

## IV. Xinjiang

### *Findings*

- During the Commission’s 2020 reporting year, authorities in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) maintained a system of extrajudicial mass internment camps in which they have arbitrarily detained up to 1.8 million individuals from predominantly Muslim ethnic minority groups, including Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Hui, and others.
- Internal Chinese government and Communist Party documents obtained by international media and rights groups during this reporting year revealed authorities’ mandate to use coercive force and punishment on inmates; the connection between family members’ behavior and authorities’ treatment of inmates; and the extreme secrecy enforced by authorities regarding the implementation of the camp system. The documents also revealed the presence of a significant level of opposition from some local officials to mass internment camp detentions.
- In June 2020, research conducted by German scholar Adrian Zenz and reporting conducted by the Associated Press (AP) showed that authorities in the XUAR have carried out coercive and widespread population control measures against Uyghur and Kazakh women in the region that observers say may constitute genocide. According to Zenz and the AP, government documents show that beginning in 2016, authorities have carried out widespread, systematic forced sterilizations, abortions, and intrauterine device (IUD) insertions on ethnic minority women in the XUAR, at rates far higher than anywhere else in China.
- The Commission observed additional evidence this past year that Chinese government persecution of ethnic minorities in the XUAR constituted crimes against humanity. International observers, including the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, argued in support of applying the “crimes against humanity” framework to the persecution of Uyghurs and other Turkic and Muslim ethnic minorities in the XUAR. Article 7(1) of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court provides a list of 11 acts, any one of which may constitute crimes against humanity “when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack.”
- Reports published during the past year detailed the expansive and systematic nature of authorities’ separation of ethnic minority children from their families in the XUAR and their forcible placement in orphanages, welfare centers, and boarding schools. An official policy document issued by XUAR officials stated that by early 2017, nearly half a million elementary and middle school-age children in the XUAR were attending boarding schools. This forcible displacement of children has been carried out in violation of the PRC Law on the Protection of Minors and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Many of the children placed in these facilities had at least one parent in detention. Reports indicated that au-

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thorities often placed children in such facilities without the consent of their families.

- During this reporting year, authorities in the XUAR continued to expand a system of forced labor that involved former mass internment camp detainees and other Turkic and Muslim individuals throughout the XUAR. In addition, XUAR authorities, under an initiative directed by the central government known as “Xinjiang Aid,” forced Uyghurs, Kazakhs, and others to work in factories in other regions of China, including at factories that are part of the supply chains of international companies. These trends show it is increasingly likely that supply chains of many international brands are now tainted by forced ethnic minority labor from the XUAR.

- As XUAR officials detained hundreds of thousands of Turkic and Muslim individuals in mass internment camps, there was also a significant increase in arrests, trials, and formal imprisonment of ethnic minority individuals in the region, beginning in 2017. Authorities’ increased sentencing of ethnic minority individuals to prison terms may mark a shift away from their detention in mass internment camps and into other forms of detention and social control, including forced labor. In 2017, courts in the XUAR sentenced 10 times more defendants than the previous year to prison terms of five years or longer, and carried out 8 times the number of arrests and 5 times the number of prosecutions as in the previous year.

- Researchers analyzing satellite imagery found that Chinese officials had destroyed more than 100 Uyghur cemeteries throughout the XUAR over the past several years, in line with official efforts to eradicate Uyghurs’ religious and cultural practices. Authorities in Aksu prefecture converted the site of a large cemetery that had held the remains of a respected Uyghur poet into a city park, and officials moved the graves to a new location in an industrial area in the desert. A notice issued by the government of Hotan prefecture in May 2019 gave local residents only two days to claim the remains of their deceased family members prior to a cemetery’s destruction.

### *Recommendations*

Members of the U.S. Congress and Administration officials are encouraged to:

- Call on the Chinese government to end the mass arbitrary detention of predominantly Muslim ethnic minorities, including Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Hui, and others, in mass internment camps, and release those currently detained. Call on Chinese officials to allow U.S. officials, diplomatic representatives of other countries, UN officials, humanitarian organizations, and international journalists to visit the XUAR and independently investigate reports of arbitrary detention.

- Prioritize engagement with other governments, multilateral organizations, and international non-governmental organizations to raise the likely crimes against humanity perpetrated against predominantly Muslim ethnic minorities in the XUAR. Coordinate with these entities to compile relevant information

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regarding specific XUAR officials responsible for the mass arbitrary detention and abuse of individuals in mass internment camps in preparation for possible sanctions under the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act (Public Law No. 114-328) and similar parallel sanctions by likeminded partners. Highlight the religious freedom aspect of human rights abuses in the XUAR as part of a concerted public diplomacy campaign to enlist broader condemnation of China's treatment of Muslim ethnic minorities.

- Urge Chinese authorities to immediately cease all coercive “homestay” programs, such as the “becoming family” program, as well as other initiatives in the XUAR implemented to surveil ethnic minorities in their communities.

- Urge Chinese authorities to immediately cease all placement of children in orphanages, welfare centers, and boarding schools without the consent of a parent or guardian.

- Urge Chinese authorities to immediately cease all programs involving the forced labor of mass internment camp detainees and prisoners in the XUAR, as well as programs involving the forced labor of other ethnic minority individuals within and outside of the XUAR.

- Issue a determination on whether atrocities are being committed in the XUAR and ensure that the interagency Atrocity Early Warning Task Force implements policies throughout the U.S. Government to respond to atrocities in the XUAR.

- Urge American universities to provide support to Uyghur, Hui, Kazakh, and Kyrgyz students at their institutions who are Chinese nationals to ensure that they are able to study in a safe environment free of threats and intimidation from Chinese government officials; to provide scholarships or other financial assistance to students whose parents or guardians have been detained in mass internment camps in the XUAR; to inquire about the well-being of Muslim ethnic minorities who have returned to China after having studied or taught in their institutions; to hold conferences and other programs to raise awareness among students and the general public about the mass arbitrary detention of Muslim ethnic minorities in the XUAR; and to refrain from holding conferences or establishing programs with Chinese government entities that lend legitimacy to the mass surveillance and mass arbitrary detention programs in place in the XUAR.

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### *Details Emerge on Mass Internment Camp Implementation, Abuses*

During the Commission's 2020 reporting year, authorities in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) maintained a system of extrajudicial mass internment camps in which they have arbitrarily detained up to 1.8 million individuals from predominantly Muslim ethnic minority groups, including Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Hui, and others.<sup>1</sup> Authorities have operated these camps since around April 2017.<sup>2</sup> Reports published throughout the year documented authorities' continued use of torture and other forms of mistreatment against camp detainees.<sup>3</sup> As in the past reporting year,<sup>4</sup> reports emerged documenting the deaths of individuals in mass internment camps or after they were detained in camps. Examples include the following:

- **Alimjan Emet**, a 22-year-old Uyghur former security guard who died in a mass internment camp in Kashgar prefecture in 2018, possibly after camp officials beat him;<sup>5</sup>
- **Hezim Quddus and Idris Quddus**, Uyghur brothers who were detained in a camp in Kashgar prefecture in 2018.<sup>6</sup> Hezim, 45, died in the camp in June 2019, and Idris, 52, died in a prison in December 2018 after authorities transferred him there;<sup>7</sup>
- **Turghun Jappar**, a retired Uyghur teacher in his 80s, who died in 2019, about a month after authorities released him from a camp in Ili (Yili) Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture, where he had become seriously ill;<sup>8</sup>
- **Shahimerdan Perhat**, a 38-year-old businessman from Urumqi municipality who died in August 2019, 10 days after being released from a camp and subsequently being hospitalized with hydrocephalus, which was possibly the result of torture by electric shock;<sup>9</sup>
- **Ghalipjan Emet**, a 35-year-old Uyghur who died in August 2018 in a camp in Turpan municipality.<sup>10</sup> Camp officials told his family that he died of a heart attack but did not allow them to inspect his body before he was buried.<sup>11</sup> According to a local official, a police officer beat Emet to death in the camp.<sup>12</sup>

Internal Chinese government and Communist Party documents obtained by international media and rights groups during this reporting year revealed details regarding the scope and implementation of the mass internment camp system, as well as authorities' goals for putting the system in place.<sup>13</sup> These documents included the following:

- **The Xinjiang Papers.** In November 2019, the New York Times reported on a cache of internal government and Party documents related to the camp system.<sup>14</sup> The documents show how government and Party officials, from the central level to the grassroots, organized the detentions of Muslim ethnic minorities, at the direction of President and Party General Secretary Xi Jinping.<sup>15</sup> According to the documents, authorities often punished camp inmates based on the behavior of their relatives outside the camps; they also reportedly detained high-

ly skilled professionals in camps where officials said they would receive needed job training.<sup>16</sup> The documents reveal significant resistance to official policies on the part of some local officials, including one who released more than 7,000 mass internment camp detainees.<sup>17</sup> In a confession document, former Yarkand (Shache) county Party Secretary Wang Yongzhi said he released the detainees because he was concerned that mass internment would damage ethnic relations and hinder his ability to achieve a promotion based on economic development.<sup>18</sup> According to the documents, in 2017, officials conducted more than 12,000 investigations into XUAR Communist Party members for failing to “fight against separatism,” a much higher figure than the previous year.<sup>19</sup>

• **The China Cables.** In November 2019, the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists reported on other leaked Chinese government documents regarding mass internment camps in the XUAR.<sup>20</sup> These include a highly confidential manual issued in 2017 by the XUAR Political and Legal Affairs Commission regarding camp management, which was approved by Deputy XUAR Communist Party Secretary Zhu Hailun, who headed the Commission.<sup>21</sup> The manual outlines camp authorities’ mandate to use coercive force and punishment on inmates; the connection between family members’ behavior and authorities’ treatment of inmates; the extreme secrecy surrounding the implementation of the camp system; and authorities’ recognition of the danger of disease outbreak in overcrowded environments.<sup>22</sup> The leaked documents also include four bulletins guiding authorities on how to use surveillance measures associated with the Integrated Joint Operations Platform to determine whom to detain in camps.<sup>23</sup>

• **The Qaraqash Document.** In February 2020, the U.S.-based Uyghur Human Rights Project published the findings of a leaked government document from Qaraqash (Moyu) county, Hotan prefecture.<sup>24</sup> The document details the arbitrary grounds provided by officials for the detention in mass internment camps of more than 300 residents of a local subdistrict, which included traveling to other countries, applying for a passport, contacting people living abroad, and violating population control policies.<sup>25</sup> According to the document, cadres and government workers involved in intrusive homestay programs played an important part in identifying behaviors that led authorities to detain ethnic minority individuals.<sup>26</sup> The document also contains information on authorities’ assignment of mass internment camp detainees to forced labor, including while they were still detained in camps.<sup>27</sup>

### *Crimes Against Humanity*

The Commission observed additional evidence this past year that Chinese government persecution of ethnic minorities in the XUAR constituted crimes against humanity. As in the previous reporting year,<sup>28</sup> international observers and human rights organizations argued in support of applying the “crimes against humanity” framework to the persecution of Uyghurs and other Turkic and Muslim ethnic minorities in the XUAR.<sup>29</sup> In March 2020, Naomi Kikoler,

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the director of the Simon-Skjoldt Center for the Prevention of Genocide at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, delivered a speech in which she stated that “[t]here are reasonable grounds to believe that China is responsible for crimes against humanity.”<sup>30</sup> Article 7(1) of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court provides a list of 11 acts, any one of which may constitute crimes against humanity “when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack.”<sup>31</sup>

### CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY FRAMEWORK APPLIED TO GOVERNMENT ACTIONS IN THE XUAR

<b>Acts listed in Article 7(1) of the Rome Statute</b>	<b>Possible application to the treatment of Muslims in the XUAR</b>
(c) Enslavement <sup>32</sup>	Satellite imagery, personal accounts, and official documents indicate that XUAR authorities are systematically forcing predominantly Muslim ethnic minorities, including Uyghurs, Kazakhs, and others, to engage in forced labor in the XUAR and other parts of China. <sup>33</sup>
(e) Imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law <sup>34</sup>	Security personnel have carried out the arbitrary, prolonged detention of Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Hui, and others in mass internment camps in the XUAR since around April 2017; <sup>35</sup> authorities have also increasingly sentenced ethnic minority individuals to lengthy prison terms for political reasons since 2017. <sup>36</sup>
(f) Torture <sup>37</sup>	Security personnel in mass internment camps in the XUAR subjected detainees to widespread torture, including electric shocks and shackling people in uncomfortable positions. <sup>38</sup>

Acts listed in Article 7(1) of the Rome Statute	Possible application to the treatment of Muslims in the XUAR
(h) Persecution against any identifiable group or collectivity on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender as defined in Paragraph 3 [Article 7(3) of the Rome Statute], or other grounds that are universally recognized as impermissible under international law, in connection with any act referred to in this paragraph [Article 7 of the Rome Statute] or any crime within the jurisdiction of the Court <sup>39</sup>	Security personnel have detained up to 1.8 million Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, and Hui; <sup>40</sup> enforced harsh, widespread restrictions on peaceful Islamic practices of XUAR residents; <sup>41</sup> and subjected Turkic and Muslim XUAR residents to intense surveillance, checkpoints, intimidation, and involuntary biometric data collection. <sup>42</sup> In addition, authorities in the XUAR have reportedly placed the children of both mass internment camp detainees and individuals forced to labor into orphanages, welfare centers, and boarding schools, often without the consent of their families, raising concerns of forcible assimilation. <sup>43</sup>
(i) Enforced disappearance of persons <sup>44</sup>	The conditions under which authorities detained many Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Hui and others in mass internment camps amount to enforced disappearance. <sup>45</sup>

*Forced Sterilization and Forced Birth Control May Constitute Genocide*

In June 2020, research conducted by German scholar Adrian Zenz and reporting conducted by the Associated Press (AP) showed that authorities in the XUAR have carried out coercive and widespread population control measures against Uyghur and Kazakh women in the region that observers say may constitute genocide.<sup>46</sup> According to Zenz and the AP, government documents show that beginning in 2016, authorities have carried out widespread and systematic forced sterilizations, abortions, and intrauterine device (IUD) insertions on ethnic minority women in the XUAR, at rates far higher than anywhere else in China.<sup>47</sup> In 2018, according to official statistics, authorities in the XUAR performed seven times more sterilizations per capita in the XUAR than the national average.<sup>48</sup> One of the risk factors outlined by the UN Framework of Analysis for Atrocity Crimes that signals “an intent to destroy in whole or in part a protected group” is the “[d]evelopment of policies or measures that seriously affect the reproductive rights of women, or that contemplate the separation or forcible transfer of children belonging to protected groups.”<sup>49</sup>

*Forcible Displacement of Ethnic Minority Children*

Reports published during the past year detailed the expansive and systematic nature of authorities’ separation of ethnic minority children from their families in the XUAR and their forcible placement in orphanages, welfare centers, and boarding schools.<sup>50</sup> This forcible displacement of children has been carried out in violation

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of the PRC Law on the Protection of Minors<sup>51</sup> and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.<sup>52</sup> According to international media reports, many of the children placed in these facilities had at least one parent in detention.<sup>53</sup> Reports indicated that authorities often placed children in such facilities without the consent of their families.<sup>54</sup> Human rights organizations called on Chinese officials to end the placement of Uyghur and other Turkic Muslim children in state institutions.<sup>55</sup>

According to the New York Times, an official policy document issued by XUAR officials stated that by early 2017, nearly half a million elementary and middle school-age children in the XUAR were attending boarding schools.<sup>56</sup> The document describes the government's goals of educating children at such schools to assimilate them and to "break the impact of the religious atmosphere on children at home."<sup>57</sup> Chinese government documents and international media reports detail official plans to expand these types of facilities throughout the XUAR and provide evidence that additional facilities have been constructed since 2017.<sup>58</sup> In 2018, Communist Party authorities recruited almost 90,000 teachers from throughout China to teach in the XUAR, and subsequently warned them to strictly adhere to the Party's political and ideological goals in their teaching.<sup>59</sup> Some teachers at elementary and middle schools in the region reported having their teaching certificates confiscated, being forced to undergo regular political indoctrination, and being required to punish students who spoke their native language at school.<sup>60</sup>

Turkic Muslims living outside of China provided accounts of their children in the XUAR whom authorities had forcibly placed in educational boarding facilities, sometimes far from their relatives' home in the XUAR.<sup>61</sup> They described an inability to contact either their children or relatives in the XUAR who might have been entrusted with their care.<sup>62</sup> Sky News journalists who traveled to the XUAR to investigate the situation of two such children reported in October 2019 that security personnel had staged fake road work to block their access to a school, and some schools they visited had security features such as barbed wire and armed guards.<sup>63</sup>

### *Turkic and Muslim XUAR Residents Forced To Perform Labor in Factories*

During this reporting year, authorities in the XUAR continued to expand a system of forced labor that involved former mass internment camp detainees and other Turkic and Muslim individuals throughout the XUAR.<sup>64</sup> In addition, XUAR authorities—under an initiative directed by the central government known as "Xinjiang Aid" (*duikou yuanjiang*), which is also known as "pairing assistance"—forced Uyghurs, Kazakhs, and others to work in factories in other regions of China, including in factories that are part of the supply chains of international companies.<sup>65</sup> These labor programs constitute forced labor under the International Labour Organization's Forced Labour Convention and are a form of human trafficking under the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children.<sup>66</sup> According to a report published by the Australian Strategic Policy Institute in March 2020, authorities transferred an estimated 80,000



Uyghurs out of the XUAR for forced labor between 2017 and 2019.<sup>67</sup> Some Uyghurs and others were reportedly sent directly from mass internment camps to work in factories outside of the XUAR.<sup>68</sup> Official media and government documents indicate that authorities viewed forced labor as an extension of the detention or “re-education” of former camp detainees, and they remained under state control.<sup>69</sup>

Scholars and international media reported that authorities segregated Turkic and Muslim forced laborers from other workers at factories outside the XUAR;<sup>70</sup> subjected them to intense surveillance, including through “minders,” watchtowers, and cameras at factory complexes;<sup>71</sup> tightly restricted their movement outside of the workplace;<sup>72</sup> forbade them from engaging in religious activities such as praying or reading the Quran;<sup>73</sup> and required them to attend “patriotic education” and Mandarin Chinese language classes.<sup>74</sup>

Under the “Xinjiang Aid” program, local governments in provinces and localities outside of the XUAR have also funded the construction of factories employing the forced labor of ethnic minority workers within the XUAR.<sup>75</sup> “Xinjiang Aid” has funded industrial parks where many of these workers have been forced to work, often in the same compound as the mass internment camp where they are or have been detained.<sup>76</sup> Government authorities provided subsidies to companies for each Turkic or Muslim worker forced to work in factories in the XUAR, and also subsidized factory construction and the shipment of goods from the XUAR.<sup>77</sup> [For more information on forced labor in the XUAR, see Section II—Human Trafficking and Section II—Business and Human Rights.]

### *Surge in Formal Imprisonment*

According to reports published this past year, as XUAR officials detained hundreds of thousands of Turkic and Muslim individuals in mass internment camps, there was also a significant increase in arrests, trials, and formal imprisonment of ethnic minority individuals in the region, beginning in 2017.<sup>78</sup> Authorities’ increased sentencing of ethnic minority individuals to prison terms may mark a shift away from their detention in mass internment camps and into other forms of detention and social control, including forced labor.<sup>79</sup> According to government data analyzed by the New York Times, in 2017, courts in the XUAR sentenced 10 times more defendants than the previous year to prison terms of five years or longer, and carried out 8 times the number of arrests and 5 times the number of prosecutions as in the previous year.<sup>80</sup> The rate of criminal punishment in the XUAR in 2017 and 2018 far exceeded both regional and national figures recorded for the past several decades.<sup>81</sup> American researcher Gene Bunin reported that testimony provided by camp survivors and their relatives to the Almaty-based organization Atajurt Kazakh Human Rights corroborated government data on increased imprisonment, particularly with regard to men imprisoned for religious reasons.<sup>82</sup>

Since 2017, authorities in the XUAR have sentenced many mass internment camp detainees to prison during or immediately after their detention in a camp.<sup>83</sup> Authorities reportedly ordered some camp detainees who were sentenced to less than 10 years’ impris-

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onment to remain in the camps to serve out their sentences, while they transferred those sentenced to more than 10 years to prisons.<sup>84</sup> The XUAR Bureau of Prison Administration administers prisons within the XUAR, with the exception of prisons under the jurisdiction of the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps;<sup>85</sup> mass internment camps are administered outside of the formal judicial system.<sup>86</sup> According to both Bunin and the New York Times, camp authorities arbitrarily determined criminal charges based in part on individuals' behavior inside the camps.<sup>87</sup> Two ethnic Kazakhs who were formerly detained in mass internment camps told Bunin that they had either seen or heard about criminal trials being held within mass internment camps themselves,<sup>88</sup> a trend that was corroborated by another ethnic Kazakh ex-camp detainee whose account was published by Believer magazine in October 2019.<sup>89</sup>

Accounts provided by Uyghur and Kazakh exiles in the past reporting year provide anecdotal evidence corroborating the recent rise in formal imprisonment in the XUAR. A Turkey-based Uyghur exile told Radio Free Asia in March 2020 that authorities first detained her husband, **Muhammet Imin**, who had sold Uyghur traditional medicine, in a mass internment camp in the XUAR beginning in October 2017, and later sentenced him to 15 years in prison, likely due to his past overseas financial links and travel abroad.<sup>90</sup> A Kazakhstan-based ethnic Kazakh woman told NPR in October 2019 that authorities in the XUAR had sentenced her mother, **Nurzhada Zhumakhan**, to 20 years in prison in June 2019 on charges including “organizing and using a cult to undermine implementation of the law.”<sup>91</sup>

### *Repressive Surveillance Technology and Security Measures*

During the Commission's 2020 reporting year, authorities in the XUAR used surveillance technology, security checks, home inspections, and other methods to maintain control over Turkic and Muslim residents.<sup>92</sup> According to international media reports, some aspects of surveillance had become less overt, but no less intrusive; for instance, Wall Street Journal reporters found fewer security checkpoints on the streets in Kashgar prefecture, but widespread facial recognition scans and identity checks in residential complexes and public buildings.<sup>93</sup> In a January 2020 piece, an international doctoral student related how, during a visit to Urumqi municipality and Kashgar prefecture in 2019, she observed fewer police patrols and police armored cars, fewer security cameras, and fewer staff at police checkpoints.<sup>94</sup> However, she noted the presence of unmarked police cars and plainclothes security personnel, and Uyghurs' continued adherence to previous police checkpoint procedures, in what she described as an “internalized fear” functioning as an “invisible surveillance measure.”<sup>95</sup>

#### MOBILE APP ZAPYA TRACKED TO FLAG UYGHURS FOR DETENTION

According to a collection of leaked Chinese government documents referred to as the China Cables, XUAR authorities have analyzed user-based information on the file-sharing application Zarya to identify residents to detain in mass internment camps.<sup>96</sup>

Zapya, or “Kuai Ya” in Chinese, which was developed by the Chinese company DewMobile Inc., has been popular among Muslims worldwide for allowing users to share Muslim religious content.<sup>97</sup> Security personnel reportedly accused Uyghurs possessing the application of using it to “distribute extremist content.”<sup>98</sup> Among the China Cables, a document regarding a centralized system known as the “Integrated Joint Operations Platform” called on authorities to use data stored in the system to investigate Uyghurs “one by one,” to find what it referred to as suspected terrorists.<sup>99</sup> Shortly after officials issued this document, authorities reportedly began detaining Uyghurs who had downloaded Zapya.<sup>100</sup> [For more information on surveillance measures and foreign commercial investment in repressive security technology in the XUAR, see Section II—Business and Human Rights.]

#### INTRUSIVE HOMESTAY PROGRAMS

During this reporting year, authorities continued to assign cadres and government workers, usually of Han Chinese ethnicity, to live with ethnic minority families in their homes to conduct surveillance and compile information on family members, in arrangements which left these families vulnerable to sexual violence and other types of abuse.<sup>101</sup> In some cases, authorities have used information compiled by cadres and government workers to send members of their host families to mass internment camps.<sup>102</sup> According to an October 2019 Radio Free Asia (RFA) report, under the “becoming family” (*jiedui renqin*) homestay program, visiting male cadres often slept in the same beds or on the same sleeping platforms as women whose husbands had been detained in mass internment camps.<sup>103</sup> A Communist Party official and the head of a local neighborhood committee in Yengisar (Yingjisha) county, Kashgar prefecture, both told RFA that such sleeping arrangements were common among local households forced to host male “relatives.”<sup>104</sup> According to the neighborhood committee head, local officials had referred to the co-sleeping practice as a way to “promote ethnic unity.”<sup>105</sup>

<p><b>Coronavirus Outbreak and Its Impact on Ethnic Minority Communities in the XUAR</b></p>
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<p>As the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) outbreak spread throughout China in early 2020, Uyghurs and other observers living outside China expressed fears that the outbreak would disproportionately impact ethnic minority communities in the XUAR.<sup>106</sup> Many expressed fears regarding the potential spread of the disease among mass internment camp detainees, due to the overcrowding, medical neglect,</p>
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### Coronavirus Outbreak and Its Impact on Ethnic Minority Communities in the XUAR—Continued

and unhygienic conditions reported in the camps, as well as Chinese authorities' documented concerns regarding the spread of epidemics in the camps.<sup>107</sup> Some observers expressed doubts regarding the validity of the official figures of 76 confirmed coronavirus cases and 3 deaths in the XUAR (as of March 23), due to the likelihood that COVID-19 would spread in the region, as well as regional authorities' restrictions on the free flow of information.<sup>108</sup> Authorities reportedly directed homestay teams and auxiliary police to enforce strict, unannounced quarantines among XUAR residents, in some cases sealing the doors of Uyghur residents, so that if residents opened their door this would constitute a violation of the state-imposed quarantine.<sup>109</sup> Video clips posted to social media appeared to show that some Uyghurs quarantined in homes and neighborhoods in the XUAR, who had not been given time to buy food prior to the implementation of the quarantine, experienced severe hunger.<sup>110</sup> In addition, in and around March 2020, according to government and state media reports, authorities transferred tens of thousands of ethnic minority workers to work in factories producing items such as masks and food, both within and outside the XUAR, at a time when many Han Chinese workers were reportedly unwilling to return to work due to legitimate fears of contracting COVID-19.<sup>111</sup>

### *Freedom of Religion*

XUAR government and Party officials curtailed Muslim residents' freedom to practice their religious beliefs by implementing restrictions on prayer,<sup>112</sup> defacing and destroying mosques and cemeteries,<sup>113</sup> and detaining individuals for practicing or possessing materials about Islam.<sup>114</sup> As in previous reporting years,<sup>115</sup> XUAR officials reportedly imposed controls on Muslims' observance of Ramadan.<sup>116</sup> Turkic Muslim residents of the XUAR faced restrictions on fasting<sup>117</sup> and the exchange of Islamic greetings.<sup>118</sup> Authorities reportedly forced some Muslim XUAR residents to eat during Ramadan instead of fasting as part of practicing their Islamic faith.<sup>119</sup>

### THE DESTRUCTION OF CEMETERIES

Scholars and rights advocates have argued that authorities' recent destruction of Uyghur cemeteries and shrines was designed to eradicate Uyghurs' religious and cultural practices.<sup>120</sup> Article 6 of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief mandates that member states must protect places where people "worship or assemble in connection with a religion or belief," including cemeteries and shrines.<sup>121</sup> Researchers analyzing satellite imagery found that Chinese officials had destroyed more than 100 Uyghur cemeteries throughout the XUAR over the past several years.<sup>122</sup> Notices issued by local governments regarding the destruction of individual cemeteries included justifications such as that new cemetery sites "saved space" and were "civilized," and that officials needed "to meet the demand of city planning and promote construction."<sup>123</sup>

Authorities in Aksu prefecture converted the site of a large cemetery that had held the remains of a respected Uyghur poet into a city park,<sup>124</sup> and officials moved the graves to a new location in an industrial area in the desert.<sup>125</sup> According to Agence France-Presse (AFP), a notice issued by the government of Hotan prefecture in May 2019 gave local residents only two days to claim the remains of their deceased family members prior to a cemetery's destruction.<sup>126</sup> In September 2019, AFP reporters took photos of bones left at the site of a former cemetery in Shayar (Shaya) county, Aksu prefecture, that seven forensic anthropologists later determined to be human remains, based on the photos.<sup>127</sup> Rian Thum, an American scholar on Uyghur history and religious practices, told CNN that the widespread destruction of cemeteries, which had served as important gathering places, was part of "a massive effort to eradicate Uyghur culture as we know it and replace it with a Chinese communist party approved culture."<sup>128</sup>

#### DETENTIONS BASED ON RELIGION

As in previous reporting years,<sup>129</sup> officials in the XUAR detained Turkic Muslims for religious reasons. Examples of such individuals whose detentions were reported in the past year included the following:

- **Shafkat Abas.** In March 2020, the family of ethnic Tatar Shafkat Abas, a practitioner of traditional Uyghur medicine, received information that authorities in Urumqi municipality had sentenced him to 10 years in prison.<sup>130</sup> Family members believe his detention may have been connected to his possession of books on Uyghur history and religious practices, the fact that one of his patients was an imam, or the fact that his brother had used his computer to access overseas websites.<sup>131</sup>
- **Shireli Memeteli and AYGUL Turahan.** According to a report published in April 2020 by RFA, authorities in Ghulja (Yining) city, Ili (Yili) Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture, XUAR, sentenced 28-year-old Uyghur taxi driver Shireli Memeteli to 17 years in prison in May 2019 for transporting an "illegal" religious figure and receiving "illegal religious education" from him.<sup>132</sup> Authorities also sentenced Memeteli in connection with "inciting ethnic separatism."<sup>133</sup> In early 2019, authorities reportedly sentenced Memeteli's 49-year-old mother AYGUL Turahan to 10 years in prison.<sup>134</sup> A Uyghur official interviewed by RFA said authorities had sentenced Turahan on accusations including distribution of "illegal" religious educational materials.<sup>135</sup>

## Xinjiang

### Detention of U.S. Resident Vera Yueming Zhou in a Mass Internment Camp

In October 2017, authorities in Urumqi municipality, XUAR, detained U.S. permanent resident Vera Yueming Zhou and arbitrarily held her in a mass internment camp.<sup>136</sup> Zhou, an ethnic Hui who had been visiting her XUAR-based father, said police questioned her upon her detention regarding her use of a VPN to access her university email account, which they referred to as a “sign of religious extremism.”<sup>137</sup> At the time, she was a student at the University of Washington, and she had accessed her email account in order to submit homework.<sup>138</sup> Zhou said authorities confiscated her passport and handcuffed her, and then drove her to another city.<sup>139</sup> They subsequently collected her biometric data and took her to the camp where she was detained for more than five months.<sup>140</sup> Zhou said armed guards patrolled the corridors and security cameras surveilled the detainees at all times; camp authorities forced her and other detainees to study Mandarin Chinese (though she was already a native speaker) and the policies of President Xi Jinping.<sup>141</sup> She had undergone surgery for cancer several months earlier in the United States, and needed medical treatment, but camp authorities provided none.<sup>142</sup> Zhou was reportedly one of many ethnic Hui whom authorities in the XUAR detained, together with Turkic Muslims, in mass internment camps.<sup>143</sup>

In March 2018, authorities released Zhou from the camp, but kept her passport and U.S. permanent resident card and required her to report regularly to “social stability officers” and to attend a flag-raising ceremony every week.<sup>144</sup> In September 2019, authorities returned her passport to her and allowed her to leave the XUAR and return to the United States, after forcing her to sign documents promising not to speak out about her experience.<sup>145</sup>

### *Ethnic Kazakh Sayragul Sauytbay Provides Account of Camp Abuses*

In October 2019, Israeli newspaper Haaretz published an account provided by **Sayragul Sauytbay**, an ethnic Kazakh who fled China in April 2018 after Chinese authorities compelled her to work in a mass internment camp.<sup>146</sup> Sauytbay, who was later granted asylum in Sweden, told Haaretz that authorities forbade her from speaking with camp detainees, laughing, or crying.<sup>147</sup> According to Sauytbay, security personnel at the camp where she was forced to work frequently raped female camp inmates.<sup>148</sup> In addition, she stated that camp authorities subjected detainees to other forms of torture,<sup>149</sup> including electric shocks, beatings, forced ingestion of medication and unknown injections, the shackling of hands and feet, intense surveillance, and lengthy political indoctrination sessions.<sup>150</sup>

### *Propaganda Videos Featuring Persecuted Uyghurs*

During this reporting year, official media outlets released a number of videos and articles that contradicted international reports regarding the detention and persecution of Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims in the XUAR.<sup>151</sup> International observers expressed con-

cerns that statements in the videos were coerced, that authorities may have returned some video subjects to detention after filming, and that the videos constitute attempts to silence advocacy carried out by overseas family members.<sup>152</sup> These videos and reports included the following:

- Two videos and reports published by Global Times, featuring a total of more than 20 family members of U.S.-based Uyghur rights advocate **Rebiya Kadeer**.<sup>153</sup> Chinese authorities have subjected Kadeer's family members to various forms of detention, harassment, and persecution in likely retaliation for her continued advocacy on behalf of Uyghur human rights.<sup>154</sup>
- A video published by China Daily in May 2020 featured retired Uyghur professor **Iminjan Seydin** telling his Boston-based daughter Samira Imin not to believe the "rumors" about his detention.<sup>155</sup> Authorities in the XUAR had reportedly held Seydin in a mass internment camp for two years beginning in 2017, and then sentenced him to 15 years' imprisonment over a book he had published several years earlier.<sup>156</sup> In May 2020, Imin expressed concern to Deutsche Welle over her father's apparent weight loss and whether or not authorities had genuinely freed him from detention.<sup>157</sup>
- A video and report published by CGTN that featured the mother and a sister of London-based Uyghur academic Aziz Isa Elkun.<sup>158</sup> Elkun had been unable to contact his mother for years due to Chinese officials' restrictions on Uyghurs' communications with relatives overseas.<sup>159</sup> CGTN disputed Elkun's claim that authorities had demolished his father's grave without his family's consent.<sup>160</sup>

### *Concerns Over World Bank Funding of XUAR Vocational Schools*

In 2019, the Commission, individual members of Congress, and international media raised concerns over the World Bank's funding of a US\$50 million, five-year project managed by the XUAR Department of Education.<sup>161</sup> The concerns of the Commission included the fact that the World Bank had continued to disburse funds for the project while information emerged that officials in the XUAR may have been committing crimes against humanity by detaining Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims in mass internment camps.<sup>162</sup> According to an August 2019 Foreign Policy article, a purchasing document issued in November 2018 showed that a "partner school" in the XUAR that had been funded by the loan project had spent around US\$30,000 to purchase security equipment such as tear gas launchers and anti-riot batons.<sup>163</sup> In November 2019, the World Bank ended loan funding for "partner schools" in the XUAR.<sup>164</sup> However, the World Bank maintained funding for the five vocational schools that received the majority of the project's funds.<sup>165</sup> In addition, according to a December 2019 Axios report, these five vocational schools had submitted requests for tens of thousands of dollars to purchase surveillance technology such as facial recognition and night vision cameras and a system equipped to send images of blacklisted individuals directly to police.<sup>166</sup>

## **Xinjiang**

In an August 23, 2019, letter addressed to World Bank president David Malpass, Commission chairs Representative James McGovern and Senator Marco Rubio asked if the World Bank had “investigated whether any minority teachers, staff members, or students at any of the five institutions in the original project plan ha[d] been detained in [mass] internment camps.”<sup>167</sup> In April 2018, authorities in the XUAR detained **Kamil Rehim**, a Uyghur who previously taught at Urumqi Vocational University, in a mass internment camp, and later detained him in a prison.<sup>168</sup> Urumqi Vocational University is one of the five vocational schools directly funded by the World Bank loan, and one of the stated goals of the World Bank’s loan project was that ethnic minority teachers at schools they funded would benefit from the project and “enjoy various development opportunities funded by the project.”<sup>169</sup>



#### Notes to Section IV—Xinjiang

<sup>1</sup>Austin Ramzy and Chris Buckley, “‘Absolutely No Mercy’: Leaked Files Expose How China Organized Mass Detentions of Muslims,” *New York Times*, November 16, 2019; Adrian Zenz, “‘Wash Brains, Cleanse Hearts’: Evidence from Chinese Government Documents about the Nature and Extent of Xinjiang’s Extrajudicial Internment Campaign,” *Journal of Political Risk* 7, no. 11 (November 2019); Adrian Zenz, “China Didn’t Want Us to Know. Now Its Own Files Are Doing the Talking,” opinion, *New York Times*, November 24, 2019. For more information on mass internment camps in the XUAR, see CECC, *2019 Annual Report*, November 18, 2019, 266–72. For examples of individuals detained in mass internment camps whose cases were first reported on during this reporting year, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database records 2019-00417 on Abdulla Abdurahman, 2019-00420 on Tursun Barat, 2019-00421 on Zahidem Heypihaji, 2019-00424 on Sherep Heyt, 2019-00453 on Shir’eli Perhat, 2019-00489 on Abdureshit Tohti, 2019-00491 on Tajigul Qadir, 2019-00492 on Emetjan Abdureshit, 2019-00493 on Memet’eli Abdureshit, 2019-00494 on Abduqeyyum Nurmemet, 2019-00497 on Abdulmijit Nurmemet, 2019-00498 on Turnisahan, 2019-00501 on Memet Hemdul, 2020-00060 on Abdughappar Mehmettohti, 2020-00061 on Polatjan Mehmettohti, 2020-00138 on Tursuntohti Mehsut, 2020-00144 on Tahir Hesen, and 2020-00145 on Erkin Ayup.

<sup>2</sup>Adrian Zenz, “‘Wash Brains, Cleanse Hearts’: Evidence from Chinese Government Documents about the Nature and Extent of Xinjiang’s Extrajudicial Internment Campaign,” *Journal of Political Risk* 7, no. 11 (November 2019).

<sup>3</sup>See, e.g., Austin Ramzy and Chris Buckley, “‘Absolutely No Mercy’: Leaked Files Expose How China Organized Mass Detentions of Muslims,” *New York Times*, November 16, 2019; Adrian Zenz, “‘Wash Brains, Cleanse Hearts’: Evidence from Chinese Government Documents about the Nature and Extent of Xinjiang’s Extrajudicial Internment Campaign,” *Journal of Political Risk* 7, no. 11 (November 2019); Ben Mauk, “Weather Reports: Voices from Xinjiang,” *Believer*, October 1, 2019; Bethany Allen-Ebrahimi, “Exposed: China’s Operating Manuals for Mass Internment and Arrest by Algorithm,” *International Consortium of Investigative Journalists*, November 24, 2019.

<sup>4</sup>CECC, *2019 Annual Report*, November 18, 2019, 266.

<sup>5</sup>“Uyghur Man Dies in Xinjiang Internment Camp after Sacking over Muslim Prayers,” *Radio Free Asia*, July 15, 2020; “Qeshqer Yengisheherde 22 yashliq Alimjan Emet lagergha eketilip 40 kúndin keyin jesiti chiqqan” [In Yengisheher, Kashgar, 40 days after 22-year-old Alimjan Emet was taken away to the camps, his body came out], *Radio Free Asia*, July 5, 2019. For more information on Alimjan Emet, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00396.

<sup>6</sup>“Uyghur Brothers Perish While Detained in Xinjiang,” *Radio Free Asia*, September 18, 2019.

<sup>7</sup>“Uyghur Brothers Perish While Detained in Xinjiang,” *Radio Free Asia*, September 18, 2019. For more information on these cases, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database records 2019-00406 on Hezim Quddus and 2019-00405 on Idris Quddus.

<sup>8</sup>“Weziyettin xewerdar kishi: ‘Terbiyileshte yashta chonglar ólüm girdabigha kelgendila qoyup bérimekte’” [Individual familiar with the situation: ‘Elderly in reeducation are only released when they are on the verge of death’], *Radio Free Asia*, July 12, 2019. For more information on Turghun Jappar, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00409.

<sup>9</sup>“Uyghur tijarechining lagerdin chiqip uzun ótmey jan úzgenliki melum” [Uyghur businessman reportedly dies shortly after leaving a camp], *Radio Free Asia*, September 3, 2019; “Doxtur Jür’et Obul: ‘Shahimerdanning ólümige toktin zeximlinish seweb bolghan bolushi mumkin’” [Dr. Juraat Obul: ‘Shahimerdan’s death may have been caused by an electric shock’], *Radio Free Asia*, September 4, 2019. For more information on Shahimerdan Perhat, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00452.

<sup>10</sup>“Police Officer Beat Uyghur Internment Camp Detainee to Death in Drunken Rage,” *Radio Free Asia*, October 28, 2019; “Pichan lemjinlik ghalipjanning lagerda bir mest xitay saqchi teripidin urup óltürülgenliki ashkarilandi” [Ghalipjan, of Lemjin, Pichan, revealed to have been beaten to death by drunk Chinese police officer in camp], *Radio Free Asia*, October 22, 2019.

<sup>11</sup>“Police Officer Beat Uyghur Internment Camp Detainee to Death in Drunken Rage,” *Radio Free Asia*, October 28, 2019; “Pichan lemjinlik ghalipjanning lagerda bir mest xitay saqchi teripidin urup óltürülgenliki ashkarilandi” [Ghalipjan, of Lemjin, Pichan, revealed to have been beaten to death by drunk Chinese police officer in camp], *Radio Free Asia*, October 22, 2019.

<sup>12</sup>“Police Officer Beat Uyghur Internment Camp Detainee to Death in Drunken Rage,” *Radio Free Asia*, October 28, 2019; “Pichan lemjinlik ghalipjanning lagerda bir mest xitay saqchi teripidin urup óltürülgenliki ashkarilandi” [Ghalipjan, of Lemjin, Pichan, revealed to have been beaten to death by drunk Chinese police officer in camp], *Radio Free Asia*, October 22, 2019. For more information on Ghalipjan Ehmet, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00487.

<sup>13</sup>Austin Ramzy and Chris Buckley, “‘Absolutely No Mercy’: Leaked Files Expose How China Organized Mass Detentions of Muslims,” *New York Times*, November 16, 2019; International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, “Read the China Cables Documents,” November 24, 2019; Uyghur Human Rights Project, “‘Ideological Transformation’: Records of Mass Detention from Qaraqash, Hotan,” February 2020, 1, 10, 11, 18.

<sup>14</sup>Austin Ramzy and Chris Buckley, “‘Absolutely No Mercy’: Leaked Files Expose How China Organized Mass Detentions of Muslims,” *New York Times*, November 16, 2019.

<sup>15</sup>Austin Ramzy and Chris Buckley, “‘Absolutely No Mercy’: Leaked Files Expose How China Organized Mass Detentions of Muslims,” *New York Times*, November 16, 2019; Austin Ramzy, “5 Takeaways from the Leaked Files on China’s Mass Detention of Muslims,” *New York Times*, November 16, 2019.

<sup>16</sup>Austin Ramzy and Chris Buckley, “‘Absolutely No Mercy’: Leaked Files Expose How China Organized Mass Detentions of Muslims,” *New York Times*, November 16, 2019; Austin Ramzy, “5 Takeaways from the Leaked Files on China’s Mass Detention of Muslims,” *New York Times*,

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November 16, 2019; “Document: What Chinese Officials Told Children Whose Families Were Put in Camps,” *New York Times*, November 16, 2019.

<sup>17</sup> Austin Ramzy and Chris Buckley, “‘Absolutely No Mercy’: Leaked Files Expose How China Organized Mass Detentions of Muslims,” *New York Times*, November 16, 2019; Jane Li, “‘He Refused’: China Sees Online Tributes to an Official Who Freed Muslims in Xinjiang,” *Quartz*, November 18, 2019; James A. Millward, “Between the Lines of the Xinjiang Papers,” *New York Times*, November 20, 2019.

<sup>18</sup> Austin Ramzy, “5 Takeaways from the Leaked Files on China’s Mass Detention of Muslims,” *New York Times*, November 16, 2019; Jane Li, “‘He Refused’: China Sees Online Tributes to an Official Who Freed Muslims in Xinjiang,” *Quartz*, November 18, 2019. See also Cao Yin, “Xinjiang Official Removed, Expelled,” *China Daily*, March 27, 2018.

<sup>19</sup> Austin Ramzy and Chris Buckley, “‘Absolutely No Mercy’: Leaked Files Expose How China Organized Mass Detentions of Muslims,” *New York Times*, November 16, 2019; James A. Millward, “Between the Lines of the Xinjiang Papers,” opinion, *New York Times*, November 20, 2019.

<sup>20</sup> International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, “Read the China Cables Documents,” November 24, 2019; Darren Byler, “A Xinjiang Scholar’s Close Reading of the China Cables,” *SupChina*, December 4, 2019; Adrian Zenz, “China Didn’t Want Us to Know. Now Its Own Files Are Doing the Talking,” *New York Times*, November 24, 2019.

<sup>21</sup> International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, “Read the China Cables Documents,” November 24, 2019; Darren Byler, “A Xinjiang Scholar’s Close Reading of the China Cables,” *SupChina*, December 4, 2019.

<sup>22</sup> International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, “Read the China Cables Documents,” November 24, 2019; Darren Byler, “A Xinjiang Scholar’s Close Reading of the China Cables,” *SupChina*, December 4, 2019; Adrian Zenz, “China Didn’t Want Us to Know. Now Its Own Files Are Doing the Talking,” opinion, *New York Times*, November 24, 2019.

<sup>23</sup> International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, “Read the China Cables Documents,” November 24, 2019; Bethany Allen-Ebrahimi, “Exposed: China’s Operating Manuals for Mass Internment and Arrest by Algorithm,” International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, November 24, 2019; Emma Graham-Harrison and Juliette Garside, “Revealed: Power and Reach of China’s Surveillance Dragnet,” *Guardian*, November 24, 2019.

<sup>24</sup> Uyghur Human Rights Project, “‘Ideological Transformation’: Records of Mass Detention from Qaraqash, Hotan,” February 2020, 1, 10, 11, 18.

<sup>25</sup> Uyghur Human Rights Project, “‘Ideological Transformation’: Records of Mass Detention from Qaraqash, Hotan,” February 2020, 1, 10, 11, 18; Austin Ramzy, “How China Tracked Detainees and Their Families,” *New York Times*, February 17, 2020; Philip Wen and Eva Dou, “Document Shows Chinese Officials’ Calculations in Waging Xinjiang Campaign,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 17, 2020.

<sup>26</sup> Uyghur Human Rights Project, “‘Ideological Transformation’: Records of Mass Detention from Qaraqash, Hotan,” February 2020, 1, 10, 11, 18. For more information on homestay programs such as the “becoming family” program in the XUAR, see “Intrusive Homestay Programs” in this section.

<sup>27</sup> Uyghur Human Rights Project, “‘Ideological Transformation’: Records of Mass Detention from Qaraqash, Hotan,” February 2020, 11, 12; Philip Wen and Eva Dou, “Document Shows Chinese Officials’ Calculations in Waging Xinjiang Campaign,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 17, 2020; Austin Ramzy, “How China Tracked Detainees and Their Families,” *New York Times*, February 17, 2020. As noted on page 12 of the Uyghur Human Rights Project’s report, mass internment camp detainees who are sent to work in industrial parks are likely engaging in forced labor.

<sup>28</sup> CECC, *2019 Annual Report*, November 18, 2019, 267–68.

<sup>29</sup> “Simon-Skjoldt Center Director Delivers Remarks on China’s Systematic Persecution of Uyghurs,” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (blog), March 6, 2020; Elizabeth M. Lynch, “China’s Attacks on Uighur Women Are Crimes against Humanity,” *Washington Post*, October 21, 2019; Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, “China: Populations at Risk,” May 15, 2020; Jan-Peter Westad, “Modern Slavery and Retail: UK Cotton Imports from China under Scrutiny over Forced Uighur Labour,” *New Arab*, April 30, 2020; Global Legal Action Network, “UK: Halt Forced Prison Labour Goods from China,” accessed May 26, 2020; Lawyers for Uyghur Rights, “Request That Government Reconsider 5G Contracting with Huawei over Allegations of Slavery and Company’s Implication in the Repression and Persecution of the Uyghur People,” accessed May 26, 2020.

<sup>30</sup> “Simon-Skjoldt Center Director Delivers Remarks on China’s Systematic Persecution of Uyghurs,” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (blog), March 6, 2020. In April 2020, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum added China to its compilation of “country case studies” for its treatment of the Uyghur people, stating “There is a reasonable basis to believe that the government of China is committing crimes against humanity, notably imprisonment and persecution.” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “Country Case Studies—China,” accessed May 6, 2020; “US Holocaust Museum Adds China to List of Case Studies over Mass Internment of Uyghurs,” *Radio Free Asia*, April 23, 2020.

<sup>31</sup> Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, adopted by the United Nations Diplomatic Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court of July 17, 1998, entry into force July 1, 2002, art. 7(1); United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter XVIII, Penal Matters, Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, accessed May 30, 2020.

<sup>32</sup> Under the Rome Statute, “enslavement” refers to “the exercise of any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership over a person and includes the exercise of such power in the course of trafficking in persons, in particular women and children.” Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, adopted by the United Nations Diplomatic Conference of Pleni-

potentiaries on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court of July 17, 1998, entry into force July 1, 2002, art. 7(2)(c).

<sup>33</sup>Darren Byler, “How Companies Profit from Forced Labor in Xinjiang,” *SupChina*, September 4, 2019; Jasmin Malik Chua, “Those Shoes Were Made by a Uighur Detainee,” *Nation*, March 5, 2020; Uyghur Human Rights Project, “‘Ideological Transformation’: Records of Mass Detention from Qaraqash, Hotan, February 2020, 6, 11–12; Vicky Xiuzhong Xu, Danielle Cave, James Leibold, Kelsey Munro, and Nathan Ruser, “Uyghurs for Sale: ‘Reeducation,’ Forced Labour and Surveillance beyond Xinjiang,” International Cyber Policy Centre, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, March 1, 2020, 5–26; “What Happens When China’s Uighurs Are Released from Re-Education Camps,” *Economist*, March 5, 2020.

<sup>34</sup>Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by UN General Assembly resolution 217A (III) of December 10, 1948, arts. 3, 9; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), adopted by UN General Assembly Resolution 2200A (XXI) of December 16, 1966, entry into force March 23, 1976, art. 9(1). See also United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, accessed May 5, 2020. China has signed but not ratified the ICCPR. See also Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 43/173 of December 9, 1988, principle 4. Extralegal and extrajudicial forms of detention violate Article 9 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 9(1) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

<sup>35</sup>Austin Ramzy and Chris Buckley, “‘Absolutely No Mercy’: Leaked Files Expose How China Organized Mass Detentions of Muslims,” *New York Times*, November 16, 2019; Adrian Zenz, “‘Wash Brains, Cleanse Hearts’: Evidence from Chinese Government Documents about the Nature and Extent of Xinjiang’s Extrajudicial Internment Campaign,” *Journal of Political Risk* 7, no. 11 (November 2019); Peter Martin, “How China Is Defending Its Detention of Muslims to the World,” *Bloomberg*, April 22, 2019; Gene A. Bunin, “Kyrgyz Students Vanish into Xinjiang’s Maw,” *Foreign Policy*, March 31, 2019; Nathan VanderKlippe, “‘I Felt Like a Slave’: Inside China’s Complex System of Incarceration and Control of Minorities,” *Globe and Mail*, March 31, 2019; Uyghur Human Rights Project, “Update—Detained and Disappeared: Intellectuals under Assault in the Uyghur Homeland,” May 21, 2019; Reid Standish and Aigerim Toleukhanova, “Kazakhs Won’t Be Silenced on China’s Internment Camps,” *Foreign Policy*, March 4, 2019; “Chinese ‘Reeducation Camps’ Whistle-Blower Leaves Kazakhstan for Unnamed Country,” *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, June 3, 2019.

<sup>36</sup>Gene A. Bunin, “From Camps to Prisons: Xinjiang’s Next Great Human Rights Catastrophe,” *Art of Life in Central Asia* (blog), October 5, 2019; Chris Buckley, “China’s Prisons Swell after Deluge of Arrests Engulfs Muslims,” *New York Times*, August 31, 2019.

<sup>37</sup>Under the Rome Statute, “torture” refers to “the intentional infliction of severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, upon a person in the custody or under the control of the accused; except that torture shall not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to, lawful sanctions.” Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, adopted by the United Nations Diplomatic Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court of July 17, 1998, entry into force July 1, 2002, art. 7(2)(e).

<sup>38</sup>Adrian Zenz, “‘Wash Brains, Cleanse Hearts’: Evidence from Chinese Government Documents about the Nature and Extent of Xinjiang’s Extrajudicial Internment Campaign,” *Journal of Political Risk* 7, no. 11 (November 2019); Ben Mauk, “Weather Reports: Voices from Xinjiang,” *Believer*, October 1, 2019; Bethany Allen-Ebrahimian, “Exposed: China’s Operating Manuals for Mass Internment and Arrest by Algorithm,” International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, November 24, 2019; Nathan VanderKlippe, “‘I Felt Like a Slave’: Inside China’s Complex System of Incarceration and Control of Minorities,” *Globe and Mail*, March 31, 2019; James Millward, “‘Reeducating’ Xinjiang’s Muslims,” *New York Review of Books*, reprinted in *ChinaFile*, February 7, 2019.

<sup>39</sup>Under the Rome Statute, “persecution” refers to “the intentional and severe deprivation of fundamental rights contrary to international law by reason of the identity of the group or collectivity.” Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, adopted by the United Nations Diplomatic Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court of July 17, 1998, entry into force July 1, 2002, art. 7(2)(g).

<sup>40</sup>“Secret Documents Reveal How China Mass Detention Camps Work,” *Associated Press*, November 25, 2019; Gene A. Bunin, “Xinjiang’s Hui Muslims Were Swept into Camps alongside Uyghurs,” *Foreign Policy*, February 10, 2020; Stephanie Nebehay, “1.5 Million Muslims Could Be Detained in China’s Xinjiang: Academic,” *Reuters*, March 13, 2019; Nick Cumming-Bruce, “U.S. Steps Up Criticism of China for Detentions in Xinjiang,” *New York Times*, March 13, 2019; Reid Standish and Aigerim Toleukhanova, “Kazakhs Won’t Be Silenced on China’s Internment Camps,” *Foreign Policy*, March 4, 2019; Gene A. Bunin, “Kyrgyz Students Vanish into Xinjiang’s Maw,” *Foreign Policy*, March 31, 2019; “Chinese ‘Reeducation Camps’ Whistle-Blower Leaves Kazakhstan for Unnamed Country,” *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, June 3, 2019.

<sup>41</sup>See, e.g., Nathan VanderKlippe, “Inside China’s Campaign against the Uyghurs,” *Globe and Mail*, November 5, 2018; Li Zaili [pseud.], “CCP Interfering with How Muslims Perform Funerals,” *Bitter Winter*, January 24, 2019; Darren Byler, “China’s Government Has Ordered a Million Citizens to Occupy Uighur Homes. Here’s What They Think They’re Doing,” *ChinaFile*, Asia Society, October 24, 2018; Ruth Ingram, “‘Surviving China’: Uyghur Voices from Xinjiang and Guantanamo,” *Bitter Winter*, April 15, 2019.

<sup>42</sup>See, e.g., Human Rights Watch, “China’s Algorithms of Repression,” May 1, 2019; Ana Swanson and Paul Mozur, “U.S. Blacklists 28 Chinese Entities over Abuses in Xinjiang,” *New York Times*, October 7, 2019.

<sup>43</sup>Amy Qin, “In China’s Crackdown on Muslims, Children Have Not Been Spared,” *New York Times*, July 1, 2020; “China Calls Them ‘Kindness Students.’ They’re Actually Victims of Cultural Genocide,” editorial, *Washington Post*, January 10, 2020; Adrian Zenz, “Break Their Roots: Evidence for China’s Parent-Child Separation Campaign in Xinjiang,” *Journal of Political*

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<sup>44</sup>Under the Rome Statute, “enforced disappearance of persons” refers to “the arrest, detention or abduction of persons by, or with the authorization, support or acquiescence of, a State or a political organization, followed by a refusal to acknowledge that deprivation of freedom or to give information on the fate or whereabouts of those persons, with the intention of removing them from the protection of the law for a prolonged period of time.” Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, adopted by the United Nations Diplomatic Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court of July 17, 1998, entry into force July 1, 2002, art. 7(2)(i).

<sup>45</sup>International Service for Human Rights, “HRC42: China Must End All Forms of Enforced Disappearance,” September 16, 2019; International Service for Human Rights, “The United Nations Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances: What Is an Enforced Disappearance?,” August 8, 2019; Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “Chinese Government’s Use of Enforced Disappearance as Political Persecution,” accessed May 21, 2020, 3; Stephanie Nebheay, “Bachelet Presses China for U.N. Access to Xinjiang’s Uighurs,” *Reuters*, March 6, 2019; UN Human Rights Council, Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances—China, A/HRC/42/40, July 30, 2019, para. 69; Uyghur Human Rights Project, “Update—Detained and Disappeared: Intellectuals Under Assault in the Uyghur Homeland,” May 21, 2019; Gene A. Bunin, “Kyrgyz Students Vanish into Xinjiang’s Maw,” *Foreign Policy*, March 31, 2019; Gene A. Bunin, “Xinjiang’s Hui Muslims Were Swept into Camps alongside Uighurs,” *Foreign Policy*, February 10, 2020.

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<sup>48</sup>2019 *Zhongguo weisheng jiankang tongji nianjian* [2019 China health and wellness statistics yearbook] (Beijing: Peking Union Medical College Press, 2019), 228, table 8–8–2, 341, table 14–4; Adrian Zenz, “China’s Own Documents Show Potentially Genocidal Sterilization Plans in Xinjiang,” *Foreign Policy*, July 1, 2020.

<sup>49</sup>United Nations, “Framework of Analysis for Atrocity Crimes: A Tool for Prevention,” 2014, 19.

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<sup>116</sup>“Residents of Uyghur-Majority County in Xinjiang Ordered to Report Others Fasting During Ramadan,” *Radio Free Asia*, May 14, 2020.

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