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THE ATROCITIES AGAINST UYGHURS AND OTHER MINORITIES IN XINJIANG

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BEFORE THE

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THE ATROCITIES AGAINST UYGHURS AND OTHER MINORITIES IN XINJIANG

Thursday, May 6, 2021

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 12:38 p.m., via Webex, Hon. Gregory Meeks (Chairman of the committee) presiding.

Chairman MEEKS. The Committee on Foreign Affairs will come to order.

Without objection, the Chair is authorized to declare a recess of the committee at any point. And all Members will have 5 days to submit statements, extraneous material, and questions for the record, subject to the length limitations in the rules.

To insert something into the record, please have your staff email to the previously mentioned address or contact full committee staff.

As a reminder to Members, please keep your video function on at all times, even when you are not recognized by the Chair. Members are responsible for muting and unmuting themselves. Consistent with House rules, staff will only mute Members, as appropriate, when they are not on the record listening, to eliminate background noise.

I see that we have a quorum. And I now recognize myself for opening remarks.

Pursuant to notice, we meet today to examine the ongoing atrocities being committed by the People's Republic of China against the Uyghurs and other ethnic and religious minority groups in the Uyghur region of China. Since 2017, Uyghurs, Kazakhs, and Kyrgyz, and Members of other Muslim minority groups have undergone mass detention and seen their way of life threatened by China.

As many as one million people have been arbitrarily detained in mass internment camps, prisons, and detention centers. They have been subject to forced labor, torture, political indoctrination, forced sterilizations and abortions, suppression of religious practices, family separation, sexual abuse, and other severe human rights abuses.

Successive U.S. Secretaries of State have been clear that China is conducting a genocide against Uyghurs and other minorities. Many former camp detainees and people with family Members that have been detained have spoken out, many at great risk to their personal safety and that of their families in China. They have provided firsthand accounts confirming China's targeted campaign of repression toward Muslim ethnic minorities.

We are going to hear the harrowing story of one such person today, a brave advocate and survivor. Official Chinese statements

and documents, satellite images, media reports, and other publicly available documents have revealed the horrific abuses inflicted upon Uyghurs and Members of other ethnic and religious minority groups.

But instead of working with the international community to investigate these atrocities and bring an end to the genocide, the Chinese Government has endorsed a strategy of deflection and disinformation. It has labeled any attention to these grave human rights violations as lies and rumors; invoked baseless sanctions on organizations and individuals for their investigations into the atrocities; and has prevented and blocked processes for independent investigations into human rights violations.

Last month, I was proud to introduce H.R. 317 alongside my friend and the Ranking Member of this committee, Michael McCaul, to condemn the genocide and crimes against humanity that are taking place in the Uyghur region. We called upon the Biden Administration to get the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations to urge the body to investigate the ongoing human rights violations, and to invoke multilateral sanctions against China at the United Nations Security Council.

Moreover, we moved legislation that ensures that the United States does not do business with institutions and entities that utilize forced labor in China. In doing so, we have demonstrated that defending human rights is a bipartisan priority. This body will continue to shed light on human rights violations, no matter the country involved, be they friend or foe.

The United States has also taken action to hold accountable the Government of the People's Republic of China for these atrocities, and to punish those responsible for these detestable human rights violations.

The Biden Administration has implemented targeted sanctions against Chinese Government officials over their continued human rights abuses in the Uyghur region. We must continue to work with our partners and allies in leading a coordinated effort against what is happening in the Uyghur region of China. We must send a clear message to urge the international community to stay united in condemning the horrific treatment of China's ethnic minorities.

We also must put pressure on China to abide by its commitments as a signatory to the Genocide Convention and provide human rights monitors, researchers, and journalists unrestricted access to report on what is happening in the Uyghur region. And this should be done free from any interference.

I now recognize the Ranking Member McCaul of Texas for his opening remarks and thank him for working together to place this hearing today.

Mr. McCaul, you are now recognized for remarks.

Mr. MCCAUL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for holding this important hearing. And thank you for working with me on the resolution.

And just on this very important issue, I think the eyes of the world are watching. And certainly the Communist Party of China is watching as we speak.

The genocide against the Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities at the hands of the Chinese Communist Party is the moral test of our

times. There are few others issues that demand this level of attention, not just from our own committee but from the world.

Elevating this issue is one of the key recommendations made by the China Task Force that I Chaired. So, I am grateful that we can give it the bipartisan attention that it deserves.

I am also grateful, Mr. Chairman, that you joined with me to introduce and pass a resolution condemning this genocide and calling for action. When our resolution passes the House, it will ensure we are speaking in a united voice with the current and prior Administrations by calling these ongoing atrocities genocide. Continuing this bipartisan effort will be essential as we respond to this crisis. And I thank you for being my partner on this issue.

Genocide is a term that we reserve for history's most serious crimes against humanity. It is essential we get our response right, not as Republicans and Democrats, but as Americans, because we have faced this test before and we have always passed that test. Our response to the Uyghur genocide should be an example of our character, rather than a stain on our history.

This humanitarian crisis is about more than just U.S. foreign policy toward the People's Republic of China, it is about the legitimacy of the post-World War system designed to stop these atrocities whenever and wherever they are being committed. It is about how we stop the CCP from contaminating consumer supply chains with slave labor. It is about how we stop using cotton sourced from the Uyghur homeland, and picked by those without a voice. And it is about how we can convince our private sector to act consistently with American values after they developed a reliance on the PRC's consumer market over the last 40 years, and as the United States attempted to bring China into the family of nations but failed.

That's why I am disappointed that our minority witness declined our invitation to join us this afternoon. I did invite Nike Incorporated, an American company, that is now struggling with the moral challenge many American companies face. Some analysts claim that Nike's supply chain is tainted by forced labor in China. Nike has publicly denied they source from the Uyghur areas, and have denied Uyghur forced labor exists in their factories.

Simply taking a stand against forced labor has exposed them to a massive boycott led by the CCP's online mouthpieces. However, we can assume that part of their decision process may have been likely the backlash from the CCP.

And on the other end of the spectrum is Disney, which actually thanked the CCP Propaganda Office responsible for covering up the Uyghur genocide, and in the end credits in one of the most recent films, Mulan. And they actually filmed portions of the movie in the Xinjiang Province.

We cannot put profits ahead of doing what is right. The American people need to hear from these companies doing business with the CCP, whether they are household names or who is just trying to do the right thing, or they are companies who shamelessly do the bidding of the CCP to maintain their market access, no matter what the moral cost is.

The true nature of these Faustian deals need to come to light so consumers can begin to know where their money is going. And even though Nike has declined to join us today, we are still honored to

be joined by an excellent panel of witnesses who use their voices to stand up for Uyghurs and other ethnic and religious minorities who are persecuted by the CCP.

So, I want to thank you again, Mr. Chairman, for your hard work in this effort. And thank you so much for holding this hearing.

I yield back.

Chairman MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Ranking Member. And thank you for your hard work in putting this together. It is a pleasure joining you on this important act and moving forward, standing up for the true values of America. Thank you.

I would now like to recognize Ami Bera, who is the Chair of the Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific, Central Asia, and Nonproliferation.

Mr. BERA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and Ranking Member.

Again, this is another area where this is not a partisan issue. We have Democrats and Republicans coming together, and all of us in Congress, to speak with moral clarity on the importance in the 21st Century that we cannot let atrocities like what is happening to the Uyghur population occur in a vacuum. And we have to draw attention to this.

I am quite pleased at the leadership that both of you have shown and the leadership that Congress has shown together. We now have to work with the rest of the world, our partners in the European Union, other like-minded nations, to elevate this conversation.

We also have to work with the Islamic majority countries to highlight the atrocities so that the public in those countries understand what is happening to the Uyghur culture, their religion, and atrocities.

So, I look forward to working with both of you, the full committee, my partner the Ranking Member Mr. Chabot to address these issues and move them forward. So, thank you again for holding this hearing.

And I yield back.

Chairman MEEKS. Thank you, Chair Bera.

I now recognize the subcommittee Ranking Member Mr. Chabot for 1 minute.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And as the Ranking Member of the Asia and Pacific Subcommittee and the past Chair of that committee I have been following the Chinese Communist Party very closely for years now. The barbaric repression that they are committing against the Uyghurs is truly horrific, despicable. Words really do not do justice to the crimes that the whole world are witnessing today.

Last month we passed a resolution introduced by Ranking Member McCaul and yourself, Mr. Chairman, calling the atrocities what they are: genocide. Forced sterilization, involuntary marriage, family separations are the order of the day. This hearing is particularly important because the CCP routinely attempts to cover up its malevolent actions.

We must take every opportunity to draw attention to the murders, accounts of rapes, torture, and the Orwellian surveillance of innocent Uyghur civilians. We must draw attention to these and

countless other atrocities, and then hold their perpetrators accountable (inaudible).

So, thank you for holding this hearing. And I yield back.

Chairman MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chabot.

I will now introduce our witnesses.

Ms. Tursunay Ziyawudun with her interpreter, Dr. Elise Anderson. Ms. Tursunay is a survivor of the Chinese Government's extralegal arbitrary detention centers in the Uyghur region, and an outspoken advocate for Uyghur human rights.

In November 2016, she was detained for more than a year in total in two different camps. She was released from the camps in December 2018 and was granted special parole to enter the United States in September 2020.

As one of the very few survivors of the camps who have reached safety in another country, she has provided testimony to human rights groups, researchers, and journalists investigating the Chinese Government's crimes against Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslim peoples.

Next we have Dr. James A. Millward, who is a professor of intersocietal History at the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. He also teaches at the East Asia Program at the University of Granada in Spain.

Throughout his career, Dr. Millward has specialized in the Qing Empire, the Silk Road, and music and history, historical and contemporary Xinjiang, Uyghurs and other Xinjiang indigenous people, and PRC ethnicity policy.

The Honorable Nury Turkel is the Chair of the Board of Directors at the Uyghur Human Rights Project. As the first U.S.-educated Uyghur American lawyer, he is a foreign policy expert and human rights advocate. He was born in a re-education camp at the height of China's tumultuous Cultural Revolution, and spent the first 7 months of his life in detention with his mother.

He came to the United States in 1995 as a student, and was later granted asylum by the U.S. Government.

Without objection, all witnesses' prepared testimony will be made part of the record.

And I will now recognize the witnesses for 5 minutes each to summarize their testimony. So, first I go to Ms. Tursunay Ziyawudun. You are now recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF TURSUNAY ZIYAWUDUN, SURVIVOR AND ADVOCATE

[The following statement and answers were delivered through an interpreter.]

Ms. ZIYAWUDUN. Hello to all of you. My name is Tursunay Ziyawudun. I am from Kunes County, Ghulja City, East Turkestan.

I am speaking to you today as a survivor who spent time in a concentration camp in Kunes. Thank you to the U.S. Government for giving me this opportunity to tell you about my experience. I thank all of you.

Because I do not know English, Ms. Elise is going to tell you about what happened to me.

I feel that I must speak up as a survivor for all those who have not survived. I am not asking for sympathy for myself, I am asking

governments around the world to wake up. The world should not allow genocide to continue in the 21st Century.

I grew up in East Turkestan. My husband and I moved to Kazakhstan in 2010. The Kazakhstan Government granted residency to my husband who is of Kazakh ethnicity, but my application was rejected. Because my Chinese passport was expiring, I returned to my hometown in November 2016. Border officials questioned me:

Why did I go to Kazakhstan?

Had I been in contact with anyone from the U.S.?

One month later, the authorities confiscated our passports. And a few months after that I was sent to a camp. The conditions were terrible and filthy. We were told we had problems with our ideology and did receive education. If we asked questions, we were beaten. Because of my health condition, I was released after around 1 month.

The second time I was sent to a camp was far worse. It has left an unforgettable scar on my heart. I was taken on March 8th, 2018, and kept there for more than 10 months. Buses would arrive every day with more detainees. It was very overcrowded. There was a bucket in the corner for our toilet. There were cameras watching us inside the cell. And we were always hungry. Each meal was a watery soup and a bun.

We were given injections of unknown medications. Every day we had to swear loyalty to the Chinese Government and reject our faith. We had to watch endless videos about Xi Jinping.

Girls would be taken away and only brought back days later. I saw girls lose their sanity because of it. And then I, myself, was taken, along with another woman. I was tortured with an electric stick pushed inside my genital tract. I could hear the other woman scream from the next room and knew the guards were raping her. After that, she never stopped crying.

One time an order came. All the women had to be sterilized or fitted with an IUD. Many young women were crying, screaming when they were told they would be sterilized and could never have children.

I left the camp in December 2018. Before my release the officials warned me if I spoke about my experience there would be heavy consequences. I still did not feel free.

One day I saw a former cellmate. She had survived, but she was dead inside, completely finished by the rape. The Government's goal is to destroy everyone, and everybody knows it.

In September 2019, I was allowed to leave for Kazakhstan. I told my story to a Kazakh human rights group and to journalists, but I was still afraid of the Chinese Government. There was a suspicious fire at our house. And the Chinese police would call me and threaten me.

It was only after I came to the U.S. last year that I decided I could tell the full story of what happened to me. I knew that I might not be believed. I knew that some people would consider that my honor was tarnished. But, with the support of my husband, I took my courage in my hand and told the truth to BBC reporters. The story was aired on February 2d.

The story sent a shockwave around the world, with Uyghurs and Kazakhs thanking me for speaking out. They could not stop their tears as they thought about their sisters and daughters and what they might be suffering. We cried together.

The Chinese Government reacted by smearing me and the other survivors who testified about sexual abuse, even a culture of rape in the camps. At a press conference in Beijing, the foreign ministry spokesman held up my photo and called me a liar.

I want to thank the United States for giving me safe haven. Without your help, I would still be a Stateless refugee, still fearing that the Chinese Government could force me back to China.

Now you have my testimony. I ask you to take action.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Ziyawudun follows:]

House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Hearing on
"The Atrocities Against Uyghurs and Other Minorities in Xinjiang"
May 6, 2021

Testimony of Tursunay Ziyawudun

My name is Tursunay Ziyawudun. I am one of millions of Uyghurs who are the victims of the Chinese government's barbaric cruelty.

Chairman Meeks, Ranking Member McCaul, I thank you from the bottom of my heart, for inviting me to give testimony to the U.S.Congress. It is extremely painful to relive the nightmare of my year in a concentration camp. But the world needs to know what the Chinese government is really doing to people like me. I feel that I must speak up, as a survivor, for all those who have not survived.

I am not asking for sympathy for myself. I am asking governments around the world to wake up and save the millions of my people who are still suffering today in my homeland. The conscience of the world should not allow such a genocide to continue in the 21st Century. I ask the American government and the Congress to take real action to save the Uyghurs.

I grew up in Künes county, East Turkistan, where I ran my own clothing shop. I married my husband in 2008, and we moved to Kazakhstan in 2010. The Kazakhstan government granted residency to my husband, who is of Kazakh ethnicity, but my application was rejected.

Because my Chinese passport was expiring, I was forced to return to my hometown in November 2016 to renew it. As soon as I crossed the border with my husband, our troubles began. Border officials questioned me for several hours. "Why did I stay in Kazakhstan? What was I doing there? Had I been in contact with anyone from the U.S.?" The officials traveled with me back to my hometown, asking questions all the way. The next morning they came to my house to ask more questions. I had been excited to return to see my old home, but the questioning made me wish I had not come.

One month later, the authorities confiscated our passports. We had difficulties finding a place to stay, and the police continued to pressure us. I became sick with gallstones and went to the hospital for surgery. Soon after, the police said that I needed to meet with them in another town. After a four-hour bus ride, the police met us at the bus station and took me away from my husband.

That was the first time I was sent to a camp. The police took me there and dropped me off. The room was crowded with people, old and young. I was confused at first and thought we would all soon be allowed to leave. No one answered my questions about why I was there, and they took away our phones. I was allowed to talk with my husband through the gates the next day.

The conditions were terrible and filthy. After I was there for about a month, I fainted, and was taken to a hospital, where I was diagnosed with an infection. When I was returned to the camp a week later, it had been transformed into a jail. There were steel bars everywhere, and all the people inside were new. We

were told we had problems with our ideology and would receive education, but we would not be allowed to leave if we asked questions. Because of my health condition, the doctors said I should be allowed to leave, or I might die, and so I was released in April 2017. Later my husband got his passport back and returned to Kazakhstan; I had to sign a guarantee before he was allowed to leave.

The second time I was sent to a camp was far worse. It has left an unforgettable scar in my heart.

I was taken on March 8, 2018 and was kept there for almost a year. The camp had been transformed. There were high walls around it, with many new buildings, five stories tall.

At the beginning, four or five buses would arrive every day with more detainees. Many were crying and screaming, but the police would just beat them. It was very overcrowded. We were moved around to different buildings. I was moved to a building that was unfinished, the concrete floors not even dry. In each room, there were 12 people to three beds. At the end of the bed would be a toilet. Everyone could see you while you were using it. And then above the toilet and the doors, there were cameras. At all times, the guards were fully armed, with two of them standing outside the cell.

Every day at 5 am, a loudspeaker would force us to wake up. We would then have compulsory exercise, whether you were young or old. And after that, we were made to sing China's national anthem while flag-waving and saluting. We were made to swear our loyalty to the Chinese government, and say that we were loyal to China and that we would die for the country.

At 7 am, we would be given a breakfast of boiled water and one bun. We would beg for more because we were always so hungry. We had become like dogs, begging for more, but we were always told no.

After breakfast, we would line up outside the classroom for lessons. We were not allowed to talk to the teacher. We were taught Chinese law or Chinese songs. The guards told us that the more songs you learn, the sooner you could leave the camp. But it was not true. I learned 15 songs. I got 100% on the tests. But even then, I was not allowed to leave.

After the lessons, we would have lunch and sleep for an hour. Then they made us watch endless videos, usually about Chinese law and Communist Party Secretary Xi Jinping. We would spend so much of the day sitting on hard chairs that many of us got hemorrhoids.

At 7pm, we were given a black rice-soup, with a bun. Then from 7.30pm, they would tell us to exercise, even when we would complain about being terribly hungry. But none of the guards cared. If we complained, we got punished. From 8pm to 9pm, we would sing songs. Then they would make us watch more videos until 9.55pm, before having to tidy up, put chairs in the middle of the room, and place our shoes by our beds. Finally we would get to go to bed, but only after the guards had checked that everything was neat and tidy.

These were normal days. But in a year, we only had 10 or 20 of these. The rest of the days were not like this.

We always lived in fear. We spent our days listening to screams and feeling terrified that we could be taken away. Their methods of torture were always different, but a common practice was to tie us to a metal chair during interrogation. They cut off our hair, after pulling it through the bars of the cell, including that of elderly women. We were all handcuffed, shackled, and frequently called out for interrogation. The screaming, pleading, crying, is still in my head.

Girls would be taken away and only brought back days later. We were never allowed to ask what had happened to them, but we could see that they were being raped or tortured. I saw girls lose their sanity because of it.

When I was taken for questioning, I tried to be brave and stay confident, but they kept asking questions about my husband, insisting that he had joined some organization. Eventually I began screaming at them, telling them to stop asking me so many questions. Because of that, I was beaten and kicked until I bled.

Another time, I was taken with another woman, a 25-year old who had lost her parents. They locked me in a dark room while she was taken somewhere else. I was tortured with an electric stick pushed inside my genital tract. In the next room I could hear the young woman's voice. She screamed all night. I knew the guards were raping her. After that, she never stopped crying. Later, they took her again and forcibly inserted an IUD.

There was another woman who was taken to the camp because she had six children, in violation of the state birth-control policy. She too was taken and not brought back for nearly three days. Afterward, she could barely walk. Her whole body was bruised and covered in bite marks. Nobody could ask her what had happened, and she could not tell us. Otherwise, we would be punished.

Normally, no one would want to take a shower at the camp because the water was so cold. But one day she was just sitting under the cold water and crying. I felt so sorry for her. I went to her and just held her, asking what had happened. But she could not speak.

I remember too when an order came through saying that all the women had to be sterilized or have an IUD inserted. Many were crying, saying that they had never had a chance to have children. One of the younger girls — she was about 19 or 20 — was screaming, saying that she was not married and that she should not be having that kind of thing happen to her. But they did not care. They wanted all of us to stop having children.

Other times, we would be given injections of what they said was medicine, every fifteen days. After that, We would be in a lot of pain. It felt like a bug eating you from the inside. But when I was released from the camp, the doctors in China said it was nothing, "just a cold." It was as though the hospitals had been ordered not to say anything, because when I eventually went back to Kazakhstan, the doctors there said that I had been poisoned. And even after treatment, I still had abdominal pain. Other survivors who have been released said the same thing: something was still affecting us.

At the camp, we could not say no to the way they treated us. If we did, we would be punished. At the beginning, I tried to speak out. I asked why they would need to take my blood all the time. I used to tell the police at the camp that they were just acting out of fear. But then one of the teachers said to me, "If you want to live, you need to shut your mouth." She was right. I saw many people disappear just for asking simple questions.

Eventually, you forget to think about life outside the camp. I do not know if they brainwashed us or if it was the effect of the injections and pills, but I could not think of anything beyond wishing I had a full stomach. The food deprivation was that severe.

I was finally able to leave the camp in December 2018, after my husband had campaigned for me to be released. There was a sudden change, and they released all the people who had family members in Kazakhstan.

But before I was able to leave, the guards called me in again. This time they smiled. They asked me not to talk about what had happened inside the camp. Then they warned me: if I spoke about my experience, there would be heavy consequences. I remember crying, promising that I would not say anything.

Outside the camp, I was still not free. I was released to my hometown but I was not given a new passport, so I could not join my husband at our home in Kazakhstan.

If you want to travel from one town to another, you need permission from the authorities. After one of my brothers died from a heart attack, I left to go to his funeral without permission. I had turned my phone off, so when I turned it back on after a few days, I heard a frightening message that the local authorities left me, demanding that I come back. I rang them back, telling them that my brother had passed away, and that I needed to be there. But they just told me to come back. Out of fear, I went back to my local district.

I saw my former cellmate collapsed on the street, the young woman who was removed from the cell with me who I heard screaming in the next room. She had survived eight months in the camp before she was released. But she had changed. She said that her life was ruined, that she was finished because of what they had done to her in that place. She was like someone who simply existed. Otherwise she was dead, completely finished by the rapes.

Being released from a camp is not a real release. In my opinion, everyone who leaves the camps is finished. The government's goal is to destroy everyone, and everybody knows it.

Six months later I was allowed to leave for Kazakhstan thanks to the efforts of my husband. We agreed that we had to tell the world what was happening. I told my story to a Kazakh human rights group, Atajurt, and several foreign journalists interviewed me. But even then, I did not tell everything, I kept silent about being raped. It was too terrible to talk about after I was first released. I did not want to cause even more pain for my husband and my family.

I was also afraid of the Chinese government. The Kazakhstan government still refused to give me citizenship, so I was not protected from being returned to China. After my interviews were published in

the international media, there was a suspicious fire at our house. The Chinese police would call me and threaten me, pressuring me to go back to China.

It was only after I left Kazakhstan and came to the U.S. last year, that I decided that I could tell the full story of what happened to me.

I knew that my testimony about barbaric sexual abuse of young women would confirm the daily nightmares that Uyghurs all over the world are suffering. I knew that I might not be believed. I knew that some people would consider that my honor, and the honor of my family, would be tarnished. But with the support of my husband, I took my courage in my hands and told the truth to BBC reporters. The story was aired on February 2 this year.

In fact, Uyghurs all over the world supported me. I received many calls from Uyghur and Kazakh women and men in the diaspora, giving me encouragement and sympathy. They thanked me for speaking out despite the psychological pain of reliving my torture and the screams of other women, despite the fear of attacks on my character, and the fear that the Chinese government would retaliate against me or my family. They could not stop their tears as they thought about all their own sisters, cousins and daughters, and what they might be going through. We cried together.

As I expected, the Chinese government reacted to the BBC story by smearing me and the other women survivors who were brave enough to speak up about systematic rape, even a "culture of rape" that they witnessed. At a press conference in Beijing, the foreign ministry spokesman held up my photo and called me a liar. The foreign ministry claimed that the damage to our reproductive systems was caused by sexually transmitted diseases, not the abuses we suffered at the hands of the authorities. We were called people of bad character, "actresses," and worse, by government officials and Chinese government media outlets.

I thank the U.S. government for rescuing me and giving me safe haven in this country. Without the quick action of U.S. diplomats abroad, and many concerned officials at the State Department in Washington, I do not know where I would be. At best, I would still be a stateless refugee, still fearing that the Chinese government could force me back to China at any time. I would not have had the courage to tell anyone what really happened to me.

I want to thank Atajurt, Radio Free Asia, AP, Buzzfeed, the BBC, and the other researchers and journalists who interviewed me, so I could tell the world about my year in hell. I also thank the Uyghur Human Rights Project for helping me come to the U.S., arranging emergency medical care as soon as I arrived, and helping me in every way. Many members of the Uyghur American community have showered me with their care and kindness, and I think all of them.

Now you have my testimony. I ask you to take action. Thank you.

Chairman MEEKS. Thank you, thank you for that testimony.

I now turn to James Millward. You are now recognized for 5 minutes, Dr. Millward.

Dr. Millward, you may have to unmute.

STATEMENT OF JAMES A. MILLWARD, PH.D., PROFESSOR OF INTER-SOCIETAL HISTORY, WALSH SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Dr. MILLWARD. Yes. Thank you.

Chairman Meeks, Ranking Member McCaul, and distinguished Members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, thank you for inviting me to testify about this critical issue. I would like to mention at the outset that insofar as I have any expertise to offer, acquiring it has been generously supported by Title VI, Fulbright-Hays, the Woodrow Wilson Center, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and by the University of Arizona where I taught in the early 1990's.

Federal and State public funding has been, and remains, critical to building and maintaining U.S. knowledge about China.

When it came to power and took control of Xinjiang in 1949, the PRC found itself ruling over the diverse peoples of a former empire, the Qing Empire. Like the Soviet Union, another socialist State controlling a former empire, for the Han-dominated Chinese Communist Party to exercise power over indigenous peoples in Xinjiang, Tibet, Mongolia, and elsewhere presented both a practical and an image problem: how to rule over a former empire without being an imperialist and colonialists themself.

The PRC thus implemented a modified version of the Soviet nationalities parties, recognizing 56 ethnic groups, including the Han. It also created so-called autonomous regions, including Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, and many so-called autonomous prefectures and counties. The officially recognized ethnic groups, and supposedly self-governing territorial units, comprise what we may call the PRC's diversity management system.

This original diversity management system supported language, education, and cultural expression of each non-Han group. In theory, and at times in practice, it protected non-Han groups from discrimination and cultural erasure by the Han majority, and ensured each official ethnic group some representation within the authoritarian government and party. While very different from the diversity management systems of liberal democracies, this first generation PRC diversity system, when honestly implemented, proved popular among non-Han people.

One might even say that in the 1950's, non-Han people in China were, as regards racial discrimination and violence, better off than Blacks and other persons of color in Jim Crow America.

The Cultural Revolution of the 1960's and 1970's was a horrific exception, but non-Han groups in the PRC look back to the 1980's as a relative golden age of PRC diversity policies.

Since 2013, however, General Secretary Xi Jinping has embarked on a radical new vision of the PRC diversity system. He has moved the bureaucracies dealing with ethnicity and religion out of the government and under the direct control of the Party's United Front Department.

He announced in 2014 that problems in Xinjiang would require attention not just to material measures—that is economic development—but also to psychological issues, a framing that led to the program of so-called concentrated educational transformation in prison-like facilities for over a million people, and the imprisonment of hundreds of thousands more.

He also launched a campaign to sinicize religion in China. Xi Jinping promotes an idealized, homogeneous Chinese identity labeled Zhonghua, the centerpiece of his China Dream. A current Chinese political catchphrase calls on the party to grasp firmly the forging of a Zhonghua collective consciousness as the main political line.

This notion of Zhonghua is meant to be a kind of super ethnicity encompassing all the others. But the word Zhonghua itself is composed of two Chinese characters that each individually mean Chinese. And, in practice, the characteristics of Zhonghua are indistinguishable from those of Han.

The State promotion of Zhonghua identity then is a top-down effort to Hanize or sinicize non-Han ethnic groups in China.

The phrase "forging collective Zhonghua consciousness" reminds us of a metaphor we now seldom use in the United States, the "melting pot." The Chinese Communist Party, however, substitutes for the melting pot a blast furnace directed at the indigenous peoples of Xinjiang. This industrial-strength metaphor chosen by the party itself aptly sums up the physical coercion and cultural violence of the concrete policies inflicted upon Xinjiang indigenous peoples since 2017, which has been well documented in the work of numerous researchers, journalists, and U.S. Government investigations.

My colleague Nury Turkel will present several recommendations which I will just simply say that I endorse.

And to end, finally let me say that further targeted sanctions and shaming of responsible parties are warranted and should be undertaken in collaboration with other nations. It is crucial, however, that we pursue these efforts without indulging in broad brush demonization of China or Chinese people generally. The root of the problem lies with the policies of the CCP in Xinjiang and the CCP's abandonment of its own previous multiculturalism. The United States cannot deliver a message calling for cultural tolerance if it sounds or acts culturally intolerant itself.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Millward follows:]

PRC Assimilationism and the Atrocities against non-Han peoples of the Uyghur Region

Testimony of Dr. James A. Millward

Professor of Intersocietal History, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service

Department of History, Georgetown University

US House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs

Hearing on "The Atrocities Against Uyghurs and Other Minorities in Xinjiang."

May 6, 2021

Chairman Meeks, Ranking Member McCaul, and distinguished members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, thank you for inviting me to testify about this critical issue. I would like to mention at the outset that insofar as I have any expertise to offer, acquiring it has been generously supported by Title VI Foreign Language and Areas Studies grants and National Resource Centers, the Fulbright-Hays program, the Woodrow Wilson Center, the National Endowment for the Humanities and by the University of Arizona where I taught in the early 1990s. Federal and state public funding has been and remains critical to building and maintaining US knowledge about China. The recent decline in funding for China studies and all international and area studies is regrettable and problematic for national security.

My remarks today fall into the following sections:

I. Summary of the situation and its background

- **A. Xinjiang and its indigenous peoples**
- **B. PRC ethnicity policies from 1949 and the recent turn to assimilationism**
- **C. Summary of the atrocities inflicted upon Xinjiang non-Han peoples**

II. General Considerations and Specific Recommendations

- **A. Responding to Xinjiang atrocities in the context of the Sino-US relationship**
- **B. Messaging human values-based concerns of US and allies**
- **C. Recommendations for US and other concerned governments**

III. Conclusion

I. A. Xinjiang and its indigenous people

Xinjiang, or the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR), or simply the Uyghur Region, is a so-called autonomous region well over twice the size of Texas, in the northwest of the People's Republic of China. Northern Xinjiang is mountainous; southern Xinjiang is mainly desert, with several oasis cities. Although the entire region is ethnically diverse, the southern part of the region is more densely populated by Uyghur people, while more Han and Kazakhs live in the north. The north, home of most of Xinjiang's petrochemical and mineral extraction, is more economically developed than the south, where agricultural development has not enjoyed the same market-based agricultural reforms that since the 1980s dramatically raised standards of living in rural parts of eastern China.

The population of the Uyghur Region is roughly 25 million, with Uyghur and Han each comprising 40-some percent, Kazakhs at 6-7%, Hui at around 4% and several other local ethnicities in small percentages. Besides the Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Hui and members of other Chinese Central Asian groups have also been victims of current policies. These other groups include Kyrghyz, Tajiks, Mongols, Dongxiang and others. Although Uyghur, Kazakh, Kyrghyz and Tajik groups are historically and culturally Muslim, not all individuals are practicing. The native languages of Uyghur, Kazakh and Kyrghyz are in the Turkic family, so they may be called Turkic; but Tajik is an Iranian language, so Tajiks are not Turkic; Hui are Muslims, but they speak Chinese, so likewise are not Turkic. I thus often call the victims of current policies "Uyghurs and other indigenous peoples," "non-Han," or "Chinese Central Asians," rather than "Turkic Muslims," to properly include all the afflicted people.

It is especially important to understand that although the PRC officially claims its policies are aimed at combatting Islamic "extremism," in fact, while the policies are certainly Islamophobic, the victims also include many secular individuals, and even some, such as Mongols, whose ethnic group is not Muslim at all. The most accurate and comprehensive descriptor for the targets of the Xinjiang policies is "Uyghurs and other non-Han peoples of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region."

I.B. PRC ethnicity policies from 1949, and the recent turn to assimilationism

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) took control of Xinjiang in 1949. The previous government of the region, in power since 1945, was an uneasy coalition of the Guomindang (KMT), or Nationalist Chinese, and the Eastern Turkestan Republic (ETR), which had formed with Soviet support to resist the imposition of Guomindang rule in 1944. The ETR had nearly defeated the GMD militarily, but in the final months of World War II the United States urged the Guomindang, and the Soviet Union urged the Eastern Turkestan leaders, to reach a ceasefire. Thus the GMD and the ETR formed a coalition government in Xinjiang.[1]

When the CCP took over Xinjiang, it replaced the former ETR leaders with its own hand-picked Uyghur, Kazakh and other native officials. It accepted the GMD surrender and settled 80,000 demobilized Guomindang troops in Xinjiang, where they formed the Xinjiang Production Construction Military Corps (XPCC), or Bingtuan. Thus began the modern colonial settlement of the region with Han Chinese. (The XPCC is now deeply involved in running Xinjiang prisons and camps and in the region's cotton industry.)

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[1] James Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, revised 2nd edition (London: Hurst, Co., 2021), chapter 5.

Like the Soviet Union after 1917, the PRC from 1949 was a socialist state ruling a former empire—the Qing empire. For a socialist regime, a dedicated opponent of imperialism, this legacy of imperial diversity posed both a practical and an image problem. The PRC thus implemented a modified version of the Soviet nationalities policies, and in China officially recognized 56 ethnic groups, including the Han. The designation of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, three other "Autonomous Regions," each nominally self-governed under a titular ethnic group, along with many so-called "autonomous" prefectures and counties, comprises the territorial element of that original PRC approach to ethnicity. We may call this PRC's diversity management system.

This original diversity management system made ethnic identity a building block of state administration. It supported language, education and cultural expression of each officially recognized group; in theory, and at times in practice, it protected non-Han groups from discrimination and cultural erasure by the Han majority, and assured that each official ethnic group was represented within the authoritarian government and party. While very different from the diversity management systems of liberal democracies, this first generation PRC diversity system, when honestly implemented, proved popular among non-Han people. One might even say that in the 1950s, non-Han people in China were, as regards racial discrimination and violence, better off than Blacks and other persons of color in Jim Crow America. The Cultural Revolution of the 1960s-1970s was a horrific exception, but non-Han groups in the PRC look back to the 1980s as a golden age of PRC diversity policies.

With the collapse of the USSR in 1991, PRC scholars and Party ideologues debated whether Soviet nationalities policies themselves had contributed to the disintegration of the USSR. Some called for a second generation Chinese ethnicity policy that would promote "melding" and "fusion" of ethnic groups, rather than continue state and party support for the 55 non-Han identities and their nominally autonomous territories.[2]

When Xi Jinping came to power in 2013, he embarked on a radical revision of the PRC diversity system. He transferred the State Ethnic Affairs Commission and the State Administration for Religious Affairs, formerly under the State Council, to reside instead under the United Front Work Department of the Communist Party. In other words, he moved the bureaucracies dealing with ethnicity and religion out of the government, and under direct Party control.[3] He announced in 2014 that problems in Xinjiang would require attention not just to "material" measures (that is, economic development) but also to "psychological issues" (*jingshen wenti* 精神问题 ; "*jingshen*" is also translated as "spiritual").[4] He launched a campaign to "sinicize" (*Zhongguo hua* 中国化) religion in China by destroying domes and minarets and removing crosses, moons and stars from architecture; hanging the national flag and Party slogans in houses of worship; and erasing Arabic script and even the word "*halal*" from the windows of restaurants.

Moreover, General Secretary Xi has promoted the ideal of a unitary, homogeneous Chinese identity, labeled "*Zhonghua*," as an ideological centerpiece closely related to his "China Dream." As one current Chinese political catchphrase puts it, "Take firmly the forging of a *Zhonghua* collective consciousness, as

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[2] Mark Elliott, "The Case of the Missing Indigene: Debate Over a 'Second-Generation' Ethnic Policy," *The China Journal* 73 (January 2015): 186–213.
[3] https://jamestown.org/program/hu-the-uniter-hu-lianhe-and-the-radical-turn-in-chinas-xinjiang-policy/
[4] https://jamestown.org/program/a-family-divided-the-ccps-central-ethnic-work-conference/

the main [political] line" (铸牢中华民族共同体意识为主线).[5] The *Zhonghua* concept is meant as a super-ethnicity, above and encompassing all the others; but the word *Zhonghua* itself is composed of two Chinese characters that each individually mean "Chinese," and the officially promoted characteristics of *Zhonghua* identity are indistinguishable from Han characteristics and customs. The muscular state promotion of *Zhonghua* identity is in effect a top-down effort to Han-ize, or Sinicize, the non-Han ethnic groups in China.

Another prominent slogan, appearing at least since 2018, makes *Zhonghua* a racial concept, and even argues that Uyghur and other Xinjiang non-Han groups are, in fact, *racially* related to *Zhonghua*. The official press read-out of the Third Central Xinjiang Work Forum (Sept. 26-26, 2020) quotes Xi Jinping saying, "Every ethnic group [*minzu* 民族] of Xinjiang is a **family-member linked to *Zhonghua* bloodlines**" 新疆各民族是中华民族血脉相连的家庭成员 (emphasis added).[6] Such official rhetoric has been accompanied by official promulgations falsely claiming that the Uyghur language is Chinese, not Turkic; and that Uyghurs are not historically descended from Central Asian Turkic peoples, but rather from *Zhonghua* people.[7]

This is ethnocidal assimilationism. Because the *Zhonghua* category is practically indistinguishable from the Han category, it is also Han-supremacist. It is not the kind of chauvinism that *excludes* diverse ethnic groups from membership in a national community or expels them across national borders. Rather, the current PRC assimilationism seeks to forcibly submerge Xinjiang non-Han peoples into an invented identity, mandating that distinctive ethnic features be scrubbed away through false historical narratives, cultural and language erasure, rhetoric about shared bloodlines, and coerced re-education. The current PRC assimilationism is diametrically opposed to the diversity system espoused for the first six and a half decades of the PRC.

The phrase "forging collective *Zhonghua* consciousness" reminds us of a metaphor we now reject in the United States: the melting pot. The CCP, however, has substituted a blast furnace for the melting pot, and directed it at the indigenous peoples of Xinjiang and, increasingly, at other non-Han and at speakers of languages other than Mandarin as well. The industrial-strength metaphor of the blast furnace, chosen by the CCP itself, aptly sums up the physical coercion and cultural violence of the concrete policies inflicted upon Xinjiang indigenous peoples since 2017.

I.C. Summary of the atrocities inflicted upon Xinjiang non-Han peoples

Since 2017, the policies implemented in Xinjiang include:[8]

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[5] http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/leaders/2020-09/26/c_1126544371.htm. And see https://jimmillward.medium.com/notes-on-xi-jinpings-speech-to-the-3rd-xinjiang-central-work-forum-25-26-september-2020-768b43242b8f

[6] http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/leaders/2020-09/26/c_1126544371.htm. And https://jimmillward.medium.com/notes-on-xi-jinpings-speech-to-the-3rd-xinjiang-central-work-forum-25-26-september-2020-768b43242b8f

[7] In 2018 the Mayor of Urumchi declared that "The Uyghur people are members of the Chinese family, not descendants of the Turks." http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1117158.shtml

[8] An up-to-date summary of these policies, with full documentation of the evidence, may be found in Human Rights Watch and Stanford Law School Mills Legal Clinic, "'Break Their Lineage, Break Their Roots': China's Crimes

- Intense physical and digital surveillance and data-gathering.
- The use of artificial intelligence algorithms to predict so-called "extremism" and subject over a million Uyghurs, Kazakhs and other non-Han peoples of Xinjiang to extra-legal detention in a network of prison-like "concentrated educational transformation centers" 集中教育转化中心 on the grounds that they might be infected by a "thought virus." Others tagged by the system have been confined to their homes, and / or required to attend indoctrination programs without being confined.
- Prosecution and imprisonment of an additional several hundred thousand people via the legal system. Xinjiang, with 1.5% of the national population, in 2017 saw 21% of all criminal prosecutions in the PRC.
- Normal aspects of religious and ethnic identity, as well as past foreign travel, having relatives residing abroad, and other normal behavior and characteristics, are defined as "extremist" and used to justify arbitrary detention, internment or imprisonment. Thus many highly educated, multi-lingual academics, writers, artists and entrepreneurs—the accomplished leaders of non-Han society, such as the economist Ilham Tohti, Xinjiang University President Tashpolat Tiyip, noted folklorist Rahile Dawut, and tech-entrepreneur Ekpar Asat—have been detained or imprisoned without cause.[9]
- Physical and psychological torture, rape and sexual abuse within "concentrated educational transformation centers," detention centers and prisons.
- Separation of families as a result of the mass internment and incarcerations; placing of young Uyghur children in Chinese-language boarding kindergartens and orphanages.
- Physical destruction of cultural patrimony, including ancient mosques, shrines, cemeteries and neighborhoods.
- Erasure of the Uyghur script and language from public spaces and illegalization of its use in schools and official settings.
- Transfer of Uyghurs from internment facilities or place of residence to factories, sometimes far from their homes, under coercive conditions that constitute forced labor. In some factories, Uyghur transfer workers are confined under "military style" supervision and denied free movement outside of factory grounds.
- The housing of CCP cadres in Uyghur homes for extended periods, sometimes in households where the husband has been detained, thus housing unrelated Han men alone with Uyghur women and children.
- State incentivization of marriages between Han and non-Han, especially between Uyghur women and Han men. A new regulation declares parental opposition to such marriages to be "extremist"; with the camps system punishing non-Hans for so-called extremism, this constitutes state coercion of non-Han to marry Han.[10]
- Zealous pursuit of birth limitation policies resulting in massive declines of birth and natural population growth rates in Xinjiang over the past few years: birth-rates in predominantly non-

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against Humanity Targeting Uyghurs and Other Turkic Muslims," 19 April 2021. https://www.hrw.org/report/2021/04/19/break-their-lineage-break-their-roots/chinas-crimes-against-humanity-targeting

[9] https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/09/us/politics/china-uighurs-arrest.html

[10] https://supchina.com/2019/08/07/uyghur-love-in-a-time-of-interethnic-marriage/

Han areas of Xinjiang fell by between 30 and 56 per cent between 2018 and 2019, while birthrates across the PRC as a whole fell by only 4.2%. Birth rates in densely Uyghur areas of southern Xinjiang fell by even higher percentages.[11]

II. General Considerations and Specific Recommendations

II.A. Crafting the US response to Xinjiang atrocities in the context of the Sino-US relationship

Prior to the passage of the United States – China Relations Act of 2000, China's trade relations with the United States were linked to the PRC emigration and human rights record; the US president sometimes placed conditions on annual renewal of China's Most Favored Nation (MFN) status; some in Congress also attempted to block renewal. Ultimately, presidents of both parties wound up waiving China's annual MFN review every year from 1989-1999, despite China's bad human rights record, allowing imports from the PRC to enjoy the lowest tariffs and import quotas. The US-China Relations Act of 2000 and China's subsequent accession to the World Trade Association (2001) put an end to annual MFN review, and effectively de-linked PRC-US trade in general from human rights considerations.

We are now in the odd situation where the previous US administration unilaterally imposed tariffs on hundreds of billions of dollars of Chinese imports, without reference to human rights; and then, through much of 2019, delayed taking action on the crisis in Xinjiang lest doing so hamper its efforts to achieve a trade deal to resolve the trade war that it itself had started.[12] Rather than tariffs being a tool, however clumsy, to press for human rights improvements, the Trump tariffs themselves became an obstacle hindering US action in the face of atrocities reminiscent of the worst ethnic abuses of the 20th century.

Fortunately, since 2020, the administration and Congress have taken a series of measures that symbolically and tangibly oppose China's atrocities in Xinjiang in a far more effective way than broad-brush tariffs can. These measures include sanctions of individuals and entities, including the XPCC, by the Treasury Department; the Customs and Border Patrol issuance of Xinjiang region-wide "withhold release orders" on cotton and tomato products; and US Congressional passage of the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act of 2020 (S. 3744) which became law in June 2020.[13] Given how complementary and deeply interwoven the US and Chinese economies are, such surgically targeted sanctions are superior to ultimately unworkable attempts to link human rights to Sino-US trade in general. Most recently, Canada, the UK and the EU joined the US in similar sanctions, thus demonstrating that horror at the Xinjiang policies is international and collective, and not part of some bilateral Sino-US spat. The US should help other countries add their voices to this chorus—especially countries other than traditional NATO allies.

Besides trade, the US and China are linked and complementary in knowledge production through our educational systems and other exchanges. This relationship will be essential to successful planetary

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[11] https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/07/01/china-documents-uighur-genocidal-sterilization-xinjiang/ ; https://jamestown.org/program/sterilizations-iuds-and-mandatory-birth-control-the-ccps-campaign-to-suppress-uyghur-birth-rates-in-xinjiang/

[12] https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3015441/us-sanctions-over-xinjiang-internment-camps-are-ready-go

[13] https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-bill/3744

responses to climate change, pandemics, the disruptions of industrial automation and other global issues. And, of course, our two countries share deep and broad person-to-person ties, through tourism, educational and cultural exchange, as well as large numbers of PRC citizens and peoples of Chinese origin who are US citizens and permanent residents. We share outrage and grief at the recent spate of anti-Chinese and anti-AAPI speech and violence in the United States.

The challenge then, is how to respond to the Xinjiang atrocities—or other issues troubling the Sino-US relationship—while navigating between the Scylla of downplaying atrocities, on the one hand, and the Charybdis of demonizing China, on the other, such that constructive collaboration becomes impossible and innocent people in the US and PRC suffer as a result.

II.B. Messaging human values-based concerns of US and allies

I suggest bearing in mind three types of considerations when threading this needle.

1. The US should **avoid gratuitous provocations that serve no strategic purpose**, and reverse past such needlessly antagonistic decisions that cast the US, more than China, in a bad light. If possible, Peace Corps and Fulbright programs in China should be restored, and educational and cultural exchanges encouraged. The US should permit the reopening of the PRC consulate in Houston, Texas. (The American consulate in Chengdu, closed by the PRC in retaliation for US unilateral action, was the consulate closest to Tibet and Xinjiang. Millions of Han, Tibetans, Uyghurs and others in the entire western, inland part of China must now travel thousands of miles for visa interviews. We have made it much harder for the poor, the rural, and the non-Han to have access to US consular services—and potentially travel to the US—while privileging those in the richer, predominantly Han coastal areas and biggest cities of China.) In this regard, I welcome the recent announcement by the State Department that it is expanding national interest exemptions for Chinese students coming to the US, and that it is seeking ways to process more visa applications more quickly. This sends an important signal.

In addition, the US should reduce or eliminate the broad-spectrum Trump tariffs that have served no economic or diplomatic purpose, but which are costing American consumers, taxpayers and businesses billions of dollars.

2. **At the same time, human rights issues and related concerns must remain on the front burner**. In the past, as before the passage of the US-China Trade Relations Act in 2000, economic relations and human rights concerns were treated as an either-or proposition. After that bill's passage, however, with the elimination of annual human rights review as a condition for MFN renewal, the US government has sometimes downplayed or sidelined concerns about human rights or peoples pressured by CCP policies: as when President Bill Clinton relegated the Dalai Lama to side office visits, or when US official diplomatic treatment of Taiwan fails to reflect our respect for and friendship with that robust democracy. We must stand up for, and not be afraid to speak clearly about, what is right, when the time is right. And when the time is right to roll up our sleeves and hash out trade agreements, then that is okay, too.

Thus: **In dealing with the PRC, compartmentalize, when necessary, but neither marginalize nor minimalize human rights and human values.** And whenever possible, if denouncing or pressuring the PRC regarding human rights issues, do so in concert with other nations.

3. **Engage Chinese interlocutors in as many conversations as possible. And given the United States' own imperfect history in regard to diversity, equity and inclusion, approach such conversations with a measure of humility.** This is not to admit, or deny, moral equivalency between the US past (or present) and what the PRC is doing to Xinjiang peoples. Rather, it is to highlight shared human values, because it is precisely our own concern about racial violence, colonialist abuses, and intolerance of diversity at home that explains why we are appalled at the policies the CCP is inflicting on Xinjiang indigenous peoples. Indeed, this is why we reject the PRC argument Xinjiang policies are "internal affairs of China" that the rest of humanity should ignore. Just as air pollution is bad wherever it occurs, and must be curtailed, ethnic intolerance and violence are evil wherever they occur. That is a human value as much as it is an American one.

And from that standpoint, then, we should remind Chinese interlocutors that China is better than this—that in diametrical contrast to post-2014 Chinese assimilationism, the PRC's past ethnicity management system, when properly implemented, was one that China could be proud of, in keeping with the global project of embracing our diversity for the common good of humanity.

II.C. Specific recommendations for the US and other governments

Though I direct these recommendations to the United States Congress and Administration, I hope that other countries will take similar measures as appropriate to their own laws and regulatory structures.

- Continue precisely-targeted sanctions and shaming of Xinjiang entities and individuals through the Department of Commerce Entity List, the Global Magnitsky Act, and the Customs and Border Patrol Withhold Release Orders.
- Congress should pass the updated Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, recently reintroduced by Representative James P. McGovern of Massachusetts, which enjoys strong bipartisan support. In particular, I applaud this bill's call on U.S. publicly traded businesses to issue disclosures regarding their engagement with Chinese companies and other entities engaged in mass surveillance, mass interment, forced labor and other serious human rights abuses in the XUAR. Though some corporations have expressed concerns about this bill, the root problem lies in the policies in Xinjiang, not with the US Congress maintaining its traditional concern over forced labor, a tradition going back to Section 307 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. §1307). The concerns of multinational corporations about the viability of their business in China, as conveyed via their Chinese partners, delivers a strong message to the Chinese government. As we have seen from the uproar over Xinjiang cotton already in China, these measures are having an impact.
- Expand investigations and scrutiny of the Xinjiang policies beyond just what is happening in the XUAR. So far, the focus has fallen primarily on entities physically located and operating within Xinjiang itself, and a few factories in eastern China using Uyghur labor. But this misses a big part of the problem. Through the Counterpart Assistance or Pairing Assistance Program (*duikou yuanJiang* 对口援疆), nineteen rich provinces and municipalities of eastern China are mandated to finance, consult and broker corporate partnerships with sister-cities and counties and the XPCC in Xinjiang. These provinces and municipalities include Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin,

Guangdong, Shenzhen and others.[14] Uyghurs from internment camps have been channeled to work in factories built and run by these eastern Chinese cities, provinces and companies under the Pairing Assistance Program. Some participating provinces and cities are reportedly involved with training programs conducted in the internment camps. In all cases, Pairing Assistance sister-cities, sister-provinces and affiliated Chinese companies closely collaborate with the XPCC and the very same local administrations in Xinjiang that are engaged in mass surveillance, mass internment, forced labor and other serious human rights abuses in the Uyghur region.[15]

- Accept that the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics cannot proceed as usual, and use the opportunity to maximize pressure on CCP leaders to stop the abuses in the Uyghur Region. Rather that treat the Olympics simply as an up-or-down, executive-level decision to participate or boycott, all interested parties, including athletes, corporate sponsors, the US Congress, parliaments and executive branches of other countries, broadcast media, and individual spectators should consider how to deny the CCP a positive Olympic spectacle, and instead turn the moment into an opportunity to reveal and deplore the atrocities committed against Xinjiang peoples. Media, if blocked from free access to China, should not broadcast the splashy opening and closing ceremonies. If you can't cover the politics, don't cover the pandas. Athletes should consult their own consciences and air their deliberations on social media. Corporations should consider the reputation of their brands and the long-term rather than short-term interests of their shareholders. Politicians should avoid partisan attacks on their colleagues' Olympics-related decisions, and instead direct their criticism at the PRC policies that have ruined the upcoming Winter Olympics for everyone, most of all the indigenous peoples of Xinjiang.

III. Conclusion

As members of this Committee well know, cotton has become a central issue in the abuses in Xinjiang, and in the reaction of the United States and the world community to those abuses. China produces 20% of the world's cotton. Xinjiang produces 80% China's cotton. Uyghur labor, mustered under various levels of coercion, participates at all stages of cotton and textile production, from fiber to fabric to fashion. The Xinjiang Production Construction Corps, which purchases and produces much of Xinjiang's cotton, fields Xinjiang's high-tech harvesters, and funds Xinjiang's high-tech prisons.

This thread of cotton connects the Uyghurs and other Xinjiang peoples to the businesses and people of the world, in what Dr. Martin Luther King called "an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny." It is one reason why we in the United States care for people native to distant Central Asia. Again, in the words of Dr. King, because "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. . . Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly."

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[14] The full list is Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Shandong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Henan, Hebei, Guangdong, Liaoning, Fujian, Hunan, Hubei, Anhui, Shanxi, Heilongjiang, Jilin and Shenzhen. Yuhui Li, *China's Assistance Program in Xinjiang: A Sociological Analysis* (New York: Lexington Books, 2018), 25-26.

[15] http://xjdrc.xinjiang.gov.cn/xjdrc/yjij/dkyjyjjs.shtml.

Chairman MEEKS. Thank you, Dr. Millward.

I now recognize Mr. Nury Turkel for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF HON. NURY TURKEL, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, UYGHUR HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT

Mr. TURKEL. Good afternoon, Chairman Meeks, Ranking Member McCaul, and honorable Members of the committee. Thank you for inviting me to testify on behalf of the Uyghur Human Rights Project, commonly known as the UHRP, at this critically important hearing.

This is my fourth time testifying in Congress in the past 3 years on the same issue. I truly appreciate your leadership in prioritizing this issue.

I want to highlight a new phase in the Chinese Government's genocidal policy against the Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims in my ancestral homeland.

UHRP has warned for more than 3 years that the end goal of this policy is the destruction of Uyghur culture, traditions, language, and faith. Simply put, the Chinese State has criminalized being Uyghur.

The Chinese State has spent the last 4 years crushing our culture, language, civilizational accomplishments in poetry, literature, the arts, and theology, architecture, and scholarship. Uyghur imams, religious scholars, university presidents, professors and teachers, successful business owners, entrepreneurs, they have all been swept en masse into the modern day industrial-scale concentration camps.

In many cases entire families have disappeared. Very soon, anything that can be described as Uyghur in our homeland will be an empty shell, a Potemkin show. It is already a reality, given the lackluster international response to this staggering 21st Century high tech genocide.

I want to emphasize that genocide denial is in full swing. The Chinese government is not only implementing a brutal policy of State violence, causing immeasurable human suffering, it is also demanding that the world praise its policy. In a way, CCP is trying to normalize its State violence against a vulnerable ethnic and religious community.

The CCP now is producing a daily stream of statements, videos claiming that it deserves praise for helping Uyghurs live "a happy life."

The Government goes even further. It forces Uyghurs to participate in genocide denials. Officials are forcing them to sit down and sign for the cameras to show how happy they are.

Dozens of Uyghurs have been forced to make videos denouncing their relatives abroad, including our fellow Americans, for speaking up for their freedom.

In February, UHRP released a report on this cruel propaganda forcing Uyghurs to say scripted lines such as "the government never oppresses us."

The Government is also turning out aggressive propaganda campaign against global—against global campaign to end State-imposed forced labor in the Uyghur region. The latest effort was government-manufactured boycott by Chinese consumers against for-

eign brands to defend the so-called "Xinjiang cotton." One video on this campaign showed Uyghurs dressed in traditional performance costumes, holding a fluffy ball of cotton in each hand, dancing and singing a song of praise of "Xinjiang cotton." It is just sickening.

In the short time I have left I would like to raise several policy recommendations.

I urge Congress to act quickly to pass Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, which your committee marked up on April 21. Thank you so much for your leadership on that.

The Uyghur Human Rights Protection Act designates Uyghurs as a people refugees. It is urgently needed to save Uyghurs who are at risk of deportment in multiple countries.

The United States should also urge every signatory of the Genocide Convention to fulfill their obligations under Article 1, the obligation to prevent genocide. And even without making a legal atrocity crimes determination, Article 1 obliges States to take action to prevent an unfolding genocide.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the committee, I also hope you will ensure that American Olympic athletes are not forced to compete in the shadow of the concentration camps at the 2022 Olympics in Beijing. The United States should coordinate with like-minded countries to ensure that the 2022 games do not take place in Beijing as long as atrocity crimes continue.

The United States can and should do more to prevent Silicon Valley and the U.S. universities from cooperating with CCP or CCP-founded companies selling the so-called Muslim tracking facial recognition system being used in this high tech genocide.

I provided several other policy recommendations in my written statement that I would be happy to address them later.

In closing, I would like to thank this committee again for the opportunity to testify and for your commitment to end ongoing genocides. I am profoundly grateful.

And thank you and look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Turkel follows:]

Testimony by Nury Turkel

Board Chair, Uyghur Human Rights Project

House Committee on Foreign Affairs Hearing on

"The Atrocities Against Uyghurs and Other Minorities in Xinjiang"

May 6, 2021

Good afternoon, Chairman Meeks, Ranking Member McCaul, and Honorable Members of the Committee. Thank you for inviting me to testify on behalf of the Uyghur Human Rights Project at this important hearing. This is my fourth opportunity to testify before Congress on the Chinese government's atrocity crimes against Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims and raise urgent policy recommendations. I truly appreciate your leadership in prioritizing this issue.

Genocide and genocide denial

I want to highlight a new phase in the Chinese government's systematic, comprehensive, and multi-faceted genocidal policy against Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims in my homeland.

UHRP has warned for more than three years that the end goal of this policy is the destruction of Uyghur culture, traditions, language, and faith. The Chinese state has criminalized being Uyghur. The policies are eliminating our community ties, all genuine practices and expressions of our culture, language, and civilizational accomplishments in poetry, literature, and all the arts, theology, architecture, and scholarship. Uyghur society's religious and secular leadership, the university professors and high school teachers, successful business owners, and entrepreneurs have been swept wholesale into camps and prisons. In many cases, their entire families have disappeared, including their parents, siblings, and children.

Very soon, anything remaining that can be described as "Uyghur" in our own homeland will be an empty shell, a Potemkin show. In fact, it is already a reality due to the inadequate international response to this staggering 21st century high-tech genocide.

I want to emphasize that genocide denial is in full swing. The Chinese government is not only carrying out a brutal policy of state violence that is causing immeasurable, irreversible human suffering. It is demanding that the world praise its policy. The CCP is now producing a daily stream of material for international audiences about its policies towards Uyghurs: government statements, state-media print and video output, and highly produced content for social media platforms. The CCP is taking advantage of its seat in multilateral forums to assert that it deserves praise for (1)

commendable "anti-terrorism" policies, (2) successful "poverty alleviation" by the Xinjiang government, and (3) enabling Uyghurs to live a "happy life."[1]

Furthermore, China is not only committing genocide and demanding that the world praise its actions. The government also forces Uyghurs to participate in the genocide, dancing and singing for the cameras and recording in a string of videos denouncing criticism of China. Dozens of Uyghurs have been forced to denounce their own relatives abroad for speaking up for their freedom. In February, UHRP released a detailed analysis of this cruel propaganda, in which Uyghurs say scripted lines such as "the government never oppresses us."[2]

The government has mounted an aggressive campaign to push back against the global pressure campaign to end the state-imposed forced labor of Uyghurs.[3] On March 24, 2021 -- just two days after coordinated human-rights sanctions on Xinjiang officials by the US, UK, EU, and Canada -- the government manufactured a purported boycott by Chinese consumers against foreign brands to defend what they call "Xinjiang cotton." As part of the "defend Xinjiang cotton" campaign, one video showed Uyghurs dressed in traditional performance costumes, dancing, holding a fluffy ball of unprocessed cotton in each hand, and singing a song of praise for "Xinjiang cotton." The Chinese government has also recruited foreigners to praise its policies.[4] With your permission, I will forward you UHRP's forthcoming research report on CGTN's role in justifying China's Xinjiang policies upon publication.

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[1] "China's Xi says 'happiness' in Xinjiang on the rise, will keep teaching 'correct' outlook," Reuters, Sep 27, 2020, at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-xinjiang/chinas-xi-says-happiness-in-xinjiang-on-the-rise-will-keep-teaching-correct-outlook-idUSKBN26I0JP; "'The Happiest Muslims in the World': Disinformation, Propaganda, and the Uyghur Crisis," Uyghur Human Rights Project, Jul 28, 2020, at https://uhrp.org/report/uhrp-report-happiest-muslims-world-disinformation-propaganda-and-uyghur-crisis-html/; "Who Is 'Happy' in Xinjiang? Chinese Leader Xi Jinping Disregards Systematic Rights Abuses," Sophie Richardson, Oct 1, 2020, at https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/10/01/who-happy-xinjiang

[2] "'The Government Never Oppresses Us': China's proof-of-life videos as intimidation and a violation of Uyghur family unity," Uyghur Human Rights Project, Feb 2, 2021, at https://uhrp.org/report/the-government-never-oppresses-us-chinas-proof-of-life-videos-as-intimidation-and-a-violation-of-uyghur-family-unity/

[3] Coalition to End Forced Labour in the Uyghur Region, at https://enduyghurforcedlabour.org/, endorsed by 380+ groups in 40 countries; UHRP is a member of the Steering Committee; *Coalition Brings Pressure to End Forced Uyghur Labor*, New York Times, Jul 23, 2020, at https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/23/fashion/uighur-forced-labor-cotton-fashion.html

[4] "From cover-up to propaganda blitz: China's attempts to control the narrative on Xinjiang," CNN, Apr 17, 2021, at https://www.cnn.com/2021/04/16/china/beijing-xinjiang-uyghurs-propaganda-intl-hnk-dst/index.html. Note: One PBS station in California released a documentary in association with the Chinese state media outlet, China Global Television Network, CGTN, that has been producing prolific justifications of the government's Xinjiang policy. The film, *China's War on Poverty*, was produced by an American. The film does not mention how "poverty alleviation" is being implemented as part of forced labor and crimes against humanity against Uyghurs, Kazakhs, and other Turkic Muslims. In addition to Southern California PBS, the documentary was aired by Idaho Public Television and Vegas PBS. https://current.org/2020/05/after-pbs-drops-film-pbs-socal-reviews-documentary-co-produced-by-chinas-state-tv-network/.

The evidence of atrocity crimes

The international documentation of the Chinese government's criminal policies is so voluminous that a bibliography of related research and reporting, covering 2017-2021, produced by Professor Magnus Fiskesjö of Cornell University, currently runs 1,450 pages.[5] The evidence comes from a wide variety of sources.

The key sources are Uyghur and Kazakh survivors of concentration camps and forced labor — like Ms. Tursunay Ziyawudun, who is testifying before a government for the first time today, Uyghur and Kazakh diaspora members testifying about the fate of their loved ones,[6] independent investigative journalism, satellite imagery documenting the rapid construction of vast prison-camps, analysis of open-source information on the Chinese internet, the Chinese government's public statements, and leaked Chinese government policy documents.

Concentration camps: The Xinjiang government's concentration camps, a massive program to "round up those who should be rounded up,"[7] are built on extrajudicial detention, collective punishment, guilt-by-association, systematic torture and rape, and medications inducing infertility and impaired mental function.

Since 2017, the Chinese government has arbitrarily detained millions of Uyghur, Kazakh, and other Turkic Muslims in concentration camps. People are taken from their homes or off the street, a black hood is put over their heads, and then their nightmare begins. Camp survivors have reported that they have suffered torture, rape, forced abortion and sterilization, withholding of medical care, and intense political indoctrination.

In the camps, they are forced to shout, over and over, "My soul is infected with serious diseases," "I don't believe in God, I believe in the Communist Party." The number of deaths in custody is unknown.

The reasons for detention provided in Chinese government documents, such as the Qaraqash document,[8] include being an "unsafe person" who is 40 or younger, ordinary Muslim practices such as growing a beard or wearing a veil, having relatives outside of China, or a history of traveling abroad, and violations of family planning

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[5] "China's 're-education'/concentration camps in Xinjiang/East Turkistan and the campaign of forced assimilation and genocide targeting Uyghurs, Kazakhs, etc: Bibliography of select news reports & academic works," Professor Magnus Fiskesjö, last revised: Apr 27, 2021, at https://uhrp.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Chinas-re-education-concentration-camps-in-Xinjiang-BIBLIOGRAPHY.pdf

[6] Uyghur Transitional Justice Database, at https://www.utjd.org/; Xinjiang Victims Database (14,355 victims catalogued to date), at https://shahit.biz/eng/; and others listed at https://xinjiang.sppga.ubc.ca/lived-experiences/databases/

[7] "The Xinjiang Papers: 'Absolutely No Mercy': Leaked Files Expose How China Organized Mass Detentions of Muslims," New York Times, Nov 16, 2019, at https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/16/world/asia/china-xinjiang-documents.html

[8] "'Ideological Transformation': Records of Mass Detention from Qaraqash, Hotan," Uyghur Human Rights Project, Feb 18, 2021, (p. 9, Appendix III), at https://uhrp.org/report/ideological-transformation-records-mass-detention-qaraqash-hotan-html/

regulations. The thought-crimes recorded in this document, which is a record of actual detentions in one subdistrict in Qaraqash county, include:

- Household has a thick religious atmosphere, susceptible to religious extremist thought infection 家庭宗教氛围浓厚，易受宗教极 端思想感染人员
- Person with religious extremist thought infection 宗教极端思想感染人员
- Influenced by religious extremist thinking 受宗教极端思想的影响
- Slightly infected by religious extremist thought 受宗教极端思想感染轻微人员
- Received religious thinking infection, unsafe post 90s person 受宗教思想感染90后不放心人员
- Thinking unstable, ability to resist religious infiltration low 思想不稳定，宗教极端思想渗透 抵抗能力较低
- Person spreading extremist thinking 传播极端思想被遣返人员

Reason	Number
Birth policy violations	115
Unsafe post 80s, 90s, or 00s person	91
Ex-convict or other past law violation	40
Wore veil/wife wore veil/had beard	33
Applied for passport (and didn't leave the country)	25
Reason related to religious practice	23
International travel	20
Religious extremist thought infection	19
Related to prisoner	12
Movements within China	8
Possessed or watched illegal media	5
Two-faced official	5
Related to someone outside of the country	4
Did not obey *shequ* personnel	4
Fraudulent marriage certificate	3
Overseas communication	2

Table 1: Reasons for internment

Source: UHRP REPORT: "Ideological Transformation": Records of Mass Detention from Qaraqash, Hotan, February 18, 2020[9]

[9] https://docs.uhrp.org/pdf/UHRP_QaraqashDocument.pdf (p.9)

Separation of children: Nearly half a million Muslim children have been separated from detained parents and placed in state-run orphanages and boarding schools, where they are forced to praise the Chinese Communist Party and its leaders and to speak Mandarin. These are, in effect, concentration camps and brainwashing facilities for children.[10]

Total control, forced labor, and international complicity: The government's objective for those not in prisons and extra-legal detention, according to government documents, is to have every Uyghur in a government-assigned place of work. Forced labor is such an integral part of the government's plan for total control that all products coming from the Uyghur Region, from cotton to solar panels, must be assumed to be tainted by forced and prison labor. Through partnership with companies from the eastern part of China, so-called "poverty-alleviation" and "mutual pairing programs" bring hundreds of thousands of Uyghurs to work in fields and factories within the Region and cities across China against their will.

A deeply troubling aspect of China's forced labor scheme, however, is the complicity of international companies, including US companies. Uyghur forced labor is deeply embedded in these companies' Chinese supply chains. Given that 80% of China's cotton is grown in the Region, 20% of the entire global apparel industry is potentially implicated. American and international companies declare that they have "zero tolerance" for forced labor and claim that audits have found no evidence of forced labor in their supply chains. As I pointed out in my October 2019 Congressional testimony, "due diligence" audits are impossible in the Uyghur Region.

Destruction of Uyghur Religious and Cultural Sites: Numerous independent reports[11] have documented large-scale destruction of Uyghur religious and cultural sites, at a level unseen since the end of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). For example, out of approximately 24,000 mosques in Xinjiang, fewer than 15,000 now remain standing; out of those 15,000, more than half have suffered damage inflicted by government authorities.[12]

The destruction of these important religious sites, including an 800-year-old mosque, is a critical part of the government's plan to erase Turkic Muslims' ethno-religious and cultural identities in East Turkistan forcibly assimilate them under Xi Jinping's "Sinicization of Religion" policy.

Digital Authoritarianism: Integral to China's overall suppression of Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims is the pervasive use of advanced surveillance technology and

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[10] "China is brainwashing Uighur children. How much longer will the world look away?," Post Opinion, Washington Post, Jul 13, 2019, at https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/china-is-brainwashing-uighur-children-how-much-longer-will-the-world-look-away/2019/07/13/3eccef86-a1bf-11e9-bd56-eac6bb02d01d_story.html

[11] "Demolishing Faith: The Destruction and Desecration of Uyghur Mosques and Shrines," Uyghur Human Rights Project, Nov 18, 2019, at https://uhrp.org/statement/uhrp-report-demolishing-faith-the-destruction-and-desecration-of-uyghur-mosques-and-shrines/ and other reports.

[12] ASPI, Cultural erasure: Tracing the destruction of Uyghur and Islamic spaces in Xinjiang, Sep 24, 2020, at https://www.aspi.org.au/report/cultural-erasure

a myriad of digital tools such as the ubiquitous presence of surveillance cameras, compulsory collection of DNA and other biometric data, iris scan, facial and voice recognition, big data, and artificial intelligence.

The Xinjiang and national governments have turned the Uyghur homeland into a frontline laboratory, where the most extreme and repressive forms of these invasive technologies and programs are deployed.[13] Linked to a centralized database system known as the "Integrated Joint Operation Platform" (IJOP) and combined with the Social Credit System, the Chinese government conducts mass surveillance and "preventive policing" to control and subdue Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang.

Digital authoritarianism is not limited to domestic use, however, as China has exported its surveillance technologies to dozens of countries, including countries ruled by authoritarian regimes that may use the "China model" to persecute human rights activists and political opponents.

Prevention of births: The Chinese government's genocidal practices also include forced sterilization and forced abortion. The combined natural population growth rates in Kashgar and Hotan, two of the prefectures that make up the Uyghur heartland, fell by a staggering 84 percent between 2015 and 2018. Xinjiang authorities officially reported that birth rates in the Region declined by an additional 24 percent in 2019, with declines between 30 and 56 percent in some majority-Uyghur districts. In contrast, birth rates across the whole country fell by only 4.2 percent between 2018 and 2019.

You will recall that in January, the Chinese Embassy in Washington boasted about this policy, saying that the government had ensured that Uyghur women would no longer be "baby-making machines."[14]

Based on these statistics alone, the Chinese government's egregious policies in the Uyghur region meet the legal threshold for genocide under provisions of the Genocide Convention as well as the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

The Policy Response

In January 2021, the Trump administration determined that the atrocities taking place in Xinjiang indeed represent genocide and crimes against humanity, and the Biden administration has affirmed this determination. Secretary Blinken told 60

[13] "A Laboratory for Repression: China's Crimes Against Humanity in the Uyghur Homeland," Uyghur Human Rights Project, Dec 10, 2018, at https://uhrp.org/statement/uhrp-briefing-a-laboratory-for-repression-chinas-crimes-against-humanity-in-the-uyghur-homeland/; "The 'laboratory of repression' in East Turkistan: the action agenda," Uyghur Human Rights Project, Dec 13, 2019, at https://uhrp.org/report/uhrp-briefing-laboratory-repression-east-turkistan-action-agenda/

[14] "Twitter removes China embassy tweet referring to Uyghurs as 'baby-making machines'," ABC News, Jan 10, 2021, at https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-01-11/twitter-removes-chinese-embassy-tweet-uyghur-women-baby-machines/13046494

Minutes on Sunday, once again confirmed that "We've made clear that we see a genocide having taken place against the Uyghurs."[15]

From 2019 through 2021, the US has imposed punitive sanctions against 74 PRC officials, government entities, and companies for gross human rights violations against Uyghurs and other Turkic peoples. Five specific policies were implemented to end complicity in US supply chains.

The Canadian, Dutch, and the UK parliaments have joined the United States in recognizing the CCP's policies as genocide. However, the international response is far too little, far too late. To date, other governments had imposed sanctions of any kind only once, when Canada, the UK, and the EU jointly imposed coordinated Magnitsky-style human-rights sanctions on March 22, against four PRC officials and the Xinjiang police department.

Swift Congressional Action

UHRP endorses the following pending legislation and resolutions and urges swift passage:

1. Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act (H.R.1155 and S.65)
2. Uyghur Human Rights Protection Act (H.R.1630 and S.1080)
3. Strategic Competition Act (S.1169)
   Includes 9 provisions to address the Uyghur genocide, and international complicity, including condemnation of the atrocities as genocide, additional human-rights sanctions, the China Censorship Monitor and Action Group (S.413), among others
4. Non-binding resolutions to condemn the genocide and urge Presidential action at the UN and with like-minded governments (H.Res.217 and S.Res.131)
5. Five pending non-binding resolutions urging the removal of the 2022 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games from Beijing

Additional recommendations for US Policy

1. The US government should urge every State Party of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide to fulfill their obligations under Article I, to take action to prevent genocide. This obligation arises at the moment the State becomes aware of the potential for genocide. Even in the absence of a genocide determination, therefore, states must take action to prevent further human rights abuses.

2. The US should provide global leadership for a safe haven for Uyghurs fleeing the horrors of China's genocidal repression. Congress should find a way to support expediting Uyghurs' asylum claims pending for as long as 5 or 6 years. In addition, Uyghurs should be designated as "Priority 2" refugees to allow Uyghurs stranded in third countries to reach safe haven in the United States. For this reason, I urge the

[15] https://twitter.com/60Minutes/status/1388993981732818945?s=20

Foreign Affairs Committee for to approve the Uyghur Human Rights Protection Act (H.R.1630) and urge swift passage of the Act in both the House and the Senate (S.1080).

3. The US should sustain robust bilateral diplomacy with countries hosting Uyghurs who qualify for safe refuge in the US, including Turkey, Malaysia, Thailand, and Central Asian countries. Collaboration with these governments is critical for resettlement processing and securing commitments to refrain from "black renditions" of Uyghurs under pressure from the Chinese government.

4. Diplomatic efforts must be redoubled with member-states of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation to end the near-total silence by governments of Muslim-majority countries regarding China's war on Islam since 2017.

5. The US should ensure that American Olympic and Paralympic athletes are not forced to compete in the shadow of concentration camps at the 2022 Beijing Winter Games. The US should coordinate with like-minded countries to ensure that the Beijing 2022 Games do not go forward as long as atrocity crimes continue.

6. The US should do more to prohibit US companies from abetting repression and supporting the Chinese Communist Party's surveillance state." Congressional and multilateral action is necessary to sanction companies and researchers contributing to racial profiling and persecution of Muslims in China.

7. To deal with the digital authoritarianism that enables the Uyghur genocide, Congress should focus on the potential complicity of Silicon Valley and US universities with hearings. We are urging the DOJ to investigate the role of US technology firms in ongoing genocide, as some of the companies subject to the "Entity List" export ban have reportedly changed their names to evade the sanctions, and US firms have continued to work with them.

8. In addition, universities should be required to report all cooperation with Chinese research institutes and companies in artificial intelligence, big data, "smart policing" and "smart cities," biotech, and other fields responsible for building China's ethnic-profiling and total-surveillance systems. The Department of Commerce should prohibit American sales to all Xinjiang entities, in addition to the 48 Chinese companies and government departments currently on the "Entity List" for helping to build China's surveillance state and forced-labor scheme for Uyghurs. US companies are still free to export software, hardware, and other inputs to state entities, the education sector, the retail sector, and automotive, agricultural, chemical, pharmaceutical, and extractive industries in Xinjiang that are compliant with Chinese government policies of ethno-religious persecution.

9. The Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act will place the burden of proof on any importer attempting to bring products originating in the Uyghur Region. This is entirely appropriate, given the ubiquity of the state-imposed forced labor – a form of modern slavery -- systematically imposed on Uyghurs from all walks of life, including teenagers aged 16-18. The 11 current Withhold-release orders (WROs) are a wholly inadequate response to the gravity of the crimes, the harm to American workers whose wages are undercut by forced-labor competition, and the unwitting complicity of American consumers who buy face masks, hair weaves, cotton apparel, and solar panels produced by the forced labor of Muslim Uyghurs.

10. I recommend revising and re-issuing the Supply Chain Business Advisory on Forced Labor and other Human Rights Abuses in Xinjiang. Issued July 1, 2020, by the Departments of State, Commerce, Treasury, and Homeland Security, the advisory warns businesses with potential supply chain exposure in the XUAR of "the reputational, economic, and legal risks of involvement with entities that engage in human rights abuses." The new Administration should strengthen the advisory with a call to action to technology companies, which benefit from the fruits of democracy, to ensure their algorithms and platforms are not empowering the surveillance state, racial profiling, and repression in China. In addition, the Supply Chain Advisory must shine a spotlight on solar cells. Some estimates show as much as 95% of the global solar-power industry relying on polysilicon from the Uyghur Region.

11. Congress passed the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act in May 2020 with overwhelming bipartisan support, and it was enacted into law on June 17. The Committee should take steps to ensure full implementation of this important law. This legislation directs the President to Magnitsky sanctions on Chinese officials responsible for atrocities against Uyghurs. Congress should review the four (4) reports due to Congress under this law to ensure they contain robust analysis and Administration commitments regarding (1) human rights abuses; (2) efforts to protect US citizens and residents from harassment and coercion by the Chinese government; (3) the Chinese government's acquisition and development of technology to facilitate internment and mass surveillance; and (4) A classified DNI report on (a) Chinese government Xinjiang policies that constitute gross violations of human rights, and (b) the scope and scale of China's detention and state-imposed forced labor targeting Turkic Muslims.

12. In the United Nations, the United States should bring the issue to the UN Security Council. The Biden administration's commitment to coordinated international action and engagement with multilateral institutions to address the atrocities. The US should engage our partners to expose and condemn China's rogue behavior and desperate attempts to undermine the international human rights system and norms and its domestic policies that are in gross violation of the international treaties it has signed and agreed to. UHRP strongly endorses H.Res.317 and S.Res.131, urging the President to ensure that the UN, at last, becomes seized with this crisis.

13. The US should also urge the UN Human Rights Council and other governments to go beyond the fruitless demand for an international delegation to access the Uyghur Region for an investigation, raised by many governments and the President of the UN Human Rights Council, Michele Bachelet, since May 2019. Instead, the UN should immediately prepare a report based on available evidence, what is known as "remote monitoring" within the UN system. In February, Fifty genocide prevention organizations and experts have called for a UN Commission of Inquiry (COI) on the Chinese government's atrocity crimes.[16] The US and like-minded countries should push for immediate action to stand up such a COI.

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[16] "50 Genocide prevention organizations and experts call for UN Commission of Inquiry on crimes against humanity and genocide against Uyghurs," Uyghur Human Rights Project, Jan 14, 2021, at https://uhrp.org/statement/50-genocide-prevention-organizations-and-experts-call-for-un-commission-of-inquiry-on-crimes-against-humanity-and-genocide-against-uyghurs/

14. The US government should allocate funding and other resources for humanitarian intervention and refugee resettlement assistance for Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims currently at risk in other countries. In addition, the US should provide funding for Uyghur human-rights documentation and international advocacy, cultural preservation and expression, counseling and other psycho-social support for victims and secondary survivors of the genocide through the global Uyghur diaspora, and appropriations for the full, authorized budget for Radio Free Asia's Uyghur Service.

In closing, I would like to thank this Committee again for the opportunity to testify and for your attention to the Chinese government's norm-shattering, ongoing atrocities against Uyghurs and other Turkic peoples. I look forward to your questions.

Chairman MEEKS. Thank you.

I want to thank each and every one of your for your testimony this afternoon.

I am now going to recognize Members for 5 minutes each according to House rules. And all time yielded is for the purpose of questioning our witnesses. I will recognize Members by committee seniority, alternating between Democrats and Republicans. If you miss your turn, please let our staff know and we will come back to you.

To seek recognition, you must unmute your microphone, address the Chair verbally, and identify yourself so that we know who is speaking.

I will start by recognizing myself for 5 minutes.

Ms. Tursunay, let me just say to you first your testimony has hurt me deeply. No human being should ever have to go under the horrific treatment that you did. I thank you so much for testifying today and for your bravery and candor in sharing your story to expose the PRC's horrendous treatment of Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities.

This is especially true because Chinese authorities have prevented journalists, and researchers, and people on the ground from doing so. And so it is so significantly important that we, the Members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, were able to hear from your lips your experiences.

And I was really horrified when you said that even when you were allowed to leave and were in Kazakhstan, and to the degree even here in the United States, that you are afraid of the long reach of the PRC Government and the extra-territorial threats and harassment that you have faced from the Chinese authorities while on foreign soil after you left China.

So, the first thing I am trying to find out is, No. 1, has anyone from the PRC tried to contact you or harass you while you have been here in the United States?

And if so, how can the United States and other governments better protect Uyghurs abroad, wherever they may be?

Ms. TURSUNAY.

Ms. ZIYAWUDUN. Thank you so much. I want to say thank you to yourself. Thank you for listening to what I had to say and for listening to what is happening to an ethnic group that is being treated so horribly.

Well, they called me regularly and threatened me, but they have not done so since I came to the United States, nor have I attempted to contact them.

My apologies. I'm not quite sure how to answer such a political question.

Chairman MEEKS. Thank you. And, again, I just want to thank you for your testimony. I will take it with me forever.

Understanding the atrocities that have taken place around the world, it is harmful to the human race for this still to be taking place in 2021. And it is, indeed, very important for every human being, let alone as Members of the U.S. Congress, we will make sure that your story gets out. And we will not sit back and allow it to continue without the United States working with other international countries to speak out loudly and clearly so that the geno-

cide and the abuse to people simply because of their religion or ethnicity that could not take place. And we will work to make sure we stamp that out.

Now I got to Mr. Turkel or Mr. Millward. You know, hearing that story really got me. I'm just really quite upset. And even though I knew it, hearing it, you know, if you're a human being it gets to your very gut. And it got to me.

Let me ask, in coordination with the United States, the U.K. and maybe Canada, the European Union, I know in March we imposed sanctions on four Chinese officials in Xinjiang, the Public Security Bureau, for human rights abuses. And as a response, China sanctioned four entities and ten European lawmakers and diplomats and their families.

What is a sustainable and effective strategy for the imposition of sanctions when faced with baseless retaliation by the PRC?

And what can the U.S. Government do to protect individuals and organizations that speak out against these human rights violations and Chinese retaliatory measures?

Mr. Turkel or Mr. Millward?

Mr. TURKEL. Thank you. Thank you, Chairman. That is a great question.

When we talk about the targeted sanctions, oftentimes you hear a pushback saying, oh, this may not be an effective method. China is a big country, they may not—it may not be able to create a dent to force them to change their behavior.

But based on a recent Washington Post article, one of the major suppliers of yarn complained about losing about $100 million in 1 year simply because of U.S. companies canceling out contracts. That shows that our strategy is working.

So, the sanctions, currently there have been 74 punitive sanctions that have been announced, including 52 entity list designations, Global Magnitsky sanctions against XPCC, Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps, which is a paramilitary, reportedly owns or manages 800,000 shell companies around the world, largely responsible for the ongoing cotton trade, the enslavement of the Uyghurs.

So, we are on the right track, but this has to be extended. I agree with Dr. Millward that naming/shaming in dealing with Communist China, their leadership, works. They care about two things:

One, how they are being portrayed in public. We are doing exactly that. As a result, European parliamentarians, including two commissions, the International Commission on International Religious Freedom being sanctioned, in addition to Members of Congress, former Trump officials, senior officials including Secretary Pompeo. That shows that our message is being heard in Beijing.

So, we need to continue to call them out publicly.

And then, two, as I Stated in my testimony, we need to focus on China's economic interests, the exports and technology. I participated in studies researching the export volume to the United States. This has been reported by multiple organizations, but mainly Stanford Institute of International Studies reported that during the period of April 2019 through April 2022 Xinjiang exports to the United States increased nearly by 250 percent. That shows the magnitude of the problem that we are dealing with.

So, we need to expand our practice, the ongoing pressure on businesses. And as we speak, as you well know, the U.S. Department of Commerce——

Chairman MEEKS. I have to cut you off because my time has expired.

Mr. TURKEL. Thank you.

Chairman MEEKS. I want to make time for other Members.

So, I now will go to questions and ask and yield to Ranking Member McCaul for any questions that he may have.

Mr. MCCAUL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I want to thank Ms. Tursunay for her powerful testimony. As you, Mr. Chairman, I was also very moved by her personal experience, but also her courage and bravery to speak out and speak out the truth even though the threat from the CCP is very real.

So, Ms. Tursunay, I have a set of questions for you.

Can you explain to Members of this committee why the CCP views the Uyghur Muslim culture and religion such a threat that it would open up concentration camps and commit these horrific acts of genocide?

Ms. ZIYAWUDUN. I also want to say thank you to you. Similarly, I also do not exactly understand why, but they truly seem to feel that we are terrifying.

In the time when I was in the concentration camp we had nothing on our person. The police had weapons, and still they treated us like we were terrifying. It seems to me that they just want to get rid of us from this earth. I, I do not understand.

But this really is a threat to the whole world. And I think that they are sending this threat to the world through what they are doing to Uyghurs.

Thank you.

Mr. MCCAUL. Thank you, Ms. Tursunay. I mean, the CCP officials have said openly you cannot uproot all the weeds. To mind the crops in the field one by one you need to spray chemicals to kill them all.

If that does not speak to genocide, I do not know what does.

Mr. Turkel, I wanted to ask you about your family. I understand you still have family in the Xinjiang Province, how their well-being is? And have they or you received threats from the CCP for your service?

Mr. TURKEL. Thank you very much for asking that question.

I came to the United States 26 years ago. Of the 26 years I was only able to spend 11 months with my parents. You know, my background, the way that I was brought to this world. I led half of my life my parents missing, and simply because CCP.

They do not allow my parents to come to spend the rest of their time, whatever the time left in this world. Both of my parents are experiencing serious health issues. They have five American grandchildren, two American sons. And yet the CCP is preventing them to leave.

Because of my prominence in the Uyghur human rights work, I have been dealing with on and off threats. But what is most egregious is that since I was appoint—I have been appointed as a commissioner to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, their pressure has been stepped up.

I have been unsuccessful in my attempts to get my parents out of China to take them to hospital to provide the proper care. That is not happening. I have been trying to reunite with my family since 2009 unsuccessfully.

Mr. MCCAUL. I thought the question, I think the naming and shaming is a great idea, the targeted sanctions, economic, on those profiting off slave labor in concentration camps. As we look toward the Olympics, I think there will be a diplomatic boycott. But I believe the corporate sponsors will still be involved. And I think there needs to be some sort of corporate responsibility here.

Can you or Mr. Millward perhaps speak to what we could do in the Congress to instill this corporate responsibility as the Olympics, if and when they go forward?

Dr. MILLWARD. I will speak briefly to that, if I may.

Mr. MCCAUL. Sure.

Dr. MILLWARD. First of all, thank you, Mr. McCaul, for that question.

I think, you know, in the past a lot of people have looked at the Olympics issue and looked back at the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and said that the boycott was not useful. I think it was useful. I think we need to use the opportunity, though, to have as many conversations in corporations, and between the athletes themselves to spread the message rather than it being a single up-and-down decision made, for example, by the President.

Mr. MCCAUL. Yes. I agree with you. I think we would not—if we had boycotted Munich during the Nazi regime we would not have seen Jesse Owens prove to Hitler that his Aryan race was not superior. And I do not know if boycotting the Russians—I do think the athletes deserve their time, but I think this corporate responsibility notion needs to be.

Any idea you have moving forward, I would like to hear those.

Chairman MEEKS. Thank you. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. MCCAUL. And I yield, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MEEKS. Thank you.

I now recognize Representative Brad Sherman of California for 5 minutes.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for holding this hearing and continuing the efforts of our committee to focus on the genocide of the Uyghurs.

We had a hearing on this in December 2019 when I Chaired the Asia Subcommittee. I commend to those who are watching this hearing to go back and look at the transcript of that one. In that hearing we heard from Mr. Ferkat Jawdat whose mother, as he spoke so eloquently, was in detention for 15 months.

The issue before us is what should we do? So far we have passed through the House and Senate only some modest acts that are aimed at particular individuals. Often, this is a way to make us feel like we have done something by denying tourist visas, and for people who do not want to visit the United States; and freezing the U.S. assets of individuals who do not have assets in the United States.

We came close in 2019 to passing more significant legislation, which was the Uyghur Act. I introduced the Uyghur Act, but this was actually Rubio's bill, which we in our committee used to put

a lot of House content in it. Unfortunately, it has not passed the Senate. It passed the House; the Senate refused to deal with it.

Ultimately, though, focusing just on individual people or individual products is probably not going to get the Chinese Government to change that much. It does contribute to our sense of purity so we can say no American lips have touched a slave-picked tomato from Xinjiang. But just not being able to sell certain tomatoes in the United States is not going to get Beijing to change its behavior.

To change its behavior what we need is across-the-board tariffs on all Chinese goods. And this will give us the bargaining power we need to deal with China on a host of issues, especially human rights. And it will also reduce Chinese power, which is very substantial here in the United States. China has that power because we are so dependent upon them in our supply chains.

We have talked so much about the plight of the Uyghurs, and I think the testimony has been illuminating, but I would like to ask Mr. Turkel about the policy of Muslim States around the world. Here you have a Muslim group being oppressed in large part because of their religion, and the Government of Turkey has at least said a few things under some pressure from Turkic nationalists in Turkey. But virtually the entire rest of the Muslim world has been silent.

What can we do to get the Muslim world to be, hopefully, even tougher on than this than we are?

What can we do to get the Muslim street around the world to appreciate that whether it is Kosovo, Bosnia, the Rohingya, or the Uyghurs, it is the United States that is playing the greatest role in the world in trying to protect this oppressed Muslims?

So, what do we do to both galvanize support in Muslim countries for your cause?

And what do we do to make sure that Muslims around the world know that the United States is taking the lead?

Mr. TURKEL. Thank you, Congressman. As you know, of course, we had this conversation in our first hearing back in 2018, September 2018. It is incredible we are discussing the same issue without much progress.

It is very disturbing, to say the least, that the Muslim majority countries have taken the side with CCP. Even in the face of CCP calling Uyghur Islam as a mental illness, the countries like Saudi Arabia, UAE, Egypt taken, given their full support, in fact they are publicly praising CCP for its treatment of the Muslim Uyghurs.

You know, we can talk about economic reasons, but more so it appears that there is not a common ground, you know, covering each other's back. These countries are not a Jeffersonian democracy, but we can just ignore them for a while.

But there are a few other countries have been in a modest manner of speaking, like the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs for example, Kosovo signed a joint letter after the ministerials. And also Qatar withdrew support of that letters, 39-country letters that they sent it to the U.N. Human Rights Council.

So, there is some, you know, plainly, if I can put it plainly, have to do a better job rallying support with these countries. So, I think diplomatic effort would be effective. So, we can start this with the Organization of Islamic Conference. This Administration is doing

exactly the right thing engaging with our partners and allies. And this should be taken to the U.N. We have a——

Chairman MEEKS. The gentleman's time has expired. So, got to get to the rest of the Members. The gentleman's time has expired.

I now recognize Representative Chris Smith of New Jersey, who is the Ranking Member of the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Global Human Rights, for 5 minutes.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, especially for holding this important hearing.

Mr. Chairman, as you know, since 1983 I have raised the issue of the one child, and now two child per couple policy which has been used with devastating impact on women and children in all of China, with forced abortion and forced sterilization as a means of implementing the one or two child per couple policy.

Now we see—and this has been around for a while, it is not new—but the whole idea of coercive population control is being used against the Uyghurs. And, Mr. Turkel, you pointed out some very devastating numbers that say that the population has dropped by 84 percent between 2015 and 2018, and 24 percent in 2019.

I have worked with many individuals inside Xinjiang with the presence of this issue for years. This is a form, it is one of the definitions of the Genocide Convention, Article 2. There are five of them. One of them is imposing measures intended to prevent birth within a group. All five of the criteria for the Genocide Convention are being violated by the PRC, by Xi Jinping with impunity.

And I just want to ask a couple of questions of Mr. Turkel, if you would.

And, first of all, thank you for making the Forced Labor Prevention Act, introduced by Mr. McGovern and I, your first priority, listed No. 1. Because I think as my colleague knows, and we marked it up in committee the other day, Mr. Chairman, it will create a rebuttable presumption that all goods produced in the region are made with forced labor, unless U.S. Customs and Border Protection certifies by clear and convincing evidence that goods were not produced with forced labor. So, it shifts the whole presumption, these products will not come here unless they can prove that they were not made in forced labor.

But if I could, if you could speak to this issue, this horrible issue of coercing women, of stealing their babies and destroying them by dismemberment or chemical poisoning, which is an outrage, and more needs to be done.

Second, you say that in the United Nations the U.S. should bring the issue to the U.N. Security Council. We will ask the Biden Administration to do that. Have you had any feedback as to whether or not they will?

They also say that the U.S. should urge the U.N. Human Rights Council to go beyond the fruitless demand for an international delegation to have access to just do remote monitoring. We know what is going on. We want more information. But they are going to deny access until the cows come home.

And, finally, on the genocide Olympics, I am going to be Chairing a hearing probably on the 18th on the genocide Olympics with the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission. And, you know, it seems

to me that the change of venue is still a viable option if there is the political will.

And, again, as my friend Mr. McCaul, the Ranking Member, mentioned, the fact that corporate America has been aiding and abetting an Olympics at a venue where there is a current day genocide occurring, plus other massive human rights violations, is absolutely unconscionable.

So, if you would, Mr. Turkel, speak to those issues.

Mr. TURKEL. Thank you very much.

The forced sterilization population control is one of the most effective methods or practices in a genocidal campaign. The family planning policy has been enforced, as you are well aware from your hearings from the mid-'90's, late 1990's even. This is an ongoing process, but it has only accelerated in the last few years, based on the Chinese government's own report. So, why do they do this? They wanted to prevent the Uyghurs to exist on the face of the earth.

I recently had a chance to interview one of the former camp employees, a teacher. She told me that she was forced to go through sterilization at the age of 50. So, this is outrageous. I do not think there is a mechanism to address this. Maybe Congress should consider looking to the way to handle this legislatively or through a legislative mandate.

On the Olympic issue, I think it is not unusual for the Olympic committee to consider postponing next year's Olympics if relocation turned out to be a difficult proposition. It is unfair to our athletes, American athletes, to compete while the genocide is ongoing in the backdrop of the concentration camps.

And also, let's be reminded of the history. In 1936, when Hitler held the Berlin Olympics, he was already building Dachau. He was engaging in forced sterilization. He was engaging in forced labor. And 3 years later, he invaded Europe. There should be concern about China maybe following a similar practice.

We can sense impatience in Beijing to achieve the global ambition. So, this should be concerning. We can put aside all the human rights concerns, but this can be a geopolitical national security concern for the United States.

Chairman MEEKS. Thank you.

The gentleman's time has expired. I now will recognize Representative Gerry Connolly of Virginia, who is the President of the NATO Parliamentarian Assembly, for 5 minutes, after which I will pass the gavel to the Vice Chair of the committee, Mr. Tom Malinowski.

And as I have to leave, I just want to again thank the witnesses, especially Ms. Tursunay for her very, very moving and bold testimony here today. It is something that I will long remember, even past my time here in Congress. Thank you.

And, Mr. Connolly, you are now recognized for 5 minutes.

I think you have to unmute, Mr. Connolly. You are still on mute, Mr. Connolly. You have to unmute.

Samantha, it looks like we are having technical problems. Let's come back to Mr. Connolly.

Let's now go to Representative Ted Deutch of Florida, who is the Chair of the Subcommittee on the Middle East, North Africa and Global Counterterrorism.

And we will see if we can get back to Mr. Connolly.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you very much, Chairman Meeks. Thanks for convening this really important hearing.

Thanks to our witnesses for testifying this afternoon.

For years, the government of the People's Republic of China has used false pretexts to repress and discriminate against the Turkic Muslims and other minority groups, particularly the Uyghurs in Xinjiang and the harassment of these groups located in other countries. Reports describe a systematic program by the PRC government involving arbitrary detention of more than a million Uyghurs as well as torture, beatings, food deprivation, sexual assault, forced sterilization, and denial of political, religious, cultural, and linguistic freedoms, so much of which we have heard about powerfully from our witnesses today.

Congress is taking important action to assist Uyghurs, including passing Representative McGovern's Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, which sanctions PRC officials responsible for the repression of Uyghurs. And I am proud to have supported this and other measures.

However, more needs to be done. That is why I introduced the Uyghur Human Rights Protection Act in March, to provide priority to P–2 refugee status to Uyghurs and other minority groups facing persecution by the PRC government. P–2 is for groups of special humanitarian concern who are designated for resettlement processing and provided direct access to the U.S. refugee system. The bill also streamlines the asylum process for Uyghurs, encourages allies and partners to also accept Uyghur refugees, and encourages the Secretary of State to prioritize the plight of the Uyghurs in bilateral relations with third countries that host Uyghurs.

The legislation demonstrates congressional interest in assisting the Uyghur people and signals support for the Biden Administration's efforts to aid Uyghurs and others persecuted by the PRC. The bill has received bipartisan support, and I would like to thank my colleague, Representative Smith, for introducing it with me, and thank the half dozen other Members of the committee who have already agreed to cosponsor.

For centuries, the United States has had a proud of history of welcoming oppressed peoples from around the world, and we are right to focus on actions within China. The Uyghur Human Rights Protection Act is a continuation of the best tradition of U.S. foreign policy and humanitarianism and upholds America's image as a beacon of hope and refuge and liberty to millions worldwide.

So, I look forward to working with you, Mr. Chairman, and other Members of this committee, to advance this bill and provide additional support for Uyghurs.

Now, Mr. Turkel, in your written testimony you express support for providing P–2 status to Uyghurs and expediting Uyghur asylum cases. Can you please describe the barriers the Uyghurs face, both in immigrating to and declaring asylum in the United States?

Mr. TURKEL. Congressman, thank you so much for introducing that bill. I thought it was necessary and a critically important bill.

The humanitarian intervention is something that we could do while the diplomatic engagements and activities are ongoing. There are two major challenges for the Uyghur refugees around the world. In the homeland, there is a heavy backlog being created since 2013, preventing affirmative asylum applicants to go through the adjudication process, simply showing up at the asylum office to have a hearing, an asylum interview. We can work to expedite that. The Uyghurs are not asking for blanket immigration status. They would like to have a day with the asylum office to tell their story why they cannot be returned to China in the face of the ongoing genocide.

In other countries, particularly in the Middle East, Turkey, to be exact, a large number of Uyghurs have been wandering and hiding because most of the host countries have derogatory information on them. They also collaborate with the Chinese State; namely, countries like Egypt and the UAE have deported Uyghurs who are seeking or facing a danger in the country.

So, the ideal way of handling this issue once we have the legislation is to set up an independent mechanism, either at the embassy or through an NGO, to go through an independent vetting process, to that we can avoid that derogatory information provided by CCP to those host countries being used against them.

Mr. DEUTCH. Mr. Turkel, thank you so much.

Mr. Chairman, there is so much that we can do through this legislation and the ongoing focus of this committee. I am grateful for your attention and the Ranking Member's attention and the leadership of both of you on this vital issue.

And I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. MALINOWSKI [presiding]. Thank you so much, Representative Deutch.

Representative Chabot is next for 5 minutes.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And my good friend and colleague, Mr. Sherman, raised a question already that I wanted to focus on, but I will expand that a little bit. And I will go to Dr. Millward, and then back to Mr. Turkel on it.

The frustration that I feel, and I think many of my colleagues, with the Muslim countries across the globe who basically have stood by silently, or sometimes even worse, as Mr. Turkel mentioned. And either they are cowed by the PRC or they are afraid of their reach or their economic power, or something keeps them quiet on one of the most horrific human rights abuses on earth today.

What, if anything, can either we or allies, or others, do to modify the way they are looking at this and actually step up and help us? It seems the United States is out there, unfortunately, too often alone on these issues with some of these other countries that we are supporting in many other ways and have helped them so much, and they are just silent on something that they ought to be aggressively speaking out on.

And so, Dr. Millward, could you comment on that?

Dr. MILLWARD. Yes. Thank you very much.

I think the United States, although the measures that we have been taking now are a very good step, we were a little bit slow,

really at least a year slow, in our own responses to the atrocities in the Xinjiang region. The recent work with our allies in Europe, Canada, the U.K., I think it is a very, very positive step because it is presenting an international view of what is going on as opposed to simply being a bilateral U.S. response.

I think this kind of diplomatic work can be extended to beyond traditional NATO allies to other countries. There was that list which Mr. Turkel referred to of signatories of a letter in the U.N. of 37 other countries. That list included many Muslim majority countries, indeed, but it also included many countries that are not Muslim either. And the issue here I think is much more that of authoritarian countries, countries with their own very bad human rights records, signing on with China and forming sort of a bloc, an authoritarian bloc, in the U.N. Human Rights Council, for example.

So, I think more U.S. involvement in the United Nations, getting back onto the Human Rights Council there, and continued diplomatic work. There are some Muslim countries that did not sign that letter. Malaysia did not sign that letter. Bangladesh did not sign that letter. And so there are some possibilities that we can work with. Turkey did not, in fact, sign it, although their position on this is complicated. So, there are many opportunities, I think, for gaining Muslim countries' agreement on this. The country of Qatar initially signed, and then unsigned, that letter of the authoritarian government.

So, progress can be made. It will take diplomatic work. That is quiet diplomatic work, maybe some guarantees that the United States is going to stand up for this and not waiver ourselves.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you.

Mr. Turkel, did you want to comment any further?

Mr. TURKEL. Yes. We need a bigger boat, Congressman. This should not be a matter for the U.S. Government only to consider a concern. Our traditional allies and partners have started coming along, but we need to do and we can do a better job in Central and Eastern European countries, some countries that Dr. Millward was mentioning, that used to be fighting against the same fight that the Uyghurs have been fighting, communism.

So, yes, we have to engage in, we have deepen the public engagement, public diplomacy particularly. Using the local population would be very useful. Like, for example, in Europe, if our embassy organizes the victims as camp survivors to meet with their own government and engage them, that may be helping them to get onboard. Personal contact can be very powerful, as we have seen in Tursunay's testimony today. So, our embassies could arrange that kind of meeting with the local governments.

The Uyghurs have some problem, try not to engage with the governments in their host countries; the same thing in Australia; the same thing in Germany. So, if our embassy could help them to set that kind of contact with their governments, it could help us to bring them into the fold.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you very much. My time is expired, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you.

We are going to go to Representative Bera for 5 minutes now.

Mr. BERA. Great. Thank you, Mr. Vice Chairman. And thank you for this important hearing.

I am going to follow the line of questioning that my colleague from California, Mr. Sherman, initially started, which is, how do we engage the Muslim majority countries in this fight? I understand that a lot of those governments are certainly authoritarian and limit the flow of information. But it has always occurred to me that, if the citizens in these countries, if the young people in these countries, understood what was happening—that mosques are being torn down, that people's religion is being reprogrammed, and the internment camps—that you could mobilize the masses to then get their various governments engaged.

Maybe, Mr. Turkel, this is a question to you. Within many of these Muslim majority countries, how aware are the citizens, the young people in the countries, of what is going on in Xinjiang?

Mr. TURKEL. There is one key issue that we have to tackle. That is disinformation. For some reason, the Chinese have been very effective misinforming the public in the Muslim countries. To this day, they are actively telling the world that this is a problem that the United States made in order to prevent China to rise. So, this information, we need to tackle the disinformation campaign that the Chinese have been waging.

And also, we have to recognize that these Muslim countries, the citizens do not have a voice in these kind of matters. They cannot go and criticize their governments. For example, this is impossible even in Egypt and Saudi Arabia for their citizens to say, "Oh, you should not take a side with CCP."

So, I think the diplomatic engagement, public diplomacy, engaging with those countries individually or collectively could be very helpful. We can pick a few candidate countries. I think people may have a different view, but Turkey could be a good candidate country that we should engage. Malaysia, Indonesia, they have a large Muslim population. They are also facing a certain type of CCP threat. So, we should engage with the government one on one at a high level instead of making public statements. I think that could be something very useful.

In the previous administration, Secretary Pompeo went to Central Asia to engage with the Central Asian Turkic States. Secretary Blinken could do or should do the same, engaging with people who have historical, traditional ties with the Uyghurs.

Mr. BERA. So, one of our best strategies in the cold war was Radio Free Europe, and the beauty of it was we did not have to—we were just telling the truth and making sure people had access to the truth. So, I do not know if there are ways through social media.

Recently, I was reading an article in The New York Times about some of the Uyghur population in Japan, and when the Japanese public was starting to become aware of what was happening in China, they started to raise the issue with their government, probably in a way that the Japanese government did not necessarily want raised. But, again, I think the population in Europe now is very aware, which puts pressure on the EU and countries like France and Germany not to move ahead so easily with some of these trade deals.

Again, maybe it is forming a coalition of like-minded, like-valued countries, getting the citizens engaged, places where you can make access to information more readily available, and then putting pressure on the United Nations, having that coalition.

Maybe, Dr. Millward, if you want to add anything to how we might create that global coalition in my last minute?

Dr. MILLWARD. I do not have much to add to what Mr. Turkel just said. This is, of course, difficult, not something that can be easily done by a single passage of a bill or something. But restoring the United States' own international reputation—and there is definitely race issues, and so on—this is an ongoing process that involves issues at home as well as issues abroad and looking at our own history in the Middle East. But, insofar as we can take some steps and send some signals around those things, I think it can only help in being more persuasive in our conversations with Muslim majority countries in this discussion about China's treatment of the Uyghurs and other people in Xinjiang.

Mr. BERA. Right. I am out of time. So, I will yield back.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you. Thank you so much.

We are going to now to Representative Burchett for 5 minutes.

Mr. BURCHETT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is very informative.

There is a lady in my district that she is always on me about why haven't I do not anything about the Uyghurs, and in the situation with Communist China, I am as frustrated as she is. I am frustrated as a committee, and I worry about the things that we are doing, if we are doing anything at all, or just another report on a shelf.

And I am wondering with the administration, they seem to want to cooperate with the Chinese Communist Party, the various aspects, especially the environment. And I am wondering, do you think it is smart for us to cooperate with the Chinese Communist Party in this respect while condemning their human rights violations? And do any of our guests feel like this can be separated? Because everybody seems to want to play ball with them, and I get it, but I am curious what our panel thinks.

Dr. MILLWARD. I will try to address that. Representative Burchett, I understand your frustration, and the idea of playing ball with a regime that is doing what it is doing in Xinjiang is a very difficult one. In my written testimony, I was playing around with how to suggest and think about this. And I came up with the phrase of compartmentalizing when necessary, but do not minimize or marginalize human rights issues. And I am sure I am telling you and others in the U.S. Government something you already know by saying this. That is how politics is done and that is how we do things.

But, with environmental issues, we are facing global problems, and it is also an economic problem. And it is the ironic issue that much of the polysilicate, I believe it is called, which is used to make solar panels, actually is sourced in Xinjiang. So, I am not sure if polysilicate will become the next cotton or tomato, but the point is we are really linked together economically, just as we are linked together morally with these problems. And we need to be talking about them and be pushing on them.

And insofar as we can agree on something and have some conversations going on over the environment—and recent signals have been a little more positive that the PRC and the United States can work on some of that—that can only make it easier to address the more thorny issues at the same time. So, although it does involve keeping contradictory ideas in our minds simultaneously, at least from my point of view as someone who has conversations with Chinese colleagues and friends about this all the time, it is important to have some common ground maybe to retreat to now and then. And so then we get out into the rhetorical battlefield at other times and really work on the more difficult issues.

Mr. BURCHETT. I just think too much we are listening to the Chamber of Commerce, and maybe we need to listen to our hearts a little more. That almighty dollar seems to be the driving factor in all of this for us anyway.

Going back to what you said, though, it is easier to prevent imports coming in from Xinjiang. But there is a report that 80,000 Uyghurs have been transferred and forced to work in factories and other jobs in the Chinese provinces. What can we do to improve that supply chain tracing? This is a joke. You know, we put it on one province; we do not put it on another. It is not the whole country, and I get that. But, there again, when are we going to start listening to our hearts instead of the Chambers of Commerce?

Dr. MILLWARD. Here, I will agree with you. It is definitely not just Xinjiang; it is the whole country. And I mentioned in my written testimony there is a program in China known as the Partnership Pairing Program, or the Counterpart Pairing Program, which actually created sister city relationships between provinces and cities of eastern China, rich provinces and cities, to go into Xinjiang and build factories and build industrial zones, and provide educational training. And there are news reports that some of this, in fact, is directly involved with the Gulag, with the system of prisons.

So, I think we need to expand our ambit and what we are looking at to see what is the involvement of Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Shenzhen, and all of the others, in what is going on in Xinjiang. And that will, of course, create more pain, but it will also create more

[inaudible]. And so I very much agreement with you, Representative Burchett.

Mr. BURCHETT. Yes, we are out of time. I should remind everybody, every time you buy something made in China, there has probably been slaved hands on it, and I think we need to start acting appropriately and acting like a world leader, and put the greed aside for a little while.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate your time and your indulgence.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Hear, hear.

Representative Titus, we will go to you for 5 minutes now.

Ms. TITUS. Yes, thank you.

I met recently with some Members of the National People's Congress. It was arranged by the U.S. Asia Institute. And when I mentioned the Uyghurs, there was kind of two responses. One was, of course, they denied that they were committing any kind of genocide and, in fact, insisted that it was just the opposite, that they have

rooted out terrorist plots; they had eliminated poverty; they were giving the Uyghurs a real opportunity for a better life.

And then the second argument they made was that it was really none of our business; this was internal politics of China. We did not need to get involved in it. We had our own problems with how we treated minorities in this country.

So, I would ask the witnesses if they would comment about this and talk about the fact that, as we do draw more attention to the problem, considering sanctions or getting some of our allies in the area to condemn it, are we running the risk of driving this underground and making it more difficult to get good information about what is happening, so we cannot be effective in countering it?

Mr. TURKEL. I can start. Thank you, Congresswoman.

For the first time, The Washington Post, in the last 20 years, has no reporter in China. Even if we go soft or hard on China, on the CCP, I do not think it would make any difference. They do not even want to acknowledge that they are dragging the international community to engage with this genocidal regime in the daylight.

They also have no shame referencing the Holocaust when they are talking about collective punishment. They also have no shame using their money, economic influence, to buy silence or turning some Uyghur countries into a client State. They also have no shame stating that the United States made some mistakes in the 19th century; therefore, the United States has no moral authority to speak.

So, when a government, or even an individual, has nothing to say, they call others liars and pay a whataboutism card. So, that specifically addresses why the Chinese have been coming up and engaging in this.

And also, genocide denial is a very active method for the perpetrators to continue their campaign. So, the longer that they can confuse people, conflate the facts, and also using some useful—excuse me for using "useful"—idiots in our country from academia, from the think tank, to criticize our own government—that is injected into China's official propaganda—it helps the regime in Beijing.

Therefore, we have to be very mindful this regime is extremely insecure, as has been displayed in Alaska. They have a very specific objective, both domestically and internationally, that they want to create a new norm. They have been expanding the technology that they use to engage in genocide over 80 countries. We have a much bigger problem to deal with.

As I pointed out earlier, the United States remains to be the largest destination for Xinjiang exports, as we speak. So, it took us almost 20 years to get this problem. It will take even longer probably to even request more innovative, creative, bold responses to tackle these monumental challenges that we are facing.

Ms. TITUS. Well, thank you. I was afraid of something like that.

I would ask, Ms. Tursunay—if that is pronouncing it correctly—thank you for your courage in being with us today.

I would like to ask if she could comment about the Uyghur community that is outside of China that is looking over its shoulder, worrying about being repatriated. Is there any special targeting or

harassment or problems particular to women and girls that you know about who are facing those kinds of issues?

The INTERPRETER. I am going to re-explain the question. Thank you.

Ms. ZIYAWUDUN. I do not know of any such things. So, I do not know of anything outside, but, back in the homeland, even outside the camps, there are such threats that are specifically targeted at girls and women. So, I was living outside the camp for 9 months, and in that period there were all sorts of threats—people from the government; police would come around, would call all the time. They forced us to drink alcohol, and so forth. At the end of 2019, those things were still going on, but I did not see any such things after I went to Kazakhstan other than——

Ms. TITUS. Just the usual?

Ms. ZIYAWUDUN [continuing]. Other than by telephone.

Ms. TITUS. Oh, Okay. Well, thank you very much.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you so much.

We will now go to Representative Barr.

Mr. BARR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And thank you to our witnesses.

And as to this absurd moral equivalency argument about the United States and our history relative to what is happening in Xinjiang, I will just say for the record—and I shouldn't have to—that the U.S. Government is not operating concentration camps, not engaged in extrajudicial detention, collective punishment, guilt by association, systematic torture and rape, medications inducing infertility/impaired mental function, torture, rape, forced abortion, withholding medical care, and intense political indoctrination. This is not happening in the United States. And so it is a shame we have to say that for the record, but this is just absurd propaganda from the CCP.

Let me ask any of our witnesses—well, actually, let me start with Professor Millward and Mr. Turkel. Tell me, what is it about the Uyghur population that creates such a sense of threat to the CCP? Why is the CCP so particularly threatened by the Uyghurs?

Dr. MILLWARD. Well, the Uyghur region, or the so-called Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, it lies outside of traditional China demographically and geographically, and it was really taken over by the People's Republic of China in 1949. Now, of course, historical arguments about previous Chinese States being involved there becomes a historic question.

But, essentially, it a colonial issue that they have not wanted to recognize and, instead, tried to argue, through false historical narratives, that this has always been part of China. And now, they have come to the extreme point where they are arguing that the people of the Uyghurs, the Uyghurs themselves, are historically Chinese, although they do not know it. That is essentially what this argument has been. And so they have gotten themselves into this extreme position.

There is a lot of Islamophobia around this as well, and fear and lack of knowledge of who the Uyghurs are, because their customs are very different from those of Han Chinese, and this fear of difference is part of that as well.

And so we see policies such as were mentioned by Ms. Ziyawudun, you know, forcing them to drink alcohol or putting pressure on students or officials not to fast during Ramadan; concerns about pork. Precisely those aspects of Uyghur culture that are different from the Han make many people uncomfortable in China. And so they have been targeted by these policies.

Mr. BARR. Okay. Let me ask any of the witnesses, obviously, President Biden has appointed John Kerry as Special Envoy for Climate to dialog with the Chinese regarding climate change. This action, obviously, shows that climate is a priority for the administration. Special Envoy Kerry went to China to negotiate with the CCP. President Biden convened a Climate Summit, invited President Xi to speak at that summit.

Has the Biden Administration taken any similar steps to stop the CCP from continuing to commit genocide against its own people? Has President Biden convened a summit to stop the genocide? Have we sent an envoy to China specifically regarding genocide in Xinjiang? What actions has the Biden Administration taken that would put this issue in any remote vicinity of the priority that the administration is placing on climate?

Mr. TURKEL. Let me tackle that question. The Uyghur genocide, and now reportedly connected to the green technology, green investment that Americans are making in China, particularly with solar panels, the Uyghurs homeland also reportedly is the largest base for windmill turbine. So, I think it is reasonable to expect that the Biden Administration bring up these issues because it has been already reported. Congress is also going after these issues. Recently, Senator Rubio wrote to the organization that represents the solar industry. So, they have been put on notice.

As far as the administration's specific actions, they announced two coordinated sanctions last month. We are particularly pleased with Secretary Blinken's engagement with our allies and partners. As a result, we have three parliaments at least now—Canadian, U.K., and the Netherlands—that have officially recognized. We anticipate similar action in other countries, maybe Australia and others in Europe.

And one other thing that this administration did all right is to raise this at literally every public event. I have been hearing Secretary Blinken bringing up this issue repeatedly. So, this is very important, especially publicly calling them out.

What other additional steps taken? You know, I could ambitiously recommend Secretary Blinken to visit, request to visit the Uyghur homeland. This has never happened in the history. That is possible. If the Chinese have nothing to hide, open the doors to Secretary Blinken.

Mr. BARR. A good idea. My time has expired, but I hope this administration, or any administration, to place emphasis on this issue independent of climate and not just where slave labor converges with solar panels. I think this is an independently important issue that should be a priority for the administration, and I am encouraged with your testimony. I hope that continues.

I yield back.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you so much.

Representative Connolly, are you ready to jump in?

Mr. CONNOLLY. I am. Thank you.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Great.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

And thank you for our panel.

I am sorry I have had to go back and forth. I have three Zoom hearings at the same time.

And, Mr. Turkel, just picking up on what I have heard, I mean, I find it interesting that there would even be an inferential criticism of the Biden Administration with respect to call out the Uyghur human rights crisis, given the fact that the previous administration, and led by the President himself, almost never talked about human rights, avoided it in his conversations with people like Vladimir Putin and other venues.

And in the brief few months the Biden Administration has been in power, what I understood from your testimony—and I do not want to put words in your mouth; please clarify if I got it wrong—but, I mean, this administration actually has brought up the Uyghur human rights crisis in every exchange, public and private, with the Chinese that we know of, including Secretary Blinken's meeting with his Chinese counterparts in Alaska. Is that correct?

Mr. TURKEL. Yes, that is an accurate statement. The one specific action, if you will, that the Biden Administration is taking is the continuance of the policy initiatives or the executive actions put in place in the previous administration.

As I noted, there are 74 punitive actions that have been taken, which is very significant. I have been doing human rights work in the last 22 years. I never thought that my government will be taken such a significant action to address these issues.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I am sorry, let me just interrupt you. You said there were 74 specific actions taken——

Mr. TURKEL. Yes, punitive actions taken——

Mr. CONNOLLY. Punitive actions?

Mr. TURKEL. Yes.

Mr. CONNOLLY. This is by the Biden Administration?

Mr. TURKEL. No, the whole previous and current administrations all together.

Mr. CONNOLLY. By the United States?

Mr. TURKEL. Yes. And one other thing that I think that Secretary Blinken or the President himself should consider doing is a whole day of "Friend of Uyghurs Summit," at least taking the issue to a G–7 summit next month in the U.K. And this has to be tackled at a really high level. Mentioning it publicly, raising it is wonderful, but tangible, long-lasting actions are required. We need to expand the existing policies being implemented.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Let me ask you, do you believe that the United States policy could or should be more specific on items with respect to the suppression of the Uyghurs, like closing detention camps, ending family separation and birth suppression policies, among others?

Mr. TURKEL. Yes.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I mean, is there benefit in our being more specific in calling out Chinese reprehensible actions?

Mr. TURKEL. Absolutely. Your constituents, for example, in northern Virginia have been separated from their family Members.

Several Uyghur Americans who are working for the U.S. Government as contractors are looking for family Members. The Biden administration at least tried to specifically help the Uyghur Americans to reunite with their grandmothers, grandparents, or siblings. That should be something that is put on the top of the agenda.

I could go even further. The Biden administration should not have a meaningful dialog on anything until at least the Uyghur American families are being released from the concentration camps.

Mr. CONNOLLY. We heard from Mr. Millward that—and by the way, Mr. Millward, I agree with you, and I think it reflects on the Chinese actions in Tibet as well—there is a certain Han xenophobia within China about other ethnic groups and the need to dominate. And unfortunately, they are willing to resort to very violent and repressive practices to do that.

Did you want to elaborate a little bit, Mr. Turkel, on Mr. Millward's observation? I am including Tibet. Mr. Millward did not, but I think he probably would agree—I see him shaking his head yes—about this impulse within the Chinese culture, with the Communist Party promoting it, to dominate and repress other ethnic groups in the country.

Dr. MILLWARD. Could I?

Mr. CONNOLLY. Yes, Mr. Millward, if you want to comment, of course.

Dr. MILLWARD. Very quickly, it is not within Chinese culture. It is within the current policies of the PRC. I think that is important because——

Mr. CONNOLLY. I am sorry, I want to be real clear. I did not mean to say Chinese culture as such. I meant the communist culture of China, current China.

Dr. MILLWARD. The current, the current political culture, yes.

Mr. TURKEL. Congressman, no country in the world treats the Muslims the way that China does. This question came up a few times earlier. Through the Chinese government, the others, particularly the people who follow Western religion, could potentially pose a political threat. So, that threat is their sense of their insecurity. This is why they have been primarily targeting the Muslim and Christian population in the current crisis, or state violence against the vulnerable minorities.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. The time has expired, I am afraid.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. We are going to go to Congressman Steube next.

Mr. STEUBE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

My questions are for Mr. Turkel. As a member of the Africa Global Health and Global Human Rights Committee, I would like to touch on China's role in Africa and how this relationship can lead to detrimental outcomes to human rights. Chinese companies have constructed or renovated, or both, at least 186 sensitive African government buildings. Burundi inaugurated a $22 million Presidential palace. Zimbabwe has a $100 million parliament building. The Liberian government is expanding its capital building. The $66 million combined cost of the project equals more than 2 percent

of Liberia's estimated 2019 GDP. All the buildings, and many more across the continent, were gifts from the Chinese government.

One of the most appealing gifts Beijing offers African officials is help maintaining power. Chinese infrastructure projects often happen around their election season. Chinese companies are well-suited to provide a political boost because they can move quickly, in part, because many are willing to forego environmental impact studies or ignore local labor laws.

Many African rulers will likely side with Beijing over Washington on key issues and in international settings like the United Nations. African States comprise nearly half of the 37 signatories of a 2019 open letter defending China's human rights abuses of its minority Uyghur population.

I introduced a resolution condemning the United Nations' decision to appoint China a seat on its Human Rights Council on April 1st, 2020, and demand serious human rights reform.

Even though the United States is by far the largest humanitarian aid donor to Africa, it will be difficult for Washington to build global momentum for holding Beijing accountable, given how unlikely many African leaders will risk angering China. The large, dependable bloc of African support that China enjoys will remain a competitive advantage for the Chinese Communist Party. African governments are helping downplay Beijing's large-scale human rights abuses in the Uyghur region and have helped Chinese Nationals win leadership of influential international organizations.

Can you please share any thoughts or potential solutions on this very important issue?

Mr. TURKEL. That is an excellent question. The ongoing crisis has an international aspect to it, particularly on China's ambitious Belt and Road Initiative. In late 2018, a State-run media mocked the United States by stating something along the lines of: while the United States destroys your cities or kills your people, we help you to rebuild your schools, roads, your infrastructure. The way that we are dealing with the world's so-called Muslim problem, you should follow our model.

So, that is one of the official campaigns, in addition to the economic activities taking place all around the world. It is the same thing as in Central Asia; a similar situation in Southeast Asia. I do not particularly follow Africa, but I would not be surprised that the Africans are also feeling stuck in these ongoing geostrategic activities engaged in by the CCP in Africa.

Mr. STEUBE. I introduced a bill that would keep Huawei technologies or its subsidiaries and affiliates on the Entity List. What other measures do you recommend Congress take up to prevent Chinese companies gaining wealth in the United States and to ensure U.S. companies do not have ties to Uyghur forced labor?

Mr. TURKEL. Secretary Blinken told Congress in his confirmation hearing that he will focus on two things. One, stopped forced labor coming to the United States and our technology going to China, to facilitate the ongoing genocide.

I do not think that the Silicon Valley has waken up to this brutality, even in the face of the ongoing genocide. Based on various reports, the Silicon Valley companies are still providing technology, transferring technology. They haven't come out publicly con-

demning anything or cut ties with anything, except for Apple recently told media that they are cutting loose a questionable supplier that makes film, all film, for the iPhones.

But Silicon Valley needs to step up to the plate. They have not really, publicly at least, recognized the seriousness of the issues. Previously, when they come to testify in Congress, most of the CEOs from the Silicon Valley companies, high-tech companies, dodge the question about at least the forced labor aspect of their business practices in China.

Mr. STEUBE. Thank you for your time today.

And, Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit for the record a report from RWR Advisory Group regarding companies' complicity to the Uyghurs atrocities.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Without objection.

[The information referred to follows:]

RWR Advisory Group, LLC

U.S. Capital Markets Footprint of Chinese Companies Sanctioned for XUAR Human Rights Violations

September 17, 2020

(Last updated: February 15, 2021)

The U.S. Department of Commerce's Bureau of Industry and Security (BIS) has added several dozen Chinese companies to the Entity List for "acting contrary to the foreign policy interests of the United States" and, more specifically, having been implicated in human rights violations and the implementation of mass arbitrary detention, high-technology and biometric surveillance, and forced labor against Uyghurs in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) since the fall of 2019. This follows over three decades of sweeping security measures and assimilationist policies enacted by the Chinese government, aimed at repressing Uyghur religious belief and practice, and marginalizing Uyghur ethnic identity and culture.

- On July 22, 2020, the Commerce Department added eleven Chinese companies to the Entity List "in connection with the practice of forced labor involving Uyghurs and other Muslim minority groups" and "conducting genetic analyses used to further the repression of Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities" in the XUAR.[1]

- On June 5, 2020, the Commerce Department added nine Chinese companies to the Entity List for having been "implicated in human rights violations and abuses," mass arbitrary detention, and high-tech surveillance in the XUAR.[2]

- On May 22, 2020, the Commerce Department added eight Chinese companies and institutions to the Entity List for being "complicit in human rights violations and abuses," mass arbitrary detention, and high-tech surveillance in the XUAR.[3]

[1] https://www.commerce.gov/news/press-releases/2020/07/commerce-department-adds-eleven-chinese-entities-implicated-human
[2] https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2020/06/05/2020-10868/addition-of-certain-entities-to-the-entity-list-revision-of-existing-entries-on-the-entity-list
[3] https://www.commerce.gov/news/press-releases/2020/05/commerce-department-add-nine-chinese-entities-related-human-rights

- On October 9, 2019, the Commerce Department added 28 entities, including eight Chinese companies to the Entity List for having been "implicated in human rights violations and abuses," mass arbitrary detention, and high-tech surveillance in the XUAR.[4]

Publicly Traded Companies on the Entity List

Of these recent 47 additions to the Entity List, 16 are publicly traded on the Shanghai (SS), Shenzhen (SZ), and Hong Kong (HK) Stock Exchanges, either directly or through or their parent entities. Listed by most recent date of Entity List addition, these are:

Hefei Meiling Co., Ltd. (000521.SZ)

- Meiling is a major home appliance manufacturer based in Hefei Economic and Technological Development Zone that produces refrigerators, freezers, air conditioners, and other home appliances, supplying overseas companies such as Electrolux. As of 2018, the company employed over 1,500 Uyghur workers that had been transferred from Xinjiang to Anhui province.[5] Hefei Meiling changed its name to Changhong Meiling Co., Ltd. in June 2018, but this change is not reflected in BIS documents.

KTK Group Co., Ltd. (603680.SS)

- Subsidiary of CRRC Co., Ltd. (601766.SS) (01766.HK)
- KTK Group manufactures railway transportation supporting products including vehicle interiors, control systems, and rolling stock accessories for international customers including Alstom, Bombardier, and Siemens. It employs about a thousand workers that have been transferred from Xinjiang to its factories in Jiangsu.[6] Formerly known as Jiangsu Jianhu Rail Transit Equipment Co., Ltd.[7]

Nanjing Synergy Textiles Co., Ltd.

- Subsidiary of Victory City International Holdings Ltd. (00539.HK)

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[4] https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2019/10/09/2019-22210/addition-of-certain-entities-to-the-entity-list
[5] http://archive.ph/wip/AAvQv
[6] http://www.xjnlk.gov.cn/info/1161/19344.htm; https://www.harderllp.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Dkt-1-Complaint.pdf
[7] http://www.wjjh.com/

- Nanjing Synergy Textiles produces and supplies cotton knitting yarns for yarn and fabric processing, using a number of workers from Xinjiang – including ethnic Kazakhs – that have been transferred to the company's Jiangsu factories.[8]

Nanchang O-Film Tech Co., Ltd.

- Subsidiary of OFilm Group Co., Ltd (002456.SZ)
- O-Film Tech produces optoelectronics for end-use consumer goods such as electronics and smart vehicles. It employs over a thousand Uyghur workers transferred out of Xinjiang to its Jiangxu factories.[9] Uyghur and Kazakh workers are reportedly subject to coercive labor practices and make touch screens and fingerprint recognition scanners for international tech companies like Apple, Samsung, Lenovo, and Huawei.[10]

Jiangsu Tanyuan Technology Co. Ltd. (603133.SS)

- Tanyuan Technology is a primary supplier of graphite heat dissipation materials used in touch screens for consumer electronics and vehicles, using at least 250 Uyghur workers transferred from Xinjiang to Jiangsu.[11]

Xinjiang Silk Road BGI Co., Ltd.

- Subsidiary of BGI Genomics Co., Ltd. (300676.SZ)
- According to BGI Genomics, which provides DNA sequencing and biomedical services, Xinjiang Silk Road BGI has not been active since its establishment in November 2016.[12]

Beijing Liuhe BGI Co., Ltd.

- Subsidiary of BGI Genomics Co., Ltd. (300676.SZ)
- Beijing Liuhe BGI provides commercial DNA sequencing services for disease-related scientific research, and has been involved in studies of Uyghur genetic information.[13]

Aksu Huafu Textiles Co., Ltd.

- Subsidiary of Huafu Fashion Co., Ltd. (002042:SZ)

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[8] http://archive.ph/recum
[9] http://archive.ph/qEvOK
[10] https://abcnews.go.com/Business/wireStory/gadgets-tech-giants-made-coerced-uighur-labor-69450269
[11] http://archive.ph/hRVKq
[12] https://www.bgi.com/us/company/news/statement-regarding-bgis-subsidiaries-being-added-to-uss-entity-list/
[13] https://www.axios.com/chinese-coronavirus-test-maker-agreed-to-build-a-xinjiang-gene-bank-f82b6918-d6c5-45f9-90b8-dad3341d6a6e.html

- Aksu Huafu Textiles produces mélange yarn out of Aksu Textile Industrial City. Huafu Fashion is the world's largest supplier of mélange yarn. The company operates a vocational training program in cooperation with the government that feeds workers to its factories and mills, and has been identified as a forced labor pipeline.[14]

FiberHome Telecommunication Technologies Co., Ltd. (600498.SS)

- Fiberhome operates a strategic base in Xinjiang and has a strategic cooperation agreement with the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC) to build smart cities equipped with surveillance technology. XPCC is a ubiquitous paramilitary organization that has also been added to the Entity List for its involvement building detention centers and facilitating forced labor programs in the XUAR.[15]

Nanjing FiberHome Starrysky Communication Development Co., Ltd.

- Subsidiary of FiberHome (600498.SS)
- StarrySky produces network security and big data software, including a smart policing mobile application used by Chinese border authorities to extract personal data from the smartphones of travelers entering Xinjiang and scan for religious content.[16]

Dongfang Netpower Technology Co., Ltd. aka NetPosa (300367.SZ)

- NetPosa is the parent company of SenseNet, which supplies China's Skynet Project surveillance system with facial recognition tracking services across public spaces in Xinjiang. The company's chairman serves on a Ministry of Public Security committee that sets national security technology standards.

Shenzhen Shenwang Vision Technology Co., Ltd. (SenseNet)

- Subsidiary of NetPosa Technologies Ltd. (300367.SZ)
- SenseNet is a joint venture between NetPosa and SenseTime Group that supplies China's Skynet Project with facial recognition tracking services across public spaces in Xinjiang.

Zhejiang Dahua Technology Co., Ltd. (002236:SZ)

- Dahua Technology provides video surveillance products and services used in machine vision, video conferencing, professional drones, and RFID systems. It has received over a

[14] https://www.wsj.com/articles/western-companies-get-tangled-in-chinas-muslim-clampdown-11558017472; http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201808/14/WS5b72a6a1a310add14f385ba2_4.html
[15] http://news.cnr.cn/native/gd/20180814/t20180814_5243331653.shtml
[16] https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/02/technology/china-xinjiang-app.html

billion dollars in contracts for video surveillance and security projects in the XUAR, including facial recognition and data storage systems.[17]

Hangzhou Hikvision Digital Technology Co., Ltd. (002415.SZ)

- Hikvision is one of the world's largest manufacturers of video surveillance products, with a full line including CCTV cameras, DVRs, and video management software. It has equipped several detention facilities in Xinjiang and won hundreds of millions of dollars worth of security contracts in the region. Hikvision also operates a research center in Xinjiang and has worked on Uyghur-specific AI image and video projects at a paramilitary base in Urumqi.[18]
- Hikvision was named by the U.S. Department of Defense as a Communist Chinese Military Company (CCMC) in June 2020. Accordingly, Hikvision is subject to a comprehensive institutional and individual investment ban under the Executive Order on Addressing the Threat from Securities Investments that Finance Communist Chinese Military Companies (EO 13959) enacted in November 2020.[19]

Iflytek Co., Ltd. (002230.SZ)

- Iflytek (stylizes as iFlytek) produces speech recognition software and products, including the first AI open platform for smart hardware developers in China. It has supplied voiceprint collection systems to Kashgar police in Xinjiang and partnered with the Xinjiang Public Security Bureau and with telecommunications companies to integrate voice pattern data into surveillance systems.[20]

Xiamen Meiya Pico Information Co. Ltd. (300188.SZ)

- Meiya Pico produces digital forensics and cybersecurity products and services, including technology to detect Uyghur and Islamic symbols in photos, an app reportedly used by police to extract smartphone data from individuals, and a range of drones.[21] It has provided the Xinjiang Police College with drone flight training for reconnaissance and

[17] http://www.its114.com/html/2017/changshangyaowen_0217/84407.html; https://ipvm.com/reports/xinjiang-dahua-hikvision
[18] https://ipvm.com/reports/hik-xj-pap
[19] https://media.defense.gov/2020/Aug/28/2002486659/-1/-1/1/LINK_2_1237_TRANCHE_1_QUALIFIYING_ENTITIES.PDF
[20] https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-xinjiang-mit-tech-insight/risky-partner-top-u-s-universities-took-funds-from-chinese-firm-tied-to-xinjiang-security-idUSKCN1TE04M; https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/10/22/china-voice-biometric-collection-threatens-privacy
[21] https://www.scmp.com/tech/start-ups/article/3017688/what-you-need-know-about-meiya-pico-chinas-low-profile-forensics; https://www.rfa.org/mandarin/yataibaodao/shaoshuminzu/hc-11272018150156.html

patrol assignments, and is working with the Xinjiang Public Security Bureau's cybersecurity corps to build a cybersecurity training base.[22]

Companies on the Entity List Planning IPOs

Several Chinese companies on the Entity List have recently filed for IPOs. The Entity List designations and increased regulatory scrutiny have made overseas listings difficult for China's "four AI dragons," which have turned instead to domestic exchanges like Shanghai's Nasdaq-style technology board, the Science and Technology Innovation Board aka STAR Market. CloudWalk and Yitu Technology have both submitted prospectuses to list on the STAR Market. Megvii Technology and SenseTime are reportedly preparing to list on STAR, but have not yet moved forward with the filing process.

Guangzhou CloudWalk Information Technology Co., Ltd.

- CloudWalk has sold its facial recognition platform to police stations across China, purportedly equipped with the ability to distinguish "sensitive groups" of people, such as Uyghurs, from the Han majority.[23]
- May 2020: Unlike other prominent AI companies in China, CloudWalk is backed entirely by RMB-based funds and most its investors are state-owned.[24] It underwent a shareholding system reform affecting registered capital and shareholding structure in early 2020, completed by mid-May, seemingly confirming rumors of the company's plans for an IPO on the STAR Market, by the end of 2020.[25]
- June 2020: CloudWalk was added to the U.S. Department of Commerce's Entity List.[26]
- December 2020: CloudWalk filed for a $573 million STAR Market IPO. As a national AI venture with predominantly government-linked backers, CloudWalk is slated for a domestic listing. In its prospectus, CloudWalk disclosed that the inclusion of CloudWalk on the Entity List "is not imposing any direct, major impacts on the company's current management and operations. However, it will bring certain adverse effects on the

[22] http://www.xjpcedu.cn/info/1161/1864.htm; http://stock.jrj.com.cn/2018/08/10000024944213.shtml
[23] https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/14/technology/china-surveillance-artificial-intelligence-racial-profiling.html
[24] https://equalocean.com/news/2020051313976
[25] https://www.chinamoneynetwork.com/2020/05/14/chinese-ai-unicorn-cloudwalk-raises-253m-accelerates-ipo-schedule; https://www.biometricupdate.com/202005/cloudwalk-raises-250m-and-plans-ipo-as-biometrics-firms-flourish-in-china-during-pandemic-response
[26] https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2020/06/05/2020-10868/addition-of-certain-entities-to-the-entity-list-revision-of-existing-entries-on-the-entity-list

company's overseas business expansion in the future, as well as an academic exchange of AI-related theoretical research."[27]

Megvii Technology Co., Ltd.

- Megvii Technology designs facial recognition software and hardware using AI technology. It created an online facial recognition platform known as Face++ that was identified as a component of the Integrated Joint Operations Platform used by police and other authorities in Xinjiang for mass surveillance purposes, but reportedly "inoperable" and never actually used.[28]
- August 2019: Megvii filed for an IPO in Hong Kong. The company outlined several risks in its prospectus, including negative publicity surrounding its reported involvement in mass surveillance efforts in Xinjiang.[29]
- October 2019: Megvii was added to the U.S. Department of Commerce's Entity List.[30]
- February 2020: Reports indicated that Megvii was planning to refile for a Hong Kong IPO following the lapse of its previous application, filed six months earlier, due to the impact of the coronavirus epidemic and Megvii's inclusion in the Entity List. At the time, Megvii was expected to refile as soon as the end of March, when Deloitte finished auditing the company's 2019 financials.[31]
- September 2020: Megvii signed an agreement with CITIC Securities, in preparation for going public on the STAR Market in Shanghai.[32]

SenseTime Group Ltd.

- SenseTime developed the facial detection platform SenseFace, which is used by local public security agencies across China, including Xinjiang. The company also installed the first prison facial recognition system in Hohhot, Inner Mongolia.[33] It has since sold its

[27] https://www.caixinglobal.com/2020-12-07/chinese-state-backed-ai-unicorn-cloudwalk-files-for-573m-star-market-ipo-101636654.html
[28] https://www.scmp.com/tech/start-ups/article/3013229/ai-unicorn-megvii-not-behind-app-used-surveillance-xinjiang-says
[29] https://www.cnbc.com/2019/08/26/alibaba-backed-chinese-ai-firm-megvii-files-for-hong-kong-ipo.html
[30] https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2019/10/09/2019-22210/addition-of-certain-entities-to-the-entity-list
[31] https://www.reuters.com/article/megvii-ipo/chinese-ai-firm-megvii-to-refile-for-hong-kong-ipo-sources-idUSL4N2AL2VI
[32] https://global.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202101/13/WS5ffe636ea31024ad0baa24e8.html; http://www.csrc.gov.cn/pub/beijing/bjfdqyxx/bjfdqyjbqk/202101/P020210112533742962617.pdf
[33] http://www.sohu.com/a/217203765_99963310

stake in the smart policing joint venture set up with Leon Technology in 2017, known as Tangli Technology.[34]

- October 2019: SenseTime was added to the U.S. Department of Commerce's Entity List.[35]
- March 2020: SenseTime decided to postpone its plans for an IPO in Hong Kong following its inclusion on the Entity List. The decision was likely also affected by the coronavirus-induced global economic disruption.[36]
- July 2020: Reports have indicated that SenseTime is in preliminary talks regarding listing on the STAR Market, but there is currently no timeline in place. SenseTime has declined to comment on its fundraising plans.[37]

Shanghai Yitu Network Technology Co., Ltd.

- Yitu provides facial recognition software to police stations that enable them to generate databases identifying Uyghur residents by ethnic profile.[38]
- September 2019: According to reports, Yitu was considering an IPO on the STAR Market within the next year.[39] The company clarified publicly that it had no IPO plan at present, although it was actively evaluating various opportunities.[40]
- October 2019: Yitu was added to the U.S. Department of Commerce's Entity List.[41]
- November 2020: Yitu submitted a prospectus to the Shanghai Stock Exchange, seeking to move forward with plans to list on the STAR Market.

[34] https://www.ft.com/content/38aa038a-5f4f-11e9-b285-3acd5d43599e
[35] https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2019/10/09/2019-22210/addition-of-certain-entities-to-the-entity-list
[36] http://www.securitychina.com.cn/English/2018blh/Exhibitors_Detail.asp?NF=2016&ID=4368; https://asia.nikkei.com/Business/China-tech/SenseTime-to-seek-up-to-1bn-private-funding-deferring-Hong-Kong-IPO
[37] https://www.reuters.com/article/us-sensetime-ipo-exclusive/exclusive-sensetime-eyes-star-market-ipo-after-1-5-billion-fundraising-sources-idUSKCN24W1JN
[38] https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/14/technology/china-surveillance-artificial-intelligence-racial-profiling.html
[39] https://www.biometricupdate.com/202001/yitu-wins-shanghai-government-contract-and-considers-ipo-on-citys-new-exchange; https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-09-03/ai-startup-yitu-is-said-to-seek-ipo-on-china-s-new-tech-board
[40] https://equalocean.com/news/2019090411654
[41] https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2019/10/09/2019-22210/addition-of-certain-entities-to-the-entity-list

Publicly Traded Companies Not on the Entity List

Chinese companies that allegedly employ Uyghur workers through forced labor and training programs in the XUAR, and supply surveillance and data technology to implement mass surveillance and detention programs in the XUAR, that are publicly traded but have not been added to the Entity List or other U.S. sanctions regimes:

Suzhou Good-Ark Electronics Co., Ltd. (002079.SZ)

- Good-Ark Electronics manufactures semiconductor products sold in China and in other countries. According to a 2017 agreement, Good-Ark agreed to employ 500 Uyghur workers following their completion of an education and training program that has been characterized as a detention and indoctrination program.[42] As of 2019, the company's Shandong factory employed a number of Uyghurs that had been transferred from Xinjiang.[43]

Shandong Ruyi Woolen Garment Group Co., Ltd. (002193.SZ)

- Ruyi Group is the largest textile manufacturer in China and has ownership stakes in major international brands like Bally and SMCP (which owns Sandro, Maje, and Claude Pierlot). It reportedly employs 2,000 Uyghur workers across three countries in Xinjiang and has production links to several villages and households.[44] The company is also known as Shandong Ruyi Technology Group.

Jiangsu Guotai Guosheng Co. Ltd.

- Subsidiary of Jiangsu Guotai International Group (002091.SZ)
- Jiangsu Guotai is a clothing and textile producer that supplies a number of international brands, including Abercrombie & Fitch, American Eagle, Target, Tommy Hilfiger, Costco, DKNY, Macy's, Kohl's, and Walmart. A satellite factory of Shandong Zoucheng Guosheng reportedly employs over 3,500 Uyghurs, making it one of the largest beneficiaries of the forced labor and training program in the XUAR.[45]

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[42] http://archive.ph/3e0G3; https://www.harderllp.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Dkt-1-Complaint.pdf
[43] http://archive.ph/jXzgL
[44] http://archive.ph/q9VgW; http://archive.ph/73ip1
[45] http://archive.ph/q9VgW

Avary Holding (Shenzhen) Co., Ltd. (002938:SZ)

- Avary Holdings designs and manufactures printed circuit boards used in various communications, computing, and consumer electronic products. It employs about 111 Uyghurs at its Jiangsu factory that were transferred from Xinjiang, and has participated in programs seeking additional Uyghur labor transfers.[46]

SAIC Motor Corporation Ltd. (600104.SS)

- SAIC's luxury car brand Roewe Group, which sells domestic vehicles overseas under the British MG Motor brand, employs rural laborers from Xinjiang at its Jiangsu factory.[47]

Haoxiangni Health Food Co., Ltd. (002582.SS)

- Formerly known as Haoxiangni Jujube, the company produces dried jujube (Chinese date) and other food products using Uyghur labor at factories in both Henan province and the XUAR.[48]

Youngor Textile Holdings Co., Ltd.

- Subsidiary of Youngor Group Co. Ltd. (600177.SS)
- Along with various subsidiaries that also operate in Xinjiang, Youngor produces textiles and textile machinery for several international brands including Calvin Klein, Gap, Lacoste, LL Bean, and Uniqlo. Over 2,000 Uyghur workers had been transferred from Xinjiang to Youngor factories in Anhui province, and the company has expressed interest in employing additional workers from the XUAR.[49]

Suzhou Keda Technology Co., Ltd. aka Kedacom (603660.SS)

- Kedacom manufactures video conferencing, surveillance, and analytics technology, and has developed a platform for the Xinjiang Public Security Department's Safe City Network, connecting cities and districts across the XUAR.[50] Kedacom also worked with an unspecified Xinjiang detention center to set up an integrated security management system with video surveillance and digital interrogation capabilities.[51]

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[46] http://archive.ph/L5G9j
[47] http://archive.ph/lhdVC
[48] http://archive.ph/RZhne
[49] http://archive.ph/jsyEC
[50] http://data.eastmoney.com/notices/detail/603660/AN201512280012506620,JUU4JThCJThGJUU1JUI3JTlFJUU3JUE3JTkxJUU4JUJFJUJF.html
[51] https://www.kedacom.com/cn/newskd/4035.jhtml

Tongfang RIA Co., Ltd.

- Subsidiary of Tsinghua Tongfang Co., Ltd. (600100.SS)
- Tongfang RIA supplies IC card and RFID technology for products including electronic reader machines and access control systems. The Aksu detention center in Xinjiang uses Tongfang RIA technology for its high-security key cards, gate management, and prison access control system.[52]

Leon Technology Co., Ltd. (300603.SZ)

- Leon Technology provides security system and communications network engineering and services, and primarily operates in Xinjiang. Past projects include implementing China Mobile's smart technology data system across the XUAR that encompasses education, healthcare, digital payments, transportation, and governance, and China Mobile's cloud computing data center project in Karamay.[53] Leon Technology also set up a smart policing joint venture with SenseTime Group in 2017, known as Tangli Technology.[54]

Presence in Major U.S. Indexes and ETFs

On May 14, 2018, after three years of deliberation and negotiations with Chinese regulatory authorities – and reportedly, considerable arm-twisting by Beijing[55] – global index provider Morgan Stanley Capital International (MSCI) released a list of large-cap China A Shares (stocks of Chinese companies traded on the Shanghai and Shenzhen Stock Exchanges) to be included in its MSCI China Index, Emerging Markets (EM) Index, and All Country World Index (ACWI) beginning on June 1, 2018.[56] Previously, only Chinese companies listed in Hong Kong as H Shares or in the United States were included in MSCI indexes.

Following MSCI, FTSE Russell was the second major index provider to include China A Shares in its indexes. On June 24, 2019, FTSE added 1,097 China A Shares into its FTSE Global Equity Index Series (GEIS, which covers the FTSE Emerging and All-World Indexes) in the first stage of inclusion (20%), drawing an expected $10 billion from U.S. passive investors.

[52] http://www.thtfria.com.cn/index.php?c=content&a=show&id=180
[53] https://www.mscbsc.com/viewnews-2277480.html; http://www.3snews.net/smartcity/260000035951.html
[54] https://www.ft.com/content/38aa038a-5f4f-11e9-b285-3acd5d43599e
[55] https://www.wsj.com/articles/how-china-pressured-msci-to-add-its-market-to-major-benchmark-11549195201
[56] The MSCI China Index represents the Chinese securities in the MSCI Emerging Markets and MSCI ACWI.

Exchange-traded fund (ETF) products are passively managed, tracking specific stock market indexes that measure the performance of a fixed set of securities:

- MSCI Emerging Markets (EM) Index
  Benchmark for BlackRock's iShares MSCI EM ETF
- MSCI EM Investable Market Index (IMI)
  Benchmark for BlackRock's iShares Core MSCI Emerging Markets ETF
- MSCI All Country World International (ACWI) Index
  Benchmark for BlackRock's iShares MSCI ACWI ETF
- MSCI ACWI ex-U.S. Index
  Benchmark for BlackRock's iShares MSCI ACWI ex.-U.S. ETF
- FTSE Emerging Index
  Benchmark for the Vanguard FTSE Emerging Markets UCITS ETF
- FTSE All-World Index
  Benchmark for the Vanguard FTSE All-World UCITS ETF

Companies on the Entity List

Security Name	MSCI EM Index	MSCI EM IMI Index	MSCI ACWI Index	MSCI ACWI ex-U.S. Index	FTSE Emerging Index	FTSE All-World Index
Hefei Meiling (A)						
KTK Group (A)						
CRRC (A)					X	X
CRRC (H)					X	X
Victory City (H)						
OFilm Group (A)					X	X
Tanyuan Tech (A)						

BGI Genomics (A)	X				X	X
Huafu Fashion (A)						
Fiberhome (A)	X				X	X
NetPosa (A)						
Dahua Technology (A)	X				X	X
Hikvision (A)	X		X	X	X	X
Iflytek (A)	X				X	X
Meiya Pico (A)					X	X

Companies Not on the Entity List

Security Name	MSCI EM Index	MSCI EM IMI Index	MSCI ACWI Index	MSCI ACWI ex-U.S. Index	FTSE Emerging Index	FTSE All-World Index
Good-Ark (A)						
Shandong Ruyi (A)						
Jiangsu Guotai (A)					X	X
Avary Holding (A)					X	X
SAIC Motor (A)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Haoxiangni Food (A)						
Youngor Group (A)					X	X
Kedacom (A)						
Tsinghua Tongfang (A)					X	X
Leon Technology (A)						

Presence in U.S. Public Pension Funds

The savings of tens of millions of Americans across state lines are invested in Chinese companies through some of the largest retirement and public pension systems in the country. These include both active investments selected by fund managers and passive investments in indexes and related funds, the constituents of which some state administrators may be unaware of. The charts below present at least a glimpse or sample of Chinese companies complicit in human rights abuses in the XUAR that are held by four of the largest state-sponsored public pension systems: California Public Employees' System (CalPERS), New York State Teachers' Retirement System (NYSTRS), Florida Retirement System (FRS) Pension Plan, and Texas Teachers' Retirement System (TRS).[57]

California Public Employees' Retirement System (CalPERS)

Companies on the Entity List

Security Name	Shares	Market Value
CRRC (A)	64,400	$75,855
CRRC (H)	8,325,626	$6,958,891
OFilm Group (A)	7,000	$7,990
BGI Genomics (A)	700	$5,813
Huafu Fashion (A)	24,400	$25,792
Fiberhome (A)	22,600	$91,673
NetPosa (A)	14,700	$21,124
Dahua Technology (A)	8,000	$16,912
Hikvision (A)	24,800	$99,586
Iflytek (A)	5,500	$26,618

[57] CalPERS data is from the FY2019 report; NYSCRF data is from an asset list dated March 31, 2019; FRS Pension Plan data is from a Q2 2020 document, and Texas TRS data is from a July 31, 2020 report.

Meiya Pico (A)	2,100	$5,452
iShares MSCI EM ETF	778	$33,384
iShares Core MSCI EM ETF	87,729	$4,512,780

California Public Employees' Retirement System (CalPERS)

Companies Not on the Entity List

Security Name	Shares	Market Value
Jiangsu Guotai (A)	25,100	$20,867
SAIC Motor (A)	**25,700**	**$95,417**

New York State Common Retirement Fund (NYSCRF)

Companies on the Entity List

Security Name	Shares	Market Value
CRRC (A)	397,018	$312,604
CRRC (H)	1,514,512	$638,989
BGI Genomics (A)	192,300	$4,238,206
Dahua Technology (A)	62,800	$170,536
Hikvision (A)	196,002	$840,907
Iflytek (A)	46,100	$243,921
iShares MSCI China A ETF	113,970	$3,601,452

RWR Advisory Group, LLC

New York State Common Retirement Fund (NYSCRF)

Companies Not on the Entity List

Security Name	Shares	Market Value
Avary Holding (A)	220,600	$1,561,080
SAIC Motor (A)	127,083	$305,218

Florida Retirement System (FRS) Pension Plan

Companies on the Entity List

Security Name	Shares	Market Value
CRRC	692,000	$305,153.73
CRRC	1,190,600	$937,453.81
Ofilm Group (A)	45,600	$118,542.85
BGI Genomics (A)	28,100	$619,311.43
Hikvision (A)	2,782,500	$11,937,755.29

Florida Retirement System (FRS) Pension Plan

Companies Not on the Entity List

Security Name	Shares	Market Value
Jiangsu Guotai	496,400	$424,537.40
Jiangsu Guotai	393,795	$336,786.27
SAIC Motor (A)	774,187	$1,859,379.58
Kedacom (A)	31,500	$40,832.76

RWR Advisory Group, LLC

Teacher Retirement System (TRS) of Texas

Companies on the Entity List

Security Name	Shares/Par Value
CRRC (A)	32,800
CRRC (H)	100,123
Zhuzhou CRRC Times Electric (H)[58]	12,776
Ofilm Group (A)	3,700
BGI Genomics (A)	500
Fiberhome (A)	1,600
Dahua Technology (A)	3,437,181
Hikvision (A)	12,500
Iflytek (A)	3,000
iShares MSCI EM ETF	1,000
Vanguard FTSE EM ETF	1,000,000

Teacher Retirement System (TRS) of Texas

Companies Not on the Entity List

Security Name	Shares/Par Value
SAIC Motor (A)	10,500
Youngnor Group (A)	6,600

Mr. MALINOWSKI. And the gentleman's time has expired. We will now go to Representative Wild for 5 minutes.

Ms. WILD. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

My first question is to Dr. Millward. The European Parliament has spoken out and has imposed sanctions on China based on this issue. In response, China has leveled its own retaliatory sanctions and a planned China-EU trade agreement has been put on hold.

Can you describe what the impact has been of the EU moves on this issue, and whether the pressure is affecting Beijing at this stage?

Dr. MILLWARD. I think the excessive PRC response to the EU and U.K. and Canadian sanctions is a good sign that the measures that democracies are beginning to take are beginning to work. I believe that there were four individuals and one entity, if I remember correctly, that the EU had in its own sanctions. And in response, there were many more, I think 10 or 12; I am forgetting the exact numbers, but including parliamentarians of multiple parties in Europe, including a think tank, including an academic. And it really redounded against the interest of the PRC because it ground that investment deal to a halt. We just saw yesterday they are no longer seeking ratification in the European Parliament for that.

So, I think this shows, actually, a kind of desperation on the part of the PRC in how to deal with these measures. And it simply shows how important multilateral responses are.

Ms. WILD. And what do you think the U.S. administration's best steps are to coordinate with the EU and other international actors on this issue?

Dr. MILLWARD. I would say more of the same, and as has come up on earlier on, yes, a bigger boat, as Mr. Turkel said, expanding to other countries through various means that he mentioned before, just to show how seriously we take this, and it is not simply a United States-China issue, that it is the people of the world who are responding against these atrocities.

Ms. WILD. And you are absolutely right about that. Very, very early on in my time in Congress, I was visited by a Uyghur constituent in my district whose family has been persecuted because of their ethnicity and faith. I ran into the husband of that family just the other night, and it has been now more than 2 years since I met with them, and they have not heard a word and have no idea what has become of his wife's parents.

I would like to direct my next question to Mr. Turkel. Mr. Turkel, I will start with the question, which is, if passed by the Senate and signed into law, what impact do you believe that the legislation that was passed by this Congress, or by Congress last term, the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, if we were able to get that passed by the Senate and signed into law, what impact do you believe it would have in terms of putting significant economic pressure on the Chinese government?

Mr. TURKEL. Thank you very much for mentioning your constituents. Just quickly, there are hundreds of American citizens who are not even comfortable to come out and testify on behalf of their missing family Members. We have been dealing individually, privately, with the victims, but more should come out. I think this

should be prioritized. Saving American families should be prioritized in anything that we do with the Chinese.

Ms. WILD. And before you answer my question, let me just add to what you just said.

Mr. TURKEL. Yes.

Ms. WILD. I mentioned that it has been more than 2 years since I met with this family. I saw the husband the other night. I learned that his wife, whose parents are the ones who are affected, is in a severe depression. She was not when I met with her. She was worried, but not in a severe depression. Doesn't leave her home and is barely able to take care of her children, three of whom were born in the United States. So, the problem is really significant.

Mr. TURKEL. Yes.

Ms. WILD. But now, I have not left you very much time. But what do you think the economic impact would be if we were able to get this legislation signed into law?

Mr. TURKEL. It will be tremendous, but the action, the legislation mandate, should expand to the entire of China, not only specifically the Uyghur region. Even if they stopped the forced labor practices in the Uyghur region, the Chinese could easily relocate. Actually, it is already happening. They are removing the Uyghurs to coastal area assembly lines. This has been an ongoing practice at least in the last 20 years. We just came too late into the game to find out about these practices.

Ms. WILD. The good news about this I think is that we do have bipartisan support.

And with that, I will yield back. I know my time is up.

Thank you very much, Mr. Turkel.

Mr. TURKEL. Thank you.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you so much.

We will now go to Representative Pfluger, please. Go ahead, sir. You have 5 minutes.

Mr. PFLUGER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the opportunity to talk about this issue.

First off, I would like to thank all of the panelists. Ms. Ziyawudun, thank you for your courage. Thank you for standing up for so many others around the world, and I know that this is limited in scope to this discussion. We appreciate your courage to stand up, to tell the truth, and to do the right thing here. I read your written testimony, and it is not without a lot of emotion.

And so I would like to start my questions by just asking you personally what your thoughts are on how the U.S. Congress can help to make sure that we get the facts out and we hold those accountable for these atrocities.

Ms. ZIYAWUDUN. Thank you. So, ever since I got out of the camp, I have just been so nervous and so scared. I find it difficult to speak sometimes. There are so many things that I want to say in my heart, but I cannot always say them because it is very tough for me.

Right now, the situation back there is very grave, and Uyghurs in east Turkistan are in the hands of the Chinese government. As a camp survivor who saw everything that is happening, what I hope is that you can make our voices heard to the entire world;

that the U.S. Government can stop the genocide, that it can stop the violence against Uyghurs, and help us as humans. I hope that is what you can do, is help us as human beings.

Another thing, just earlier I did not give a complete answer to the Congresswoman who asked a question of me. As for threats against Uyghur women abroad, they have been showing our photos and threatening us. So, for example, in the Foreign Ministry, they have been showing our photos. They did this to Ms. Guchahar recently. They are doing it to all of the survivors. They are slandering us, saying absolutely horrible things, threatening us with unimaginable words.

And so what I always ask of you is to help us as human beings; help us end this violence.

Mr. PFLUGER. Thank you very much. I hear the pain, and while I have no idea what the experiences actually are, I appreciate your bravery, your courage to tell the truth here. And I hope that this committee will take that human side of it into account. And I truly appreciate your story. As a father of three daughters, I want you to know that I hear you loud and clear, and I think everyone on this committee does.

Dr. Millward, as I listened to that and I read and hear your statement about the gratuitous provocations, what I would like to ask you is, where do we draw the line? Because accountability does need to happen and we need to make sure that we do hear the concerns; that we stand up for the human side of this, and that we also hold those accountable. Where do we draw that line on our ability to hold them accountable? If you can explain on that—we only have 30 seconds left—please.

Dr. MILLWARD. Well, that is a good question. I think Mr. Turkel has listed ways to expand the kinds of sanctions that we can put. I have suggested that we need to look at the Partnership Pairing Program, which brings it beyond Xinjiang, to include the involvement of other corporations and other administrations throughout the China. And I strongly favor those kinds of targeted sanctions, but targeting more places that are involved in what is going on. I think that is the only thing that we really can do to maintain our own values and trying to help Tursunay and her relatives, and many, many others.

Mr. PFLUGER. Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to participate in this hearing. I yield back.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you very much.

We will now go to Representative Cicilline for 5 minutes.

Mr. CICILLINE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to begin by thanking Chairman Meeks and Ranking Member McCaul for calling this hearing. And I think, as we have listened to this testimony, we recognize that we are confronted with this incredible responsibility of shedding light on the gravest of all crimes. And as Members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, as Members of Congress, and frankly, as citizens of the world, we will never have a greater responsibility than to do all that we can to expose crimes against humanity and genocide, and do everything we can to stop them. So, this is a sober and serious responsibility, and I really thank the witnesses for their testimony.

I want to start with you, Professor Millward. The Chinese government and the authorities in Xinjiang have targeted the Uyghur population using really cutting-edge technologies—obviously, the sense of speech with the intent of suppressing free thought and political dissent. You likened this to locking up Uyghurs, Kazakhs, and other non-Han people in an extralegal network of what you described as concentrated educational transformation centers.

What can the United States and our partners, and the technology firms in the United States and around the world, do to hinder the use of the technologies in China, and how can we better ensure that China will not, or at least make it difficult for China to, export these technologies abroad to other authoritarian or hybrid regimes to do the same kind of harm?

Dr. MILLWARD. Thank you for that question. If you do not mind, I am going to toss that to Nury because he has gone through the specifics and knows, for example, pending and possible legislation about that.

Mr. CICILLINE. Great.

Mr. TURKEL. Thank you. Thank you, Congressman.

A couple of things we could do in the short term and the long term. One, we should start documenting the ongoing state violencing as to Uyghurs, with the ultimate goal to uphold those to account through domestic courts or the International Court of Justice somewhere, somehow. That process needs to be started.

In fact, the UHRP Act that Congress passed and enacted last June directs our law enforcement to specifically work on these issues. In bear minimum, protect the well-being of Uyghur American citizens here in the homeland.

And also, the other thing that I think the DOJ particularly could consider doing is to open an investigation against technology firms that have business presence in the United States, that have been responsible for facilitating the ongoing high-tech genocide against the Uyghurs. That is doable. The companies that have a business presence, active business activities, falls under the jurisdiction of our courts. That should be looked at.

And then, also, as a capitalist economy, we cannot dictate the companies to engage in business a certain way, but what we can do is to advise them to put in place a good compliance program, good corporate governance. The previous administration issued a Business Advisory. I encourage and urge the current administration, the Biden Administration, to renew/update that Business Advisory, so that American businesses will at least stop being complicit on ongoing crime.

We have been told as consumers that the American businesses figure out to do business in China, but they are caught in crossfire. They need to be told that some of these behaviors need to stop.

Mr. CICILLINE. Thank you.

Ms. Tursunay, thank you for your incredibly powerful testimony. You are a woman of extraordinary courage, and I, first, want to say that I am very sorry that you experienced the experiences that you did. In listening to your story, we cannot even imagine how you have suffered. But your testimony is perhaps the most powerful testimony I have ever heard, and I think that the committee and the country can hear.

And so my question is, where have you found that courage to share this story? And how can we encourage other survivors to share their stories? Because I do think it is the most powerful way to activate the world against the Chinese government for engaging in this behavior. And so, what can we do to encourage others to do what you have done and share their experiences, other survivors?

Ms. ZIYAWUDUN. Thank you.

It is not that I am courageous really. It was so difficult for me to get all the way here, but I think about the situation on the women I saw and know are in. And ever since then I have no rest. I cannot rest. My heart is constantly bleeding and I can see them in front of my eyes. These are people who experienced the same things as I did, and I saw people who went crazy. I saw people who even died. And so I made this decision to do what I am doing, thinking of really very little else, not even my own life.

But if there is such a thing as truth in this world, there are innocent people who are being sentenced in these camps to 20 years or to life. And China all along is lying, telling lies. I will not stop.

I have found some courage from this. I think that this kind of courage perhaps comes from a feeling of humanity. And you know, I hope that through doing this I will become lighter 1 day, because this has been so very heavy for me. And so I ask for your help in this work.

So, when I got out of the camp, it is because my husband is a Kazakhstan citizen. And so I was able to get out. But now, thinking of all of this, I am remembering the sound of their crying voices. They said, you know, "You're getting out of here because your husband is Kazakh, but we are going to die here. We will die here." And I just think of those girls. I am not in touch with them. I do not know what has happened to them.

Mr. CICILLINE. Tell her she is helping them by her voice.

And I know my time has expired.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you.

I would just add that—and I know this is very, very difficult—but the Chinese government is very powerful, but the truth that you are speaking is much more powerful, even though you are just one person. And I hope that is some comfort.

I will now yield 5 minutes to Representative Young Kim.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Thank you, Chairman.

I want to offer my special thanks to our witnesses joining us today, a special thanks to Ms. Ziyawudun for your bravery and sharing your story. It is heartbreaking to hear what you had to experience. And, yes, you asked us to hear your testimony. We have heard your testimony, and we will take action and will do more to provide voice to the voiceless. And this hearing is just a start of that process to amplify stories like yours.

The ongoing genocide occurring in Xinjiang is as shocking as it is deplorable, and it is wrong. And I am glad that the Biden Administration has also recognized it as a genocide, too. The situation in Xinjiang is unacceptable, and I call upon the Biden Administration to work more closely with our allies and partners to hold the Chinese Communist Party accountable for its abuses and stop the wiping out of the Uyghur and Kazakh people.

So, let me ask, Dr. Millward, I am going to direct my first question to you regarding the United States support for the Uyghur population in China. Can you describe some of the difficulties our mission China personnel have faced in tackling the challenges relating to the Uyghur population in China? For example, what is the Uyghur language capability among our Foreign Service Officers to impact our ability to operate effectively in country?

Dr. MILLWARD. I do not know if any of our Foreign Service Officers—I suspect a few do. I have actually known—some have asked me about how to study, and so on. And so, I do not know what to speak without really knowing. Clearly, we do not have a lot of that kind of knowledge. Our translator today, Dr. Anderson, is probably one of the best speakers of Uyghur among non-Uyghurs in the United States, but there aren't very many such people.

And I think this speaks to a slightly broader issue. Uyghur, Tibetan, actually, from Mongolian, and China is a very diverse place. And so our training about that and our foreign missions need to recognize that. And I am not saying they do not recognize that, but greater recognition of that is very important.

The closure of the consulate in Chengdu, which the PRC enforced in retaliation for our closure of the Texas consulate, their Texas consulate, I think that has been unfortunate. An unfortunate side effect of that has been that the entire inland and much of the non-Han parts of the People's Republic of China are now thousands of miles further away from a U.S. consulate, which is, of course, necessary if you wish to seek visas and other sorts of things.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Thank you, Mr. Millward.

Dr. MILLWARD. Yes.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. I do recognize there is a difficulty there.

But let me continue on with my questions to Mr. Turkel. Now that more countries outside of the United States and the U.K., including much of Europe and Australia, are finally recognizing the ongoing atrocities that are occurring in Xinjiang, do you view Islamic majority nations in the Middle East and South Asia as being more willing to speak out on abuses directed toward Muslim minorities living in China? What can the United States do to elevate Muslim voices around the world on this issue?

Mr. TURKEL. As I pointed out earlier, we need to engage, we need to step up public diplomacy, counter the Chinese disinformation campaign. They have been very effective, sadly, misinforming the public and the Muslim streets. And also, they have been using their economic power to buy out silence. So, we need to counter these two aspects of the Chinese engagement.

And also, I think this also applies to everyone, including policymakers in the United States. No country will have an effective foreign policy engagement or policies with respect to China unless they recognize the danger that CCP is posing. So, sometimes recognizing the issue, calling it what it is, is as important as a substantive policy response. So, I urge everyone who is in the policy position to recognize the danger that CCP is posing in the international forum, domestically, diplomatically, economically.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. I do not think we dispute that part there. Thank you so much.

Mr. Millward, let me get back to you.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. The time has expired, Representative Kim, actually. I am sorry.

Mrs. KIM OF CALIFORNIA. Oh, okay. Thank you. I yield back.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you so much.

We will now go to Representative Phillips for 5 minutes.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

To all of our witnesses, particularly to you, Ms. Tursunay, your courage is not just an inspiration to those of us in the U.S. Congress, Democrats and Republicans, but all Americans and all of humanity. And we wish to thank you.

I would like to discuss and learn more about the surveillance that has been detailed to some degree, but perhaps you could describe what you were subjected to, both when you were in detention and, also, when you were not. We would like to hear more. Thank you.

Ms. ZIYAWUDUN. So, in the camps everything was controlled, to a degree such that it was difficult for us to even talk to one another. There was the threat of punishment if we did. We had to move certain ways, put our heads this way or that way. We were not allowed to move when we slept. We had to get up when they said. We had to eat when they said. And they could see everything from cameras. There were two or three of them in each cell.

Outside the camps, it was very similar. For example, the very day I got out, I was assigned a man and woman to come sleep at my home at all times with me and be at home with me. So, I was always under control.

Just to go somewhere, I had to go to three different places—the Public Security Bureau, the neighborhood committee, and also, to a special police officer assigned just to me—in order to get permission to move from one place to another. In addition, every day I had to go out into the square and dance. So, they even had control over what sorts of activities we did.

And so, after I was out in July 2019, I went to Urumqi to get a visa, and after I was there, I did not really even go anywhere in the city, but I had these three different documents that I had gotten stamped to allow me to go there. And then, once I was actually there, I had to send videos back to my police officer showing where I was.

When I walked out on the streets, there were cameras that would recognize me just by my eyes. And so the cameras would recognize me, and then police officers would come out, you know, running up to me and saying, "Oh, you're somebody who's been in a camp before," and would ask to see my ID card, and so forth.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Thank you for sharing some more detail.

Mr. Turkel, you mentioned in your testimony some of the digital surveillance that is happening. Could you elaborate a bit on that practice and, most importantly, how the U.S. Government and the international community should be working to counter it?

Mr. TURKEL. In a New York Times piece in the summer of 2019, a reporter mentioned something quite chilling. He was standing in an intersection and he counted 20 surveillance cameras over his head. That is just one street corner.

So, what the Chinese have done is to test and use these technologies and expanding it. So, at this time, China's surveillance technology is metastasizing. Reportedly, over 80 countries have either adopted or are in the process of adopting Chinese surveillance. What does that mean? That is a threat against civil liberty, a threat against democracy, a threat against an international rules-based system. So, this is significantly a dangerous trend that everyone should be literally screaming from the rooftop. The Chinese use the Uyghur body, soul, their cities, homes for testing these technologies. Now it is metastasizing.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Thank you, sir.

And, Dr. Millward, I just have about 30 seconds left. Anything that you might want to add relative to the use of surveillance and tactics that we should be employing to counter it?

Dr. MILLWARD. There is more and more evidence that these systems were developed in Xinjiang and aimed at non-Han peoples in Xinjiang. But they are not limited to that, as Mr. Turkel was just saying. In many ways, they are expanding to other parts of China as well, and obviously, around the world. But it is not simply a security measure in Xinjiang. It is much broader than that, and therefore, much more worrisome.

Mr. PHILLIPS. I see my time is expired. Thank you all again to our witnesses.

I yield back, Mr. Chair.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you, Congressman Phillips.

We will now go Congressman Levin in the car. Go ahead, Andy, 5 minutes.

Mr. LEVIN. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman.

Let me pick up where Representative Phillips just left off. You know, Dr. Millward, I point out—and I am sure you would agree—that a lot of these surveillance technologies and tactics, the Chinese, the government started using then in Tibet, and they have greatly expanded them. And they are really using them not only in Xinjiang, but all around the country.

But let me just ask you about access to information. The Chinese government is deliberately preventing journalists, diplomats, and human rights monitors from accessing the region. And then they are pushing propaganda, and we cannot verify numbers or anything else independently.

So, can you please to that challenge? And how should the U.S. Government and the international community best counter this difficult situation?

Dr. MILLWARD. Obviously, we have a big problem with

[inaudible] of information. That said, our evidence about what is going on is voluminous, right? And so there are many, many ways in which, even through open source materials,

[inaudible] can know generally what is going on.

I would just say that it does not really serve the People's Republic of China's own purposes to keep journalists out, right? They are very, very worried about reporting on what they see as the bad stories, but there is no reporting on the good stories, either, that is possible. And so this leads to more distance between our peoples. It is hard to know what average people's lives are like.

And so I guess we need to try to back off and restore those kinds of contacts and get journalists back in. I think access to the press should be a priority that we are pushing for in our conversations with China. And the Olympics might be one lever for that.

Mr. LEVIN. More broadly, there has been reporting that the Biden Administration is kind of leading the G–7 from a group of just industrial powers to a group of democracies and countries interested in human rights. Don't you think that any solution here has to be deeply multilateral? And what is your suggestion to us, thinking broadly about really this gets to the whole U.S. approach to foreign policy, to tackle a problem like this, to take it on in a fully multilateral way. What does that even mean? What should we be looking for? The Olympics, obviously, is an example of a whole global event, but what are your thoughts?

Dr. MILLWARD. I am sorry, Representative Levin, was that addressed at me or——

Mr. LEVIN. Yes, yes. Sorry. Yes, sorry for that.

Dr. MILLWARD. Well, I mean, I referenced in my written remarks trying to use terms such as human values and the broader whole community looking at this. Trying to raise our concerns to a higher supranational level I think is very important and address these—you know, there is a reason why they are called "human rights," right? So, I think that kind of messaging would be very, very important, as well as the sorts of diplomatic work that Mr. Turkel mentioned earlier with other nations as well, not simply Western democracies.

Mr. LEVIN. All right. Mr. Chairman, let me quickly close with some words to Ms. Tursunay.

Ms. Tursunay, I want you to know that I see you, I hear you. Your voice is incredibly powerful. Your story is so compelling. I believe you. And we, as Democrats and Republicans, as Members of the House, as Americans, will share your story with all of our constituents and we will fight for you and your people. We are your partners, and your courage is an inspiration to us.

Thanks, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you, Mr. Levin.

And why don't we translate your words?

The INTERPRETER. Yes, thank you.

I want to say a big thank you to you for these words. Thank you from the bottom of my heart. And I am thankful to all of you for all that you are doing to work on this issue.

I hope that you would please make our voices heard to the entire world and that you will lead the world in this. The U.S. Government has a special place in my heart, and I hope that you will continue to help us. We see the U.S. Government, we see the United States as very powerful in the world. And, in fact, China is always saying that it is afraid of the United States, that if it weren't for the United States, otherwise, it would be able to eat up the entire world. And I so hope that you will continue in this humanitarian way to help us. Thank you.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you so much.

I will recognize myself now for a few questions. And I want to come back to this theme of the surveillance State that a number of other Members, and, of course, the witnesses, have touched on.

We have heard some stories about relatively old-fashioned surveillance—people being forced to take in informants in their homes, for example, based on just large numbers of people working for the Chinese security police. But a lot of it is quite sophisticated technologically. And I just want to maybe ask you, Mr. Turkel, to talk about the role that facial recognition technology plays in all of this. It is not just cameras; it is the software behind the cameras, is that not right?

Mr. TURKEL. Yes.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. TURKEL. Yes, this surveillance is happening both in China and here to our fellow Americans. In China, initially, they started with collecting voice samples, iris scans, DNA samples, to build this giant biometric data for the Uyghurs. And that paved the way for using integrated joint operating platform that Human Rights Watch documented——

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Right.

Mr. TURKEL [continuing]. Reverse-engineered to collectively run on people.

So now, if you go to any Uyghur homes, they have a QR code on the door. So, the officials can scan and find out who lives there, what kind of relatives at home in China and abroad, what kind of profession that they have, the past writings, the job history, everything——

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Right.

Mr. TURKEL [continuing]. Even the way that they engage in religious practice.

And here at home, based on the report that HRW published in 2019, they are using telephone messages, video chat to threaten the Uyghur Americans in the homeland here.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. TURKEL. And also, Darren Byler, an American scholar, went to China in 2019 and came back with a bone-chilling report, reported that close to 1 million of China's cadres have been implanted in the Uyghur homes, eating with them, sleeping with them, uninvited. And there has been, also, reported sexual violence against the Uyghur women whose husbands have been taken to the camps. So, this has been happening——

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Let me stop you there because I want to move this along just a bit.

The system, as you mentioned, is exported. And this is something that concerns all of us. It is one reason why this is a threat to the world. But the technology is imported in many cases.

We know that, for example, Intel and Nvidia chips help to power the supercomputers that China uses to manage all of this data. Oracle has provided technology to Chinese police. Hewlett Packard owns 49 percent of H3C, a Chinese company that provides the switches, surveillance network, control systems to law enforcement in Xinjiang and around China.

I assume you would think it would be helpful for Congress to go beyond just recommending voluntary due diligence on the part of U.S. companies, but to actually prohibit the export of technology to China that could be used in the commission of these human rights abuses?

Mr. TURKEL. Certainly. The existing laws, the existing resources are not enough——

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Right.

Mr. TURKEL [continuing]. Not to sufficient to tackle these.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. And we did, in fact, pass such legislation in the House twice last year, including as part of the national defense bill which was, strangely and mysteriously, stripped from the final bill by the Senate Banking Committee. We are going to try to do those again this year.

Mr. TURKEL. Absolutely.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. I will just end. I want to shift, and then make a point about the diplomacy that is needed in the Muslim world. And I want to ask you quickly, have you seen any evidence of, for example, the Arab satellite networks running documentaries, shows, news about what is happening to the Uyghurs? Just very quickly.

Mr. TURKEL. I have not seen the satellite, but they have been using the diplomatic representatives in Beijing on CGTN to dissipate misinformation about——

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Yes, until that starts happening—and I give this administration credit for beginning to raise this issue globally in a way that we have not before—but, frankly, particularly in the Middle East, unless this becomes part of the priority conversation, which right now is dominated, understandably, by issues like Iran and recognition of Israel and the situation in Yemen, and many other issues we want them to be raising with these countries—unless my friend, Brett McGurk, the coordinator for the Middle East at the NSC, puts this on his agenda when he has breakfast with the Emirati Ambassador, it is just not going to change.

Mr. TURKEL. Yes.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. And I think this is something that we need to be pressing with the administration as we take on this issue.

My time is up. I see Representative Manning. So, we will go to you. And I see Representative Omar has joined us as well.

So, let's go to Representative Manning first.

Ms. MANNING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

There have been a lot of important discussions during this hearing about the ways we can put pressure on the Chinese in an effort to change their policy, and that certainly will take a lot of time. I think it is important that we move forward on those things. But, in the meanwhile, people are suffering. So, I would like to focus on how we can help people escape this desperate situation.

Mr. Turkel, can you tell us, are there any countries besides the United States that are accepting Uyghur refugees?

Mr. TURKEL. Yes. Sweden and Germany. Sweden made a public statement that it will accept Uyghur refugees in the country. Germany, after making a fateful mistake, issued a statement that no Uyghur seeking asylum will be repatriated to China. But most of the Western democracies, specifically Western European countries, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, have been very welcoming to Uyghur refugees.

Ms. MANNING. And are there any things we can do to encourage more countries to accept Uyghur refugees?

Mr. TURKEL. Absolutely. The Uyghurs have not benefited from the resettlement program that we historically have been engaged in or practiced. So, if the Uyghurs are given a priority in the Biden Administration's refugee resettlement program in a significant number—we are not talking about 10–15,000, but at least 5,000 Uyghurs who have been in hiding in the Middle Eastern countries, or on the verge of being deported to China—it would be a good start.

But there is something else we can do. Let's have an asylum interview arranged for asylum applicants like Tursunay Ziyawudun here. We have three, four camp survivors who are waiting for an asylum hearing, asylum interviews. We are talking about asylum pending since 2018. So, these kinds of things can be done. So, DHS can at least schedule asylum interviews for the pending affirmative asylum applicants in the United States.

Ms. MANNING. Is there any way to know the number of refugees who would want to leave the country if there were places for them to go?

Mr. TURKEL. You mean China or?

Ms. MANNING. Uyghurs who would like to leave China, any idea how many?

Mr. TURKEL. Congresswoman, ironically, in a genocidal situation, the perpetrators usually kick out the population from their ancestral homeland. Whereas, in China, they are preventing the Uyghurs leaving. They are starting with confiscating passports. I have not seen my mother since my law school graduation in 2004, simple because the Chinese will not give her a passport to leave the country. So, they cannot leave. But we can start with the ones who are already out of China in Central Asia, Turkey, and the other Middle Eastern countries.

Ms. MANNING. Thank you for that. And I am sorry about your personal situation.

Mr. TURKEL. Thank you.

Ms. MANNING. Dr. Millward, in your written testimony, you mentioned that the CCP is inflicting atrocities on a variety of non-Han peoples. Are there ethnic groups other than the Uyghurs who are experiencing repression and torture similar to the atrocities that we are hearing about today?

Dr. MILLWARD. Yes. We have heard examples of Kazakhs who are another Central Asian people. I have heard of a small group known as Dongsheng who are suffering from this. Many Muslim groups, in my testimony I do not want to say it is not targeting Muslim peoples; it certainly is. But others have been pulled in as well. The Hui group, who are Chinese-speaking Muslims in China, in Xinjiang, but also outside of Xinjiang, are increasingly coming under this kind of pressure with destruction of architecture, with arrests of religious personnel, and so on. So, it is a very broad problem.

Ms. MANNING. Thank you.

I would like to use the rest of my time just to say to Ms. Tursunay, I want to thank you for sharing your horrifying story because you have brought, this terrible treatment of the Uyghurs, you have brought it to life for us in a way that was so compelling that I do not think any of us who heard you today will ever be able

to forget the plight of the Uyghurs and our moral obligation to work to end this genocide. So, thank you very much for your courage today.

Ms. ZIYAWUDUN. Thank you.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you, Representative Manning.

And finally, we will go to Representative Omar for 5 minutes.

Ms. OMAR. Thank you. And I just want to thank all of our panelists for their bravery and for this great discussion.

Mr. Turkel, when we were holding 22 Uyghurs at Guantanamo, none of whom had any known anti-American sentiment, you were probably the most vocal advocate for their release. We also saw in the documents leaked to The New York Times last year that one of the things President Xi said was that he wanted to emulate America's war on terror tactics.

Can you tell us your perspective on the relationship between how Xi justifies the atrocities against the Uyghurs and the global phenomenon of Islamophobia?

Mr. TURKEL. No country treats the Muslims the way that China treats the Uyghurs around the world. I mean, arguably, there are other candidate countries, but there is nothing even comparable. Islamophobia is a hallmark of their Chinese policies.

And also—I have to note this—this is not the first time that I am testifying and making this comment. I think it was a mistake for the U.S. Government in 2002–2003 designating this obscure organization, East Turkistan Islamic Movement, as a terrorist organization. That paved the way for this comfortable labeling Uyghurs as a terrorist. The U.S. State Department last year revoked that decision, but the damage is already done.

Even, surprisingly, in the Uyghur dictionary the word "terrorism" or "terrorist" does not even exist. The Uyghurs, probably they are the most pacified Muslims that you can find on the face of the earth. And yet, because of the anti-Muslim sentiment around the world, and the mistakes made by some Western governments in Europe and here at home, the Chinese are opportunistically using it for advancing its propaganda campaign. It is working, unfortunately.

Ms. OMAR. I really appreciate that. I have been raising that concern, how war on terror has justified atrocities being committed against Muslims throughout the world.

I also wanted to ask you about something I think we both find atrocious, which is the number of U.S. companies and individuals who are profiting off of atrocities against the Uyghurs. Can you tell us about Erik Prince's contract in the Uyghur region?

Mr. TURKEL. Is this question directed to me or Professor——

Ms. OMAR. Yes.

Mr. TURKEL. I was somewhat dumbfounded that Erik Prince acknowledged in his conversation with Mehdi Hasan and Al Jazeera that he is training the police academy or the police force. And now, it is becoming a criminal activity because we have, as a country, added 48—the entire police department in the Uyghur region to the Entity List, including this one credited in the movie "Mulan" for their assistance.

So, it is unconscionable, and this initially started in Hong Kong, and now, reportedly, expanded to the training police force in the

Uyghur region. So, this is something that the Congress and law enforcement need to look into.

Ms. OMAR. I really appreciate that.

And I wanted to ask Ms. Ziyawudun how she would respond to people—and I know I could ask all the panelists this question—but to the people who say that the atrocities that are being committed against the Uyghurs, it is sort of propaganda and it does not really exist; it is not something that is happening. I get called out often, every time I speak about the atrocities that are happening to the Uyghurs. Can you respond to those people who do not believe what happened to you is a real thing?

Ms. ZIYAWUDUN. There are clear facts, and it is not just us who know this; it is everyone in the world who knows what is going on. These facts are strong like steel, and anyone who says otherwise is closing their eyes. Maybe they have some sort of relationship with China or maybe they are thinking about something else. But no one who is thinking about humanity and the perspective of a human would actually think this.

You know, this is something that is being enacted on Uyghurs, on Kazakhs, on people of all ethnic backgrounds, mostly Muslim, you know, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, all of them, although there is not one Han person among the people being targeted in this way. And these actions are especially being taken against them.

So, people have closed their eyes. I cannot say much other than that.

Ms. OMAR. I know I am out of time, but I wanted to say I agree. And I know that it is not comfortable being asked that question, but I think it is important that we do remind people that this is something that is real, that is happening, and that our inability to recognize and hear people who are bearing witness will allow for this atrocity to continue and this genocide to take place while the whole world watches.

So, thank you for your bravery and thank you all for coming here today and shedding light into this. I really appreciate it.

Mr. TURKEL. Thank you.

Ms. OMAR. I yield back.

Mr. MALINOWSKI. Thank you so much.

Well, unfortunately, it is time to close this hearing. I think, often, we are happy to end long hearings, but this one—I am sure I speak for all the Members—was particularly powerful and affecting for us all.

I want to thank Chairman Meeks for his leadership in bringing us together today; Ranking Member McCaul for his partnership with us on this issue and in the defense of human rights around the world.

And, of course, to all of our witnesses, particularly to Tursunay, words like "genocide" and "crimes against humanity" are very powerful, but also somewhat abstract. And what we heard today was the personification of genocide and crimes against humanity. We heard what it actually means to the people who suffer it, in the words, through the voice of somebody who managed to escape, but who left behind a country, a family, a people who are still suffering, which she just described.

We all, I think, recognize how difficult it is to deal with human rights abuses in a country like China. It is a superpower with nuclear weapons. We faced a similar challenge with the Soviet Union for many decades. But I think we all share the view that absolutely central to our contest with the Chinese government is establishing, not just for the United States and China, but for the world, the difference between right and wrong, the difference between what is true and what is false.

That is what this contest is all about. China wants to establish a new set of rules in the world. The Chinese government wants to establish a new set of rules in the world in which what we heard today is either dismissed as right or the world simply agrees not to care. And it is extraordinarily important to all of us, to all the people in the world, that the United States play its part in establishing this is wrong.

So, we need an international coalition to do that. We want to work as a committee, as a Congress, with the administration to build that coalition and to make sure that our government has all the legal authorities that it needs to be able to play our part in the work to come. So, I know we are all committed to that on a bipartisan basis.

We are grateful to all the witnesses for giving us the information and the inspiration we need to do our work. Thank you again so much.

The hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 3:38 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

FULL COMMITTEE HEARING NOTICE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6128

Gregory W. Meeks (D-NY), Chair

May 6, 2021

TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to be held virtually via Cisco WebEx. The meeting is available via live webcast on the Committee website at https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/:

DATE: Thursday, May 6, 2021

TIME: 12:30 p.m., EDT

SUBJECT: The Atrocities Against Uyghurs and Other Minorities in Xinjiang

WITNESS: The Honorable Nury Turkel
Chairman of the Board
Uyghur Human Rights Project

Ms. Tursunay Ziyawudun
Survivor and Advocate

James A. Millward, Ph.D.
Professor of Inter-societal History
Walsh School of Foreign Service
Georgetown University

By Direction of the Chair

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF FULL COMMITTEE HEARING

Day *Thursday* **Date** *05/06/2021* **Room** *Cisco WebEx*

Starting Time *12:38 p.m.* **Ending Time** *3:38 p.m.*

Recesses *0* (____to ____) (____to ____) (____to ____) (____to ____) (____to ____) (____to ____)

Presiding Member(s)

Chairman Gregory W. Meeks, Representative Tom Malinowski

Check all of the following that apply:

Open Session ☑
Executive (closed) Session ☐
Televised ☑
Electronically Recorded (taped) ☑
Stenographic Record ☑

TITLE OF HEARING:

The Atrocities Against Uyghurs and Other Minorities in Xinjiang

COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

See attached.

NON-COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

HEARING WITNESSES: Same as meeting notice attached? Yes ☑ **No**
(If "no", please list below and include title, agency, department, or organization.)

STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: *(List any statements submitted for the record.)*

SFR - Connolly
IFR - Steube
QFR - Jackson

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE _____
or
TIME ADJOURNED *3:38 p.m.*

Full Committee Hearing Coordinator

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FULL COMMITTEE ATTENDANCE

PRESENT	*MEMBER*
X	Gregory W. Meeks, NY
X	Brad Sherman, CA
X	Albio Sires, NJ
X	Gerald E. Connolly, VA
X	Theodore E. Deutch, FL
X	Karen Bass, CA
X	William Keating, MA
X	David Cicilline, RI
X	Ami Bera, CA
X	Joaquin Castro, TX
X	Dina Titus, NV
X	Ted Lieu, CA
X	Susan Wild, PA
X	Dean Phillips, MN
X	Ilhan Omar, MN
X	Colin Allred, TX
X	Andy Levin, MI
X	Abigail Spanberger, VA
X	Chrissy Houlahan, PA
X	Tom Malinowski, NJ
X	Andy Kim, NJ
X	Sara Jacobs, CA
X	Kathy Manning, NC
X	Jim Costa, CA
X	Juan Vargas, CA
X	Vicente Gonzalez, TX
X	Brad Schneider, IL

PRESENT	*MEMBER*
X	Michael T. McCaul, TX
X	Christopher H. Smith, NJ
X	Steve Chabot, OH
X	Joe Wilson, SC
X	Scott Perry, PA
X	Darrell Issa, CA
X	Adam Kinzinger, IL
X	Lee Zeldin, NY
X	Ann Wagner, MO
X	Brian J. Mast, FL
X	Brian K. Fitzpatrick, PA
X	Ken Buck, CO
X	Tim Burchett, TN
X	Mark Green, TN
X	Andy Barr, KY
X	Greg Steube, FL
X	Dan Meuser, PA
X	Claudia Tenney, NY
X	August Pfluger, TX
X	Nicole Malliotakis, NY
X	Peter Meijer, MI
X	Ronny Jackson, TX
X	Young Kim, CA
X	Maria Elvira Salazar, FL

STATEMENT FOR THE RECORD

Statement for the Record from Representative Gerald E. Connolly
"The Atrocities Against Uyghurs and Other Minorities in Xinjiang"
House Foreign Affairs Committee
Thursday, May 6, 2021

Perhaps no other issue puts in sharper relief the dangers of authoritarianism in the People's Republic of China (PRC/China) than the ongoing genocide of the Uyghurs at the hands of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Some argue that the brand of statecraft advanced by China is just another form of government and not the malign global influence that it really is. However, the echoes of history reverberating through the plight of the Uyghurs are deafening and recall some of the greatest tragedies of the 20th century. Our call to action is clear, even if whether and how we heed it is not.

The Uyghurs are a Sunni Muslim ethnic group that live mainly in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) in the northwest part of China. The XUAR was established in 1955 by the PRC after asserting control over the Xinjiang region in 1949. More than 80% of China's cotton comes from the XUAR and is a critical component of the PRC's Belt and Road Initiative. While Uyghurs were once the majority ethnic group in XUAR, they now represent only 45% of the population, following years of government incentives to Han Chinese to relocate to XUAR to forcibly assimilate the region and the Uyghurs into Han Chinese culture.

In 2009, XUAR security forces attacked peaceful demonstrators demanding justice for Uyghur factory workers killed by ethnic Hans. Widespread ethnic unrest followed, with increasing clashes between Uyghurs and security personnel in 2013 and 2015. The PRC used this opportunity to increase their oppression of the Uyghurs. Tighter restrictions on movement were put in place, along with increased monitoring and tracking of biometric data. Under Sinicization, Uyghurs were prevented from wearing traditional clothing, practicing their customs, or obeying Islamic dietary laws. Thousands of mosques were demolished, and the ones left standing had their Islamic motifs and Arabic writing removed. There are also credible reports of attempting to reduce the birth rates among Uyghurs through forced contraception, sterilization, and abortions. In January 2021, the State Department determined that these acts constitute genocide.

Perhaps the most well-publicized form of oppression is the mass internment of Uyghurs in "re-education centers." According to human rights groups, the PRC has detained more than one million XUAR residents, both Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslim minorities, in these camps, where they are subjected to food deprivation, beatings, and sexual abuse. Detainees are forced to renounce their religious beliefs and customs as a condition for a possible release. Even after release, detainees are heavily monitored, restrictions are placed on their movement, and they are required to attend political study classes.

In addition to the "re-education" centers, more than 80,000 Uyghurs have been forced into working at textile, apparel, and footwear factories in Xinjiang. This serves two goals of the PRC by promoting their global commercial efforts and assimilating Uyghurs into traditional Han cultural activities. Some Uyghurs are transferred to factories outside of XUAR, further serving to deplete their population. Uyghurs who attempt to refuse work in one of these factories are threatened with detention.

U.S. permanent residents and family members of U.S. citizens are among those in the detention centers in the XUAR. Many Uyghurs in America are reluctant to speak out about the repression due to fear that their advocacy may invite the PRC's wrath upon their families. The PRC claims that they have already released many of those individuals originally detained, but their families still have not had any contact with their loved ones and do not know where they are. Some reports indicate that former detainees are often formally convicted of crimes and held in higher security facilities.

The United States has sanctioned various PRC officials and passed legislation condemning these abuses, but it's clear that we have much more to do. Last fall, I led a letter urging Secretary Pompeo to raise the issue of Uyghur forced labor with his Chinese counterpart, seek answers as to the whereabouts and well-being of the missing, detained, and jailed Uyghur relatives of Americans, and appeal for these individuals to be released at every opportunity. I'm a proud co-sponsor of the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act (H.R. 1155), the Uyghur Human Rights Protection Act (H.R.1630), as well as a resolution condemning the ongoing genocide against the Uyghurs.

Over the last decade, China has honed its authoritarian practices, and engaged in widespread crackdowns on the freedoms and human rights of their ethnic and religious minority groups. These actions have important ramifications throughout Asia and in the United States. It is important for the U.S. government to maintain firm opposition to these human rights abuses in the context of broader U.S.-China relations, and I look forward to hearing from today's witnesses about how we can do just that.

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

Questions for the Record from Representative Ronny Jackson
"The Atrocities Against Uyghurs and Other Minorities in Xinjiang"
House Foreign Affairs Committee
Thursday, May 6, 2021

Question from Representative Ronny Jackson:

Question:

"Dr. Millward, I am glad you mentioned the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics and specified recommendations for handling them. This is a topic that I, along with some of my colleagues, have expressed concern and sought to change.

Two of the three Olympic values are friendship and respect. It is unacceptable that the International Olympic Committee is allowing China to still host the Olympics next summer when they are so clearly violating those two values in their horrific treatment of the Uyghurs and other ethnic minority groups.

What specifically can Members of this Committee do to spotlight the issue of this genocide?

Do you see any avenues for Congress to exert pressure on the CCP to improve conditions in both the short and long term?"

Answer:

Dr. Millward did not submit a response in time for printing.

Question:

"Thank you. Mr. Turkel, I appreciated the section of your testimony regarding the CCP's use of surveillance technology and intrusive tools to monitor, track, and record the Uyghurs and other groups.

This is extremely concerning behavior, and I fear the far-reaching and long-term ramifications of the use of this technology.

Can you speak more to the use of these technologies on the Uyghur people?

To the extent that you are aware, can you explain to the Committee how the CCP is seeking to export this technology to other countries and how this Committee can work to combat this?"

Answer:

The Honorable Nury Turkel did not submit a response in time for printing.

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