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THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY'S UYGHUR GENOCIDE

Thursday, March 23, 2023

House of Representatives,

Select Committee on the Strategic Competition Between

the United States and the Chinese Communist Party,

Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 7:02 p.m., in Room 390, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. Mike Gallagher [chairman of the committee] presiding.

Chairman Gallagher. The select committee will come to order.

At this, the beginning of Ramadan, as Muslims around the world commemorate prophet Muhammad receiving the first revelations of the Koran, we are here to face a horrifying truth. The Uyghurs, many of whom practice the Muslim faith, are being erased. Genocide is occurring, this time at the hands of the Chinese Communist Party.

We are privileged to have with us many members of the Uyghur community. We are deeply grateful for your bravery, and we know that it has come at a great cost.

As we prepare to hear firsthand testimony from the CCP's concentration camps, I would like to turn to Elisha Wiesel, whose father, Auschwitz survivor and Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel, singularly captured the horrors of the Holocaust in his book "Night."

Without objection, the video will be added to the record, and the clerk will play the video.

[Video shown.]

Chairman Gallagher. Tonight we have two guests whose stories will take us to the center of the universe, to the place where the world's moral attention should be focused, to Xinjiang.

These two women were both inside the concentration camps. They are firsthand witnesses to the systemic, unimaginable brutality, witnesses to the attempted elimination of a people, a culture, a civilization, witnesses to the largest extrajudicial mass internment of religious minorities since the Holocaust, witnesses to erasure.

That's why Elie Wiesel, who swore to fight those who would forget, he swore to fight those who would avert their gaze.

Today, in fact, we had a high-profile hearing on the Hill where the CEO of a major company called TikTok was asked no less than four times whether what's happening in

Xinjiang is a genocide, and he refused to answer.

The least we can do on this committee is to make sure that in 50 years, when the Xinjiang genocide is remembered as one of the abominations of the 21st century, no corporate executive, no policymaker, no investor, no university president can look their grandchildren in the eye and claim they didn't know.

I now recognize the ranking member, Raja Krishnamoorthi, for his opening statement.

[The statement of Chairman Gallagher follows:]

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Mr. Krishnamoorthi. Good evening. And thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Tonight we will hear the harrowing testimony of Uyghur and Muslim women who were jailed in mass internment camps by the Chinese Communist Party, the CCP. The pain and suffering these women endured is horrifying. The evidence presented here has not only been corroborated by the testimony of other survivors, but also by thousands of pages of leaked internal CCP documents, photographs, and even satellite imagery.

The CCP's genocide against Uyghurs and other Muslim groups is real. Not only is it going on to this day, it is expanding. It is not too late to confront these atrocities so that the famous saying "never again" can actually become a reality.

The CCP's genocide did not happen overnight. It was the result of decades of planning. This crackdown has been both methodical and monstrous.

A CCP religious affairs official described what they are doing to the Uyghurs in this way, quote: "Break their lineage, break their roots, break their connections, and break their origins. Completely shovel up the roots of, 'two-faced people,' dig them out, and vow to fight these two-faced people until the end."

Today we know that as many as 2 million Uyghurs and other Muslims have been jailed in mass concentration camps. They are subjected to political indoctrination, torture, forced labor, and other human rights abuses.

Countless people have been disappeared. Nearly half a million Uyghur children have been taken from their families. And tens of thousands of women have been forcibly sterilized.

Even outside the camps, Chinese high-tech companies work closely with government officials to impose a pervasive and high-tech surveillance system that has been called an open air prison.

The tech ecosystem used to repress Uyghurs has global implications. The PRC's largest high-tech companies are exporting surveillance, facial recognition, and social tracking technologies to other countries, from Iran, to Syria, to Burma, and, thereby, undermining democratic movements worldwide.

In addition, the CCP has long viewed Xinjiang as a strategic gateway critical to the expansion of the Belt and Road Initiative. International companies were invited into Xinjiang and have based their supply chains on cheap sources of labor, which have turned out to be forced labor.

As a result, the global economy has been contaminated by products made by forced labor, including about 20 percent of the world's cotton and half of the world's polysilicon used in solar panels.

In 2021, Congress passed the bipartisan Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act that forces companies to move their supply chains to ensure they are not profiting from forced labor and genocide. More needs to be done, and this committee can help lead the way.

Make no mistake, CCP leaders are absolutely listening to us closely this evening. They are intensely focused on world opinion, and they fear being held accountable by the international community for their actions.

This evening let's make sure the CCP hears us loud and clear: Their genocide must end.

Tonight is the second night of Ramadan. Thousands of my constituents, millions of our fellow Americans, and countless others are celebrating the holiday with families. In our country they are free to practice their religion. And although I am not Muslim, I wish them Ramadan Mubarak.

In the PRC, however, Xi Jinping has decided to continue the Sinicization of Islam.

Sinicization of Islam means that men are not allowed to wear beards and women cannot wear hijabs.

In short, unlike here, freedom of religion in China means the freedom to practice religion as Chairman Xi sees fits. That is not freedom. That is tyranny.

I close with the case of Dr. Gulshan Abbas, a Uyghur medical doctor who was forcibly disappeared in 2018. Gulshan was sentenced in 2020 to a 20-year prison term because her American sister, Rushan Abbas, criticized the CCP from here within America. I know the situation well because Rushan was my State of the Union guest. Gulshan has serious health conditions and has never been involved in political activism whatsoever.

As with others, I say to the CCP: Release Gulshan and the others now.

I yield back.

[The statement of Mr. Krishnamoorthi follows:]

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Chairman Gallagher. Thank you, Ranking Member.

If any other member wishes to submit a statement for the record, without objection, those statements will be added to the record.

We are deeply privileged this evening to hear from two firsthand witnesses to the Uyghur genocide.

We are honored to have with us Ms. Gulbahar Haitiwaji, an incredibly brave woman who spent 2 years in a Xinjiang camp. She is the author of "How I Survived a Chinese 'Reeducation' Camp: A Uyghur Woman's Story," the first published account describing life inside the camps.

Ms. Haitiwaji lives in France with her family, and we are incredibly grateful that she traveled here to share her story with us.

We are also privileged to be joined by Ms. Qelbinur Sidik, a human rights activist and witness to the genocide in Xinjiang. Ms. Sidik worked as a Chinese-language teacher for primary school students before she was assigned to work as a teacher in a reeducation camp.

After seeing and experiencing atrocities firsthand, Ms. Sidik has become an extraordinary advocate for all those languishing under the thumb of the CCP. She resides in the Netherlands, and we are grateful that she traveled to be with us here tonight.

Welcome, and thank you for being with us here this evening. If you could please stand and raise your right hand, I will now swear you in.

[Witnesses sworn.]

Chairman Gallagher. Ms. Haitiwaji, you may begin.

TESTIMONY OF MS. GULBAHAR HAITIWAJI, CONCENTRATION CAMP SURVIVOR AND AUTHOR, "HOW I SURVIVED A CHINESE 'REEDUCATION' CAMP: A UYGHUR WOMAN'S STORY"; AND QELBINUR SIDIK, HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATE AND CONCENTRATION CAMP WITNESS

TESTIMONY OF GULBAHAR HAITIWAJI

Ms. Haitiwaji. [The following testimony and answers were delivered through an interpreter.]

My name is Gulbahar Haitiwaji. Since 2006, I have lived in France. At the end of 2016, I was lured back to China to do my pension retirement process. But after I went back to China, at first my passport was taken, and then they sent me to both detention camps as well as concentration camps for 3 years.

At first they shackled my feet, and then they detained. The women's conditions in the detention centers are horrible. All women were shackled and our language we were prohibited to speak.

With the name of taking us out from the cell and to see the fresh air, but in reality they tortured us on the 20 Celsius degrees cold weather. And also they interrogate us from time to time. Each time they interrogate us, they put black hoods to our head, and they shackled our feet, and they handcuffed us. Then they took us to interrogation room, then let us sit in a tiger chair without moving position, and then they start to interrogate.

On First of April 2017, all women detainees were chained onto the bed. I was chained to the bed for 20 days.

There are cameras all over the camp everywhere. Every move was monitored. And twice a year they said they would administer a vaccination, but in reality, after this vaccination, all women's periods has stopped.

I spent two different types of concentration camps. There were detained from 17-years-old to 70-years-old people, and there were 250 persons. But later they have moved me to different camp, which it happened on October 18, 2018. They took us to a new camp, but the building at the new camp to me it cost huge. They invested a lot. From that new camp, I can imagine that the Chinese Government's systematic abuse against the Uyghurs is not something that's a short-term plan. It is for long-term plan.

We spent 11 hours in that camp to learn brainwashing education. It includes history, law, and also we have to sing Red songs. And at the end of each weekend, we have to test about what we have learned.

In that new camp, on November 5, 2018, they organized a group of four people together, and then they start to bring us to trial. In that trial they have sentenced me for 7 years jail.

If they find out that we spoke in Uyghur language, they would lock us in a separate room. They would leave us for 24 hours until 72 hours and lock us into a tiger chair. And they keep us until we say that we never going to speak in Uyghur language.

With the excuse of so-called reeducation, the Chinese Government actually detained most of the innocent people. The reason for detention was simply some people just wore a headscarf or kept a Koran in the house or they had traveled to foreign countries or they have connection with foreign countries. And the detained people include just retired professionals and intellectuals.

March 13, 2019, they had moved me to a little bit better conditions detention facility, but at that facility all I have to do was eat and rest. But that detention I stayed

under supervision or monitoring of three male guards and eight female policemen. And they had to feed me well because I was lost so much weight that my weight was less than 50 kilograms.

That purpose was because after I go back to France and they have to make sure that they want to prove that the denial of that I was detained in concentration camps and there is genocide happening in East Turkistan. For that purpose, they feed me before they send me to France.

August 21, 2019, I came to France with the help of my daughter's campaign and the French Government's diplomatic involvement with the Chinese Government.

Before I came to France, the police had -- the police boss told me that whatever I have witnessed in the concentration camp, I should not talk about it. If I do, they said they would retaliate against my family members back home and they will -- the consequence will be my brothers will pay for the consequence.

After I came to France, later I wrote my experience, and my book was published January 13, 2021. After my book published, Chinese Government accused me, said that I am a terrorist. Since then I lost contact with my family.

Thank you.

[The testimony of Ms. Haitiwaji follows:]

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Chairman Gallagher. Thank you for sharing your story.

Ms. Sidik, you're now recognized for your opening statement.

TESTIMONY OF QELBINUR SIDIK

Ms. Sidik. [The following testimony and answers were delivered through an interpreter.]

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, my name is Qelbinur Sidik. I am a concentration camp witness.

On March 9, 2017, I was sent to the concentration camp, which is the picture shown in the Xinshi District, Urumqi, for 6 months.

This is a four-floor building. The walls are covered with razor wire, and around the building and inside the building, there are military policemen with rifles. It looks like kind of war zone.

The detained male prisoners, 90 percent of them were 17-years-old to 40-years-old male, but 10 percent is from 40 years old until 70 years old.

In one cell there are 30 to 40 prisoners detained, and also those detained sleeps on the cement floor.

For each meal they eat one Chinese bun and water. And even going for toilet, it is monitored, and they had to spend designated time. And also, within 6 months, none of them had any shower.

Like this the detainees were chained and also shackled. The cell doors is 30 percent, 30 degrees kind of open, so they are unable to stand and walk out and into the cell. So they have to crawl out from the cell, and then they go to classrooms for

reeducation.

Whether the detainees are in the classroom or outside, they were called by the number and then taken for interrogations. The interrogation room is located just next to the classes, not too far. So after 30 minutes that the prisoners were taken and then you will hear horrible screaming sound from torture because they are tortured while interrogating.

There are four types of torturing methods. One is electric button, electric helmet, electric glove, and a tiger chair.

After the interrogation, after the torture, those prisoners are unable to come to class for weeks or months.

From September till November 2017, I was moved to the six-floor building which kept female prisoners. It's located in [inaudible] Urumqi.

There is no balcony off these buildings. There are over 10,000 female prisoners were detained.

The old female prisoners, their hair was shaved, and they were wearing gray uniform, and on top of them there is yellow vest, and on the vest there's numbers. The prisoners were only called by numbers.

Each Monday the prisoners -- the female prisoners were administered an unknown medicine and taking blood from them.

Ninety percent of the female prisoners are from 18 years old to 40 years old. After they take those medicines, the period will stop. Even some women who were breastfeeding the babies, the breast milk will stop after taking that medicine.

The horrible thing is when those female prisoners were taken for interrogation, they face gang rape by the guards. And worse thing is the guards or police use electric button to insert their private parts to rape and torture them.

And I have witnessed a 18- to 20-year old girl's death. That girl's period didn't stop for 2 months. Because of bleeding, she passed away. I have witnessed that death of the girl.

The outside camp is no different as well. It is like just an open prison. The outside camp, the people would face exactly the same monitoring and sterilization. Like, for example, this is the policies that issued by the government. By these policies, many women need to forcibly insert IUDs and sterilized.

Just like many other women in my homeland, at the end of May 2019, I was sterilized in Tongloyan (ph) Hospital in Tianshan District in Urumqi.

And also China initiated another policy of becoming relatives with Chinese officials, and through that policy the many Uyghur women faced abuse, rape, and humiliation of the Chinese officials at their old houses.

Even one of the Chinese official was allocated to stay at my house, and there are five policies -- saying that the five together policy.

That five together is eat together, cook together, learn together, sleep together, and sightseeing together.

That male, the Chinese official, come in -- official while staying in the house, for example, at my house. They were supposed to stay 1 week initially. And while staying, when I am cooking in the kitchen or doing something, that Chinese official would come just to relentlessly touch me all over the body and would say -- and by showing the paper, saying that, look, in that policy saying that we can cook together, do things together, and then with the excuse of praising me, how am I cooking and everything, and then try and touch me and abuse me, kind of humiliate me.

From 2018, there appeared many slave factories. There are many detainees, the people who are detained in the concentration camps, forced to work in those slave

factories.

On October 2019, with the help of my Netherlands citizen daughter, I was able to escape to Netherlands because I am Uzbek and I was able. However, because my husband -- he is a Uyghur, because of simply he is a Uyghur, he is unable to come to Netherlands with me.

From January 2020, I start to speak out about the genocide that happened in my homeland, and my witness testimony is published in Guardian, BBC, and CNN. After these publications, Chinese Government used my husband and wrote his Vchat, and they contacted me.

This is a policeman from Byhalia in Urumqi. He used my husband and my sister's video chat, Vchat video, and rang me on February 18, 2021, and he forced me to work for Chinese Government, and I refused.

Just one day before that the London Uyghur Tribunal happened, which is June 4, 2021, again, the Chinese police used my husband's Vchat and they reached out to me. And they used very abusive languages against me. And also at the end they forced me to divorce from my husband. And they tried to tell that whatever I say and all my testimonies are false, and with that they destroyed my family.

Since then I lost contact with my family members, including my husband. I am not sure whether my husband is still alive or not.

Thank you.

[The testimony of Ms. Sidik follows:]

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Chairman Gallagher. I have been here over 6 years now, not as long as some, but I have never heard such powerful personal testimony.

So thank you for your bravery in speaking and standing up to the Chinese Communist Party, and thank you for entrusting us with your stories. It's an honor.

Without objection, I would like to now invite Representative Steel to engage in a colloquy with one of our witnesses to further discuss their firsthand experiences of the CCP genocide, to be followed by a colloquy with Representative Carson.

Representative Steel, you're now recognized for a 5-minute colloquy.

Mrs. Steel. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And thank you very much, witnesses. You guys are very much courageous coming out and you are just not let us know, but you are letting the American people know what the CCP does. So I am just so grateful.

Human rights abuses happening at the hands of CCP should horrify every one of us. We cannot allow what they are doing to fly under the radar. The CCP is committing genocide against Uyghurs and other ethnic and religious minorities, like Muslims and Christians. We cannot be silent.

The CCP is the greatest threat to democracy. Today that means exposing the CCP for who they are and ensuring the world hears your stories.

Thank you for coming out. And my own family fled from North Korea, from communism. I heard about it, and I had two ladies actually came from Uyghur that had the labor camp experiences, and they talked about it.

Before they go in, before they go to the prison, they actually scan your organs. So when you have healthy organs, the CCP is harvesting those organs and they are selling them. So they are doing organ harvesting.

But you know what? When I read your stories, it's just horrifying. It's much worse than what I heard.

So I just want to ask you, Ms. Sidik, that you had experiences in those labor camps. Could you tell us a little more about how the CCP has been treating Uyghur children in the camp? And I think you saw those people there.

Ms. Sidik. Personally, myself, I have been to two slave factories. Those factories were located in Tianshan [inaudible] Urumqi, and it's called Big Company, and in 2018 this company, this factory, brought many young Uyghurs from Qocho, Kashgar.

I remember that incident very clearly because since my husband's Chinese is not good, he doesn't have good Chinese skills, so he needed to talk to the workers, and they had to make contract between the factory and the workers. So I personally was involved in making that contract. That contract was both in Chinese and Uyghur, so that's why I know.

Another slave factory was located in Badavin. There are from 300 to 500 young girls and boys work there.

I worked as a teacher for an elementary school in Urumqi for 28 years. Until today I am unable to forget the young, innocent students that I have.

From the end of 2016, the children, the students in my classroom, they still ask, "Teacher, why are my parents taken? Why my uncle are taken?" Because there are many parents who were taken, separated from the children. And I was unable to answer their questions because it's very painful.

But I had to explain them differently. I would tell them that, "You know what? Your parents had to learn national language. That's why they were taken."

But the kids were unable -- they didn't satisfy with that. They said, "If they had to learn the language, why would they not learn the language at the school that we are in

right now?"

Until today I feel extreme pain that I wasn't able to give them the satisfactory answer.

Since then, there's children's camps start to appear. Like it's so-called -- the name called it's kindergarten or boarding school, but in reality it was camps for the children.

Mrs. Steel. Thank you so much.

Mr. Chairman, I think I am going to just submit a few more questions in writing because my time is up.

So I yield back.

Chairman Gallagher. Thank you very much.

Mr. Carson, you're now recognized for a 5-minute colloquy.

Mr. Carson. Thank you so very much, Chairman.

And thank you, Ranking Member Krishnamoorthi.

Ramadan Mubarak. I extend a warm welcome to the witnesses. I thank you both, and I thank you all for working together to make this happen.

First, our committee recognizes the very unique and irreplaceable Uyghur people and the right to practice your faith and your faiths, to celebrate your culture and your language, and to pass it down to your children. Your testimony is so very powerful, and we thank you for your bravery in coming here today telling your stories.

Ms. Haitiwaji, thank you again.

And thank you, Ms. Sidik.

You talk about the indoctrination that you've endured, both of you. We know the CCP's attempt to marginalize and systematically erase people's cultures and beliefs is a form of oppression.

Can you elaborate on how this made you feel as a Uyghur woman and its impact on the community and its implications going forward and what the global community has to do to bring a change?

Ms. Haitiwaji. While I was in the camp, there were 11-hour lessons, brainwashing lessons, on a daily basis. The lessons include Chinese law, history, and the Chinese language. And also we had to memorize everything, and also we have to test after learning all of them.

And also we have to learn some of the praising Chinese Communist Party and the government. And, again, we had to test at the end of the week.

And also we have to write daily record, daily description or expression about our thoughts and that thoughts shouldn't be genuine and that should be just to including praising the government and authority, thank them that we were not taken to prison, rather we were sent to the reeducation to learn. We have to be grateful for that, that we're not sent to prison.

Before eating we have to praise or say that we are grateful to the country, we are very grateful for Chinese Communist Party, and we are grateful for Xi Jinping. And after finish eating, again, we have to praise them and thank them.

Mr. Carson. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am out of time. I will submit questions for the record.

Thank you. I will yield.

Chairman Gallagher. Thank you, Mr. Carson.

Thank you both, again, for your very powerful testimony.

Chairman Gallagher. I now invite our other witnesses to join Ms. Haitiwaji and Ms. Sidik at the witness table.

In the interest of time as the logistics get ironed out here, we'll start with the introductions.

We're fortunate tonight to hear from three witnesses with deep expertise about the CCP's genocide of the Uyghur people. They will help us understand the scale and scope of the CCP genocide, how it fits within the party's broader strategy and vision for the future. And they will help us think through what we can do in response.

First, we have Dr. Adrian Zenz, a senior fellow and director of China studies for the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation. He's a leading scholar on the Uyghur genocide, and his analysis of leaked Chinese government documents, including the China Cables and Xinjiang Papers, played a paramount role in bringing these atrocities to light.

Thank you for being here.

We're also very privileged to have Chair Nury Turkel, chair of the U.S. Commission on International Freedom. Mr. Turkel is also a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and cofounder and chair of the Uyghur Human Rights Project.

He is himself Uyghur, and he is one of the foremost advocates for the Uyghur people.

And, finally, we're grateful to have Ms. Naomi Kikoler, director of the Center for the Prevention of Genocide at the United States Holocaust Museum. She is a powerful advocate for all genocide victims, and we're grateful for her perspective, particularly from a historical angle.

Now let me recognize, before I swear in the witnesses, we've asked them to do something impossible, because of the unique format here and in the interest of time, to

limit their remarks to 2 minutes, which really is unfair. I just want to commend that their written testimony was absolutely exceptional, but we're hoping to tease out what you can't say in your very, very unfairly short statement through the question-and-answer.

But we thank you for bearing with us. The hour is late, but the subject is very important. And we appreciate your help.

So thank you again.

If the three of you could please stand and raise your right hand, I will now swear you in.

[Witnesses sworn.]

Chairman Gallagher. Each of our new witnesses will now have 2 minutes for their opening remarks.

Dr. Zenz, you may begin.

**TESTIMONY OF DR. ADRIAN ZENZ, SENIOR FELLOW AND DIRECTOR IN CHINA STUDIES,
VICTIMS OF COMMUNISM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION; MR. NURY TURKEL, CHAIR, U.S.
COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM; AND MS. NAOMI KIKOLER,
DIRECTOR, SIMON-SKJODT, CENTER FOR THE PREVENTION OF GENOCIDE, UNITED
STATES HOLOCAUST MUSEUM**

TESTIMONY OF ADRIAN ZENZ

Mr. Zenz. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, these witness statements we've heard do not speak of isolated incidents. They reflect a systematic policy. Classified documents outline Beijing's secret plan to subjugate the region.

Xi Jinping himself asked Chen Quanguo, experienced with crushing dissent in Tibet, to move to Xinjiang to execute his plan, to begin in 2017 with mass internments and ran for 5 years initially.

Xinjiang detained an estimated 1 to 2 million ethnic group members in reeducation camps and implemented measures to prevent births, leading to unprecedented declines in Uyghur birth rates.

The presumed goal of these measures and the intent behind them was to optimize the ethnic population structure, diluting Uyghur populations with Han, because concentrated Uyghur populations are considered a national security threat.

According to secret speeches by Xi Jinping in 2014, suppressing ethnic resistance in Xinjiang is paramount for achieving the CCP's major 21st century goals.

Genocide research says that preventative internment targeting an entire ethnic group is a sign of political paranoia. Political paranoia is an exaggerated threat

perception that genocide scholars have linked to all major atrocities in the past 100 years. This paranoia is well worth studying because it also informs the CCP's stance towards everything else, including the United States.

Policy recommendation one, the U.S. Government should sanction implicated current and former central government officials. My written testimony contains a list. So far the U.S. has not sanctioned a single central government official even though they are implicated.

Having determined genocide in Xinjiang, second, the government should spell out how it will follow through on its treaty obligation to prevent the crime of genocide.

Third, the government should establish measures to prevent U.S. investors, such as pension funds, to invest in Chinese entities implicated in human rights violations, surveillance, and military modernization.

Thank you.

[The testimony of Mr. Zenz follows:]

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Chairman Gallagher. That was very well done in 2 minutes.

Chair Turkel, you're now recognized for 2 minutes.

TESTIMONY OF NURY TURKEL

Mr. Turkel. Good evening.

Thank you very much, Chairman Gallagher, Ranking Member Krishnamoorthi, members of the committee. I am truly grateful for your leadership in addressing prioritizing the Uyghur genocide.

The picture that we're looking at and been hearing is bleak, and millions of Uyghur people are still suffering, and the death count is still unknown.

The Chinese Government, as noted earlier today, using high-tech tools like biometric scanning, using forced collection of DNA, iris scans, face scans, and voice prints, combined with mobile phone tracking apps, massive network surveillance cameras, the CCP has mobilized AI machine learning for its total control regime.

Congress also must ensure fully enforcement of the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act. This bill requires Global Magnitsky sanction on all entities and officials responsible for the atrocities.

To date, only 12 Chinese officials and entities are currently under GloMag sanctions. This is a pitiful response. We need GloMag sanctions on all the Chinese high-tech giants that are maintaining genocide that tech builds. Making these companies a no-go zone is long overdue.

I urge this committee to focus on China's transnational repression. It is past time to strengthen government authorities to defend U.S. sovereignty and civil liberties under

our Constitution.

Tonight I will speak only to my own case as a Uyghur American. Chinese officials have continued to prevent me from seeing my mother, despite involvement by senior officials, including Secretary Blinken and Ambassador Burns.

It is extremely painful to say this, but it is unlikely that I will see my mother again in this life. In fact, my father and I said goodbyes, along with my mother at the time, when the Chinese Government, CCP, started rounding up Uyghur intellectuals and families with foreign contacts. My late father even told me that he wished he died earlier so that he could have left this world with good memories.

I urge the committee to address China's massive program of state-imposed forced labor that we can discuss a little bit later.

Tonight you have heard from two brave women. I salute the courage of these two ladies that I call friends, as well as other survivors who have borne witness from the inside camps.

I have 27 recommendations that you can look at.

And, in closing, I want to thank the committee. Crimes against humanity cannot be treated merely as an area of disengagement or disagreement, worse yet an irritant in a bilateral relationship. This is truly more than a competition. It is a battle for the world and our children will inherit. Genocide is defined as an international crime for a reason. Confronting is not an option.

Thank you.

[The testimony of Turkel follows:]

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Chairman Gallagher. Thank you, sir.

Ms. Kikoler, you're recognized for 2 minutes.

TESTIMONY OF NAOMI KIKOLER

Ms. Kikoler. Thank you, Chairman Gallagher and Ranking Member Krishnamoorthi, for holding this important hearing today and for shedding light on the plight of the Uyghur people.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that my full statement on the museum's 2021 report, "To make us slowly disappear," be entered into the record, in addition with pictures and stories of Uyghurs speaking in interviews with the museum about the unknown fate of their family members.

Chairman Gallagher. Without objection, so ordered.

[The information follows:]

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Ms. Kikoler. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum seeks to do for the community today what was not done for the Jews of Europe during the Holocaust.

The words "never again" were meant to be a lasting commitment, no matter how challenging, including when a superpower like China is perpetrating the crimes.

When most people think of genocide, they think of places like Auschwitz-Birkenau where over 1 million Jews were systematically killed.

The Chinese Government is using subtler tactics to intentionally destroy the Uyghur people -- mass surveillance and detention, torture, transfer of children, separation of men and women, and restrictions on reproductive capacity.

These are crimes that impact all, but women in particular, who for too long have been overlooked as the intentional targets of genocide.

The Chinese Government is failing in its legal obligations to prevent genocide. What then does upholding "never again" mean in this context?

First and foremost, the Chinese Government must halt its crimes, release detainees, and allow unfettered access to independent monitors in Xinjiang.

The scale of the crimes against the Uyghurs is daunting, and we know that confronting the crimes of a powerful perpetrator will be difficult. The United States alone cannot prevent these crimes. We must work with other governments, Uyghur civil society, and the private sector to develop swift, coordinated, and a global strategy to protect the Uyghur community.

Thus far, no such strategy exists. For more than a decade it has been official U.S. policy that preventing mass atrocities and genocide is a core national security interest and a core moral responsibility. To live up to this commitment, three prongs must minimally be pursued.

First, degrade the capacity of perpetrators to commit further atrocities, for example, by expanding and strengthening enforcement of financial sanctions, targeting commercial entities that are supporting China's repressive policies, and export controls on advanced technologies.

Two, persuade perpetrators to stop committing atrocities, for example, by promoting accountability, including through the creation of an independent, impartial investigative mechanism to collect, preserve, and analyze evidence.

And, three, protect Uyghurs outside China, for example, by providing asylum and refuge from transnational repression.

In conclusion, this is our moment to abide by values that the American people hold dear. This is our moment to abide by U.S. strategic interests.

On visiting the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, people often ask themselves: What would I have done had I been alive during the Holocaust?

Let history guide us today so that we ask: Now that I know what the Chinese Government is doing to the Uyghurs, what will I do? This is our "never again" moment.

Thank you, Chairman.

[The testimony of Ms. Kikoler follows:]

***** COMMITTEE INSERT *****

RPTR GIORDANO

EDTR ROSEN

[8:01 p.m.]

Chairman Gallagher. Thank you very much.

In Ms. Haitiwaji's written statement, she writes, Please stop pension fund investments in China's high-tech surveillance companies. I was shocked to learn that Americans are pouring their money into Dahua, Hikvision, Huawei, Tencent, and others that we are familiar with as being the power behind the Chinese state's heavy hand over our lives.

And, Dr. Zenz, in your written testimony, you write, quote, "In their endeavor to capture Chinese markets and boost their bottom lines, American corporations have increasingly supported Beijing's military modernization, surveillance state, domestic securitization, and attendant human rights violations."

Dr. Zenz, can you elaborate on what this support looks like on a day-to-day basis?

Mr. Zenz. Thank you.

Through mutual funds, for example, American investors are investing in a broad range of Chinese companies, and U.S. -- the U.S. private sector is involved in aiding Chinese efforts.

In terms of the U.S. private sector, we have a lot of technology benefit with west -- with American companies doing research together to -- for some extent or providing the technology -- for example, intel chips powering cloud computing services in Urumchi that are being used for surveillance and public security and all kinds of other measures.

There was a lot of co-development of technology. A lot of that has abated because of the geopolitical situation, but not all of it. It is a big research topic, and a lot

of it is unknown or not known.

And American money is funding a lot of Chinese companies. A lot of that is dual use, so you have companies that are -- Chinese companies that are developing technology and products and solutions that work both for the civilian sector and also for the military sector.

These topics are severely underresearched, and our current knowledge on these implications and complicities is inadequate.

Chairman Gallagher. Thank you.

Chair Turkel, similar question. In your written statement, I was struck when you noted that numerous publicly traded Chinese tech companies are included in many emerging market indexes that are held by public pension funds, university endowments, individual retirement plans, and investment portfolios.

What role does American capital play in subsidizing the ongoing genocide, and should tax-advantaged entities like pension funds or university endowments continue to enjoy that status if they are invested in, even if passively, companies that contribute to the genocide?

Mr. Turkel. Chairman Gallagher, that's an important question that has -- that -- you know, acting on that issue is long overdue. This is -- this is happening two ways. The American people, us, consumers, continue to fuel this genocide through our purchase of the tainted products. We are talking about more than 80 global brands.

At the same time, as you eloquently pointed out in the last hearing, that we are investing in not only self-destruction, but also fueling this genocide, the ongoing genocide that is in its 7th year. Genocide should never happen, let alone being continued for 7 years.

And also, this is very un-American that corporate America -- as you may recall,

when the Uyghur human right -- Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act being considered late 2021, U.S. Chamber of Commerce and others were opposing. They lobbied against. That has to stop.

What we can do is to not only cause -- put them in a reputational risk category; we need to make it -- make it criminal -- create criminal consequences for them, measures like the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act that considers corrupt practices as a criminal act that is handled through law enforcement at SEC and at the Justice Department.

So unless you make it difficult, putting -- enhancing some legal tools and making it not only immoral and reputational risk for them, but also face consequences, then we might be able to stop this. It's un-American. It's immoral. It's unconscionable practice that is still ongoing.

Chairman Gallagher. Just a quick follow-up, specifically on the university endowments and pension funds and tax-advantaged entities: Should they enjoy that status if they continue --

Mr. Turkel. They should not enjoy that status.

Chairman Gallagher. Thank you, sir.

And, with that, I yield to the ranking member for 5 minutes.

Mr. Krishnamoorthi. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And thank you to the witnesses.

Dr. Zenz, I'd like to start our discussion with the growth of these mass concentration camps of Uyghurs. These so-called, quote/unquote, "vocational, education, and retraining centers" in Xinjiang started in 2014 and expanded dramatically in 2017.

First, I just want to start with a graphic of a parcel of land in Xinjiang. In 2015, as you can tell, it's an empty piece of land. But let's see what happened to this very tract

of land.

In 2017, CCP told the police to, quote, "round up everyone who should be rounded up," close quote. And, one year later, in 2018, a new internment camp was constructed on this previously empty site, correct, Dr. Zenz?

Mr. Zenz. Yes. That is -- oops.

Yes, along with -- along with many others. This particular facility is a detention center which are extensively used for extrajudicial reeducation, besides the so-called vocational skills training education centers, which were also erected from 2017.

Mr. Krishnamoorthi. Right. Let me show you a picture of satellite imagery from 2020 of the same piece of land. Over 2 years, we see an enormous growth of this same camp, multiplying in size, manifold.

Interestingly, in 2019, Chinese officials in Xinjiang stated that the forced internment centers were closed, and that the detainees had all, quote/unquote, "graduated."

Dr. Zenz, do these camps look closed to you?

Mr. Zenz. The Chinese Government was referring to the closure of so-called vocational skills education and training centers, which are lower-security facilities, such as the one in Konasheher, where we have evidence from the Xinjiang police files.

All of these -- the lower-security camps were run just like detention centers, as prisons, and we have testimony from them. What we see is we see, in 2019, a desecuritization of a number of the lower-security vocational centers -- that's how they call it, but they are reeducation camps -- and a drastic -- as you correctly point out here, a significant expansion of higher-security facilities.

We have a trend and we have some witness accounts of Uyghurs being shifted from the reeducation facilities, both into forced labor and into higher-security prison.

And we can assume that hundreds of thousands have been shifted into these facilities, which have been dramatically expanding.

Mr. Krishnamoorthi. Let me -- let me turn your attention to another very disturbing topic.

In your 2020 report on the CCP's campaign to suppress Uyghur birthrates in Xinjiang, you included this chart, which shows sterilizations for every 100,000 people in Xinjiang compared to the nation as a whole.

And what you can see in this chart -- you can see it up there as well. But essentially the forced sterile -- I'm sorry. The sterilization rate for Xinjiang region is much lower from 2010 to 2015 compared to what it is for the nation from 2010 to 2015. But then, in 2016, the one-child policy ends. The sterilization rate goes down for the nation, and it explodes for Xinjiang region.

Now, my question to you is this: Dr. Zenz, when a government institutes a massive coerced, forced sterilization program like this, it's not reflective of a government trying to re -- provide vocational training or career training to this population, is it?

Mr. Zenz. No, it's not.

Mr. Krishnamoorthi. It's a sign --

Mr. Zenz. And, in fact, vocational training is just a euphemism.

Mr. Krishnamoorthi. It's a sign that this government, the CCP, no longer wants these people or their children to exist. Isn't that right?

Mr. Zenz. The intent behind mass sterilization is to reduce Uyghur birthrates, to dilute the Uyghur population, which is seen as a national security threat. Concentrated Uyghur populations are considered a national security threat.

Mr. Krishnamoorthi. And this is -- this is -- ending Uyghur births, in some sense, fits the definition of a genocide, right?

Mr. Zenz. Yes. It -- a prevention of births is one of the articles of the Genocide Convention from 1948.

Mr. Krishnamoorthi. Mr. Turkel -- thank you.

Mr. Turkel, this morning, the CEO of TikTok, Mr. Chew, was questioned at a hearing before Congress. And, at that time, actually, my colleague, Dr. Dunn, cited reports of basically TikTok data being used to surveil Forbes journalists. And Mr. Chew said this was not spying on those journalists.

Can you please tell us your opinion about what he said?

Mr. Turkel. Well, that's what they do, when you look at their practices, starting from ByteDance. ByteDance has a strategic partnership with Chinese Ministry of Public Security. That's part of their business conduct.

When you look at the way that they built this camp system, initially they relied on something called integrated joint operating platform. That joint operating platform used the data from the WeChat and Douyin to build --

Mr. Krishnamoorthi. Douyin is the -- is -- is the equivalent of --

Mr. Turkel. -- is the Chinese version of the TikTok, yes.

Mr. Krishnamoorthi. -- TikTok.

Mr. Turkel. So -- so that's -- you know, a lot OF Uyghur people to this day don't even know why they're in a camp, why their loved one's in a camp.

Because of these platforms tracing, tracking, profiling, communications, foreign travels, purchasing history -- TikTok has a huge responsibility, starting from Douyin early on. We're talking about years of practice.

Not only that, these companies are part of the U.S. Government -- Chinese Government. Even today, there are representatives in Washington engaging in genocide denial. If you listen to the interview with the top lobbyists for the company

last year with -- with Jake Tapper on CNN, he could not even acknowledge that there is a genocide in China.

That speaks the volume.

Chairman Gallagher. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Wittman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. Wittman. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I'd like to thank our witnesses for joining us today.

The past two administrations and Congresses have formally designated the CCP's atrocities against the Uyghur people as genocide and crimes against humanity. And, when we fail to confront the face of evil, that is, the CCP and the genocide is still underway, then our job is unfinished. The CCP, I believe, bears full responsibility for the terrible suffering of the Uyghur people, and they must be held accountable.

Today, we've levied a variety of different tools against the CCP in response to these human rights violations. We've had targeted sanctions. We've had export controls and import restrictions. However, I would argue that none of these measures have, in any way, shape, or form, affected the behavior of the Chinese Communist Party. These have been ineffective and insufficient. It hasn't changed the CCP's calculus towards- Xinjiang.

My question to the panelists is: What further actions must we take to truly alter Beijing's decisionmaking? How do we also raise this profile in the international community, because this is of the magnitude where it has to be the United States and our friends and allies around the world?

Please give us your perspective on how we heighten the sense of urgency on this issue, and how we bring to bear the forces necessary to confront this evil?

Ms. Kikoler. Thank you, Representative Wittman, for that question.

I'll -- I'll briefly start. I think it's an incredibly important point. To respond to the level of threat that is currently facing the Uyghur people, we need a global and coordinated strategy, and that has been missing thus far.

There needs to be greater coordination for the targeted sanctions that exist, and also the import restrictions. There should be a process by which we are also, in the U.S. context, evaluating the efficacy of the measures that have already been put in place.

The Director of National Intelligence could be tasked, for example, to collect intelligence specifically to that and to share that with respective parties. We can also be working to share intelligence with other governments to help share and create a like-minded approach to what needs to be done.

We also believe that it's very important for there to be much as has been stood up in the context of Ukraine, Burma, Syria -- an independent investigative mechanism or a commission of inquiry to look into the crimes that are currently being perpetrated by the Chinese Government. That information will help put a spotlight, but also, to your point, mobilize the will of others to act together to try to save these people's lives.

I'll turn it over to Nury.

Mr. Turkel. A couple of thoughts on this.

One is a global aspect. For example, the European countries in EU -- Germany, Italy, for example -- need to step up to the plate. They can -- and countries, as Naomi pointed out, Canada, U.K., and others that have a similar type of legal tools as we do, such as Global Magnitsky Act, they need to use it.

And also, domestically, as I noted in my opening remarks, Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act need to be fully implemented. To date, we're only one out of 10 -- we announced 10 Global Mag sanctions. That should be expanded to the banks, the -- for financial transactions. That should be expanded to the network.

We also need to -- to put pressure on the business community, the high-tech community, Silicon Valley to be exact. They are finding ways to still sharing technology, still providing hardware, software support. We need to close the loopholes, and this committee can do that.

Mr. Wittman. Thank you. Very good.

Dr. Zenz?

Mr. Zenz. The key is to impose a cost for evildoing. Otherwise, it will not stop. And so there is no guarantee that the cost will change the course, but it's the best strategy we have.

Firstly, there has to be a personal cost paid by those perpetrating. There have to be sanctions, more sanctions -- not just on Chen Quanguo, but there have to be sanctions on government officials in Beijing, who are now directly implicated with internal evidence.

Secondly, besides personal cost, there has to be a national cost. A national cost for the CCP is the economic sanctions related to forced labor. Work is done, but things need to be tightened, and products are still entering our country that shouldn't.

And third, there has to be a reputational cost for committing genocide. And that requires, in my opinion, besides the multilateral approach and more pressure at the U.N., I think the United States can be actually more strategic in the way it works with other countries at the U.N. in Geneva.

But I think that the administration also needs a stronger public communication for the American public. There needs to be much more engagement with the American domestic public.

Mr. Wittman. Thank you, Dr. Zenz.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Chairman Gallagher. The gentleman's time expired.

Ms. Castor is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. Castor. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ramadan Mubarak.

First of all, I'd like to thank Ms. Haitiwaji and Ms. Sidik for sharing your very courageous stories. Your willingness to tell your stories of the atrocities inflicted upon the Uyghurs by the CCP is helping the world understand what is really happening, especially as very few Uyghurs are -- have been able to leave China.

The genocide of the Uyghurs at the hands of the CCP has also been referred to as the largest incarceration of an ethnoreligious minority since the Holocaust.

The CCP's policies in the region have been disproportionately perpetrated against women, causing an outsized impact to Uyghur culture; rape, forced sterilization, ripping families apart, ripping children away from their parents.

Because of this, it's imperative that the Uyghur women's voices are included from the beginning, so I do appreciate the chair and the ranking member making that happen here tonight.

Ms. Kikoler, how can this committee help amplify Uyghur women's voices and experiences?

You said we need a global and coordinated strategy. What role -- how can we elevate women's experiences to tell their stories and change what's happening?

Ms. Kikoler. Thank you so much, Representative Castor, for that question.

I think it's really important what you're doing, first and foremost, in actually putting and drawing attention to the fact that the manner in which the Chinese Government is perpetrating these crimes really singles out and focuses on the experiences of women. The conception of genocide consists of a number of different

pillars, but within them includes specifically imposing measures that would restrict birth, transferring children, and also other measures that would cause bodily harm.

And we know from the history of the Holocaust that unfortunately it can be very difficult to understand the real nature of crimes that are being -- occurring. That can be due to taboos around talking about sexual violence. It can be due to the difficulties in accessing with witnesses and survivors.

And it's really critical, as you were doing right now, that you're explaining the way in which these crimes are being perpetrated, so that people understand, but that also so that government leaders in Beijing know that the world is watching and is aware that what they are doing behind closed doors, what they are doing within these camps is something that the world is aware of, thanks to the incredibly courageous efforts of the two women beside us, and of so many others that are telling their story.

I think that there is additional support that could be provided to survivors who have been able to leave. It is very difficult for people to leave China and seek refuge elsewhere. But there are people whose stories need to be told.

We need to actually have a process in place to collect, in a systematic way, their testimony, to gather their evidence. We've made great strides, sadly as a result of contemporary genocides that have been perpetrated where women have also been targeted, be that the victims of the ISIS-related crimes, the victims of the Tatmadaw's crimes in Burma against the Rohingya.

We've developed ways in which we can interview survivors of gender-based violence and sexual violence in a trauma-sensitive manner. But what we haven't done in this particular case is specifically gone ahead with supporting those documentation efforts, supporting Uyghur civil society doing that, or creating an international mechanism for doing it.

So a very big way that we could support women right now is in making sure that their stories are told to help create a historical record, but also advance accountability. And then, of course, through providing refugee assistance, through asking governments in neighboring countries to protect Uyghur communities so they are not sent back to China to face future crimes, and so, that we can also work to protect those who are speaking out, people like Rushan Abbas, whose sister sadly was taken after she spoke out about her experiences.

So I think there are a number of different steps that can be taken to specifically help women. And I applaud you for putting an emphasis on that particular issue. Thank you.

Ms. Castor. And, Mr. Chairman, I'm going to ask Ms. Sidik and Ms. Haitiwaji to answer for the record to help us highlight the role of women and what specifically can be done to elevate their stories and have us take action.

And I'll yield back.

Chairman Gallagher. Great. Thank you.

Mr. Luetkemeyer?

Mr. Luetkemeyer. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And thank all the witnesses for compelling testimony and sacrifice to be here and all the background you're giving us this evening. It's very, very vital to us.

One of the -- one of the numbers that has come across my desk is that, in order for the Chinese Communist Party, i.e., government, to continue to oppress their people, to surveil them, detain them, and put them in detention camps, it takes about \$300 billion a year. Is that a figure that you've heard before, could verify at all, Dr. Zenz perhaps? Dr. -- Mr. Turkel -- Turkel? Is it close? Do you have an idea?

Mr. Turkel. I -- I think that figure is close. Here is why I think it's -- it's a

reasonable number.

When you look back, the time that they start building those over 400 camps and installing those cameras, they invested zillions of dollars, and now it has become a political economy. This is why they have been aggressively exporting their digital surveillance equipment. We're talking about more than 80 countries around the world that include some democratic nations -- importing, adopting the China surveillance. And also the exportation of slave labor-produced products, also part --

Mr. Luetkemeyer. Okay.

Mr. Turkel. -- of the political --

Mr. Luetkemeyer. You made my point. Thank you very much for that.

The point is that it takes billions of dollars a year for them to do this. So where do they get the money from? This is a concern. And, in your testimony --

Mr. Turkel. Yep.

Mr. Luetkemeyer. -- Mr. Turkel, you indicate and name names, which thank you for that --

Mr. Turkel. Yep.

Mr. Luetkemeyer. -- because I think it's time we start naming names of companies that do business, companies that fund these people, and companies that are engaging in supporting this sort of activity. You named Vanguard, BlackRock, HSBC, Fidelity and other pension funds.

I can tell you from being on the Financial Services Committee, the CEO of BlackRock recently made the comment that the best place to invest next 20 years is China. That can't happen. But it is happening, and those guys are -- should be responsible, as you just said a while ago, for that sort of activity.

So, by naming those folks, how -- how are they getting those dollars into the -- to

these different companies over there that are -- are helping with the atrocities?

Mr. Turkel. They raise funds. One of those companies, in the midst of pandemic, was bragging about raising 100 million -- \$140 million in China, just China alone. Ray Dalio, he was publicly acknowledging that his business is thriving. And, also, hedge funds, venture capitalist firms in the Silicone Valley are still making zillions of dollars.

Mr. Luetkemeyer. And one of the things back in 2020, there were a thousand Chinese companies on our stock exchange, and we invested -- United States invested \$1 trillion in those companies.

Mr. Turkel. Right.

Mr. Luetkemeyer. \$1 trillion. We put in place a provision that said they had to be audited every 2 years, because many of them are shell companies, and they're just running the money through those companies into the government. And that alone knocked almost three-quarters of those companies off the list. So as of January 9th, that list is 252. But we're still investing in the company -- in this country.

Our trade deficit is \$383 billion. That's enough to keep the government funded to be able to detain and oppress their own people.

How do you -- how do you -- how do you get the message across to the American people that we've got to stop looking to Chinese products, we've got to start looking for our own, be willing to pay an extra dollar or two or 10, whatever it is, for an American-made product or a product made somewhere else in the world versus that of a Chinese-produced product?

Mr. Turkel. Borrowing the -- a quotable line from Under Secretary Silvers, is, I think -- I believe forced labor is a canceling of value. American people need to stop purchasing knowingly.

You know, everything we touch -- solar panels, pharmaceuticals, PPEs, beauty products -- as you may have seen, CNN reported the Uyghur women hair products being sold. 13 tons of hair products was seized by the CBP. How many shipments did we miss? What else have they been sending? And they have labeled these products as black gold.

People need to know that we are complicit in the ongoing genocide.

Mr. Luetkemeyer. One quick more question. I notice you come in here with an International Finance Corporation, which is the development arm of the World Bank.

Mr. Turkel. Yeah.

Mr. Luetkemeyer. It allows China access to their funds. And technically, in order to be able to do that, they are supposed to be a developing nation, which they are -- they are -- no way that they're there at this point.

How would you suggest us to fix that problem?

Mr. Turkel. The World Bank and IFC have been funding entities that are building those camps. Years ago --

Mr. Luetkemeyer. They -- they are funding the entities that are --

Mr. Turkel. The World Bank --

Mr. Luetkemeyer. -- directly building these camps. Is that what you --

Mr. Turkel. There is an entity called XPCC, Xinjiang --

Mr. Luetkemeyer. Okay.

Mr. Turkel. -- Production Construction Corps, that were using funds from the World Bank. This was -- there were hearings held in the United States Congress years ago. People didn't pay attention to it. And this the company that -- this is the entity that the U.S. Government sanctioned on the Global Magnitsky Act, and also largely responsible for the ongoing forced labor practices.

Mr. Luetkemeyer. Fantastic. Thank you so much.

And I yield back.

Chairman Gallagher. Thank you. And I commend the fireside chat you did with Under Secretary Silvers. It's available in podcast form. It's good listening.

Mr. Moulton is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. Moulton. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And, first, I want to thank the witnesses for being here, for your bravery in speaking out. You've given us some of the most powerful testimony I've ever heard in my life. And it should not be lost on any of us that this genocide is happening today -- not in some distant time in history. It's happening on our generation's watch.

Mr. Zenz, you spoke in your testimony about the paranoia of Xi Jinping and the CCP being a driving factor behind this repression. I can only imagine two fundamental reasons that the CCP and Xi might undertake this quest to control, subdue, and ultimately eliminate Uyghurs.

One is out of fear for the impact that this might have on his hold on power and his strategic goals for China. The second is out of some ethnonationalist urge for China to be purely Han Chinese.

To what degree are each of these at play here?

Mr. Zenz. The CCP is profoundly insecure in the face of competing ideologies. It is a totalitarian system. So important thing to recognize is that the world view of the CCP is an ideology where its own ideology has to be dominant in every citizen. And there are two strategies for that.

There is, firstly, ideological assimilation; and second, ethnocultural, or racial assimilation. And, with ethnic groups such as the Uyghurs, you have both problems. You have the problem that they're ethnically different, and so how to control. There is a

religion, different language, culture at play. So assimilation is one important aspect of this fear complex.

But the other one is the loyalty, the inner loyalty. And that's why, in the reeducation camps, they allow them to give thanks and they assimilate the prayer before meals or the singing before meal by giving thanks to Xi Jinping and the CCP for giving me food before they consume the meager ration they get in the camp.

In my opinion, what happened in Xinjiang is the Uyghurs were the ones who really challenged the CCP's ability to control a region, and they realized at the end of the day, because the loyalty of the Uyghurs is not primarily to the Chinese Communist Party and the government, therefore every Uyghur is a potential threat. And I think that's how that expanded.

If you look at it, initially there were four types of people to be targeted for reeducation. Later on, there were 21 types of Uyghurs to be targeted for reeducation. If you look at the psychology of how a mass atrocity happens, it's basically a desire for a security that's unattainable, because you can't control a human soul. That desire and the fear to not be able to do it spiral out of control, and that's where you move from trying to just arrest individual people who have actually planted a bomb against the police, and you preemptively intern 10 to 20 percent of an entire ethnic group.

That's paranoia, and that comes out of the fear that results from the desire to control, but you can't control the human soul. I hope -- it's a very complex topic to discuss in a hearing, but I hope I have touched on it.

Mr. Moulton. Well, it's a profound level of fear, insecurity from an autocrat who wants to be the most powerful man in the world.

Mr. Zenz. Right.

Mr. Moulton. Last hearing, the committee heard a statistic that China spends

more than any other country in the region on its military, but it spends even more than that on internal security. I'd imagine that no small amount of that money is going to the enormous technological infrastructure that the Chinese Communist Party is using to perpetrate this genocide and the accompanying societal repression.

China has over half the world's security cameras and surveillance cameras. It uses highly advanced facial recognition to know where its citizens are and monitor what they are doing. And then it uses AI to identify citizens for further persecution.

Mr. Turkel, could you describe for us what it is like to walk around the city of Xinjiang surrounded by this technology of repression? How frequently to Uyghur residents encounter security cameras, checkpoints? What happens at those checkpoints?

Mr. Turkel. It is a total-control police state, Leninist police state. Now it has got to the point of the Uyghur homes having the QR codes on the door. The government could track, you know, who lives there, what kind of family history, travel history, family connection.

They also forcibly install spying apps on the mobile phones. This is precisely why our fellow Americans here in the United States even cannot comfortably contact their family members out of concern that one phone call, one text message, one video chat may end up causing them trouble, if not straight to the concentration camps.

On this note, I want to also mention something that the U.S. Government did, didn't get much media attention. Late 2021, a U.S. Commerce Department added to the entity list of a military medical academy and its 11 affiliates for developing brain control weaponry.

That has not attracted enough attention. Commerce Secretary specifically said that that weapon to be used on ethnoreligious groups.

Mr. Moulton. Thank you.

Mr. Turkel. So that gives you an idea of what kind of tech totalitarian state that we're talking about.

Mr. Moulton. Thank you very much.

Chairman Gallagher. Thank you.

Mr. Barr?

Mr. Barr. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

In tonight's testimony about the genocide of the Uyghur people, the mass internment, the rape, the torture, the sexual abuse, the forced sterilization, the forced abortions, the heartbreaking forced separation of parents from children, the psychological abuse and coercion, all of these human rights atrocities point to the urgent need for moral and intellectual clarity.

What we do not need is nuance or ambiguity. We must face the truth that there is a very real struggle between religious tolerance and an evil, toxic intolerance by the CCP, a paranoid depravity that says that if you are a religious minority or a person of faith who fails to conform with the CCP's rigid party state ideology, then you must be destroyed.

This CCP ideology of evil, extreme religious intolerance and immoral disregard for human rights must be confronted, and we must impose costs, as Dr. Zenz testifies, because the longer it's not confronted, the more the CCP will be emboldened, and the more lives will be shattered.

So, tonight, let's affirm the objective superiority of U.S. Western values of individual freedom and dignity, religious liberty, freedom of conscience, and political democracy over the repressive features of Chinese Communism and the CCP's brutal surveillance state totalitarianism.

As many of us are aware, the People's Republic of China was elected to the United Nations Human Rights Council. According to the United Nations, the Human Rights Council is, quote, "responsible for strengthening the promotion and protection of human rights around the globe and for addressing situations of human rights violations."

To any of our witnesses: What message does it send to the Uyghur people, and to other oppressed groups around the globe, that China continues to hold a seat on the United Nations Human Rights Council?

Mr. Turkel. It sends a very disturbing message, to say the least. We have seen, time and time again -- most recently, there was a motion to debate on the Human Rights Commission -- high commissioner's report on the Xinjiang Government's genocide of the Uyghurs. We could not even secure 17, or 19 votes, so the other side won. So it's a -- it's a place for the Chinese Government to abuse its seat. That's just one piece of it.

Mr. Barr. Now, President Biden argued that rejoining the U.N. Human Rights Council would give the United States a seat at the table to stop ongoing human rights abuses.

Can any of our witnesses identify specifically what relief the United States has been able to achieve through the U.N. Human Rights Council since rejoining in October of 2021?

Ms. Kikoler. Arguably, the presence of the U.N. -- the United States on the U.N. Human Rights Council has been a positive contribution, especially for the women of Iran right now, who are fighting every day for their freedoms.

I think also, in the instance of the case of the Uyghurs, the U.S. did attempt to put a focus on this. And I think what it surfaced was just how incredibly sophisticated the Chinese Government's efforts are to counter the efforts of the U.S. and like-minded governments and why it's so important for us to redouble our work in trying to make sure

that we are using every possible avenue that exists to raise the plight of the Uyghurs.

It exposed just how far the Chinese Government will do. And why is that important? It shows that they do care about their reputation. They do find ways to get other actors to voice support. I know that not -- might not seem like a significant change in behavior, but I think it is notable that they are monitoring. They're monitoring evenings like today. They're monitoring discussions that are happening in Geneva, at the General Assembly within the Security Council.

I would argue that the plight of the Uyghurs is a situation that should not just be relegated to conversations within the Human Rights Councils. It's a conversation that should be taken before the General Assembly and before the Security Council.

And I know that, as one of the permanent five members of the Security Council, that makes it incredibly difficult, but the Chinese Government and the actions -- the commission of these crimes against the Uyghur people is a threat to international peace and security and, as such, should be something that is brought before the Security Council.

Mr. Barr. Thank you.

And Dr. Zenz, can you elaborate on your written testimony about the fact that not a single member of the standing committee of the politburo has been designated for their role in the ongoing genocide in Xinjiang. And let's highlight the speech from Chen Quanguo, who led the efforts in the concentration camps in Xinjiang, who referenced the general secretary who, quote, "sent me to Xinjiang, first not in order to merely be an official, not in order to make a fortune, not in order to have nothing but an empty title. The general secretary sent me to Xinjiang in order to make a stable Xinjiang arise."

Mr. Zenz. Yes. We have, from these classified documents now, unprecedented

evidence of central government involvement in the atrocity, of Xi Jinping himself commandeering Chen Quanguo as party secretary, moving him from Tibet to Xinjiang. And the speech of China's national minister of public security from 2018, he said that Xi Jinping was aware that the prison capacity in Xinjiang was an -- was a problem, that they needed more prison capacity, and that the central government in Beijing was promising money to hire more prison guards.

This is a speech from June 2018. And I think it's a severe deficiency that the United States Government has not gone and sanctioned some of these central government officials, not just in Xinjiang, because I think that that's a political problem, because it communicates to the Chinese Government what they are saying -- namely, that it's a local issue, not a national issue. But the problem is the atrocity is a national issue, but you only make it a national issue if you go after perpetrators in Beijing.

Mr. Barr. Thank you.

Mr. Zenz. I think that would send a major signal to the Chinese Government.

Chairman Gallagher. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Barr. Thank you. I yield back.

Chairman Gallagher. Mr. Khanna?

Mr. Khanna. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you to the witnesses for your very powerful testimony, and I echo my colleagues that I admire very much your courage in being here.

I appreciate, Dr. Zenz, your work -- early work in describing this as a genocide, which now the State Department -- our State Department has recognized.

I understand that your early work estimated that there were about 1 million people who have been detained. I wonder what is the number today?

Mr. Zenz. The latest evidence from the Xinjiang police files, both from the

speech of China's national minister of public security, Zhao Kezhi, who estimates that over 2 million people in southern Xinjiang are affected by religious extremism, requiring treatment. And spreadsheets -- extensive spreadsheets based on nearly 300,000 individuals in one county, indicating an internment of between 12 and 12.5 percent of the entire county's ethnic adult population.

Based on these data points, my current estimate of mass internment in the region is broadly between 1 and 2 million, and it's, on purpose, a range because we don't have anything precise, but we can now with greater, I think, accuracy and authority say that, very likely, between 1 and 2 million were detained at some point. We just don't know who has been released, who has been shifted where. We've seen this huge prison complex.

And unfortunately, actually, just in January this year, after the protests in Urumchi, after the fire, I've been hearing reports of a new wave of detention, at least in Urumchi and possibly in other cities. There is nothing supporting --

Mr. Khanna. So currently -- so currently about 1 to 2 million are detained?

Mr. Zenz. I would say 1 to 2 million, in total, have been detained. The current detention numbers are very difficult to ascertain.

Mr. Khanna. Mr. Turkel, would you know what the current detention is?

Mr. Turkel. You know, I -- I -- I rely on what the Chinese Government says in its white paper, stating that since 2015, 1.3 million Uyghurs went through reeducation program. If you add them up, you come up with a staggering number. They said this in a white paper. It has been widely cited.

Mr. Khanna. I guess what I'm trying to drive at, I agree. I admire your work on genocide, and I am trying to understand what is going to be effective U.S. policy to try to get those numbers down and to try to help in human rights? And so, is this the situation

improving? Is it getting worse? Do we have any sense?

Mr. Zenz. I think we can be -- we can -- there is a lot of indication that the mass internments peaked sometime in 2018, probably the second half of 2018. People were beginning to be released from the camps into forced labor in late 2018, 2019.

More people were being released by the end of 2019, but also, quite a few were shifted to high-security internment facilities, such as prisons -- high-security prisons, an unknown percentage. My estimate is several hundred thousand at least were shifted into forced labor, probably --

Mr. Khanna. Let me ask -- let me ask --

Mr. Zenz. -- 700,000 into prisons.

Mr. Khanna. Let me ask the question this way maybe: What would either of you say has been the most effective U.S. policy that has had an impact in helping Uyghurs in China?

Mr. Zenz. The Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act.

Mr. Khanna. And to you, Mr. Turkel -- and then, also, in your testimony, I was very surprised. I'm sure you're right that all these things are still coming from the Uyghur region, because I would have assumed that the Forced Labor Act would have prevented that.

Is that just not being enforced, or how are all these products coming in?

Mr. Turkel. Here is the good news. You know, not -- this is not a lost cause. We are -- even though this genocide is still underway, still we don't know how many have been detained and died, we're seeing some progress. Just today in the news, that more than 50 percent of 900 American companies being surveyed in Beijing, in China, said they are not in favor of investing in China. So that's the good news.

And also, couple of years ago, The Washington Post reported that one major yarn

supplier were kind of complaining in their stock exchange report that they lost significant amount of money. An economic side, yes. But on the political side and a bilateral, multilateral aspect, no.

So, if we can -- there is a back and forth. Some days, we hear strong positions, strong statements. Some days, some -- we hear lukewarm responses and statements. And we have been doing this alone. This has to be a global endeavor. That way, we might be able to -- to be able to help certain way.

Ms. Kikoler. Representative Khanna, may I answer as well?

Mr. Khanna. I think my time has --

Chairman Gallagher. Briefly, if you would.

Ms. Kikoler. I just want to make note that perpetrators shift their tactics in response to evolving conditions, and I think we need to be very careful when asking and trying to ascertaining that question of where have we seen behavioral change?

We need to actually task the intel community to look specifically for that type of information, to help guide the efforts that are being undertaken. There has to be greater enforcement.

There are serious concerns that forced labor is increasingly being an area that is now being pushed underground whereby, yes, we might see a movement away from the types of products that could be coming to the United States, but could be going to other countries that are part of the Belt and Road Initiative. So we need to be monitoring how the Belt and Road Initiative and those outputs are potentially being impacted by forced labor coming from Xinjiang, and other ways in which that -- that is having an impact. Thank you.

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

Mr. Newhouse?

Mr. Newhouse. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And I, too, would like to thank the first two witnesses, the two ladies for sharing your testimony and your experience at the hands of the CCP. I want to thank you for bringing to the top of our conscience and our awareness here in the United States the plight of the Uyghur people and the genocide they're experiencing in China.

I have a question there for Mr. Turkel or Mr. -- or --

Mr. Turkel. Yeah.

Mr. Newhouse. -- Dr. Zenz, I believe. I'm sorry. I pronounced the location Xinjiang -- has poly silicone production for solar panels, which, let me tell you, has truly wreaked havoc in our domestic manufacturing, in my district particularly, all while using forced labor and selling panels around the world.

We also believe that there are -- in this area of China, there are nonferrous minerals -- cobalt, gold, silver, platinum, palladium. Do we know if there are other critical minerals? And on both of these issues, how can we further address sanctions and -- on these minerals and the products that are coming from Xinjiang, from China?

Mr. Zenz. So, with poly silicone, it's a bit like cotton. Xinjiang produced 90 percent of the cotton --

Mr. Newhouse. Ninety percent?

Mr. Zenz. Or China. And so, with poly silicone, it's a very high percentage, so there is a very high risk that anything poly silicone, solar related from China is implicated in Xinjiang. And so one strategy, or the strategy to go for is to divest from China in that respect, to build Western capacity, both for the procurement of the raw materials and the construction of the solar panels. So basically, this is a matter of shifting supply chains.

In terms of the general risk, a lot of people are not aware -- so this is not just a

matter of cotton, poly silicone, tomatoes, and other products. These supply chains have been very specifically implicated, but Xinjiang has two complementary systems of forced labor -- one directly out of the camps, the other one out of highly coercive poverty elevations, scooping up villagers and rounding them up basically. And, as a result, we have a forced labor problem that extends into a very wide range of industries.

Xinjiang is being used because of cheap energy to produce products that are very high-energy intensive, such as production of poly silicones. That constitutes a particular risk.

Mr. Newhouse. Thank you, Dr. Zenz.

Chair Turkel, your testimony highlights a danger posed by university research collaboration with Chinese entities that may facilitate advances in surveillance technology.

Mr. Turkel. Yeah.

Mr. Newhouse. What obligations would you say do foreign universities owe the Uyghur people to ensure that joint research does not contribute to the ongoing genocide? At the very least, should the U.S. Government ensure that Federal research dollars do not go to entities in China that may contribute to the genocide, the PLA advances, or other human rights in China?

Mr. Turkel. Certainly. There are a number of issues involving our universities. One is the research, as you alluded. The other one is self-centering. We're not hearing the vocal China scholars today publicly condemning, for the most part, except for several Xinjiang scholars, Uyghur scholars. Still self-centering. They are sometimes just disturbingly echo CCP propaganda.

And also, one other point to your research -- the research-related questions, a few years ago, there was a professor at Yale Medical School, Kenneth Kidd, was implicated,

being widely reported for him bringing in a lab assistant from China's Ministry of Public Security to conduct research on Uyghur DNA.

So that gives you an idea of what kind of problems that we have. We're talking about university endowments, but we have research projects that have been aiding, abetting some of the unstated, stated goals of the CCP Government. That includes scientific research. That includes technological engineering field. It also includes biomedical research. That needs to stop.

Mr. Newhouse. Well, thank you very much.

And, again, thanks to all of you for your testimony this evening.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Gallagher. Mr. Kim?

Mr. Kim. I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you so much for coming and sharing this very powerful testimony. And we would be doing a great disservice to your courage and bravery if we don't come out of this with some concrete steps and actions that we can take to move forward.

Mr. Turkel, I wanted to start with you. You laid out some very specific proposals in your testimony, laying out some steps that the Secretary of State and other senior officials can do more going forward --

Mr. Turkel. Yeah.

Mr. Kim. -- or increasing diplomatic efforts and nations hosting Uyghurs or other Muslim majority nations. You even mentioned this idea of a State Department China Regional Office program expansion.

Can you talk a little bit more about the important role that State Department and diplomacy can make here?

Mr. Turkel. Yes. First of all, Congressman Kim, thank you for asking that

question.

First of all, we have to elevate human rights in our dialogue with the -- with Beijing. They elevated human rights, religious freedom issues as part of their pushback against Western influence starting 2014 that have been integrated into Chinese national security strategy.

Where are we? We're still making human rights, religious freedom, individual freedom, press freedom kind of a secondary issue. That needs to change.

Two, we need to revisit our strategies; specifically, communication strategies. We have to continue to call it genocide as a U.S. policy. Two successive administrations and this Congress --

Mr. Kim. Yeah.

Mr. Turkel. -- recognizes a genocide along with our partners and allies in the Western democracy, including Taiwan. So we have to call it genocide, crimes against humanity. That message needs to be repeated every day.

And then, three, we have to engage like-minded governments, even the governments that are lukewarm. I do a fair amount of international travel as part of the China Regional -- Regional China Offices Program. We have only 19 around the world. Each office have about \$50,000 budget. That needs to be increased.

Mr. Kim. Yeah. And that's something that I thought, you know, Ms. Kikoler, you mentioned something earlier in this hearing where you talked about, for instance, maybe, you know, taking further steps to engage with the U.N. General Assembly and other nations in that kind of capacity. What I'm taking away from this, would you agree with the idea that it's vital for the United States to engage with the U.N. and other international organizations in the same way that Mr. Turkel was talking about with other nations as well?

Ms. Kikoler. It is absolutely essential for the U.S. to be engaging in constant dialogue with those organizations, but also in those international fora.

Under the Trump administration, one of the really important things that they did was they actually convened a high-level meeting at the United Nations, including senior U.N. officials, to raise the profile of the plight of the Uyghurs, of which many of the people in this room participated. It was one of the first instances in which the discussion of the Uyghurs and the commission of the crimes against them was actually brought to the international fora.

It's really important that we continue to see that ongoing level of putting a face to the crimes --

Mr. Kim. Yeah.

Ms. Kikoler. -- and that we do that before the U.N. bodies. Thank you.

Mr. Kim. And I really think that this hearing is so important. It, first of all, highlights the atrocities that are happening. But it also is showing us why we need to have a comprehensive approach, why we need to use all the tools at our disposal here. You know, this is something that -- where we recognize that this crisis demands more diplomatic action, more coalition building with nations and institutions around the world, and the more efforts in that capacity here.

We have an office -- we have offices and people at the State Department and elsewhere charged with this at the Bureau of Human Rights, Democracy and Human Rights and Labor, others working with refugees and humanitarian assistance, but I believe they can do more.

Ms. Kikoler, would you agree that it would be productive if we can take what we heard today and work in a bipartisan way to increase our support for these diplomatic efforts at State Department and USAID?

Ms. Kikoler. Yes, without a doubt. I mean, I think we're in a situation where, as we've all stated before, there can be no single country that is going to solve the problem right now that is facing the Uyghur community. We have to have a multilateral and an international response to the crimes that are occurring.

The role of Congress is absolutely critical. In 2018, there was the passage of the Elie Wiesel Genocide and Atrocity Prevention Act, of which many of you cosponsored and signed onto it. It explicitly said that the prevention of these types of crimes is a core national security interest of the U.S. Government.

Mr. Kim. Yeah.

Ms. Kikoler. You have the ability to ask the current administration what they are doing to integrate the protection of the Uyghur people in broader China policy and what that means both in terms of domestic, but also international engagement. Thank you.

Mr. Kim. What I hope we think through here, because I'm a little worried here, because I was just in a Foreign Affairs Committee hearing earlier today with Secretary Blinken, and there were serious concerns raised there that the Republican majority is considering steps like returning to fiscal year 2022 budget list spending levels, or other spending proposals that could levy billions of dollars of budget cuts on the State Department and USAID.

Now, in our last hearing, we heard a lot about the need to be able to surge resources when it comes to our military might and deterrence, and today, I hope we take these unbelievably powerful testimonies and heed the call to invest in our diplomacy, our global coalition building, and to encourage and surge our work with international institutions.

And I hope all of us on both sides of the aisle commit to increasing, not decreasing our investment in diplomacy with the same urgency as we talk about for our military.

Thank you, and I yield back.

Chairman Gallagher. Gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. LaHood?

Mr. LaHood. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And I want to thank our witnesses for being here this evening and your valuable testimony, and especially the powerful and sobering testimony from the brave women who spoke on our first panel.

Much of what has been shared this evening is a powerful reminder of how fortunate we are to be living in the United States, to have the freedoms guaranteed to us. The treatment of the Uyghur people by the Communist Chinese Party resembles that of a dark, dystopian novel.

And hearings like this are essential in alerting Congress and the American people that these acts are not some farfetched, fictional event. They are real, and they are happening as we speak.

The United States must continue to play an active role in condemning this egregious treatment through a combination of directed humanitarian, economic, and diplomatic efforts.

As we look at the global economy and international trade, we need to be vigilant in all levels of our supply chains. Turning a blind eye to forced labor practices cannot be tolerated, regardless of the circumstances.

Mr. Turkel, as we -- as we previously mentioned, passage of the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act by the Congress was a great step, expressly combating against these forced labor practices, particularly in the Xinjiang region, but our work is obviously far from finished.

In your view, what should some of the immediate next steps be for the Congress

to take? Is it looking at the sectors currently labeled as high priority by the Department of Homeland Security, and considering new sectors that should be added, or are there other steps that should be taken first?

Mr. Turkel. Three things. One, thank you for the question.

First, we need to have a full briefing. This committee could organize a full briefing on the obstacles to fully implement this significant law.

And then, two, we need to close the black hole as part of the USMCA agreement that bans forced labor for these products. But the Xinjiang exports are still making it to the United States, reportedly through Mexico and Canada. So that needs to be addressed.

And then, also, Europe has been a dumping ground. There is no national or European Parliament -- European level of engagement or policy response -- responses have been announced.

A couple of years ago, there was a report published by USCIS that reported Italy in the year of 2019, 2003 -- 2020, the export volume to Italy from Xinjiang doubled. So we have -- we have Europe being still one of the continued destinations for, actually, so we have to get into European -- get Europeans and other allies, even including Japan, including Australia, to essentially do something that this Congress did.

Mr. LaHood. Thank you for that.

I think we can all agree that, in order for there to be some sort of meaningful change, we're going to need more commitments from our allies around the globe, and also taking constructive steps to combat these atrocities.

I think the hypocrisy is, and the irony is when you look at the Arab world, who obviously many of the Sunni countries share a religious heritage with the Uyghurs.

And I want to -- it was mentioned earlier about the Belt and Road Initiative by

Ms. Kikoler. I want to read a statement here that's in an article from June 2, 2022, titled, "Why Muslim Countries in the Middle East Support Chinese Atrocities in Xinjiang."

Here is what it says: Chinese Belt and Road initiatives projected to grow to over \$1 trillion by 2027 are especially important for Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the UAE, all of which have signed comprehensive strategic partnerships, one of the highest levels of Belt and Road partnership with China. Consequently, each of these states has firmly defended China's oppressive actions in Xinjiang. In addition to publicly endorsing China's Xinjiang policies, all of these countries have deported Uyghurs back to China at Beijing's request. The defensive motivations and behavior are clear: Egypt and Saudi Arabia want to continue the Belt and Road initiatives with China.

I'm going to submit for the record, Mr. Chairman, three articles, one from Time magazine from March 24, 2022, titled, "The Arab World Isn't Just Silent on China's Crackdown on Uyghurs; It's Complicit."

Number two, from The Hill, December 9, 2022, "Arab Nations Should Press China on Uyghur Muslim Abuses."

And, thirdly, the article I just talked about from the Institute for the Study of Democracy, June 2, 2022, "Why Muslim Countries in the Middle East Support Chinese Atrocities."

[The information follows:]

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RPTR MARTIN

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[9:02 p.m.]

Chairman Gallagher. Without objection, it'll be added to the record.

[The information follows:]

***** COMMITTEE INSERT *****

Mr. LaHood. Thank you.

Chairman Gallagher. The gentleman's time has expired.

Ms. Sherrill.

Ms. Sherrill. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And, once again, an incredibly heartfelt thank you to Ms. Haitiwaji and Ms. Sidik for your thoroughly moving testimony. To hear about the unique vulnerabilities of women being exploited by the genocide taking place in China right now is really heartbreaking.

And, quite frankly, equally heartbreaking is hearing about how young people are at these camps. I have two teenagers, and to hear that 17- and 18-year-olds are being exploited in the same ways at these camps is horrifying.

So thank you for your testimony, for the courage it takes when I know you must fear for family members and relatives at home.

Thank you as well, Mr. Turkel. Again, horrible to hear you may never see your parents again. And the courage that you have shown as well, it really I think humbles all of us here tonight. So thank you.

We heard tonight some testimony about the Chinese TikTok company and how they have participated in the surveillance architecture of the state and have been complicit in the genocide taking place against the Uyghurs. And yet, at a hearing earlier today when TikTok CEO Chew was asked about this, he said, quote, "I'm here to discuss TikTok and what we do as a platform."

It seems as if a more complete answer would have included what TikTok does as a platform to help architect the surveillance state which has been involved in these atrocities.

But it's not TikTok alone. We know that Chinese technology companies, many of which still do business here in the United States, are providing surveillance and tracking technology that not only enable the surveillance state in China, but also for would-be autocrats across the world.

So Representative Pfluger and I have legislation, the Uyghur Human Rights Sanctions Review Act, that would give President Biden the authority to sanction these companies under the Global Magnitsky Act. And I think my colleagues on this committee could be instrumental in getting that legislation across the finish line, and that is something I will work to do along with them.

We have taken steps, important steps as we've heard, like the Uyghur Forced Labor Protection Act, the Inflation Reduction Act, the CHIPS Act, and the Bipartisan Infrastructure Law, to boost incentives to reshore our supply chains and reward those companies that do the right thing, but we all know tonight more must be done. And I look forward to working with the members of this committee to finish that work.

So given the secrecy of Beijing's human rights abuses in Xinjiang and the difficulty in finding information on the labor used to produce goods for export, how can the U.S. Government, how can we do better at making sure we are further boosting insights into how certain products are made in China and making sure that we have a supply chain that does not involve labor from Xinjiang or exporting that through third-party countries back into the United States?

And, Mr. Turkel, Mr. Zenz, if you'd like to reply.

Mr. Turkel. First of all, Congresswoman, thank you so much for your sympathy with my family situation. I wish the circumstances will change and I will welcome my mother back to the United States to meet her American children and American grandchildren. She has five U.S.-born grandchildren, but she only met one so far. It's

painful. It's extremely painful.

To your question, a couple of things need to be taken into consideration.

One, as I alluded earlier, this bill has faced some challenges. It is almost disturbing to hear the folks who are advocating cooperation with China on the climate crisis wanted to water this down. That's a wrong approach. The law is made to be implemented. We need to fully implement this law.

And then the other thing that we need to look into is close the loopholes within China. We've been receiving news regarding human trafficking, transporting Uyghur workers to inland China. We are also hearing change of labels, country of origin.

Technology should be able to address that. I recently spoke at the Tech Expo organized by CBP. They are talking about using DNA technology to trace.

So technology and also consumer advocacy is also very important.

Chairman Gallagher. The gentlelady's time has expired.

Dr. Dunn.

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

First, I want to echo the sentiments of all of my colleagues in thanking Ms. Haitiwaji and Ms. Sidik for their testimonies.

Speaking here, reliving your experience, takes immense courage and strength. Americans and people around the world need to hear your story. So thank you very much.

As the chair mentioned, we stand ready to help and build off of some of our earlier progress. During the 117th Congress we passed H.R. 6256 to ensure that goods made with forced labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur region of China do not enter the United States market.

Just 3 months ago we passed H.R. 4785, the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act,

which passed the House with broad bipartisan support. This bill will address human rights violations committed against Uyghurs and other minority groups in the Xinjiang region.

Still there is a lot more work to be done, and I thank the chairman for his leadership fighting this egregious human rights abuse -- forced movements, forced labor, torture, brainwashing, genocide -- all at the hands of the CCP. The list goes on.

Personally, I'm particularly disturbed by the Chinese Communist Party's forced organ harvesting practice. As a physician, I know the miracle of organ transplantation. It's lifesaving for many people.

For those who choose -- and I emphasize choose -- to donate organs, they are doing a great service to others. However, the need for organs is much greater than the number donations can meet.

According to the United Network for Organ Sharing, more than 100,000 people in the United States need an organ transplant, but last year just 43,000 transplants occurred.

So how is it that in China wait times for hearts and lungs are significantly shorter than in other countries? In fact, articles suggest that patients are even given their dates of surgery well in advance.

This seemingly unlimited supply of organs tells us the organs are harvested on demand -- on demand.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to enter into the record a statement of Mr. Ethan Gutmann on forced organ harvesting in China.

With no exception?

Mr. Wittman. [Presiding.] With no objection.

[The information follows:]

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Dr. Dunn. Thank you.

In May of 2022, at a Tom Lantos Commission hearing, human rights investigators uncovered that detainees about 28 years old in the camps were undergoing health checks that included blood tests and crossmatches for organ harvesting. According to this report, some of the detainees were forced to wear color-coded bracelets after the health check, and they'd vanish, they'd disappear from the camps in the middle of the night.

These facts and details paint a horrific picture. But don't take our word for it. On the screen behind me and on the poster in front of me is a published interim judgment of the China Tribunal.

And I would also like to enter this into the record.

Mr. Wittman. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

***** COMMITTEE INSERT *****

Dr. Dunn. Thank you.

In December of 2018, the China Tribunal pronounced its final judgment on organ harvesting in China, concluding that the tribunal's members are certain unanimously and sure beyond a reasonable doubt that in China forced organ harvesting from prisoners of conscience has been practiced for a substantial period of time and involving a very substantial number of victims.

That's simply horrifying to a surgeon I must tell you.

Ms. Sidik, you spoke of one of your students who disappeared, and I invite you to enlarge on this story of any other things you know about these people from camps disappearing.

And, by the way, the rest of the panel, if you have insights, I invite you to lean in as well.

Ms. Sidik. As I worked at the concentration camps, I overheard that the policemen who drives the car and transports people and that the policemen were talking to each other, they said that there was one drug rehabilitation center in Meechen Urumqi, but later that place turned into organ transplant center.

Dr. Dunn. Well, these are horrible things to contemplate.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Chairman Gallagher. [Presiding.] Thank you.

Ms. Stevens.

Ms. Stevens. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

It shouldn't be lost on us that we are having this hearing on the close of a 3-day visit that President Xi has taken to Moscow, standing with Mr. Putin, proclaiming their distrust of the United States, while Mr. Putin's illegal war in Ukraine takes place, while

more crimes against humanity are being inflicted.

And it was a convening arranged under the guise of brokering peace in a conflict whose pretense is universally known to be fabricated.

The gross deception that comes from a leader whose actions in Xinjiang our own State Department, across multiple administrations, has determined to constitute crimes against humanity and genocide.

Mr. Turkel, do you have any reflections on why President Xi would be in Moscow working to align himself with Mr. Putin at this time, in this moment, even as we're having this conversation here this evening?

Mr. Turkel. So from just observing the meeting and news reports, he wants to tell the Chinese people that he is still welcomed as a key international player. By showing up there previously to Central Asia, as you may recall, that he received highest state honor in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, despite the fact that the Kazakhs and the Uyghurs, so is the Uzbeks, essentially are from the same family.

So that he wants to show to the domestic audience that he is still a player in the international community. As you know, the Chinese Government has been somewhat isolated in the last few years.

And then, two, he wants to serve to find a way to improve China's economic condition. They are not doing well.

So those are the two observations.

And also, before Putin's re-invasion of Ukraine as you may recall last February, they signed almost unconditional love letter. So that needs to be displayed.

So that's my take on the visit.

Ms. Stevens. Yeah. And it's certainly exceptional and profound to have Ms. Haitiwaji and Ms. Sidik testifying before us here in Women's History Month on the

atrocities that are taking place in these labor camps.

And as we saw on the eve of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, we were able to decouple, to an extreme extent, from Russia. We were able to break off ties.

And something our committee is wrestling with is this economic consideration. And we are well aware, based on tonight's hearing, more so aware of the Forced Labor Prevention Act creating the presumption that goods produced or manufactured in Xinjiang or by entities with certain ties to Xinjiang that are made with forced labor unless determined otherwise.

And we need to figure out -- and I'm wondering, Mr. Turkel, if you could help us to identify the potential vulnerabilities in the existing law that allow the CCP to get their exports around this Uyghur Forced Labor Protection Act.

Mr. Turkel. One of the things in that that has not been helpful is the \$800 de minimus, that they need to be addressed. Because of that, some of the consumer products are still available, just to search --

Ms. Stevens. A lot of things cost less than \$800.

Mr. Turkel. Yeah. DJI on Amazon you will get at least this dozen hits -- that is a sanctioned company -- because the drone is apparently less than \$800.

So we have to close as simple loopholes as that.

And also I generally want the business community to do some soul checking here. You know, we need to tell them: Not on my name. We are complicit in this because of -- and this is the same business community just repeating -- making us feel that we're seeing IBM 2.0.

Ms. Stevens. Yeah. Well, to our survivors, you may not speak our language, but we have heard you tonight, and we will take away on this committee hearing that we will no longer accept the unacceptable, we will no longer allow economics above all else,

and we will fight for truth, for justice, and for human rights.

Thank you.

And I yield back, Mr. Chair.

Chairman Gallagher. Thank you.

Mr. Banks.

Mr. Banks. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

One thing that we haven't talked a whole lot about tonight is the why. Why does the CCP round up and persecute the Uyghurs?

Mr. Turkel, is it merely -- or entirely because of their religion, their Muslim faith?

Mr. Turkel. To the Chinese Government stability is a paramount concern.

Starting 2012, 2013, all the way to 2014, they identified liberalism, Islamism, or Western religion, foreign religion, Western influence, presenting, posing an existential threat to the CCP leadership. So in order to do that, in order to tackle that problem, they come up with this preemptive policing.

So the way that they are describing the religion in particular, likening it to a thought virus, infectious disease, is very telling. So to the CCP government, the Uyghur people's ethnoreligious identity is a virus that will affect, impact, that will become a bigger problem if the Uyghurs remain to be a distinct ethnoreligious group.

The same thing is happening, similar thing is happening to the Tibetan people. But the most vulnerable community under that Western influence pushback effort are the Christians and Muslims. So that shows to the Chinese a sign of disloyalty and potential political threat.

Mr. Banks. As you know, earlier today the CEO of TikTok appeared before a congressional committee. After the committee his COO, one of his top executives, said that the criticism of TikTok coming from Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle

was rooted in xenophobia.

One Congressman, Jamaal Bowman, even went as far to agree and said it's racist to suggest that we would ban TikTok or to attack TikTok.

I wonder, Mr. Turkel, is it a strategy of the Chinese Communist Party to deflect criticism by calling that criticism racist or talking about Asian-American hate or to use that type of rhetoric and innuendo to deflect criticism overall?

Mr. Turkel. Certainly. They are also taking advantage of American ignorance. They are just presenting something available in an app store that you can download and watch more videos.

But they're missing the point. It is intoxicating the minds of the American youth through the fake news, through disinformation.

Just case in point, genocide denial. The guy that I alluded earlier could not even acknowledge that this government he is affiliated with through his job is committing genocide.

So American people need to know this company is one of the biggest facilitators, enablers of the ongoing genocide.

Mr. Banks. And it's not helpful to use that type of rhetoric, right? I mean, it diminishes the whole point of speaking out against genocide and doing something about it. You would agree with that?

Mr. Turkel. Yeah.

Mr. Banks. Would you say that the Biden administration has downplayed Uyghur genocide?

Mr. Turkel. To the Biden administration's credit, starting from 2020, a number of significant decisions were made. For example, acknowledging the previous administration's genocide determination was a huge relief for a lot of us.

And also something significantly done was the coordinated sanctions in March 2021 with Canada, U.K., and the European Union. That should be the new norm. I would like to see that. And I also would like to see the Biden administration continue to raise this as it did in 2021 at the G7.

But what is not acceptable today is that some officials in the Biden administration trying to tone down human rights criticism on China's ongoing genocide to get Chinese cooperation in the climate crisis. But we're not seeing this issue on the same page. Climate crisis is not a top priority for the Chinese Government. They will do what is best for them, what serves their interest, their leadership in the Communist Party, not because of our urging.

Mr. Banks. Can you speak to any specific incidents or examples of the State Department backing off confronting China on the Uyghur --

Mr. Turkel. The State Department has not done that yet, but I'm just troubled by some of the comments made by Special Envoy John Kerry, the comments made by the Energy Secretary recently complimenting China's investment in green technology. They steal. They subsidize. They use dirty coal. And they enslave human being. What kind of green technology investment are we talking about?

Mr. Banks. Dr. Zenz, very quickly, I have just a couple of seconds left. Can you talk about how the CCP intimidates Uyghurs inside of the United States?

Mr. Zenz. It does so through automated phone calls, at least in some countries. I don't know if the automated phone calls are also a thing in the U.S. With the embassy, the threat of not extending passports. And the CCP has an extensive strategy of surveying and intimidating dissidents of all kinds, and that's a big problem.

Mr. Banks. Thank you. My time has expired.

Chairman Gallagher. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Auchincloss.

Mr. Auchincloss. Thank you, Chairman.

As one of two dozen Jewish Representatives in the House, I know too well the consequences of failures to confront hate and mass atrocities.

In 1919, nearly 100,000 Jews were murdered in pogroms in Ukraine and Poland. My great grandparents, like so many families today, escaped the pogroms in Ukraine to save their lives.

In the years following the further mass murder of the Holocaust, Radio Free Europe was conceived by the United States to utilize the talents of post-World War II Soviet and Eastern European emigres in support of American foreign policy and international democracy and human rights.

In our first hearing I spoke with Mr. Pottinger about the importance of supporting independent journalism. Radio Free Asia, also developed and funded through the United States Agency for Global Media, is providing these services of independent journalism in the Indo-Pacific region. They were the first media outlet to publish reporting about the CCP's internment, forced separation, slave labor, and sterilization of the Uyghur people.

Ms. Kikoler, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum has a list of, quote, "tools for atrocity prevention," which include naming and shaming and fact-finding.

Can you explain the role of the free press in preventing and exposing human rights abuses in China?

Ms. Kikoler. Thank you so much for the question and also for sharing your own personal experience.

The role of Radio Free Asia has been incredibly important, and the role of the independent press is essential to telling the story of the Uyghur people.

I want to highlight a few things.

One is that many of the journalists themselves are Uyghur, and they're telling the stories of their own communities. I can't even imagine the weight that sits on their shoulders as they do that at great risk to their own personal families and also to broader communities.

Two, often they are able to do so in the language of the Uyghur language which the Chinese Government is intent on also trying to erase and eliminate.

We have to underscore that the Chinese Government has destroyed one-third of all mosques. They are in the process of really trying to do everything they can to culturally destroy the Uyghur community.

So this press is an important way to not just get the story out, but also preserve a historical record and also continuity of the community. But as you mentioned, not just Uyghur journalists, but also independent journalists have been able to go and document the stories of what has happened, telling the stories of individuals and survivors that have been able to actually get out.

The Chinese Government wants you to think that there is no evidence. There is ample evidence of the crimes that are occurring. Yes, we need unfettered access to Xinjiang, but enough information exists.

Mr. Auchincloss. Thank you.

Dr. Zenz, the Victims of Communism website hosts a searchable database of imprisoned Uyghurs from leaked documents which were authenticated by 14 world-leading outlets. How can the United States Government support the continuation of that valuable resource?

Mr. Zenz. I think the United States can make use of it, point out its existence, maybe enable translation in different languages and a greater leveraging of tools like this.

Civil society organizations like ourselves and nonprofits like the Holocaust Museum Victims of Communism, we have been at the forefront of uncovering aspects of the atrocity and documenting it. And the government has heavily relied on our work, which we are proud of, but sometimes we wonder why the government isn't doing more of this itself.

For example, in 2019, I spoke to the State Department and others, and in 2019 it was made clear to me that the United States Government was crucially relying on my open source work for understanding the atrocity. And I found it very difficult to believe that a single individual was doing work that potentially the most powerful, sophisticated government in the world could not. I understand that the capacity has been increased, but still I think there is a lot of potential.

Mr. Auchincloss. On the subject of governments doing more, Mr. Turkel, you had mentioned the Human Rights Council vote, 19 to 17, in the fall to prevent even discussion, much less action, on the report on the abuse of the Uyghur people. I'll note that Brazil, India, and Mexico all abstained under pressure from the CCP.

What can U.S. diplomats do to convince these rising powers of the Global South that their voice is necessary in standing up to the CCP?

Mr. Turkel. Just quickly, we need to have a special envoy. This is a full-time job. I think there is strong coordination required within our government, interagency, intergovernmental efforts. This has to be an office-level, special envoy-level of task so that people will take us seriously.

Mr. Auchincloss. Thank you.

I yield back.

Chairman Gallagher. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. First, Ms. Haitiwaji, Ms. Sidik, thank you. You have reinforced for us that the Chinese Communist Party is engaged in systemic acts of pure and unadulterated evil.

Thank you.

Secondly, Mr. Chairman, I would ask for unanimous consent to show a short video from The Economist which displays the terrifyingly Orwellian surveillance state that the CCP has assembled to control the Uyghur people.

Chairman Gallagher. Without objection, the clerk will play the video.

[Video shown.]

Mr. Johnson. Ms. Kikoler, is that an accurate representation?

Ms. Kikoler. I mean, I would argue that for the plight of the Uyghur community the situation is even more dire. You can't walk more than 500 meters without having your face scanned.

I think, as our two speakers before mentioned, for all too many Uyghur families they have a member of the Han community living within their homes. They are being surveilled both through human surveillance and also through high-tech surveillance.

So, yes, it's an Orwellian system. It's one, as Nury said, where you can simply not escape being followed at any moment. And we are right now, as we celebrate Ramadan, merely observing the holiday would be grounds for a person to be detained. Every single Uyghur in this room has family members detained.

Mr. Johnson. So that video is really just the tip of the iceberg?

Ms. Kikoler. Yes.

Mr. Johnson. Dr. Zenz, is it fair to say that American investors and firms are providing Chinese technology firms the resources that they need to develop these high-tech surveillance and control tools?

Mr. Zenz. Yes, they have done so and in some ways still do, and in some ways it's already too late because the Chinese are now on the cutting edge for doing so.

Mr. Johnson. So, Mr. Turkel, is it accurate to say that these surveillance tools, as the Chinese Communist Party perfects them by using them to repress the Uyghur people, could be used to surveil Americans?

Mr. Turkel. Absolutely. That's one of the effective tools that they will use to make us to compromise our personal information, privacy, and also threaten our sovereignty. They will also affect the democratic norms. We are already seeing the signs in Zimbabwe and in countries that they are using [inaudible] provided technology to monitor opposition leaders. That would be the new norm that China is trying to create.

Mr. Johnson. Chair Turkel, earlier you talked about Uyghur people being forced to put apps that spy on their devices. I would let everyone know -- some of you probably already know -- that TikTok has changed its U.S. privacy policy, allowing the app to automatically collect new types of biometric data, including what it describes as face prints and voice prints.

Chair Turkel, is it possible that these kind of high-tech surveillance tools are already on American phones?

Mr. Turkel. Yes. As I said, that's a spying tool for the Chinese state. They can collect data all around, personal videos, pictures, communications. People argue that our social media companies do that as well, but that's for commercial purpose. But what the Chinese are doing it for, national security or whatever, human -- the data that they have is a valuable data for advancing their AI technology.

Mr. Johnson. I think Ms. Kikoler did the right thing by reminding us that surveillance on a phone is nothing like the kind of heart-wrenching atrocities that are committed to millions of Uyghur people every day.

But I would remind Americans that this is not just a problem over there. It is a problem here. Americans need to get TikTok off their phones.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Chairman Gallagher. Thank you.

Mr. Torres.

Mr. Torres. China spends more on domestic security than it spends on its own military. At the beginning of Xi Jinping's rule, from 2012 to 2017, China's domestic security budget doubled. But in the Xinjiang province, the security budget tripled.

Xinjiang has emerged as the most Orwellian police state on Earth, with cameras and checkpoints tracking every person and monitoring every behavior that triggers even the slightest semblance of suspicion.

The mass surveillance of Uyghurs reflects the pathological paranoia of a regime that lives in existential fear of its own people, that fears the loss of its own power, and that seeks survival and self-preservation by any means necessary, including genocide.

At the heart of genocide is the intent to destroy a people. There is clear and convincing evidence that the CCP has the intent to destroy the culture of Uyghurs, to destroy the identity, the history, and the very fertility of Uyghurs as a people.

As a result of forced sterilizations, abortions, and IUD insertions, from 2017 to 2019 the birth rates in Xinjiang collapsed by 50 percent, the steepest decline in birth rates in recent history. Not even the genocide in Rwanda or Cambodia or Bosnia produced a comparable collapse in fertility.

There are those who do dispute or are hesitant to use the word "genocide." But, Ms. Kikoler, is it fair to say that the unprecedented collapse in birth rates among Uyghurs, combined with the cultural erasure of Uyghurs through systematic reeducation, constitutes compelling evidence of genocide?

Ms. Kikoler. I think the situation that you just presented is one that is so incredibly alarming that every single person has to take notice, and we need to uphold our obligation to prevent genocide.

The sad reality is that we're looking at a situation where crimes are already occurring, and we should have been responding much earlier to the warning signs and the risk factors of that.

And I think it's really important to underscore -- and there's been much discussion about the why -- perpetrators have many motivations for why they commit crimes and why they escalate their crimes, including up to genocide. And we need to understand their motivations so that we can develop policies that are actually more strategic and targeted to try to change that behavior.

The desire for stability is motivated, yes, by a concern about identity, perceptions of religious extremism, terrorism, splittism, the three evils that the Chinese Government advances.

But the reality is there's also an economic motivation. The Belt and Road Initiative, which is critical to Xinjiang, has got three major intersections that cross through that territory.

So the commission of these crimes has many different causes which we have to put more of an emphasis on and --

Mr. Torres. Well, there is no Belt and Road without Xinjiang.

Ms. Kikoler. Exactly.

Mr. Torres. And it also has an abundance of minerals, the highest energy reserves. It has immense strategic importance to the CCP.

As we reflect on the genocide against Uyghurs, I'm reminded of the following quote from Justice Robert Jackson in his opening statement at the Nuremberg Trials:

"The wrongs which we seek to condemn and punish have been so calculated, so malignant, and so devastating, that civilization cannot tolerate their being ignored, because it cannot survive their being repeated."

And yet, despite this warning, I worry that the international community has lost its sense of shock and horror at the very mention of genocide. And if you're going to invoke the term "genocide," as the United States has done, the word "genocide," which commands moral weight, must carry with it an obligation to galvanize the world into action.

And if you're wondering whether the United States has done enough diplomatically to stop the Uyghur genocide, look no further than the United Nations Human Rights Council which voted against even debating, let alone denouncing, the human rights violations in Xinjiang. Even Ukraine voted to abstain. Every Muslim country, except Somalia, voted no.

And so, Mr. Turkel, do you believe as I do that the United States as the leader of the free world must commit ourselves to building a multilateral coalition aimed at stopping the Uyghur genocide?

Mr. Turkel. Absolutely. To your earlier point, words matter. There is a reason to call this genocide. Once we call it, the next step, under the Article I of the Genocide Convention, is to stop it and then hold those perpetrators to account.

More than 150 countries around the world are state party to the Genocide Convention. Only ten, including some parliaments, our government, give a proper name to this crime. It's a genocide. It's a crime against humanity. It is past time for action.

Again, as I said, this has been ongoing genocide in the last 6, 7 years.

Mr. Torres. My time is about to expire. But as we reflect on Ramadan, there is no government on Earth that has done more to demonize the Muslim faithful and to

desecrate the Muslim faith than the Chinese Communist Party.

Mr. Turkel. Absolutely.

Mr. Torres. And with that, I'll leave it at that.

Chairman Gallagher. Mrs. Hinson.

Mrs. Hinson. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

And such powerful stories we've heard here tonight. And I have no doubt that this will be the first of many conversations that we have, not just as a committee, but as a Congress, about how tainted our supply chain has become because of the CCP's truly abhorrent use of Uyghur slave labor and acts of genocide against the Uyghur people. It's, frankly, disgusting and heartbreaking, and we have to do more.

So I'll be focusing tonight on sharing the truth about these horrifying links to the CCP's atrocities around the world. We know the Uyghur people have been silenced time and time again in China, but they will not be silenced here tonight.

So thank you for sharing your stories.

And before we get to our witnesses tonight, my questions, I would like to share some truly disturbing and eye-opening videos from Radio Free Asia journalists. They're sharing their stories of how the CCP directly targeted them by framing them as terrorists, keeping detailed and often falsified information about them and their families, and, in many horrifying cases, detaining their families as well.

So I would like to, Mr. Chairman, if we can, play that video.

Chairman Gallagher. The clerk will play the video.

[Video shown.]

Mrs. Hinson. His work does matter, and what a haunting thing to say, that that guilt haunts him every single day because of what's happening to his family.

As a former reporter, seeing and hearing about the CCP silencing of independent

journalists and their families is like truly watching a dystopian horror story play out, but it's not a story; it's real.

So, Ms. Kikoler, can you please provide some historical context for us tonight comparing how Xi Jinping is containing Uyghurs using facial recognition software, surveillance technology as well, to how the Nazis used containment during the Holocaust?

Ms. Kikoler. Thank you so much for your question and also just for sharing the stories of many of our colleagues.

You know, I think that it's really important as an institution, what we try to do is we try to draw the lessons from the past and apply them to the future so that we can hopefully prevent these crimes from occurring. Tragically, what we're doing right now is we're talking about crimes as they are actually ongoing.

I think when we think in the Holocaust context, yes, technology was used. It was used as a means of counting Jewish populations, creating censuses, to identify the populations, for containing people.

But it's very hard to draw comparisons because each situation is so different and so unique. I think we really need to focus on what is happening right now in China and what are the specifics of the crimes that are being perpetrated by the Chinese Government at this particular point.

What we do know is the commonality in the experiences of the suffering. We know what it feels like. And so many of the Holocaust survivors who have spoken to our Uyghur partners and have participated in events talk about the pain of what it feels to be separated from their loved ones. Though it's been 80 years, that is the tie that binds because that is something that people understand just so intimately on such a human, human level.

Mrs. Hinson. And, absolutely, we heard tonight our witnesses describe them being called by numbers. And you talk about the similarities there between those situations.

With the few moments we have left, Dr. Zenz, can you react to the videos that I shared here tonight and just provide your perspective as someone who's an expert on victimization under communism, which is exactly what we saw?

Mr. Zenz. So one of the strategies and probably a reason for the scale of the mass internments is the guilt by association. And we've had the testimony of detaining family members, punishing individuals by detaining others. And we have horrific incidents where the parents of Uyghur dissidents or Uyghurs in exile were paraded on Chinese state television denouncing their children for advocacy on behalf of the Uyghurs.

And I think that's one of the reasons why we have this incredible scale also for the detention by guilt by association.

Mrs. Hinson. Thank you, Dr. Zenz.

I yield back, Mr. Chair.

Chairman Gallagher. Thank you.

Ms. Brown.

Ms. Brown. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

First, I want to start from a place of gratitude by thanking the witnesses, particularly Director Kikoler and the Uyghur survivors, as well as Elisha Wiesel, the survivor of the Holocaust, who gave us the video testimony at the top of this hearing.

In Ohio's 11th Congressional District, we are proud to have members of the community that have also dealt with the trauma and legacy of genocide. And, yes, I am also referring to the Holocaust. Jewish survivors in Cleveland erected a memorial to the Holocaust, our very own Kol Israel Memorial, in 1961, which is the oldest of its kind in the

country.

Survivors anticipated that scapegoating and hateful sentiments towards marginalized groups could repeat itself and hoped that the memorial would be a beacon of remembrance, education, and the reminder of "never again."

Tragically, the world has found itself facing actions of danger and intolerance once more. In this committee we have the opportunity to develop policies that increase our competitiveness through investments in technologies of the future, workforce development and skills-based education, and improving our high-skilled immigration system.

As we pursue this committee's work, we must work against xenophobia, anti-Asian stereotyping, and any efforts to raise suspicions against Chinese Americans who do not bear the responsibility of the actions of the Chinese Communist Party.

As our witnesses have demonstrated, the Uyghur genocide and the ramifications of past genocidal movements are relevant today.

The lessons we must learn from questions about the Americans' action to address the Holocaust are extremely relevant to our present discussion. According to the Anti-Defamation League, over three-quarters of Americans, 85 percent, believe at least one anti-Jewish trope as opposed to 61 percent found in 2019. Twenty percent of Americans believe six or more tropes. It's the highest measured levels in decades.

So, Ms. Kikoler, I know you expressed that we have to move forward, but I think it's important that we touch on something from the past so that we can avoid the same mistakes.

Can you describe the movements or bigotry that led to the genocide of approximately 6 million European Jews and at least 5 million Soviet prisoners of war, disabled individuals, Romani, Jehovah Witnesses, gay individuals, and others during the

Holocaust?

Ms. Kikoler. Thank you so much, Representative Brown, for your question.

I think what I would like to do perhaps in answering is just bridge what lies often at the root of the commission of so many of these crimes, and that is unchecked hate. And I think when we talk about Islamophobia, when we talk about antisemitism, when we talk about anti-Chinese sentiment, at the root of that is the perception of difference and the inability to come together as a people to understand that we are bound by the same common threads that unite us all.

There's no difference between Nury and I. We suffer the same way. Our families and experiences are the same. But I think, unfortunately, what happens all too long is that there is the intentional desire to create divisions amongst people.

And when we look the situation in China, the Chinese Government has also been working very hard to create the conditions in which genocidal ideology can take root.

The same thing happened in Nazi Germany. What's illustrative in the context of Germany was there was an effort by the Nazi government to do a boycott of Jewish-owned businesses early into their reign. It did not work because neighbors would not turn on neighbors. But yet years later when they did it again, it was effective.

In the context of what is happening in China right now, the longer and longer that these crimes occur, the longer that Chinese Government officials are able to utter simply hateful rhetoric to demonize the entire Uyghur community as being terrorists, where, unfortunately, entrenching this type of Han supremacy and a genocidal ideology that will be all the harder to undermine and to dismantle.

So I think when we think about the lessons of the Holocaust and we think about just the generational trauma that has occurred, we have to be committed here as a group of people who are vested in advancing the best interests of peoplekind, but also of

American values and doing everything we can to stop the crimes happening right now.

I think the most important thing that we talk about as an institution is that everything we do matters. Each of us has the ability to effect positive change.

And for the American public that are watching right now, as Nury said, this is a genocide that in some ways is proximate. Each of us likely owns a T-shirt that might have come from slave labor in Xinjiang. We may not know it, but we have a responsibility to understand that our actions may be harming people who are living under conditions that are simply incomprehensible, yet they're real.

Ms. Brown. Well, I want to thank you for that and, again, reiterate my appreciation for everyone's presence here today. And I look forward to continuing productive conversations around strategic competition and maintenance of ethnoreligious freedoms here and abroad.

And with that, I yield back.

Chairman Gallagher. Mr. Gimenez.

Mr. Gimenez. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And, again, I want to thank Ms. Haitiwaji and Sidik for their very powerful, very powerful testimony.

And I guess I'm going to wrap this up. I'm the last one, last one up. But I want to make sure that people understand that when I speak about the Chinese Communist Party or the Government of China, I never -- I don't have anything against the Chinese people as a whole. I just hate communism. I hate communism because I come from Cuba and I had to leave because of a communist state, which a lot of the things that I'm hearing are happening in China happen in Cuba, not the same because I haven't heard of genocide happening in Cuba because they're all Cubans.

So can you name me the companies, American companies, that are benefiting

from the forced labor and the atrocities committed on the Uyghur people in China? Can you name them? Because somebody said we need to name names here.

And so what companies, what American companies, are actually profiting from the suffering of the Uyghur people.

Mr. Turkel. The companies that have been in the news includes Nike, Coca-Cola, Intel, and some of the solar panel manufacturers, and also some European companies, like Siemens, Volkswagen, as I noted earlier.

So there we talk about more than 80 global brands. It's a large number. This is precisely -- this is part of the reason that with the U.S. UFLPA we have not been able to stop the forced labor practices in China.

Mr. Gimenez. How are they able to skirt any laws that prohibit the use of forced labor, et cetera, and still operate and sell their products in the United States?

Mr. Turkel. A couple of years, I think it was last year or late 2021, CECC held a hearing. They had business representatives, American multinational corporation representatives, and none of them even willing to acknowledge that there's human rights abuses against the Uyghur people. This was on the record that anyone can go and watch on the CECC YouTube channel.

Mr. Gimenez. But is it proven that -- is it proven -- well, I guess they won't acknowledge it. Great, okay. But we know it's happening, right?

Mr. Turkel. Right.

Mr. Gimenez. The other thing that really bothers me about today's hearing was the issue of the organ harvesting.

Are any of you aware of this? Do any of you deny it? Does anybody think it's not true? Or of all the witnesses here, does anybody have any knowledge of that actually happening?

Mr. Zenz. My colleague at Victims of Communism, Matthew Robertson, has published a paper in America's leading transplant journal examining over a hundred thousand Chinese academic research papers and closely looking at 2,800 of them. And in 71 Chinese research papers, he found in the text evidence that basically the donor rule was not observed, meaning that several of the persons in question were executed through organ extraction.

Mr. Gimenez. So what I read in the testimony -- or at least what I read -- was that there's a calculation of some 25,000 to 50,000 28-year-olds -- because apparently that's the age, the great age, the best age to get your organs harvested is when you're 28 years old -- the murder of 25,000 -- the outright murder of 25,000 to 50,000 28-year-olds by the Chinese Communist Party for organ harvesting.

Does anybody doubt that number? I certainly don't. I'll tell you why. Because there is also evidence that you can schedule your organ transplant, basically an organ on demand.

Now, I find the Chinese Communist Party not only to be repressive and brutal; it's also barbaric. And if we don't do something about it and if we don't stop this, then my fear is that my children and my grandchildren will one day face a world where they are going to be dominated by this party. And so you may be the bellwether of what could happen to this country, to this world, if we don't take action today, because the only thing that the Chinese Communist Party reacts to is action -- not rhetoric -- action.

My time is up. I yield back.

Chairman Gallagher. Thank you.

I want to thank all of our witnesses for their incredible testimony and the phenomenal Q&A that we just had.

I want to thank our committee members for their thoughtful contributions.

Tonight we've been witness to soul-chilling evidence of crimes against humanity. We've heard from experts who showed that the policy of forced sterilization, forced IUD insertion, and forced abortion easily clears any commonly used definition of genocide.

We've heard that detainment of Uyghurs is the largest internment of an ethnoreligious minority since the Holocaust.

We've heard that the entire region has been turned into an open air prison through the most oppressive techno-totalitarian surveillance system ever devised.

We've heard that American companies are complicit in the forced labor being extracted from the Uyghur population.

We have heard that American investors, banks, and pension funds are financing companies engaged in surveillance, forced labor, and the building of internment camps.

Most importantly, we heard from Gulbahar Haitiwaji and Qelbinur Sidik, women who were firsthand witnesses in the camps.

What else do we possibly need to hear?

In Elie Wiesel's Nobel Peace Prize speech, he imagined the boy he'd been in the concentration camps talking to the man he had become. And he said: "And now the boy is turning to me. 'Tell me,' he asks, 'what have you done with my future? What have you done with your life?'

"And I tell him that I've tried, that I've tried to keep memory alive, that I've tried to fight those who would forget, because if we forget, we are guilty. We are accomplices.

"And then I explained to him how naive we were, that the world did know and remained silent."

My friends, as Ms. Kikoler astutely pointed out in her written testimony, many often wonder what they would have done if they had been alive during the Holocaust. Today you said we want people to ask: Now that I know, what will I do?

This is our "never again" moment.

Thank you, thank you, thank you.

Members, I remind you that your questions for the record are due 1 week from today on March 30. Your staff will receive instructions shortly.

And with that, without objection, the committee hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 9:59 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]