The Chinese Communist Party’s Ongoing
UYGHUR GENOCIDE: Policy Recommendations
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The People’s Republic of China (PRC) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) continue their systematic policies to suppress the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) and “Sinicize” its Uyghur, Kazakh, and other minority populations.

Eyewitness testimony, leaked PRC government documents, and other evidence shows a clear link between government and party decision making and the crimes against humanity and genocide being committed against the Uyghurs and other minorities.

It is estimated that as many as two million Uyghurs and other minorities have been detained in mass internment camps and subjected to political indoctrination, torture, forced labor, and other human rights abuses. The export of products made by forced labor has enabled the CCP to build a technologically enabled surveillance state and allowed the party to profit from its atrocities.

The following key findings provide a blueprint for Congressional action:

1. **The perpetrators of the CCP’s genocide continue to commit atrocities** in the XUAR and have not been held sufficiently accountable for their actions.

2. **The United States has led the way** in trying to hold the perpetrators of the CCP’s genocide and crimes against humanity accountable, but other countries have lagged in fulfilling their treaty commitments to prevent or halt genocide as well as to protect victims.

3. **Products made with Uyghur forced labor continue to contaminate global supply chains.**

4. **U.S. and international investment in the PRC contributed** to the development and deployment of advanced technology that enables the surveillance and control apparatus in the XUAR.

5. **Existing statutes** to hold the perpetrators accountable and deter further atrocities have not been fully implemented.

6. **Uyghurs and others who escape CCP repression continue to be subject of CCP harassment** and intimidation in the United States and elsewhere internationally.
SELECT COMMITTEE HEARING ON THE UYGHUR GENOCIDE

The House Select Committee on the Strategic Competition between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party (Select Committee) was formed at the beginning of the 118th Congress to develop a plan of action to defend the American people, our economy, and values from the threat posed by the CCP. The Select Committee’s second hearing focused on the CCP’s ongoing genocide against the Uyghur people.

WITNESSES

Ms. Gulbahar Haitiwaji, Camp Survivor and Author, *How I Survived a Chinese “Reeducation” Camp: A Uyghur Woman’s Story*

Ms. Qelbinur Sidik, Human Rights Advocate and Camp Witness

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

Ms. Naomi Kikoler, Director, Simon-Skjodt Center for the Prevention of Genocide, United States Holocaust Museum

TESTIMONY

The hearing was divided into two panels. The first panel included testimony from two first-hand witnesses and victims of the internment camps in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR). These victims shared their personal experiences with the CCP’s horrendous human rights abuses against the Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities in the XUAR.

The first witness was Ms. Gulbahar Haitiwaji, an ethnic Uyghur from Ghulja, who has lived in France with her husband and two daughters since 2006. She was the only person in her immediate family who had not already become a French citizen when PRC authorities lured her back to the XUAR and arrested her in January 2017. The PRC sentenced Ms. Haitiwaji in 2018 to seven years of “re-education.” As Ms. Haitiwaji recounted in her testimony, she was first detained in an internment camp and then in a police station until March 2019. Ms. Haitiwaji was then placed under residential surveillance (house arrest) from March 2019. She was eventually allowed to return to France in August 2019 thanks to her family’s activism and French government efforts. In 2022, Ms. Haitiwaji published a memoir, *How I Survived a Chinese “Reeducation” Camp - A Uyghur Woman’s Story*, recounting her experience in the internment camp.

The second witness in the first panel was Ms. Qelbinur Sidik, an ethnic Uzbek from Urumchi. Ms. Sidik was a Chinese language teacher and administrator in an
Urumchi primary school. In her testimony, Ms. Sidik described how in 2017, CCP authorities ordered her to teach Chinese language in an internment facility, where she witnessed widespread abuses against Uyghurs by CCP officials. She described sexual assault and forced sterilization on female detainees. Ms. Sidik herself, at the age of 50, also fell victim to forced sterilization and was personally assaulted by a live-in Han Chinese minder in her own home. In October 2019, Ms. Sidik was allowed to leave the PRC to visit her daughter in the Netherlands, where she has remained ever since.

Ms. Haitiwaji and Ms. Sidik are among the few victims of the ongoing genocide and atrocities in the XUAR who have been able to flee the PRC to safety in democracies. Many Uyghurs who have escaped the PRC to other countries are less fortunate as they continue to face the danger of coerced repatriation back to the PRC due to Beijing’s pressure.

These firsthand testimonies by Uyghur genocide victims were supplemented by testimonies of subject matter experts in second panel. These panelists included Dr. Adrian Zenz, a leading expert on the CCP’s policy toward the Uyghurs and other ethnic minority groups; Mr. Nury Turkel, a Uyghur American and U.S. government official who has played an instrumental role in drawing attention to the CCP’s ongoing Uyghur genocide, and who is himself a target of the CCP’s transnational repression; and Ms. Naomi Kikoler, a lawyer and genocide scholar from United States Holocaust Museum.

In his testimony, Dr. Zenz reaffirmed, based on leaked documents, that the CCP maintains a systematic policy to subjugate the XUAR. Senior officials at the highest levels of the CCP have been implicated in making and implementing genocidal policies against the Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities in the XUAR. Dr. Zenz recounted how the CCP considers the XUAR’s Uyghur population a national security threat, and as a result has undertaken a genocidal effort aimed at diluting the Uyghur population while encouraging Han Chinese migration to the XUAR. Since 2017, the CCP has detained up to two million Uyghurs and other Turkic or Muslim individuals in internment camps. The CCP also implemented measures to prevent birth, leading to an unprecedented decline in the Uyghur birth rate. Dr. Zenz argued that targeting the Uyghur population reflects the CCP’s heightened political paranoia, which deserves attention since it informs the CCP stance on everything, including its views of U.S.-PRC relations.

Mr. Turkel highlighted that the CCP employs cutting-edge modern technology – such as biometric scanning, forced collection of DNA, iris scans, facial scans, and voice prints, combined with AI-enabled mobile phone tracking, networked surveillance cameras, and other technology-enhanced surveillance methods – to achieve total societal control over the Uyghurs. He argued that the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act is grossly under-enforced and that to date, only 12 CCP government officials and PRC entities have been placed under Global Magnitsky sanctions. Mr. Turkel also asserted that many leading American
entities are complicit in the ongoing genocide through their exposure to supply chains tainted by forced labor or investments in key PRC entities that contribute to the genocide. He not only called for thorough supply chain audits, but also urged the end of American financing of these atrocities. He thought it particularly important to disincentivize universities from investing in entities complicit in the genocide and to require regular reports on research cooperation with PRC institutes in areas related to ethnic profiling and surveillance systems. Mr. Turkel likewise urged the U.S. government to focus on pushing back the CCP’s transnational repression to defend U.S. sovereignty and protect civil liberties under the U.S. Constitution.

Ms. Kikoler testified that the CCP has adopted an unprecedented approach to genocide, avoiding mass killing in favor of more subtle tactics to reduce birthrates and destroy Uyghur culture. The CCP is using mass detention and forced labor to separate the sexes, restricting the reproductive capacity of Uyghur women, and committing crimes against children (including putting them in state custody) supported by intrusive mass surveillance. She also emphasized that there is a reasonable basis to believe the CCP continues to commit crimes against humanity. This creates a binding legal commitment on countries to use all the means that are reasonably available to them to halt Beijing’s atrocities. Ms. Kikoler highlighted three complementary strategies that might help stop the CCP’s ongoing atrocity crimes. The first is to degrade the capacity to commit further atrocities by increasing the cost or decreasing the operational efficiency of the CCP’s systems of repression. The second is to persuade or compel CCP perpetrators to stop committing atrocities. The third is to protect Uyghurs outside the PRC from the CCP’s extraterritorial coercion and repression.

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KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The CCP continues to commit atrocities against the Uyghur people that rise to the level of crimes against humanity and genocide as determined by the U.S. Secretary of State. The last two U.S. administrations determined that the CCP’s actions in the XUAR and against the Uyghur people are genocide and crimes against humanity.1 In recent years, the CCP has directed actions against the Uyghurs and other Muslim or Turkic people that include at least four of the five acts that constitute genocide when “committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group.”2 Leaked policy documents and CCP leadership speeches strongly indicate intent to destroy the Uyghur people and their way of life.3 The CCP’s mass incarceration of Uyghurs and their treatment, including widespread reports of torture, during their imprisonment have caused serious bodily and mental harm to Uyghurs and others living in the XUAR. Long-term separation of the sexes because of mass imprisonment and forced labor as well as coercive measures, such as state-driven sterilization and birth control policies, have greatly suppressed Uyghur birthrates over the last several years.4 And the CCP has taken hundreds of thousands of Uyghur children away from their parents and placed them in state custody, such as orphanages or boarding schools.5

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2 The five are killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; or forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.


The Committee has identified six bipartisan key findings and recommendations related to the CCP’s ongoing genocide of the Uyghur people.

1. **Key Finding: The perpetrators of the CCP’s genocide continue to commit atrocities in the XUAR and have not been held sufficiently accountable for their actions.**

CCP officials who play or have played significant roles in formulating, approving, and executing genocidal policies against the Uyghurs and other Muslim or Turkic minorities in the XUAR should be held responsible for their conduct. The United States also should impose costs on these entities and individuals who have contributed to CCP atrocities, building on the addition of parties specifically implicated in human rights abuses of ethnic minorities from the XUAR to the U.S. Department of Commerce Entity List.

**Recommendation 1: Ensure that CCP officials face consequences for their decisions and actions resulting in genocide and crimes against humanity.**

Specifically, Congress should:

- Consider passing the Uyghur Human Rights Sanctions Review Act (H.R. 1324), which would require the Treasury Department to make sanction determinations on ten PRC technology companies, including Hikvision, ByteDance, Dahua, Tiandy, and BGI, for their complicity in the Uyghur genocide. These companies, among others, supply the equipment used by the CCP to commit genocide against Uyghurs. The sanctions required under this Act would prohibit U.S. persons from conducting transactions with these PRC entities and cut them off from the U.S. financial system.

- Consider legislation to isolate further already sanctioned entities, such as the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps, that play a central role in atrocities and forced labor in the XUAR. Such measures could include secondary sanctions to force non-U.S. businesses to decide between

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having access to the U.S. financial system and continuing to deal with the most abusive PRC entities implicated in the Uyghur genocide.

- Consider legislation to create a public archive of information documenting the Uyghur genocide and the CCP’s responsibility for carrying out atrocities that includes video, audio recordings, written testimonials, photographs, physical items and other items determined appropriate.

2. **Key Finding: The United States has led the way in trying to hold the perpetrators of the CCP’s genocide and crimes against humanity accountable, but other countries have lagged in fulfilling their treaty commitments to prevent or halt genocide as well as to protect victims.**

Treaty commitments and customary international law demand a global response to the atrocities against the Uyghurs and other Muslim and Turkic minorities. The effectiveness of U.S. measures, such as the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, depend in part on the cooperation of allies and partners to create corresponding legislation or administrative regulation. International networks of legislators have yet to be tapped in a systematic way to coordinate policy and action against the CCP.

**Recommendation 2:** Strengthen U.S. diplomatic efforts related to the CCP’s genocide and crimes against humanity against the Uyghurs and other Muslim and Turkic minorities.

Specifically, Congress should:

- Pass the bipartisan Uyghur Policy Act (H.R. 2766) authorizing the creation of a Special Coordinator for Uyghur issues within the State Department to coordinate Uyghur human rights policy in the United States. Duties would include coordinating efforts to release XUAR political prisoners, leading diplomatic efforts to protect Uyghurs in third countries from rendition back to the PRC, elevating enforcement of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and related U.S. public diplomacy.

- Encourage legislators in democratic countries to pass their own legislation to prevent the importation of goods mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part with Uyghur (or other) forced labor in the PRC.

- Request that the administration include a legislative track for bilateral and multilateral engagements with allies and partners, so that members of Congress can engage with their counterparts on the same issues.

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8 Kikoler, Testimony before the Select Committee Uyghur Genocide Hearing.
International parliamentarians have repeatedly looked for engagement with their U.S. counterparts to pressure their governments related to human rights and other aspects of policy toward the PRC.

- Strengthen U.S. government programs for building public awareness around the world about the CCP’s genocide in the XUAR including Radio Free Asia, the National Endowment for Democracy, International Republican Institute, National Democratic Institute, Center for International Private Enterprise, and the Solidarity Center.

3. **Key Finding:** Products made with Uyghur forced labor continue to contaminate global supply chains.

Witnesses asserted that goods produced or manufactured wholly or in part with Uyghur forced labor may continue to enter the United States, including agricultural products,\(^9\) cotton apparel,\(^10\) auto parts,\(^11\) and solar panels.\(^12\) U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) struggles to inspect U.S. imports at the scale necessary to enforce existing laws and regulations on forced labor.\(^13\)

**Recommendation 3:** Strengthen enforcement of U.S. prohibitions on the importation of goods made with Uyghur forced labor.

Specifically, Congress should:

- Provide additional resources to the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to enforce more rigorously the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act and to make a comprehensive list of all companies complicit in forced labor. The funding should be allocated specifically to forced labor investigations and improving targeting for inspections, so that DHS can prioritize imports suspected of being made with Uyghur forced labor.

- Pass legislation amending the Tariff Act of 1930 to reduce the *de minimis* threshold for duty free shipments into the United States with particular focus on foreign adversaries including the PRC. Since the *de minimis*

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threshold was raised from $200 to $800 by the Trade Facilitation and Trade Enforcement Act of 2015 and the rise of new online-only retailers, the value of de minimis imports arriving in the United States has expanded from under $10 billion to $67 billion in 2020 and almost $40 billion in 2021, according to CBP statistics. Exploiting the de minimis threshold may be a major avenue through which PRC companies, such as online retail platforms that sell direct to consumers like Shein and Temu, circumvent the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act. CBP could not reasonably scrutinize goods sent to the United States from the PRC under the current de minimis rule for concerns about forced labor.

- Consider legislation like the Uyghur Genocide Intelligence Review Act (H.R. 3349) to ensure the timely and effective collection of intelligence relating to the Uyghur genocide and require the Director of National Intelligence to submit an annual report addressing the CCP’s practices in the XUAR relating to forced sterilization, birth control, and abortions; forced transfer of Uyghur children from their families; forced labor of Uyghurs inside and outside of the XUAR; and work conditions of Uyghur laborers with a focus on specific industries highlighted in congressional hearings.

4. Key Finding: U.S. and international investment in the PRC contributed to the development and deployment of advanced technology that enables the surveillance and control apparatus in the XUAR.

The opaque matrix of economic and financial ties between the United States and the PRC has made American investors indirectly and often unknowingly complicit in the CCP’s human rights abuses. For example, U.S. university endowments, venture capital funds, pension funds, and technology companies have invested in technology companies behind the CCP’s surveillance architecture, such as SenseTime and Megvii. Advanced technology – including

biometrics and artificial intelligence – enables the CCP’s surveillance and control over Uyghurs and other Muslim or Turkic people in the XUAR.\textsuperscript{17}

Specifically, Congress should:

- Pass legislation prohibiting the federal-retirement Thrift Savings Plan (TSP) and other state and local pension funds from investing in PRC companies that are under U.S. human rights sanctions or prohibited by the UFLPA and consider legislation prohibiting private pension funds from doing the same. The Federal Retirement Thrift Investment Board, which administers the TSP, does not currently consider national security matters as part of its fiduciary duty to participants.\textsuperscript{18} Without legislation prohibiting pension funds from investing in problematic PRC entities, fund managers have no obligation to consider whether a company is complicit in the CCP’s genocidal policies when investing.\textsuperscript{19}

- Pass legislation for outbound investment restrictions or providing other disincentives for institutional investors, such as university endowments and pension funds, to invest in PRC companies that support the CCP’s policies in the XUAR and the Uyghur genocide. Legislation like the DITCH Act (\textit{H.R. 9385}) introduced in the 117\textsuperscript{th} Congress, which denies tax exemption to organizations investing in problematic PRC entities, illustrates the kind of disincentives that might be created.


\textsuperscript{18} 5 U.S.C. 8472(h).

5. **Key Finding: Existing statutes to hold the perpetrators accountable and deter further atrocities have not been fully implemented.**

   To date, the United States has sanctioned only 10 CCP officials responsible for the atrocities in the XUAR.\(^\text{20}\)

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**Recommendation 5:** The Administration should apply the sanctions required by the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act (P.L. 116-145) and the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act (P.L. 117-78).

Specifically, Congress should:

- Call on the Administration to expand the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act Entity List to include the PRC companies in the XUAR and throughout the PRC with ties to forced labor. Researchers have identified numerous PRC companies tied to forced labor that have not been included on this law’s Entity List. Companies outside the PRC that reexport products made with forced labor in the PRC should also be eligible for inclusion on this list.

- Ensure full implementation of authorities provided by the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act by imposing Magnitsky sanctions on all CCP officials responsible for atrocities against Uyghurs, including central government officials directly implicated by the Xinjiang Police Files and other reporting.

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6. **Key Finding: Uyghurs and others who escape CCP repression continue to be subject of CCP harassment and intimidation in the United States and elsewhere internationally.**

   The Uyghurs who escaped from the PRC to other countries often face repression at the hands of CCP officials or their agents.\(^\text{21}\) They are frequently harassed and intimidated by the CCP. Those who seek refuge in Central Asian, Southeast Asian, and Middle Eastern countries often face the peril of being

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**Recommendation 6:** Work with allies and partners to protect Uyghurs in third countries and provide refugee status and asylum for eligible Uyghurs.

\(^{20}\) “U.S. Sanctions List,” *Uyghur Human Rights Project* (last updated April 2023), [https://uhrp.org/sanctions/](https://uhrp.org/sanctions/).

extradited back to the PRC by the host country government under pressure by Beijing. The United States with allies and partners should assist vulnerable Uyghur refugee populations outside the PRC to protect them from further atrocities.

Specifically, Congress should:

• Prioritize U.S. diplomatic efforts to protect vulnerable Uyghurs and other victims of the CCP’s crimes against humanity located in third countries to prevent their coerced repatriation to the PRC.

• Press the Administration on its plan to protect vulnerable Uyghurs and other victims of the CCP’s crimes against humanity located in the United States, and how it intends to use existing authorities to do so, to include countering efforts by undeclared CCP police stations to harass and surveil dissidents.

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