



**DATE:** 3/23/2023

**RE:** House Select Committee on the Strategic Competition Between the United States and Chinese Communist Party Hearing on "The Chinese Communist Party's Ongoing Uyghur Genocide"

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**Topline Summary:**

- Members of the House Select Committee on the Chinese Communist Party gathered to discuss the ongoing persecution and genocide of Uyghurs and other Muslim groups in Xinjiang and across China.
- The committee heard testimony from two Uyghur women who experienced Chinese labor camps firsthand, as well as from experts and activists in the field.
- Members asked witnesses a wide variety of questions, including how the US should mobilize the international community against these atrocities, what Congress can do to help, and how to stop similar occurrences in the future.
- There was discussion about the impact that forced labor has had in global supply chains and how the pervasive the issue is, as well as steps that have been taken to eradicate forced labor from global networks, including through the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act (UFLPA).

**Members Attending:** Chairman Mike Gallagher (R-WI), Ranking Member Raja Krishnamoorthi (D-IL), Rep. Dan Newhouse (R-WA), Rep. Rob Wittman (R-VA), Rep. Blaine Luetkemeyer (R-MO), Rep. Andy Barr (R-KY), Rep. John Moolenaar (R-MI), Rep. Darin LaHood (R-IL), Rep. Neal Dunn (R-FL), Rep. Jim Banks (R-IN), Rep. Dusty Johnson (R-SD), Rep. Michelle Steel (R-CA), Rep. Ashley Hinson (R-IA), Rep. Carlos Gimenez (R-FL), Rep. Kathy Castor (D-FL), Rep. Andre Carson (D-IN), Rep. Seth Moulton (D-MA), Rep. Ro Khanna (D-CA), Rep. Andy Kim (D-NJ), Rep. Mikie Sherrill (D-NJ), Rep. Haley Stevens (D-MI), Rep. Ritchie Torres (D-NY), Rep. Jake Auchincloss (D-MA), Rep. Shontel Brown (D-OH)

*Meeting called to order by Chairman Gallagher*

**Opening Statements**

**Chairman Mike Gallagher:** On the first night of Ramadan, as Muslims around the world commemorate Prophet Mohammed receiving the first revelations of the Quran, 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 great cost.

As we prepare to hear first-hand testimony from the CCP's concentration camps, I would like to turn to Elisha Weisel, whose father, Auschwitz survivor and Nobel laureate Elie Weisel, 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 Plays\*

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 first hand witnesses to the systemic, unimaginable brutality. Witnesses to the attempted elimination of a people, a culture, a civilization.

Witnesses to the largest extra-judicial mass internment of a religious minority since the Holocaust.

Witnesses to erasure. That's why Elie Wiesel swore to fight those who would forget. Who would avert their gaze.

The least we can do on this committee is to make sure that in fifty years—when the Xinjiang genocide is remembered as one of the abominations of the 21st century—no corporate executive, no policy maker, 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.

**Ranking Member Raja Krishnamoorthi:** Good evening and thank you Mr. Chairman.

Tonight we will hear the harrowing testimony from 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 until this day, it is expanding. It is not too late to confront these atrocities to 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: "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 over two 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 oppress Uyghurs has global implications. The PRC 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 to 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 Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, which 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 fit. 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 twenty 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.

## **Witness Testimony**

### ***Panel I***

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

[Testimony](#)

**Ms. Qelbinur Sidik**, Human Rights Advocate and Concentration Camp Witness

[Testimony](#)

### ***Panel II***

**Dr. Adrian Zenz**, Senior Fellow and Director in China Studies, Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation

[Testimony](#)

**Mr. Nury Turkel, Chair**, U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom

[Testimony](#)

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

[Testimony](#)

### **Panel I Q&A**

**Rep. Michelle Steel (R-CA)** discussed how the human rights abuses being committed by the CCP should be known and horrify all Americans. She said that the CCP is committing genocide against Uyghurs and we cannot be silent. She talked about her family's experience escaping from North Korea and told a story she had heard about how the CCP will sell the organs of their prisoners. She asked Ms. Sidik to discuss how the CCP has been treating Uyghur children in the camp. She responded that she has been to two slave factories for a large company and both of them have Uyghur children. She said that she used to work as an elementary school teacher and the children would often ask her where her parents went. She said that the CCP has started to set up camps for children as well. Rep. Steel said she would submit other questions in writing.

**Rep. Andre Carson (D-IN)** asked Ms. Haitiwaji to elaborate on how the CCP's efforts to erase the Uyghur culture made them feel as members of that culture and the broader impact on their communities. She discussed how, during her time in camp, they were brainwashed on a daily basis and were tested to see what they learned. She said that they had to learn laws, the language, and songs that praised the government. Rep. Carson said that he would submit questions for the record.

### **Panel II Q&A**

**Chairman Mike Gallagher (R-WI)** began by discussing pension fund investments into Chinese surveillance companies, noting his astonishment at the amount of American money being funneled to these companies. Rep. Gallagher then asked Dr. Zenz to elaborate how these American funds end up supporting Chinese efforts against Uyghurs. Dr. Zenz highlighted that American mutual funds often funnel money to these companies as well as others in the private sector who are investing in Chinese companies. Dr. Zenz highlighted how some companies and entities in the private sector work with their Chinese counterparts on research and, at times, provide the technologies themselves. Dr. Zenz noted that Intel chips powering cloud computing services have been used to aid in surveillance and public security in China. Dr. Zenz highlighted that, while a majority of co-development of technology has abated due to geo-political issues, it still occurs especially in research, and little is known about the extent of it. Dr. Zenz added that a lot of Chinese companies develop technology that are dual-use and have applications for the civilian sector and military sector. Chair Gallagher next turned to Mr. Turkel and referenced his statement where he indicated that numerous publicly traded Chinese companies are included in many emerging market indexes held by pension funds, university endowments, and investment portfolios. Chair Gallagher then asked what role American money plays in the Chinese genocide and whether these funds

of capital should be allowed to include these Chinese companies. Mr. Turkel noted that action on this front is long overdue. He added that American dollars help fuel this genocide simply through purchasing Chinese goods. Mr. Turkel stated that the investments being channeled to these companies in China play a large role in fueling the genocide as well, noting that it is un-American that these investments are made. He recommended placing entities who invest in these companies into a reputational risk category and added that there should even be criminal penalties as well under the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act. He stated that unless there are consequences, nothing will change.

**Ranking Member Raja Krishnamoorthi (D-IL)** began by discussing the growth of concentration camps used to hold Uyghur's. Ranking Member Krishnamoorthi highlighted how a detention center in the Xinjiang province was built in a matter of three years and noted that, two years later, the same center expanded even further. Ranking Member Krishnamoorthi noted claims made by the CCP that these centers had been closed and asked Dr. Zenz if this was true. Dr. Zenz said that the CCP was referring to lower security camps which were drawn down somewhat, however, Dr. Zenz stated that while that occurred, there was a rapid expansion of higher security camps. Dr. Zenz said these changes reflected a relocation of Uyghur populations from re-education facilities to forced labor and higher security camps, noting that hundreds of thousands could have been moved. Ranking Member Krishnamoorthi discussed the mass sterilizations in the Xinjiang region, noting that when a government initiates mass sterilizations, it clearly does not intend to merely re-educate the target populations. He argued that this is a clear sign that the CCP does not want the Uyghur people to continue existing. Dr. Zenz agreed and added that the intent behind mass sterilization is to decrease Uyghur birthrates and dilute the Uyghur population as they currently see them as a threat. Ranking Member Krishnamoorthi noted that prevention of birth, by definition, is genocide. Ranking Member Krishnamoorthi discussed an earlier hearing with the CEO of TikTok where Mr. Chew claimed that TikTok data was not being used to spy on Forbes journalists. Mr. Turkel explained that this is a tactic the CCP uses and that Bytedance, TikTok's parent company, has a strategic partnership with the Chinese Ministry of public security. He added that they used integrated joint platforms and those platforms used data from WeChat to help identify Uyghur populations. Mr. Turkel noted that TikTok executives and employees even in Washington deny the genocide.

**Rep. Rob Wittman (R-VA)** said the past two administrations and Congresses have designated the CCP's action as genocide. He said the CCP bares full responsibility for the suffering of the Uyghur people and they must be held accountable. Rep. Wittman said no measures levied have impacted the behavior of the CCP and he asked what further actions must be taken to truly alter Beijing's decision making and heighten the urgency on this issue. Ms. Kikoler said that there needs to be greater coordination for sanctions and import restrictions. She added that we need to evaluate the efficacy of measures that were already put in place, along with sharing intelligence with other governments. Ms. Kikoler continued by saying that there needs to be an independent commission to look into the crimes being perpetrated by the Chinese government. Mr. Turkel said that European countries need to step up to the plate and that domestically the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act needs to be fully implemented. He said we need to put pressure on business communities including Silicon Valley that finds loopholes. Dr. Zenz said we need to impose a cost for evildoing. He said there must be more sanctions on government officials in Beijing, as well as a national cost for the CCP in the form of economic sanctions regarding forced labor. Finally, he said there must be a reputational cost for those involved, which involves more communication with the public.

**Rep. Kathy Castor (D-FL)** asked Ms. Kikoler how the Committee can amplify Uyghur women's voices and experiences. Ms. Kikoler said that it is important to draw attention to the manner in which the Chinese government is committing these crimes, and how they specifically impact women. She said that the history of the holocaust shows it can be difficult to understand the nature of real crimes that are occurring for a variety of reasons. Ms. Kikoler said there is additional support that can be provided for survivors who have left so that they can tell their stories and collect their evidence systematically. She said that we must do more to protect people once they escape from China as well, both in America and other allied countries.

**Rep. Blaine Luetkemeyer (R-MO)** stated that it takes about 300 billion dollars a year for Chinese Communist party to continue to oppress, surveil and detain its citizens. He asked the panelist if the figure was accurate. Mr. Turkel stated that he believes the figure is close and explained that the detention camps and surveillance technologies have become a political economy. Rep. Luetkemeyer referenced Mr. Turkel's testimony in which he identified Vanguard, Blackrock, HSBC, Fidelity and other pension funds as some of the companies who do business with and fund this type of activity. Rep. Luetkemeyer said that the CEO of Blackrock recently made the comment the best place to invest over the next 20 years is China. He stated that cannot happen. He asked how money is being funneled into different companies to aid the atrocities mentioned. Mr. Turkel responded that they raise funds and that hedge funds or venture capital firms in the Silicon Valley are still making billions of dollars. Rep. Luetkemeyer stated that in 2020, there were a thousand Chinese companies on the stock exchange and the United States invested a trillion dollars in those companies with a provision in place stating they needed to be audited every two years knocking almost three quarters off the list. Rep. Luetkemeyer asked Mr. Turkel how one can get the message across to the American people to stop looking to Chinese products and be willing to pay the additional money for American made products. Mr. Turkel responded that like Secretary Silvers, he believes forced labor is a cancer on value, and Americans need to stop purchasing knowingly. He added that through the purchase of products like solar panels, pharmaceuticals, PPE's and beauty products seized by the CCP from or produced from Uyghur individuals, Americans are complicit in the ongoing genocide. Rep. Luetkemeyer stated the international finance corporation allows China access to their funds, even though it is supposed to be a developing nation to qualify. Rep. Luetkemeyer asked how this can be addressed. Mr. Turkey said the World Bank and IFC has been funding entities that are building concentration camps.

**Rep. Seth Moulton (D-MA)** stated the witness have given some of the most powerful testimony he has heard to date. He asked Mr. Zenz to what degree fear and an ethnonationalist urge for China to be purely Han Chinese play in the ongoing genocide of the Uyghur people. Mr. Zenz responded that the CCP is extremely insecure when it comes to competing ideologies and that its ideologies need to dominant through strategies of ethnocultural or racial assimilation. Rep. Moulton reference a statistic that China Spends more than any other county in the region on its military and spends even more on internal security and that China has over half of the world's surveillance cameras. He asked Mr. Turkel to describe the experience of walking around the city of Xinjiang surrounded by oppressive technology. He asked how frequently Uyghur residents encounter security camera checkpoints and what happens at the checkpoints. Mr. Turkel responded that it is a total police state and that the doors of Uyghur homes are equipped with QR codes, and mobile phones had spying apps forcibly installed.

**Rep. Andy Barr (R-KY)** emphasized the need for the US to recognize the difference between religious tolerance and a “paranoid depravity”. He called out the CCP’s intolerance for basic human rights and religious freedoms and urged that the US government impose costs on to the CCP government. Rep. Barr also criticized the People’s Republic of China (PRC) for having a seat at the Human Rights Council in the United Nations (UN). He asked the panel what message does the PRC’s seat on the UN’s Human Rights Council send to the Uyghur people. Mr. Turkel said that it is a place for the CCP to abuse its seat. Rep. Barr then asked panelists to explain what relief the US has been able to achieve since joining the Human Rights Council in the UN in October of 2021. Ms. Kikoler said that the US’s position on the Human Rights Council has positively impacted women fighting for human rights in Iran as well as shining a light on the plight of Uyghur Muslims in China. Rep. Barr then asked Dr. Zenz to elaborate on his testimony when he mentioned that not a single member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo has been designated for the roll in the ongoing genocide of Uyghur Muslims. Dr. Zenz said that he believed it was a severe deficiency that no members of the central government have been sanctioned by the US even though they were aware of the prison capacities of the concentration camps in the Xinjiang region.

**Rep. Ro Khanna (D-CA)** wanted to know from Dr. Zenz what the total number of detainees in the Xinjiang region is. Dr. Zenz said that according to Xinjiang police files, approximately 2 million detainees are in the region with 300,000 in one county accounting for most of the adults of the ethnic minority group in that county. However, Dr. Zenz mentioned that the current detention numbers are difficult to estimate. Mr. Turkel said that the Chinese government estimates that since 2015 over 1.3 million people have gone through China’s re-education program. Dr. Zenz estimated that the number of detainees most likely peaked in 2018. Rep. Khanna then asked what US policy has had the most significant impact on Uyghur Muslims in China. Dr. Zenz pointed to the Uyghur Forced Labor Act. Mr. Turkel said that the good news is that there are 900 US companies being surveyed in China which he says points to them not being in favor of investing in China. Ms. Kikoler also warned of behavioral change by the CCP noting that forced labor may be pushed underground to adapt to sanctions from the US.

**Rep. Dan Newhouse (R-WA)** talked about polysilicon production in Xinjiang and how the use of forced labor has devastated domestic manufacturing of solar panels. He also discussed how there are critical minerals in this area and asked how to best address sanctions on these minerals and the products coming from Xinjiang. Mr. Zenz talked about how Xinjiang produces a very high percentage of the world’s polysilicon, noting that there is a high risk that anything polysilicon from China is potentially implicated in Xinjiang. He said that one strategy is to divest in China and to build western capacity to manufacture those products, including the procurement of raw materials and the manufacture of the panels themselves. He discussed how the forced labor problem is pervasive in a wide number of industries and said that Xinjiang is being used because of the cheapness of energy there, something needed to produce polysilicon. Rep. Newhouse asked what obligations foreign universities owe the Uyghur people to ensure that joint research does not contribute to the ongoing genocide. Mr. Turkel responded that there are two main issues regarding universities at the moment: research and self-centering. He said that vocal China scholars are not publicly condemning the genocide for the most part. He also talked about how other research projects at top universities are aiding and abetting both the stated and unstated goals of the CCP, including engineering and biomedical research.

**Rep. Andy Kim (D-NJ)** talked about the need for concrete steps on how to move forward and asked Mr. Turkel about the important role that the State Department and diplomacy can play in this discussion. He

responded that it starts with a discussion about human rights in discussions with Beijing. He also talked about the need to revisit communication strategies, including by continuing to call what is occurring a genocide, and to engage like-minded governments. Rep. Kim asked Ms. Kikoler if she would agree that it is important for the US to engage with the UN and other organizations. She responded that it is essential and there needs to be an ongoing effort to do so. Rep. Kim talked about how this hearing shows us why we need to have a comprehensive approach and strategy to address these human rights abuses. He asked Ms. Kikoler if it would be helpful to work in a bipartisan way to increase support for diplomatic efforts at the Department of State and USAID. She responded that it would be and noted that no single country is going to be able to solve this individually. She talked about 2018 legislation that explicitly says preventing these sorts of crimes is a key national interest. Rep. Kim talked about concerns he has that Republican proposals to slash budgets could result in less funding available for the State Department and USAID to increase those efforts.

**Rep. Darrin LaHood (R-IL)** began by discussing the importance of revealing China's atrocities against the Uyghur people and argued that the U.S. must play an active role in condemning these atrocities through directed humanitarian, economic, and diplomatic efforts. Rep. LaHood then turned to the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act and noted that the bills passage marked a significant step in combatting forced labor practices but acknowledged that their work is far from finished. Rep. LaHood then asked Mr. Turkel to recommend some immediate steps that Congress can take to address the genocide. Mr. Turkel stated that, first, there needs to be a full briefing on the obstacles to implementing the law passed by Congress. Next Mr. Turkel stated that Congress should close the blackhole as part of the USMCA Agreement that bans force labor produced process. He added that Europe has been a dumping ground for these products as they have not passed any such ban on Xinjiang exports. Rep. LaHood noted that there will need to be additional commitments from U.S. allies to address these atrocities. He then discussed the Belt and Road initiative and noted that partnerships China has struck with neighboring middle eastern countries has only propped up China's efforts against Uyghurs.

**Rep. Mikie Sherrill (D-NJ)** discussed TikTok and their role in building the surveillance architecture within China used against Uyghurs. Rep. Sherrill noted that the TikTok CEO at the hearing earlier in the day refused to discuss the atrocities committed against Uyghurs despite their involvement. Rep. Sherrill further highlighted the prevalence of Chinese companies operating in the U.S. who have also contributed to China's actions against Uyghurs. Rep. Sherrill referenced a bill she introduced titled the Uyghur Human Rights Sanctions Review Act which she noted would provide President Biden to sanction these companies under the Global Magnitsky Act. Rep. Sherrill then highlighted actions taken by Congress to boost incentives to re-shore supply chains and asked the panel how the U.S. can do better to increase transparency into which products are produced in Xinjiang and further limit their exportation into the U.S. through China or other third-party countries. Mr. Turkel noted that there are a couple of things that need to be taken into consideration. The first consideration he noted was that those who still sought to cooperate with China on the climate crisis sought to water down the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act and have made it difficult to implement which needs to be resolved. He then stated that loopholes within China especially around human trafficking, label changing, and consumer advocacy.

**Rep. Neal Dunn (R-FL)** said they stand ready to help and build on previous progress from the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress. He talked about some previous legislation that passed in the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress. Rep. Dunn said he is personally disturbed by the CCP's forced organ harvesting practices. He said that in China the wait

times for hearts and lungs are shorter than other countries, and that there is evidence that patients get their date of surgery well in advance. Rep. Dunn said this shows that the organs are harvested on demand. Rep. Dunn said that some detainees received blood testing and wear color coded clothing depending on the results. Rep. Dunn asked the witnesses for more insight on this issue. Ms. Sidik said that at the camps she heard there was a center that turned into an organ transplant center.

**Rep. Haley Stevens (D-MI)** said that this hearing is occurring on the close of a three day visit between President Xi and Putin in Moscow. She asked Mr. Turkel why President Xi would be in Moscow aligning himself with Putin at this time. Mr. Turkel said that he wants to show people he's still a player in the international community and he wants to improve China's standing internationally. Rep. Stevens talked about forced labor, and said that we need to figure out the potential vulnerabilities in the existing law that allow the CCP to get their exports around the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act. Mr. Turkel said the \$800 dollar factor needs to be addressed which allows some consumer products to be available. Mr. Turkel said the business community needs to do soul searching and be told that they are liable for these things. Rep. Stevens thanked the survivors and said they will fight for human rights.

**Rep. Jim Banks (R-IN)** asked Mr. Turkel to if the reason the CCP is detaining Wegel people is due to their Muslim faith. Mr. Turkel responded that to the Chinese government stability is a paramount concern and that they identified liberalism, Islamism and western religion as presenting opposing threats the CCP leadership. He stated that to the CCP government, the Uyghur peoples religion is a virus. Referring to the CEO of TikTok, Rep. Banks asked if it is a strategy of the Chinese government to deflect criticism. Mr. Turkel said it is and that TikTok is one of the biggest facilitators and enablers of the ongoing genocide. Rep. Banks asked Mr. Turkel if he believed the Biden administration have downplayed Uyghur genocide. Mr. Turkel said a number of significant decisions were made under the Biden administration, but some officials in the administration attempt to tone down human rights criticisms of the ongoing genocide. Rep. Banks asked if Mr. Turkel could speak to any specific examples of the state department backing off confronting China. Mr. Turkel responded the state department has not done that yet, but he is concerned about comments made by some Biden officials. Rep. Banks asked if Mr. Zenz could describe how the CCP intimidates Uyghurs insight about the United States. Mr. Zenz responded that in some countries it is done through automated phone calls, the threat of not extending passports and surveillance strategies.

**Rep. Jake Auchincloss (D-MA)** stated Radio free Europe was conceived by the United States following the genocide of Jewish peoples in Europe to utilize the talents of post-world war two soviets and eastern European immigrants in support of American foreign policy. He added that radio free Asia, also developed and funded through the United States agency for global media, provides services of independent journalism in the Indo-Pacific region. He said Radio Free Asia was the first media outlet to publish reporting about the CCP's internment for separation slave labor and sterilization of the Uyghur people. Rep. Auchincloss asked Ms. Kikoler to explain the role of the free press in preventing and exposing human rights abuses in China. Ms. Kikoler responded that the role of Radio Free Asia has been incredibly important and the role of the independent press is essential in telling the story of the Uyghur people. She added that many of the journalist are Uyghur. Rep. Auchincloss asked Mr. Zenz how the United States government can continue to support the research of the Victims of Communists website which hosts searchable database of imprisoned Uyghurs. Mr. Zenz responded that the United States can make use of the site, point out it's existence and offer translation services. Rep. Auchincloss asked what can be done by United States diplomats to convince rising powers of the global south that their voice is

necessary in standing up to the CCP. Mr. Turkel responded that strong interagency coordination is needed from the government.

**Rep. Dusty Johnson (R-SD)** had a video shown from the Economist that details China's use of facial recognition technology and the potential for it to be abused. He asked Ms. Kikoler if the video was an accurate representation of how life in China is, at which she explained that Chinese residents do not have any sense of privacy and that there is no place for them to hide from the CCP. Ms. Kikoler also noted that Ramadan makes many Muslims living in China a possible target for them to be detained. Rep. Johnson then asked if it was accurate to say that American firms are providing Chinese firms resources to develop high tech surveillance tools. Dr. Zenz confirmed and agreed with that assessment. Rep. Johnson then asked Mr. Turkel if these same surveillance tools that are used to oppress the Uyghur people can also be used against Americans, at which Mr. Turkel agreed. Rep. Johnson mentioned that Uyghur Muslims are being forced to download apps onto their phones that spy on them and then noted that TikTok has updated its privacy notice to collect biometric data including face and voice prints. Mr. Turkel said that it is possible that the Chinese could be using the same technology to spy on Americans.

**Rep. Ritchie Torres (D-NY)** began by discussing CCP security budget and how it has increased over the years. He said that the mass surveillance of the CCP regime is reflective of a paranoid government aimed at targeting Chinese minorities through genocide, forced re-education, and forced sterilization. Rep. Torres asked Ms. Kikoler if those characteristics are one of systematic genocide. Ms. Kikoler agreed and said that it is important to understand the CCP's motive. Rep. Torres repeatedly urged people not to be afraid to use the word genocide when describing what the CCP is doing to Uyghurs. Rep. Torres asked Mr. Turkel if the US should create a multilateral coalition aimed at stopping the Uyghur genocide. Mr. Turkel said more countries need to recognize the Uyghur genocide.

**Rep. Ashley Hinson (R-IA)** talked about how tainted supply chains have become because of the use of Uyghur slave labor. She showed a video from Radio Free Asia journalists detailing how the CCP intimidated them to try and keep them from reporting on human rights abuses, including sending members of their families to camps. Rep. Hinson asked Ms. Kikoler how the CCP is detaining Uyghurs surveillance technologies and compare it to Nazi utilization of technology during the Holocaust. She responded that it is difficult to draw comparisons and it is more important to detail the crimes that are being committed today. Rep. Hinson asked Mr. Zenz to react to the videos. He said that one of the strategies of the internments is guilt by association and he said that this is one of the reason for the incredible scale of these detentions.

**Rep. Shontel Brown (D-OH)** discussed a Holocaust memorial in Cleveland and the importance to avoid xenophobia or stereotyping when developing policy. She talked about lessons that need to be learned by American's response to the Holocaust and how they can be applied today and asked Ms. Kikoler the sorts of tropes that led to the Holocaust. She talked about how unchecked hate is often at the root of many of these events and the need to acknowledge common humanity and resist intentional efforts to create divisions. She also talked about the responsibility for people to understand that our actions could harm people across the world.

**Rep. Carlos Gimenez (R-FL)** discussed his opposition to communism and asked the panel to name some American companies that are benefiting most off of the mistreatment of the Uyghur people. Mr. Turkel named Nike, Coca-Cola, Intel, and solar panel manufacturers broadly. Mr. Turkel also named European

companies like Siemens and Volkswagen and highlighted that over 80 global brands profit. Rep. Gimenez asked how companies are able to avoid forced-labor laws and still sell products in the United States. Mr. Turkle highlighted how American business representatives have on record, been unable to acknowledge these human rights abuses. Rep. Gimenez next touched on reports around organ harvesting and asked if the panelists were aware of or had any knowledge of this. Dr. Zenz stated that someone he has worked with who has analyzed Chinese papers and data where they found multiple indications that individuals had been executed via organ extraction. Rep. Gimenez noted that the reports additionally suggest that around 25,000 to 50,000 Uyghurs have been killed in this way. Rep. Gimenez finished by expressing concern over the future influence and power of the CCP.

*Chairman Gallagher brought the hearing to a close.*