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AUTHORITARIANISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS: POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS CHALLENGES IN CHINA

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIA, THE PACIFIC AND NONPROLIFERATION

OF THE

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CONTENTS

Page

INFORMATON SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

Information submitted for the record from Representative Sherman 4

WITNESSES

Zenz, Dr. Adrian, Senior Fellow, China Studies, Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation 18
Jawdat, Ferkat, Uyghur American 23
Siu, Joey, Vice President, City University of Hong Kong Students Union 32
Richardson, Dr. Sophie , China Director, Human Rights Watch 40

APPENDIX

Hearing Notice 61
Hearing Minutes 62
Hearing Attendance 63

AUTHORITARIANISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS: POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS CHALLENGES IN CHINA

Tuesday, December 10, 2019
House of Representatives
Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific, and Nonproliferation
Committee on Foreign Affairs

Washington, DC

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 1:30 p.m., in room 2200 Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Brad Sherman (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. SHERMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Without objection, all members will have 5 days to submit statements, questions, and extraneous material for the record, subject to the length limitation in the rules of the committee.

We do expect votes to be called on the floor of the House. When that happens, we will adjourn, and we will reconvene when that voting is completed.

Today is a special day for two reasons. First, this is U.N. Human Rights Day; and, second, this is unfortunately the day when the human rights of the entire Congress will be abridged by knowing that Mr. Yoho will not be with us for more than an additional 12 months.

But it is auspicious that today is Human Rights Day because this completes a series of three hearings of the subcommittee on human rights. First, we focused on Southeast Asia; then we focused on South Asia. Much of that hearing was focused on Kashmir, but we also had one witness who focused exclusively on Pakistan, and we had considerable discussion regarding Assam, Sri Lanka, and other issues.

Today we focus on China. We were going to have a hearing covering all northeast Asia, but there is so much going on in China. I should mention that that—had we gone broader, that hearing would have covered North Korea. To honor Human Rights Day, the Administration has refused to sign off on a U.N. Security Council discussion of human rights in North Korea. That decision is definitely questionable, and the human rights in North Korea are an abomination that angers the world.

So this hearing will complete our three hearings on human rights, and I should also mention that I expect tomorrow that the Financial Services Committee will vote to make me chair of its Capital Markets Subcommittee.

Those of you familiar with Congress know that you can only have one gavel at a time, and I do not—if I had a gavel here, I would

hand it to the gentleman from northern California, Mr. Bera, who I am sure will take over this committee in the weeks and months to come, and has been an outstanding member. This, of course, is all subject to a meeting of Democrats on the Foreign Affairs Committee, which I am sure will go very smoothly.

So I know this subcommittee will have completed its work on human rights hearings and will be in good hands in the years to come.

Today we focus on human rights in China. One of the greatest human rights crises in the world is China's "strike hard" campaign against the Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities in Xinjiang Province. Under the guise of counterterrorism, the Chinese Communist Party is seeking to eradicate Uyghur culture and religious belief. At least a million Uyghurs and perhaps far more are in what one Pentagon official has called concentration camps. Whether they are concentrated or not, they are camps surrounded by barbed wire where people are not allowed to leave.

The "strike hard" campaign has also witnessed the systemic use of forced labor, which is now, unfortunately, entangled in Western supply chains to a degree that we do not fully understand, and perhaps our witnesses can enlighten us.

The Communist Party has built an Orwellian surveillance State in Xinjiang that is gradually being adopted perhaps over—across China, and even worse may be a Chinese export.

Last week the House passed the Uyghur Act. The text that was passed was an amendment in the nature of a substitute that I wrote and presented to the full Foreign Affairs Committee. It was based on legislation from three separate bills, one put forward—with legislation being put forward by Jim McGovern and Chris Smith; by myself and my ranking member, Ted Yoho; and by Gerry Connolly and Ann Wagner as well.

The Uyghur Act would require President Trump to impose the Global Magnitsky sanctions against all Chinese officials who are responsible for the suppression of the Uyghurs. We are long past the point when this should be done, and it should not be linked to any ongoing negotiations on trade or any other subject.

The legislation requires that the Commerce Department prevent U.S. technology that can be used to repress Uyghurs from being exported to China. This bill passed I believe unanimously on the House floor, and I urge our colleagues in the Senate to pass the Uyghur Bill Act and send it to the President, who should sign it.

The last 6 months have seen massive protests in Hong Kong. At times, two million Hong Kongers out of a population of just over seven million have taken to the streets. These protests began in response to a bill that would have allowed people in Hong Kong to be extradited to mainland China where the court's respect for human rights is highly questionable.

Since then, the protesters have added four additional demands, including an independent inquiry into the police's excessive use of force as well as universal suffrage in Hong Kong in its elections. It should be worth noting that Beijing committed itself to universal suffrage in Hong Kong as part of is basic law for governing the city, but it is yet to make good on that promise.

Although the Hong Kong government has withdrawn the extradition bill that initially spurred the protest, it has yet to commit to the protesters' other demands. Sadly, in recent weeks, there has been growing violence by the Hong Kong police and to some degree by demonstrators. And I would point out that the demonstrators in Hong Kong are most effective when they are peaceful.

In response, Congress has passed, and the President has signed into law, the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act, and legislation that restricting exports of certain police weapons to Hong Kong. Among other things, the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act requires the Secretary of State to annually certify that Hong Kong still enjoys sufficient autonomy from the mainland to justify the U.S. giving that territory preferential treatment on trade and other economic concerns.

I should also note that the House passed the Stand with Hong Kong Resolution, which I introduce with Ranking Member Yoho, Ms. Wagner, Mr. Connolly, and others. There are countless other human rights issues in China today, including Tibet, where the Communist Party is seeking to control who will succeed to the position of Dalai Lama when the current Dalai Lama passes on.

On this issue, Jim McGovern and Chris Smith have introduced the Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2019, which I am a co-sponsor of. I believe that the full committee will be taking up this bill shortly. Ranking Member Yoho also has a resolution supporting Tibet's autonomy and supporting the current Dalai Lama.

But the Communist Party is also seeking to extend political control beyond its borders. It is a threat not only to human rights within China, but also here in the United States. Many Americans were first made aware of this when the Communist Party targeted the Houston Rockets' general manager because he chose to support the Hong Kong protests, yet the NBA is far from a unique case for the Communist Party of China has used access to the Chinese markets to compel U.S. and foreign businesses to toe the party line on countless issues, from Taiwan to Tibet to Hong Kong to Xinjiang.

Hollywood, very important to my district—I represent more studios, I believe, in Congress than anyone else—has been especially targeted. What the Communist Party does is it said only 34 U.S. films can be shown in China each year. Then it dangles that in front of studios, making it plain that their films will not be among the 34 if they were to dare to make a film about Tibet or Xinjiang or Hong Kong.

I also fear that the Communist Party's efforts to control speech around the world will grow more intense as it introduces this social credit system. This system will give a social credit score to individuals and businesses based on their loyalty to the Communist Party of China.

I recently had a meeting with the former Chinese Ambassador to the United States, who remains very active in policy, and several others from the Embassy, where they all denied knowing that there was anything being worked on called a social credit score in China.

So without objection, I will enter into the record 12 articles, all describing these in detail, all from publications respected in China.

[The information referred to follows:]

www.news.cn
新华网 NEWS
www.xinhuanet.com
XINHUANET

China boasts world's largest social credit system: official

Source: Xinhua| 2019-06-14 16:41:07|Editor: Xiang Bo

BEIJING, June 14 (Xinhua) -- China has established the world's largest credit system with the largest amount of data and the widest coverage, said an official with China's central bank on Friday.

Zhu Hexin, deputy governor of the People's Bank of China, said China's credit system has recorded information of 990 million individuals and 25.91 million enterprises and organizations accumulatively, making it the largest in the world.

The system creates credit files for almost all people and enterprises involved in credit activities nationwide in a uniform format, and its products and services were widely used in all aspects of the social economy, Zhu told a press conference.

The system has been "irreplaceable in forestalling financial risks and ensuring financial stability," as it was used extensively by financial institutions in loan-related business, said Zhu, adding that commercial banks have embedded data from the system into their risk-management process.

China's credit information index, an important indicator of the business environment, was ahead of some developed countries, according to a report from the World Bank. China has put a strong emphasis on the building of a social credit system since the State Council issued a guideline in 2014. The country will step up the building of social credit system by rolling out new market regulatory measures, according to an executive meeting of the State Council this week.

www.news.cn
新华网 NEWS
www.xinhuanet.com
XINHUANET

China speeds up effort in building a social credit system

Source: Xinhua| 2018-06-06 23:35:30|Editor: ZD

BEIJING, June 6 (Xinhua) -- China will roll out vigorous efforts to build a more comprehensive and rigorous social credit system to improve its business environment and boost development, the State Council decided at an executive meeting chaired by Premier Li Keqiang on Wednesday.

Key priorities for improving the social credit system were identified at the meeting. These measures include building a social credit-centered regulatory mechanism and enhancing social credit building in key areas concerning people's livelihood.
Premier Li Keqiang said that a social credit system comprising solid credit records of all market entities, is of fundamental importance.

Recent years have seen China make visible progress in developing a national social credit system. A unified social credit code has been introduced nationwide. A total of 33.99 million credit codes have been issued to newly registered businesses. And 71 central government departments and provincial governments have been connected to the national credit information sharing platform. The cross-sectoral, inter-agency mechanism of incentives and disincentives for acts of good or bad faith made initial impacts. Big data has been applied in credit investigation and helped businesses meet real needs.

For example, companies with good credit records had received 632,000 loans from financial institutions in the banking sector by the end of 2017.
"Breakthroughs have been made in developing the social credit system. Going forward, the system needs to be improved in key areas in response to specific needs," Li said at the Wednesday meeting. "The priority now is to improve our business

environment with stronger measures against cheating in marketplace, such as counterfeiting, and infringements of intellectual property rights."
Steps in the following five aspects were decided at the meeting to enhance the building of a social credit system with application of the system and legislation on prioritized. A credit-centered regulatory system will be set up to improve the business environment. Blacklist mechanism will be introduced. Law violations including infringement, counterfeiting and cheating in marketplace and fraudulent advertising will be resolutely tackled and made public.

Information safety need to be safeguarded, and trade secrets and individual privacy should be well protected. Also, a social credit system in key livelihood areas will be enhanced.

Non-public sector will be guided in building the social credit system, and credit information services provided by third parties will be developed. Government departments will be required to bolster credibility, and problems of new officials disavowing obligations undertaken by predecessors will be tackled under the law.
It was also decided at the meeting that government requirements on certification will be overhauled to make it easier for the general public and enterprises to get things done.

The practice of inspections by randomly selected inspectors against randomly selected entities and prompt release of inspection results will be fully implemented to make market regulation fairer and more efficient. These above measures will all contribute to the building of the social credit system.
"A market economy is based on credit," Premier Li said. "A fine credit system provides market entities with the information they need for business operations. A blacklist should be established. Access to and sharing of information, which can serve to incentivize or discipline, helps reduce transaction costs and improve the business environment."
Premier Li also emphasized the importance of safeguarding information security with tiered authorization. He called for early establishment of a secure and reliable social credit system and introduction of capable third parties in the financial sector.

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新华网
NEWS
www.xinhuanet.com
XINHUANET

China to issue new measure for social credit system

Source: Xinhua| 2018-12-04 14:28:01|Editor: ZD

BEIJING, Dec. 4 (Xinhua) -- China will take enterprises' credit data into consideration in the approval procedure of initial public offerings as part of the effort to develop a national social credit system, the China Daily reported Tuesday.
Enterprises with past records of untrustworthiness will be strictly examined by the securities regulator when applying for initial public offerings and the issuance of convertible bonds, according to a memorandum of understanding issued last week by the China Securities Regulatory Commission (CSRC) and the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC).

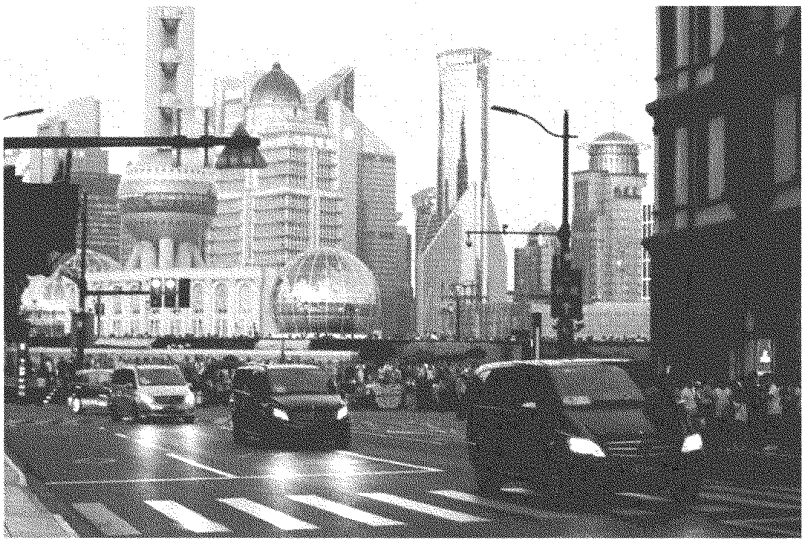
Meanwhile, the government will pay close attention to the credit information of enterprises after issuing approvals.
"The new MOU does not represent a significant policy shift for the current approval procedure. It is expected to give warnings to market participants failing to obey the rules," an official with the CSRC told the newspaper.

The move is part of China's broader goal at developing a system aimed to build a culture of trust in society, collecting data in various fields.
The broad social credit system is expected to rank individuals and enterprises, and violators with unethical behavior will be punished according to the rules.
The system, which is expected to be fully operational by the end of 2020, will play a role in serving the non-financial sector and creating a fair business environment, Zhang Chun, an official with the NDRC, told the newspaper.
The commission has signed more than 40 memorandums of cooperation with different regulatory authorities, and has launched more than 100 measures, both rewards and punishments, Zhang added.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

China's Potential New Trade Weapon: Corporate Social Credits

Program will reward or punish companies for their behavior, but foreigners worry Beijing will use it to impose political orthodoxy on international firms



A U.S. trade delegation arrived in Shanghai for talks in July. PHOTO: ALY SONG/REUTERS

By Yoko Kubota
Aug. 27, 2019 9:15 pm ET

BEIJING—After five years, China is putting the finishing touches on a sweeping new system to punish and reward companies for their corporate behavior. But foreigners worry that, amid the continuing U.S.-China trade dispute, Beijing will use its new corporate "social credit" system as a weapon against international businesses.
While Beijing's better-known plans for a social-credit system for individuals have stirred privacy concerns, a parallel effort to monitor corporate behavior would similarly consolidate data on credit ratings and other characteristics, collected by various central and local government agencies, into one central database, according to China's State Council. The system is set to fully start next year.

An algorithm would then determine to what degree companies are complying with the country's various laws and regulations. In some cases, companies could be punished by losing access to preferential policies or facing stricter levels of administrative punishment, a document from the State Administration for Market Regulation showed. Analysts said that other punishments could include denial of access to land purchases, certain loans and procurement bidding.

The imminent nationwide implementation of Beijing's corporate social-credit system is unnerving foreign businesses, which have been bracing for further countermeasures from Beijing as the trade war continues to take unexpected twists and turns.

Beijing said in late May that it is drawing up a blacklist of entities it deems unreliable in apparent retaliation against Washington's campaign targeting Chinese telecommunications giant Huawei Technologies Co.
"It makes the instruments of the social-credit system usable as a tool in the trade conflict," said Björn Conrad, chief executive and co-founder of Sinolytics, a China-focused consulting firm that is publishing a report Wednesday on Beijing's new social-credit system, together with the European Union Chamber of Commerce in China.

Mr. Conrad said some of the language used in recently released draft rules for a blacklist of heavily distrusted entities—which is a part of the corporate social-credit system—echoed the Beijing authorities' warnings about their planned unreliable foreign-entities blacklist, suggesting that the two efforts are intertwined.

A company's social credit could affect the individual credit score of the company's key personnel and vice versa, according to the EU Chamber report—a point of particular concern for executives. A company's social credit could also be influenced by the conduct of its suppliers, the report said, and getting removed from a blacklist could take years.

A separate report released Tuesday on the corporate social-credit system by Beijing-based consulting firm Trivium China, whose clients include foreign companies, doesn't link it to the U.S.-China trade war but said the system "will provide the government with vast amounts of systematized data," and warned about the possibility of Beijing "co-opting technology to enforce political orthodoxy."

Beijing's social-credit system is set to add to the complexities of doing business in China, a tantalizing but frustrating market.

The amount of data collected by authorities administering the corporate social-credit system would give them "a massive X-ray of the Chinese economic landscape," said Jörg Wuttke, president of the EU Chamber in China. The chamber's report said that a foreign company blacklisted by tax authorities in, say, Hubei province could find that information used by other government agencies in other provinces to punish the company.

While some analysts are hopeful that the system could also allow for more objective standards to be applied to foreign and domestic companies, the new regulations will likely mean higher compliance costs and more uncertainty for foreign businesses.

Some of China's biggest and best-known corporate giants are deeply involved in the rollout of the new corporate social-credit system: Huawei, e-commerce and cloud services operator Alibaba Group Holding Ltd. and mobile services giant Tencent Holdings Ltd. are all named as members of a consortium developing one of the system's key databases, according to a Chinese government procurement notice.
These companies, as well as the government agencies leading the implementation of the corporate social-credit system—the State Council, State Administration for Market

Regulation, the National Development and Reform Commission and the Ministry of Commerce—didn't immediately respond to requests for comments. China's social-credit system has been under development since 2014, well before the U.S.-China trade war. The State Council published a blueprint for the program, which it said would "build sincerity" in economic, social and political activity.

Besides credit ratings, the system incorporates various blacklists of companies caught doing something illegal or undesirable, such as spreading information deemed inappropriate online or violating safety standards, according to the separate reports by Trivium and the EU Chamber. The system also includes lists of companies with great credit scores. Some of the credit information would be publicly accessible online.

— *Yang Jie and Kersten Zhang contributed to this article.*

Mr. SHERMAN. This social credit score will also be used to penalize those who buy, say, American cars or otherwise help reduce the U.S.-China trade deficit.

I want for the record, though, to point out that I am not implacably anti-China. I have been the loudest voice on the committee for peace in the South China Sea, and for a cooling off of naval relations between our countries. But what China is doing with regard to human rights is something for us to focus on today on U.N. International Human Rights Day.

And with that, I turn it over to the ranking member.

Mr. YOHO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SHERMAN. There are 10 minutes left in votes, so we can hear your opening statement and then go to the floor, if you want.

Mr. YOHO. All right. Yes. Let's go ahead and do that. I will not be more than 10.

[Laughter.]

First off, thank you for the job you have done. I think you have been a very valuable and effective chairman, and I will be sad to see you leave. But I am glad you are pointing to that fellow there because I think Dr. Bera will do an outstanding job in your footsteps. So thank you for your service.

The social credit scores of China—wow, what a powerful tool. Would any government love to be able to control their citizens, so that nobody runs a red light, nobody crosses, jaywalks? What a great tool. But what a threat to freedom and liberty.

This is a scary thing that we are going on, and this meeting—this hearing is so important. And I want to thank Chairman Sherman and our brave witnesses for making the hearing possible today. There is no more important topic for the subcommittee to focus on, and this is a message that needs to get out to the world. This is something that our manufacturers, our NBA—not only the owners but the players—need to understand. What is going on?

How many people in the audience are from Xinjiang or you are Uyghurs or you have been to that area? How many people? And I am doing this because I know china is probably going to watch this, and I hope you guys are OK with that.

We know what is going on over there, and we are going to let the world know what is going on. It is unacceptable. We have been through this before. We saw General Eisenhower after World War II when he went to the concentration camps say, "Never again."

But it is going on, and it is going on right now. And every time you buy a product that says, "Made in China" you are empowering the suppressive Communist regime, which incidentally in their manifesto, in their Statements say there is no higher power than the Chinese Communist Party. Period. There is no deity. Xi Jinping is the closest thing to a deity in China. And the role of the Chinese people according to the Chinese Communist Party is to serve the Chinese Communist Party. Whereas, in Western democracies, the role of the government is to protect the God-given rights of our citizens and to empower our citizens.

And this is why this message and this hearing is so important, because that message needs to get out. When our manufacturers go over there, they do it for profit. When NBA goes over there, they do it for profit at the expense of people that you know.

The Chinese Communist Party's repression is the greatest threat to global human rights and Democratic freedoms. As I said in an op-ed I published late last year titled "China's Second Century of

Humiliation," Xi Jinping is the most accomplished human rights violator alive today, and history will record that, and I hope he is listening.

Our witnesses today are on the front lines of a global struggle against Xi Jinping and his Communist Party that offer socialism with Chinese characteristics. Give me a break. It is Communism with suppression on steroids.

They are leaders. They are leaders. The brave Hong Kongers, like Joey here, thank you for coming to our office and I appreciate what you all are standing up to do. And I know you have put your life in jeopardy, but you are standing up for those innate values that we have all been born with of liberty and freedom.

So thank you for standing against the CCP's foot soldiers, defend their rights, and wake up the world to their threat.

Ferkat, you have shown the world a shining example of bravery in the face of oppression. Somebody heard one of your podcasts today. They were sharing this story, and they broke down in tears with your story, and I hope you share that today as you fight to free his family from the horrific imprisonments.

Dr. Richardson and Dr. Zenz, thank you for being here. You guys are global leaders in bringing the CCP's abuse to light. The human rights challenges we all face is massive in scale. The recent weeks of secret party documents on Xinjiang, the Xinjiang papers, revealed the worst of the abuses occurring inside China and are personally directed by Xi Jinping himself.

This is a wakeup call, and I am glad these papers came out because this is people within the Chinese Communist Party knowing what he is doing is bad. And so this is something that the more we talk about this, and the more we bring this out and the awareness campaign, the more it is going to affect their decisions.

Xi has directed a party to use all organs of dictatorship to oppress people. Over and over again, the nature of the Chinese Communist Party is revealed. But despite the scale of these abuses, the world remains largely silent. Our goal is to make them wake up, so that their hearing aids are turned on.

In fact, many countries openly support the CCP's atrocities. In the U.N. and on the international stage, dozens of countries have defended China's concentration camps. Unacceptable. And the international response to Beijing's ongoing interference in Hong Kong has been limited at best.

More and more countries are adopting oppressive laws modeled after China's digital authoritarianism, and the CCP is exporting its repression around the world. He has offered ZTE technology to Maduro in Venezuela, Iran wants it, Putin wants it, and I cannot think of a better tool for a dictator to have than that.

China-subsidized tech companies sell dystopian technologies to dictators, and the CCP forces international businesses to echo its censorship and propaganda. You know, the NBA is a perfect example, Marriott Hotels for recognizing Taiwan, airlines for saying we are flying to the country of Taiwan. Oh, you cannot do that because you have offended somebody in China.

Disney was going to show films—their new film coming out that had the nine-dash lines and said Taiwan was a province of China. Thank God for some of the ASEAN countries that said this is BS;

you are not showing those movies in our country. I applaud those countries.

The scale of CCP human rights abuses, combined with CCP's ability to export these abuses globally, has no parallel. We need to be on the right side of history. The world has never before been challenged by this kind of technology in a threatening and negative, suppressive way that China is using this today.

The United States has taken some significant steps in 2019, including the enactment of the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act, the House passage of the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act, we passed the Cambodia Democracy Act, but there is much more to be done and we have not yet brought the full weight of the U.S. Government to bear.

The world is still mostly silent on the CCP human rights. Without a mobilized international response, the United States has to continue to lead, and that is why I am thankful for our hearing today, so we can reflect their human rights leadership in our policy.

And I look forward to discussing the current state of the CCP's repression and the individual freedoms and democracy and suggestions on our next steps. And I am looking forward to coming back because I am kind of fired up about this.

[Laughter.]

You all take care. We will see you in a minute.

Mr. SHERMAN. One thing that illustrates the need for human rights in China is that 1 minute after we all leave, which is right now, I am going to ask the cameras to turn off, and my staff will work with anybody in the audience who cannot have their face on the tape, so that we will have a place where people can watch and where there will be no filming.

With that, we stand adjourned until after votes.

[Recess.]

Mr. SHERMAN. I should point out, so I believe staff has taken action to make sure that anybody who does not want to be in this video, their face will not appear.

I should point out that I have got to commend Mr. Yoho for the title of his article, "The Second Century of Chinese Humiliation," now being humiliated by their own government. Now I will stack that up against what my staff came up with as the title for this hearing, "Authoritarianism with Chinese Characteristics."

With that, I will ask whether anyone wants to make an opening statement. The man who will soon be yielding me sufficient time to make small opening statements at hearings of the subcommittee, Dr. Bera.

Mr. BERA. Yes. I just wanted to make a quick statement on, you know, it has been a pleasure working with you as the chairman of this subcommittee, and certainly the issues that you have taken on with regards to human rights and human dignity and looking for a better, more collaborative world.

So I have appreciated your leadership on that. And, I will try to take the baton and keep that going in the same direction and trajectory. So, with that, I will yield back.

Mr. SHERMAN. Ann, do you want an opening statement?

Mrs. WAGNER. Just to echo the gentleman's—associate myself with his words. We are glad, as someone who serves on Financial Services, that you will be moving up the dais in that regard and will be sorely missed here, but we look forward to carrying on in your good stead. So we thank you.

Mr. SHERMAN. I thank you.

We have four witnesses today. Two of them have been suggested by the minority party. Two of them have been selected by the majority party. There is so little partisanship on this effort that no one watching these hearings will be able to figure out which are the two witnesses Yoho selected and which are the two the chairman selected.

But the first witness I will call on is Adrian Zenz, who is a former senior fellow in China studies at the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation. He supervises Ph.D. students at the German-based European School of Culture and Theology. He has arguably done more than any academic to expose China's massive detention centers in Xinjiang, and the general oppression of the Uyghurs.

Please proceed, Doctor.

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

Dr. ZENZ. I would like to thank you, Chairman and the ranking member and the others, for inviting me to testify.

In 2017, China's Xinjiang region embarked on the probably largest incarceration of an ethno-religious minority since the Holocaust. Now it is clear that this internment forms only the first internment forms only the first phase of a long-term strategy of unprecedented and intrusive control.

Beijing's long-term strategy in Xinjiang is being implemented under the heading and guise of poverty alleviation, notably industry-based poverty alleviation. I have identified three schemes or flows by which the State seeks to place the vast majority of minority adults into different forms of coercive or at least involuntary labor.

Flow 1 pertains to persons in what I call vocational training internment camps. Camp detainees can end up in factories on internment camp compounds, in industrial parks which can be located near camps, the camps in them, or village satellite factories. One document promised a participating company that 500 internment camp laborers would be brought to the facility with accompanying police guards.

The employing companies receive 1,800 Chinese yuan State subsidy for each internment camp laborer they train, 5,000 yuan for each they employ, and a shipping cost subsidy of 4 percent of their sales volume.

In 2018, Huafu Corporation, which operates the world's largest dyed yarn production in Xinjiang, received half a billion Chinese yuan, approximately $71 million U.S., in subsidies from the Xinjiang government.

Flow 2 pertains to a vast government scheme that puts hundreds of thousands of so-called rural surplus laborers into centralized training involving 1 month of military drill, 1 month of political

thought indoctrination, and 1 month of vocational skills training. Workers are then sent off to their new work destination in large groups.

Flow 3 places rural Uyghur women into village factories equipped with nurseries for infants as young as a few months old. Government village work teams use thought transformation to convince these women and their parents of the benefits of full-time factory labor.

Government documents note that factory work transforms women away from tradition and backward-thinking. One propaganda text States that this causes minority workers to become born again. The Chinese term for born again used here is the same as in the Chinese Bible, equating forced labor with starvation.

Beijing is turning its internment campaign into a business of oppression where participating companies benefit not only from government subsidies and from—but also from cheap minority labor. As a result, they will be able to undercut global prices.

Particular concern is that all of these labor flows are mixing beyond recognition. Graduates from interment camps work alongside workers from other flows. Products made by any combination of these workers are then exported or shipped to eastern China. As a result, many or most products made in China that rely at least in part on low-skilled labor-intensive manufacturing can contain elements of involuntary ethnic labor from Xinjiang.

The Better Cotton Initiative, BCI, the world's largest cotton standard, which aims to promote sustainability and better working conditions, recently stated that a continued presence and engagement in Xinjiang would continue to benefit local farmers.

BCI states there is no direct evidence that forced labor is being used on BCI-licensed farms in Xinjiang. After Huafu, which is on the BCI council, was scrutinized. BCI responded by noting that Huafu had commissioned an independent social audit, which did not identify forced labor. Asking for an independent social audit in an environment as controlled as Xinjiang is like asking the fox to check that no hens are missing.

My own research on Huafu comes to far more troubling conclusions. Over 90 percent of its staff are ethnic minorities, mostly rural surplus laborers. Huafu's website states that a large number of world surplus laborers are idle at home, which brings hidden dangers to public security.

Company reports depict hundreds of Uyghurs in military uniforms at a staff training event, and a Xinjiang government website reports that Huafu is part of an official training initiative where Uyghurs are put into centralized military drill, thought transformation, and de-extremification.

Once employed, staff are subjected to intensive ongoing political indoctrination, including oath swearing sessions and mandatory written reports designed to establish correct values.

The German company Adidas audited Huafu's spinning facilities in Aksu and found, quote, "no evidence of force labor or of government involvement in the hiring of their work force."

A cursory search shows Chinese media outlets citing Huafu's own management openly saying that the local government sends us workers according to our staffing needs. A report from the Aksu

government propaganda bureau confirms that the prefecture trains and then sends Uyghur workers to Huafu. Government reports that in that very region as many as 200 adults from a single village were rounded up by government work teams and shipped off to work at factories.

The third example pertains to garment maker H&M, which continues to procure yarn from Huafu, but from their yarn mills outside of Xinjiang. However, 19 provinces and cities in eastern China are mutually paired with minority regions in Xinjiang. This involves extensive state-mandated labor transfers.

Government reports state that one county in Xinjiang alone sent 103 rural minority surplus laborers to Huafu's factory in Anhui Province in eastern China.

I am coming to a close here.

In order to benefit from—in light of these present findings, I call upon the U.S. Government to embark on a detailed investigation of policies and practices of involuntary labor in relation to Xinjiang and the involvement of American companies. After passing their Uyghur Human Rights Act, stopping the business of oppression in Xinjiang is the next step.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Zenz follows:]

Social Control After Internment: Forms of Involuntary Labor in Xinjiang

Dr. Adrian Zenz
Testimony at the Hearing Titled "Authoritarianism with Chinese Characteristics" of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific.

I would like to thank the chairman, the ranking member and the others for inviting me to testify.

In 2017, China's Xinjiang region embarked on the probably largest incarceration of an ethno-religious minority since the Holocaust. Now, it is clear that this internment forms only the first phase of a long-term strategy of unprecedented and intrusive social control.

Beijing's long-term strategy in Xinjiang is being implemented under the heading and guise of "poverty alleviation", notably "industry-based poverty alleviation". I have identified three schemes by which the state seeks to place the vast majority of minority adults into different forms of coercive or at least involuntary labor.

Flow 1 pertains to persons in Vocational Training Internment Camps. Camp detainees can end up in factories on internment camp compounds, in industrial parks which can be located near camps (or camps in them), or village satellite factories. One document promised a participating company that 500 internment camp laborers would be brought to the facility with police guards. The employing companies receive a 1,800 Chinese Yuan state subsidy for each internment camp laborer they train, 5,000 Yuan for each they employ, and a shipping cost subsidy of 4 percent of their sales volume. In 2018, Huafu Corporation, which operates the world's largest dyed yarn production in Xinjiang, received half a *billion* Chinese Yuan, or 71 million US$, in subsidies from the Xinjiang government.

Flow 2 pertains to a vast government scheme that puts hundreds of thousands of so-called rural surplus laborers into centralized training that lasts between 1-3 months, involving 1 month of military drill in order to produce standardized behavior, 1 month of political thought indoctrination, and 1 month of vocational skills training. Workers are then sent off to their new work destination in large groups, and live in factory dormitories, often far from home.

Flow 3 places rural Uyghur women into village factories equipped with nurseries for infants as young as a few months old. Government village work teams use thought transformation to "convince" these women and their parents of the benefits of full-time factory labor. Government documents note that factory work transforms women away from traditional customs and backward thinking and propels them into modernity. One propaganda text on states that this causes minority workers to become born again. There, the Chinese term for "born again" is the same as in the Chinese Bible, where Jesus says: "You must be born again".

Beijing is turning its internment campaign into a business of oppression, where participating companies benefit not from government subsidies and from cheap minority labor. As a result, they will be able to undercut global prices.

A particular concern is that all of these labor flows are mixing beyond recognition. Graduates from internment camps now work alongside workers from flows 2 and 3. Products made by any combination of these three types of workers are then either directly exported, or are shipped to eastern China, where they may form components of products, or be repackaged, re-labeled, and then exported.

As a result, many or most products made in China that rely at least in part on low-skilled, labor-intensive manufacturing, can contain elements of involuntary ethnic minority labor from Xinjiang. Due to the local police state conditions, due diligence audits of supply chains are impossible.

The Better Cotton Initiative (BCI), the world's largest cotton standard which aims to promote sustainability and better working conditions, recently stated that "a continued presence and engagement in [Xinjiang]...would continue to benefit local farmers".

BCI states that there is "no direct evidence that...forced labor is being used on BCI licensed farms in Xinjiang." After Huafu, which is not only a BCI partner but sits on its council, was scrutinized in the above-mentioned media report, BCI responded by noting that Huafu had "commissioned an independent social audit...[which] did not identify any instances of forced labor." But asking for an 'independent social audit' in an environment as controlled as Xinjiang is like asking the fox to check that no hens are missing.

My own research on Huafu comes to far more troubling conclusions. Over 90 percent of its staff are ethnic minorities, mostly "rural surplus laborers".

Huafu's website states that "... a large number of rural surplus laborers are idle at home, which...brings hidden dangers to public security." Company reports depict hundreds of Uyghurs in military uniforms at a staff training event, and a Xinjiang government website reports that Huafu is part of an official training initiative that subjects Uyghurs to centralized "military drill, thought transformation... and de-extremification." Once employed, staff are subjected to intensive ongoing political indoctrination, including oath swearing sessions and mandatory written reports designed to "establish correct values".

Similarly, the German company Adidas audited Huafu's spinning facilities in Aksu and found "no evidence of forced labor, or of government involvement in the hiring of their workforce." However, a cursory search shows Chinese media outlets citing Peng Xianxiang, Huafu's staff training and development manager, as openly saying that "the local government sends us workers according to [our] company's staffing needs." A report from the Aksu government propaganda bureau confirms that the prefecture trains and then sends Uyghur workers to Huafu. Government reports indicate that in that very region, as many as 200 adults from a single village were rounded up by government work teams and "shipped off" to work at textile or other factories.

The third example pertains to garment maker H+M, which continues to procure yarn from Huafu's, but from their yarn mills outside of Xinjiang. However, 19 provinces and cities in eastern China are "mutually paired" with minority regions in Xinjiang, and that this involves extensive, state-mandated labor transfers. Government reports explicitly state that one county in Xinjiang alone sent 103 rural minority surplus laborers to Huafu's factory in Anhui province in eastern China.

In order to benefit from Beijing's economic policies in Xinjiang and to maintain favor with the Chinese government, western companies are telling themselves that doing business with Xinjiang or with companies who are heavily invested in Xinjiang is fine, until proven otherwise. This is not only unethical, but also increasingly risky in terms of their own reputation.

In light of the present findings, I call upon the United States government to embark on a detailed investigation of policies and practices of involuntary labor in relation to Xinjiang and the involvement of American companies. After passing the Uyghur Human Rights Act, stopping the business of oppression in Xinjiang is the next step. Thank you.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you.

We will now call upon Ferkat Jawdat, who is a Uyghur American activist and software engineer. He immigrated to the United States in 2011 with three of his siblings to live with his father who had immigrated in 2006.

In February 2018, Ferkat's mother was sent to an internment camp in Xinjiang, along with his—along with two younger brothers and in-laws. Ferkat has been publicly advocating for his mother and her family and their release, and has met with Secretary Pompeo on that issue.

Please proceed.

STATEMENT OF FERKAT JAWDAT, UYGHUR AMERICAN

Mr. JAWDAT. I would like to thank Chairman Sherman and Representative Yoho and all of the members of this committee for giving me the chance to share my story and be the voice of my people here today.

I am here to speak as a Uyghur American, subject to China's long arm of terror. I am here to ask the Congress and the President to stand up for freedom. I came to the U.S. in 2011 with my three other siblings to reunite with my father who had came here in 2006 and applied for political asylum. But my mother could not reunite with us because the Chinese government would not issue her a passport. We had exhausted all of the legal channels to get her here. China holds her hostage as leverage over us.

On February 6, 2018, my mother left me her last message on WeChat, the Chinese version of WhatsApp. She told me she was going to the school. This is a code word that they use to describe the camps. Then she disappeared.

A month later, five people from my father's side, they all wound up in 1 day and sent to one of those camps. I waited for more than 7 months, praying my mother and the relatives will be released. It was the darkest period of my life. I was desperate, I was scared, and I was nervous.

Finally, I decided to speak out. Since September 2018, I have met many U.S. officials and gave interviews to more than 40 news outlets around the world. I was worried and scared. Each time I spoke out, my cousins, uncles, aunts, and even my 75-year-old grandmother was threatened by the Chinese officials or the police. They were forced to sign documents stating that they will cutoff all contact with me.

Three days after I had the meeting with Secretary of State Mike Pompeo in March this year, the Chinese police transferred my aunt and uncle to the prison, and later they sentenced them for 7 and 8 years for crimes that they never committed.

After my story was published in The New York Times in May, I received a phone call from my mother. She told me she was released and then begged me to stop criticizing China and speaking out. Three days later, I found that she was released only for 1 day to call me, and she was surrounded by police officers and then brought back to the camp again the next day.

After my mom became ill in the camp, she was brought to a hospital. An ethnic Chinese senior doctor told officials that the only way to keep my mother alive is to allow her to contact—having

contact with her family members and to get proper medical treatment. My mother was released in June, and we can now talk by phone. But she is in constant monitoring, and she is being visited by the Chinese police or the government officials every single day.

She had to pose for the videos or pictures holding an apple or just pretending that she is drinking or eating at the house. Since my mother was released, the Chinese security agents contacted me twice on WeChat. They demanded that I listen to them and work with them in order to keep my mother safe.

They hinted they could get her released to the U.S. if I cooperate with them. When I refused, they told me I should be ready to pay the price as I was going up against a global superpower. They told me I was worthless. I was powerless.

The State Department issued a statement on November 5 calling on China to release the families of three Uyghur Americans and stop threatening us. Four days later, the Chinese government falsely branded me and Arafat Arkin, who is sitting here in the audience, as members of a terrorist organization. And then they also released a video of our parents, our family members, where they say that they have never been sent to the camps and that they are living happily.

As a result of my testimony in this room today, China may release another video or another article where they force my mom or my relatives to speak against my will. I worry about what will happen to my mother, and then especially after The New York Times' podcast released yesterday. Even before that, they already threatened that they can just kill my mother if that has been—if it has been published online.

The U.S. Government has led the world in responding to the Uyghurs' nightmare. All of the Uyghur Americans, including myself, my family members, we all really appreciate it, and then thankful for being a member of this great country.

I also ask Congress to pass the Uyghur Human Rights Bill before the end of the year, and send it to the President's desk and urge him to sign it and let it come a law. I also ask Congress to increase funding for Radio Free Asia, the Uyghur Service, and also provide more funding for the Uyghur organizations like the Uyghur Human Rights Project and the Uyghur American Association.

And for the last, as a son, I ask your help to bring my mother to the U.S. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Jawdat follows:]

Testimony of Ferkat Jawdat for the
House Foreign Affairs Committee Hearing on Human Rights in China

I would like to thank Chairman Eliot Engel, ranking member Michael McCaul, and all the members of this committee for giving me the chance to share my story and be the voice of my mother and my people here today.

The Communist Party of China does not allow the world to freely hear the voices of over 12 million Uyghurs, not even over the phone to their own families. They are denied passports to travel and international visitors to see them. Instead of allowing freedom, China uses the fear of being thrown into today's concentration camps in the so-called "Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region" to terrorize the entire Uyghur population living under an Orwellian mass surveillance police state and to extort silence from Uyghurs abroad. Instead of allowing freedom of speech on personal phones, the world's number one exporter of telephones uses voice recognition and monitors all calls and WeChat usage and even uses the voices of mothers to deliver the regime's threats to silence their own children about the arbitrary mass incarceration in Xinjiang of over three million Uyghurs.

But it is not just Uyghurs who live in fear of China's power to harm them and their loved ones. China uses the fear of retribution and the hope for monetary gain to silence the whole world, from sports leagues like the NBA to Hollywood, businesses, and governments. Indeed, the world's empowerment of China economically has effectively silenced the voice of every single past and current world leader to the world's largest persecution of an ethnic minority since the Holocaust. To be meaningful, the words "Never Again!" must be spoken by today's leaders with their voices and then especially with their actions.

I am here to speak as an Uyghur American subjected to China's long arm of terror. I am also here to ask Congress and the President of what should still be the Free World to stand up for Freedom and stop allowing China to silence your voices. Stop allowing China to take away freedom so totally in Xinjiang, in Tibet, increasingly in Hong Kong, and even here on your own soil as Xinjiang security officials freely deliver threats, psychologically torture, and extortion, against your laws, to silence your own citizens here. China is effectively taking the world hostage. Please do not let your voices be silenced. Begin to speak with meaningful actions.

The Senate spoke unanimously that there should be targeted Magnitsky sanctions on the Chinese officials responsible for reintroducing concentration camps on Earth. Last week, the House strengthened that bill to call for meaningful action by a vote of 407 to 1. Thank you, but please follow through on such rare unanimity so that it actually becomes the first ever law addressing China's persecution against the Uyghurs and send it to the President's desk this week. This law is about telling China to stop targeting Americans with threats and extortion, as it has to Radio Free Asia journalists working here in DC, and to separate American companies from complicity enabling Xinjiang's high-tech surveillance state.

And if I may address President Trump from here, I would like to ask him directly: why have you yet to implement U.S. law – the Global Magnitsky sanctions – to hold Chinese officials accountable? I have never heard you answer that question, but your silence on Xinjiang's millions in concentration camps is deafening. Please not only sign the UIGHUR Act Congress is sending you on, but truly enact it. Please do not sign it and give Chairman Xi assurances that you will not implement it. Stop letting authoritarians silence your voice and your sanctioning actions. Impose targeted Magnitsky sanctions on China for Xinjiang, Tibet, and Hong Kong.

President Trump, China holds my mother hostage, and threatened to kill her if I cross their line. The leader of the free world must speak up for freedom and democracy. Those are the values that America beacons to the world to inspire people towards accountable democracy and away from authoritarian kleptocracy. Authoritarians empower billionaires, as in Beijing, on the backs of millions of forced laborers, as in Xinjiang, but the United States empowers people to seek justice and the rule of law.

Look, my family immigrated here for those ideas. I came to the United States in 2011 with my three siblings to reunite with my father, who came here five years earlier and applied for political asylum. My mother was not so fortunate. Despite having been cleared by the US government to come to the US, my mother is still unable to reunite with us because the Chinese government will not issue her a passport. We have exhausted all legal channels since 2005 to get her here. China holds her hostage as leverage over us.

On February 6th, 2018, my mother left me her last message on WeChat, the Chinese equivalent of WhatsApp and other messaging platforms that it does not allow in China. She told me she was going to the "school" – the euphemism the

whole world now knows China uses for its concentration camps. She then disappeared. A month later, five relatives from my father's side—including his older sister, her husband, their son and younger brother—were all rounded up and detained on the same day. I anxiously waited for more than seven months, hoping, praying my mother and relatives would be released. I knew the Chinese government would punish my loved ones if I spoke out publicly.

It was the darkest period of my life. After failing to receive any information about her, I was desperate. So, I made the difficult decision to start speaking out publicly since September 2018. I have met various US government officials and given interviews to more than three dozen news outlets around the world. Each time I spoke out, my cousins, uncles, aunts, and even my 75-year-old grandmother were threatened by the Chinese government and forced to sign documents stating they would cut off all contacts with me. Three days after I met with Secretary of State Mike Pompeo in March of this year, they transferred my aunt and uncle to prison as retaliation against my meeting him. Later, they sentenced them to 7 and 8 years in prison for bogus crimes they never committed.

After my story was published in the New York Times in May, I received a phone call from my mother where she told me she was released and begged me to stop speaking out and criticizing China. Three days later, I found out she was released only for one day to call me under the supervision of half a dozen Chinese police and was promptly brought back to the camp the next day.

After my mother became very ill in the camp, she was brought to a hospital by government officials. After learning of her situation and checking her condition, a Han Chinese doctor told the officials that the only way to keep her alive was to restore her contact with her family and allow her adequate medical treatment. My mother was released in early June, and our communication has thankfully been restored. Although I am now able to talk to my mom regularly, a luxury so many of my fellow Uyghurs are cruelly denied, she is constantly monitored. She gets visited by the Chinese police or regional officials every day, and she has to ask them permission to leave the house to go anywhere.

Since my mother was released, Chinese security agents reached out to me twice directly on WeChat and demanded that I "listen to them, work with them" in order to keep my mother safe and possibly facilitate her request for a passport. They taunted me with the prospect of her release to the US. Their extortion went to the heart of a mother-son relationship. When I declined their demands, they told

me I should be ready to pay the price as I was going up against a global superpower. They compared me as worthless.

But I believe freedom is only attained by not submitting yourself as someone's slave to obey. It is the hostage taker that alone is responsible for his actions, including the illegal psychological torture he inflicts on relatives to attain his demands. A regime that terrorizes by taking family members hostage cannot be appeased and submitted to with silence about its concentration camps. The U.S. must finally lead the world against hostage taking, as its founding fathers once did, by punishing them, not giving in to their demands.

The State Department issued a statement on November 5th asking the Chinese government to release my and two other Uyghurs' family members and stop harassing and threatening us. Their response? The Chinese government released a statement four days later falsely branding me and Arafat Arkin, who is sitting here in the audience, as though we—rather than the Communist regime that is terrorizing us—were members of a terrorist organization. They referred to the World Uyghur Congress, which we all know is not a terrorist organization, but one that is decidedly against terrorism, including China's authoritarian terror that it wields against citizens through arbitrary arrests and mass detentions. A state's use of terror to achieve compliance from its supposed domestic enemies through fear of arbitrary mass arrests is the very reason the word "terrorism" came into existence in the 1790s with the French Revolution's Reign of Terror. It was Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, and Mao who relied on authoritarian terror as official policy. China's Communist Party Secretary for Xinjiang, Chen Quanguo, is clearly following in their footsteps, resorting to mass terror against its own citizens to "show absolutely no mercy."

While simply denying and distracting the world from its war on Uyghurs, Xinjiang security officials forced our family members to record videos about their "happy lives" in China and to call us the scum of the family.

My mother was released six months ago and right now as we speak she is in the hospital, again, for the 7th time. Remember, concentration camps are designed to weaken and infirm in overcrowded cells people never charged with any actual crime. The last time I saw my mother, hugged my mother, was September 2010 before I left for university in another Chinese province. Just for speaking out for the love of my mother, I was falsely labeled a terrorist by the second largest state power in the world. Not a day goes by when I don't worry. I worried as I wrote this speech when China released additional propaganda videos against me. I worry

about what will happen to my mother after I finish this speech here in front of you today.

But I will not keep silent about what China is perpetrating against my mother and millions of my people. And I am asking you, President Trump, to stop allowing China to silence you. Find a voice that speaks of freedom and justice like Reagan's to the world to end tyrannies. Do not succumb with envy for their rich autocrats who have stolen billions from their own people and treat their suffering as badges somehow making them "great leaders." They are tyrants who rule for life, secured only by the wealth they steal.

America is still a beacon of hope and faith.

Such constant, unshakeable fear is what all Uyghurs face, each and every day. It has indeed kept many of us silent until now. The ones who choose to speak out publicly receive constant threats from the Chinese government and their relatives are punished. As that Chinese agent told me in his last threat, China thinks we're nothing, we're powerless compared to them. But they are wrong.

It is still the truth that sets people free.

As we have had the courage to speak out, more and more people throughout the world have heard what is happening to millions of Uyghurs. Journalists, researchers, human rights activists, and leaders within governments have taken up our cause to "rescue those delivered to death." The US government has led the world in responding with words and now is beginning to act. All of you, especially with the overwhelming passage of the strengthened Uyghur bill by this House of Representatives, have proved to the Chinese government that the Uyghurs are not alone. We have strong allies and friends supporting us and protecting us. The strongest and most supportive is the US government.

So, I want to thank each of you and this wonderfully free country for standing up for human rights and justice for Uyghurs.

Today, I would ask you to continue to stand up for us by:

1. Speed up enactment of the House-amended Uyghur Act of 2019, S.178, as soon as possible to get the President's signature while it is still 2019.

2. Pass legislation to address the massive scale of forced labor in Xinjiang, so that the products of forced labor are no longer welcomed in the U.S. and internationally.

3. Sanction the Chinese technology companies that directly enable Xinjiang's mass surveillance policy state.

4. Increase the size, reach, and funding of the Radio Free Asia Uyghur Service that is directly targeted by China for its reporting that has led the world's awareness on Xinjiang. The Chinese government is spending billions every year to spread its propaganda around the world. We should counter its propaganda by denying it such unequal access here and empower those who tell the truth with more resources and manpower to ensure facts pierce through China's fiction.

5. Provide funding for Uyghur organizations who have been targeted by China and have decided to speak out to lead the world to respond to China's persecution of the Uyghurs, like the Uyghur American Association (UAA) and the Uyghur Human Rights Project (UHRP). The UAA was established in 1998 and is the largest Uyghur grassroots organization in the US and the parent of the Uyghur Human Rights Project.

6. Rededicate our great country to our commitment to "Never Again!" by taking action to convince China to empty its concentration camps and dismantle, rather than export, its high-tech mass surveillance police state.

7. And as a son, I ask you to help me to finally convince China to release its Uyghur hostages whom it uses specifically to target U.S. citizens with threats and extortion, and to bring my mother to the US when any of you or any U.S. official flies to China.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you. What you tell us is chilling and may justify the tariffs we have on Chinese goods, even if we did not have a trade dispute.

I now go on to Joey Siu, who is vice president of the City University of Hong Kong Students Association, is an activist with the Hong Kong protesters. Ms. Siu has organized peaceful protests, including the assembly of 60,000 people calling for international support in August of this year.

She has met with over 60 political leaders from eight countries over the past 3 months and has testified at the United Nations in Geneva.

Ms. SIU.

STATEMENT OF JOEY SIU, VICE PRESIDENT, CITY UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG STUDENTS UNION

Ms. SIU. Good afternoon, Chairman Sherman, Ranking Member Yoho, and members of the subcommittee. Thank you for holding the hearing on the Human Rights Day, the day when the free world countries celebrate the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

However, there is a totally different story under the Chinese authoritarian regime. Millions of people face severe oppression in their daily struggles to defend human rights. We Hong Kongers are one of them, and at this critical juncture, we are facing an unprecedented humanitarian crisis.

Ever since the movement broke out on 9th of June, the crowd has not stopped taking to the streets for our five demands. The massive arbitrary arrests and political prosecutions have created a chilling effect on the rights to freedom of assembly and expression in Hong Kong.

Police siege of the Polytechnic University represents the most serious occasion of human rights violations. Voluntary first-aiders and journalists were arrested and forced to kneel with their hands tied—a scene which may not be visible if in a war zone. Medical supplies, food and water supplies, were cutoff from the campuses then.

The hygiene soon became a problem, and the desperate atmosphere was also traumatizing. The government created a humanitarian crisis in Hong Kong.

On the most critical night, more than 1,000 Hong Kongers went onto the streets to rescue the trapped victims inside the Polytechnic University. The police responded with brutal suppression, resulting in a stampede. Until today, the police have fired around 10,000 tear gas canisters, 6,100 rubber bullets, and 19 live rounds. Although the police brutal arrest and dispersion tactics counts as gross violations of the international human rights standards, they continue to enjoy impunity from the law and receive full support from the Chinese communist government.

In detention centers, detainees are often tortured or ill-treated, where access to legal assistance and medical supplies is often denied. Victims have also reported sexual and gender-based violence committed by police officers. In a shocking case, a teenage girl filed a complaint against the police after allegedly being raped inside

the police station by multiple police officers. She even needed to undergo a termination of ensuing pregnancy.

The pro-democracy camp's landslide victory in the district council election 2 weeks ago demonstrates Hong Kongers' overwhelming support for the five demands. Yet we must bear in mind that candidates who advocates for independence or self-determination for Hong Kong are still deprived of the right to stand for elections.

In 2016, Edward Leung, candidate representing Hong Kong indigenous, was barred from participating in the legislative council election. And in the same year, six elected lawmakers was disqualified.

Edward Leung is now serving his 6-year imprisonment of rioting, a crime under the public ordinance, for his participation in the 2016 Mong Kok arrest. The vague terminology, combined with the disproportional sentences, allows the Hong Kong government to arbitrarily arrest and prosecute protesters. The ordinance has been repeatedly criticized by the United Nations for curtailing the freedom of assembly and expression.

As the court hearings regarding the 2016 Mong Kon unrest continues, more than 6,000 politically motivated arrests have been made since June. As a result of political prosecution, Ray Wong and Alan Li, founders of Hong Kong Indigenous, fled Hong Kong in 2017 and were granted asylum status in Germany.

They were the first two political refugees from Hong Kong and now we fear that the world is seeing more and more from Hong Kong. Freedom of press and academic freedom are also under threat. Major media companies have been bought by the pro-Beijing tycoons resulting in serious censorship in news publications.

Police unauthorized entry into the universities, accompanied by invasive use of force, severely encroach upon academic freedom. The government has installed a considerable amount of intelligent street lamps with high resolution security cameras across the city. Police force was also found to have used facial recognition technology to identify protestors since 3 years ago.

The China Communist government clearly has a plan to establish totalitarian control in Hong Kong. Having been turned into a police state, the city is not far from becoming a surveillance state. The threat of Chinese interference is not limited to Xinjiang, Tibet, and Hong Kong.

China has been exporting a surveillance technology, along with its mode of totalitarian governance, to countries along the Belt and Road Initiative. Beijing's grand imperial projects is posing a significant challenge to the rules-based order and democratic values across the road.

We are grateful to the U.S. Government for passing the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act. The earlier the Administration imposes sanctions on the perpetrators of human rights violations, the less human cost Hong Kongers need to suffer.

We sincerely ask the U.S. Government to lead all other democracies in the world, to ensure China complies with the international human rights standards. We ask urgently the U.S. Government to lead an international inquiry on Hong Kong police brutality against the Hong Kong people.

We defend freedom and human rights, not only for ourselves but also for the other people around the world. We need the United States and the other countries to stand with us.

Thank you.

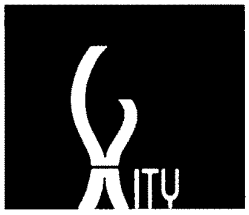
[The prepared statement of Ms. Siu follows:]

House Foreign Affairs Committee
Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific, and Nonproliferation

"Authoritarianism with Chinese Characteristics: Political and Religious Human Rights Challenges in China"

December 10, 2019

Written Testimony of Joey Siu, Vice President, City University of Hong Kong Students' Union



Good afternoon Chairman Sherman, Ranking member Yoho, and members of the subcommittee,

I am Joey Siu, Vice President of the Students' Union of the City University of Hong Kong. Thank you for holding the hearing and giving me the opportunity to testify. Today is the Human Rights Day, the day when Free World countries celebrate their adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But we must not forget that, under the Chinese authoritarian regime, hundreds of thousands of people are still enduring severe oppression, struggling to defend their fundamental human rights, and we, Hongkongers, are one of them. At this critical juncture, Hong Kong nows faces an unprecedented humanitarian crisis.

Aggravating Human Rights Conditions in Hong Kong

Ever since the movement broke out on 9th June, massive crowds have shown up on the streets almost every weekend to show the government our five demands. There have also been protests, rallies, and human chains nearly every day across the city. Our right to protests notwithstanding, the police have made over 6,000 protest-related arrests. Their ages range from 11 to 84, and 2,393 of them are students. These arbitrary arrests and political prosecutions deter people from participation in the public sphere, and thus create a chilling effect on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and expression in Hong Kong.

Besides, the Hong Kong Police Force have shown no restraint in using excessive force against the protesters. Until today, the police have fired around 10,000 tear gas canisters, 6,100 rubber bullets, and 19 live rounds, caused irreversible injuries such as permanent blindness and loss of vital organs. Recently, they have even deployed water cannon trucks, stun grenades, and Long Range Acoustic Devices. Although these brutal arrests and dispersion tactics constitute gross violations of international human rights, the police continue to enjoy impunity from the law and receive full support from the Hong Kong and Chinese governments.

The violations of human dignity are not restricted to the streets. In detention centres, detainees are often tortured, ill-treated, and denied access to legal assistance and medical support. One of the arrestees told Amnesty International that a police officer had pinned him to the group, forced open his eyes, and shone a laser pen into it, asking, "Don't you like to point this at people?"

Victims have also reported sexual and gender based violence committed by police officers, including unnecessary strip searches, real or threatened assaults on their genitals, and, in a shocking case, rape. One brave teenage girl had filed a complaint against the police after allegedly raped, inside the police station, by multiple police officers. She even needed to undergo a termination of the ensuing pregnancy. There may be many more survivors who have kept silent, for once their expose their identity, they risk retaliation from the authorities, not to mention the fact that a fair investigation into police conduct is almost impossible. The police's siege of the Polytechnic University represents the most serious occasion of human rights violations. In mid-November, the police trapped more than a thousand protesters, students, and teachers in the campus. They first arrested journalists and voluntary first-aiders, forcing them kneel for hours with their hands tied. Even though some protesters

had fever and wound inflammation due to the unhygienic environment, and some others even showed symptoms of aphasia and self-abuse under the extremely desperate atmosphere, the police prevented medical teams from entering the campus to treat the protesters. Cutting off food, water, and medical supply, the police created a humanitarian crisis.

More than a hundred thousand Hongkongers went onto the streets to rescue the trapped victims, but the police responded with brutal suppression — apart from using stun grenades, the police drove vehicles into the protesters, resulting in a stampede. In one single day, 33 were hospitalized, including 17 in critical condition, over a thousand were arrested, and 242 were brought to court immediately the day after for rioting.

Deprivation of Political Freedom

Two weeks ago, the pro-democracy camp won a landslide victory in the District Council Election, getting 389 out of 479 seats. Although the results demonstrate citizens' overwhelming support for the five demands, we must bear in mind the unfair electoral system which deprives candidates who advocate independence or self-determination of the right to stand for election. Joshua Wong was disqualified from this election, but the deprivation of political rights has begun much earlier. In 2016, Edward Leung, the leader of Hong Kong Indigenous and the spiritual leader of the current movement, was barred from participating in the Legislative Council election. His successor Sixtus Leung won a seat in the election, but after he and five other elected lawmakers, including Nathan Law, had used the oath-taking ceremony as a platform of protest, the government commenced legal proceedings against the validity of their oath. Without a request from the Court of Final Appeal, Beijing decided to "interpret" the Basic Law to impose new constitutional requirements on oath-taking. In the end, all six lawmakers were ousted from the legislature.

Another tool the government has used to suppress our freedom of assembly and freedom of expression is the Public Order Ordinance. Enacted in 1967 by the colonial government to aid its suppression of riots, the Public Order Ordinance has been repeatedly criticised by the United Nations Human Rights Committee and human rights groups for curtailing the right of assembly under Article 21 of the ICCPR. Its vague, ambiguous terminology, combined with the disproportionate sentences, allows the government to arbitrarily arrest and prosecute protesters who hold unfavourable opinions. One of them is Edward Leung, who was charged of "rioting" for his participation in the 2016 Mong Kok unrest and is now serving his six-year imprisonment. Since June, around 750 protesters have been brought to court, charged mostly with with "unlawful assembly" or "rioting".

The Public Order Ordinance also states that participating in an assembly without a "Letter of No Objection" issued by the police would be considered as "unauthorized assembly", and wide discretionary powers are granted to the police. Since late July, the police have outlawed nearly every protests and rallies by refusing to issue a "Letter of No Objection", subjecting all participants to a maximum sentence of five years. This draconian measure has deterred many citizens from exercising their right to protest. It violates the clearly-stated principle in the International Human Rights Law that restrictions of peaceful assembly or expression are only acceptable when necessary and justifiable.

Reforms of the Ordinance introduced by the last governor of Hong Kong, Chris Patten, now Lord Patten was reversed by the Chinese Government shortly after the 1997 handover. International bodies taken actions in response, including the The United Nations Human Rights Committee (UNHRC) expressed concerns in its concluding observations on its first report on Hong Kong. The Committee stated "concerns that the Public Order Ordinance (Chapter 245) could be applied to restrict unduly enjoyment of the rights guaranteed in article 21 of the Covenant". Particular concerns about the notification and notice of no-objection requirements in the legislation were made and recommended that "the HKSAR should review this Ordinance and bring its terms into compliance with article 21 of the Covenant".

Allegations of politicized abuse of law are strengthened by the failure of the Secretary of Justice to investigate into police brutality. Given the clear and unarguable subordinate relationship between the Chinese Communist Government and the Hong Kong Government, having the Secretary of Justice whom as a political appointee as Chief Prosecutor leaves much room the politicised and punitive use of the Ordinance and gave rise to political prosecutions.The broad but unclear scope of the definition of "rioting" under the ordinance, empowered police with excessive powers and allows massive arbitrary arrests. Combined with the widely-criticized, absurd and severe sentences of up to 6 years imprisonment handed out to protestors in previous "riots", noticeably concerns were caused.

As the court hearings regarding the 2016 Mong Kok unrest continue, more than 6,000 politically motivated arrests have been made since June. As a result of political persecution, Ray Wong and Alan Li, founders of Hong Kong Indigenous, fled Hong Kong in 2017 and were granted asylum status in Germany. They are the first two political refugees from Hong Kong and now, in light of the worsening human rights condition in Hong Kong, the world will see more from this international city.

Dim Future of Hong Kong

The social atmosphere was altered after July 21 when white-shirt thugs with suspected ties to organised crime gathered in the Yuen Long train station and indiscriminately attacked protesters, reporters and even passersby. Police refused to show up despite repeated emergency calls and arrested only a few of them. It plunged Hong Kong into a state of anarchy and mob violence where attacks on random teens and pro-democracy activists become more commonly seen. With pro-Beijing supporters dominating major local medias and educational institutions, news and reports were heavily censored before publication, freedom of press and academic freedom are unprecedentedly tightened. Police's unauthorised entries accompanied by their invasive use of force, not only endanger the safety of students and staff, but also severely encroach upon academic freedom — once campus autonomy gave way to state authority, all academic activities would be subject to state pressure and government interference. The crackdown on students is becoming more and more reminiscent of the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident. Suppressed by the government, the institutions and the indulged pro-Beijing supporters, freedom of expression is extremely narrowed down.

Beijing's restrictions on political freedom have also brought negative impacts to the city's business environment. As Beijing finds ways to retaliate companies in Hong Kong, more and more companies will be forced to comply with the party line. For instance, Cathay Pacific has

succumbed to political pressure from China's aviation authority, firing dozens of employees based on their political stance. Furthermore, the refusals of entries of British human rights activities Benedict Roger, Financial Times editor Victor Mallet, and scholar Daniel Garrett who testified in the September CECC hearing are evidence of the declining free movement of labour. The Hong Kong government has shown the world that foreign nationals could be kept out of the city even if they did not violate any law.

Meanwhile the government implements considerable amount of intelligent street lamps with high-resolution security cameras across the territory, it was found that the police force has been using facial recognition technologies to identify protesters for three years already. It is expected that the Chinese Communist Government well-planned strategy of assimilating and gaining complete control over Hong Kong, including introducing the social credibility system in the near future. Hong Kong is not far from becoming part of the survelliance state.

Recommendations

Chinese interference in Xinjiang, Tibet and Hong Kong as well as the export of its model of authoritarian governance to countries through the "Belt and Road Initiative" serves as a reminder that Beijing is prepared to go far in pursuit of its grand imperial project and will pose a significant challenge to human rights condition across the world.

Bipartisan congressional interventions made on China and Hong Kong, we are delighted and encouraged by the passage of the "Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act" and the "Hong Kong Protect Act" and we call for the administration's speedy adoption of sanctions and provisions stated in the bills. The United States Government should join hands with the other free-world countries in ensuring the Chinese Communist Government complies with international human rights standards. Imposing necessary sanctions under the Global Magnitsky Act on individual human rights abusers should be considered.

We also urge the United States Government to review any business operations that assist the deprivation of human rights in Xinjiang, Tibet and Hong Kong in due course. Chinese companies that participated in human rights abuses should be sanctioned including being put on the currently existing export control list.

Last but not least, support from the United States to NGOs, civil societies that work to safeguard human rights, preserve cultural and linguistics is significantly important. Continuous attention and monitoring regarding the rapidly changing situation in the regions.

We defend freedom and human rights not only for ourselves but for the world. We need the United States to be on our side.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you.

After we hear from the last witness, I will call upon Mr. Bera, and then Mr. Yoho, for their questioning.

And earlier in my opening remarks, I criticized the President for not signing off on having U.N. hearings today on human rights in North Korea, but I should point out he did sign the legislation that we passed overwhelmingly in the U.S. Congress on Hong Kong.

With that, I will recognize our last witness, Sophie Richardson, who is China Director at Human Rights Watch and is the author of numerous articles on domestic Chinese political reform, democratization, and human rights. She has testified before at the U.S. Senate, but much more importantly, at the House of Representatives.

And she is qualified to address not only the issues address by our other witnesses, namely Hong Kong and Xinjiang, but can also enlighten us with regard to Tibet, and the great Chinese heartland where human rights are also a concern.

Ms. RICHARDSON. Dr. Richardson.

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

Dr. RICHARDSON. Chairman Sherman, Ranking Member Yoho, members of the subcommittee, we wish we had better news to share with you with any of many issues I have been asked to talk about today. But from the 156th self-immolation last week of a Tibetan, to more than 10,000 rounds of tear gas fired at largely peaceful protests in Hong Kong, from the one million-plus arbitrarily detained Uyghurs who, contrary to party officials' claims that they have, quote, "graduated" are clearly not free, to authorities crushing independent civil society and peaceful dissent, partly through pervasive State surveillance, including the social credit system, the realities are, at best, challenging.

In addition, Chinese government threats to human rights no longer stay within China's borders. They range from undermining norms like academic freedom at universities in the U.S. to undermining key institutions like the U.N.'s Human Rights Council.

I would like to spend my time today talking through a couple of different areas of recommendations. I hope that is acceptable to you. The first is about multilateralism, specifically with a view toward accountability. We have got a lot of evidence of grave human rights violations in Xinjiang. We are good on that.

What we need is to combat China's power in the international system and particularly within the United Nations, which is effectively blocking many of the different pathways to accountability. Let's recall today the proceedings began this morning in The Hague against the Myanmar government for its gross violations of Rohingya's human rights. We have to imagine the same outcome for the family members of all of these people who are sitting here with photographs.

The United States has found ways to support some of the efforts related to Xinjiang at the Human Rights Council and at the General Assembly in New York. But the reality is that the U.S. not being a member of the Human Rights Council has hampered those efforts. It has ceded that institution to greater Chinese influence,

and it has made that institution that much more difficult to access for independent civil society from China.

So, quite simply, if we have any expectations that the Chinese government is going to be held to the same standards as any other government in the world, the U.S. has to be a robust, principled, consistent, reliable player there. So that is one area we can talk about.

With respect to sanctions and export controls, we certainly share your views about Global Magnitsky sanctions that are appropriate for multiple China situations. I think the Administration's willingness to use that tool, just in the last day or two with Cambodia and Myanmar, but not in China, has not escaped Beijing's attention.

We are encouraged by the Department of Commerce's additions of the Xinjiang public security bureau, particularly to the entities list. We also encourage scrutiny of CETC, which is the conglomerate that is responsible for building the integrated joint operations platform, which is sort of the central brain of high-tech surveillance in Xinjiang.

We particularly appreciate the current Uyghur Act's approach to export/re-export in in-country transfers, that it focuses on the potential threats to human rights rather than a specific technology or a specific company, because that matches the grim reality today in China, which is that authorities do not necessarily want things like handcuffs or tasers to commit human rights abuses; they want things like DNA sequencers. And U.S. legislation needs to catch up to that reality.

Third, with respect to pending legislation, we are certainly broadly supportive, both of the Tibet Support and Policy Act and the Uyghur Act and encourage the Senate to take those up quickly and pass them.

One other area I want members to think about is ensuring that U.S. companies, universities, and other institutions are not part of the problem. I think this committee can certainly do a lot of work in urging any U.S. company that has a presence in Tibet or Xinjiang to publish its due diligence strategy to show that it has thought through the human rights risks to doing business in those regions.

On a related note, we would certainly urge very close scrutiny of any assessments that claim they have unfettered access to supply chains. As Professor Zenz has pointed out, this is a very difficult region to independently assess much of anything, but U.S. universities I think also need to be pushed to ensure that they are taking all possible steps to mitigate clear Chinese government threats to academic freedom on campuses.

I am happy to elaborate on the work that we have done setting out steps that schools can take to challenge these kinds of threats. We sent it to all 50 U.S. State university systems. Relatively few have replied at all. None of them I would say have replied thoughtfully to show that they are taking these concerns seriously.

Last but not least, it is imperative that the U.S. continue to support independent civil society in China. The Chinese government's foreign NGO management law has made that considerably more difficult. We have confidence that the U.S. can be nimble and

thoughtful and agile and keep supporting the people inside China who are really trying to make change.

We also hope the U.S. is actively tracking and vigorously pushing Chinese authorities over those authorities' harassment of family members inside China for the activism of people outside China.

So I think combining these different elements makes for the most successful possible human rights dialog between people in the U.S. and in China, and I am happy to answer any of your questions.

[The prepared statement of Dr.. Richardson follows:]

House Foreign Affairs Committee
Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific, and Nonproliferation

"Authoritarianism with Chinese Characteristics: Political and Religious Human Rights Challenges in China"

Written Testimony of Sophie Richardson, China Director, Human Rights Watch
December 10, 2019

Thank you for the invitation to testify before the subcommittee on a particularly appropriate occasion: Human Rights Day. Yet in China, under President Xi Jinping, there is little to celebrate: human rights defenders continue to endure extraordinary attacks on their work, the government is building a surveillance state unparalleled in the world, and from Hong Kong to Tibet to Xinjiang those peacefully advocating for their human rights are seen—and treated—as enemies of the state. In addition, the Chinese government is expanding its assault on human rights beyond its borders, undermining institutions including the United Nations Human Rights Council and norms such as academic freedom.

Xinjiang

Human Rights Watch has documented serious human rights violations in the northwestern region of Xinjiang for more than 20 years, where Chinese authorities have long conflated the distinct identity of the region's 13 million Turkic Muslims with political disloyalty, and ignored or suppressed their legitimate grievances. Our past work focused on pervasive restrictions on religious freedom, enforced disappearances, and the forced return to China of Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims seeking asylum abroad.

Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang are now suffering even harsher repression. The government's "Strike Hard Campaign against Violent Extremism," launched in May 2014, has since at least 2017 entailed mass arbitrary detention, surveillance, indoctrination, and the destruction of the region's cultural and religious heritage. Credible estimates indicate that about 1 million Turkic Muslims are being indefinitely held in "political education" camps, where they are forced to disavow their identity and become loyal government subjects. Others have been prosecuted and sent to prison, and some have received lengthy and even death sentences for crimes that violate fundamental rights, such as "splittism" or "subversion." In September 2018,

we documented the ill-treatment and torture of detainees, and their denial of access to adequate medical care and to family members. Xinjiang authorities also continued to remove children whose parents were detained or in exile and hold them in state-run "child welfare" institutions and boarding schools without parental consent or access.

This year, Human Rights Watch reverse-engineered an app used by police and government officials in Xinjiang that is connected to a police mass surveillance system, called the Integrated Joint Operations Platform (IJOP), which aggregates information about all residents of Xinjiang under the guise of providing public security. Our research into the app revealed that the authorities consider many ordinary and legal behavior, such as "not socializing with neighbors," "often avoiding using the front door," using WhatsApp, or simply being related to someone who has obtained a new phone number, as suspicious. The app then flags such people for interrogation; some of whom are then sent to Xinjiang's "political education" camps. Our findings have been reinforced by the recent publication of leaked Chinese government documents outlining policies in Xinjiang.

As reports of these mass arbitrary detentions began to emerge between late 2017 and mid-2018, Chinese authorities repeatedly denied such detentions were taking place. After a United Nations review of China's record on racism and discrimination—during which UN experts raised the issue—Chinese officials changed their story, insisting that the facilities were "vocational training schools" designed to combat extremism and promote employment. They continued to insist no one was held against their will. To counter mounting international concern about the crackdown, Chinese authorities have organized several highly controlled trips for selected journalists and diplomats—including from the United Nations—to Xinjiang. In March, Xinjiang authorities announced that they had arrested nearly 13,000 "terrorists" in the region since 2014, and on July 30, publicly stated that "most" held in Xinjiang's "political education" camps had "returned to society"; neither claim was substantiated with credible evidence.

While some governments have taken meaningful action in response—particularly the US placement of 28 Chinese government agencies on the entities list, and the House's passage of the Uyghur Human Rights bill—the collective international response has done little to hold China accountable. In July at the UN Human Rights Council, 25 governments joined together for the first time in such numbers to express concern about the extraordinary crackdown in Xinjiang. Remarkably, fearing the wrath of the Chinese government, none were willing to read the statement aloud to the council, as is customary. Instead, the group simply submitted the joint statement in writing. That changed in October at the UN General Assembly when the United Kingdom read out loud a similar statement from a similar coalition of governments, but the initial hesitation shows the extraordinary reluctance of even the most committed countries to challenge China frontally. This fear underpins the impunity that China has come to enjoy in international circles despite the sweeping nature of its abuse.

Chinese government abuses of surveillance technology

Our research is only a snapshot of an evolving system of mass surveillance: these systems are generating massive datasets—unprecedented in human history—of personal information, of people's behavior, relationships and movements. The Chinese police are researching ways to use such information to understand in a more fine-grained way how people lead their lives. The goal is apparently to identify patterns of, and predict, the everyday life and resistance of its population, and, ultimately, to engineer and control reality.

Among the most disturbing aspects of Xi's rule and the current situation: Chinese authorities' development and deployment of surveillance technology that aspires to engineer a dissent-free society. Chinese authorities deny people any meaningful privacy rights from the government's prying eyes, and, coupled with a deeply politicized judicial system, the lack of a free press, and the denial of political rights, people across the country have no ability to challenge these developments or even truly understand how society is being transformed until it impacts them—or their families—directly.

What are some examples of this technology? One of the Ministry of Public Security's most ambitious and privacy-violating big data projects is the "Police Cloud" system, which appears to be national. The system scoops up information from people's medical history, to their supermarket membership, to delivery records, much of which is linked to people's unique national identification numbers. The Police Cloud system aims to track where the individuals have been, who they are with, and what they have been doing, as well as make predictions about their future activities. It is designed to uncover relationships between events and people "hidden" to the police by analyzing, for example, who has been staying in a hotel or travelling together. In effect, the system watches everyone, and the police can arbitrarily designate anyone a threat and requires greater surveillance, especially if they are seen to be "undermining stability"—an alarmingly ambiguous construct. It's critical to understand that there is no transparency in such a designation, and no way to challenge it—this is not the same as predictive policing in the US.

The Chinese government is also developing a national "social credit system" that rewards "good" behavior and punishes the "bad." At present, it is a blacklisting system in which behaviors the authorities disapprove—from "abnormal petitioning" to eating on the subway—can affect one's ability to obtain services such as getting mortgages and travelling on high-speed trains. The system already has rights implications. We documented a case in which Li Xiaolin, a human rights lawyer, was put on a blacklist for failing to apologize "sincerely" to a plaintiff in a defamation case. In that case, the penalty was exacted in an arbitrary and unaccountable manner: authorities failed to notify him that he had been blacklisted, leaving him no chance to contest his treatment.

To what extent the social credit system will evolve, and how it will interact with the police systems of mass surveillance, remains an open question. It is important to note that the social credit system and the mass surveillance systems were envisioned as part of the Chinese government's bigger vision for "better" "social management"—meaning, social control.

In December 2017, Human Rights Watch documented Xinjiang authorities' compulsory collection of DNA samples, fingerprints, iris scans, and blood types of all residents in the region between the ages of 12 and 65, in part under the guise of a free public healthcare program. That campaign significantly expanded authorities' collection of biodata beyond previous government efforts in the region, which only required all passport applicants in Xinjiang to supply biometrics. It did not appear that the government has disclosed to the public or to participants the full range of how collected medical information will be used and disseminated or how long it will be stored, and it appears that people were given little information about the program or the ability to opt out of it. We discovered that a US-based company, Thermo Fisher Scientific, headquartered in Waltham, Massachusetts, had sold DNA sequencers to the Xinjiang Public Security Bureau during this period. After inquiries from Human Rights Watch, members of Congress, and the *New York Times*, the company agreed to stop selling that particular technology in that particular region. However, it remains unclear whether it has adopted due diligence policies that might prevent such problems in the future.

The consequences of these technologies across China are enormous: the state is now not only able to peer into virtually every aspect of a person's public and private life, but is also clearly using information gained that way to reward and punish people outside any discernible legal scheme. It's not just the case that it's now "suspicious" if you go out your back door instead of your front door in Xinjiang, it's that the authorities can know that and investigate and punish you for it even though it's legal. You are not only suspicious if you question state policies, your level of suspiciousness is also dependent on who you are related to and who you spend time with.

Chinese government threats to academic freedom

In March, Human Rights Watch published a proposed Code of Conduct designed to help American and other universities identify and resist Chinese government threats to academic freedom. Based on more than 100 interviews between 2015 and 2018 in Australia, Canada, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States with academics, graduate and undergraduate students, and administrators, some of them from China, the research revealed that schools are poorly prepared to track, let alone effectively resist, problems ranging from visa bans on scholars working on China to surveillance and self-censorship on their campuses.

Some of the more than 350,000 students from China at American universities must deal with the surveillance and censorship that follows them to campus. Our research found that Chinese government and Communist Party intimidation ranging from harassment of family members in China over what someone had said in a closed seminar to censorship by US academic institutions that did not want to irk potential Chinese government partners. One scholar said a senior administrator had asked him "as a personal favor" to decline media requests during a visit by Chinese President Xi, fearing that any criticism could have negative consequences for the university's profile in China.

Even when campus debates take an ugly turn—such as when students from the mainland tried to shout down speakers at a March 2019 event at the University of California, Berkeley, addressing the human rights crisis in Xinjiang, or in September when unidentified individuals threatened Hong Kong democracy activist Nathan Law as he arrived for graduate studies at Yale—schools appear reluctant to publicly respond to these threats against free speech. In mid-October, students at the University of California, Davis, tore down other students' materials supporting Hong Kong protesters, yet in the ensuing days searching the school's website for "Hong Kong" yields only information about summer internships—not unequivocal support for peaceful expression.

With considerable tuition dollars and potentially lucrative partnerships with Chinese government-affiliated academic institutions and companies at stake, few schools are even willing to acknowledge the problem. Few actively publicize policies that classroom discussions are meant to stay on campus—not reported to foreign missions, or appoint ombudspersons to whom threats could be reported and thus tracked. They have not joined forces to share experiences and take common positions, and are generally only committing to disclosing all links to the Chinese government—steps that could deter Chinese government overreach—as a result of pressure from the federal government.

The Code of Conduct has been sent to about 150 schools in Australia, Canada, and the United States, and about a dozen have replied. We hope they will consider signing in order to mitigate these unique threats.

Recommendations

The world finds itself confronted with a powerful Chinese government willing to deploy extraordinary resources to deny people inside and outside China their fundamental human rights.

Human Rights Watch appreciates that many congressional interventions on China and human rights have long been bipartisan and bicameral, and that in recent years members of Congress have stood on principle to protest human rights violations even when administrations would not.

We are encouraged by the House's passage of the [Uyghur Human Rights bill] and hope for swift Senate action and adoption. In addition, we urge the administration to support efforts at obtaining access to Xinjiang by independent observers, possibly under the auspices of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights; such an effort is critical to determining appropriate accountability mechanisms. Quite simply, China should not be allowed to get away with human rights violations of this scope and scale. In addition, the US should work with like-minded governments to ensure the safety of Uyghur diaspora communities, support efforts at cultural and linguistic preservation, and urgently review the due diligence strategies of any US business operating in Xinjiang.

To address the Chinese government's expanding use of surveillance technology in the commission of human rights violations, we urge the United States to impose appropriate export

control mechanisms to deny the Chinese government—and Chinese companies enabling government abuses—access to technologies used to violate basic rights. This includes by adding companies to existing export control lists and imposing targeted sanctions under the Global Magnitsky Act against individuals linked to serious human rights violations. US private companies and public universities working in this sector should be encouraged to adopt due diligence policies to ensure they are not engaged in or enabling serious human rights abuses.

We hope that you will urge universities and colleges in your districts to seriously consider our proposed Code of Conduct to protect academic freedom; we believe the ideas are in no way contradictory to schools' existing principles. But we also believe that until academic institutions adopt strategies specifically designed to limit Chinese government and Chinese Communist Party activities on campuses worldwide, anyone engaging on issues Beijing thinks are "sensitive" is at risk of having their rights to academic freedom curtailed.

Finally, the US should recommit its support to independent civil society across China. That community is under sustained assault, and it needs sustained attention from the US government—including both Congress and the executive branch. People from that community paid a terrible price during the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre; they have paid it over the past three decades. Yet they have not abandoned the Tiananmen spirit, and neither should the US.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you.

Mr. BERA.

Mr. BERA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for holding this important hearing, and thank you to the witnesses for having the courage at some risk to step up and share the stories. It is incredibly important, and to have a platform such as this.

When I think about my introduction to activism, it was as a young college student in the apartheid movement in the early 1980's, and so forth, and it almost is as though we have got to create public awareness and a similar movement to build on what I hope are our core values as the United States of America of human rights and human decency and not sit silent.

Dr. Richardson, you may have the best perspective on this. Obviously, China controls the flow of information within China, information from Hong Kong, information from Xinjiang. How much does the rest of the Chinese domestic population know what is happening within their own borders?

Dr. RICHARDSON. Well, getting at that kind of information requires a couple of things. First, access to a really good VPN, which has gotten much harder. But it also requires knowing to ask, knowing enough to go looking. And if you have been told all your life that, Xinjiang is a hotbed of terrorism, and, therefore, Chinese government policies in the region are justified. And you have never had the opportunity to second-guess that or been given reason to do that. You are probably not going to.

And, some of my colleagues speak very eloquently about the very jarring reality of, for example, leaving the country to come to school, for example, in the U.S. and being confronted with a completely different set of facts and not—and going through the process of understanding not just that what you have been taught all of your life is, at best, questionable, if not completely fictitious.

But then the process of relearning and understanding how you can actually give credence to certain kinds of information, it is very challenging on many levels.

Mr. BERA. And what tools do we have, say, in the multilateral Western world to get information into China about potentially what is going on?

Dr. RICHARDSON. I think that ranges everywhere from anti-circumvention technology, or I should say pro-circumvention technology, to the wonderful work that is done by different services like VOA and RFA.

I think keeping the doors open to students and to scholars who want to come to the United States is critical. And treating that impulse as an opportunity for solidarity rather than just a national security issue, which is really how it has been discussed here for the last year, I think those are all important ways of giving people access to alternative narratives and information.

Mr. BERA. You touched on the role of the U.S. corporate sector, as well as academic institutions, and certainly, again, going back to my introduction in the early 1980's some of that was putting pressure on the U.S. corporate sector as well as the U.S. academic sector. At this juncture, do you see much of that happening at the grass-roots level, or, you know, from a State-by-State perspective? Or is it still very early?

Dr. RICHARDSON. I would say that it is very fragmented, and I think they are very different discussions about the involvement of companies and the kinds of due diligence standards that they are expected to uphold. I think the discussion for and about universities is different, which is not necessarily to say that some of them are not just as problematic in their relationship. So I think they have a different set of responsibilities and obligations.

I think universities are really struggling to understand the scope of threats to academic freedom that stem from Chinese government pressure. They seem to think for the most part that unless a Chinese diplomatic is, for example, telling them they cannot have—telling a senior-level administrator that they cannot have a particular event on campus, that there are not problems. They are not—they are not looking at examples like at the U.C. Davis campus a couple of weeks ago, you know, students ripped—pro-Beijing students ripping down Lennon Walls and other pro-democracy Hong Kong materials.

The school is not proactively saying, in a very broad sense, you cannot do that and taking a stand on issues like that. Some of it is very, through micro-level awareness, that big institutions I think are struggling to get their heads around.

Mr. BERA. So probably, you know, one thing that definitely is within our control, if you are in the U.S. domestically, is to raise that awareness, to make sure proper information is getting out to kind of the U.S. corporate social responsibility, community, and certainly to the big academic institutions, and that flow of information getting out there, and certainly to the big academic institutions and that flow of information getting out there.

And, again, not going to be easy, but certainly I think it is incredibly important to create both a grass-roots—one last question, kind of on the multilateralism where Western democracies, countries that share similar values about human rights, we have not heard as much of that kind of multilateral coalition coming together to exert pressure or exert economic pressure.

Now, are you seeing some of that coming together or——

Dr. RICHARDSON. I guess maybe I have a bit of a different view on that. I mean, the 25 governments, not including the United States——

Mr. BERA. And maybe that is the perspective that——

Ms. RICHARDSON [continuing]. Came together in July to offer up the first serious criticism via the Human Rights Council president about Xinjiang calling for access.

Mr. BERA. And maybe playing off of that, how diminished is our role by not being part of the human rights community right now?

Dr. RICHARDSON. Well, it is about being part of the Human Rights Council particularly. But, you know, I cannot in 5 seconds answer. It is enormously problematic. Other governments wants the U.S. leadership. They want the air cover.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you.

Mr. BERA. Great. Thank you.

I will yield back.

Mr. SHERMAN. I now recognize the gentlelady from Missouri.

Mrs. WAGNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I appreciate the ranking member allowing me to jump ahead here.

The New York Times recently published hundreds of pages of leaked party documents relating to oppression of the Uyghurs. Some seem to suggest that the rampant human rights abuses in Xinjiang had caused rifts in party leadership. Mr. Jawdat, how significant are these dissenting voices? And how can the United States leverage internal disagreement to blunt Beijing's attack on the Uyghur Muslims?

Mr. JAWDAT. So, for that question, I think before, like, we come to the question part, like it is really important to know that the documents were released by someone inside a party.

Mrs. WAGNER. Right.

Mr. JAWDAT. And then he or she stated that the reason that he risked his or her life to publish the documents is to get Xi Jinping and then the party officials in front of justice. So we have to get the signal.

And then the world is waiting for a document or proof or evidence, like for years, but now we got—we have got the hard proof. It is coming directly from Xi Jinping himself.

And then there is disagreements between the Communist Party about what to do, how to suppress the Uyghurs. But it is really good to see that there is at least some people in the Chinese government, the ethnic Chinese officials, that they are trying or saying no to the Xi Jinping's order.

Mrs. WAGNER. Well, I hope we can continue to leverage a little bit of that internal dissent, and it is up to us to give voice. I thank you for your courage and all——

Mr. JAWDAT. Thank you.

Mrs. WAGNER [continuing]. That you have endured.

More than a year ago, in a controversial bid to insulate Chinese Catholics from persecution and intimidation, the Vatican signed a deal with the Chinese government allowing it a role in appointing Catholic bishops in China. In the meantime, China has launched a Sinicization campaign to dilute the religious, ethnic, and cultural identities of minority groups.

Dr. Richardson, how is Sinicization affecting Chinese Catholic communities, both State-sanctioned and underground? And how has the Vatican responded?

Dr. RICHARDSON. "Sinicization" means being loyal to the party and the government, above anything else.

Mrs. WAGNER. It is an amazing word; is it not? Yes.

Dr. RICHARDSON. And it is a little hard to reconcile with the concept of the freedom to believe.

Mrs. WAGNER. Correct.

Dr. RICHARDSON. Since one rather does seem to replace the other. So the problems that we are seeing as a result of the Sinicization campaign are not unique to people who are worshiping in State-sanctioned Catholic churches versus underground ones. This is relevant to Tibetan Buddhists. It is relevant across different faith communities.

It is hard to see much of a consequential response whatsoever from the Vatican. There was a Global Times story this morning that I believe suggested that the Pope had China and the Chinese people central to his heart. It is up to the Vatican to say whether

that is accurate, but negotiations seem to be proceeding between the two about the selection of bishops.

Mrs. WAGNER. Well, as a cradle Catholic, I believe that it is incumbent upon the Vatican to call this Sinicization campaign out, especially given the agreement that they have undertaken with the Catholic bishops in China. And I would very vociferously call on that here.

China is in the process of assembling and implementing a dystopian social credit system that uses data mining and surveillance to score citizens—to score citizens based on their, quote, "trustworthiness." I understand China plans to deploy a similar system now to track businesses operating in China.

Dr. Richardson, again, what is the status of the corporate social credit system? And how do you anticipate it will be used to coerce and intimidate foreign actors?

Dr. RICHARDSON. The most recent development was about 3 months ago when Chinese authorities announced that they were going to use the social credit system, whether they were going to apply the corporate version of it not just to domestic companies but to foreign ones as well. I can only assume that our collective social credit scores are pretty low at the moment.

It is very difficult to tell just how integrated across the country these systems are. And at the moment, from our perspective, they appeared designed to reward or induce particular kinds of behavior. It is not exactly clear what sorts of punishments will follow for having a low score.

We know that if you have got a good score, for example, you are more likely to be able to enroll your child in the school that you want, or you will not have problems doing things like buying plane tickets or accessing State services. But if you have a low score, you can run into problems.

And, of course, in a normal world, this might just be sort of a consumer rating system maybe. But we are talking about an environment in which the law is whatever the Chinese Communist Party says it is when it says it is that. And there is no right to privacy, and there is no way for people to know fully how they are being rated, what the consequences are. It is an entirely arbitrary system.

And in a way, I think to the extent some people inside China have expressed enthusiasm for this idea, that is as much a commentary on how politicized and corrupt the legal system is in not being able to deliver consistent verdicts about what behavior has been codified by law, it is——

Mrs. WAGNER. The repression and the brainwashing is significant. My time has expired. I want to thank you all for being here, for your courage. And everyone who sits behind that this Congress and this committee care deeply about bringing light to this process and this disgraceful humanitarian regime.

So I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes. Dr. Richardson, when the Chinese diplomats were in my office, they denied the social scoring system even existed. Do organs of the Chinese government at least admit that this is happening? Or do they consistently deny? Or is it like they deny on Mondays and admit it on Tuesday?

Dr. RICHARDSON. Well, I mean, let's recall that this is the government that denied for a year was arbitrarily detaining any Uyghurs, and then, you know, and there is——

Mr. SHERMAN. But is the Chinese government on record as saying they are developing a social scoring system? Or do they try to deny it constantly?

Dr. RICHARDSON. You know, some parts of the government have publicly acknowledged the social credit system, mostly at the municipal level, governments that are using it for access to local public services. But, no, there is evidence out there. It is not a problem.

Mr. SHERMAN. And they claim that they will lower their tariffs, we will lower ours, and we will have fair trade. Can this system be used to punish either individuals or companies that choose to buy products or services from the United States when they could have bought them from Chinese companies?

Dr. RICHARDSON. I do not think we have any information to answer that question yet. So I guess I would default to a more general observation that it is our arbitrary, right?

Mr. SHERMAN. Right. And we do know that it is the position of the Chinese government, buy the Chinese products, and that is one of the reasons why we have the world's—the largest trade deficit in history with China.

The World Bank is supposed to be helping countries that are trying to develop. We had Mnuchin come before the Financial Services Committee and think it was a great victory that China was only going to get $1 billion—turns out it is closer to 2 billion—of concessionary loans from the World Bank, including our money.

But it particularly troubles me, in light of this hearing, I am told that the World Bank currently funds several vocational schools in Xinjiang. Does the World Bank have the capacity to make sure that those schools are not part of this incarceration/retraining system? Mr. Jawdat?

Mr. JAWDAT. I just wanted to add, like as a comment, like to your question is, well, like you said it is that more than $1 billion, some part is from our money, that some part is coming from my tax in the U.S. that I am making, I am paying for the government. And then it is being used to put my mom in the camp.

Mr. SHERMAN. Why the U.S. Government has not drawn a line about our participation in the World Bank and demanded a zero approach to subsidizing the Chinese government is something I addressed to Mr. Mnuchin, and you may want to address to the Administration as well.

I know the State Department is not represented here at this hearing, but is the United States doing all we can to get our diplomats and to get nonprofit—rather, non-governmental organizations access to Xinjiang? Does anyone know? I do not even know if we are even trying. Dr. Richardson?

Dr. RICHARDSON. I think it is a little bit different for diplomats and for NGO's. I certainly would not object to the State Department being more adventurous, actually trying to send diplomats to——

Mr. SHERMAN. I certainly have not read any report of anybody making it from our embassy in Beijing out to western China.

Dr. RICHARDSON. I think their calculation is that they would be so heavily surveilled they would be turned around on arrival. And, look, that is the reality. That would happen. But I think at this point the U.S. should be considering, for example, stating explicitly that it is pursuing consular cases. There are plenty of U.S. citizens and legal permanent residents who have family members who have been detained.

Mr. SHERMAN. Right.

Dr. RICHARDSON. I see no reason why the State Department could not be more aggressive in trying to visit the region to try—with the explicit stated purpose of trying to visit those family members, even if they do get turned back. Let that be reported.

Mr. SHERMAN. Exactly. And I would point out that Chinese diplomats fly around our country as they will. What can the United States do to ensure that Americans are not purchasing goods made with forced labor?

Dr. ZENZ. I think the U.S. Government is becoming aware of the issue slowly. I have done my part in this. The problem is, the forced labor situation is very complex and very complicated. It does not just involve internment camp labor. It involves involuntary training, putting women into small-scale village factories, and transferring minorities to work in participating larger corporations in eastern China. And that is one of the examples I gave in my testimony.

And so the problem is there is a lack of understanding and awareness, especially of the cross-linkages between Xinjiang and eastern China. And I think it would be very good if the U.S. Government, for example, sent a strong signal, a strong message of concern to the business community, because my impression is that the business community is just really trying to get away with whatever they can as we have seen in recent weeks.

Mr. SHERMAN. I am going to sneak in one question quickly, because I do not know if anybody has an answer. Do any of you have a view as to why the Trump Administration has not used the Global Magnitsky sanctions on a single Chinese official, not even the party secretary for Xinjiang?

Let the record show no one could answer the question.

Dr. ZENZ. I have heard through the grapevine that the Treasury Department—and this is not my personal observation, but it has been heard through—it has been rumored through several grapevines, let's put it that way, and it has become almost maybe public knowledge that the Treasury, which is, you know, primarily of course responsible for agreeing to the Magnitsky, did not in any way want human rights considerations in Xinjiang to impact the trade negotiations. So prioritizing the trade negotiations.

Mr. SHERMAN. One would hope that people would read the statute and realize you cannot ignore human rights statutes, even if you think that is achieving another purpose.

With that, I will recognize the ranking member.

Mr. YOHO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I appreciate everybody's testimony. I think it all comes down to the money, and I am going to address that later.

But first off, I want to say how blessed I am to have been born in America, to live in this country, because I—and I feel guilty for

not appreciating it every day. But when I see you holding up signs and pictures of your family members, how fleeting freedom is, and how fortunate we are in this country. Thank you all for being here. Thank you all for braving coming out in public.

And I am going to ask the audience again, of the members of your family that have been picked up and sent so-called to the re-education camps, how many of those did that freewill? I see no hands, so I would say none.

How many were gainfully employed and law-abiding citizens before they got picked up? How many? Your mother was? Anybody else?

All the pictures here, these people had jobs? They were working? They were lawfully employed? Law-abiding citizens? How many of them were deemed terrorist or were troublemakers? That is what we know, yet China says it is for their own good.

We have talked to other members from Xinjiang, pharmacists, accountants, doctors, that were just living their life, and they had a belief, a religious belief. And I wanted to say to Ambassador Wagner that the Pope is going to have some explaining to do when he meets up at the Pearly Gates of St. Peter's that he has put God under the Chinese Communist Party, because China said that there is no God.

Dr. Richardson, you brought out—you talked about, can you send this committee and my office the letter you sent to the 50 universities?

Dr. RICHARDSON. Of course.

Mr. YOHO. I would like to help you have a followup with that.

Dr. RICHARDSON. Thank you.

Mr. YOHO. Because I want that answer, too, because we have asked that. We cannot dictate to China. We cannot force China to do anything. The message we need to send to China is—and to our manufacturers is to institute what we have deemed the ABC policy in manufacturing, and that is called manufacture anywhere but China, because it is about the money.

The only thing that allows China to do what they are doing is because of the money. They have cornered the market on the rare earth metals. They have cornered the market—100 percent—of the vitamins and minerals that go into our livestock feed. They control 85 to 90 percent of the APIs, which are the active pharmaceutical ingredients. And the list goes on and on and on.

And so we cannot force them to do anything, but we sure can put public pressure on our manufacturers. We can put public pressure on the NBA. And it makes me sick that they come out in defense of China, but yet they are actively supporting a government that is actively suppressing the people. And it is just not the people of China. It is what we see in Hong Kong.

And thank you for standing up and doing what you do, Joey. I have followed you and this protest over the weekend. I want you to know that it is not going unnoticed. It is noticed here in the United States of America. It is noticed around the world. And as the chairman said, the more you can do it peacefully, the stronger the message is, because China cannot—they do not know how to deal with freedom of thought, because you do not honor the Chi-

nese Communist Party on a pedestal and bow down to it, because that is not the way we are designed.

But you know what we can do, is when I went shopping this weekend to do some projects around the home, I had to buy something. It was made in China. I put it back, and I looked until I found something that was made in the country of Taiwan. I paid $1.50 more—maybe extra for it, and I am happy to support the country of Taiwan over supporting a Communist regime that I know is not looking out for humans and human rights.

And so that is what we can do individually as people. And if enough of us do that, that message gets over there clear, and I think with the people releasing those 400 pages, I think that is awesome, and that person should get the Nobel Peace Prize when this all settles, because these people on—this is what we are fighting—the suppression of people that have normal family lives. It is just because they choose to have a religion that the Chinese Communist Party does not agree with.

We have seen this in Tibet. We have seen the erosion of the Tibetan culture. The Chinese government has put drugs in there to dilute that society. They are doing it in Xinjiang. They want to do it in Hong Kong. Who is next?

When I first took over the chairman—if you do not mind me, Mr. Chairman—when I first took over the chairmanship last Congress of this committee, we had a meeting with the country of Taiwan. My office staff—one of them is right here—said that the Chinese Ambassadors called them, says, "We do not want your member to have that meeting."

Can you imagine that? I am a sitting member of the U.S. Congress, and I am getting a call from—the Ambassador from China says, "You cannot have that meeting." I told them to mind their own business; I will meet with whomever I want to.

I was in the country of Chile with a Congressman down there. His brother had received two ambulances from the country of China. His brother is the mayor in a town. The Congressman was having a meeting with the country of Taiwan. China told him, "If your brother has that meeting with Taiwan, you will not get any more ambulances." That is the kind of reach they have.

Dr. Richardson, you brought up the effect on our educational system. You obviously saw what was going on in Canada over the weekend and last week. Pro-Beijing people were demonstrating and causing conflict with the people that stood up for the human rights and the people standing up in Hong Kong. This is something we, as people of free societies, can and will and will stand together to make this come to an end.

I do not want to buy anything from China. When they start acting properly, maybe they will have to sing Amazing Grace or something. I do not know what it is. But then we will treat them as normal.

With that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back, and thank you for your time.

Mr. SHERMAN. I recognize the gentlelady from Nevada.

Ms. TITUS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I realize that today's committee hearing is about the egregious abuses by China of human rights. But it goes much further than that. This is more than just

bilateral relations between China and the U.S. It is multinational, and it certainly is a regional problem.

I would ask Dr. Richardson if we could pick up where Ami Bera left off. It seems to me there is a double dilemma here. On the one hand, the U.S. is conceding its leadership role in the protection of human rights. I think that is international, but certainly an example is China. On the other hand, China is in a position where it can exert economic and security pressures on certain countries.

So when we tell them, "Do as I say, not as I do, but you have to do this or we will put sanctions," how are they going to balance their attempts to protect human rights with that pressure that they are receiving from China? And what can we do to try to intercede there, to be a player again?

Dr. RICHARDSON. I think that is sort of the $64,000 question of our time. I think, first, the U.S. has to make sure that it is itself fully compliant, and behaving in accordance with established international human rights law.

I would refer you to my colleagues who work on the U.S. to speak more specifically to some of those issues. But I think the U.S. has been slow to recognize and respond to the ways that—the many different ways that the Chinese government and Communist Party have moved into all different spaces of international relations. It is not just about U.S. development assistance competing with, for example, the Belt and Road Initiative.

There are very complex discussions about the use of technology and who is going to set and defend international standards on things like privacy rights, or who own certain kinds of technology and can deploy that. There are a lot of different areas where I think the U.S. has some catching up to do in crafting policies that are consistent with international human rights standards, but also offer compelling alternatives to countries that are increasingly dependent on Chinese government money.

Ms. TITUS. Anybody else?

Mr. JAWDAT. One example I think of is the overwhelming passage of the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act from the House. Like right after that, Australia and then the EU yesterday, they implemented their own Magnitsky sanctions for the human rights abusers. So even before that bill becomes a law there is already enough momentum around the globe that other countries are following the U.S. steps.

So it is really—like many great things start from here. So once that bill becomes a law, it is really a great chance for other countries to really stand up, and then it will give you another like alliance, and then another power to go after China.

Dr. ZENZ. The biggest problem, the Chinese are very good at strategy, and they have always been for a long time. And I know that you pick countries out one by one, so the strategy is to isolate and to bilateral.

The approach to contain China's human rights violation that we need to take must be multilateral. And China, knowing that, has moved to paralyze and co-opt the few multilateral institutions that we actually have. And that I think is the No. 1 problem that we are facing, and that must be recognized. And I am not sure where

the right solution even starts, but I think that is the key problem and a lot of countries are afraid to counter China very directly.

I mean, look at Sweden. I mean, they just took a Swedish citizen, you know, in front of diplomats and put them—Gui Minhai—put him in prison. Yes, he is ethnic Chinese, so they think he is one of the, no matter what his passport is. And Sweden is not even publicly doing anything about it, and then the Chinese Ambassador to Sweden regularly lashes out at the media and everything.

And then one of the Swedish ministers was going to attend a ceremony to honor or commemorate or something Gui Minhai, their detained citizen. And then Chinese Ambassador to Sweden threatened that if the minister would attend that she would get on a blacklist, a Chinese blacklist.

If I was head of Sweden, I mean, I would not just say something, but I would say something strong. And I have no idea what these people do and how they think that they can get pushed around, but I think this is more than ridiculous. And it is amazing it has even gotten this far.

Ms. TITUS. Well, when you create a trade war, and then try to resolve it and make that the priority as opposed to human rights, that is the kind of results that you get here in this country. We seem to be afraid to stand up as well. That is the problem.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you.

For the record, if China is watching, I hope you put me on the blacklist. I would be honored.

Mr. YOHO. I will be with you.

Mr. SHERMAN. Good. And Mr. Yoho, too.

For the record, I want to apologize for not calling on the gentleman from Michigan first, and I will call on Ms. Spanberger for her questions, and we will see if the gentleman from Michigan makes it back.

Ms. SPANBERGER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And to our witnesses, thank you for being here today.

To all of the families who are present, thank you for your continued activism. Thank you for being here with photographs. Thank you for reminding Members of Congress what exactly it is that you are working for.

And I see my colleague has just entered. Okay. I will continue. Thank you to my colleague from Michigan.

Dr. Richardson, my question is for you. In your opening statement you said something to the effect of "To commit human rights offenses, China does not need handcuffs. They need DNA sequences" or "they will be using DNA sequences." And through artificial intelligence and the use of more than 200 surveillance cameras, China is developing the capability to conduct widespread surveillance and enforce social control.

These capabilities, specifically the use of biometrics, facial, voice, iris, and gait recognition software, and pervasive video monitoring, are being used extensively in Xinjiang to identify individuals who Chinese authorities consider threatening.

I am concerned about China's development of artificial intelligence surveillance technology, but I am also very concerned about

reports that China is exporting this technology to other countries for their potentially repressive purposes.

How can policymakers prevent U.S. actors from contributing either through the provision of capital or technology to the construction of the Chinese government's surveillance networks?

Dr. RICHARDSON. It is a big question. I mean, the first key piece clearly is knowing who is selling what, and how that technology is being used. I mean, the nearly 2-year-long conversation that we had with Thermo Fisher Scientific, a Massachusetts-based technology firm, revolved largely around the fact that they were extremely reluctant to acknowledge the possibility that their technology might be used in a really nasty way.

So I think the conversation really has to start with understanding what technology is being sold and to whom and how it is actually being used. And the reference to handcuffs was that the sanctions that went into—that the U.S. imposed after Tiananmen, which have weakened considerably, were largely about crowd control or police equipment.

But what has not kept up is U.S. legislation that responds to what Chinese police are now using as tools of repression. It is a very different set of equipment. So I think the relevant committees really need to look at who is selling what to whom, especially in light of either the addition of the Xinjiang public security bureau to the entities list, and the greater focus on some of the Chinese tech companies.

We actually wrote in 2014 about ZTE selling voice recognition software to the Ethiopian government, which was at the time using that equipment to surveil conversations by the political opposition. This is knowable information. Some of us are working in different ways on gathering some of it, but presumably Congress has resources at its disposal to do a broader survey.

But I think one piece of this I would encourage you to focus on that has not gotten as much attention as we think it should is also the role of sort of research and development and some academics and institutions in working with Chinese public security research institutes—such things exist—and there has actually been an alarming amount of collaboration between foreign experts and those institutions with a view toward refining technology.

Last but not least, it is concerning to us that there is ongoing cooperation between some of the companies that are now on the entities list and U.S. universities. MIT's flagship computer science laboratory has an ongoing partnership with iFlytek. I do not quite understand how that works now, but iFlytek is on the entities list.

But in the same way that we need to look at what universities are doing with respect to academic freedom, I think there is also room to look at what they are doing in terms of collaboration with some of these kinds of companies.

Ms. SPANBERGER. Thank you very much.

And, Mr. Chairman, I do not have a timer, so I think I am running short. But I want to thank the witnesses, and I yield back.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you.

And now I will yield as much time as he may consume to the very patient gentleman from Michigan, who I should have called on earlier.

Mr. LEVIN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. First of all, I want to congratulate you on your outstanding leadership of this subcommittee. I do not know if this is the last hearing you preside over before you move on to other leadership duties, but I really want to thank you personally for your great work here.

And I want to say to—on this Human Rights Day—we could, sadly, spend days of hearings on different human rights problems in China—the surveillance State and their sort of global reach on those issues, which you were just talking about, the situation in Xinjiang. And I give a shout-out to all of our Uyghur brothers and sisters. We see you. We hear you. We are going to fight for you, no matter what it takes, until we can take apart this repressive gulag, really, that exists in Xinjiang.

And in Hong Kong, Ms. Siu, I was in Hong Kong in May, late May 1989, when over a million people took to the streets in the democracy movement. And I just salute your brave activism there.

But later in that summer, I went on to Chengdu and tried to get into Tibet, and I want to focus my questions on the situation in Tibet. On my way, I was not able—Tibet was closed in 1989, and I was in Chengdu during the Tiananmen Massacre, and that is a whole other story.

But anyway, on the way home—I was a graduate student in Tibetan philosophy—and on my way home I interviewed the Dalai Lama in Los Angeles. And then a couple months later, 30 years ago today, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Thirty years ago today, and it is very sad to see what has happened to the Tibetan nation since then.

So, Dr. Richardson, one problem is that U.S. policymakers have little access to the Tibet autonomous region, and they have been denied access to it. The United States has requested permission to open a consulate in Lhasa and been repeatedly denied.

What should the U.S. do about this? Should we prohibit China from opening up any new consulates here until the Chinese Party allows us to open a consulate in Lhasa? I mean, how can we monitor human rights there or support the Tibetan people there if we do not—we are not there?

Dr. RICHARDSON. Well, I mean, first of all, I think that is a reasonable strategy to try. Doing good research on human rights violations in Tibet is extremely challenging, and I would say that that is maybe one of the only things that has prepared us for some of the work that we have been doing over the last couple of years on Xinjiang, where one has to be incredibly patient and puzzle pieces of information together.

The information flows have narrowed considerably, particularly as there are greater restrictions on Tibetan language social media and Tibetan's access to social media.

Mr. LEVIN. Right.

Dr. RICHARDSON. The numbers of Tibetans leaving the region have plummeted. The numbers of people who used to come out through Nepal are a tiny fraction of what they were 10 years ago, and it is much more difficult for people to get into the region.

That said, human beings are creative in how they manage to get information out. We have been doing some work on access to bilingual education, which is not bilingual, and have actually managed,

through various channels, to obtain some testimoneys, that speak to what is happening in the region, and we encourage anybody who is able to do that kind of work and share those stories safely to do so.

I think the U.S. has resources to know what is happening in the region. It would be good if it was a little bit more vocal.

Mr. LEVIN. Right. Well, that is a whole other matter we may or may not have time to get to. But let's talk about the whole question of the succession of the Dalai Lama.

The 14th Dalai Lama has said that he alone has the legitimate authority to—about where and how he would be reincarnated, but trying to signal its intention to control the process. Of course, we have the famous situation with the Panchen Lama, who they said they picked their own and then he is—he and his parents have never been seen since.

I just want to emphasize that Tibet has four major—there are four major sects of Tibetan Buddhism, and they all have many reincarnate lamas. And the Dalai Lama sect, which has been for a long time sort of politically most powerful, would never dream of telling the Sakyas or the Kagyus, or whatever, who the reincarnate lamas are. I mean, there is no—it is a completely—it is a question of religious freedom, and they think they believe that this is actually a reincarnation process. So a government cannot pick someone.

So it is especially shocking. But what is—what do you think we can do—I mean, what do you see as the outcome of this dispute given what has happened with the Panchem Lama and the wildly higher stakes of the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama? What is going to happen here?

Dr. RICHARDSON. Well, I think one succinct, to answer, is to say that any Dalai Lama chosen by Beijing will be completely devoid of any legitimacy, both in a spiritual or a religious sense, but also in I think a diplomatic and political sense.

You know, it is painfully clear, both by basic human logic and international law, that the right to make those decisions pertains solely to the community that is affected by them. And I think one of the best aspects of the legislation that is under consideration is making that view unambiguously the U.S. Government.

Mr. LEVIN. The policy of the United States, yes.

Dr. RICHARDSON. And I think going out and making common cause with like-minded governments on that position will be helpful.

Mr. LEVIN. So how long have you been doing human rights work for Human Rights Watch or otherwise?

Dr. RICHARDSON. I joined Human Rights Watch in February 2006.

Mr. LEVIN. So can you comment on the weight that the Trump Administration has given human rights vis-a-vis other aspects of foreign trade, military policy, U.S. national security, in terms of your experience with the Obama and the George W. Bush Administrations? With China, in general, and not just Tibet.

Dr. RICHARDSON. In 15 seconds?

Mr. LEVIN. No. No. My chairman was good enough to give us—so when you are—my time will expire whenever you are doing. You have as long as you wish.

[Laughter.]

Dr. RICHARDSON. I think——

Mr. SHERMAN. But then it will expire.

Dr. RICHARDSON. Be careful what you offer. I think the Trump Administration's much more aggressive posture toward China is a very welcome change. We have been saying for over a decade this is a government that presents a serious threat not just to the 1.4 billion people inside China, but to the world.

And while President Trump's loathsome remarks about President Xi is his best friend or that he is a brilliant guy or these sorts of things, are I think deeply problematic because they allow the Chinese leadership to choose which version is actually U.S. policy.

I think the Trump Administration gets credit for doing things like, you know, trying to find, you know, solutions or support for people in the community here who are being harassed for speaking relentlessly about religious freedom. The rhetoric has been good, look that we have seen additions to the entities list. I mean, these are not—these are not small steps to take.

And I suspect that the U.S.-China policy will never be quite the same again, which is as much a function of the Chinese government's aggression and its terrible track record on human rights issues, but I think U.S. policymakers across the spectrum are much more not just clear-eyed, I do not mean to suggest that people in the past did not understand this, but I think people are much more focused on what the stakes are and what steps they need to take now to ensure that there is actually some accountability and some way of pushing back against Beijing's encroachments, not just on rights but on others' use, too.

Mr. LEVIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you.

Rather than adjourn, I am going to ask one question of Ms. Siu because I do not believe you have been asked a question. On November 24th, Hong Kong held elections for district council. A record 4.13 million people were registered to vote. Almost 3 million people voted, turnout over 71 percent. The pro-democracy candidates won 388 seats, up from 126, with a similar decline on the pro-establishment candidates.

As a result, the pro-democracy bloc will hold a majority in 17 out of 18 of the district councils. You knew all of that. My question is: what possible leverage does the protest movement gain from that landslide victory? And what impact will these district council elections have on the legislative council elections in 2020?

Ms. SIU. Well, so, first of all, on the 24th of November, the pro-democracy camp gained 85 percent of the district council seats in the 2019 district council election. And there are actually several symbolic meanings that the result brings us. First of all, it is a very encouraging signal that signifies that the majority of Hong Kongers are still in support of the five demands that the protestors had been asking for for the past 6 months.

And it is actually also a very great advantage that the pro-democracy camp gained, that we got more financial resources in support to our—to the political prisoners that are put in jail and will be put in jail after the trial is brought to court.

However, one very uncomfortable truth is that the legislative power that the district council counselors have are actually really small comparing to the legislative council counselors. And we Hong Kongers are expecting to win more States in the legislative council election.

However, another question about the district—about the legislative council election is that even when we got most of the States for the directly elected legislative councils, most of the seats of the functional constituencies are still in hands of the pro-democracy—in the hands of the pro-Beijing side. And that is a very grave problem that hinders any acts or bills that are in a foundation of the pro-democracy side or Hong Kongers, only bills that benefits pro-Beijing camps or the businessmen will get passed into legislative council.

So that is why—that is also one of the reasons why we had been asking for an authentic universal suffrage from both the executive branch and also the legislative branch, because that is the only way to grant this, and to grant Hong Kongers a responsive government, and also legislative counselors that draft bills that benefits Hong Kongers.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you for your response. I want to thank my colleagues for being here.

And we now stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 3:50 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

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

Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific, and Nonproliferation

Brad Sherman (D-CA), Chairman

December 10, 2019

TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to be held by the Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific, and Nonproliferation in Room 2200 of the Rayburn House Office Building (and available live on the Committee website at https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/

DATE: Tuesday, December 10, 2019

TIME: 1:30 p.m.

SUBJECT: Authoritarianism with Chinese Characteristics: Political and Religious Human Rights Challenges in China

WITNESSES: Sophie Richardson, Ph.D.
China Director
Human Rights Watch

Ms. Joey Siu
Vice President
City University of Hong Kong Students Union

Mr. Ferkat Jawdat
Uyghur American

Adrian Zenz, Ph.D.
Senior Fellow
China Studies
Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation

*NOTE: Witnesses may be added.

By Direction of the Chairman

The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202/225-5021 at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIA, THE PACIFIC, AND NONPROLIFERATION HEARING

Day *Tuesday* **Date** *December 10, 2019* **Room** *2200*

Starting Time *1:30 pm* **Ending Time** *3:50 pm*

Recesses *1* (*2:10* to *2:50*) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____)

Presiding Member(s)
Congressman Brad Sherman

Check all of the following that apply:

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

TITLE OF HEARING:
Authoritarianism with Chinese Characteristics: Political and Human Rights Challenges in China

SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:
See attached.

NON-SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT: *(Mark with an * if they are not members of full committee.)*
Ron Wright

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

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

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE _____
or
TIME ADJOURNED *3:50 pm*

Subcommittee Staff Associate

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ASIA, THE PACIFIC AND NONPROLIFERATION COMMITTEE HEARING

PRESENT	*MEMBER*
X	**Brad Sherman, CA**
	Gerald E. Connolly, VA
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