muslim genocide.

Pursuant to the Genocide Convention as well as international customary law, the international community, including the United States and Canada, must take immediate steps to prevent genocides from happening in each of the four countries listed above, as well as punish those who have perpetrated such crimes.

Introduction

1.1 Islamophobia Is Causing Persecution and the Genocide of Muslim Minorities

Islamophobia has a wide range of negative effects for Muslim minorities across the globe. In this report, we will focus on Islamophobia and its relation to genocide in four countries of particular concern: China, Burma, the Central African Republic (CAR), and India. In each of these four countries, according to leading experts and scholars of genocide:

- a) Islamophobia is the driving force behind a genocide against Muslim minorities currently in progress, or
- b) Islamophobia has created the conditions for a genocide against Muslim minorities to occur in the future.

The United States Secretary of State has already determined that a genocide has taken place for the Uyghurs in China and the Rohingya in Burma. With respect to CAR, Genocide Watch, a reputable non-governmental organization, has already declared a genocidal emergency as tremendous violence has occurred against Muslim minorities. Finally, for India, Genocide Watch has issued two genocide alerts and a genocidal emergency has also been declared.

This report will begin with a definition of Islamophobia, followed by an account of how Islamophobia has been fueled by the global “War on Terror.” The concept of genocide will be expanded upon, with specific reference to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (the “Genocide Convention”),³⁵ as well as international customary law. The “10 Stages of Genocide” as defined by Genocide Watch, will also be employed as a means of assessing each country. This is a common method of categorizing and describing genocidal situations in countries across the globe. We will demonstrate why there is a responsibility on the international community, including the United States and Canada, to take measures to prevent genocide now and punish those responsible for committing it.

Finally, an overall conclusion will be presented with specific recommendations for the United States, Canada, the United Nations, and Civil Society.

1.2 Islamophobia Explained

Islamophobia is defined as an irrational fear, prejudice and hatred of Muslims. It leads to threats, harassment, abuse, violence, incitement to violence, and intimidation of Muslims.³⁶ Underlying Islamophobic narratives promote the belief that Islam is an alien and foreign religion that is incompatible with the beliefs of the majority.³⁷ In essence, the more alien Muslims are perceived as, the less Muslims are seen

as citizens and human beings by the rest of the society.³⁸

Islamophobic attitudes and anti-Muslim violence has increased dramatically over the world over the past 20 years.³⁹ This ranges from hate speech on social media to illegal detention, torture, and extrajudicial killings under the pretext of countering violent extremism. Today, Islamophobia is contributing to an unprecedented assault on human rights, religious freedom, and the very existence of Muslims.⁴⁰

1.3 How the Global “War on Terror” has Fueled Islamophobia Globally

Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and other horrific acts of terrorism purportedly carried out in the name of Islam, institutional suspicion of Muslims and those perceived to be Muslim has escalated to epidemic proportions.⁴¹ Numerous states, as well as regional and international bodies, have responded to security threats by adopting measures that disproportionately target Muslims and define Muslims at risk of radicalization.⁴² Concurrently, widespread negative representations of Islam, and harmful stereotypes that depict Muslims and their culture and beliefs as a threat, have served to perpetuate discrimination, hostility and violence towards Muslim communities.⁴³

Studies have demonstrated that the number of Islamophobic hate crimes frequently increases following terrorist attacks or anniversaries of such attacks. Innocent Muslims are the victims of such response attacks. These “trigger events” illustrate how Islamophobia attributes a collective responsibility to all Muslims for the actions of very few.⁴⁴

The Global “War on Terror” has become an easy justification used by nation-states to mask Islamophobia.⁴⁵ In the cases of China, Burma, and India, their Islamophobic campaigns are historically and territorially entrenched within the political and social fabric.⁴⁶ Xenophobic perceptions that Muslims represent a national security and terrorism threat has led to the denial of citizenship and immigration status, as well as to violence.⁴⁷ The targeting of innocent, unarmed Muslim civilians cannot be justified as counter-terrorism operations.⁴⁸

1.4 Genocide Defined – The Genocide Convention and Related Responsibilities

The Genocide Convention is an instrument of international law which for the first time codified the crime of genocide.⁴⁹ It was an important global milestone as it was the first human rights treaty adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, and signified the international community’s commitment to never again witness the atrocities committed during World War II.⁵⁰ Article II of the Genocide Convention sets out the definition of the crime of genocide, which has been widely adopted at both national and international levels.⁵¹

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.⁵²

It is important to stress that, as per the wording of the Genocide Convention above, the commission of any of the five prohibited acts with the intent to destroy a particular group constitutes genocide. Further, Article I of the Genocide Convention clarifies that genocide is a crime that can take place both in times

of war as well as times of peace.⁵³ Moreover, not only is genocide punishable, but also conspiracy to commit genocide, direct and public incitement to commit genocide, attempts to commit genocide, and complicity in genocide.⁵⁴ Importantly, the Genocide Convention establishes an obligation to take measures to prevent and punish the crime of genocide,⁵⁵ including by enacting the necessary legislation⁵⁶ and punishing the persons responsible, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials, or private individuals.⁵⁷

The Genocide Convention has been ratified or acceded to by 152 countries, including the United States and Canada, who are thus subject to its provisions and obligations.⁵⁸ It is worth noting that the International Court of Justice (ICJ) has stated that the Genocide Convention embodies principles that are part of international customary law, and thus such principles are binding on all countries, irrespective of whether they have ratified/acceded to the Genocide Convention or not.⁵⁹

1.5 The Ten Stages of Genocide

Genocide is a process that develops in ten stages that are predictable, but not impossible to prevent.⁶⁰ The following ten stages were developed by Dr. Gregory Stanton, President of Genocide Watch. Dr. Stanton is a former research professor of genocide studies and prevention at the George Mason University in Virginia.⁶¹ The ten stages are:

- 1. Classification** – Division of “us” and “them.” The differences between people are not respected.
- 2. Symbolization** – The visual manifestation of hatred. For example, Jews in Nazi occupied Europe were forced to wear the yellow Star of David.
- 3. Discrimination** – The dominant group utilizes the law, customs, and political power to deny rights of another group. Powerless groups may be deprived of civil rights, voting rights, or citizenship, and their victimization is legitimized.
- 4. Dehumanization** – Those perceived as “different” are treated with no human rights or personal dignity.
- 5. Organization** – The planning of genocide. Regimes of hatred often train those who go on to carry out genocide.
- 6. Polarization** – The spreading of propaganda to spread and incite messages of hate. Laws may forbid intermarriage or social interactions and limit civil liberties.
- 7. Preparation** – The populace is indoctrinated with fear of the victim group, coupled with a sudden increase in inflammatory rhetoric and hate propaganda. Often the perpetrators cloak their intentions, such as referring to “counter-terrorism” or “purification.”
- 8. Persecution** – Victims are identified and separated based on their national, ethnic, racial, or religious identity. Basic human rights are violated through forced displacement, torture, and extrajudicial killings, and their property is often removed. Victims may be segregated into ghettos, deported, or starved.
- 9. Extermination** – There is a deliberate and systematic campaign of violence. While the goal of total genocide is to kill all members of the targeted group, most genocides happen in part. Mass rapes of women have become a characteristic of all modern genocides and are used as a means to genetically alter and destroy the victim group, or change the demographics. The destruction

of cultural and religious property is also employed to annihilate the victim group's existence from history.

10. Denial – The perpetrators or later generations deny the existence of any crime. Evidence is destroyed and witnesses are intimidated. The investigations of crimes are blocked.⁶²

At each stage, preventative measures can stop the genocide. The process is not linear, and stages can occur simultaneously.⁶³ As is clear from these ten stages, genocide does not occur in a vacuum. Hate speech is an integral part of state-organized persecution, and serves the function of preparing the population psychologically for crimes planned by state leaders.⁶⁴ Hate speech regularly, if not inevitably, precedes and accompanies instances of ethnic conflict, including genocide.⁶⁵ In fact, in many of the world's recent cases of mass atrocities, hate speech has been identified as a precursor to genocide.⁶⁶ Without the incitement to hatred and the perpetration of xenophobic or racist sentiments, hate mongering campaigns would rarely garner support and genocide would not be possible.⁶⁷

While the use of social media and digital platforms to spread hate is relatively recent, the weaponization of public discourse used by leaders for political gain is not new.⁶⁸ For example, the Nazi regime adopted laws and regulations to stifle Germany's independent media, and replaced it with state-controlled media which disseminated hate speech, antisemitic and racist stereotypes, disinformation and lies.⁶⁹ The Nazis also propagated a number of laws which discriminated against the Jewish population, such as barring them from civil service and forbidding them from German Citizenship and intermarriage.⁷⁰ However, Hitler and the Nazis were not content with the discriminatory laws, and in 1942 they pursued the "final solution" for the extermination of European Jews; sending the continent's Jews to death camps where they would be subjected to forced labor, and killed.⁷¹

The hate mongering of the Nazis contributed significantly to the normalizing of atrocities, and facilitated the planned and systematic persecution and destruction of approximately 6 million Jewish people.⁷² As stated by Adama Dieng, UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide:

Genocide is a process. The Holocaust did not start with the gas chambers. It started with hate speech.⁷³

Thus, in order to prevent genocidal crimes and violence, it is important to address the problem of systematic incitement of hatred.⁷⁴ This report will focus on the specific form of hatred known as Islamophobia, and its relation to genocide in China, Burma, CAR, and India.

Islamophobic Hate Rhetoric

Country	China	Burma	Central African Republic	India
Violence Directed at Muslims	<p>"You can't uproot all the weeds hidden among the crops in the field one-by-one; you need to spray chemicals to kill them all." – Chinese Official in Kashgar, referring to the Uyghurs⁷⁵</p> <p>"Break their lineage, break their roots, break their connections, and break their origins. Completely shovel up the roots of "two-faced people," dig them out, and vow to fight these two-faced people until the end". – Maisumujiang Maimuer, Chinese religious affairs official⁷⁶</p>	<p>"Kill all the kalars that you see in Myanmar; none of them should be left alive." – Social Media Post, potentially from the Burma Military and Buddhist National Groups who systematically flooded Facebook with hate-filled rhetoric leading up to the 2017 Rohingya genocide. A "kalar" is a pejorative term for the Rohingya.⁷⁷</p> <p>"We will genocide all of the Muslims and feed them to the dogs" – Facebook Page, potentially created by the Burma Military and Buddhist National Groups⁷⁸</p>	<p>"Our hunt is not yet finished, we are not finished. We will not stop until every Muslim leaves this country. I don't care about the consequences, and to show you I will cut the throat of a Muslim in front of you." - Anti-Balaka Fighter⁷⁹</p> <p>"They must all leave, or die. We will eliminate them all if they don't leave immediately. That's how it is" – Anti-Balaka Fighter⁸⁰</p>	<p>"...like in Myanmar, the police here, the politicians here, the army and every Hindu must pick up weapons and we will have to conduct this cleanliness drive (safai abhiyan). There is no solution apart from this." - Swami Prabodhanand Giri, president of the Hindu Raksha Sena, a right-wing organisation based out of Uttarakhand, with ties to the BJP. This statement was mentioned at the infamous "Dharma Sansad" or "Hindu Religious Parliament"⁸¹</p> <p>"Jab mulle kaate jayenge, Ram-Ram chillayenge" (Muslims will scream Ram-Ram when they will be slaughtered) and "Hindustan me rehna hoga, Jai Shree Ram kehna hoga" (You will have to chant Glory to Lord Ram, if you want to live in India). - Ashwini Upadhyay, leader of the BJP Delhi Unit and Practicing Lawyer at the Supreme Court of India⁸²</p>
Muslims are Categorized as Terrorists or Extremists	<p>"Xinjiang-related issues are not human rights issues at all, but issues of counter-terrorism, de-radicalisation and anti-separatism" - China's Foreign Ministry⁸³</p> <p>"The training has only one purpose: to learn laws and regulations...to eradicate from the mind thoughts about religious extremism and violent terrorism, and to cure ideological diseases. If the education is not going well, we will continue to provide free education, until the students achieve satisfactory results and graduate smoothly." – Chinese Communist Youth League Xinjiang Branch⁸⁴</p>	<p>"May the terrorist dog kalars fall fast and die horrible deaths" - Social Media Post, potentially from the Burma Military and Buddhist National Groups⁸⁵</p>	<p>"Muslims have forfeited their right to remain in CAR by supporting the Séléka rebel movement and "selling [the] country to terrorists" - Anti-Balaka Fighter⁸⁶</p>	<p>"Muslims want to convert India into an Islamic state. Law should be brought to control the population in the country." - Haribhushan Thakur Bachaul, BJP politician⁸⁷</p> <p>"If any Muslim citizen of India identifies with or glorifies Islamic rule in India he should be declared a defeated alien since Hindus braving gross brutality uprooted Islamic rule from India Muslims of India should instead accept based on DNA, that they are descendants of Hindus" - Subramanian Swamy, BJP politician⁸⁸</p>

<p>Muslims Are Repopulating Too Fast / Do not Belong in the Country</p>	<p>“Religious extremism begets re-marriages and illegal extra births” – Xinjiang Government broadcast on ethnic unity⁸⁹</p> <p>“De-extremification is an opportunity to eliminate the influence and interference of religion on family planning” – Hotan Prefecture Government⁹⁰</p> <p>“Religion must not be used to interfere in...family planning” – PRC Central Government⁹¹</p> <p>“It is undeniable that the wave of extremist religious thinking has fueled a resurgence in birth rates in Xinjiang’s southern regions with concentrated Uyghur populations” – Chinese Academic Paper (Journal of Ethnology)⁹²</p>	<p>“These Bengali people, their birth rate is so much higher than us – if they live on, we will be under their rule soon.” - Social Media Post directed at the Rohingya⁹³</p> <p>“[The] native place of the Bengalis is really Bengal. Therefore, they might have fled to the other country with the same language, race and culture as theirs by assuming that they would be safer there.” - Former General Hlaing (now leader of the country)⁹⁴</p>	<p>“We don’t want any more Muslims in our country.” - Anti-Balaka Fighter⁹⁵</p> <p>“The Muslims must leave. That is the only solution. Many of the Christian inhabitants of Boda are grateful to the anti-balaka and continuously repeat the phrase, ‘the Muslims must go’” – Anti-Balaka Fighter⁹⁶</p> <p>“[CAR] belongs to Central Africans”, whom the Anti-Balaka define as Christians and traditionalists, and all Muslims must leave CAR- Anti-Balaka Fighter⁹⁷</p>	<p>“The resources in the country are very limited but some people want to increase the population and capture and turn India into an Islamic country”- Haribhushan Thakur Bachaul, BJP politician⁹⁸</p> <p>“In 1947, the country [India] was divided in the name of religion and they got another country [Pakistan]. They should go to another country. If they are living here, then I demand from the government that their voting rights be withdrawn. They [Muslims] can live in India as second-class citizens.” - Haribhushan Thakur Bachaul, BJP Member of Legislative Assembly⁹⁹</p>
<p>Discriminatory or Dehumanizing Statements Directed at Muslims</p>	<p>“Freedom is only possible when the ‘virus’... is eradicated” – Official Communist Party Document¹⁰⁰</p> <p>Depicting Uyghurs as “malignant tumors,” comparing their faith to a “communicable plague”- Members of the Chinese Communist Party¹⁰¹</p>	<p>“We openly declare that absolutely, our country has no Rohingya race”- Former General Hlaing¹⁰²</p> <p>“[T]he Bengali problem was a long-standing one which has become an unfinished job despite the efforts of the previous governments to solve it. The government in office is taking great care in solving the problem.” - Former General Hlaing¹⁰³</p>	<p>Muslims are “Chadians” rather than CAR citizens - Anti-Balaka Fighter¹⁰⁴</p> <p>“Most of the Séléka fighters were foreigners; they were mistreating us in our own country, so I decided to join the anti-balaka to free our country from foreigners.”-Anti-Balaka Fighter¹⁰⁵</p>	<p>“No, not all people are equal, Muslims do not fall into the equal category.” - Subramanian Swamy, Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha, and one of the key leaders of the BJP party¹⁰⁶</p> <p>Muslim immigrants and asylum seekers from Bangladesh are “termites”– India’s current Home Minister Amit Shah, promising to rid the nation of them¹⁰⁷</p>
<p>Denial of wrongdoing</p>	<p>“Western countries are in no position to say what the human rights situation in China looks like” and “There is no so-called genocide in Xinjiang at all.”- Cong Peiwu, the Chinese ambassador to Canada¹⁰⁸</p> <p>“[f]acts have proven that there’s no genocide in Xinjiang. This is the lie of the century made up by extremely anti-China forces.” - Wang Wenbin, spokesperson for China’s Ministry of Foreign affairs¹⁰⁹</p>	<p>“[There was] no genocide in Rakhine” – Burmese Government, in response to the International Court of Justice’s decision ordering Burma to take emergency measures to prevent the genocide of the Rohingya¹¹⁰</p> <p>“[It is an] exaggeration to say that the number of Bengalis fleeing to Bangladesh is very large”- Former General Hlaing¹¹¹</p>	<p>“I know they were born here, but they are not Central Africans because they tried to kill the Central African Republic. Would someone who loves their country try and kill their country? We the nationalists have fought for our country, we deserve to stay here.” – Anti-Balaka Fighter¹¹²</p>	<p>“The country is on the path where every citizen should rest assured about their constitutional rights & their future. The country is on the path where no citizen would be left behind because of their religion and everyone would get equal opportunities so that everyone can fulfil their dreams.” – Prime Minister Modi, speaking at Aligarh Muslim University¹¹³</p>

Stages of Genocide Process

Country	China	Burma	Central African Republic	India
Stages of Genocide	Stage 9: Extermination	Stage 3: Discrimination Stage 8: Persecution Stage 9: Extermination	Stage 5: Organization Stage 6: Polarization Stage 8: Persecution Stage 9: Extermination	Stage 6: Polarization Stage 7: Preparation Stage 8: Persecution Stage 10: Denial
Muslims are Killed As a Result of their Religious Beliefs	✓	✓	✓	✓
Serious Bodily or Mental Harm Directed Towards Muslims	✓	✓	✓	✓
Deliberately Inflicting Conditions of Life Calculated to Bring About the Physical Destruction of Muslims	✓	✓	✓	✓
Preventing Muslim Births	✓	✓	X	X
The Forcible Transferring Muslim Children	✓	X	X	X
Mass Displacement of Muslims	✓	✓	✓	X
Destruction of Mosques	✓	✓	✓	✓
Muslims Dehumanized	✓	✓	✓	✓
Muslims Characterized as “Terrorists”	✓	✓	✓	✓
Violent Attacks against Peaceful Protestors	✓	✓	X	✓
Social Media Used as a Tool to Spread Hate Against Muslims	✓	✓	✓	✓
Denial of Wrongdoing by the Government / Perpetrators	✓	✓	✓	✓
Discriminatory Laws Enacted Against Muslims	✓	✓	✓	✓
Humanitarian Aid Blocked	✓	✓	✓	X
Lack of Accountability for Perpetrators of Grave Human Rights Violations	✓	✓	✓	✓

✓ = Country is guilty of committing the act

X = Country may or may not be guilty of committing the act

Uyghur Muslims: Victims of Genocide and Extreme Suppression

2.1 Introduction and Stage of Genocide

For several decades, the Chinese Government has systematically restricted the cultural, religious, and social practices of the Uyghurs in Eastern Turkestan (the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region).¹¹⁴ In simple terms, China is committing what Genocide Watch has described it as “an active and clear genocide in which the Uyghur people are being killed and forced to go against their religious beliefs and cultural practices.”¹¹⁵ In fact, the Uyghur genocide has been recognized by both the United States and Canadian governments. Specifically, in January 2021 a report entitled “Determination of the Secretary of State on Atrocities in Xinjiang”¹¹⁶ was released by former United States Secretary of State Michael Pompeo, which stated:

After careful examination of the available facts, I have determined that the PRC, under the direction and control of the CCP, has committed genocide against the predominantly Muslim Uyghurs and other ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang. I believe this genocide is ongoing, and that we are witnessing the systematic attempt to destroy Uyghurs by the Chinese party-state.¹¹⁷

The current United States Secretary of State, Antony Blinken, has stated that he agrees with this finding.¹¹⁸

Canada has repeatedly expressed grave concern with the ongoing grave human rights violations affecting Uyghurs and other Muslim communities in China.¹¹⁹ In fact, Canada’s House of Commons has already voted in favor of a motion to declare China’s treatment of the Uyghur minority population a genocide according to the definition set out in the Genocide Convention.¹²⁰ The motion itself did not lay out next steps, but rather says Canada should follow the lead of the United States.¹²¹ A similar motion to declare China’s mistreatment of the Uyghurs as a genocide was declined by the Canadian Senate.¹²²

Further, a March 2021 report of the Canadian Subcommittee on International Human Rights,¹²³ which reviewed extensive evidence of human rights violations stated the following:

The Subcommittee agrees with witnesses that the treatment of Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang amounts to genocide, as defined in the [Genocide Convention]. The Subcommittee shares the view that recognizing these actions as a genocide is important, because it substantiates existing obligations to take measures to prevent one from occurring according to Article I of the Genocide Convention.¹²⁴

The Subcommittee further concluded that at present the human rights violations are ongoing and have reached a new level of severity.¹²⁵

China's response has largely been to deny the allegations of genocide. For example, in response to Canada's House of Commons declaring a genocide in China, China responded by condemning and rejecting the motion, denying the genocide, and stating that Canada was interfering in China's domestic affairs.¹²⁶

Similar statements have been expressed by Chinese spokespersons. For example, Cong Peiwu, the Chinese ambassador to Canada, has stated "Western countries are in no position to say what the human rights situation in China looks like" and "There is no so-called genocide in Xinjiang at all."¹²⁷ Wang Wenbin, a spokesperson for China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has indicated that "[f]acts have proven that there's no genocide in Xinjiang. This is the lie of the century made up by extremely anti-China forces."¹²⁸

2.2 Islamophobia in China – History and Context

2.2.1 The Chinese Government's Position on Religion

To understand the issue of Islamophobia in China it is helpful to understand the religious position of the Chinese Government. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is officially atheist and does not consider Islam or Christianity to be part of Chinese culture.¹²⁹ The CCP considers religion to be poisonous and the antithesis of its political ideology, being communism.¹³⁰ This results in the CCP being highly intolerant of all religions, including Islam, and teachings in Chinese education, media, and politics discourage religion.¹³¹ For example, hostility towards religion is deeply ingrained in the primary school curriculum, which teaches children that religion is an anti-socialist and regressive ideology.¹³² There is also no alternative, independent media in China, nor any free social media.¹³³ Thus the Chinese people are forced to adopt whatever information the Chinese Government provides them with, and those who attempt to question the narrative are arrested and confined in detention centers.¹³⁴ Many journalists and writers have been jailed due to criticism of the Chinese government and an attempt to expose its abuses.¹³⁵ Due to such heavy propaganda, many Chinese citizens do not believe in religion, and regard those who are religious with suspicion and disgust.¹³⁶

2.2.2 The Ethnic Makeup of China and The Muslim Minority

The majority ethnic group in China are called "Han", who comprise more than 90% of the population.¹³⁷ What contributes to the sustenance of the CCP and its ideology is Chinese nationalism, as it can be appealing to the majority to have an only Chinese nation with no "foreigners".¹³⁸ Muslims in China are a minority comprising of approximately 20 million in number, and include a variety of ethnic groups including the Hui, Uyghurs, Khalkhas, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks.¹³⁹

Islamophobia in China manifests in two ways: 1) Islamophobia that targets all Muslim groups, who are discriminated against based on the CCP's atheist ideology which discourages religious practices, and 2) the state-specific genocide targeting the Muslim Uyghurs located in the northwest region of China called Xinjiang by the government and Eastern Turkestan by Uyghurs.¹⁴⁰ The Uyghurs are a Turkic ethnic group who bear strong resemblance to other Turkic Muslims based on their language and culture.¹⁴¹ It's worth noting that the Hui peoples have not been subjected to the same severe persecution of the Uyghurs, and some hypothesize that this may be due to the greater assimilation of the Hui into the Han culture, as the Hui have undergone a gradual sinicization of their Islamic beliefs.¹⁴²

2.2.3 9/11, The "War on Terror", and Its Effects on The Uyghurs

While Islamophobia is historically and territorially entrenched within the political and social fabric of China,¹⁴³ what is especially notable is the CCP's treatment and state-sponsored repression of the Uy-

ghur community since 9/11.¹⁴⁴ Specifically, after the 9/11 attacks, China took the opportunity to start using the “War on Terror” as the justification for their repression of the Uyghurs.¹⁴⁵ Religious practices were equated with terrorism and criminalized, which further legitimized persecution on behalf of the government.¹⁴⁶ The Chinese government has characterized all expressions of Islam in Eastern Turkestan as extremism, which is a reaction to past independence movements and occasional violence.¹⁴⁷ Due to heavy propaganda on behalf of the Chinese government, the majority of the Han population believe that the repression of the Uyghur peoples is necessary for Chinese security.¹⁴⁸

Recent decades have seen the migration of many Han Chinese citizens into the region. For example, Chinese authorities have been offering incentives to Han Chinese citizens to set up businesses and residences in East Turkistan.¹⁴⁹ The goal for such resettlement plans is to challenge the Uyghur’s legitimate claim to their homeland and change the demographic character of Eastern Turkestan. A similar demographic invasion is happening in Tibet, with the goal of both locations being colonization.¹⁵⁰

The migration of Han Chinese citizens into Xinjiang, coupled with the religious persecution of the Uyghurs has led to the growing discontentment and support for separatist movements.¹⁵¹ Specifically, some Uyghurs living in the Xinjiang region refer to it as “East Turkestan” and claim that it should be separate from China.¹⁵² In July 2009, a series of riots occurred leading to the deaths of 197 people, mostly of Han Chinese origin. The riots broke out as mostly Uyghur demonstrators were protesting against the government incentivised Han Chinese migration into the area and widespread discrimination.¹⁵³ As a result of these riots the Chinese Government launched the “Strike Hard Against Violent Terrorism” campaign.¹⁵⁴ This event constituted a turning point, as all Uyghurs were perceived to be potential terrorists or terrorist sympathizers.¹⁵⁵ In the following years the Uyghurs were blamed for attacks on a local government office, train station, market, and Tiananmen Square in Beijing.¹⁵⁶ The Chinese government has blamed the terrorist attacks on the “East Turkestan Islamic Movement”,¹⁵⁷ however in 2020 the United States removed this group from its list of terrorist organizations, clarifying that there is no credible evidence that the group has operated for at least a decade.¹⁵⁸ In essence, the CCP has adopted a policy of “preventative repression” against perceived religious extremism and separatism which has transformed Eastern Turkestan into a mass surveillance state.¹⁵⁹

2.2.4 Genocide Denial and Hate Speech by Chinese Officials

As mentioned above, China has largely denied the allegations of genocide against the Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities in the country.

For example, Chinese foreign ministry spokesperson Zhao Lijian is quoted as saying:

Some individual countries like the U.S., Canada and the U.K. have been seeking to attack and smear China under the guise of human rights, making and spreading disinformation, and abusing the platform of the UN Human Rights Council... They have human rights issues like racism, gun violence, forced labour, child labour, and the list goes on and on... the world will see the facts and come to a fair judgment... If these countries think they can deceive the international community, jeopardize the prosperity, stability and sustainable development of Xinjiang and hamstring China’s development by fabricating lies on Xinjiang, that will be like trying to hold back the tide with a broom... Failure will be their fate!¹⁶⁰

There has also been a shift in blame from Chinese authorities towards the victims. For example, China’s foreign ministry has stated that “Xinjiang-related issues are not human rights issues at all, but issues of counter-terrorism, de-radicalisation and anti-separatism”¹⁶¹ These three issues are framed at the “three evil forces” China is fighting in Xinjiang, which require “training measures” to combat them.¹⁶² In other words, the idea of “training” Uyghurs has been portrayed as ‘eradicating from their minds’ religious

extremism and violent terrorism, and curing “ideological diseases”.¹⁶³

Chilling and dehumanizing comments have been made by Chinese officials against the Uyghurs, for example depicting Uyghurs as “malignant tumors,” comparing their faith to a “communicable plague,” and encouraging those faithful to the CCP to implement a crushing blow, telling them “you can’t uproot all the weeds hidden among the crops in the field one-by-one; you need to spray chemicals to kill them all.”¹⁶⁴

Another telling example is the following quote of Maisumujiang Maimuer, Chinese religious affairs official, who stated the following:

Break their lineage, break their roots, break their connections, and break their origins. Completely shovel up the roots of “two-faced people,” dig them out, and vow to fight these two-faced people until the end.¹⁶⁵

Finally, the Uyghurs have also been framed as one of the five “poisons” in China, along with Tibetans, Chinese democrats, Taiwanese independence advocates, and Falun Gong practitioners.¹⁶⁶

2.3 Genocide Stage 9: Extermination

2.3.1 The Forcible Detention of the Uyghurs & Associated Human Rights Abuses

Today, approximately two million Uyghurs are arbitrarily imprisoned in approximately 1,300 so-called “re-education camps” in Xinjiang, which are essentially state-run detention centers.¹⁶⁷ Most of the Uyghurs detained in the re-education centers were never charged with a crime, nor had any legal avenue to challenge their detention.¹⁶⁸ Detainees are targeted for a number of reasons, including travelling to or contacting individuals from 26 countries China considers sensitive (such as Turkey and Afghanistan), attending mosques, having more than three children, or sending messages containing verses from the Quran.¹⁶⁹ Often their only crime is being Muslim, and they are targeted and labelled as extremists for practicing their religion.¹⁷⁰

Chinese authorities maintain that the detention centers are “vocational education centers”, which are designed to teach the Mandarin language, Chinese laws, vocational skills, and prevent citizens from being influenced by extremist ideas.¹⁷¹ In reality the centers are more akin to prisons with terrible conditions.¹⁷² For example, it has been reported that the facilities contain cameras and microphones to monitor the population closely.¹⁷³ Some activists go so far as to label these facilities as concentration camps.¹⁷⁴ Grave human rights abuses occur at these facilities, as the victims are often subject to indoctrination, torture, beaten, and the women are raped.¹⁷⁵

A 2022 report issued by the UN Human Rights Office found that these facilities contained:

...patterns of torture or other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, other violations of the right of persons deprived of their liberty to be treated humanely and with dignity, as well as violations of the right to health. Allegations were also made of instances of sexual and gender-based violence [in the] facilities, including of rape, which also appear credible and would in themselves amount to acts of torture or other forms of ill-treatment...

The [Chinese] Government’s blanket denials of all allegations, as well as its gendered and humiliating attacks on those who have come forward to share their experiences... have added to the indignity and suffering of survivors.¹⁷⁶

2.3.2 Forced Labor of Uyghurs in Detention Camps

There have also been numerous reports that have found that the Uyghurs detained in Xinjiang are subjected to forced labor in the detention facilities, which produces goods for the international market. As a result, it is worth noting that the international supply chain from this region could be tainted with human rights violations.¹⁷⁷ In fact, as a response the United States Government passed the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act,¹⁷⁸ which assumes that any product partly or wholly produced in Xinjiang is linked to the region's labor facilities.¹⁷⁹ Industries that may be affected include the cotton industry, as 20% of the world's cotton comes from China, with 84% of this cotton coming from Xinjiang. Moreover, the world's supply of solar panels may be affected by such tainted labor and human rights abuses.¹⁸⁰

Despite Canada's changing customs law as of mid-2020 to prohibit imports that were made as a result of forced labor, there are still gaps left unaddressed by Canada's laws, policies, and enforcement. For example, the penalties that can be incurred by enforcement action in the United States are heavier and more defined. Moreover, there is a higher standard of evidence required for enforcement action to be taken in Canada compared to the United States. As a result, the number of shipments detained in the United States is much higher than that of Canada.¹⁸¹ World governments, particularly the Government of Canada, should ensure that an effective legal framework is put in place to avoid purchasing products that are tainted with human rights abuses.

2.3.3 The Forcible Displacement of Uyghur Children

Approximately 500,000 Uyghur and Muslim children have been taken from their homes and placed in state orphanages, where they undergo political indoctrination.¹⁸² The Uyghur language has been banned for children's education, and the relocated Uyghur children are taught Mandarin Chinese exclusively.¹⁸³ According to Article II(e) the Genocide Convention, the act of forcibly transferring children, combined with the intent to destroy the group in whole or in part, constitutes genocide which requires action by state parties pursuant to Article I.

2.3.4 Mass Over-Surveillance of Uyghurs

The CCP has been using high-tech surveillance in Xinjiang to supervise and monitor the Uyghur population as well as other Muslims outside of the "re-education" camps.¹⁸⁴ Specifically, Xinjiang has been placed under a grid management system, in which villages and cities are divided into squares of about 500 people each. Each square has a police station that closely monitors the population by scanning their identification cards, taking their photographs and searching their cell phones.¹⁸⁵ Much of this information is collected in a database known as the "Integrated Joint Operations Platform", which uses artificial intelligence to create lists of persons deemed suspicious.¹⁸⁶

Moreover, the Uyghurs' freedom of movement has been significantly limited.¹⁸⁷ For example, to maintain social control over the Uyghurs, in addition to deploying thousands of security personnel to Xinjiang, multiple government checkpoints have been established in the region.¹⁸⁸ QR codes are placed on homes and GPS tracking devices are placed on vehicles,¹⁸⁹ which Chinese authorities claim will identify the potential "terrorists".¹⁹⁰ The Uyghurs are followed and video-taped during their everyday lives, and are identified by facial recognition and artificial intelligence.¹⁹¹ Finally, authorities in Xinjiang have been collecting the personal biometric data on Uyghur residents including fingerprints, iris scans, and DNA from forced blood extraction.¹⁹²

2.3.5 Uyghurs Subjected to the Forcible Removal of Their Organs

There have also been reports of Uyghurs being subjected to the forcible removal of organs, otherwise known as organ harvesting.¹⁹³ This was highlighted by Canada's Subcommittee on International Human Rights, as well as UN human rights experts who indicated that they are extremely alarmed by the cred-

ible reports of organ harvesting of detained minorities in China, including the Uyghurs.¹⁹⁴ The reports state that detainees may be forced to undergo blood tests and organ examinations (such as ultrasounds and x-rays) absent informed consent. The results of these tests would be registered in a database of living organ sources which facilitates organ allocation.¹⁹⁵ According to the allegations, the most common organs forcibly removed from the prisoners are hearts, kidneys, livers, corneas, and less commonly parts of the liver. The process involves health sector professionals, including surgeons, anaesthetists, and other medical specialists.¹⁹⁶ A great concern is the lack of independent oversight with respect to informed consent, and it has also been reported that the families of deceased detainees and prisoners are barred from claiming the bodies.¹⁹⁷

2.3.6 Extreme Suppression of Culture and Religious Beliefs

Detainees at the detention facilities are forced to undergo political indoctrination and at the same time forced to renounce their Uyghur cultural and Muslim religious beliefs.¹⁹⁸ For example, the Uyghurs are required to pledge allegiance to the CCP and renounce Islam, as well as learn the Mandarin language and sing songs praising communism and the CCP.¹⁹⁹ Further, the Uyghurs are forbidden from praying (an integral component of the Muslim faith) or using Muslim greetings, and are forced to eat pork and drink alcohol (both of which are forbidden practices in Islam).²⁰⁰ Those who fail to abide by such unreasonable rules suffer the consequences of being tortured, raped, or killed by the hands of Chinese authorities.²⁰¹

For the Uyghur population outside of the camps religious worship is subject to continuous surveillance and penalized for “radical activities”, including praying in a mosque, possessing a Quran, eating halal food, growing a long beard, and wearing a veil.²⁰² Moreover, Uyghur gravesites are also being desecrated,²⁰³ and Chinese officials have destroyed thousands of mosques, often under the claim that the buildings were poorly constructed and unsafe for worshippers.²⁰⁴ Shops are prohibited from selling nail cutters, knives, or anything that could possibly be used as a weapon by the Uyghurs, in order to prevent any form of resistance.²⁰⁵

As a case study example, the CCP has been erasing the Islamic identity of the city of Kashgar (a centuries old city which served as a stopping point on the silk road) by removing minarets, painting over the Arabic calligraphy on the city’s mosques, and installing surveillance cameras in the prayer halls.²⁰⁶ As mentioned earlier, police stations have been dispersed throughout Xinjiang, contributing to the situation of over-policing. In certain western Xinjiang cities such as Kashgar, the over-policing is especially predominant, with police checkpoints are found every 100 yards, and many facial recognition cameras being placed around the city.²⁰⁷ Citizens are also subject to the forcible collection of their biometric data in this region.²⁰⁸

Moreover, since 2017 Chinese authorities have damaged or destroyed two-thirds of Xinjiang’s mosques under various pretexts. About half of these mosques have been fully demolished.²⁰⁹ For the remaining mosques across the country, China is removing domes and minarets, within authorities claiming the domes are evidence of foreign religious influence.²¹⁰

In summary, Uyghurs both inside and outside the detention facilities are significantly limited in practicing their customs or beliefs.²¹¹ What the Chinese authorities are doing constitutes genocide as it violates sections (b) and (c) of Article II of the Genocide Convention. Specifically, it appears that the Chinese government is causing serious mental harm to the Uyghurs and deliberately inflicting conditions of life to bring about their physical destruction, combined with the intent to destroy the group in whole or in part. As such, this also constitutes genocide, which calls for action on the part of state parties to the Genocide Convention.

2.3.7 Gender-Based Violence Specifically Intended to Reduce Uyghur Birth Rates

Population control is also an important part of the genocidal campaign in China.²¹² Specifically, the Chinese government is reducing Uyghur birth rates by forcing Uyghur women to undergo sterilizations and the implantation of IUDs.²¹³ There have also been reports of forced abortions in the hundreds of thousands.²¹⁴ In fact, since 2015 birth rates of minority groups have declined dramatically as a result of these tactics.²¹⁵ Specifically, the Uyghur regions of Xinjiang have dropped more than 60%.²¹⁶ According to Article II (d) the Genocide Convention, imposing measures intended to prevent births within a group, combined with the intent to destroy the group in whole or in part, constitutes genocide which requires action by state parties under Article I.

2.3.8 Gender-Based Violence with Respect to The Intrusive Home Stay Program

Another effort to control Uyghur women is the introduction of the “homestay” program, in which Han Chinese spies are assigned to live with Uyghur families.²¹⁷ Specifically, while the male members of many Uyghur families are placed in the “re-education” camps, male Han Chinese officials are forcibly placed in households to monitor the women and children²¹⁸ and report on any perceived “extremist” behaviors, including fasting during the month of Ramadan.²¹⁹ Allegations of rape are widespread in these situations.²²⁰ Some Uyghur women have also been forced to marry the home-stay Han Chinese men.²²¹ This is a grave invasion of privacy and an act of humiliation, as well as an insult to Islamic concepts regarding relationships within the family.²²²

2.3.9 Suppressing Protests and Resistance

The state of being in terror and fear has silenced Uyghur voices on several issues. For example, a November 2022 fire in a building in Urumqi which killed at least 10 people caused protests across China, as it was alleged that the individuals died as a result of strict Covid-19 measures. These measures included bolting the door of the apartment buildings shut from the outside. Despite many of the victims being Uyghurs, it was noted that the Uyghur people themselves were not present in the protests, due to a fear that any criticism of CCP policies and protests will result in placement in detention camps and heavy-handed repressive measures.²²³ This example highlights the sheer fear that the Uyghurs are experiencing due to the state inflicted terror of the CCP. Moreover, those that speak out against the atrocities happening to the Uyghurs and Muslims in China are either targeted themselves or members of their families disappear.²²⁴

2.3.10 Denial of Wrongdoing by the Chinese Government

In an effort to divert attention away from the current genocide of the Uyghurs, Chinese authorities have taken new measures by using social media to spread misinformation to cover up the atrocities that are currently happening in Xinjiang.²²⁵ Chinese officials have even gone so far as to claim that they have not infringed on the Uyghurs’ rights, that the dedicated “re-education” camps were closed in 2019,²²⁶ and that “anti-China forces” in the United States and other Western countries are spreading “vicious lies”.²²⁷ Moreover, the Chinese Government have tried to prevent the release of a 2022 UN Human Rights Office report on the atrocities happening to the Uyghurs, and after the report’s release Chinese officials labelled it as false information and published a rebuttal claiming foreign governments and organizations “spread numerous rumours and lies” about the Xinjiang region.²²⁸

2.4 Conclusion

As noted by Genocide Watch, the goal of the Chinese government is not solely to destroy the Uyghurs physically through the forcible transfer of their children and the prevention of births, but also to destroy the Uyghur people themselves as a culturally distinct people.²²⁹ Ironically, under the guise of counter-acting terrorism based on Islamophobic narratives, the Chinese Government appears to be perpetrating

the terror itself by arbitrarily detaining Uyghurs, enforcing forced labor, displacing and indoctrinating Uyghur children, suppressing cultural and religious belief, employing mass surveillance and committing gender-based violence.²³⁰

There are those who have tried to deny that the Chinese Government's attempt to destroy the Uyghur people constitutes a genocide, as the Chinese Government has not relied primarily on mass killing. This is a limited view of the meaning of genocide, and is inconsistent with the clear language of the Genocide Convention, which prohibits much more than mass killing. As demonstrated above, China has committed every prohibited act of genocide listed in the Genocide Convention, including the killing of Uyghurs, causing serious bodily or mental harm, inflicting the conditions of life calculated to bring about their physical destruction, imposing measures intended to prevent births, and forcibly transferring children. This was seemingly done to eradicate the Uyghurs as a distinct people, in other words these actions were done with the intent to destroy in whole or in part the ethnic and religious group. The United States, Canadian House of Commons, and Subcommittee on International Human Rights have all recognized the situation as a genocide. As such it is incumbent upon the international community, including the United States and Canada, to act as soon as possible to prevent further genocide and punish those responsible.

Burma's Rohingya Muslims: Victims of Genocide and Mass Displacement

3.1 Introduction and Stages of Genocide

The country of Burma has been persecuting its Rohingya Muslim population since its independence from Britain in 1948,²³¹ with a genocide occurring in 2017 and continued persecution and human rights abuses to this day. This genocide has been formally and unequivocally recognized by the United States via current Secretary of State Anthony Blinken.²³² The following excerpt from the United States Department of State is illustrative:

On March 21, 2022, following a rigorous factual and legal analysis, the Secretary determined that members of the Burmese military committed genocide and crimes against humanity against Rohingya. Since the Holocaust, the United States has concluded only seven other times that genocide was committed. This determination marks the eighth.

Over the course of 2016 and 2017, violence across northern Rakhine State was extreme, large-scale, and widespread. The scope and scale of the military's operations indicate they were well-planned and coordinated. ²³³

In other words, in 2017 the Burmese army (named the Tatmadaw) intentionally destroyed a substantial part of the Rohingya religious and ethnic group as part of a pre-planned extermination, and thus have committed genocide as defined by the Genocide Convention.²³⁴ Nevertheless, despite over 5 years passing since the genocide began in 2017, no one has been held accountable for the crimes against humanity.²³⁵

With that being said, in November 2019 The Gambia has also launched an application against Burma in the International Court of Justice, alleging that Burma's military and other security forces committed genocide when they perpetrated mass murder, rape, and other kinds of sexual violence, in the Rakhine state of Burma.²³⁶ In January 2020, the ICJ adopted protect the Rohingya as the case proceeds, by requiring Burma to prevent all genocidal acts against the Rohingya, to ensure security forces do not commit acts of genocide, and to take measures to preserve evidence related to the case.²³⁷ While in the past states have brought cases in the ICJ under the Genocide Convention, this case marks the first time that a state has invoked its jurisdiction to seek redress for genocidal acts committed against citizens of another state.²³⁸ In July 2022, the ICJ dismissed the primary objections of Burma and confirmed that it has jurisdiction under the Genocide Convention to hear the application filed by The Gambia, and the case will

proceed on the merits to examine the allegations.²³⁹

Genocide Watch has set the current alert status for Burma as an “Emergency”, and classified the genocide stages as:

- Stage 3: Discrimination
- Stage 8: Persecution, and;
- Stage 9: Extermination

The following analysis will highlight each of these stages as well as the disturbing human rights violations committed against the Rohingya people.

3.2 Islamophobia in Burma – History and Context

3.2.1 The Rohingya People and Their Genocide

The Rohingya are an ethnic group comprising of predominantly Muslims who trace their presence in Burma’s Rakhine State for centuries, which is a historical account supported by independent scholars.²⁴⁰ Rakhine State is home to various ethnic and religious groups, and it is one of the most poor and under-developed regions in Burma.²⁴¹ The Rohingya form a slim majority in the northern portion of the Rakhine state, however in Burma as a whole they are a minority compared to the ethnic Rakhine, who are mostly a Buddhist group.²⁴² In fact, approximately 90% of the population of Burma are Buddhist.²⁴³ Approximately another 2 percent of the population are Muslims from other ethnic regions. They too have experienced discrimination based on their religion, but not to the same extent as the Rohingya. Some other, embattled ethnic minorities are Christian.

Inspired by an exclusionary and supremacist version of Buddhism, nationalists from Burma’s Buddhist majority view the Rohingya as illegitimate migrants from Bangladesh.²⁴⁴ In 2017, the Tatmadaw launched a pre-planned genocidal military operation against the Rohingya people in the Rakhine State, which coincidentally forced almost 1 million Rohingya to flee their homes and seek refuge in the country of Bangladesh.²⁴⁵

3.2.2 The 2021 Military Coup

To render matters worse, in 2021 the Tatmadaw staged a coup to overthrow the Burma government and detained various governmental officials.²⁴⁶ The Tatmadaw then suspended most television broadcasts and flights in the country, and also declared a state of emergency. Their claim, not backed by evidence, is that widespread fraud interfered with the results of a November 2020 election in Burma.²⁴⁷ Currently, the commander-in-chief of the Tatmadaw army and key perpetrator of the Rohingya genocide Min Aung Hlaing is now in power.²⁴⁸

Since the coup the country has plunged into a worsening civil war, as new armed resistance groups join forces with existing ethnic armed groups in efforts to resist and overthrow the junta.²⁴⁹ Specifically, ethnic minority representatives, civilian members of parliament, civil society activists and others established the National Unity Government (NUG) in opposition to the military.²⁵⁰ The NUG has also formed an armed division, entitled the People’s Defence Force (PDF), which has had clashes with the military across the country. The PDF has also allied with ethnic armies which have fought the military for decades. In essence, the February 2021 coup has intensified the ethnic conflicts in Burma.²⁵¹ To put things in perspective, in November 2022 clashes were reported in every state and region in the country of Burma as the PDF and other anti-junta armed groups fought alongside ethnic armies against the junta.²⁵²

3.2.3 Denial and Rampant Islamophobia and Hate Speech Against the Rohingya

Social media, particularly Facebook, has been used as a tool to fuel hate and incite violence against the Rohingya.²⁵³ This was not simply a side-issue to the problem, but rather a key perpetrator. A UN's Independent Fact-Finding Mission on Burma found that the role of social media was significant.²⁵⁴ This was so much so that Amnesty International released a first of its kind, in-depth analysis of the role played by Facebook in the atrocities against the Rohingya in 2017.²⁵⁵ As summarized by the Amnesty international report:

In the months and years leading up to and during the 2017 atrocities, Facebook in Myanmar became an echo chamber of virulent anti-Rohingya content. Actors linked to the Myanmar military and radical Buddhist nationalist groups systematically flooded the Facebook platform with incitement targeting the Rohingya, sowing disinformation regarding an impending Muslim takeover of the country and seeking to portray the Rohingya as sub-human invaders. The mass dissemination of messages that advocated hatred inciting violence and discrimination against the Rohingya, as well as other dehumanizing and discriminatory anti-Rohingya content, poured fuel on the fire of long-standing discrimination and substantially increased the risk of an outbreak of mass violence.²⁵⁶

Other sources have confirmed that there was a systematic campaign by the Burma military to use the platform to spread hate, according to former military officials, researchers, and civilian officials in the country.²⁵⁷ A Reuters investigation found over 1000 examples of posts, comments, images, and videos attacking Rohingyas on Facebook. The investigation revealed that posts called the Rohingya and other Muslims “dogs”, “maggots” and “rapists,” suggested that they be “fed to pigs”, and urged they be “shot” or “exterminated”. The posts also included crudely pornographic anti-Muslim images.²⁵⁸

To illustrate the Islamophobic sentiments which spread online and fueled the genocide, some examples of the rhetoric used will be presented:

- “We must fight them the way Hitler did the Jews, damn kalars!”. A kalar is a pejorative for the Rohingya.²⁵⁹
- “These non-human kalar dogs, the Bengalis, are killing and destroying our land, our water and our ethnic people... We need to destroy their race”. This post was posted in Septemeber 2017, when high levels of violence was being perpetrated against the Rohingya²⁶⁰
- In response to pictures of Rohingyas landing in Indonesia by boat: “Pour fuel and set fire so that they can meet Allah faster”²⁶¹
- “May the terrorist dog kalars fall fast and die horrible deaths”²⁶²
- “Stuff pig’s fat inside the damn kalar’s mouth”²⁶³
- “May the Rakhine people... and all Myanmar citizens be free from the dangers of sons of a dog, grandchildren of a pig kalar, and rapists”²⁶⁴

Hate speech was also documented from leaders themselves. For example, the then General Hlaing (now leader of the country) had posts on his Facebook page which stated that:

- “[T]he Bengali problem was a long-standing one which has become an unfinished job despite the efforts of the previous governments to solve it. The government in office is taking great care in solving the problem.”²⁶⁵
- “[It is an] exaggeration to say that the number of Bengalis fleeing to Bangladesh is very large”²⁶⁶
- “[The] native place of the Bengalis is really Bengal. Therefore, they might have fled to the other country with the same language, race and culture as theirs by assuming that they would be

safer there.”²⁶⁷

- “We openly declare that absolutely, our country has no Rohingya race”²⁶⁸
- “[C]ollective efforts must be made to protect the minorities of Buthidaung/Maungtaw region such as Mro, Khamee, Thet and Daingnet” (with no mention of the Rohingya)²⁶⁹

State media has also been used to portray the Rohingya as “extremists, terrorists, ultra-opportunists and aggressive criminals”, as well as “human fleas” who are “loathed for their stench and for sucking our blood.”²⁷⁰

3.3 Genocide Stage 3: Discrimination

3.3.1 Framing the Rohingya as Illegal Bengali Immigrants and Terrorists

As alluded to above, a narrative has been established by officials in Burma that the Rohingya are “Bengalis” or illegal migrants from Bangladesh,²⁷¹ which is a false narrative used to demonize the group.²⁷² We have also seen the post-9/11 “War on Terror” used as a justification to promote hate, as Burma has also said that its army’s mass murder of civilians (including women and children) were necessary parts of a “counter-insurgency campaign” against “Islamic terrorists”.²⁷³ Nevertheless, it has been reported that the 2017 genocide of Rohingyas was thoroughly planned by senior military commanders, along with efforts to hide military operations from the international community.²⁷⁴ Specifically, the military systematically demonized the Muslim minority, created militias that would take part in the operation, and coordinated their actions with ultranationalist Buddhist monks.²⁷⁵ Nevertheless the military continues to insist that their operations were a legitimate counter-terrorism campaign that was sparked by Muslim militants, rather than a pre-planned genocide.²⁷⁶

3.3.2 The Grave Deprivation of Rohingya Rights

The Rohingya have also been the victim of several state-sanctioned deprivations of their rights. Notably, the Rohingyas have been effectively denied citizenship under Burma’s 1982 Citizenship Law, which has rendered them stateless.²⁷⁷ Moreover, in the 1990s Burma authorities stopped issuing birth certificates for Rohingya children.²⁷⁸ They also have restricted access to universities and are banned from holding government jobs.²⁷⁹

After the genocide and “clearance operations” of 2017, and to this day freedom of movement of the Rohingya has been significantly constrained, to the point where the Rohingya are effectively segregated from the rest of society.²⁸⁰ The Rohingya are constrained to their homes with limited access to the markets and their livelihoods. They lack access to basic needs such as adequate food, health care, and education.²⁸¹ This has had the effect of exacerbating malnutrition. Humanitarian access was significantly restricted or blocked, and no protection was provided against vigilante attacks and theft of property and livestock.²⁸² Further, certain communities have established “Muslim free” villages, at times with the support of local authorities.²⁸³

3.3.3 Implementing Measures to Prevent Rohingya Births

Burmese authorities have actively propagated the narrative that “uncontrollable” birth rates amongst the Rohingya population constitute a threat to the country even though census data indicates that the Muslim population has not increased significantly in decades.²⁸⁴ In 2015, a series of national laws with the intent of “protecting race and religion” were introduced. For example, the Rohingya have been forced to seek permits in order to marry.²⁸⁵ Married couples were barred from having more than two

children, and also the Rohingya in general are banned from having children out of wedlock.²⁸⁶ The number of years in between having children was also legislated.²⁸⁷ The result is delayed marriages for Rohingyas, complex and humiliating procedures, couples marrying religiously only (risking fines), and unsafe abortions.²⁸⁸

The systematic sexual violence perpetrated against the Rohingya by the Burmese military as part of their “clearance operations” will be further detailed in an upcoming section. Here, however, it is important to note that this targeted sexual violence couple with an obsession on the birth rates of the Rohingya may have been aimed at reducing their birth rates.²⁸⁹ The rapes were often accompanied by deliberate mutilation of genitalia, and the majority of victims were of childbearing age or younger.²⁹⁰ Women who were raped also faced stigma, lessening their chances of procreating, which the security forces would have been aware of.²⁹¹

3.4 Genocide Stage 8: Persecution

3.4.1 The Mass Detainment and Segregation of Rohingyas in Burma

Over 135,000 Rohingya have been detained arbitrarily and indefinitely in displaced person camps in Burma.²⁹² There are approximately 600,000 other Rohingya in Burma who are not detained but are still subject to persecution, apartheid, and deprivation of liberty.²⁹³ Many Rohingya have been confined to camps and villages and are being deprived of basic necessities such as food, health care, livelihoods, education, and freedom of movement.²⁹⁴

The military junta has also imposed new movement restrictions and blockages for aid coming to Rohingya camps and villages. Since the coup, an estimated 2,000 Rohingya (including hundreds of children), have been arrested for “unauthorized travel”, and many have been given the maximum sentence of 5 years in prison.²⁹⁵

3.4.2 The Mass Displacement of Rohingyas to Bangladesh

As a result of the 2017 genocide campaign by the Tatmadaw and continued persecution of the Rohingya in Burma, almost 1 million Rohingyas have been forced to flee to Bangladesh.²⁹⁶ This includes many children who fled alone after their parents were killed or after being separated from their families.²⁹⁷ Often the refugees were fleeing without shelter, food, or water. They had to walk for days and weeks through forests and over mountains. Refugees died along the way, including newborn babies. Boats capsized leading to refugees drowning.²⁹⁸

Most of the refugees currently reside in large, overcrowded camps near Cox Bazar, where they face harsh conditions and are barred from seeking asylum.²⁹⁹ Moreover, the Bangladeshi authorities have intensified the restrictions on the Rohingya refugees, including with respect to their livelihoods, movement, and education. In certain cases, the camps are surrounded by barbed-wire fences, obstructing the movement of Rohingya refugees and humanitarian workers.³⁰⁰ Bangladeshi officials have closed community-led schools, imposed obstacles on travel, and arbitrarily destroyed shops.³⁰¹ Gang violence has caused people to lose their lives,³⁰² and many Rohingya struggle to access healthcare due to language barriers, ill-treatment by certain medical staff, and lack of information about healthcare services.³⁰³

The UN and national governments have not adequately provided humanitarian aid for the Rohingya in these camps.³⁰⁴ Such conditions continue the trauma of what Rohingyas have experienced after the loss of loved ones, communities, their homes, and the attempted destruction of their identity.³⁰⁵

Moreover, approximately 28,000 Rohingya have been relocated to the Bhasan Char island in Bangladesh, despite its isolation and vulnerability to cyclone flooding.³⁰⁶ Many of the refugees were not provided with proper information about the relocation in order to provide full and informed consent, and in fact some felt coerced to relocate.³⁰⁷ At Bhasan Char, the Rohingyas face severe movement restrictions, food and medicine shortages, and abuses by security forces.³⁰⁸ The Rohingyas have also been under pressure by Bangladeshi authorities to return to Burma, where they would be subject to further persecution.³⁰⁹ As a result, few Rohingya have chosen to return to Burma.³¹⁰

3.4.3 The Intentional Blockage of International Humanitarian Aid and Targeting of Health Care Workers

The junta in Burma has also deliberately blocked humanitarian aid from reaching those at risk, in violation of international humanitarian law. The junta has attacked aid workers, destroyed supplies, and blocked access roads and aid convoys, which appears to be a form of collective punishment against civilians in those areas where the junta rule is contested.³¹¹ For example, in December 2022 Burma security forces summarily executed 39 people in the Karenni state, including 4 children and 2 staff members from the international aid organization “Save the Children”.³¹² Many of the victims were bound, gagged, and showed signs of torture.³¹³

Since the coup, Burma’s healthcare system has effectively collapsed, and the military junta has been targeting medical professionals.³¹⁴ In fact, Burma has become one of the deadliest countries in the world to work in the health care sector.³¹⁵ For example, from February 1 2022 to November 1 2022, security forces have allegedly killed at least 31 health care workers, and arrested 284.³¹⁶ Medical staff who have provided care to injured protesters have been beaten and shot by security forces, which has forced clinics operated by non-governmental groups to close.³¹⁷ As a result, medics and volunteers have been driven underground in poorly resourced makeshift mobile clinics.³¹⁸

3.5 Genocide Stage 9: Extermination

3.5.1 The 2017 Genocide Suffered by the Rohingyas

As mentioned above, in 2017 the Tatmadaw launched a pre-planned genocidal military operation against the Rohingya people in the Rakhine State, which forced almost 1 million Rohingya to flee their homes and seek refuge in the country of Bangladesh.³¹⁹ This was perpetrated purportedly in response to attacks on Burma authorities by a Rohingya group, known as the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army, as a result of decades of systemic discrimination and apartheid.³²⁰ In the months that followed the Burmese authorities perpetrated a completely unproportionate response involving human rights abuses, labelling the military operation as a “clearance operations”.³²¹ During this gruesome genocide the Tatmadaw perpetrated targeted killing of Rohingyas, systematic sexual violence (expanded upon in the following section), as well as the burning, looting, and razing of entire villages.³²² At least ten thousand Rohingya were murdered,³²³ and almost 400 villages burned.³²⁴ The UN’s fact finding mission labelled these events as a “catastrophe”.³²⁵

Although the operations were conducted over a broad geographic area, there were similarities between them. For example, Tatmadaw soldiers would launch attacks against villages early in the morning, in order to instill terror amongst the Rohingya.³²⁶ The Rohingya were awoken with intense sounds of rapid weapon fire, explosions, shouts and screams of villagers.³²⁷ Certain Rohingya were killed using guns or large bladed weapons.³²⁸ In certain areas, villagers were gathered together before the men and boys were separated and killed.³²⁹ At times, children were killed in front of their parents.³³⁰ Bodies of the deceased were transported via military vehicles and burned, then disposed of in mass grave sites.³³¹ It is worth noting that cremation is a forbidden practice in Islam, which adds to the severity of this already

atrocious act.

Many Rohingya were killed in arson attacks and burned to death in their homes. Those particularly vulnerable to these attacks were the elderly, those with disabilities, and young children, who were not able to flee.³³² Refugees further described accounts of children being thrown into raging fires.³³³

While the Rohingya were fleeing the attacks the Tatmadaw opened fire on them, and also placed landmines near border crossings while the almost 1 million Rohingya were fleeing to Bangladesh.³³⁴ The military junta have denied their involvement in the atrocities committed against the Rohingya, and even went so far as to claim that the Rohingya had burned their own homes.³³⁵ The above described actions clearly run afoul of Articles II (a) and (b) of the Genocide Convention, which prohibits murder as well as serious bodily or mental harm, committed with the intention to destroy an ethnic, racial, or religious group.

3.5.2 Extreme Sexual Violence Perpetrated by the Tatmadaw Military Against Rohingya

As mentioned above, systematic sexual violence was perpetrated on a massive scale.³³⁶ In certain areas the women and girls taken to nearby houses, gang raped, and subsequently killed or significantly injured.³³⁷ At times, up to 40 women and girls were raped or gang-raped together by Tatmadaw soldiers.³³⁸

Rapes of women were often public, in front of their families and communities, which maximized humiliation and trauma. Mothers were gang raped in front of their young children, and pregnant women were raped as well.³³⁹ Rapes were accompanied by threatening language, such as “We are going to kill you this way, by raping you.”³⁴⁰ Women and girls were also kept detained in military and police compounds as sexual slaves.³⁴¹

Often the victims of rape were severely injured, with a common injury being deep bites.³⁴² They also suffered severe injuries to their reproductive organs, including from rape with knives and sticks.³⁴³ Many rape victims were killed or died due to injuries, while survivors experienced deep trauma and faced intense stigma from their communities.³⁴⁴

Men and boy were also subject to rape, genital mutilation, and sexualized torture.³⁴⁵

3.5.3 The Killing and Severe Violence Directed Towards Peaceful Protestors

In response to the 2021 coup, millions of peaceful pro-democracy protesters took to the streets, with many joining the anti-coup Civil Disobedience Movement.³⁴⁶ The military reacted with violence and arrested over 15,000 and killed at least 2,300 since the coup (including at least 100 children).³⁴⁷ The military has opened fire on protesters, shooting live ammunition, grenades, and laid landmines on a mass scale (including around places of worship and schools).³⁴⁸ They have also launched targeted and indiscriminate attacks on civilians, which includes air strikes and heavy artillery barrages.³⁴⁹ Detainees are frequently kept under silence, unable to contact relatives or legal counsel,³⁵⁰ and are often subjected to torture, routine beatings, burnings with lit cigarettes, prolonged positions of stress, and gender-based violence.³⁵¹ At least 150 people have died while in custody.³⁵²

Journalists have also been targeted, as over 120 of them have been arrested.³⁵³ At least 15 journalists have been convicted, the majority under a new provision under the Burma penal code which criminalizes the publishing or circulating of comments that “cause fear” or spreads “false news”.³⁵⁴ The military junta has also stripped the media licenses of several local media outlets and banned satellite television.³⁵⁵

In 2022, the military junta carried out 4 politically motivated executions of pro-democracy activists, which is Burma’s first use of the death penalty in decades.³⁵⁶ Moreover, military tribunals have sentenced 84 people to death in summary proceedings which do not meet international fair trial standards.³⁵⁷

In summation, the military junta responded to the mass demonstrations with a nationwide campaign which included mass killings, torture, arbitrary arrests, as well as indiscriminate attacks that amount to crimes against humanity, war crimes, and genocide.³⁵⁸

3.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the situation in Burma is critical and warrants immediate attention from the United States and Canada. The Rohingya have been labelled as Bengali foreigners and terrorists, discriminated against, detained, segregated, subjected to sexual violence, displaced in strikingly large numbers, and massacred. Grave human rights violations have occurred, and peaceful protests are met with violence in the chaotic climate. The definition of genocide under the Genocide Convention has been met on multiple grounds, giving ample evidence for countries such as the United States Canada to act to alleviate the situation. The intent to destroy, in whole or in part, the Rohingya population is perhaps best articulated by the UN's independent fact-finding mission report, which stated that

The actions of those who orchestrated the attacks on the Rohingya read as a veritable check-list [for genocidal intent]: the systematic stripping of human rights, the dehumanizing narratives and rhetoric, the methodical planning, mass killing, mass displacement, mass fear, overwhelming levels of brutality, combined with the physical destruction of the home of the targeted population, in every sense and on every level.³⁵⁹

With this genocidal intent in mind, the military forces in Burma killed members of the group, caused serious bodily and mental harm, inflicted the conditions of life calculated to bring about the physical destruction of the group, and prevented births. It is for this reason that the UN independent fact-finding mission report indicates that four of the five defined prohibited acts of the Genocide Convention have occurred against the Rohingya.³⁶⁰ Moreover, as stated earlier the United States has already declared a genocide in Burma. As such, there is an impending obligation upon the international community, including the United States and Canada to act to prevent further genocide and punish those responsible.

Muslims in Central African Republic: Targeted for Extermination

4.1 Introduction

The Central African Republic (CAR) is a landlocked country in the middle of the African Continent which is home to about 5.5 million people, of which about 89% are Christian, 9% are Muslim, and 1% practice folk religions.³⁶¹ CAR has a long history of political issues, coups, human rights abuses,³⁶² and perpetual civil war.³⁶³ With that being said, sectarian violence and violent killings targeting religious groups are relatively new to the country.³⁶⁴ This largely changed after the year 2012, when a coup was staged and brutal conflict between rebel groups rendered the country in a state of violence.³⁶⁵ After this point, sectarian violence increased, with the primarily target of attacks being Muslim civilians. The armed conflict has affected every area of society in CAR; schools have closed, the health care system is barely functioning, and many Central Africans have been displaced.³⁶⁶ Thousands have been killed and more than half the population requires humanitarian aid.³⁶⁷ Years of conflict and instability in the country has destroyed infrastructure and left millions without access to clean water, health care, and food.³⁶⁸

Genocide Watch has set the alert status for CAR as an “Emergency”, and classified the genocide stages as:

- Stage 5: Organization
- Stage 6: Polarization
- Stage 8: Persecution
- Stage 9: Extermination³⁶⁹

4.2 Islamophobia in Central African Republic – History and Context

While the political situation in CAR is relatively complex due to a history with military rule and coups, weak state authority, internal ethnic tensions and frequent armed insurgencies,³⁷⁰ it is important to outline the fundamentals in order to understand the roots of Islamophobia in the country.

In 2012, after decades of marginalization, militias in CAR’s predominantly Muslim region formed a group known as the Séléka (meaning coalition or alliance).³⁷¹ In 2013, the Séléka sought to revolutionize the government’s negligent approach towards its minority communities as well as its failure to abide by peace agreements, and marched on the Country’s capital Bangui.³⁷² The Séléka seized power by ousting the then President François Bozizé,³⁷³ a former Army Chief who himself staged a coup and instated himself as President in 2003.³⁷⁴ The Séléka then established a transitional government which was tasked with restoring peace.³⁷⁵ A new president was installed named Michel Djotodia, the first Muslim president in CAR’s history.³⁷⁶

In response to this turn of events the Anti-Balaka, which are largely Christian forces, took up arms in retaliation to the Séléka and started heavily targeting Muslim civilians, and carrying out attacks which continue to this day.³⁷⁷ The violent conflict had tremendous impacts on religious freedom, with particular attacks on individuals based on their religion, attacks on places of worship, and the exodus of 80% of CAR's Muslim minority.³⁷⁸ The Islamophobic sentiments and anti-Muslim rhetoric expressed by the Anti-Balaka at the time are telling, and shed light on how attacks against Muslims were justified. Anti-Balaka fighters are reported to have claimed:

- That CAR “Belongs to Central Africans”, whom the Anti-Balaka define as Christians and traditionalists, and all Muslims must leave CAR
- That Muslims are “Chadians” rather than citizens, even though the vast majority of Muslims had CAR citizenship
- Muslims had forfeited their right to remain in CAR by supporting the Séléka rebel movement and “selling [the] country to terrorists”
- “We don’t want any more Muslims in our country”
- “Our hunt is not yet finished, we are not finished. We will not stop until every Muslim leaves this country. I don’t care about the consequences, and to show you I will cut the throat of a Muslim in front of you.”³⁷⁹

In 2013 the French government launched Operation Sangaris, a military mission in CAR in order to intervene and assist with the chaos in the country. Unfortunately, the mission largely failed as there were not enough soldiers sent and no concrete political strategy, thus the violence and the number of those displaced escalated.³⁸⁰ Notably, French authorities targeted the mostly Muslim Séléka rebels, and in doing so created a power vacuum in which the Christian militias, the Anti-Balaka, were further empowered to attack the Muslim minority.³⁸¹

In 2016, a man named Faustin-Archange Touadéra was elected president.³⁸² Subsequently violence in the country temporarily subsided after the signing of a peace accord between the Touadéra government and 14 armed groups in 2019.³⁸³ However, after the contested re-election of Touadéra in 2020, violent military conflict resumed as the formerly ousted President Bozizé led a new interfaith rebel group comprising of ex-Séléka and Anti-Balaka militias, called the Coalition of Patriots for Change (CPC).³⁸⁴ Since this time conflict has surged between the CPC, which occupies two-thirds of CAR, and the national military controlled by Touadéra.³⁸⁵ National security forces in conjunction with Russian foreign fighters as well as local vigilante groups have launched a military campaign to retake the territory from the CPC, as well as various small holdouts and defectors from the 2019 peace accord. Since the contested re-election of Touadéra there has been a remobilization of united rebel militia, and state-sponsored human rights abuses against Muslims has been increasing.³⁸⁶ As mentioned above, the national military is reinforced by Russian foreign fighters, specifically mercenaries from the Russian “Wagner Group”, a Russian paramilitary organization.³⁸⁷ Russian mercenaries have also been hired to provide “security” for CAR's diamond and other mines.³⁸⁸

During the most recent military campaigns, both the government-sanctioned fighters as well as rebel fighters have committed grave human rights violations, including targeted attacks based on religion or ethno-religious grounds.³⁸⁹ All sides are currently committing such abuses against civilians, with Muslim communities being increasingly targeted.³⁹⁰ Moreover, the targeted arrests of alleged rebel collaborators disproportionately affects religious and ethnic minorities such as the Muslims, including the predominantly Muslim Fulani ethnic group.³⁹¹ CAR authorities have also used powers conferred under a state of emergency declared in early 2021 to commit abuses that disproportionately targeted Muslims.³⁹² This is despite the fact that CAR's constitution provides for freedom of religion and equal protection under the law, regardless of one's religious beliefs.³⁹³ All forms of religious intolerance are prohibited, as well as “religious fundamentalism”.³⁹⁴ The head of state is also required by law to take an oath of office which includes a promise to fulfil the duties of the office without any consideration of religion.³⁹⁵

4.3 Genocide Stage 5: Organization

4.3.1 Russian Military Training Operations, and Minority Muslims Considered Enemy Insurgents

In addition to sectarian violence, a predominant issue for Muslims in CAR is foreign forces. As mentioned above, CAR's national military is reinforced by Russian foreign fighters from the "Wagner Group". Since 2017 the Russian military has sent increasing numbers of Russian "military instructors" to support CAR's military, as well as donated large shipments of arm,³⁹⁶ and as of 2022 there were an estimated 2,000+ Russian mercenaries currently in CAR.³⁹⁷ In return for its "services", the Wagner Group reaps huge profits from its control of diamond, gold, uranium, and cobalt mines.³⁹⁸

CAR's government welcomes the assistance and military training from the Wagner Group, however it has been reported that the Wagner Group considers all Muslims, particularly the Fulani ethnic group, to be enemy insurgents.³⁹⁹ This highlights the risk of genocidal massacres, and in fact the Wagner Group has already targeted the Muslim Fulanis.⁴⁰⁰ Moreover, credible reports have indicated that the Russian mercenaries have been involved in active combat, as well as the execution, torture, and beating of civilians.⁴⁰¹ They have also carried out massacres in mining areas in order to control CAR's valuable gold trade.⁴⁰²

4.4 Genocide Stage 6: Polarization

4.4.1 An Instigating Media, Culture of Fear, and Severely Restricted Freedom of Movement

Traditional media has played an instigating role in the situation in CAR, as Internews, a national NGO that supports media development, indicated that the CAR state media served to harbor negative interfaith relations and conflict.⁴⁰³ Social media has also been used as a tool to spread disinformation campaigns against the UN and members of the international community, as well as an opportunity to spread hate speech and incite violence.⁴⁰⁴ In particular, hate speech on social media has been used to inflame divisions between Muslim and Christian communities in CAR.⁴⁰⁵ In fact, an entire Lexicon has been developed for hateful and inflammatory speech in CAR.⁴⁰⁶

Further, given the current dangerous situation for Muslims in CAR, a culture of fear has been created. For example, there have been reports of Muslims being fearful of traveling to certain areas in Bangui, the country's capital, especially when wearing Islamic clothing.⁴⁰⁷ Muslims are also fearful to pray in public, and thus are prohibited from practicing their faith openly.⁴⁰⁸ In general, there is a high level of distrust on both sides, with one study finding that 85% of Boda Muslims and Christians reported feeling distrust towards the other community, and similar reports of mistrust were found amongst Muslim and Christian youth in Bangui.⁴⁰⁹ Moreover, both Christian and Muslim communities believe the other side is more heavily armed.⁴¹⁰

Further, Muslims experience severe restrictions on their movement, and are fearful of travelling (even for work purposes) into certain zones as there have been targeted killing of Muslims in these areas.⁴¹¹ Opposing communities have been reported to limit the freedom of movement of Muslims by prohibiting them from returning to their homes or previous employment in the mining sector, which is particularly problematic for rural Muslims.⁴¹²

Arguably, the severe discrimination and living conditions of Muslims in CAR meets the criteria of Article II (c) of the Genocide Convention, which prohibits deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about the physical destruction of an ethnic, racial, or religious group in whole or in part.

4.5 Genocide Stage 8: Persecution

4.5.1 The “Muslim Tax” and Other Forms of Discrimination Faced by Muslim Minorities

In general, CAR remains divided and fractured amongst religious lines, is susceptible to outbreaks of sectarian violence, and has a significantly marginalized Muslim population.⁴¹³ One form of discrimination perpetrated against Muslims is the fact that they are subject to higher fees and fines compared with non-Muslims. Called the “Muslim Tax”, higher fees on Muslims is driven primarily by corruption and opportunism on behalf of local officials in CAR, as opposed to top-down discriminatory governmental policies.⁴¹⁴ For example, it has been reported that government officials charge higher fees to Central Africans with “Muslim-sounding names” when they are registering for national identification cards or registering to vote.⁴¹⁵ As a further example, during the state of emergency in March 2021, two local staff members of an international humanitarian organization were threatened by the a national law enforcement agency and forced to pay toll fees illegally to cross a checkpoint. The Christian staff member was required to pay \$1,000 dollars of the local currency, while the Muslim colleague was required to pay \$5,000 dollars of the local currency.⁴¹⁶

The Muslim-minority in CAR have also faced discrimination in accessing health services, schools, and police services.⁴¹⁷ They also continue to struggle to access their places of worship,⁴¹⁸ as the civil conflict had destroyed almost all of the mosques in the country by 2015 (417 out of 436), as declared by the former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.⁴¹⁹ There has unfortunately been a lack of resources for rebuilding the previously destroyed Mosques.⁴²⁰

Muslims in CAR have also undergone disproportionate political challenges. For example, in November 2020 a candidate to the legislative elections who went to a mosque to make donations to the Muslim community on behalf of the President of the CAR was threatened to be killed, and subsequently was prevented with meeting the targeted communities.⁴²¹ Muslims were also underrepresented in voting numbers in the December 2020 vote and re-election of President Touadéra.⁴²²

4.5.2 The Mass Forced Displacement of Central Africans

Due to the increasing conflict and instability in the country, over 1.1. million Central Africans have been displaced, the vast majority being Muslim.⁴²³ Approximately 500,000 have been driven into neighboring countries, such as Cameroon, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the Republic of the Congo, with smaller numbers fleeing to Sudan and South Sudan.⁴²⁴ Over 600,000 people are displaced within CAR itself.⁴²⁵ For perspective, in the fallout of the Séléka coup, by the end of 2014 80% of the Muslim population in CAR had been driven out of the country.⁴²⁶ In the country’s capital of Bangui, 99% of the Muslim population had fled by mid-2014.⁴²⁷

4.5.3 Lack of Accountability for Perpetrators of Human Rights Violations

While the CAR government has opened some limited investigations into some of the allegations against their military and government-backed foreign fighters, the CAR government has thus far not held any perpetrators accountable, and in certain cases it has obstructed human rights investigations in the country.⁴²⁸

For example, CAR authorities have played a role in obstructing the Special Criminal Court (SCC), a hybrid court tasked with investigating and trying those responsible for grave human rights abuses during civil war.⁴²⁹ Specifically, in November 2021 the SCC issued a warrant for the arrest of Hassan Bouba Ali, a CAR government official and former armed group leader.⁴³⁰ CAR national security forces prevented access to Mr. Bouba for his scheduled appearance at the SCC, and released him in direct contravention to the warrant.⁴³¹

4.6 Genocide Stage 9: Extermination

4.6.1 Attacks and Grave Human Rights Abuses Against Muslim Civilians in CAR

After the withdrawal of Séléka leaders from Bangui, there were a series of attacks against Muslims civilians, including anti-Muslim pogroms and looting of Muslim neighborhoods.⁴³² Grave human rights abuses were committed. For example, Muslims civilians fleeing the fighting were targeted by mobs armed with machetes and clubs and killed.⁴³³ There were also reports of Muslim men suspected of being linked to sectarian violence being lynched.⁴³⁴

While the height of the conflict along religious lines may have been in 2013 and 2014 during the fallout of the Séléka coup, the killings and skirmishes along religious lines continue to this day.⁴³⁵ Recently there has been a notable increase in targeted attacks against the civilian population, especially Muslims.⁴³⁶ CAR authorities in conjunction with state sanctioned Russian foreign fighters have perpetrated looting, enforced disappearances, arbitrary arrests and detentions, extrajudicial and indiscriminate killings, torture, rape, and inhumane treatment against civilian Muslims based on their assumed affiliation with rebel groups.⁴³⁷ A few case studies can help highlight the situation:

- In January 2021 CAR security forces arrested a Muslim man accused of being an informant to rebel groups, and he was later tortured for two days in order to obtain a confession.⁴³⁸
- In February 2021 national forces and Russian mercenaries made a targeted attack against a Mosque in Bambari, which killed 17 people including at least 6 civilians.⁴³⁹
- In May 2021, CAR security forces in Bang arrested and tortured 20 Muslim civilians due to perceived associations with an armed group in the area.⁴⁴⁰
- In the same month CAR authorities arrested a Muslim shopkeeper in Kaga Bandoro, whose body was later found dismembered and charred.⁴⁴¹
- In December 2021 former Anti-Balaka fighters who were backed by the CAR government forcibly confined several hundred civilians for three days in a mosque and threatened to kill them.⁴⁴² The attack appeared to have been conducted to target and punish the Muslim community of Boyo, which was perceived as being supportive of an ex-Séléka group.⁴⁴³
- Muslim leaders and religious figures have also been the victims of targeted attacks. For example, in June 2021 Russian foreign fighters are reported to have raided the home of the Sultan of Kouï and insisted that he and two companions accompany them.⁴⁴⁴ A few hours later the Russian foreign fighters advised the Sultan's family that he as well as the companions were killed by a landmine, however a UN human rights investigation later discovered that they had in fact been shot.⁴⁴⁵ Russian foreign fighters are also reported to have harassed the Imam of the Kouï Central Mosque to stop teaching children in Quranic School, and later raided his home and kidnapped him.⁴⁴⁶

4.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, the situation in the Central African Republic is dire for Muslims civilians who are the victims of Islamophobic narratives which portray them as foreigners, terrorists, and supporters of rebel groups. As a result, Muslims have been the victims of discrimination, a culture of fear, severe restrictions of movement, genocide and mass forced displacement for almost a decade. There is an urgent need to act to assist these individuals and stabilize the situation, and multiple criteria of the Genocide Convention have been met, including the provisions which prohibit the killing of members of a group, serious bodily or mental harm, and imposing the conditions of life calculated to bring about physical destruction, committed with the intention to destroy. There is ample reason for the international community, including the United States and Canada, to prevent further genocide and punish previous grave human rights abuses.

India's Muslims: A Minority Subjected to Persecution and a Slow Genocide

5.1 Introduction and Stages of Genocide

India has a population of about 200 million Muslims who have been the victims of increasing attacks, and genocidal concerns are increasing rapidly.⁴⁴⁷ Genocide Watch has issued two genocide alerts as well a genocidal emergency for India, and if a concerted effort is not made to stop the genocidal processes currently underway, a genocide will occur in India.⁴⁴⁸ Genocide Watch categorizes India as undergoing the following stages of genocide:⁴⁴⁹

- Stage 6: Polarization
- Stage 7: Preparation
- Stage 8: Persecution, and
- Stage 10: Denial

5.2 Islamophobia in India – History and Context

5.2.1 The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, Bharatiya Janata Party, and Prime Minister Narendra Modi

In order to understand Islamophobia in India today, it is helpful to understand the context behind the group known as the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS), which was formed in 1925. The RSS is a Hindu nationalist and paramilitary organization inspired by the Nazis, whose members tend to come from the higher “castes” in the Hindu society.⁴⁵⁰ For clarity, Hinduism in India perpetrates a caste system, which ranges from the Brahmins at the top (who tend to be lighter skinned) to the Dalits or untouchables placed at the bottom (who tend to be darker skinned). The outcastes also include the “Mleccha”, a term for Muslims and Christians which assigns them to an unclean category like the Dalits.⁴⁵¹

The RSS has many branches, one of which is the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which serves as its political arm and is the current ruling party in India, with the Prime Minister being Narendra Modi. In general, followers of BJP and RSS overlap, and share a common ideology known as Hindutva, a national supremacist ideology and desire for Hindu supremacy. Moreover, BJP leaders espouse that Islamophobia itself is a key doctrinal tenet of the Hindutva ideology.⁴⁵² BJP leaders and affiliated groups have had a long history of portraying minority communities, especially Muslims, as a threat to national security and the Hindu way of life, and India's Prime Minister Modi as well as his Hindu nationalist party the BJP have been increasingly using Islamophobia to place Muslims under state-sponsored attack.⁴⁵³ Prime Minister Modi's dark

history and rise to power is also worth exploring, which this report will cover in the following sections.

5.2.2 Prime Minister Modi's Involvement in the 2002 Gujarat Pogrom, and the Use of Emergency Censorship Laws

In February 2002 a train with many Hindu pilgrims caught fire, killing 59 people.⁴⁵⁴ At the time Prime Minister Modi was the Chief Minister of India's Gujarat State.⁴⁵⁵ While the state government, headed by Modi alleged that it was Muslim vendors who caused the fire, a 2005 report produced by a federal committee concluded that the fire was in fact accidental.⁴⁵⁶

After news of the fire spread, Hindu mobs commenced pogroms throughout Muslim neighborhoods across the state of Gujarat.⁴⁵⁷ More than 2,000 people, predominantly Muslims, were killed and women were raped in one of the worst massacres along religious lines in India's history.⁴⁵⁸ Rioters set Muslim homes and along with inhabitants on fire.⁴⁵⁹ At least 20,000 homes were destroyed and at least 150,000 people were displaced.⁴⁶⁰

The conflict earned Modi the nickname "Hindu Hridayamrat" (ruler of Hindu hearts) and elevated his status within the RSS and BJP.⁴⁶¹ Due to his role in the violence, Prime Minister Modi was banned from entering the United States and the United Kingdom stopped engaging with him at the time.⁴⁶² Prime Minister Modi continued to govern the state of Gujarat until 2014, when he became Prime Minister of India.

In fact, a recent BBC documentary entitled "India: The Modi Question" explored Prime Minister Modi's involvement in the 2002 Gujarat Pogrom. This documentary was banned in India using emergency laws.⁴⁶³ Specifically, the Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting directed Twitter and YouTube by order under the "Information Technology Rules, 2021" to take down links sharing the documentary.⁴⁶⁴ Both Twitter and YouTube complied with the order, with over 50 tweets containing links to the documentary being removed, as well as YouTube blocking video uploads.⁴⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the BBC has claimed that the documentary was "rigorously researched according to highest editorial standards."⁴⁶⁶

The BBC documentary alleges that Modi ordered police to turn a blind eye to the violence that carried on for several days. It also clarifies that the violence was politically motivated and was meant to purge Muslims from the Hindu areas.⁴⁶⁷

5.2.3 Prime Minister Modi's Politics: Election in 2014 and Re-Election in 2019

Prime Minister Modi rose to power by inciting Hindus with the time-tested politics of communal polarization.⁴⁶⁸ In Prime Minister Modi's first term commencing in 2014, Hindu nationalism became a mainstream movement and a targeted effort was made to dehumanize Muslims by passing laws restricting Muslim immigration, preventing the slaughtering of cows, and purportedly countering Islamic terrorism.⁴⁶⁹ Prime Minister Modi's second term commenced in 2019 and has seen even more bold attempts by the BJP using the Hindutva ideology to turn India into a Hindu Rashtra, i.e. a country where the rules, regulations and legal proceedings are based on the principles of Hindu beliefs and scriptures, and where non-Hindus are treated as second-class citizens. In other words, the identity of Indian as a secular democracy is rapidly declining into a fascist state.

Beyond the political landscape, prejudices embedded in the Indian Government of the ruling BJP party have infiltrated independent institutions, such as the police and the courts, which has further empowered Hindu nationalist groups to threaten, harass, and attack religious minorities with relative impunity.⁴⁷⁰ In essence the BJP's embrace of the Hindu majority at the expense of minorities such as Muslims

has also undermined India's equal protection under the law.⁴⁷¹

5.2.4 The “Othering” of Muslims and “Hate Speech”

To further comprehend the Islamophobic climate in India, it is helpful to see the hateful rhetoric used by prominent figures, particularly members of the ruling BJP party:

- “If these Rohingyas and Bangladeshi illegal immigrants do not leave India respectfully, then they should be shot & eliminated. Then only our country will be safe” – T. Raja Singh, current member of the BJP Party⁴⁷²
- Muslim immigrants and asylum seekers from Bangladesh are “termites”– India's current Home Minister Amit Shah, promising to rid the nation of them⁴⁷³
- “No, not all people are equal, Muslims do not fall into the equal category.” - Subramanian Swamy, Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha, and one of the key leaders of the BJP party⁴⁷⁴
- “If any Muslim citizen of India identifies with or glorifies Islamic rule in India he should be declared a defeated alien since Hindus braving gross brutality uprooted Islamic rule from India Muslims of India should instead accept based on DNA, that they are descendants of Hindus” - Subramanian Swamy, BJP politician⁴⁷⁵
- “In 1947, the country [India] was divided in the name of religion and they got another country [Pakistan]. They should go to another country. If they are living here, then I demand from the government that their voting rights be withdrawn. They [Muslims] can live in India as second-class citizens.” - Haribhushan Thakur Bachaul, BJP Member of Legislative Assembly⁴⁷⁶
- “Muslims want to convert India into an Islamic state. Law should be brought to control the population in the country. The resources in the country are very limited but some people want to increase the population and capture and turn India into an Islamic country” - Haribhushan Thakur Bachaul, BJP politician⁴⁷⁷
- “Jab mulle kaate jayenge, Ram-Ram chillayenge” (Muslims will scream Ram-Ram when they will be slaughtered) and “Hindustan me rehna hoga, Jai Shree Ram kehna hoga” (You will have to chant Glory to Lord Ram, if you want to live in India). - Ashwini Upadhyay, leader of the BJP Delhi Unit and Practicing Lawyer at the Supreme Court of India⁴⁷⁸
- “Muslims did no favour to India by staying here’ - Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath⁴⁷⁹
- (Claiming Muslims are “traitors” at a rally) “What should be done with traitors of the Country? Shoot them” – Anurag Thakur, BJP Member of Parliament, Himachal Pradesh⁴⁸⁰

The above quotes are not isolated incidents or accidental “slips”: they are part of a consistent and hate-filled Islamophobic campaign and used to propagate hate against Muslims in India.

5.3 Genocide Stage 6: Polarization

5.3.1 India's Polarizing and Discriminatory Laws: The Hijab Ban and Anti-Conversion / “Love Jihad” Laws

In many Indian states, the criminal justice system has increasingly reflected the discriminatory views of the BJP government with laws and policies that target religious and other minorities as well as critics of the government, whilst shielding their supporters.⁴⁸¹ For example, in a move stirring much controversy and tension, the Karnataka state in India has legislated schools and colleges to disallow Muslim students from attending classes and writing exams while wearing their hijab.⁴⁸² Essentially, the education of thousands of Muslim women were put at risk, while other religious identity markers were still permitted to be worn at schools.⁴⁸³ There were also reports of teachers harassing students continuing to wear hijabs and even pulling them off their heads.⁴⁸⁴ The Karnataka hijab ban is a prime example of Islamophobia

and targeted discrimination against Muslims.

Another legislative action taken on behalf of the Indian Government against Muslims are the anti-conversion or “Love Jihad” laws, which ostensibly were enacted to prevent forced religious conversions but in reality have largely been used to target minority communities, including Muslims.⁴⁸⁵ These laws serve to perpetuate the baseless Islamophobic conspiracy theory that Muslim men target and lure Hindu women into romantic relationships and then convince them to convert to Islam.⁴⁸⁶ For greater clarity, the state anti-conversion law from India’s largest state, Uttar Pradesh, entitled The Uttar Pradesh Prohibition of Unlawful Conversion of Religion Ordinance, 2020,⁴⁸⁷ requires anyone wishing to convert to another religion to seek approval from the district authorities. Moreover, the law carries a punishment of up to 10 years in prison for converting another person through coercion, fraud, misrepresentation, or inducement.⁴⁸⁸ Similar legislation has been enacted in other BJP ruled states such as Gujarat, Uttarakhand, and others.⁴⁸⁹

The harmful effect of such laws are that interfaith couples live in fear of being arrested and tried in India’s courts.⁴⁹⁰ Moreover, interfaith couples are more fearful of open harassment and attack from Hindu nationalist groups, including those affiliated with the BJP.⁴⁹¹ While this law purports to apply to all forced religious conversions, enforcement has been largely targeted towards Muslim men in Hindu-Muslim relationships.⁴⁹² The law has even been applied retroactively, and sometimes cases are brought against the families of the accused Muslim men.⁴⁹³ In most cases the complainant is not the woman but rather her relatives, who oppose the interfaith relationship.⁴⁹⁴ The RSS group has even gone so far as to encourage “Reverse Love Jihad”, which is a phenomenon where Muslim girls are kidnapped and forcefully married to Hindu men.⁴⁹⁵

As a case study, in December 2020 men from the militant Hindu group “Bajrang Dal” (literally the army of Bajrang, a youth militia arm of RSS-BJP) forcibly took a 22 year-old pregnant Hindu woman who was married to a Muslim man to the police. The Indian police arrested the Muslim man and his brother under the anti-conversion law and sent the woman to a government shelter. Due to medical negligence, the woman alleged that she suffered a miscarriage. In the end, the woman was reunited with her husband after she pleaded to the court that she was an adult and married by choice.⁴⁹⁶ This type of abuse is what stirs fear, discourages interfaith marriages, and reinforces the polarization of the population, which can contribute to genocide.

5.3.2 India’s Polarizing and Discriminatory Laws: The Campaign Against Halal Food & the “Thook Jihad” Example

The issue of what meat religious minorities consume has also been the subject matter of polarization. First, a general target has been placed on the consumption of “halal food”. For example, the BJP’s national general secretary CT Ravi has said that “Halal is an economic Jihad”, and that Muslims consume Halal Certified products to earn more to strengthen their community and then that money is used to fund Islamic Jihad.⁴⁹⁷ A smear campaign has even been launched against halal food, in which it is claimed that Muslims spit in their food to make it halal. The campaign is called #ThookJihad (meaning “Spit Jihad”), which went particularly viral during the Covid-19 pandemic as Muslims were blamed for spreading the virus. Many Muslim businesses were affected by this propaganda, and even faced boycotts.⁴⁹⁸

BJP leaders have also made inciteful statements specifically about the need to protect cows, which are considered sacred by many Hindus,⁴⁹⁹ and have claimed that Muslims living in the country should give up consuming beef.⁵⁰⁰ Beef is consumed primarily by religious and ethnic minorities in India, including Muslims, and these types of statements on behalf of BJP leaders has led to violence.⁵⁰¹ These statements also call into question the Government’s right to dictate what religious minorities eat, especially since often beef is cheaper than chicken and fish and is a staple for the poorer Muslims, tribal, and Dalit communi-

ties.⁵⁰²

Several BJP-ruled states have passed strict laws prohibiting the killing of cows as well as adopted cow protection policies, which serves to promote Hindu nationalism and disproportionately targeting minority communities.⁵⁰³ Many of these legal provisions make cow slaughter a non-bailable offence with the burden of proof placed on the accused, which violates the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty.⁵⁰⁴ Similarly, in the Indian state of Assam, a law was enacted which stipulates that any person within a 10 kilometer radius of a Hindu village cannot slaughter a goat. This decision came 10 days before Eid-Al-Adha, a Muslim festival in which goats are traditionally slaughtered.⁵⁰⁵

The communal rhetoric by BJP leaders along with the cow and goat protection policies have also given rise to the insurgence of violent vigilante groups.⁵⁰⁶ For example, such laws have been used to persecute Muslim cattle traders, whilst simultaneously BJP-affiliated groups attack Muslims and Dalits based on rumours that they killed or traded cows for beef.⁵⁰⁷ It has also caused Muslims to lose their livelihood. For example, in one state 50,000 meat shops were closed.⁵⁰⁸

The Indian police have often stalled the prosecution of those who have killed or attacked Muslims for cow slaughter, while several BJP politicians have justified the attacks publicly.⁵⁰⁹ In several cases, the police have even filed complaints against the victims' family members and associates under laws banning cow slaughter, which has left witnesses and families afraid to pursue justice.⁵¹⁰

In all, discriminatory laws in India have served to polarize the population and have led to the persecution of Muslim minorities.

5.4 Genocide Stage 7: Preparation

5.4.1 BJP Leaders Directly and Openly Calling for Genocide

In December 2021, several prominent BJP leaders, religious figures, Hindutva organizations, right-wing activists, and hardline fundamentalist militants convened in India's pilgrimage city, Haridwar, for the "Dharma Sansad" event, or "Hindu Religious Parliament". Mass events were organized where an extraordinary quantity of anti-Muslim hate speech and direct calls to violence and genocide against Indian Muslims took place.⁵¹¹ Leaders announced plans to exterminate 2 million Muslims of India by following Burma's model of Rohingya genocide, to offer arms training to youth, and to award 10 million rupees to Hindu suicide bombers for their genocidal mission.⁵¹²

Radical Hindutva groups have also organized 12 similar provocative events over 24 months in four states calling for the genocide of Muslims and attacks on Christians. They have also revealed plans to hold similar events in the future. Unfortunately, there is a lack of condemnation of these types of events by Prime Minister Modi, as well as inaction by his government and the police in preventing these events or arresting the organizers. As mentioned earlier, direct and public incitement to commit genocide is specifically mentioned as being punishable under the Genocide Convention.⁵¹³

5.4.2 The Media Used as a Tool for Inciting Hate & the "Corona Jihad" Example

The media has become a tool for the Indian Government to vilify Muslims by spreading misinformation, depicting harmful stereotypes, and holding highly provocative debates by religious fanatics.⁵¹⁴ Extremists are occupying more and more of the discourse and political debate.⁵¹⁵ In fact, the RSS has a dedicated Information Technology department, entitled "IT Cell", which is used to spread propaganda and its ideology while suppressing opposition.⁵¹⁶ Those who can perhaps best stop the incitement, the moderates in the middle, are vilified with the ideology "if you're not with us, you're against us".⁵¹⁷ Thus many

moderates in India feel forced to choose between the extremists from their own group and the “enemy”.⁵¹⁸ Moreover, the political right in India has worked to divide the population, and created an entire inflammatory vocabulary with labels such as “anti-nationals”, calling Muslims “Pakistani”, and creating an in-group of the “Tukde Gang” (a political catchphrase for the BJP party).⁵¹⁹ There have even been hateful and open genocidal statements shared by Hindu right-wing figures online.⁵²⁰ Print media has also contributed to the problem, as it has published inciteful and hateful content to maintain popularity with its readership.⁵²¹

There has also been a drastic rise in Islamophobic hate speech on social media, with inflammatory posts many times leading to violence.⁵²² The normalization of anti-Muslim violence is an early warning sign of an approaching genocide.⁵²³

As a case study example, for several weeks following the outbreak of Covid-19 in March 2020, the BJP government explained the spike in cases by singling out a religious congregation in Delhi, organized by the international Islamic missionary movement entitled the Tablighi Jamaat.⁵²⁴ The Tablighi Jamaat’s primary goal is to invite Muslims to pray regularly. BJP leaders claimed the meeting was a “Talibani crime”, “Corona Jihad”, and “Corona Terrorism”, and pro-government media accused the attendees as well as Muslims in general of deliberately spreading the virus.⁵²⁵ Fake videos of Muslims deliberately spreading the virus went viral on social media, leading to weeks of abuses against Muslims, as well as the boycotting of Muslim businesses.⁵²⁶

5.5 Genocide Stage 8: Persecution

5.5.1 Citizenship Laws Discriminating Against Muslims

In December 2019, the Indian Government passed the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019. This law facilitated a pathway to Indian citizenship for persecuted religious minorities from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan (including Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Christians, or Parsis), however the law did not facilitate such a pathway for Muslims from these countries. This was the first time that religion had been used overtly as a criterion for citizenship in India,⁵²⁷ and essentially religious persecution was implemented into law. The passing of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019 represents a violation of India’s long standing democratic constitution, which protects religious freedoms.

The passing of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019 was coupled with the National Register of Citizens (NRC) which requires all citizens to present documents to prove that they were Indians before 1971. If individuals cannot prove their citizenship, they may be subject to detention.⁵²⁸ This registration system was first used to exclude the millions of people who came to the state of Assam to escape the Bangladesh civil war of 1971,⁵²⁹ and also threatens the citizenship rights of millions of other Indian Muslims who do not have the right papers to prove citizenship.⁵³⁰ In 2019 when the Indian Government released the final NRC list, almost 2 million people were excluded. This accounts for approximately 6% of Assam’s population, effectively leaving them stateless. Both Muslims and Hindus often lack documents to prove their citizenship, but the different application of the law has meant that Hindus are never classified as foreigners, contrasted with Muslims who often are.⁵³¹ Individuals have already been detained in detention centers in the state of Assam, and more detention camps are being built.⁵³²

5.5.2 Indian Authorities’ Violence Against Protestors & the “Land Jihad” Example

The controversial Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019 had seen months of peaceful protests by Indians of all faiths. Eventually, in February 2020 the Indian Government responded with brute force in Delhi, including the arrest, beating, and even killing of protesters.⁵³³ This conflict was fueled in part by BJP leader Kapil Mishra, who called for the forcible dispersing of protesters.⁵³⁴ As a result, BJP supporters and Hindu

mobs gathered and armed themselves with swords, sticks, metal pipes, and bottles filled with gasoline. As a result of the conflict 53 people were killed, with 40 of them being Muslim.⁵³⁵

Further, many Muslims who have been under suspicion of participating in protests or riots have had their homes demolished without due process of law. Such Muslims are accused of “land jihad”, i.e. Muslims are accused of illegally building houses and encroaching on property. In fact, bulldozers have become a symbol of Islamophobia in India.⁵³⁶ For example, the BJP’s Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath intentionally places bulldozers at his rallies as a show of force and intimidation.⁵³⁷ Yogi Adityanath has been granted the name “Bulldozer Baba”.⁵³⁸ The problem has also reached overseas. At a recent India Independence Day parade in Edison, New Jersey, the festivities included a bulldozer draped with a picture of Prime Minister Modi.⁵³⁹

5.5.3 Extreme Persecution of Muslims in Kashmir

The Kashmir region is the only state with a majority Muslim population. India’s persecution in the region has significantly escalated since the Indian Government’s abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution in August 2019, which authorized Kashmir to have a separate constitution and its own autonomy over the internal administration of the state.⁵⁴⁰ Since the repeal of Article 370 in 2019, India has dramatically extended its control over the Kashmir region and mobilized an increased military presence, and consequently the repression against Kashmiri citizens has intensified.⁵⁴¹

Further, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 47(1948) outlines that the accession of the Kashmir region to either India or Pakistan should be decided through a free and impartial vote. In March 2020, the Indian Government contravened this international covenant by fundamentally redefining domicile laws in the Kashmir region. Specifically, non-Kashmiris were permitted to acquire property and settle in the region, with the purpose of enacting a demographic shift that takes the land and resources from the Indigenous population of Kashmir. Such a domicile law runs directly counter to the United Nations resolution which calls for a legitimate vote to determine the future of the disputed territory.

The Kashmir Region is currently one of the most militarized zones in the world, with human rights violations running rampant.⁵⁴² Current human-rights violations in the region on behalf of Indian forces include mass killings (including extrajudicial executions), enforced disappearances, torture, rape, sexual violence, and the detaining of children.⁵⁴³ These human-rights violations are facilitated by numerous troublesome legislation passed by the Indian Government, most notably the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), which provides Indian security forces with sweeping powers.⁵⁴⁴ The powers granted to Indian forces under the AFSPA include the ability to arrest Kashmiri citizens without a warrant, and shoot or kill with impunity.⁵⁴⁵

Indian forces also routinely make use of pellet-firing shotguns as a crowd-control weapon despite growing concerns of excessive use of force, and the large number of resulting civilian deaths and injuries (including blindness).⁵⁴⁶ Unfortunately, in the 32 years of the AFSPA’s existence in the region, not a single member of the security forces deployed have been tried for human rights violations in a civilian court.⁵⁴⁷

The following statistics help illustrate the dire situation in Kashmir:

- From 1989 to 2020, more than 100,000 Kashmiri citizens have been killed by Indian forces.⁵⁴⁸
- During this same time period, Indian forces have sexually assaulted over 11,000 women in the Kashmir region.⁵⁴⁹ The rate of sexual violence against Kashmiri women is one of the highest among the world’s conflict zones.⁵⁵⁰
- Aggression and violence by Indian forces in the Kashmir region has also left close to 23,000 women widowed, resulting in immense hardship as these women are left to provide for them-

selves and their families.⁵⁵¹ There are also approximately 2,500-4,000 “half-widows” in the Kashmir region (defined as women whose husbands have been taken away by Indian forces during search operations, and never heard of again).⁵⁵²

- Between April 2020 and March 2022, the region of Kashmir accounted for the highest number of police-involved deaths in the entire country of India.⁵⁵³ Since 2019, there has been a 12% increase in the use of the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA), India’s primary “antiterror” law in Kashmir. Amongst the sweeping powers it conveys, the UAPA allows the authorities to keep a person detained for 180 days (as opposed to the normal 90 days in other criminal laws), without a charge sheet.⁵⁵⁴

5.6 Genocide Stage 10: Denial

5.6.1 Lack of Accountability for Inciters of Violence and Abusive State Authorities

The lack of condemnation by Prime Minister Modi of the BJP, Hindutva ideology, and attacks on Muslims is deeply troubling. For example, there is a lack of condemnation of the “Dharam Sansad” events by Prime Minister Modi, as well as inaction by his government and the police in preventing these events or arresting the organizers. There has been a failure in large part on behalf of the Indian Government to stop violence against Muslims, and at other times members of the state provoke the violence.⁵⁵⁵ There have also been reports of spokespersons from the BJP minimizing or downplaying attacks against Muslims.⁵⁵⁶ Prime Minister Modi has gone so far as to claim that government policies have benefitted people equally, without differentiating based on faith, and that the Indian government is committed to the upliftment of all sections of society.⁵⁵⁷

Moreover, an independent investigation by the Delhi Minorities Commission found that the violence against the protestors of the CAA was planned and targeted, and that some Indian policemen were active participants in the attacks on Muslims.⁵⁵⁸ Rather than punish the perpetrators, cases have been filed against the victims including for terrorism and sedition, and activists, students, opposition politicians, and residents have been labelled as inciters of the violence.⁵⁵⁹ Authorities throughout India continue to utilize section 197 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which requires government approval to prosecute police officials, to block accountability even in cases of serious abuses.⁵⁶⁰

Further, the Delhi police had claimed that there was no “actionable evidence” against BJP leaders, even though there were videos depicting BJP leaders advocating for violence, as well as complaints by witnesses and transcripts of WhatsApp conversations showing the Hindu rioters took inspiration from BJP leaders.⁵⁶¹

5.6.2 The Silencing of Muslims in Kashmir

Draconian Indian laws and policies have also resulted in an assault on freedom of expression by suppressing dissent, free speech and activism in Kashmir. Since 2019 the Kashmir region has experienced what Amnesty International describes as a complete “communication clampdown”, which includes the regular suspension of telephone and internet services, a curfew on movement, and travel bans.⁵⁶² This has all been part of a system of laws, policies, and practices put in place by the Indian Government to systematically repress Kashmiri voices.⁵⁶³

Moreover, after the revocation of the constitutional autonomy of Kashmir, the Indian Government arbitrarily detained thousands of people, including elected officials, political leaders, activists, journalists, and lawyers.⁵⁶⁴ Many of these individuals were detailed without their families being informed about their whereabouts, and several were jailed outside the state.⁵⁶⁵

Since August 2019, there have been at least 60 instances in which human rights defenders and journalists have been subjected to interrogations, criminal investigations, arbitrary arrest, detention, and surveillance.⁵⁶⁶ In 2021, the people of Kashmir faced at least 85 internet shutdowns – one of the highest rates in the world, which further harbors the sense of fear and terror amongst the community,⁵⁶⁷ and serves to mask what Indian authorities are doing in Kashmir.

5.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, the situation in India for the minority Muslims is dire and in need of action. The country has been extremely polarized between Hindus and religious minorities, and this is reflected by the inciteful rhetoric of politicians and Hindu nationalists who frame Muslims as terrorists who are trying to convert India into an Islamic State. There have been direct calls for genocide, as well as active persecution of Muslims such as the grave human rights abuses that have occurred in Kashmir.

Indian states have passed laws which are blatantly discriminatory towards Muslims, such as the banning of the hijab at schools and colleges, anti-conversion laws targeting inter-faith marriages, laws targeting halal food, as well as laws which could render Muslims stateless and make it more difficult for Muslims to obtain citizenship.

The Indian Government largely adopted a stance of denial towards the situation faced by Muslims in the country, directed violence towards peaceful protesters, and shielded those accountable for human rights violations. Justice for All concurs with Genocide Watch which has issued two genocide alerts and genocidal emergency for India, and has warned that if there is not a concerted effort to stop the genocidal processes, a genocide will occur in India. As mentioned above, the Genocide Convention establishes an obligation not only to punish the crime of genocide but also to prevent it.⁵⁶⁸ Moreover, direct and public incitement to commit genocide is punishable under the Genocide Convention.⁵⁶⁹ This calls for immediate action on the part of the international community, including the United States and Canada, to help alleviate the problem.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this report has focused on Islamophobia and its relation to genocide in four countries of concern: China, Burma, the Central African Republic (CAR), and India. In each of these countries a genocide against Muslim minorities is currently underway, or there is a serious risk of a genocide in the future. This report has also covered which stages of genocide each respective country is classified under, and the relevant factors for consideration.

In China, all five of the prohibited acts of the Genocide Convention have been committed, and the United States has confirmed that the persecution of the Uyghurs is classified as a genocide. In Burma, four of the five prohibited acts of the Genocide Convention have occurred, and in this case the United States has also formally declared that a genocide has occurred. The Muslims of CAR have been subjected to multiple prohibited acts of the Genocide Convention, and Genocide Watch has declared a genocidal emergency for the country. In India, Islamophobic narratives run rampant, so much so that there have been direct and public calls to commit genocide against Indian Muslims, which is punishable under the Genocide Convention. Moreover, Genocide Watch has issued two genocide alerts for India as well as declared a genocidal emergency, which suggests that immediate action should be taken.

At each of the ten stages of genocide, preventative measures can be employed to stop further harm. Without holding perpetrators accountable, we will all be condemned to repeat this cycle of violent repression, with ripple effects across the world. As such it is critical that the international community, including the United States and Canada, take action to prevent and punish genocide, which is an obligation under the Genocide Convention as well as international customary law.

Policy Recommendations

Policy Recommendations for the United States

1. The United States should appoint a special representative to combat Islamophobia, following the example Canada has set in this regard. Additionally, the United States government should also institute a special office at the State Department to track and combat Islamophobia globally.
2. The United States should sanction those responsible for Islamophobic persecution under the Global Magnitsky Act.
3. All support provided by the United States to China, Burma, India, and CAR should be evaluated under a full analysis of their human rights record.
4. The United States should include human rights experts at any diplomatic and trade negotiation meetings with China, Burma, India, and CAR.
5. The United States should mobilize the international community to hold governments accountable for the grave human rights violations committed, specifically by classifying the situations as “genocide” pursuant to the Genocide Convention as opposed to other euphemisms such as “ethnic cleansing”.
6. The United States should create a rapid response team led by human rights experts at US Embassies to respond to and investigate attacks against religious minorities by visiting the affected areas, speaking to the victims, their families, and witnesses, and then reporting their findings directly to United States Ambassadors.
7. The United States should mobilize the international community to bring immediate relief to the victims of the humanitarian crisis in each respective country. This should include providing reparations and rehabilitation to victims and their families.

Policy Recommendations for Canada

1. While Canada has become the first country to appoint a Special Representative to Combat Islamophobia, it is critical to recognize Islamophobia as a global phenomenon. It is with Canada’s support that the United Nations adopted March 15 as Global Islamophobia Day. We therefore recommend that Global Affairs Canada open a section to monitor and advise the government on combating Islamophobia globally.
2. Canada should sanction those responsible for Islamophobic persecution under the Canadian version of the Magnitsky Act, the Justice for Victims of Corrupt Foreign Officials Act (Sergei Magnitsky Law).
3. The Prime Minister’s office should publicly condemn human rights violations against Muslim minorities in China, Burma, CAR and India. Many of the grave human rights violations in these countries are well documented and based on credible reports.

4. As hate speech is illegal in Canada, all monitoring mechanisms of hate speech should include Islamophobic rhetoric.
5. All support provided by Canada to China, Burma, India, and CAR should be evaluated under a full analysis of their human rights record.
6. Canada should include human rights experts at any diplomatic and trade negotiation meetings with China, Burma, India, and CAR.
7. Canada should mobilize the international community to hold governments accountable for the grave human rights violations committed, specifically by classifying situations as “genocide” pursuant to the Genocide Convention as opposed to other euphemisms such as “ethnic cleansing”.
8. Canada should mobilize the international community to bring immediate relief to the victims of the humanitarian crisis in each respective country. This should include providing reparations and rehabilitation to victims and their families.

Policy Recommendations for the United Nations

1. The United Nations Security Council should ensure accountability for crimes under international law committed in China, Burma, CAR, and India by referring situations to the International Criminal Court or, alternatively, by creating ad hoc international criminal tribunals where appropriate. Furthermore, the Security Council should adopt targeted individual sanctions, including travel bans and asset freezes, against those who appear most responsible for serious crimes under international law.
2. Until the Security Council acts, the General Assembly, or alternatively the Human Rights Council, should create an independent, impartial mechanism to collect, consolidate, preserve and analyse evidence of violations of international humanitarian law and human rights violations and abuses and should prepare files to facilitate and expedite fair and independent criminal proceedings in national, regional or international courts or tribunals.
3. The United Nations should expand the Office for Genocide Prevention, fund and task them to recommend effective preventative mechanisms.
4. Justice for All commends the Independent Investigative Mechanism for Myanmar (Burma) for their efforts so far, and recommends instituting corresponding mechanisms for China, CAR, and India.
5. More funding should be provided to the Special Rapporteur to Myanmar (Burma), who has done an exemplary job. The Special Rapporteur to Myanmar (Burma) should be encouraged to coordinate with the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief to highlight the role of Islamophobia in Burma.
6. A Special Rapporteur to India and to China should be appointed. If this proves to be unfeasible, special procedures with thematic mandates must be encouraged to address the concerns described in this report, even if access to the areas of conflict and oppression are restricted.
7. The United Nations should ask the Special Rapporteur on Religious Freedom to address the issue of religious freedom for Muslim minorities, and ensure they have adequate resources to maintain a strong focus on the human rights crises in China, Burma, India, and CAR.
8. The Human Rights Council should specifically request the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to focus on ensuring accountability for human rights violations and abuses in China, Burma, India, and CAR, including by enhanced monitoring, documentation, analysis and public reporting on the situation of human rights; raising awareness among civil society and other actors engaged in documenting human rights violations about relevant international standards; working with victim communities to raise awareness about justice options; and supporting comprehensive rule of law and security sector reform in China, Burma, India, and CAR in accordance with international human rights norms and standards. Appropriate resources should be allocated.
9. The international community, through the United Nations, should use all diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means to encourage and assist each country in meeting its responsibility to protect its people from genocide. It should take collective action in accordance with the Charter of the

United Nations, as necessary.

10. The international community should ensure that engagement with China, Burma, India, and CAR, and support for aid, development and reform projects, take into account and address human rights concerns and explicitly conform to the principles of non-discrimination and equality. The international community should also ensure that humanitarian organizations working on the situation in China, Burma, India, and CAR are appropriately funded.
11. The United Nations and the international community must ensure that the repatriation of refugees and the return of internally displaced persons are allowed only when safe, voluntary and dignified, with explicit human rights protections in place, including citizenship.
12. The United Nations should promote a trust fund for victim support, through which victims can receive psychosocial support, legal aid and livelihood support, and other means of assistance. All trust fund projects should be designed in consultation with victims.

Policy Recommendations for Civil Society

1. Share this report with your friends, families, and community members.
2. Partner and speak directly with members of the impacted communities.
3. Organize events, educational panels, or programs on Islamophobia and how it is leading to genocide across the globe.
4. Remain up to date with websites, social media and newsletters from human rights organizations such as Justice for All, Genocide Watch, and Human Rights Watch, and spread this information to expand its reach and raise awareness.
5. Advocate for governmental and business actions to counter Islamophobia and genocide.
6. Work with human rights organizations to understand the legal architecture of repression and help to dismantle it.

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ISLAMOPHOBIA

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UYGHURS IN CHINA • ROHINGYA IN BURMA • MUSLIMS IN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC • INDIAN MUSLIMS

