

Speech by Secretary Chen Quanguo at the Conference of the Autonomous Region's Cadres

(Transcription from Recording)

June 18, 2018

Translator's note: this is a partial translation (approx. the first third) of the original transcript.

Next, I will again give a few opinions regarding the implementation of the requirements made in State Councilor Zhao Kezhi's speech, thoroughly studying and implementing the General Secretary's strategy for governing Xinjiang.

1. Thoroughly implement and study Comrade Zhao Kezhi's important speech, align thoughts and actions with the General Secretary's strategy for governing Xinjiang.

Comrade Zhao Kezhi's important speech reflects the strategy for governing Xinjiang of the Comrade Zhao Kezhi's important speech embodies the Party Central Committee's strategy for governing Xinjiang with Comrade Xi Jinping at the core and embodies the General Secretary's instructions and requirements. We must conscientiously implement it well, aligning our thoughts and actions with the General Secretary's strategy for governing Xinjiang. The first thing is to seriously study Comrade Kezhi's speech, because Comrade Kezhi's important speech embodies the Party Central Committee's strategy for governing Xinjiang with Comrade Xi Jinping at the core, embodies the General Secretary's instructions and requirements. We must thoroughly study it and implement it well, aligning our thoughts and actions with the General Secretary's strategy for governing Xinjiang, this [Zhao's] speech has several key points that must be fully grasped.

FIRST, it fully affirmed the correctness of the party committee of the autonomous region in implementing the General Secretary's combination punch [approach] for governing Xinjiang. In his speech, State Councilor Kezhi spoke highly and approved of the party committee's series of measures and combination punch [approach]¹ [which it] adopted to implement the General Secretary's strategy for governing Xinjiang. Comrade Kezhi mentioned in his speech: Secretary [Chen] Quanguo is loyal, firm, impartial and selfless towards the party committee of the autonomous region. With the spirit of taking responsibility for the country, he has led cadres and masses of all ethnic groups in the region through extraordinarily arduous measures and crackdowns to fight hard for more than a year, achieved the goal of the first year [within a 5-year plan] of stabilizing [the region]; [achieved the] important result of replacing the Two Nos - Four Decreases - Two Increases², secured wider social stability in Xinjiang; through hard work he has personally made important contributions to the overall situation of the national counterterrorism fight, and has also created a safe and stable social environment for the reform and development of Xinjiang.

¹ Using a type of boxing technique to mean carrying out a diversified and strong fight.

² The original language from the file states “两无四下降两争强的重要成果,” however after considerable double-checking against other online available official sources, the highlighted character must have been a mistake due to dialectical differences, a typing mistake, or various other reasons. Instead the phrase should be: “两无四下降两增强,” which translates to – “Two Nos Four Decreases Two Increases” – meaning: No violent terrorist attack, no underground tabligh activity (the two no-s); criminal cases, public disturbance cases, endangering public safety cases, public disturbing incidents (4) significantly decreased; all ethnic cadres' and the masses' feeling of safety increased, trusting in the social stability and long term peace increased (2).

At the same time, he mentioned how over the past year, with comrade (Chen) Quanguo as team leader, the party committees of the autonomous region and the party committees and governments at all levels have tightly embraced the overall goal, focused on the overall goal, implemented the overall goal, and achieved brilliant results in the initial battle. Everyone unanimously responded that Xinjiang has stabilized, [that] we have seized the right to take the initiative, [achieving the] overall goal is possible, confidence in our work has increased. We feel proud to have made our own contributions to Xinjiang's stability. [Zhao] affirmed the correctness of our implementation of the combination punch [approach] for [achieving] the overall goal and strategy for governing Xinjiang, and thus told the comrades that the Autonomous Region's Party Committee's current series of combination punch measures are correct, and they all meet the requirements of the General Secretary [and of the] Party Central Committee. All [of the measures] are to be implemented one by one, and we are to continue to grasp them for a long time, persisting and continuing [to implement them] will [yield] results.

SECOND, [Zhao] fully affirmed the achievements Xinjiang has made in implementing the General Secretary's strategy for governing Xinjiang. State Councilor Kezhi summed these achievements up as the Ten Well-Done's: **First**, the battle to strike hard has been fought well, and the "digging, reducing, and shoveling" and "looking back" were very effective against violent terrorist gangs, striking against more than 20,000 gangs and achieving remarkable results. We have maintained the stability of the overall social situation, [achieved the] "Prevent Three Things From Happening," and the strike hard [campaign] made an irreplaceable and decisive contribution³. **Second**, the sources of extremism have been controlled well, the seizing of wild imams has been done well, the investigating of two-faced persons has been done well, the "Digging, Reducing, and Shoveling," the "Four Breaks" (breaking lineages, breaking roots, breaking connections, breaking origins) have been done well. **Third**, the mass work has been done well. Developing and carrying out activities that promote ethnic unity and the idea that all ethnicities are one family has been done well, cadres living [with ethnic minorities] and carrying out the "Two Coverages" has also been done well.⁴ **Fourth**, education in the national language has been done well. Full propagation of bilingual education from kindergarten to the university level has implemented the central government's strategy for governing Xinjiang. **Fifth**, transformation through education has been done well. [Zhao] saw many of our vocational training centers. He gave them a high approval. These trainees are victims. [Those who have been given prison] sentences below 10 years are not sentenced [in prison], [they] are subjected to transformation through education, the "Three Studies" (study Mandarin, vocational skills, and law), de-radicalization "Three Studies One Go One Employment", implement ideological transformation leading to employment and poverty elevation. The appraisal [of the re-education work] is extremely high; this is an invention, a new approach created by combining the realities of Xinjiang, [Zhao] hopes that we will stick to it and not waver. **Sixth**, the construction and application of the Integrated Joint Operations Platform has been established and used well. After seeing it, State Councilor Kezhi declared that this is the country's Integrated Joint Operation Platform [IJOP]. At the same time, he requested that the Ministry of Public Security, the National Development and Reform Commission, the Ministry of Finance and other relevant departments continue to support Xinjiang in raising the country's Integrated Platform for counterterrorism and stability maintenance to a world-class level. **Seventh**, social prevention and control management have been done well. After inspecting our police stations, he requested the Ministry of Public Security to plan for the next reform step, the constructed convenience police stations in Xinjiang represent the direction of reform that the Ministry of Public Security should take across the country. In many places, when people were killed you couldn't find police officers [to respond], now our one-minute response circle [means that police] can timely arrive at

³ Capitalized phrases in parenthesis represent policy initiatives and therefore act as nouns in these sentences.

⁴ The "two coverages" refer to the party's organizational coverage and work coverage.
<https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E4%B8%A4%E4%B8%AA%E8%A6%86%E7%9B%96/21597578>.

the [crime] scene. He [Zhao] wants to expand this experience to three or four other provinces, autonomous regions, or municipalities, turning it into an important initiative for public security reform, causing people's sense of security to increase. **Eighth**, the construction of the border prevention and control system has been done well. [After] he saw seeing our human source-based, physical prevention-based and technology-driven defense [systems], whenever another province has a national border, [their] border guard forces are required to come to Xinjiang to study. **Ninth**, the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps [XPCC] has developed well toward the south. Southward development is one of the "Three Major Items" of the reform, and Committee Member [Zhao] Kezhi also fully affirmed it. **Tenth**, the spiritual [i.e. ideological] condition of the cadres and the masses is good – the leading cadres of the party and governments at all levels are politically firm and courageous to undertake responsibility, the vast majority of political cadres and police officers are not afraid of challenges, dangers, and sacrifices, there is enthusiasm, an entrepreneurial spirit, and good energy which reflects a positive spirit to forge ahead in unity for building Xinjiang together. Practice has proven that the Xinjiang governance strategy of the Party Central Committee with General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core is completely correct and wise, the Autonomous Region's Party Committee's implementation of the Xinjiang governance strategy has focused on the overall goal, and the combination punch [approach] is strong and effective. Through the Commission for Discipline Inspection and Supervision's grasping of the cadres' work style, investigating of two-faced persons and of corrupt elements, through unannounced visits that continue to signal strict governance of the party, there has been a fundamental transformation of the cadres' work style.

THIRD, [Zhao's speech] fully affirmed the Party Committee of the Autonomous Region's implementation of the General Secretary's strategy for governing Xinjiang; that the five-year comprehensive stability [plan] meets the requirements of the Party Central Committee – [namely] in one year to stabilize [the region], in two years to consolidate [the results], in three years to normalize [social stability], and in five years [achieve] comprehensive stability – [that this plan] is in accord with the requirements of the Party Central Committee and the General Secretary's strategy for governing Xinjiang, [that it is] in line with the real situation in Xinjiang, which not only puts pressure on us, but also gives the general public a sense of security and confidence. [To achieve] comprehensive stability [requires] to firmly and resolutely cleanse out separatist forces and the three evil forces.

FOURTH, [Zhao] put forward demands and hopes regarding Xinjiang's continued implementation of the General Secretary's strategy for governing Xinjiang [and of] maintaining a high state of alert⁵. The SCO Qingdao Summit was done brilliantly under the planning and guidance of the General Secretary, but the seven nations led by the United States⁶ did very poorly, the cooperation [promoted by] the SCO Qingdao Summit is all-round comprehensive, one very important item of work was to jointly strive to fight the "three evil forces," and a consensus was reached to strengthen international cooperation. Simultaneously, [Zhao] also demands that we keep in mind the great trust that the General Secretary has placed in us, from an international perspective, this is still a period of high incidents of violent terrorist activities, violent terrorist incidents are occurring frequently around the world; from the domestic perspective, many population segments in Xinjiang have been influenced by "Xinjiang independence" and "Double-Pan" [pan-Islamist, pan-Turkist] thinking, [this influence] has spanned a long time and influenced a broad range [of society], so we must maintain a state of high alert, recognize that the situation of the "three superimposed periods" has not fundamentally changed (highly active period of violent terrorist activity, an acute period of anti-separatist struggle, a painful period of interventionary treatment). We must not let our guard down because of the [achieved] initial stability of

⁵ 警钟长鸣, literally: to keep the alarm bells ringing.

⁶ This refers to the 44th G7 summit in early June 2018.

the first year [of the 5-year plan]. The situation of “there are seeds outside the country, soil inside the country, and a market online”⁷ still exists.

FIFTH, we must study Comrade Zhao Kezhi's speech, we must grasp the important next work items needed to implement the General Secretary's strategy for governing Xinjiang, the important [next] work items are the five aspects mentioned by Comrade Zhao Kezhi:⁸ **First, continue to deepen the struggle to strike hard.** Comrade Zhao Kezhi said that the current situation in Xinjiang and the characteristics of this current stage determine that the fight against terrorism in Xinjiang cannot be stopped. It is necessary to deeply understand the long-term, complex, and arduous nature of the fight against terrorism, and earnestly prepare for a long-term struggle; the high pressure strike hard posture cannot be weakened in the slightest. The separatists are lurking beneath the current state of high-pressure, and if this state changes, they will reappear after a while. The separatists also think that our Xinjiang is the same as before, [measures are] tight for a period, relaxed for a period, this is the separatists' pipedream, which must not come to be. Under the strong leadership of the Party Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at the core, our Party Committee cannot stop the anti-separatist struggle for even a single minute, even if basic stability will be achieved in five years [2017 to 2021], we will continue to strike hard on it in the next five years [by implication 2022 to 2026]. Therefore, the "two-faced persons" and "separatist forces" with their illusions must quickly surrender, wake up to the danger that awaits them, and rein in the horse at the edge of the precipice. Comrade Zhao Kezhi also said that our party committee is a party committee [that is willing to] "throw caution to the wind"⁹, and this [willingness to] "throw caution to the wind" is required to carry out the struggle firmly and resolutely to the very end. The General Secretary said that the anti-separatist struggle is long-term, complex, and arduous, comrade Zhao Kezhi also reminded us that we must do the work well according to the General Secretary's instructions. **Second, make every effort to ensure the safety and stability of the prisons and internment facilities.** I explained “absolute security” to the Department of Justice, and the supervision team of the autonomous region also implements long-term supervision. Do a good job with the "Five Prevents" (disturbance prevention, escape prevention, earthquake mitigation [measures], fire prevention, epidemic prevention), nothing can [be allowed to] happen, no one can attack the interment facilities, there are multiple lines of defense, walls of copper and iron [indicating impregnability], as soon as there is someone who moves [against them], fire must resolutely be opened [on them]. **Third, actively promote law-based governance.** Comrade Zhao Kezhi quoted the General Secretary's words, "Ethnic separatist forces in Xinjiang use religious extremism as their ideological foundation," therefore we must first and foremost cleanse the source and carry out “de-extremism” work. **Fourth, we must do a solid job in preventing backflow¹⁰ and [do] good anti-infiltration work.** Currently, we have already achieved an integrated combination of human source-based, physical prevention-based and technology-driven defense [systems], and we must continue to seize [this work]. **Fifth, make overall plans to do a good job in the management and control of social governance and mass work in accordance with the law.** All of these five points reflect the earnest hope that Comrade Zhao Kezhi has put into us, and we must implement them well.

SIXTH, it is necessary to connect with the relevant central departments as demanded in Comrade Zhao Kezhi's speech, [which will] fully support Xinjiang, implementing the General Secretary's strategy for governing Xinjiang well. We must calculate the political cost and the overall

⁷ This expression argues that the “seeds” of religious extremism that exist outside the country fall on fertile ground (i.e. susceptible Uyghur minds) inside the country, and that online platforms exist that serve to connect these two. This phrase was employed by Xi Jinping in internal speeches in 2014.

⁸ These are covered in Zhao Kezhi's speech from June 15, 2018, on pages 8 to 10.

⁹ This phrase can alternatively be translated as a willingness to “achieve an outcome no matter what.”

¹⁰ This refers to the return (flow) of dangerous extremists and tools (weapons) used to carry out acts of extremism from abroad into Xinjiang.

cost, [viewing] the five aspects of internment facility construction in tandem. [Xinjiang must] connect with the relevant [central government] departments regarding the issue of overcrowded [internment facilities], the issue of a shortage of police force staff, the issue of guaranteeing [funding for] expenditures, [and] the issue of capacity building. Implementation of Comrade Zhao Kezhi's speech in fact [leads us to] study again, understand again, mobilize again, and deploy again the General Secretary's strategy for governing Xinjiang.

Second, using Comrade Zhao Kezhi's important speech, [and] examining it against the work of the previous stage, the party, government, army, police, soldiers, and people worked together and made concerted efforts to focus on the General Secretary's strategy for governing Xinjiang, and worked hard to achieve important strides in overall stability regarding the Shanghai Cooperation Organization [SCO] Summit and Ramadan, etc.¹¹

Today, I take this opportunity to make an approximate summary of our previous work. **First**, the whole region [has] worked together to make concerted efforts, focused on the overall goal, exerted precise efforts, [stood] unified and without any distractions, embodied the sense of mission, responsibility, and consciousness of implementing the General Secretary's strategy for governing Xinjiang, and everyone has done a great job in this regard. **Second**, the coordination and linkage mechanism of the party, government, army, police, soldiers, and people have achieved a very good result, which received Comrade Zhao Kezhi's affirmation, who also demanded that the Ministry of Public Security [in Beijing] is to learn from Xinjiang [and] to [also] establish this mechanism. The coordination and integration mechanism has been used well, the key was that the party, government, military, police, soldiers and people, and especially the leading cadres at all levels stuck to their posts and diligently carried out their duties, with patriotism, honor [for] the mission, dared to take responsibility, did not waiver in hardship, were not afraid to make sacrifices, and implemented the General Secretary's and the Xinjiang Autonomous Region's Party Committee's "Combined Punches" strategy for governing Xinjiang. **Third**, the various measures took root, achieved results, in particular, our Commission for Discipline Inspection and Supervisory Committee have transformed the work style of [Xinjiang's] officials, [by] investigating and identifying two-faced persons, corrupt persons, those who failed to accomplish [their tasks] [and] messed up, playing a decisive and fundamental role. The work style of cadres is obviously different now, now everyone is focusing on the overall goal, promoting the implementation of various measures, and ensuring the "Three No Happens" and "Three Stabilities", this provided not only a good environment for the General Secretary's great-nation diplomacy at the SCO Qingdao Summit, but also ensured the stability of the overall social situation in Xinjiang during the time of Ramadan. **Fourth**, [we] stabilized the situation, tested the correctness and effectiveness of these various measures, trained cadres at all levels, and transformed the work styles of cadres. Our party, government, military, police, soldiers and civilians, village work teams, cadres stationed in villages and mosques, first secretaries, working groups stationed in the mainland, re-education centers, inspection teams at all levels and other comrades have all performed very well, and they are all able to sacrifice small things in order to benefit society, working even during holidays, comrades remain at their posts, embodying everyone's love for the people and the country, and their firm belief to dedicate themselves fully to the party and to the country. This year is the year of consolidation, after entering a normalized state of affairs, we will not give up any of these measures, nor will we relax in the slightest, but the rotation mechanism for cadres at all levels to have days off should be discussed and studied.

Third, according to the requirements of Comrade Zhao Kezhi's speech, we must continue to fully implement the General Secretary's strategy for governing Xinjiang, in particular the general goal of

¹¹ Sections in bold font are in a different Chinese font in the original. That font is used for headers (if texts are header-like and therefore shorter) but also indicates direct speech.

stability and long-term peace and stability, firmly grasping stability maintenance work, ensuring the "Three Nos", achieving the "Three Stabilities".

(1) We must focus on the general goal and do a solid job [in achieving] each and every [aspect] of stability maintenance and long-term peace and stability work. To implement well the series of measures of the Party Committee of the Autonomous Region, especially carrying out the continued in-depth struggle to strike hard, it is necessary to maintain a high-pressure posture against the "Three Evil Forces", and to normalize the strike hard [campaign]. This year is a period of consolidation, and the degree of the visibility of the police will be lowered a little, but the strength of the troops [security forces] will not be any less, it will be maintained, and it is necessary to "combine both visible and invisible" measures, after the normalization¹² the focus will be on an invisible [police presence] that is not easily visible on the streets, but if a situation [were to arise], [security forces] can immediately be mobilized. When researching Xinjiang work at the Politburo Standing Committee, the General Secretary said: "The most critical issue now is to clarify the focus and to spot where we ought to be directing our efforts for our work in Xinjiang. All efforts and powers must be used to advance the focal point of [this] work in Xinjiang [which] should be social stability and long-term peace and stability, this is the first priority for Xinjiang. Only when Xinjiang is stable will the whole country be stable, don't use simple GDP measures and growth rates to determine heroes, this is especially true for Xinjiang. The anti-separatist struggle in Xinjiang is long-term, complex, sharp, at times even extremely fierce, in a sense, this can also be said to be the eternal theme of Xinjiang." For example, comrade Dongchuan¹³ caught Shirzati¹⁴, the name of a person who betrayed the country and defected to the enemy. He became the head of the Department of Justice at such a young age, and in such an important position, he didn't even have a little bit of gratitude for the party. I was speaking at the Standing Committee and said that we, the Communist Party, believe in Marxism-Leninism, and we are materialists, but from a religious perspective, religion also talks about karma, and the Communist Party is your great benefactor! Uncle Kurban¹⁵ was an ordinary peasant, after the liberation [1949], the Communist Party gave him a few acres of land, he thanked the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. He wanted to ride a donkey into Beijing, even a farmer knew how to thank the Communist Party, Shirzati you are at the main office level, and a lot of economic problems have been found out about you, yet you have no gratitude, don't you think you deserve to suffer retribution? I am analyzing this issue from a religious point of view.

¹² This appears to refer to the time after the third year (2019) of the 5-year plan. In February 2020, western journalists began to report a significantly reduced police presence (<https://archive.ph/0GdMx>), a trend that continued and intensified into 2021.

¹³ Luo Dongchuan (罗东川), from April 2017 to July 2018 Party Secretary of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Disciplinary Committee.

¹⁴ Shirzat Bawudun (希尔扎提·巴吾东) was Deputy Secretary of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Political and Legal Committee which was headed by Zhu Hailun and played a leading role in overseeing and implementing the mass internments. He was also head of the Department of Justice as stated in Chen's speech. On June 5, 2018, just before Chen's speech, he was detained on suspicion of duty-related crimes ([LINK](#)). He subsequently received the death penalty.

¹⁵ Kurban Tulum was a Uyghur who lived in Xinjiang. He was promoted by the Communist Party and is often showcased by the CCEP as a symbol of Han-Uyghur equality in China.