

**ATROCITIES IN XINJIANG:
WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?**

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON WESTERN HEMISPHERE,
TRANSNATIONAL CRIME, CIVILIAN SECURITY,
DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND GLOBAL
WOMEN'S ISSUES;

and

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EAST ASIA, THE PACIFIC AND
INTERNATIONAL CYBERSECURITY POLICY

OF THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE**

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ATROCITIES IN XINJIANG: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 2021

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON WESTERN HEMISPHERE,
TRANSNATIONAL CRIME, CIVILIAN SECURITY,
DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND
GLOBAL WOMEN'S ISSUES;
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EAST ASIA, THE PACIFIC,
INTERNATIONAL CYBERSECURITY POLICY,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittees met, pursuant to notice, at 11:00 a.m. in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building and videoconference, Hon. Tim Kaine, chairman of the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere, presiding.

Present: Senators Kaine [presiding], Cardin, Shaheen, Coons, Murphy, Markey, Merkley, Booker, Van Hollen, Rubio, Romney, Portman, Paul, Young, Barrasso, Cruz, Rounds, and Hagerty.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. TIM KAINE, U.S. SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA

Senator KAINE. I would like to call this Joint Subcommittee hearing to order.

It is a very important hearing, "Atrocities in Xinjiang: Where Do We Go From Here?" It is two Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittees; the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere and Global Human Rights, and the East Asia Subcommittee.

It is a very important event. We don't do joint subcommittee hearings often. It is the first one we have done in 7 years. It is the first meeting of the Western Hemisphere, and the Democracy, Human Rights Subcommittee in this session of Congress. We wanted to start off with a hearing on something that is deeply, deeply important. I thank my colleagues, the leadership of both subcommittees, and staff, for joining on this important matter today.

This matter of the treatment of Uyghurs in China has to be highlighted and exclamation-pointed into the world. China's human rights abuses are well known and widespread, not just in Xinjiang with the Uyghurs, but in particular, across the country, China limits the political expression, religious freedom, reproductive choice, and citizen's ability to choose where they live and work.

China has repressed Tibet for decades, and has launched a despicable and comprehensive crack down on political dissent in Hong Kong. All of these issues deserve our condemnation and urgent ac-

tion by the United States and by the world. Nowhere is the assault on individual freedom and basic human rights more comprehensive and more atrocious than against the Uyghur Muslims in Xinjiang Province.

As a paper released Tuesday by one of our witnesses, Dr. Adrian Zenz, demonstrated, the Chinese Government views high concentration of Uyghurs as a national security threat and has been implementing for years, a campaign to eliminate the Uyghur population. The tools, and the techniques, and the ideology behind this reminds me of the discredited Eugenics Movement in the United States in the nine teens and twenties, that was also responsible, in large measure, for the Holocaust in Europe, pre and during the Second World War.

The methods employed by the Chinese Government are horrific. They include abduction from third countries, forced disappearances within China, mass detention, secret trials, forced labor, forced sterilization, separating families, banning the use of Uyghurs language in schools, and prohibiting a whole range of religious practices, the practices also include political indoctrination. What individuals around the world are finding, is that there is nowhere they can be in the world where they are not safe from persecution by China, if they advocate for Uyghur freedom.

China has mastered in these horrific practices, the use of technology to enhance and accelerate political repression. The installation of surveillance cameras, and other devices that can recognize faces, voices, irises, and even the gate of an individual, to try to target them for persecution. At the same time China is sending Uyghurs out of Xinjiang Province to work elsewhere in the country, and engaged in the campaign to import Han Chinese into Xinjiang, including installing individuals from elsewhere in China to live with and report on Uyghur families.

China has, in recent years, abandoned its well-known one-child policy, and because of demographics is now encouraging Han families to have more children at the same time as they are trying to, through force sterilization and other methods, drive the birth of Uyghurs minority down to near zero.

I am proud that senators of both parties have been working together in highlighting to denounce these practices, including by passing legislation, determining that these actions constitute genocide. I appreciate that both former Secretary Pompeo and current Secretary Blinken have described these actions as genocide, and that additional countries are now making similar determinations as well.

At the same time, our actions have not stopped China's abuses. In fact recent research from the Australian Strategic Policy Institute shows that China has built or expanded 61 detention sites just between July 2019 and July 2020. The atrocities that we will discuss today, and there is visual evidence of them that we will describe as we are into the hearing, should outrage all of us and motivate us to action.

I have an additional layer of concern because the State of Virginia is home to one of the largest Diasporas of Uyghurs in the United States. These are citizens and residents who are our neighbors and friends in the Commonwealth. In many cases, Chinese

Government actions target these families in Virginia. We will hear testimony of that today.

We are here to shine a light on the latest information about these atrocities, looking at the issue at both at the macro level and highlighting the case, in my instance, of one individual, Dr. Gulshan Abbas, a detained medical doctor, who was the sister and niece of one of my constituents.

We are particularly interested in the suggestions from our witnesses about how we can pressure China to end these atrocities and bring them to the greater attention of the entire world. If there is things we can do to prevent U.S. companies from behaving either in direct or indirect ways to enhance the surveillance State atrocities against Uyghurs Muslims, we want to know that. I also hope that our witnesses will address any ideas for action that we can take together with our partners. Thank you.

I want to now offer an opportunity for opening comments to the ranking member of the Western Hemisphere and Human Rights Subcommittee, Senator Rubio. Then we will follow with opening comments from the chair and ranking of the East Asia Subcommittee, Senators Markey and Romney.

Senator Rubio.

**STATEMENT OF HON. MARCO RUBIO,
U.S. SENATOR FROM FLORIDA**

Senator RUBIO. Well, thank you. I want to thank you and all of the members here for convening this important hearing. I also want to thank our witnesses. I want you to know that your research and your advocacy have done much to shine a bright light on these atrocities that are being committed in Xinjiang by the Chinese Communist Party.

Ms. Abbas, who I understand joins us virtually, was my guest at the State of the Union last February. Her sister is currently detained in a camp. She and Dr. Gulshan's daughter, Ziba, have been forced to live without their family for no other reason than the fact that they are Uyghurs.

Dr. Richardson, you have testified in front of the CECC, which I had the honor to chair for a number of years, and you have done so in the past testified, and your work as well as that of Dr. Zenz has been instrumental, to me, to my team, to all of us in helping to craft policies. That includes the Uyghurs Human Rights Policy Act, which became law last year and the Uyghurs Forced Labor Prevention Act, which we are very hopeful will become law very soon. We are hopeful that the full committee will be able to hear it as soon as this month.

In a few weeks, the Chinese Communist Party is going to mark its hundredth year since its founding. They are going to likely gather in Beijing in cities across China to celebrate the centennial. It should actually be a national day of mourning. That would be more appropriate, that the crimes committed by the Chinese Communist Party are too numerous to catalog here, but the one we are focused on today is an effort by the Chinese Communist Party to completely eliminate Turkic Muslims, especially Uyghurs and other ethnic groups in Xinjiang.

Since all of this has come to light, we have learned the appalling extent of these violations. There are more than one million Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims detained in camps and forced into labor. The network of detention facilities and factories has turned Xinjiang into a huge, massive labor camp.

Guards at these camps force Uyghur men to renounce their faith, to shave their beards, and to violate Muslim dietary restrictions. Uyghur women have been raped, experience other forms of heinous sexual violence, and have undergone forced sterilization, and forced abortions.

Families are ripped apart. Adults working in factories, and children sent to state-operated orphanages. At least that is what they call them. The goal is to brainwash them, to strip them of their language, their culture, their traditions, their identity, and isolate them from their families and communities. The Chinese Communist Party is also working to suppress birth rates among Uyghur populations, with official data now showing birth rates already declining between 48.7 percent between 2017 and 2019.

Earlier this year, former Secretary of State Pompeo determined that crimes against humanity and genocide are being committed by the Chinese Communist Party. It is a determination the Biden administration has rightfully upheld. It is important to call these crimes by their proper name. I give credit to both administrations for doing so, but we needed to do something about these crimes, even more than just call them for what they are.

China's efforts to silence Uyghurs, and turn the world's attention away from the ongoing atrocities also include coercing and intimidating those Uyghurs who live abroad, that includes American citizens and American residents. American citizens speaking out are at great risk of having the Chinese Communist Party target themselves and their family members who remain in Xinjiang.

Earlier this year CNN reported a Uyghur man being taken from his pregnant wife in Dubai and extradited to China. If we do not fight back against the extraterritorial reach of the CCP now, we will one day find that such practices will increase in frequency to the point that many places outside of China will be just as dangerous as the territories that are directly controlled by the CCP.

I would note in closing, the one major difference between past and present crimes of the Communist Party of China is the motivation. It has evolved beyond simply power, to both power and profit. Many Uyghurs and other Muslims are forced to manufacture goods, such as textiles, and electronics, and food products. They are also transported to other provinces and they are forced to work there.

The Chinese Government calls this "poverty alleviation." That is the term they have come up for it; but everybody else knows what it is. It is slavery. While some companies are waking up to the reality that they are, unwittingly, profiting from these crimes, many still have not. For far too long, companies like Nike, and Apple, and Amazon, and Coca-Cola were using forced labor. They were benefiting from forced labor, or sourcing from suppliers that were suspected of using forced labor.

These companies, sadly, were making all of us complicit in these crimes. That is why it is critical that the Senate quickly pass our Uyghurs Forced Labor Prevention Act to ensure the goods made by

forced labor, by Uyghur forced labor, do not enter our markets and make all Americans unwitting accomplices.

The crimes against humanity and genocide that are taking place at the hands of the Chinese Communist Party demand an urgent international response. I urge the Biden administration to use all of its tools at its disposal to end these atrocities and ensure that the CCP does not benefit from these crimes, but it is incumbent upon us, us here in Congress to act as well. I am hopeful that our legislation will be a major step in that direction. I thank you for holding this hearing.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Senator Rubio.
Senator Markey.

**STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. MARKEY,
U.S. SENATOR FROM OREGON**

Senator MARKEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for coordinating between our two subcommittees, the subcommittee which Senator Romney and I lead on China, and the subcommittee which you and Senator Rubio lead on human rights.

These two issues have to be brought together and we have to focus upon it with this special attention, which we are giving to it today because we will be giving a voice to the victims of the horrific atrocities being carried out by the Chinese Government, and explore ways in which the United States can prevent this suffering and hold its perpetrators to account.

The genocide in Xinjiang is a stain on the global conscience. It is hard to fathom how in the 21st century such unspeakable crimes can occur. The Chinese Government is engaged in a widespread, coordinated effort to eliminate Uyghur Muslims in Xinjiang and their way of life, by engaging in forced labor, arbitrary detention, torture, sexual abuse, sterilization, forced assimilation, and other atrocities, amounting to genocide.

This alarming repression of China's most marginalized citizens reveals the fundamental rot and weakness of the Chinese system. America's strength is derived from the example it sets by championing human rights and representational government. We must lead the world in exposing and opposing the crimes of this brutal regime.

We cannot decouple our bilateral relationship with China from the lives of persecuted Uyghurs, and other ethnic minorities and their families, many of whom live in the United States. The Chinese Government's harassment of Uyghurs extends beyond their own borders and Uyghur-Americans and their families have been targeted and intimidated here in the United States as well.

I know we will be hearing from wonderful experts today, who will shine a light on the plight of Uyghurs and other minorities in Xinjiang. I hope that this hearing is going to be an opportunity for us to identify additional ways that we can meaningfully address this ongoing genocide.

Preventing further atrocities and seeking justice and accountability must be a top foreign policy agenda for this Administration, but for us here in Congress as well. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Senator Markey.
Senator Romney.

**STATEMENT OF HON. MITT ROMNEY,
U.S. SENATOR FROM UTAH**

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Senator Markey, for your comments and thank you to the witnesses for appearing today; thank you to Senator Rubio for his Uyghur Force Labor Bill, and I hope that receives the support from our colleagues that it desperately needs.

This is obviously a topic of interest to the world at large, because it concerns some of the most heinous human rights abuses on the planet today. They are being carried out by a highly-developed nation that is also trying to promote itself as a model to nations around the world.

Of course, many of the Chinese Communist Party's outrageous actions are well-known by others: its censorship, its incarceration of journalists, its repression of religion, its oppression of all minorities, its surveillance of its own citizens. When it comes to its genocide of the Uyghur people, China has largely been able to hide what it is perpetrating from the world at large, from the concentration camps and forced labor, to families being torn apart, to Uyghur women being sexually abused by Han Chinese. What the Communist Chinese Party is perpetrating on the Uyghur people is atrocity not seen or imagined coming from a nation in the modern era.

Our hearing today is meant to inform us on the conditions and treatment of these people and to help us consider steps that can be taken to end this abuse.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Senator Romney.

Let me now introduce the witnesses, and then we will hear their testimony in the order that I introduce them. We have a superb panel of three witnesses.

First, appearing virtually, Dr. Adrian Zenz is an anthropologist whose ingenuity, persistence and thoroughness have helped to uncover important details about the scale and the ferocity of China's persecution of the Uyghurs as well as China's ethnic policy in general. Dr. Zenz was born in Germany. He obtained a Master's Degree in Development Studies from the University of Auckland, followed by a Ph.D. in Social Anthropology from Cambridge.

He previously worked as a lecturer in Social Research Methodology and Doctoral Advisors at the European School of Culture and Theology. Currently serves as a senior fellow in China Studies at the Victims of Communism Foundation here in Washington, DC. He also serves as an advisor to the Inner Parliamentary Alliance in China.

Dr. Zenz is the author of two books on Tibet. Just this week he presented new and very compelling, detailed research demonstrating that the Chinese Government sees the Uyghurs as a national security threat and is attempting to dilute the population in Xinjiang Province by forcibly reducing birth rates, and importing Han Chinese. Dr. Zenz joins us remotely from Minnesota.

Our second witness who will follow Dr. Zenz, very important, is Rushan Abbas. She was born and raised in Xinjiang Province. She first became an activist as a student organizing and leading pro-democracy demonstrations at Xinjiang University in 1985, and

then 1988. She came to the U.S. as a young adult to study English, and was horrified 3 weeks after her arrival in the U.S. witnessing China's crackdown on protesters, including some of her friends at Tiananmen Square.

Ms. Abbas has worked as a journalist for Radio Free Asia, and the U.S. Government as a translator for Uyghur detainees at Guantanamo, and also has worked on resettlement efforts for those detainees. She spent the bulk of her career, more than 20 years, working in international business development while also volunteering to advocate for Uyghur people.

In September 2018, Ms. Abbas denounced China's use of detention camps in Xinjiang at a think tank event. Just 6 days later, her sister and her aunt who were living in different cities in Xinjiang Province were both secretly detained. For more than 2 years, the Chinese Government refused to answer any questions about the whereabouts of Ms. Abbas' sister, Dr. Gulshan Abbas, a medical doctor who spent her career caring for patients in Xinjiang.

A year after her sister's disappearance, Ms. Abbas left a career in business development, and is now dedicated herself full-time to advocating for the Uyghur community. She is the founder and executive director of the Campaign for Uyghurs, and is an effective advocate.

Today's hearing is particularly fitting for the Abbas family as Dr. Abbas' birthday is Saturday. Dr. Abbas' picture is right here behind Senator Markey. This will be her third birthday spent in detention. The family learned in December, just recently, that Ms. Abbas was secretly tried on false terrorism charges in 2019 and sentenced to 20 years in prison.

I want to welcome Dr. Ziba Murat, who is here. So glad that you are with us, who is here in-person. Ms. Abbas, Ms. Murat, and several other members of their family live in Virginia. I am proud to have them as my constituents. Ms. Abbas is joining us from London where she has just finished testifying at a series of hearings on Chinese atrocities toward the Uyghurs.

Finally, our third witness is Dr. Sophie Richardson. She is the China Director at Human Rights Watch, a renowned expert on China's human rights abuses frequently here on The Hill to educate members of Congress. She is a graduate of Oberlin College and the Hopkins-Nanjing Program, completed her Ph.D. at the University of Virginia in Political Science and Government.

She is the author of "China, Cambodia, and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence," as well as numerous articles on domestic Chinese political reform, democratization and human rights in China and across Asia. We are very glad that Dr. Richardson could be with us in person.

So that will be our introductions. Again, we will first hear from Dr. Zenz, then Ms. Abbas, then Dr. Richardson; and then we will proceed to questions.

Dr. Zenz, by the able assistance of the staff members of this committee, you will now magically appear on the screen before us, and we are anxious to hear what you have to say.

STATEMENT OF DR. ADRIAN ZENZ, SENIOR FELLOW IN CHINA STUDIES VICTIMS OF COMMUNISM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION, WASHINGTON, DC

Dr. ZENZ. Well, thank you indeed very much, Mr. Chairman. I hope you can hear and see me.

Senator KAINE. We are hearing you just fine. We are not yet seeing you, but we are hearing you fine. So keep talking and we hope we will see you—oh, here he is. Now we can see you. Thank you.

Dr. ZENZ. Good. Well, I thank you for inviting me to testify today. In retrospect, it is clear that Beijing has carefully prepared its campaign of subjugating the Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities in Xinjiang through an unprecedented buildup of police forces in 2016 and 2017 complemented by advanced surveillance technologies.

Party Secretary Chen Quanguo used, strategically, the first 9 months of his reign in Xinjiang, to prepare the ground then embarking on the internment campaign while simultaneously rolling out other aspects of the atrocity, including forced labor, sending children to boarding schools, and birth prevention.

The CCP's long-term strategy in Xinjiang began first with what Chinese researchers themselves have called, "drastic short-term measures that were absolutely necessary and effective." An internment and re-education campaign to break people's will and enable to assimilate an entire people. This "short-term measure" is culminating in several long-term aspects that I will discuss.

First, an imprisonment campaign which removes key influencers or the elite of Uyghur society by sentencing them to long prison terms, at the same time, night light analysis of satellite images, such as conducted by the RAND Corporation earlier this year, showed that by May 2020, only 13 percent of re-education camps, which are run in addition to prisons, showed a significant decline in night light emissions, potentially indicating closure. For 45 percent of camps the emissions increased. The office estimates that by mid-2020, 87 percent of internment camps were still likely active.

Second, parent-child separation: Children are reared by the state in highly-securitized boarding schools where they must speak Chinese and are raised as loyal followers of the Party. This is designed to win over the entire next generation.

Third, coercive labor: by which men and women are made to work and full-time labor intensive factory work, separating families, maximizing state control over the young generation, breaking intergenerational chains of cultural transmission. Labor transfers also serve to reduce the population density in Uyghur heartlands, constituting one aspect of a population strategy.

Fourth, a drastic reduction in birth rates: Significantly now lower numbers of children make it easier for the state to focus resources on indoctrinating the young, promoting social control, and assimilating them through greater mixing with the Han, reducing also the need for policing and security over a shrinking population.

New evidence shows the Xinjiang's campaign to suppress birth rates is very likely part of a long-term strategy to "optimizing the ethnic population structure." Chinese academics and politicians argue that Xinjiang's "terrorism problem" can only be solved by

“optimizing” its ethnic population structure. High ethnic minority population concentrations are considered a national security threat,

Optimizing such concentrated Uyghur populations requires embedding substantial Han populations into them to dilute them. The Han “positive culture” is supposed to mitigate what some researchers have called the Uyghur “human problem.” Scenarios that bring in large numbers of Hans sufficient to dilute and embed the Uyghurs, but do not overburden the region’s ecological carrying capacity, entail drastic reductions in ethnic minority natural population growth, which is also the key recommendation of related officials and researchers.

Based on population projections that were published by Chinese academics, my research shows that this difference could range between 2.6 and 4.5 million lost lives through state-mandated birth prevention by the year 2040, the most likely scenario being –2.5 per-mille negative population growth.

Beijing’s strategy in Xinjiang is not one of population destruction, but of population control. It is a mass atrocity without mass slaughter, one with human rights violations of historic proportions, but leading to a loss of millions of lives, potentially. The most concerning aspect is that minorities are demonized and framed as a human problem, threatening an otherwise healthy society.

Xinjiang no longer publishes reports of birth rates or population counts, breakdowns by regional ethnic group, leaving researchers in the dark and preparing the region to cover its tracks, as a slow genocide is unfolding. I urgently asked that the U.S. Senate pass the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act and at the U.S. Government enacts further economic and/or diplomatic sanctions on the Chinese Government in light of mounting evidence of an ongoing genocide, sanctions on technology that could be used in atrocities, punitive economic sanctions, strong measures against Uyghur forced labor, and especially a strong framework to cause American companies to comply with sanctions against forced labor, even if this results in retaliatory acts against them.

Referring to Beijing’s new strategy to make counter-sanctions against U.S. entities or companies, this creates a new challenge that calls for strong, targeted measures that American companies will comply with U.S. law and sanctions.

The United States should also seek to exert maximum pressure against Beijing at the United Nations over mounting evidence for genocide, using all disposable means to raise public attention, coerce relevant U.N. departments into action, or at least naming and shaming. The U.S. should also consider strong measures against the Beijing Olympics, publicly calling on U.S. companies to revoke their sponsorship and doing more to publicly expose the moral relativism of the IOC. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Zenz follows:]

Prepared Statement of Dr. Adrian Zenz

A SUMMARY OF BEIJING’S POLICIES IN XINJIANG

Background, Expertise and Methodology

The author’s relevant expertise and list of publications are shown on his institution’s website at <https://victimsofcommunism.org/leader/adrian-zenz-phd/>.

The author's research methodology consists in the analysis of a wide range of documents. Most of these consist of publicly-accessible material obtained through government websites or the Chinese internet in general, such as: government reports, state media reports, government budgets, procurement and construction bids, recruitment notices, propaganda accounts that reflect the implementation and/or effect of relevant policies; as well as a cache of about 25,000 internal (non-public) government documents obtained through local government social media networks (without hacking), that contain information such as spreadsheets of locals in ethnic minority regions by villages with their internment, education or labor status. On two occasions, the author was given internal leaked government documents from Xinjiang: the "China Cables" and the "Karakax List."

The analysis of these sources proceeds from a basis of understanding key terms and their etymology (e.g. terms that identify different types of internment facilities), as well as the wider ethnic minority policy framework. Relevant sources are identified through extensive searches based on relevant terms (keywords) and whether they fit into the related policy framework. Sources are triangulated through comparison of different types of sources and comparisons with available relevant witness testimony. The analysis also includes state propaganda material, reading between the lines of propaganda statements to glean crucial additional evidence.

Generally, the approach is to: a) identify and establish the general overarching or wider regional policy framework; b) identify specific evidence for the local adaptation and implementation of this policy, in individual counties, townships, villages or relevant entities (such as factories, family planning entities or schools); c) identify related examples where statements made by affected individuals are included or cited in propaganda reports.

Overview of Published Material

Starting in late 2016, Xinjiang's new Party Secretary Chen Quanguo established one of the world's foremost police states in this restive region dominated by Turkic, predominantly Muslim ethnic minorities, notably the Uyghurs. The related security build-up is detailed in these pieces:

- <https://jamestown.org/program/xinjiangs-rapidly-evolving-security-state/>
- <https://jamestown.org/program/chen-quanguo-the-strongman-behind-beijings-securitization-strategy-in-tibet-and-xinjiang/>
- <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/china-quarterly/article/abs/securitizing-xinjiang-police-recruitment-informal-policing-and-ethnic-minority-cooptation/FEEC613414AA33A0353949F9B791E733>

The context of how Chen was brought to Xinjiang, why he was chosen, and the likely premeditated nature of this leadership transition and the rapid unfolding of the internment campaign is discussed in <https://www.jpolrisk.com/karakax/> (section 3).

In the spring of 2017, Chen Quanguo embarked on an unprecedented campaign of extrajudicial internment, documented as follows:

- Evidence of the origins and genesis of the campaign, its roots in previous Chinese forms of extrajudicial internment, and data from construction bids: <https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/4j6rq/> (formally published here: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02634937.2018.1507997>)
- Evidence on the build-up and expansion of the internment campaign in Xinjiang's security budgets: <https://jamestown.org/program/xinjiangs-re-education-and-securitization-campaign-evidence-from-domestic-security-budgets/>
- Evidence from classified, leaked Chinese documents, as well as internal local government spreadsheets listing thousands of detainees, along with an analysis of new state terminology and statements about the true nature of this campaign: <https://www.jpolrisk.com/wash-brains-cleanse-hearts/>
- Evidence of criteria for internment, for release, and new evidence on the inception of this campaign and how it was prepared by Chen Quanguo's predecessor Zhang Chunxian: <https://www.jpolrisk.com/karakax/>

The campaign of extrajudicial internment has been complemented by three related campaigns:

First, of parent-child separation and the weaponization of the education system for cultural assimilation. Publications:

- Main research publication on the topic: <https://www.jpolrisk.com/break-their-roots-evidence-for-chinas-parent-child-separation-campaign-in-xinjiang/>

- Overview of internal data from Xinjiang that lists the internment status of parents, and at times the care status of the affected children: <https://adrianzenz.medium.com/story-45d07b25bcad> (see related reporting in the Economist: <https://www.economist.com/china/2020/10/17/how-xinjiangs-gulag-tears-families-apart>)

Second, of different forms of coercive labor, by a) channeling vocational training internment camp detainees into forced labor workshops, b) subjecting large numbers of seasonal rural laborers to internment-style training and indoctrination, followed by work placements, and c) the establishment of smaller workshops in villages, called “satellite factories,” to promote mandatory work placements especially for minority women.

Publications:

- This publication includes evidence based on an internal government spreadsheet of mandatory labor placements along with wage data: <https://www.jpolorisk.com/beyond-the-camps-beijings-long-term-scheme-of-coercive-labor-poverty-alleviation-and-social-control-in-xinjiang/>
- Forced labor in cotton picking: <https://newlinesinstitute.org/china/coercive-labor-in-xinjiang-labor-transfer-and-the-mobilization-of-ethnic-minorities-to-pick-cotton/>
- Forced labor in labor transfers of Uyghurs within Xinjiang and across China, based also on new evidence (“Nankai Report”), and includes a legal analysis that such labor transfers may constitute the crimes against humanity of forcible transfer and of persecution: <https://jamestown.org/program/coercive-labor-and-forced-displacement-in-xinjiangs-cross-regional-labor-transfer-program/>
- A report on forced labor transfers in Tibet, with comparisons to Xinjiang: <https://jamestown.org/program/jamestown-early-warning-brief-xinjiangs-system-of-militarized-vocational-training-comes-to-tibet/>

Third, by a campaign to drastically decrease birth rates and natural population growth rates, even mandating growth rates for some regions that are near or below zero: <https://jamestown.org/product/sterilizations-iuds-and-mandatory-birth-control-the-ccps-campaign-to-suppress-uyghur-birthrates-in-xinjiang/>

Xinjiang’s campaign to suppress minority population growth has been complemented with efforts to boost its Han population through increased births and immigration. Additionally, regional authorities appear to encourage interethnic marriages (SupChina, 2019). In tandem, these three strategies appear to undergird a wider game plan of ethno-racial domination.

“End the Dominance of the Uyghur Ethnic Group:” An Analysis of Beijing’s Population Optimization Strategy in Southern Xinjiang. Accepted after peer review for publication with the journal Central Asian Survey. Preprint of the author’s original manuscript published via SSRN: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3862512

This most recent research documents Beijing’s intent to commit slow genocide in Xinjiang through birth prevention, and estimates that by 2040, between 2.6 and 4.5 million lives could be prevented as part of a strategy to “optimize” the ethnic population and increase the Han Chinese population share, for counterterrorism purposes (see also the Appendix). Compare a related overview and legal argument for genocide published by the author together with an expert in international law: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/06/08/genocide-population-xinjiang-uyghurs/>

Summary of the Evidence and of Beijing’s Intent with Xinjiang’s Ethnic Minority Populations

Overall, we can see that Beijing carefully prepared its campaign of subjugating the Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities in Xinjiang through an unprecedented build-up of different types of police forces, complemented by an advanced surveillance system based on the latest technologies. Chen Quanguo was selected for his expertise and innovation in repressing minority dissent in Tibet. Chen used the first 9 months of his reign in Xinjiang to prepare the ground, then embarked on the internment campaign in tandem with sending another wave of cadres to the countryside to act as informants.

The internment campaign mainly targeted middle-aged males, especially heads of households and other social influencers. Their release is dependent on the “good behavior” of their family members. Once released, they are being carefully monitored and liable to return to the camps if they behavior is not up to par. Most are released into different forms of coercive labor. The internment campaign serves as an intermediate, medium-term effort to break the soul of the minorities, render them impotent and docile, and pave the way for the long-term strategy. Many important intel-

lectuals and cultural influencers have been sentenced to long prison terms to eliminate their socio-cultural influence.

The CCP's long-term strategy in Xinjiang consists first in an internment and imprisonment campaign that intimidates the population and removes key influencers by eventually sentencing them to long prison terms (Deutsche Welle, 2020). Second, of parent-child separation. Children are reared by the state in highly securitized boarding school environments where they must speak Chinese, cannot practice religion, and are raised as loyal followers of the Party. This is designed to win over and domesticate the young generation. Third, of coercive labor, by which men and women are made to work in full-time, labor-intensive factory work. This makes the expensive security apparatus financially more sustainable, separates the nuclear family, gives the Party greater control over and more time with each family member, maximizes state control over the young generation, and breaks the intergenerational chain of transmitting the cultural and religious heritage. Fourth, this strategy is coupled with a drastic reduction of birth rates to slow ethnic minority population growth, contain or even decrease total population size, rendering the population easier to control. Significantly lower numbers of children make it easier for the state to focus resources on indoctrinating the young generation, to promote more social control and assimilation by subjecting minority populations to greater ethnic mixing with the Han, and to reduce the need for policing and security. Fifth, this strategy is secured at the international level through various pressure strategies and a global elite capture of multilateral institutions, including the United Nations, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), and the European Union.

In sum, Beijing's population control strategy consists of a combination of internment and imprisonment, coercive labor, parent-child separation, and birth prevention. All four of these operate in tandem. Key intellectuals and community influencers have been sentenced to prison terms of often around 20 years, removing their influence and curbing intergenerational cultural transmission. Forced labor separates families and enables greater state control over the next generation. Birth prevention is the cornerstone of raising Han population shares and neutralizing minority groups through embedding and dilution. Over the next 20 years, all of these aspects will be operating in tandem. Within this time frame, we can expect a substantial destruction in part resulting from birth prevention together with a severe impact on the distinct identity and unique characteristics of these groups as groups.

The most concerning aspect of official and academic discourses about these minorities is that they are demonized and framed as a "problem" that threatens an otherwise "healthy" society. Some Chinese scholars even called it a "human problem." This language is akin to purported statements by Xinjiang officials that problem populations are like "weeds hidden among the crops" where the state will "need to spray chemicals to kill them all." While this statement itself refers to re-education in camps and not directly to mass slaughter, the framing of Uyghurs and others as a human problem, and their concentrated population and growth as a threat to China's national security, is a cause for grave concern.

APPENDIX: THE AUTHOR'S TESTIMONY TO THE UYGHUR TRIBUNAL ON BEIJING'S POPULATION OPTIMIZATION STRATEGY IN SOUTHERN XINJIANG (JUNE 7, 2021)

Previously, we have been able to gather substantial evidence of a campaign of birth suppression and mass sterilization from Chinese documents and witness statements, together with official data showing dramatic declines in birth rates, especially in Xinjiang's ethnic minority regions. This evidence raised but did not quite answer the question of the ultimate intent with which the Chinese state is pursuing these policies, besides inferring that this would make the Uyghur populations easier to control by reducing their size. If these policies continued, they would depress the ethnic minority population. But will they, and what population loss would this suppression potentially cause?

Today, I would like to attempt to provide evidence regarding these urgent questions by presenting new research that provides evidence of the Chinese state's likely intent to substantially reduce ethnic minority natural population growth in Xinjiang in the longer-term by "optimizing" (Chinese: youhua) the ethnic population. This refers to a targeted dilution of populations deemed problematic by the state with Han Chinese, through in-migration, which can result in so-called processes of "embedding" (Chinese: qianru).

Besides providing substantial evidence of intent, my work also seeks to quantify the "destruction in part" resulting from this intent. I broadly estimate that between now and the year 2040, Beijing's intent to neutralize the Uyghur population through targeted dilution and increased Han population shares is likely to result in the loss

of 2.6 to 4.5 million lives through birth prevention measures in southern Xinjiang alone (not including other ethnic minority regions in Xinjiang).

Between 2015 and 2018, combined natural population growth rates in the four prefectures of southern Xinjiang declined by 73 percent. In 2019, rates continued to decline—in ethnic minority counties, birth rates declined by 50 percent, in Han counties by 20 percent, national only 4 percent. These birth rate reductions have a leveraged effect on natural population growth, because natural population growth is birth rate minus death rate, and if birth rates decline but death rates stay roughly the same, then when birth rates approach death rates, the natural population growth rate percentage-wise declines much faster than the birth rate.

Prefectures with data for both 2018 and 2019, and individual counties, were weighted by their respective populations. In the resulting population-weighted sample, the average natural population growth rate fell from 5.19 per mille in 2018 to 1.66 in 2019, around half of the national growth rate. In several regions, recent or imminently planned birth rate reductions result in natural population growth rates that are near zero, or even below zero. It is my view that this growth range is not a coincidence. Rather, I argue that growth rates near or below zero are directly consistent with Beijing's long-term plans for ethnic groups in Xinjiang. Evidence for this claim will now be presented.

An otherwise unremarkable report about an August 2017 health and family planning work promotion meeting held by a Health and Family Planning Commission in a Uyghur region references an unpublished family planning document. Issued in 2017 by Xinjiang's New Population Planning Office, its title is: "Meeting Minutes on Earnestly and Thoroughly Implementing the Spirit of General Secretary Xi Jinping's Important Instructions, Researching and Advancing the Work of Optimizing the Ethnic Population Structure in Southern Xinjiang." This document has not been made public. However, it points us in the right direction, and potentially links Xi Jinping himself with this intention regarding southern Xinjiang's ethnic population.

According to a 2017 research paper by a Chinese academic titled "Research on Optimizing Southern Xinjiang's Population Resources," the central government in Beijing "attaches great importance to the problem of Xinjiang's population structure and population security." Expressions such as "optimizing the ethnic population structure" or just "optimizing the population structure" (in reference to ethnic minority regions) are common to the academic literature on Xinjiang's counterterrorism. They are consistently linked to birth control.

The sentiment behind these terms was bluntly expressed by a dean of Tarim University at a 2015 academic event. When discussing "methods to solve Xinjiang's problems," Liao said that in southern Xinjiang the state must "change the population structure and layout [and] end the dominance of the Uyghur ethnic group" [this refers to their numeric dominance in southern Xinjiang]. In a 2016 academic publication, Liao argued that the "underlying reason" for Xinjiang's unrest was the high concentration of Uyghur populations in southern Xinjiang. Due to a recent exodus of Han Chinese, "the imbalance of the ethnic minority and Han population composition in southern Xinjiang has reached an unbelievably serious degree" (Liao 2016).

Liao's sentiments are echoed by a Xu, senior research fellow at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. In 2014, Xu argued in an interview with the *Global Times* that to counter the terror threat, the state must "change southern Xinjiang's population structure" (Xu 2014).

Xinjiang's most authoritative voice on this subject is arguably Liu Yilei, deputy secretary-general of the party committee of Xinjiang's Production and Construction Corps (XPCC), and a dean of Xinjiang University. At a July 2020 symposium with 300 experts and scholars from across China, Liu noted that despite all progress, "the root of Xinjiang's social stability problems has not yet been resolved." Which is quite remarkable after all they have done so far. To quote from his speech:

"... the problem in southern Xinjiang is mainly the unbalanced population structure. Population proportion and population security are important foundations for long-term peace and stability. The proportion of the Han population in southern Xinjiang is too low, less than 15 percent. The problem of demographic imbalance is southern Xinjiang's core issue." (Liu 2020)

Note: In the four Uyghur heartland prefecture of southern Xinjiang, the Han population share in 2018 was actually only 8.4 percent.

In 2018, Liu had argued that "Xinjiang's population structure [and] ethnic structure ... are unreasonable," and that Xinjiang must "afresh analyze [its] population structure [and] ethnic structure ... from a viewpoint of national security."

One of the most sophisticated accounts of this perceived population “problem” is found in a 2017 research paper by Li Xiaoxia, director of the Institute of Sociology at the Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences—who has published major reports and also attack pieces against myself, she is high profile and well known. In her paper, Li argues that

“the population gap between ethnic minorities and the Han continues to widen, which has made the concentration of a single ethnic group in certain regions more obvious. The lack of interaction and exchanges between different ethnic groups has caused the three factors of ethnicity, religion and land area to become superimposed, thereby strengthening the viewpoint that one ethnic group owns a [particular] land area, [thereby] weakening national identity and identification with the Chinese Nation, [adversely] impacting peace and long-term stability.

“Consequently, controlling the growth rate of the ethnic minority population and adjusting the regional ethnic population structure are considered to be important ways to achieve long-term peace and stability in Xinjiang.” (Li 2017a, 68)

Similar to Liu Yilei, Li argues that “the problem of the ethnic population structure in southern Xinjiang” is “one of the roots of the Xinjiang problem.” (Li 2017a, 77)

Soon after Li’s publication, Xinjiang set up new initiatives to implement systematic birth prevention campaigns in ethnic minority regions. An increasingly common outcome indicator of these initiatives was the mandated target to “optimize the population structure,” or more commonly to “balance the population structure.” To this end, county family planning offices are required to:

“Formulate the county’s mid- and long-term population development plan and annual plan; be responsible for the macro-control of the county’s newborn population ... ; manage the county’s information system for women of childbearing age ... ” (e.g. Kuqa County Government 2019)

By the end of 2018, Xinjiang was fully equipped to control and forecast population growth at an extremely detailed level. The region had created the preconditions for optimizing its ethnic population structure.

A detailed review of this literature shows that the perceived threat arising from concentrated Uyghur populations centers around the following four themes.

1. Excessive ethnic minority population growth creates a growing rural surplus workforce that suffers underemployment, creating risks to social stability. Large numbers of unemployed young Uyghurs constitute a “severely excessive” rural surplus labor population, created by lax family planning policies, that pose a “latent threat to the current regime.” (e.g. Zhao and Song 2017, 30)
2. High ethnic minority population density combined with low mobility breeds a “hardened” society with a “dense religious atmosphere,” creating a breeding ground for religious extremism and terrorism. (e.g. Lu and Guo, 2017, 194)
3. High ethnic minority population concentrations create a dangerous sense of identification with their homeland, weakening identification with the central government. (e.g. Li 2017a, 68)
4. High ethnic minority population ratios and resulting low Han population shares are a national security risk in sensitive border regions (which includes southern Xinjiang). (e.g. Liang 2019; Wang 2018)

Other Chinese researchers have argued that the “foundation for solving Xinjiang’s counterterrorism problem” is “to solve the human problem.” (Chinese: *rende wenti*). Specifically, this requires “diluting ... the proportion of ethnic populations” by increasing the Han population share and reducing the shares of populations with “negative energy,” referring to religious and traditionally-minded Uyghurs. This process of targeted ethnic dilution, first proposed by Xi Jinping in 2014, is referred to as “population embedding.” (Chinese: *renkou qianru*)

A 2017 paper published by two researchers from the Xinjiang Police Academy argues that “population embedding” is the key strategy to eradicate terrorism by “rapidly optimizing the population structure” (2017). To quote:

“[T]o completely eradicate terrorist crimes in Xinjiang it is necessary to completely eradicate the soil, the growth conditions and the environment in which terrorist mobs produce crimes. [To do so] ... , it is necessary to rationalize the population structure”

Specifically, the academics suggest that the establishment of embedded communities requires a careful balancing of “desirable” versus less desirable populations. To quote:

“Therefore, optimizing the proportions of the population and improving and enhancing the quality of the population—which is to solve the human problem—is the foundation of solving Xinjiang’s counterterrorism (and other) problems. Embedding the population is one of the simplest and most direct ways to solve the human problem. . . .

“This will achieve the goal of diluting the proportion of the poor population, the proportion of the unemployed population, the proportion of the low-educated population, the proportion of [certain] ethnic populations, . . . the proportion of the population with a criminal history, etc.”

Embedding therefore involves a targeted dilution of undesirable population segments, such as low-income, lesser-educated and more traditionally-minded ethnic minorities, who are seen as more susceptible to religious extremism and other so-called “crimes.”

In a 2019 publication, Chinese academic Li Ming argues that the establishment of embedded communities requires “calculat[ing] precise embedding targets.” Han to ethnic minority population ratios should range between 50:50 and 40:60. (Li 2019) The goal of targeted embedding is the creation of a “cultural counterterrorism” (Chinese: wénhuà fānkòng)—a multi-ethnic environment where “religious extremism” is unlikely to take root. To quote:

“For example, according to the village’s cultural counterterrorism needs, the scope of the population with positive energy in the village should be expanded to 80 percent or 90 percent in a planned, step-by-step, and methodical manner, and the scope of the population with negative energy in the village should be reduced to 7 percent, or less than 3 percent.” (Li 2019, 110)

Here, persons with “positive energy” or a “positive culture” (Chinese: zhèng wénhuà) are those who are more highly educated, more secular and more resistant to the creeping influence of “religious extremist thought”, especially Han populations, while those with “negative energy” (Chinese: fù néngliǎng) are susceptible to “extremist” thought—meaning Uyghurs. Researchers argue that planners must achieve “cultural counterterrorism” outcomes in these problem regions based on specific quantitative ratios and detailed target indicators. (Li 2019, 113)

To boost Han population shares, Beijing has to get millions of Han to move to southern Xinjiang. By 2022, it already plans to settle 300,000 there. However, the south is also Xinjiang’s ecologically most fragile region. Arable land and water are scarce. Urbanization and industrial development vastly increased the per capita resource utilization. Chinese studies say Xinjiang as a whole was already overpopulated by 2.3 million persons in 2015, significantly exceeding its ecological population carrying capacity. Most of the so-called “overpopulation” is in rural southern Xinjiang—meaning Uyghurs.

Part of the population optimization is achieved through so-called labor transfers of Uyghurs. Labor transfers do not have to imply physical relocation, they primarily refer to a transfer of rural agricultural surplus laborers (Chinese: fuyu laodongli) out of the primary and into secondary and tertiary sectors. This program was extended to all of Xinjiang in 2005, and it is conceptually distinct from the forced labor of released internment camp detainees (Chinese: jiaozhuan ren yuan), this latter program began in 2018 and came into full force in 2019. The forced labor linked to the camps targets predominantly men, given that over 85 percent of such detainees are male, whereas the coercive labor transfer scheme targets persons who were typically never detained, with a particular focus on getting women out of household roles and into full-time work, especially in textile industries. According to official figures, Xinjiang had 2.59 million rural surplus laborers in 2019—1.65 million of them in the four southern Uyghur-majority prefectures. In the first 10 months of 2018, 364,000 or 13 percent of all labor transfers were outside people’s home prefectures, and 25,000 or 1 percent were to other provinces. Labor transfers have intentionally and disproportionately displaced persons from Uyghur-majority regions and especially targeted the southern Uyghur heartlands and poor households. In 2018, the overall percentage of labor transfers from Xinjiang to outside provinces was only around one percent, while labor transfer efforts targeting poor households and therefore mostly ethnic minorities transferred 11 percent.

Even so, labor transfers that displace ethnic minorities by coercing them to work in regions outside of southern Xinjiang represent comparatively small numbers and are by themselves entirely insufficient to achieve the abovementioned population optimization goals. They help alleviate the pressure on the land by reducing the

Uyghur population in southern Xinjiang. A Chinese academic report called the Nankai Report admitted that labor transfers are a method to “reduce Uyghur population density in southern Xinjiang.” However, the numbers of transferred laborers are too small, especially given that annual transfer numbers often involve the same persons who are transferred again each year. Labor transfers do not necessarily constitute permanent relocations and in fact often refer to seasonal labor such as cotton picking and harvesting. Evidence of longer-term relocation does exist but is very limited. Importantly, the Nankai Report notes that Uyghurs with problematic or criminal backgrounds are typically not accepted for cross-provincial transfers, meaning that labor transfers leave so-called “focus persons” concentrated in southern Xinjiang, which is not in line with population optimization needs.

As a result, nearly all of the cited academics and officials strongly urge birth prevention as a primary means to optimize ethnic population ratios. Quantitative analysis confirms that indeed, the only way that the state can significantly increase Han population shares without having to transfer unrealistically high numbers of Han to southern Xinjiang, which would be very expensive, difficult and cause severe overpopulation, is to limit ethnic minority population growth.

My analysis shows that the most ideal range for this growth is in fact negative, around -2.5 per mille. By 2040, the state could boost Han population shares in southern Xinjiang to nearly 25 percent by settling 1.9 million Han there. This would dilute Uyghur population concentrations in line with counterterrorism targets (25 percent Han means the state can embed half the Uyghur population at a 50:50 ratio, diluting so-called problem populations and neutralizing the “human problem”). This would also align southern Xinjiang’s Han population share to the currently 34 percent for all of Xinjiang.

As a result, ethnic minority population in southern Xinjiang would shrink from currently 9.5 million to 9 million by 2040, a decline that could pass unnoticed by outside observers. A smaller population is also easier to control and to assimilate.

The “destruction in part” resulting from these aims is assessed as the difference between: a) projected natural population growth without substantial government interference, and b) reduced growth scenarios due to birth prevention, in line with the state’s intent to achieve counterterrorism goals by “optimizing” the ethnic population structure.

Based on adapted projections that were recently published by Chinese researchers in a peer-reviewed international journal, southern Xinjiang’s ethnic minority population could increase to an estimated 13.1 million by the year 2040 without severe measures to prevent births, broadly based on existing family planning—all the more now given a universal right to have up to three children.

The 4.1 million discrepancy between 9 and 13.1 million can be understood to constitute the “destruction in part” caused by the state’s intent to “optimize” ethnic population ratios and dilute problem populations. This would reduce the projected ethnic minority population during the coming 20 years by nearly one third (31 percent).

My estimate takes account of labor transfers of Uyghurs out of southern Xinjiang and assumes realistic figures of annual Han in-migration into the region.

How realistic is this plan? Natural population growth in southern Xinjiang is already trending towards zero or just below zero. Recently, Xinjiang has told family planning offices to “optimize the population structure” and to carry out “population monitoring and early warning.” The region has created all the necessary pre-conditions for “optimizing” its ethnic population structure. It also no longer reports birth rates or population counts by region or ethnic group, leaving researchers in the dark and covering its tracks.

These findings shed important new light on Beijing’s intent to physically destroy in part the Uyghur ethnic group. Other measures aimed at achieving ethnic population changes, such as Han in-migration and Uyghur out-migration will by themselves not accomplish the goal, due in part to ecological, economic and other practical constraints. As such, the prevention of Uyghur births is a critical and necessary part of China’s overall “optimization” policy—which is considered to be a matter of national security.

Importantly, understanding the role that birth prevention and long-term population reduction plays in this overall policy distinguishes China’s actions against the Uyghurs from its general, national population control measures and from its treatment of other ethnic and religious minorities, such as Tibetans.

The new findings presented today should be seen in tandem with other pertinent aspects:

- The targeted internment and imprisonment of leading community figures and elites. Many intellectuals have been sentenced to long prison terms. Internal

spreadsheets listing families by internment status show that the re-education campaign mainly targets the heads of households, the main influencers within families. In some regions, between 30 and 50 percent of heads of households were shown as detained in camps in 2018. This strategy further enables the state to utilize the absence of men, husbands and fathers to separate children from parents and to subject the women to birth control surgeries.

- According to official data, the number of students in Xinjiang who live in boarding facilities increased by 77 percent, from half a million to 880,000. Evidence from non-public Xinjiang Government spreadsheets shows over 10,000 children from Yarkand County (Kashgar Prefecture) as having at least one parent in detention, and 10 percent of them have both parents in detention.

Beijing's population control strategy consists of a combination of internment and imprisonment, coercive labor, parent-child separation, and birth prevention. All four of these operate in tandem. Key intellectuals and community influencers have been sentenced to prison terms of often around 20 years, removing their influence and curbing intergenerational cultural transmission. Forced labor separates families and enables greater state control over the next generation. Birth prevention is the cornerstone of raising Han population shares and neutralizing minority groups through embedding and dilution. Over the next 20 years, all of these aspects can be expected to be working in tandem. Within this time frame, we can expect a substantial destruction in part resulting from birth prevention together with a severe impact on the distinct identity and unique characteristics of these groups as groups.

The most concerning aspect of official and academic discourses about these minorities is that they are demonized and framed as a "problem" that threatens an otherwise "healthy" society (cf. Roberts 2020, 16–17). Some Chinese scholars even called it a "human problem." This language is akin to purported statements by Xinjiang officials that problem populations are like "weeds hidden among the crops" where the state will "need to spray chemicals to kill them all." (Zenz 2018, 21) While this statement itself refers to re-education in camps and not directly to mass slaughter, the framing of Uyghurs and others as a human problem, and their concentrated population and growth as a threat to China's national security, is a cause for grave concern.

Note: REFERENCES for citations are listed in the full preprint manuscript published via SSRN at <https://www.ssrn.com/abstract=3862512>.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Dr. Zenz.

We will now move to Ms. Abbas, and Dr. Richardson to follow. There will be two roll call votes at 11:30. I believe we will be able to get through both sets of witness testimony. Then my intention is we will just keep the hearing rolling and have folks attend and come back and forth.

If I could ask Ms. Abbas to now testify.

**STATEMENT OF RUSHAN ABBAS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
CAMPAIGN FOR UYGHURS, WASHINGTON, DC**

Ms. ABBAS. Thank you so much, Senator Kaine, Senator Markey, and Senator Rubio, and the members of the committee for holding this hearing, and giving me a chance to testify here.

Today's Chinese regime has been fed by the West and being empowered by the willful ignorance of the international community. Beijing is seeking global domination. The genocide Uyghurs are facing will be the future of the entire world if we do not move quickly, Orwellian surveillance, slavery, forced abortions, forced sterilizations, mass institutionalized rape, torture, concentration camps, crematoria. We know where this is leading. We swear, never again, many years ago, but we are not living up to that promise with the right sense of urgency.

The CCP denying journalists' access to the region means that the Chinese regime has been able to control the narrative surrounding their genocidal crimes, especially within their own borders. This has led to a high number of genocide denialists who target sur-

vivors and the activists attempting to undermine their stories and even threatening their lives.

I am joining you now from London, where I recently testified for the Independent Uyghur Tribunal. What I have heard in the past few days from the witnesses, experts, and even a perpetrator, himself, has informed that the situation is far worse than what we are hearing or speaking. Every word they spoke brought tears to my soul. This has been ongoing for years, and while we might pat ourselves on the back for making progress, Uyghurs back home are facing active genocide, and every day that goes by is another hell on earth.

For myself, each night is a sleepless one, imagining what horrors my own sister might be facing. In September of 2018, my sister, Dr. Gulshan Abbas, a gentle, nonpolitical, law-abiding grandmother was taken by the CCP in retaliation for my advocacy and use of free speech here in United States as a U.S. citizen. She retired from her medical career early due to poor health.

In 2 days, it will be her 59th birthday, and the third birthday that she has spent in a dungeon without her family. The Chinese regime has remained silent about her whereabouts. In fact, they published libel against me, and they said that my claims of her disappearance were false. They stated that I had stolen someone else's photo, and made up a missing relative. Chinese state actors use platforms which are forbidden to their own residents in order to discredit our advocacy work. In spite of this propaganda, it was confirmed in December of last year by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that she was sentenced harshly to prison on sham charges.

Like so many Uyghurs, her supposed crimes are kept purposely vague. They use the false claims of terrorism and separatism to dehumanize and target any Uyghur. Her true crime was her ethnic identity, being a Uyghur. Of course, I am one of the millions who are suffering, but this situation illustrates how family members are being held hostage to punish American citizens for utilizing our rights here in a free country.

My niece, Ziba, is in the room with you right now. She has put her entire life on hold, and even moved to the DC area to continue to desperately seek to free her mother. Words cannot express how painful it is for me to watch her struggle to raise her own 3-year-old daughter, while they are dealing with the immense pain and the trauma of having her mother held hostage.

It is not an exaggeration to say that we in the United States have long, deliberately ignored all the warning signs of this regime, but we are waking up. A regime, blatantly committing genocide should not be treated as an equal. We cannot continue to treat an international criminal organization as a legitimate government. The United States has been at the forefront of holding the regime accountable, but we need to see more legislation that will offer material protections for Uyghur people. We desperately need stronger coordination between our allies and the shared-value countries.

You can find some of my recommendations, including regarding legislations in my written testimony. The Uyghur issue must be treated as critically urgent. Not only for my sister and our people,

but for all of the world. If we do not stand for humanity today, we will most certainly lose that privilege tomorrow. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Abbas follows:]

Prepared Statement of Ms. Rushan Abbas

East Turkistan is home to Uyghurs, Kazakhs and other Turkic groups. The region is controlled by the Chinese state, and the Chinese Communist Party applies pressure to East Turkistan through draconian policies. The Uyghur genocide, as it has been designated by the United States and several other nations, continues on today. The United States has been an important ally in the fight to resist the ongoing atrocities, and we look toward even more positive action. These concentration camps constitute the largest incarceration of an ethnic group since the Holocaust. Since the camps were first identified through satellite imagery, the number of camps identified has only continued to grow. These concentration camps are obscured by the Chinese authorities under the auspices of re-education camps. Uyghurs that are taken to the camps are indeed subjected to brainwashing that aims to erase their ethnic, religious and cultural identity. However, these camps serve the regime's policies of destroying the Uyghur people and reshaping the region to maintain their totalitarian grasp.

For me, this genocide has taken on a deeply personal tone. On June 12, it will be my sister's birthday. It will be the third birthday that she will be spending in the Chinese regime's detention. My sister's name is Gulshan Abbas. She had a career as a medical doctor in China, which ended when she was forced to retire early due to her delicate health. In spite of this, she continued to live her life in the service of treating others, often assisting other members of the community at their medical appointments.

On September 5, 2018, I participated on a panel at the Hudson Institute¹ on the news that was coming out of the Uyghur region of China, otherwise known as East Turkistan. I spoke on the mass internment of Uyghurs in concentration camps constituted a genocide and that it was the world's responsibility to act. China was conducting these operations under the guise of a "War on Terror." They used terms like "Securitization" to attempt to normalize their draconian and genocidal policies. The reality has always been that this is an attempt to ethnically cleanse the region to solidify the power of the one party state.

My sister lives in Urumqi, the capital of East Turkistan. Her daughters live here, in the United States. Beginning on September 11, they discovered they could not get in touch with her through their traditional methods of communication. They informed me that my aunt had also been out of contact, apparently on the same day.² The reality began to set in that my sister and aunt had been taken into custody by the Chinese state. They were targeted because of my activism here in the United States, in retaliation for my appearance at the Hudson Institute, and for the advocacy activities I had organized throughout the previous year.

For nearly over 2 years, we were given no word on the whereabouts of my family members, or whether they were alive. In fact, officials within the party slandered my claims of disappearance, insisting that I had fabricated this story, that I was not in contact with my sister by her own volition. They argued that she had even forsaken contact with her daughters, all to make my claims appear ridiculous to the outside world. These claims were proven correct. On Christmas Day 2020, we received confirmation that my sister had been sentenced to 20 years in a prison camp for terrorist activities. My sister, a doctor in a government-run hospital, was painted as a terrorist. The reality is that the Chinese state views me as an enemy of the state, precisely because I am a friend to my people. As a result, all who have committed the crime of being related to me, or associating with me, are guilty.

Even after we lost contact with my sister and began advocating for her, we faced attacks and disinformation from the Chinese regime. The foreign ministry statements denied the truth. Chinese state media outlets, which are used as propaganda platforms, accused Uyghur activists, including me, who were looking to free their family members as liars and agitators. The Global Times spread the lie that I had made up my own sister and stolen her photo online in order to pretend we were related. Only a year later, the foreign ministry spokesperson Wang Wenbin admitted that the regime had sentenced my sister in a secret court to 20 years in prison under charges of "being associated with terrorists."

This practice of guilt by association is a common practice in nations with weak or nonexistent civil liberties. The Chinese regime understands that by targeting the families of those who attempt to expose their genocide, they can keep it quiet longer. It's horrific to imagine that my sister is in one of these awful places.

Witnesses like Qelbinur Sidik spoke to the type of teaching that goes on inside the camps, where students are forcibly shackled while they are required to denounce their faith and endorse the teachings of the Chinese Communist Party.³ This teaching is tantamount to ethnic cleansing. The aim of it is to weaken the status of Uyghurs as an ethnic group, which tethers them to the land they occupy. By accomplishing this, the Chinese state would see the land of East Turkistan more seamlessly incorporated as a territory. This goal plays out further in the settler-colonial tactics they employ in family separations.

The fracturing of the Uyghur family unit represents a cruel and inhumane operation, but furthers the goal of ethnic erasure as well. In addition to this, the CCP sends cadres to live in the homes of Uyghurs to ensure their compliance to all policies and prevent the practice of traditional customs.

Though this by itself constitutes a violation of human rights, that which is left unsaid is even more intolerable. Within the camps, women specifically are facing attacks on their bodies, and their reproductive choices are restricted as a means of controlling the population of the region. Sexual violence is commonplace, and Uyghur women have testified that these practices were performed by the guards that imprisoned them. Tursunay Ziyawudun, a survivor of the concentration camps, testified last week that:

“After I was brought in, there were three police officers, and they did that to me, and once they did it together, and I have no words to describe the inhuman cruelty of the violence, they didn’t just beat me, and they didn’t just satisfy their sexual desires ... once they used those iron bars, electric shock wands. They raped me by inserting iron bars, electric batons, and other equipment into my genitals ... once by them with these electric rods, iron bars and other devices, and three times by them artificial rape. The first time, I was raped by all three of them together.”

Forced sterilization practices have continued to be reported, as more women indicate that they are given medications forcibly that make it difficult or impossible for them to have children. Within these camps, women report being crowded into cells that are filled beyond capacity with insufficient sanitation and nutrition. Ziyawudun said of the conditions in the cells:

“The small bucket inside our cell was also used to go to the toilet, without a lid. The cell was small and there was no ventilation. The environment was so bad, you can’t even imagine. I once told a policeman that this bucket was toxic when left without a lid. He replied that I should be glad that they did not let us drink that. There were two armed policemen at the entrance of each cell.”

We know the history behind such treatment, and that the purpose of it is to dehumanize the people it acts upon. With over three million Uyghurs in concentration camps and prisons, this situation has become an emergency. In order to operate this massive apparatus of detentions, the CCP must be able to create arbitrary accusations at will. They do this through the facade of securitization, and counterterrorism.

The claim of terrorism is used as a broad accusation in order to provide cover for any illegal detainment or abusive practice the regime wishes to engage in. This is regularly employed to silence dissidents, activists in diaspora, and to target their families back home. In order to evade international accountability, the Chinese state equates this campaign in East Turkistan to the global war on terror. They then use the lack of due process to deny not only basic civil liberties, but to engage in violence against those detained in their prisons.

The torture being conducted inside the camps has become more clear in recent years. A Han Chinese former police officer in Xinjiang recently testified:⁴

“I have witnessed Uyghurs being tortured. I feel compelled to speak about it because I am a professionally-trained policeman and what I have witnessed fell well below professional policing standards. Uyghur prisoners were sometimes forced to kneel, punched, a plastic bag would be tied over their head in order to induce suffocation and the bag would only be removed when they began struggling to breathe. Sometimes, their limbs were tied, and waterpipes were inserted in their mouths to force water into their lungs.”

This testimony corroborates the information given by multiple survivors of the camps, many of whom were victims of these very tactics. With such striking and consistent testimony, it should be clear that this a systematic and targeted campaign of genocide.

What we are witnessing now is the colonial takeover of a region through the eradication of its people. It is possible to see the long term effects of this in real-

time. The Australian Strategic Policy Institute recently reported that the decline in birth rates in East Turkistan is the largest in the 71 years of U.N. data collection, having been cut almost in half.⁵ They have accomplished this by making life nearly inhospitable to Uyghur culture, while targeting women and children as the inheritors of the new generation. Women are forced to undergo sterilization, hysterectomies, and forced abortions. Birth control and IUDs have become mandatory. Reports of women in camps forced to ingest unknown medication only to later be told they were sterile has corroborated the decline in birth rates and is a shared experience of camp survivors. The forced control of birth rates of an ethnic group is a clear violation of Article II of the United Nations Genocide Convention.

The Chinese regime in East Turkistan has also been carrying out the policy of child separation. With millions of Uyghurs in camps or prisons, it is estimated that over 880,000 Uyghur children have been removed from their homes and sent to state-run orphan facilities. In these facilities, children are taught to praise the Communist Party and Xi Jinping. These facilities are designed to program the minds of children and prevent the continuation of the Uyghur identity and culture. The policy of child separation that the regime has implemented is further evidence of genocide, and a violation of several articles of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Used as an exploited and forced labor supply in the production of nearly 20 percent of the world's cotton, Uyghurs are forming the backbone of the Chinese economy. They are systematically moved to Chinese factories, where they work tirelessly to produce goods for export. This has historically been the case in genocides in the 20th century, since a second-class-citizen workforce offers the opportunity for enhanced exploitation and profit for those willing to engage in such crimes. By offering China a supply of free labor, the genocide rewards state owned enterprises, as well as international firms that are complicit in it.

Outside of the concentration camps and prisons, Uyghurs are subject to extreme authoritarian surveillance. Security cameras monitor Uyghurs, and can recognize them through facial identification and walking gait. Uyghurs are not allowed to pray or practice their faith. Mosques are demolished or converted to nightclubs and bars. Uyghur men are forced to shave their beards and women are forced to dress less modestly. The aforementioned "Pair Up and Become Family" program forces Uyghurs to allow CCP officials and Han Chinese to live in their homes where they can be under constant surveillance.

With such horrific abuses continuing on, it is vital that we engage with the international community in order to build pressure on China. Without international solidarity, we cannot hope to affect real change. Yet, we watch year after year as more families are torn apart by the same tactics that were used against my sister and my aunt, for the purpose of intimidation. How can we rely on the information and advocacy these activists so bravely give us, if we cannot offer them protection for their families living in their homeland? If they are to be believed, the Chinese state would argue that these disappearances and subsequent sentences are coincidental. This is patently absurd. They do these things with the express goal of intimidation, and they do them with no regard for due process, for free speech, or for human rights. Not just my family, but millions of Uyghurs' families, are in grave danger now as we speak.

Families like the son and daughter of Uyghur intellectual Yalqun Rozi, and the daughter of renowned academic Dr. Rahile Dawut, have been impacted by the regime's attack on Uyghurs. Yalqun Rozi has been imprisoned after being charged with "subverting the state" in 2016 for his role as an editor in producing Uyghur textbooks. Dr. Rahile Dawut disappeared on her way to Beijing from Urumqi in 2017, and no information has been released on her whereabouts. Both are victims of the CCP's genocide on Uyghurs and their systematic targeting of intellectuals and academics to destroy the Uyghur culture and leadership.

Kamalturk and Tumaris Yalqun are Uyghurs in America who have faced adversity and uncertainty and have tirelessly campaigned for the release of their father. Akida Pulat, daughter of Dr. Dawut, has since given up her career and become a full time activist, joining Campaign for Uyghurs to continue her advocacy. These are only two public examples of how Uyghurs globally, and in the United States, are affected personally by the regime's genocide. Thousands of Uyghurs in America share a similar story of desperately wondering where their family is, whether they are safe, and if they will ever see them again.

In the United States, where I have been a citizen since 1995, there is a growing community of Uyghur activists that is expanding and is preparing to engage in the defining fight of our lives. I began my activism in the mid-eighties in the student protests in East Turkistan, and carried on as a broadcaster for Radio Free Asia (RFA). While working at RFA, I came to understand that the dissemination of infor-

mation is one of the most powerful tools to be utilized against a repressive regime. That lesson has informed the work that I am engaged in today.

Within academia, popular culture, and international sports bodies, the full throated defense of Chinese actions remains strong. Largely due to economic influence, academics like Jeffrey Sachs are used as mouthpieces for the regime within influential institutions. This process is formalized on a large scale through the Confucius Institute, which forms partnerships with universities around the world in order to influence their staff and publications.

Sports leagues like the National Basketball Association, and the International Olympic Committee, are beholden to the interests of the Chinese Communist Party. The inaction of these organizations, and their endorsement of the Chinese regime's human rights record, sends a clear message that the economic influence of Beijing is of more importance than the real human cost of that influence. This is true of the film industry as well, which has made a point to avoid controversial condemnations, and has adopted a business-as-usual stance with the CCP.

Uyghurs are also facing an unprecedented wave of cyberthreats. Organizations are reporting higher than ever rates of hacking and phishing attempts, the majority of which originate from within China. Activists and survivors are regularly targeted on social media and have libel spread about them. We must demand an end to such abuse, which seeks to discourage survivors from sharing their story. The Chinese State believes that they operate with impunity in this regard, since their internet is largely contained. However, the international community is capable of action to address these growing attacks and disinformation.

In the case of intimidation, both physical and in cyberspace, international bodies and nations which respect human rights must demand an end to these threats. The largest threat facing the world is a lack of transparency not only in China, but globally. The issue of addressing human rights atrocities is precluded by the ability to be made aware of them. The CCP understands this and takes every possible effort to prevent information about the genocide from flowing freely. The U.S. Embassy and consulates in China can be proactive in the effort, offering their services to help secure information about families who have faced retaliation. We can support the security of cyberspace for activists by stating firmly that any attacks against international activists is a condemnable offense on the international stage.

It is the responsibility of all journalists to report the situation in East Turkistan as clearly as possible. With such limited information coming out of the state, we must often rely on the testimony of survivors who have left the camps. As victims of the Chinese regime's genocide have continued to testify, it has become clear that their stories corroborate each other, painting a consistent picture. The international media should boost the stories of survivors, their tales of sexual violence, forced sterilization, and torture. These are actions that the world had long deemed inexcusable, but so far their stories have not had the mainstream coverage that could help inform the global community.

One of the critical reasons China desires extensive control over East Turkistan is economic. The value derived from cotton production and a nearly endless supply of free labor to be directed toward State Owned Enterprises offers a flow of profit to a regime at the expense of my people. By demanding an end to these practices, and by following that demand through with a promise to purge American supply chains of this slavery, we can strike a severe blow to the international image, and funding, of the regime. The Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act is of critical importance for beginning to address the problem. It is also an explicit opportunity to state unequivocally that we are a people who value human life and dignity over profit.

There is also an opportunity to include forced labor prevention standards into acts that aim to enhance American competitiveness. The Endless Frontier Act could serve this purpose. In order to guarantee American leadership, we must guarantee not only economic, but moral authority. By showing the world that we are committed to being a leader in human rights globally, we can create an international precedent that endures. The legislative capabilities at our disposal to offer real world limitations on China's capability to engage in genocide are narrow, but very much real.

With thousands of Uyghurs outside of East Turkistan seeking safety and refuge, they often find themselves in precarious situations in countries that have shown themselves to be unfriendly to Uyghurs. Uyghurs who have fled to Pakistan as well as neighboring Central Asian countries find themselves at risk of deportation, and Uyghurs in Turkey who have sought asylum face a similar situation. The United States has the opportunity to ensure the safety of Uyghurs fleeing persecution and genocide through creating a priority status for Uyghurs seeking asylum or refuge. Even in the United States, there are Uyghurs who have waited years for their asylum case to be heard in court, and the possibility of being sent back to China only

to disappear in a concentration camp is a grim prospect. The United States should designate Uyghur refugees as Priority 2 to allow them a streamlined process and avoid notification and extradition by Chinese authorities.

The United States and our allies have a practical opportunity to take action to stop the Uyghur genocide. By limiting economic exploitation, demanding an end to genocidal practices, and enabling refugee protections, we can apply pressure to the Chinese Communist Party while alleviating it for millions of people under threat of their control. My sister, and the relatives of Uyghurs all over the world, are relying on our resolve to act on their behalf. I hope the world will rise to this occasion, and demand an end to Uyghur genocide. If we do this today, we will save millions tomorrow.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

- The Uyghur American Community would benefit greatly from increased government action in the process of locating and confirming the safety of missing relatives. This would also likely increase the number of activists willing to speak on the genocide, should they feel protected. U.S. embassies and consulates, as well as those of allied countries, could be mobilized for better information-sharing and could request of Chinese officials that they be allowed access to visit/seek out missing individuals.
- The passage of the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act. This bill is critical to making sure that Uyghur forced labor is not profitable and forcing brands to extricate their supply chain from the Uyghur region.
- The enforcement of import bans on goods associated with forced labor, made possible through existing regulation and guidance.
- The condemnation of cyber attacks and social media harassment by Chinese state officials and operatives, which serves to discourage participation in activism and stifles international organizing.
- Place higher precedence on investigating CCP foreign interference in threatening and stifling the free speech of Uyghur-Americans.
- Prioritize Uyghur refugees through P2 status so that their asylum and refugee applications are fast tracked.
- The undertaking of an urgent fact finding independent investigation in East Turkistan to counter Chinese narratives and propaganda that deny the testimony of survivors. The United Nations must be granted access to the region in order to fully assess the degree to which the genocide has progressed.
- Chinese officials carrying out genocide should not be permitted to send children to U.S. universities or hide wealth abroad while Uyghurs are facing imprisonment and death for studying abroad. Sanctions should be applied more broadly against all CCP officials and Xi Jinping himself, as well as family members of high-ranking members of the Chinese Communist Party.
- Increase funding to support free and open journalism and reporting in the Uyghur language through Radio Free Asia (RFA). RFA Uyghur service receives tips from many sources which they carefully verify. Due to their understanding of language and cultural contexts, they are the only radio station in the world able to carry out this kind of vital work of exposing the genocidal crimes of the Chinese regime and providing the truth.

Notes

¹ <https://www.hudson.org/events/1591-china-s-war-on-terrorism-and-the-xinjiang-emergency92018>

² <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2018/10/19/my-aunt-and-sister-in-china-have-vanished-are-they-being-punished-for-my-activism/>

³ <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/6/4/uyghur-tribunal-hears-evidence-of-alleged-china-abuses>

⁴ <https://uyghurtribunal.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/07-1000-JUN-21-UTFW-022-Wang-Leizhan-English.pdf>

⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/12/chinese-uyghur-policy-causes-unprecedented-fall-in-xinjiang-birthrates>

Senator Kaine. Ms. Abbas, very powerful. Thank you so much.
Dr. Richardson, please.

**STATEMENT OF DR. SOPHIE RICHARDSON, CHINA DIRECTOR,
HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, WASHINGTON, DC**

Dr. RICHARDSON. Thank you. Chairman Kaine, Ranking Member Rubio, Chairman Markey, Ranking Member Romney. Human Rights Watch appreciates this opportunity to testify regarding the role of private sector in human rights violations against Uyghurs and other Turkic communities in Xinjiang, the northwestern region of China.

Building on 25 years of work documenting human rights violations in the Uyghur region, we recently concluded that Chinese authorities are committing crimes against humanity, against Uyghurs, and Kazakhs, and other Turkic communities. Those crimes include imprisonment or other deprivation of liberty in violation of international law, persecution of an identifiable ethnic or religious group, enforced disappearances, torture, murder, and alleged inhumane acts, intentionally causing great suffering or serious injury to mental or physical health, notably forced labor and sexual violence.

The title of this hearing asks the question: “Where do we go from here?” I am taking the “we” to mean both the Biden administration and this Congress, which have affirmed their commitment to addressing the horrors occurring in the Uyghur region.

So let me state at the outset that the U.S. and like-minded democracies can do a great deal. My written testimony addresses issues of coerced or forced labor by Uyghurs and other Turkic communities, and the role of the Chinese in foreign and private sectors, since the beginning of Xinjiang authorities’ Strike Hard Against Violent Extremism Campaign in 2014.

To speak to some of the questions that you have put to me today, it is our view that, first, Beijing’s extreme repression and surveillance across the Uyghur region make the human rights due diligence expected of companies, from the apparel to the Silicon sectors, and from domestic firms to foreign ones, not currently possible. This, in turn, has implications for firms in the region. Did they know whether they are operating in ways that leave them complicit in serious human rights violations? For those that say they are sure their operations and supply chains are clean, how are they able to prove that? How hard do they even try?

Inspectors cannot visit facilities unannounced, or speak to workers without fear of reprisals. Some companies seem unwilling or unable to ascertain precise information about their own supply chains. A number are disturbingly unaware of the role of the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps in the governance and political economy of the region.

Two U.S. brands—Eileen Fisher and Reformation—have said that they will withdraw from the region, and some foreign auditing firms have said that they will no longer try to work there. Conversely, we have detailed the role of some Chinese surveillance technology companies deeply implicated in repression in the region.

In the past 6 months, I have briefed an unprecedented number of banks, companies, investment firms, and manufacturers that in some way do business in the region. Despite all I explained to them, few express a willingness to withdraw, or press authorities for better access. On some level the private sector and the human

rights community faced the same problem, intransigence by central, local, and regional officials who continue to block unfettered access to the region, deepening concerns that those authorities have plenty to hide.

Some of the tools available to the U.S., such as the Global Magnitsky Act, the Entities and Specially Designated Nationals' Lists, and withhold and release orders are proving useful. We welcome the Administration's efforts with respect to targeted, coordinated sanctions, and the unprecedented efforts by Congress to end Uyghurs' nightmares. There is so much more to do.

I want, particularly, to highlight the urgent, urgent, urgent need to pass the Uyghurs Forced Labor Prevention Act and the Speech Act of 2021. The former will help stem the flow of goods made with forced labor into the U.S., the latter to more carefully scrutinized exports that can be used for serious human rights violations.

These subcommittees could hold a hearing with representatives of major U.S. firms with a presence in Xinjiang, to assess whether and how they are ensuring that their operations are not causing, contributing to, or linked with adverse human rights impacts. Please, urge all sectors to join the call to action put forward by the Coalition to End Forced Labor in the Uyghur Region, of which Human Rights Watch is a proud member.

Members of Congress should work closely with democracies around the world, with parliamentarians and with governments to collaborate around sanctions on individuals, companies, and government agencies from China, credibly alleged to be complicit in Xinjiang's human rights violations, and to bring to justice those responsible for crimes against humanity.

Allow me to conclude with this recommendation. I urge all legislators hearing this testimony to discuss Xinjiang with the businesses in your states. We will provide you with the information on the human rights crimes taking place so that you can make an ethical case to your corporate constituents. Avoiding business in Xinjiang something every good company should want to do.

Thank you. I welcome your questions.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Richardson follows:]

Prepared Statement of Dr. Sophie Richardson



Senate Foreign Relations
Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere, Transnational Crime, Civilian Security,
Democracy, Human Rights, and Global Women's Issues and
Subcommittee on East Asia, the Pacific, and International Cybersecurity
Hearing on "Atrocities in Xinjiang: Where Do We Go From Here?"
June 10, 2021

Testimony of Dr. Sophie Richardson, China Director, Human Rights Watch

Human Rights Watch appreciates this opportunity to testify regarding the role of the private sector in human rights violations against Uyghurs and other Turkic communities in Xinjiang, the northwestern region of China. Building on 25 years of work documenting human rights violations in Xinjiang, Human Rights Watch recently concluded that Chinese authorities are committing crimes against humanity targeting Uyghurs, Kazakhs, and other Turkic Muslim minorities. Those crimes include imprisonment or other deprivation of liberty in violation of international law; persecution of an identifiable ethnic or religious group; enforced disappearance; torture; murder; and alleged inhumane acts intentionally causing great suffering or serious injury to mental or physical health, notably forced labor and sexual violence.

This testimony address issues of coerced or forced labor by Uyghurs and other Turkic communities, and the role of the Chinese and foreign private sectors, since the beginning of the Xinjiang authorities' "Strike Hard against Violent Extremism" campaign in 2014. It sets out recommendations for bilateral and multilateral policies.

Introduction

Since the beginning of the "reform and opening" era in the late 1970s, Chinese authorities repeatedly implied that once the country reached a certain level of economic development it will consider political liberalization. From the 1990s onward, some foreign firms investing in the country and business associations insisted that with greater international economic interaction the government would become less authoritarian. Neither has come true, and Chinese firms with close ties to the government and foreign firms have continued to profit while the



human rights environment has deteriorated significantly, particularly since Xi Jinping assumed power in 2013.

Chinese and foreign firms have a history of aiding the Chinese government in its repressive activities, particularly with respect to technology companies, given how intertwined their products and services can be in the Chinese government's human rights violations. Public pressure has forced some of the foreign firms to change their policies, such as Google's 2010 announcement that it would no longer accept censorship of its search engine in China, but others have looked the other way. Scholars, research organizations, journalists, and activists have published strong research documenting forced and "transfer" labor in the apparel, cotton, and solar sectors in Xinjiang, raising questions about other sectors operating in the region.

Human Rights Watch is a member of the Coalition to End Forced Labor in the Uyghur Region, which calls on cotton and apparel brands and retailers to take steps to demonstrate their supply chains are free of human rights violations – or exit the region.

Forced Labor Inside and Outside Xinjiang

There have been numerous credible reports that Chinese authorities are subjecting Uyghurs and other Turkic peoples to forced labor under the government's "idle labor transfer programs" (富余劳动力转移). Under this program, ethnic minorities are placed in jobs, including in factories, in Xinjiang and elsewhere in China.

These labor transfer programs predated the Strike Hard Campaign. They started in 2006 but dipped around 2014 following the Kunming train station attack.¹ The programs saw a revival around 2017 and 2018 as part of the Chinese government's nationwide "poverty alleviation" efforts.²

¹ For a discussion about the history around these schemes, see Li Xiaoxia, "[新疆少数民族产业工人队伍发展及现状分析]" 北方民族大学学报(哲学社会科学版), 2015.

² See, for example, 新疆的农村劳动力转移出现四个转变产生四大效应, http://www.gov.cn/gzdt/2007-06/18/content_652170.htm, mentioning that over 100,000 Xinjiang workers were exported to other provinces under the scheme in 2006.

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The levels of coercion involved in these programs appear to have dramatically increased with the Strike Hard Campaign. The evidence indicates that detainees have been sent to perform forced labor after they were released from Xinjiang's political education camps. Satellite images also show the recent emergence of new factories, connected to or near the camps, where inmates allegedly provide low-cost or unpaid labor.³ In at least one instance, such a factory purportedly became an extension of a political education camp; laborers live in dormitories, may be prohibited from returning home on a regular basis, and receive no pay for their work until they "complete their training."⁴

The crackdown on Uyghurs and other Turkic peoples since 2014 also coincides with the Chinese government's encouragement of the vertical integration of China's garment manufacturing sector by moving textile and garment factories closer to the cotton production centered in Xinjiang, hinting at a textile and apparel expansion plan that risk depending heavily on the forced labor of inmates at the various detention facilities.⁵

Additionally, authorities have assembled Uyghurs and other Turkic peoples and sent them to factories in various Chinese provinces. The conditions strongly suggest coercion, including the use of minders and political indoctrination of exported workers.⁶ A 2017 state television report showed how officials pressured one young woman into participating in such schemes, even though she did not wish to be away from home.⁷ A leaked Nankai University study of these schemes described how "some [exported] workers are unwilling to leave and have been seriously homesick."⁸ Organized labor transfer programs exist in other parts of

³ Chris Buckley and Austin Ramzy, "China's Detention Camps for Muslims Turn to Forced Labor," *New York Times*, December 16, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/16/world/asia/xinjiang-china-forced-labor-camps-uyghurs.html>.

⁴ Shohret Hoshur, "Internment Camp Assigned Uyghur Forced Laborers to Xinjiang Textile Factory. Official," *Radio Free Asia*, November 14, 2019, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/uyghur/laborers-11142019142325.html>.

⁵ Fair Labor Association, "Issue Brief: Forced Labor Risk in Xinjiang, China," 2020, https://www.fairlabor.org/sites/default/files/documents/reports/fa-brief-xinjiang_forced_labor_risk_final.pdf; Citizen Power Initiatives for China, *Cotton: The Fabric Full of Lies*, 2019.

⁶ ASPI, "Uyghurs for Sale," March 2020, <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/uyghurs-sale>.

⁷ John Sudworth, "If the others go I'll go": Inside China's scheme to transfer Uyghurs into work," *BBC News*, March 2, 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-56250915>.

⁸ Ibid., 中国财信经济研究院智库报告-1009 新疆和田地区维族劳动力转移就业扶贫工作报告, Nankai University, <http://web.archive.org/web/20200507161938/https://cwe.nankai.edu.cn/2019/1223/c18571a259225/page.htm>.


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China, such as Shanxi province, but these workers do not appear to be subjected to the same coercive conditions as those from Xinjiang.⁹

Official plans published online detail how the program will transform ethnic minorities into a disciplined, patriotic, Chinese-speaking industrial work force.¹⁰ As of 2018, the Chinese government has documented the employment of 450,000 new Turkic workers including impoverished household members, which included struggling relatives of prisoners and detainees, and political education camp “graduates” in the cotton and textiles industry.¹¹

Mass Surveillance in Xinjiang

Although the Chinese government uses mass surveillance throughout the country, its monitoring and tracking of Uyghurs and other Turkic peoples is particularly invasive in Xinjiang.¹² Street corner police stations, known as “convenience police stations,” form a dense control complex, carefully organized in a grid system that divides populations into geometric units for tighter and more focused surveillance.¹³

Another facet of this mass surveillance of the Turkic Muslims is the extensive and compulsory collection of their biometric data.¹⁴ Chinese authorities collect DNA samples, fingerprints, iris scans, and blood types from all Xinjiang residents between the ages of 12 and 65, in part through a medical examination program, “Physicals for All”; biometrics are collected without choice or informed consent.¹⁵ In addition, Chinese authorities have also collected voice samples

⁹ 我省出台措施进一步加大就业扶贫力度, http://www.jcgov.gov.cn/dbx/sxyw/202003/20200315_890057.shtml.

¹⁰ Bernhard Zand and Adrian Zenz, “The Equivalent of Cultural Genocide,” *Spiegel Online*, November 28, 2019, <https://www.spiegel.de/international/world/chinese-oppression-of-the-uyghurs-like-cultural-genocide-a-1298171.html>.

¹¹ 孙瑞哲分享十大行业发展热点 (Sun Ruizhe Shares Top Ten Industry Development Hot Topics), March 4, 2018, transcript, http://www.cclia.org.cn/hyzy/201803/20180305_3883861.html, Jianli Yang and Lianchao Han, “Did a Muslim Slave Make Your Chinese Shirt?,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 16, 2019.

¹² US Committee on International Religious Freedom, Annual Report, 2019, <https://www.uscifr.gov/sites/default/files/2019USCIRFAnnualReport.pdf>, Jianli Yang and Lianchao Han, “Did a Muslim Slave Make Your Chinese Shirt?,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 16, 2019.

¹³ Human Rights Watch, China’s Algorithms of Repression, May 2019, https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/china0519_web5.pdf, p. 15-16.

¹⁴ Xinjiang: 2017 Nian Quannin Jiankang Tiejian Gongzuo Quanno Wancheng (新疆: 2017 年全民健康体检工作全部完成), Xinjiang Ribao (新疆日报), November 2, 2017, http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2017-11/02/content_5236389.htm; Human Rights Watch, “China: Minority Region Collects DNA from Millions,” December 13, 2017, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/12/13/china-minority-region-collects-dna-millions>.

¹⁵ Human Rights Watch, China’s Algorithms of Repression, p. 15, “China: Minority Region Collects DNA from Millions.”

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from Turkic Muslims during passport application processes and at police checkpoints.¹⁶ Much of this data is entered into searchable databases.¹⁷ The collection of these biometrics is part of the government's drive to form a "multi-modal" biometric portrait of individuals and to gather ever more data about its citizens. All of this data can be linked in police databases to the person's identification number, which in turn is linked to any of their additional biometric and personal information on file.

The Xinjiang authorities have also put in place networks of automated sensory systems throughout the region, which include CCTV cameras with facial recognition, automated license plate recognition, and infrared capabilities; WiFi sniffers that collect identifying addresses of networked devices; and security checkpoints and visitors' management systems that gather identifying information.¹⁸ Kitchen knives in Xinjiang are tracked by QR codes that include the owner's ID number, photo, ethnicity, and address, and vehicles are subject to mandatory location trackers.¹⁹

Much of this information is fed into the Integrated Joint Operations Platform (IJOP), which aggregates data about individuals, flags to officials those whom it deems potentially threatening, and determines who should be rounded up by police, investigated, and sent to political reeducation camps or other detention facilities.²⁰ Human Rights Watch in December 2020 published research based on

¹⁶ Human Rights Watch, *China's Algorithms of Repression*, p. 15; Isobel Cokerell, "Inside China's Massive Surveillance Operation," *Wired*, May 9, 2019, <https://www.wired.com/story/inside-chinas-massive-surveillance-operation/>.

¹⁷ Human Rights Watch, "Police DNA Database Threatens Privacy," May 15, 2016, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/05/15/china-police-dna-database-threatens-privacy>.

¹⁸ Human Rights Watch, "China: Big Data Fuels Crackdown in Minority Region," February 26, 2018, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/02/26/china-big-data-fuels-crackdown-minority-region>; Uyghur Human Rights Project, "Ideological Transformation: Records of Mass Detention from Qaraqash, Hotan," February 2020, https://docs.uhrp.org/pdf/UHRP_QaraqashDocument.pdf, p. 16-17.

¹⁹ Steven Meleendez, "In locked-down Xinjiang, China is tracking kitchen knives with QR codes," *Fast Company*, December 20, 2017, <https://www.fastcompany.com/40510238/in-xinjiang-china-some-knives-branded-with-owners-qr-codes>; "When CCTV cameras aren't enough: Chinese police order drivers to install tracking devices on their cars," *Fast Company*, February 21, 2017, <https://www.fastcompany.com/4031016/when-cctv-cameras-arent-enough-chinese-police-order-drivers-to-install-tracking-devices-on-their-cars>.

²⁰ Human Rights Watch, *China's Algorithms of Repression*, p. 1, 24; "China: Big Data Fuels Crackdown in Minority Region." IJOP collects information such as the individual's name, ID type and number, ethnicity, address, license plate number, profession, education, passport, phone number, relationship with head of household, blood type, height, photo, political status, religion, "religious atmosphere" (fair or strong), reason for seeking asylum or education abroad, destination country, exit time, changed identity? (if yes, to what), and reason for leaving Xinjiang. See also, Uyghur Human Rights Project, "Ideological Transformation," p. 14-15, and "一体化联合作战平台" 每日要情通报 第2期 ("Integrated Joint Operation Platform" Daily Essentials Bulletin No.



a leaked list of over 2,000 detainees from Aksu prefecture, which provided detailed evidence that the vast majority of the people flagged by the IJOP system are detained for everyday, lawful, nonviolent behavior.²¹ In one case, for example, the IJOP system flagged a woman as suspicious because she had received four calls from a foreign number in March 2017, noting the precise duration of the calls.

In 2019 Human Rights Watch wrote to China Electronics Telecommunications Corporation, the conglomerate that oversaw the development of the IJOP, asking about its human rights due diligence policies and other human rights safeguards; the company did not reply. In 2017, Human Rights Watch had put similar questions to Chinese voice recognition firm iFlytek about its sale of voice pattern collection systems to the Xinjiang Public Security Bureau; it did not reply.

Human Rights Watch wrote to ThermoFisher Scientific, a Massachusetts-based firm, in June and August 2017 after discovering procurement documents showing that the firm had sold DNA sequencers to the Xinjiang Public Security Bureau. The company replied to our initial letter but did not answer the questions, prompting a second letter, which received no reply. In February 2019, after more than a year of unanswered questions from Human Rights Watch, members of the US Congress, and others – culminating in a highly critical *New York Times* exposé of its sales in Xinjiang – the company announced it would stop selling human identification technology in Xinjiang. Thermo Fisher chalked the decision up to “fact-specific assessments.”

Challenges of Human Rights Due Diligence in Xinjiang

Human Rights Watch believes that all companies have a responsibility, in accordance with the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, to conduct human rights due diligence throughout all of their operations and supply chains, no matter how complex. The goal of this exercise is to assess and publicly explain whether corporate activity is creating or contributing to

²⁰ Encouraging the detention of Xinjiang residents who IJOP identified as having obtained foreign nationality and applied for Chinese visas, or having obtained certificates from Chinese embassies and consulates.

²¹ Human Rights Watch, “China: Big Data Program Targets Xinjiang’s Muslims: Leaked List of Over 2,000 Detainees Demonstrates Automated Repression,” December 9, 2020, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/12/09/china-big-data-program-targets-xinjiangs-muslims>.



human rights violations, and, if so, whether adequate redress is afforded to those affected.

Chinese authorities have turned Xinjiang into an unparalleled surveillance state, one in which effective human rights due diligence by foreign firms that source from Xinjiang is not currently possible. It is unclear how firms that claim to conduct social compliance audits of facilities they source from in these parts do so and to what extent Chinese firms attempt such social compliance audits. Foreign and domestic inspectors cannot visit facilities unannounced or speak to workers without fear of reprisals. Some foreign firms have attempted to send quality control inspectors and present their findings as adequate; others have sent only Chinese-speaking inspectors to factories with Uyghur-speaking workers. Human Rights Watch is not aware of any company that has undertaken, let alone published, robust human rights due diligence assessments of their business operations inside Xinjiang, or facilities outside Xinjiang that employ "transfer" labor from the region. In 2020, at least five firms hired to conduct audits of supply chains in the region [announced](#) that they would no longer do so.

Are any American companies directly or indirectly complicit in abuses? Human Rights Watch is unaware of a single centralized list of US firms with a presence in Xinjiang that would enable the beginning of such a discussion. In October 2018 ChinaFile [published](#) a list of the Fortune 500 companies operating there; while some are merely liaison offices, the scope of other companies' operations is not entirely clear. Seven international companies have [agreed](#) to the Call to Action of the Coalition to End Forced Labor in the Uyghur Region: Italy-based OVS SpA; Netherlands-based WE Fashion; South Africa-based TFG Limited; UK-based ASOS plc and Marks & Spencer; and US-based Eileen Fisher and Reformation.

2021 Discussions with Companies

Since the beginning of 2021, Human Rights Watch has briefed—at their request—dozens of banks, investment firms, manufacturers, and other corporate entities. All of the companies to which we have spoken are based in Australia, Europe, Japan, and the United States, and almost all inquired about the ethics of doing business in Xinjiang. Many assert that they have ESG or other CSR policies, but effectively admit that they struggle to properly audit their Xinjiang or China operations at all, let alone conduct effective human rights due diligence.



While these companies may not be fully representative of all firms operating across the region, it is nevertheless disturbing how poorly informed these companies are about basic aspects of the region's government, and particularly the role of the state agency Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC, or *bingtuan*) in the political economy and social control of the region. Few express a willingness to withdraw from the region—even now.

Recommendations

Human Rights Watch supports the current and previous administrations' approaches to addressing human rights violations in China using targeted individual sanctions, entity list designations, scrutiny of imports, and Customs and Border Patrol "withhold and release orders." More broadly, the Biden administration's high-level diplomatic initiatives to press for an international investigation under the auspices of the United Nations into grave international crimes against Uyghurs and other Turkic communities are critically important.

The US Congress is also playing a crucial role in advancing human rights protections and scrutiny to mitigate Chinese government violations. It can augment that role by:

- Urgently passing the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act ([S.65](#)), which would impose a "rebuttable presumption" on goods imported from Xinjiang, and the Surveillance and Free Speech Protection Enhancement in Export Controls for Censorship and Human Rights Act of 2021 (SPEECH Act of [2021](#)), which aspires to expand export controls over technology that can be used for human rights violations;
- Calling on businesses to publicly disclose the names, addresses, ownership, and other relevant details about whom they do business with in Xinjiang, and consider making such a listing mandatory;
- Holding a hearing with representatives of major US firms with a presence in Xinjiang to assess whether and how they are ensuring that their operations are not causing or contributing to, or are linked with adverse human rights impacts;
- Adopting legally binding requirements for human rights due diligence by US companies operating in Xinjiang, detailing how companies should conduct effective human rights due diligence and responsibly disengage when such due diligence is not possible;


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- Exploring, perhaps jointly with the Departments of Commerce and Treasury, which Chinese firms implicated in human rights abuses in Xinjiang are conducting business in the US, including whether they are listed on US stock exchanges, and whether they are used for surveillance and other mass data collection purposes;
- Tasking the Congressional Research Service to review whether US state or federal pension funds invest in any of the Chinese or US firms implicated in human rights abuses in Xinjiang;
- Reviewing through the Department of Treasury the portfolios of international financial institutions to ensure that they are not complicit in repression in the region and consider creating reporting requirements on this topic;
- Ensuring that US government procurement practices reward companies that demonstrate they do not use goods or services from Xinjiang;
- Pursuing opportunities to work with legislators in Australia, Canada, the European Union and its member states, Japan, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and other democracies to challenge Chinese authorities to end crimes against humanity in Xinjiang. This could include multilateral briefings or hearings on similar topics to this hearing, working groups to examine the conduct of multinational firms, and initiatives to assist Uyghurs and other Turkic minorities in jeopardy.

Congress can also work with the Biden administration to:

- Impose escalating actions against Chinese companies found to be contributing to Chinese government human rights violations in Xinjiang, including by using the US Global Magnitsky Act;
- Appoint a Special Coordinator for Xinjiang Issues similar to the one for Tibetan Issues;
- Urge the Chinese government to release from arbitrary detention or from baseless prison sentences, and for departure from China, family members of US citizens and permanent residents; and
- Request that relevant US government agencies review all investments in Xinjiang and, where necessary, impose trade sanctions, including divestment, in sectors facing credible allegations of serious abuses such as forced labor.


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Multilaterally, the Biden administration has taken key steps that should not only continue but should be coordinated with like-minded governments. These include:

- Impose coordinated, targeted sanctions on individuals such as Xinjiang Party Secretary Chen Quanguo, Chinese technology firms that play a role in repression, and state agencies such as the Xinjiang Ministry of Public Security and the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC);
- Deploy sanctions to the extent like-minded governments have sanctions regimes akin to the Specially Designated Nationals (SDN) list;
- Encourage the European Commission not to submit the EU-China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment to the European Parliament and Council for ratification at least until reports of forced labor have been investigated by independent and impartial international experts, abuses have been addressed, victims compensated, and there is substantial progress toward holding perpetrators to account; and
- Continue to call upon the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to undertake an investigation into human rights violations against Uyghurs and other Turkic communities outside of China.

Businesses and investors can also play a role in helping to end human rights violations in Xinjiang. Congress should press them to:

- Recognize that for those businesses sourcing from Xinjiang, the responsibility to undertake human rights due diligence as articulated in the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights is not currently possible in Xinjiang due to government interference;
- Collectively and publicly urge the Chinese authorities to close the “political reeducation” camps and dismantle surveillance to create conditions conducive to due diligence across the region; and
- Join the Coalition to End Forced Labor in the Uyghur Region’s “Call to Action” to end the practice of forced labor involving Turkic people.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Dr. Richardson. We will now move into 5-minute rounds of questions. Again, for the witnesses, you will see Senate members coming and going during this vote sequence. I will start, and as soon as I think Senator Markey gets back, I may go to vote.

Dr. Zenz, you had a piece published, I believe, just earlier this week, June 8, in Foreign Policy about the slow-motion genocide, and you used the phrase “genocide without slaughter.” One of the things that I found really interesting about your article is that your

research relied very heavily upon Chinese Government officials' own statements about what they are doing.

How do Chinese officials currently assess the success of their campaign to drive down the Uyghur population through the horrific tactics that you describe in your article?

Dr. ZENZ. Their assessment is positive of their own policies. Reflections such as by high-profile academic Li Xiaoxia, who I cited last year in my research paper, and she was used to write the Xinjiang Population Report early in 2021, where she is praising the policies, arguing that Uyghur women—just to slightly paraphrase—are no longer baby-making machines. The Chinese is roughly that. That is how it was tweeted, famously, by the U.S. Embassy in China; that Uyghur women are no longer baby-making machines, and Twitter then suspended their account over violation. That was based on a research report by one of the high-profile Xinjiang population researchers cited in my work last year.

So they are praising. They are saying women have changed, their mind has changed, and they no longer are being abused by extremist religious elements to have more children. They now can have a better education, and their own career choices. There is also a lot of praise about the labor transfer, how it is successful in changing minds, changing traditional or backward values, and promoting employment and incomes.

The Chinese Government is full of praise over its own policies, and doubtlessly they will be, in 20 years, looking back, if they can say: look, we have successfully made Xinjiang successful, it is all prosperous. The focus was on development and, of course, that is also China's strategy at the United Nations, and other places, to change the definition of human rights, to economic prosperity and development. So we see them full of praise, and no regrets.

Senator KAINE. This is a very chilling thing. It is not just a coordinated campaign. It is a coordinated campaign that, in the views of the Chinese officials that are designing it, they are feeling good that it is succeeding, and that should create a sense of urgency to work on the Forced Labor Bill and other bills.

Dr. Richardson, let me ask you this question. We just passed a bill in the Senate. It was a comprehensive bill to try to focus on U.S.-China relationship. There was a piece of the bill that Senator Romney and I sponsored, dealing with the Olympics. We talked about this. Senator Romney, as you know, was the head of an Olympics that was held, the Winter Olympics Salt Lake City, so he understands the Olympic movement very, very well. We chose to not call for a complete boycott in the sense of the amateur athletes who have worked hard, we did not want to target them, but we have called out at minimum for a diplomatic boycott.

I believe Dr. Zenz's testimony suggested that we should also be encouraging corporations to revoke sponsorships, et cetera. We were of the opinion that an Olympics would create an opportunity around the world to focus attention on China, and in that frame of attention, we might do things to grab the world's attention, and demonstrate more vividly to everyone the atrocities that are being conducted against Uyghurs.

What advice might you have for us, either with respect to policy, or how we interact with corporations, the media organizations that

are covering the Olympics, so that we can use this moment of attention to dramatize what China would prefer to keep hidden?

Dr. RICHARDSON. Thanks for the question, Senator. A couple of thoughts for you. We share the position of supporting it; at least a diplomatic boycott. The only piece of Senator Romney's op-ed with which I disagreed a little bit, was his call to the IOC and the idea of having a heart-to-heart with that institution. I think that would require finding that the IOC has a heart. I have interacted with a few institutions that had the power to make positive change, and flatly refuse to do so, and spend a lot of energy denying that it had the ability to do so.

I think one of the biggest problems with the IOC relates to a key development that we may see, which is about athlete activism, and athletes being able to use their own voices to express their concerns about being made to compete in a place where they may share some of the views that we are all expressing this morning. I think the IOC has not taken that on board.

If you were to have a hearing with U.S.-based companies on human rights due diligence and China, I would certainly get NBC, and a number of the other U.S.-based companies here to explain how they are making sure that their engagement in the Olympics does not contribute to violations.

Senator KAINE. A very good idea.

I am going to now ask Senator Rubio to take over questions.

Senator RUBIO. Let me build off that, Dr. Richardson. There are numerous American companies in the tech field, and textiles who, frankly, either want to pretend like this problem does not exist because they benefit from it, or are slow to get to it, or what have you.

For example, I have repeatedly written and notified Thermo Fisher Scientific that their technology is being used by Chinese law enforcement to build a DNA database of Uyghurs. Despite that, all evidence is that they continue to provide these products, which enable these human rights abuses.

So in your research—it is well-documented that Thermo Fisher continues to do this and does not care. The question is, in your research, what other companies do you believe are enabling these atrocities that we are seeing?

Dr. RICHARDSON. Senator Rubio, to answer your question primarily about Thermo Fisher and its sale of DNA sequencers to the Xinjiang Public Security Bureau; at the same time that that entity, along with the regional government, was carrying out a program called "Physicals For All," and under the guise of a free health care program, was gathering DNA samples to which the recipients could not really say no.

We, too, wrote repeatedly to Thermo Fisher asking what protections it had in place. To be clear, we were never able to specifically show that Thermo Fisher's sequencers were used in that campaign, but that they were being sold at this same time, and would not answer key questions.

I think the bigger issue that it flags up, and part of the reason we are enthusiastic about this Speech Act is that it was not illegal then or now for Thermo Fisher to sell that kind of technology. A part of our discussion with them was about the very idea that that

technology could be used for gross human rights violations. I think the Speech Act is very strong in suggesting that all different kinds of technologies that lots of American companies sell to China either for surveillance or other kinds of technology purposes could be used for appalling human rights violations.

There is no effective quick check on that, to try to, as you know better than I do, effectively export control a single technology takes years. So there has to be some kind of upfront scrutiny of companies that are making lots of money contributing to a highly repressive environment.

Senator RUBIO. Well, some people would hear this and say, okay, it is terrible, but what is so dangerous about collecting the DNA of people? You have talked about some of the grotesque human rights violation. I can certainly speculate about the ability to design, and if this stuff sounds like science fiction, it really is not, the ability to design bio weapons, and bio material that target people of a certain genetic makeup, but spare people have a different genetic makeup.

Look, there are advantages to having DNA data, because it allows you a huge advantage in terms of testing for biomedicine. Then there are nefarious uses of it. When you talk about the grotesque human rights violations that could potentially result from collecting this DNA, are there any sort of specific things you have in mind that we suspect they could use it for? Have been used for in the past? Based on what we understand about scientific advances could be used. What exactly is the threat of this DNA collection, so that people better understand?

Dr. RICHARDSON. Well, even before the DNA is actually used for any purpose, the fact that it is collected coercively in an environment where there are no effective privacy rights, and really no means of recourse, we associate ourselves with the U.N. expert who describes Xinjiang as a rights-free zone.

What we have documented authorities doing is building DNA databases to be able, not just to employ it for some of the purposes you have described, but to be able to identify the relationships between people. So that if, for example, the authorities want to find person A, for whatever reason, and they know that person A is related through a DNA search to person B, and they could find person B, and lean on that person to find person A, it gives them that much more power to be able to control a population and surveil it. We are also extremely concerned about all sorts of genotyping, about facial recognition, and how this DNA is sold and used for medical and other scientific research purposes in an environment where there are no controls on this, none.

Senator KAINE. Senator Hagerty.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you, Senator Kaine. Good to be with you today.

Before we start, I want to commend former Secretary of State Mike Pompeo for designating the Chinese Communist Party as being engaged in genocide and crimes against humanity when it comes to the Uyghur and the Turkic population there in China. Also, I want to applaud Secretary of State Blinken for upholding that determination.

In May, Congressman Michael McCaul asked of John Kerry, the Biden administration special envoy for climate change, the following: “Can you assure us that slave labor coming out of China where genocide is taking place, as we speak, are never a part of the climate solution in the United States?” In that hearing, Special Envoy Kerry acknowledged and said that, “Solar panels in some cases are being produced by forced labor.”

Ms. Abbas, do you agree with assessments that solar panels produced in China are often produced using slave labor?

Ms. ABBAS. Thank you for that question. Yes. The solar panels are coming from the Uyghur region and the Uyghur forced labor is inside the solar supply chain, where the Uyghurs are forced to mine parts in the desert to create solar panel cells. These companies also buy lots of the Uyghurs for their manufacturing process. So in order to fight this normalization of modern day slavery, we should pay attention to every industry, including solar panel.

You make a really good point here, Senator, about the climate change. While Chinese regime is not paying attention to human beings, they are killing people, they are running active genocide, and they are conducting active genocide. Are they going to care for climate change? They always will engage with any kind of conversations with China, including the climate change. China’s crimes against humanity should be up in the forefront, because many companies, they are making money from the Uyghurs’ blood, sweat, and the tears for their economic advantage, and the lobbying against those interests.

Senator HAGERTY. I appreciate that point. I am very concerned, as are you, that we place our pressure toward green policies and climate agenda, ahead of slave labor and human rights. I think we all know that slave labor, Uyghur slave labor is used, not only to create the solar panels, but also to mine the coal. A tremendous amount of coal is burnt, it takes a tremendous amount of energy to create these silica panels. I hope that we can avoid being in a situation where we are putting, again, green policy ahead of human rights, and supporting slave labor that is being promoted by the Chinese Communist Party against the Uyghur population.

I would like to turn to history for a moment. The Chinese Communist Party is aggressively pursuing a policy of systematically repressing multiple ethnic minority groups including Tibetans, Uyghurs, Mongolians and ethnic Koreans. Today, what we call China has a long and complex history, including many diverse ethnicities and cultures, many changes in geographic borders.

This question is for Dr. Zenz. Dr. Zenz, how does the Chinese Communist Party use and abuse China’s complicated history to advance the Chinese Communist Party’s geographic, ethnic, and cultural claims, and even justify the Party’s heavy-handed approach towards ethnic minorities in China?

Dr. ZENZ. I think one of the most pertinent cases for this is the fact that in a recent Chinese state media documentary, a number of well-known Uyghur intellectuals and textbook editors were paraded with shaven heads and prison clothing, having been sentenced to long prison terms over government-approved textbooks that were published several years ago, for supposedly promoting pan-Turkism and separatism and now are languishing in prison.

The Chinese Government has embarked on a strong propaganda strategy to argue that the Uyghurs have always been Chinese. Pan-Turkism is the expression used for giving testimony to the Turkic heritage of the Uyghurs who are manifestly a Turkic people, with the Turkic language, and ethnicity, et cetera.

However, any association with the Turkic roots, and supposedly in opposition to the Chinese roots, it is now being punished as a crime, and people are even put into prisons, and internment camps, and re-education camps for doing so. So China is engaging in sort of this—and of course Chinese academics are actively rewriting history, of course they have been, but it has become even more intensified.

Similar things are happening in Tibet. Tibet has always been part of China, but in Xinjiang it has become particularly extreme with parading these intellectuals and textbook editors, and now they are confessing their crime, just for including like Uyghur children's stories, and a sort of standard Uyghur literature in textbooks which were government-approved.

Senator HAGERTY. Yes. Thank you, Dr. Zenz.

Senator MARKEY. The gentleman's time has expired. I recognize myself for a round of questions.

Radio Free Asia's Uyghur service has been at the forefront of reporting on the brutal detention of millions of Uyghurs and Muslim atrocities in China's Far West, making it impossible for the Chinese Government to deny the existence of the detention camps and create the surveillance state, which they are doing.

I have long championed the RFA's Uyghur service, despite the Chinese Government's efforts to silence reporters by detaining and harassing their family members inside of China. I concluded that we had to do something about it. So in the Strategic Competition Act passed by the Senate this week, my provision was included to increase by over 50 percent to \$70 million a year of the Radio Free Asia, Uyghur-only news service.

Dr. Richardson, how important do you consider Radio Free Asia and its work in China, especially with regard to Xinjiang?

Dr. RICHARDSON. Sorry, Senator Markey. I am struggling for the right adjective here; essential, critical, like oxygen. Radio Free Asia, broadly speaking, plays an incredibly important role in bringing stories from the ground across Asia, and particularly in closed countries like China, to light, and often becomes sort of the first cut at international media taking up those stories.

The price that some Uyghur service journalists have played for their reporting is horrific. Gulchehra Hoja, an award-winning journalist has had her parents, her elderly parents persecuted as a result of her reporting.

Senator MARKEY. Yes. So the Chinese Government has inflamed anti-Uyghur sentiment and Islamophobia throughout China through its portrayal of Uyghurs, in its state-controlled media. So we have to have a counter—

Dr. RICHARDSON. Absolutely.

Senator MARKEY. —which is inside that country. Dr. Richardson, what are the implications inside China with these negative media portrayals, and constant fear-mongering, particularly in terms of how the Han majority interacts with the Uyghurs?

Dr. RICHARDSON. Senator, I think for the most part, it is the result one would expect. When people have no access to independent media, they have no alternative except what information the state provides them, but I want to point to a scrap of optimism. When recently there was quite a debate about H&M in China, and other companies that had expressed concern about using Xinjiang cotton, and for the first time ever, really, the term Xinjiang was not blocked on Weibo largely to allow for people to express hostility towards these companies.

It also created the opportunity for some people across China to say: Wait, what is going on in Xinjiang? Why is there so much concern? What is happening in the solar or the cotton sector? That was, I think, a very healthy sign when people have access to information, they will ask questions.

Senator MARKEY. Yes. Ms. Abbas, thank you for your activism and your work to shed light on the atrocities being committed by the Chinese Government. Also, for your support for Uyghur communities here in the United States. I know that you are very focused on this issue, we have a very vibrant Uyghur community in Massachusetts, and so it is important that your voice is there, and it is an outlet for those seeking to share their experiences.

Is there a message, Ms. Abbas, that you would like to send to those Uyghurs and other persecuted minority groups who are watching you at this hearing today?

Ms. ABBAS. Each time when we have hearings like this, and they have the attention of our brave lawmakers who are defending the humanity, and they are trying to raise awareness and to do something, take some tangible action, that give hope for Uyghur people.

I want to say that the Uyghurs in Diaspora should not forget that they are not alone. There are people like yourself, like the senators here, and the many people who are defending the conscience of the world, which is being a test with this current atrocity, current genocide. They are people being voice of these voiceless and defending those defenseless Uyghur people.

So stay strong, have hope, and do not look at people like myself and my family as being retaliated because I spoke out. Do not stay silent, and take action and be the voice for your families if they are being taken. We are facing barrage of disinformation and attacks on our activists, and the witnesses too, and the survivors, by the Chinese regime.

The Radio Free Asia journalists are doing amazing job with covering. They are the first one to report the detention of my sister in June 2020. They are the one actually who reported with the investigative journalism was Mr. Gulcan Iza's mother's death. So we should use whatever we can, and prioritize funding the independent organizations like Radio Free Asia service to cover the genocide.

So there are a lot of good things are happening and that gives us the hope and the fuel ourselves to continue to fight against this brutal, barbaric regime.

Senator MARKEY. Thank you for your leadership. Thank you for your courage.

Senator Romney.

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Zenz, a question to you, and perhaps two questions to you. Normally practices such as this would yield extraordinary outpourings of anger and angst from people around the world; that governments would be very angry and would express this in many ways, given what is happening to the Uyghur people. So I guess I am asking you to help analyze the mind of Xi Jinping and the Communist Chinese Party. Why do you believe they felt they could go ahead and do this? What is their purpose for doing so? Why do they think they would get away with it?

Secondly, and this may be impossible to predict, but who is next? Given what they have done to Tibet, what they are doing with the people of Hong Kong, what they are doing to other ethnic minorities within China, what they are doing with the Uyghur people, who might be next? So again, two parts: One, why are they doing this? And two, who is next?

Dr. ZENZ. Yes. Thank you. I will quickly respond to the second question: "Who is next?" I believe anyone who is next, who is systematically acting not in line or even in discord, or even against the Chinese Government in a more organized or institutionalized way. I am thinking of instituted religion, be it Falun Gong, House Church Christians, Muslim groups outside of Xinjiang, even Marxists students have been targeted.

To also answer that question, I predict that the current increasing repression, not just of Uyghurs and Tibetans, but of anybody within the Chinese Communist Party control, is going to spiral into increasing paranoia of control, because that is the tendency, that is the historic precedence.

If you look at Stalin, if you look at Hitler, if you look at these autocrats there is—repression only begets more repression, and control begets a loss of trust, which actually makes repression worse. Who is to say who is next in line in what I believe is a growing paranoia within the regime.

The question of why, and especially the Uyghurs, is because the Chinese Government did realize at some point that they had lost control. They were not going to win over the Uyghurs, the Uyghurs were too concentrated. New way of looking at their issue of population, the human threat. So Uyghurs is one of the largest ethnic groups. It is 11, now close to 12 million people growing at a good speed, many academic studies that I have researched say: the Uyghurs are too concentrated, it is almost impossible to penetrate, break up the society, it is almost impossible to dilute the negative effect of their religion.

So the breaking up, and the breaking of this large entity that has engaged in various, including violent acts of resistance against repression, basically Xinjiang's geopolitical importance was always high, but further increased with the Belt and Road Initiative, and of course Xi Jinping's drive to just have complete control.

So this initiative is a long-term experiment to, for good, really deal, break, and assimilate, and to some extent destroy the group's entity and identity as a group. Of course we see some application of that elsewhere. Tibetans also subjected to a coercive, or similar trait pressures on an unprecedented scale. It is like a micro-management of poverty alleviation, really managing people's livelihoods, and changing them for good.

So Xinjiang is in some sense a laboratory, but the reason is, the Uyghurs are concentrated, there are many of them, they have shown great resilience to assimilation, and they did engage in targeted acts of violent resistance, albeit not of the nature of the government claims it to be, as organized terrorism. That is why they were targeted.

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you.

Ms. Abbas, let me turn to you for a moment. First, to underscore my and my colleagues' horror at what is occurring for your sister and your family. Our hearts bleed, as we think of what you are enduring, and what your family is enduring.

Let me ask you, to date, whether any of the pressure that you are seeing from the international community has had any impact on lessening the abuses that the Communist Chinese Party is perpetrating against the Uyghur people. Has there been any reduction in the atrocities, or has it continued unabated?

Ms. ABBAS. We see some pressure coming out. They told Uyghurs they were not allowed to go to mosques. Now they are calling them, come back, so they can tell the world, and that they can show the world that the Uyghurs are still living normal lives. Also, whenever when there is like a raise of the case of certain individuals, or for the family members who is being detained, they are showing the video clips, or pictures, or bring them out and they are speaking.

So I am sure there are paying attention, and sanctions always work but should continue of sanctioning the perpetrators, the officials, and also their children should not be allowed to enjoy the freedom that we have in the United States or other parts of the world. So more sanctions will be helpful, whatever we can take tangible action to stop this genocide.

As our wonderful panelists here, Dr. Sophie Richardson, and Adrian Zenz's great work, we see that the Uyghur women's bodies are the battle ground in this genocide right now. If this continues, it will be too late for the Uyghur people, but if we do anything to stop this evil regime right now, might not be too late to save the future of this free and the democratic world, which our children and grandchildren will inherit from us, and everything that we have worked so hard in the past 75 years, we can still save the free, democratic world before the Chinese regime implements all that.

As they mentioned earlier, they tried with the Uyghurs, and Tibetans, and now look at Hong Kong, what is happening in Hong Kong. Also, they are exporting the surveillance system, and even maybe the slave labor, forced labor to other countries as well while they are already exporting the surveillance system to more than 18 countries as we know. So it is very critical for us to take this last chance to stop this, and save the world.

Senator ROMNEY. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Senator Romney.

I believe Senators Cardin and Coons might come back. So I think what I will do is start a second round of questions for anyone who has them. I know I am going to jump in because I want to ask questions about the reach of this Uyghurs persecution into other nations.

We have talked a lot about the challenges within. But Ms. Abbas gave a talk at a think tank in 2018, and within 6 days in China, in Xinjiang, her sister and, I believe, mother initially were both arrested. Recent news reports suggest that three U.S. allies—the UAE, and Saudi Arabia, and Egypt—have been detaining Uyghurs who live in their countries and allowing them to be deported back to China.

A story that Senator Rubio referenced from earlier this week on CNN, a husband and wife and child, and the wife was pregnant with the second child. The husband was arrested in Dubai, detained. The wife made every effort to get the husband released to find out what was the challenge. The husband said, “I am not going to be released. You should move to Turkey where you will be more protected as a member of this Turkic minority.” So she went with her child, and eventually gave birth to a second child, and has not seen her husband now in years because he was deported back to China.

What might we do, Dr. Richardson, let us focus on this issue. You know, talking tough with our allies, and telling them not to do this. We have a lot of relations with Egypt, the UAE, and Saudi Arabia, and it strikes me that we should be having very candid discussions with them to get them to not be complicit in these forced deportation campaigns that are part of this long, global reach to persecute Uyghurs. Share your thoughts on this issue.

Dr. RICHARDSON. Sure, Senator Kaine. The first case that we actually wrote about was in Cambodia, Christmas 2009, when a group of Uyghurs who actually had already received a U.N. High Commissioner for refugees, persons of concern letters, were put on a plane and sent back to China. These were people who had already been designated as having legitimate cases.

It has been a real struggle across different parts of Asia, Central Asia, and increasingly the Middle East. I think one of the most important things that the U.S. could easily do with allies, would be not just have those candid conversations, but to offer, in a coordinated fashion, to step in and take those people, shelter them, offer to give them some kind of a safe haven. At least until they are able to do what international law requires, which is to contest their removal before a competent court. Even better would be to give them asylum right away, to give them some protected status.

The more that that could be coordinated across allies so that no one country has to step in, I think would be extremely important. Not a week goes by when we are not dealing with a case, some place, of somebody who is stuck, in jeopardy, and at risk of being sent back. Many governments also, literally, just do not understand who Uyghurs are.

They do not understand that people, simply by virtue of their ethnicity, are at disproportionate risk if they are returned. To many immigration officials, they are all just people with Chinese passports. So I think there is a lot that actually could be done that would also send a very powerful message that people will be given refuge.

Senator KAINE. So just to follow up, I want to make sure I understand what you are suggesting. You would say that if somebody was going to be detained in another country, and clearly it looked

like that detention was just oriented toward pulling them back to China because they are Uyghurs, the U.S. or other nations could allow them to apply for asylum, demonstrating under U.S. law the well justified fear of persecution. If they would do that, we might be able to work, especially if this happens in a nation that is an ally of the United States, we might be able to work to have folks brought here under the traditional asylum rules. Other nations would participate in that as well. That is a good thought to put on the table for us to contemplate. I appreciate that.

Let me see if Senator Markey has additional questions.

Senator MARKEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chinese Government's genocide is enabled by its massive and invasive surveillance system deployed throughout Xinjiang. We also know that a number of United States companies, technology companies, have been involved and profited from the Chinese Government's authoritarian surveillance industry, and that many of their products are being used in Xinjiang right now, today, as we are sitting here.

Dr. Zenz, in your opinion, how critical has technology been to the Chinese Government's campaign against the Uyghurs? Has it helped to enable them to commit their genocide? If you would, name the United States companies and what you think their actions should be in the future in terms of their aiding and abetting the genocide.

Dr. ZENZ. Yes. So this is a somewhat complicated question. A lot of the technology transfer from [inaudible]. I am personally aware of the use of Nvidia graphics chips in technologies because of the high processing capacity. The Chinese are very actively trying to reduce their dependence on U.S. technology. I do not believe that the dependence on U.S. technology has been as direct as we would like it to be in order to establish sort of problematic plays. So I think this is very much an issue for further research. I also have to say that this is not a topic that I have done a lot of direct research on, myself.

Senator MARKEY. That is great.

How about you, Dr. Richardson, have you had a chance to look at it?

Dr. RICHARDSON. We have looked mostly at what Thermo Fisher's engagement was but—and I would endorse what Professor Zenz just said, it is a—I am trying to think of a succinct way to explain this. It is very hard to know exactly what U.S. or any other countries' businesses are actually doing in Xinjiang. One of the best things that can come out of this hearing would be to task CRS with doing research on that, so that we could all have the same information.

The surveillance networks there are incredibly complex. We have primarily looked at the Chinese firms that are engaged in it, but you could easily take the list that ChinaFile published of Forbes 500 companies a few years ago, pick the American ones and write them and ask them what their human rights due diligence strategies are, and how deeply enmeshed in the surveillance operations in the region they are.

Senator MARKEY. Okay. Thank you.

Dr. Abbas, what would you like to see done in order to ensure that Uyghur families here in the United States are not intimidated, not harassed by Chinese officials, or subnational groups that use communications technologies to torment those families that are here in the United States?

Ms. ABBAS. We need to pass some legislation to deal with the threats against the Uyghur-Americans. Because as you mentioned, the Uyghurs are getting threatened by the Chinese regime, plus they are taking their family members and they are threatening them. So we should investigate the interference by the regime against the Uyghur-Americans. This includes the threats against the health and the wellbeing of their Uyghurs, as well as their families back home.

There are many, of course, the videos of the Uyghur families are denouncing or disowning the Uyghurs in America, and that should be condemned and be countered with the truth. That Senator Kaine represents the largest Uyghur-American community in the U.S., and we really appreciate him highlighting the Uyghurs' case.

That, actually, we believe keep the family members alive, just the highlighting, speaking. We need to investigate the presence of the CCP officials spreading propaganda on American campuses, or our free social media platforms, they are doing everything they can to dehumanizing the activists, and also spreading disinformation. So that should stop.

Senator MARKEY. I agree with you. I think it should be high on the American policy agenda to put a plan in place in order to give protections to Uyghur-Americans, in their ability inside of our own country, to speak freely and without fear. We know how good the Chinese are at using modern telecommunications technologies in order to put fear in the hearts of Uyghurs-Americans, and we have to do everything we can as a government, to protect those people.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Kaine. Senator, Romney, you have other questions?

Senator ROMNEY. Yes. Thank you.

Dr. Richardson, I was not familiar with the deportations of Uyghurs to China. What is the purpose of that from the Chinese standpoint? Is it to silence outspoken individuals? Or is it to try and bring all Uyghurs back to China? What is the intent, do you believe, of this effort?

Dr. RICHARDSON. Senator, it is a peculiar pathology. Most governments, when people flee, are fine for them to go. They do not want them back.

Senator ROMNEY. Yes.

Dr. RICHARDSON. It is also peculiar because the people who have been forced to return are not necessarily political activists or known government critics. Many of the cases that we know about are simply ordinary people, they are business people, they are scholars, and they are not sensitive in any particular way. So we can only conclude that the Chinese Government's goal is to try to forcibly return all Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims to the country, so that they are unable to share their stories with people outside.

I think that is a very frightening impulse and the fact that so many governments have complied with it and assisted it, is very worrying.

Senator ROMNEY. Yes. I have no sense of the extent of the Uyghur Diaspora, and where individuals have gone to, where they live. Do you have any sense of, sort of, what the population of the Diaspora is, and where it might be concentrated, if it is concentrated?

Dr. RICHARDSON. Well, the largest communities are here, and Germany and Turkey, and in Australia, but the places where we are seeing problems are—or I have to say, I am sure there are people being sent back we will never know about, particularly from Central Asia, for example. Shanghai Cooperation Organization states that are not exactly devoted adherence of human rights or refugee policy.

Some of the cases that we have seen recently, people in Pakistan, people in West Africa, in various Gulf States. We will never know how many people got sent back. It is only in, I would say, the last 7 or 8 years, and partly due to the rise of social media, that people in distress are able to telegraph what is happening to them, which allows the other people in the Diaspora and organizations like ours to get on the phone and start making noise so that people do not get sent back. We do not always succeed.

Senator ROMNEY. Dr. Zenz made a comment a moment ago that struck me very powerfully. That is that what we are seeing is mass atrocity without mass slaughter. It is the atrocity of genocide without the attendant slaughter of genocide. This deportation effort from nations around the world is one in the sense that there really is an effort to not only eliminate the Uyghurs in China itself, but to eliminate them throughout the world. It reminds us of a period in the history of the world which is abhorrent, and it is going on. Most of the nations of the world have normal relations with the country that is doing this. It is extraordinary.

The Senate just passed legislation mandating a diplomatic boycott of the Olympic Games in Beijing and which I believe is very appropriate. I know there is concern about sponsorships, and trying to encourage companies not to sponsor the Olympics. The challenge, by the way, given the way the Olympics works, is that the companies buy sponsorships for multiple games. So they can not pick and choose a particular country. That is to prevent them from doing what we would like them to do here, which is boycotting China's games.

Are there things we need to do or be aware of to prevent China from being able to hide from the atrocity of the Uyghur circumstances as the Olympics arrive? Are there efforts that come to your mind that we should have in mind to try and draw attention to, as opposed to prevent the hiding of what is happening to the Uyghurs? Please. Yes. Dr. Richardson.

Dr. RICHARDSON. Thank you. We talked about the Olympics a little bit, I think, Senator, while you were voting. I think there are a lot of things that the U.S. can and should do. I think these Olympics are going to be a consular challenge of enormous proportions.

Let us imagine, for example, U.S. athletes who go and want to post on social media, that they expect to be private, concerns about

Uyghurs, or they are asking questions, or they are simply having conversations with their family members, that authorities decide are problematic, and—

Senator ROMNEY. —and they could be arrested for doing so under Chinese law.

Dr. RICHARDSON. They should expect to be surveilled, without question.

Senator ROMNEY. Yes.

Dr. RICHARDSON. It is worth pointing out that we did write to all of the top sponsors, and to NBC, asking what their human rights due diligence strategies were around these games, and none of them has replied.

Senator ROMNEY. Yes. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman.

Senator KAINE. Well, what an important hearing, and that last answer suggests that we might want to write them and they better reply. I think you have all, each of the three witnesses have given us some very concrete steps we can take, whether it is with respect of Forced Labor Bill, legislation to protect Uyghurs in the United States, activities with respect to our allies who are participating in deportation. So we have come with a lot of to-dos out of this meeting. I think it is very, very important.

I want to thank all of our witnesses. I also want to introduce into the record, if there is no objection, two documents. One is the recent article in foreign policy that Dr. Zenz has offered, “Beijing Plans a Slow Genocide in Xinjiang,” Adrian Zenz and Erin Rosenberg, June 8, 2021. With no objection, we will put that into the record.

[EDITOR’S NOTE.—The information referred to above can be found in the “Additional Material Submitted for the Record” section at the end of this hearing.]

Senator KAINE. Second, today, Amnesty International has issued a new report, “China’s Mass Interment, Torture and Persecution of Muslims in Xinjiang.”

I would like to ask that that report be entered into the record as well. There being no objection that will happen.

[EDITOR’S NOTE.—The report submitted by Senator Kaine for the record was too voluminous to include in the printed hearing. It will be retained in the permanent record of the committee.]

Senator KAINE. The record will remain open in case other committee members have questions for our witnesses. I would ask that those questions be submitted by close of business tomorrow. I would encourage the witnesses if there are additional questions that you be prompt and comprehensive in responses.

I really want to thank these witnesses. All three of you have helped us just shine a spotlight on something that we need to know more about, and so does the world, and you have given us concrete steps we can take to improve the lives of this really important group of people. We will do so.

With that, the committee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:28 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD
 FOREIGN POLICY ARTICLE, “BEIJING PLANS A SLOW GENOCIDE IN XINJIANG,” BY
 ADRIAN ZENZ AND ERIN ROSENBERG, JUNE 8, 2021

6/10/2021

Beijing's Population Control Plans for Uyghurs Are Genocidal

ARGUMENT

An expert's point of view on a current event.

Beijing Plans a Slow Genocide in Xinjiang

Chinese officials' own words speak to plans to reduce Uyghur births.

By [Adrian Zenz](#), a senior fellow in China studies at the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation in Washington, and [Erin Rosenberg](#), an attorney specializing in international criminal law and reparations.

JUNE 8, 2021, 2:39 PM

In January, the U.S. government determined China's actions in its northwestern Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region constituted genocide against its Uyghur ethnic minority population. Four other national parliaments have since followed suit. These determinations were mainly based on evidence of systematic suppression of births, since the United Nations' 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide stipulates the act of “imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group” constitutes an act of genocide if it is “committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group.”

Some legal experts have questioned whether Beijing's atrocities against the Uyghurs meet the high threshold for a genocide determination. To date, evidence that Beijing's campaign of preventing births is intended to destroy the Uyghur people at least substantially “in part” has remained somewhat inconclusive. Even though an intent to commit genocide can be inferred from a pattern of conduct, this is more complicated in the absence of mass murder. What is the Chinese government's long-term intent behind sterilizing large numbers of Uyghur women?

The answers to these important questions can be found in the words of Chinese officials themselves. In an upcoming peer-reviewed publication in *Central Asian Survey* (available in preprint here), Adrian Zenz, a co-author of this piece, presents comprehensive and compelling new evidence based on published statements and reports from Chinese academics and officials. Their core message is straightforward: The Uyghur population as such is a threat that endangers China's national security. Its size, concentration, and rapid growth constitute national security risks that must be

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Beijing has begun suppressing Uyghur birth rates to “optimize” ethnic population ratios for counterterrorism purposes. In southern Xinjiang alone, where Uyghurs are concentrated, this would reduce population growth by preventing between 2.6 and 4.5 million births by 2040, likely shrinking the number of Uyghurs as a whole.

Liao Zhaoyu, dean of the Institute of Frontier History and Geography at Xinjiang's Tarim University, has argued the region's terrorism problem is a direct result of high Uyghur population concentrations in southern Xinjiang. Due to a recent exodus of Han, “the imbalance of the ethnic minority and Han population composition in southern Xinjiang has reached an unbelievably serious degree.” Liao argues southern Xinjiang must “change the population structure and layout [to] end the dominance of the Uyghur ethnic group.”

Xinjiang's most high-profile voice on this highly sensitive subject is Liu Yilei, deputy secretary-general of the party committee of Xinjiang's Production and Construction Corps and a Xinjiang University dean. In 2020, Liu argued “the root of Xinjiang's social stability problems has not been resolved.”

“The problem in southern Xinjiang is mainly the unbalanced population structure,” Liu added. “Population proportion and population security are important foundations for long-term peace and stability. The proportion of the Han population in southern Xinjiang is too low, less than 15 percent. The problem of demographic imbalance is southern Xinjiang's core issue.”

In 2017, the year when the mass internment campaign began, Chinese President Xi Jinping himself issued instructions related to “Researching and Advancing the Optimization Work of the Ethnic Population Structure in Southern Xinjiang.” The related document has not been made public.

Other Chinese researchers have argued the “foundation for solving Xinjiang's counterterrorism” is “to solve the human problem.” Specifically, this requires “diluting ... the proportion of ethnic populations” by increasing the Han population share and reducing the shares of populations with “negative energy,” such as religious and traditionally minded Uyghurs. This process of targeted ethnic dilution, first proposed by Xi during his visit to Xinjiang in 2014, is referred to as “population embedding.” A consistent theme in the discourse around this “human problem” is the eugenics-based concept of “population quality” (or “*renkou suzhi*”), a long-standing concept in Chinese Communist Party thought where Uyghurs are considered to be inherently “low quality” as a minority ethnic group.

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To boost Han population shares, Beijing has to induce millions of Han to move to southern Xinjiang. By 2022, it plans to settle 300,000 Han people there. However, the south is also Xinjiang's most ecologically fragile region. Arable land and water are scarce. Urbanization and industrial development vastly increased per capita resource utilization. Chinese studies estimate Xinjiang as a whole was already overpopulated by 2.3 million persons in 2015, significantly exceeding its ecological population carrying capacity.

Boosting Han population shares without significantly exceeding carrying capacities requires drastic reductions in ethnic minority population growth. Calculations show the most ideal range for this growth is in fact negative: around negative 2.5 per mile. By 2040, the state could boost Han population shares in southern Xinjiang to nearly 25 percent by settling 1.9 million Han. This would dilute Uyghur population concentrations in line with counterterrorism targets. The ethnic minority population there would shrink from currently 9.5 million to 9 million by 2040, a decline that could pass unnoticed by outside observers. A smaller population is also easier to control and assimilate.

Based on adapted projections that were recently published by Chinese researchers in *Sustainability*, a peer-reviewed international journal, southern Xinjiang's ethnic minority population could increase to an estimated 13.1 million people by 2040 without severe measures to prevent births.

The 4.1 million person discrepancy between 9 million and 13.1 million people can be understood to constitute the "destruction in part" caused by the state's "optimization" of ethnic population ratios. This would reduce the projected ethnic minority population during the coming 20 years by nearly one third (31 percent).

How realistic is this plan? After a draconian campaign of suppressing births, natural population growth in southern Xinjiang is already trending toward zero. Some regions planned to push it below zero for 2020 and 2021. Recently, Xinjiang has told family planning offices to "optimize the population structure" and carry out "population monitoring and early warning." The region has created all the necessary preconditions for "optimizing" its ethnic population structure. It also no longer reports birth rates or population counts by region or ethnic group.

These findings shed important new light on Beijing's intent to physically destroy in part the Uyghur ethnic group by preventing births within the group. The new publication convincingly argues other measures aimed at reducing ethnic population changes

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other practical constraints. As such, the prevention of Uyghur births is a critical and necessary part of China's overall "optimization" policy in Xinjiang—a policy considered to be a matter of national security. Importantly, understanding the role that birth prevention and long-term population reduction plays in this overall policy distinguishes China's actions against the Uyghurs from its general national population control measures and from its treatment of other ethnic and religious minorities, such as Tibetans.

In its 2007 judgment in the *Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro* case, the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the judicial body that has jurisdiction over disputes between states in relation to the Genocide Convention, held that "the intent must be to destroy at least a substantial part of the particular group." The ICJ expanded on the criteria for assessing the "substantial part" threshold in its 2015 *Croatia v. Serbia* judgment, holding it is not merely a numerical assessment but also takes into account the intent to destroy "within a geographically limited area" and the "prominence of the allegedly targeted part within the group as a whole." We argue that a long-term policy of preventing millions of Uyghur births meets this threshold.

Two additional factors are important to understanding the gravity of the current situation facing the Uyghurs. First is China's systematic imprisonment of Uyghur religious, intellectual, and cultural elites, with the increased imposition of lengthy sentences as opposed to arbitrary detention. The systematic removal of persons central to maintaining and transmitting Uyghur culture and identity is accompanied by a policy of family separations, where Uyghur children are taught to adopt the majority Han culture. Second is the concern that China's assumption of the needed "optimization" levels may change over time if the Uyghur population, even when reduced in number, does not assimilate as envisioned. Genocidal intent can develop and strengthen over time as it has done in past genocides. The perception of Uyghurs as a human threat to China's national security suggests birth prevention targets could increase over time, increasing the threat to the continued existence of the group as a whole.

Much of the debate surrounding the classification of China's actions against the Uyghurs in terms of states making a genocide "determination" focuses on the legal question of establishing "genocidal intent." Specifically, debates have arisen regarding the burden of proof applicable to findings based on circumstantial evidence and inferences, based primarily on the legal framework of international criminal law. We question whether this framework and evidentiary inquiry is necessary for purposes of a

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determination that implicates the fundamental human rights of an individual (such as fair trial rights or the right to liberty). Most importantly, state genocide determinations are intended to inform policy responses, which are fundamentally different from the purpose of international criminal law or judicial proceedings generally. This point could not be more clearly made than by the fact that it is only this week that the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia has finally confirmed the conviction of Ratko Mladic for the Srebrenica genocide, a genocide that took place 26 years ago.

International criminal law is an important accountability tool, such as after a crime has been committed, but is not an appropriate tool for purposes of preventing or responding to an unfolding genocide. The new findings present compelling evidence of a genocidal policy that is only now beginning to unfold and which will take place over decades.

In our view, when states attempt to mimic international judicial proceedings and apply evidentiary standards that relate to individual criminal liability, this creates significant risks that they will not meet their obligations under international law as a state. The Genocide Convention obligates all state parties to the convention to prevent genocide. In its 2007 *Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro* judgment, the ICJ held that this “obligation to prevent, and the corresponding duty to act, arise at the instant that the State learns of, or should normally have learned of, the existence of a serious risk that genocide will be committed.”

The U.N. Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect has identified risk factors for “atrocities crimes” (meaning genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity) in its Framework of Analysis for Atrocity Crimes. Risk factor 10, which is specific to genocide, provides indicators for “signs of an intent to destroy in whole or in part a protected group.” Notably, this framework was used by the U.N. Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar in its 2019 findings on the situation facing the Rohingya. We suggest this is the more appropriate framework that should guide state genocide determinations, bearing in mind their distinct policy response purpose. Applying this framework, many of the signs of genocidal intent outlined under risk factor 10 are present with respect to China’s actions against the Uyghurs.

In sum, the newly published research provides states and the international community with compelling evidence that a genocide is slowly being carried out. Of particular concern is China’s perception of concentrated Uyghur populations as a national

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clearly present. However, even those states that may not share this conclusion cannot deny that, at a minimum, there is a serious risk of genocide occurring. We argue states are therefore obligated to act urgently on that knowledge.

Adrian Zenz is a senior fellow in China studies at the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation in Washington and supervises doctoral students at the European School of Culture and Theology in Korntal, Germany. His research focus is on China's ethnic policy, public recruitment in Tibet and Xinjiang, Beijing's internment campaign in Xinjiang, and China's domestic security budgets. Zenz is the author of *"Tibetaness" Under Threat: Neo-Integrationism, Minority Education, and Career Strategies in Qinghai, P.R. China* and co-editor of *Mapping Amdo: Dynamics of Change*. He has played a leading role in the analysis of leaked Chinese government documents, including the "China Cables" and the "Karakax list." Zenz is an advisor to the Inter-Parliamentary Alliance on China and a frequent contributor to international media.

Erin Rosenberg is an adjunct professor at the University of Cincinnati College of Law and an attorney specializing in international criminal law (ICL) and reparations. She worked for a decade in ICL, beginning at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia on the Ratko Mladic case, before moving to the International Criminal Court, where she worked in the Appeals Chamber and at the Trust Fund for Victims. She is the former senior advisor for the Center for the Prevention of Genocide at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, where she was the lead author for the report series, *Practical Prevention: How the Genocide Convention's Obligation to Prevent Applies to Burma*. She is a member of the editorial committee of the *Journal of International Criminal Justice* and the American Bar Association's working group on crimes against humanity.

TAGS: CHINA, GENOCIDE & CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

