



# UYGHUR TRIBUNAL TRANSCRIPT

4-7th June 2021, London

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All time specifications relate to the video recordings of the live hearings available on YouTube (account: Uyghur Tribunal): [Uyghur Tribunal - YouTube](#)

*Witness testimony in this transcript is organised in order of appearance.*

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2 **4 June 2021 (0:45:40 – 1:39:00)**

3 **Qelbinur Sidik – UTFW-005**

4  
5 *Counsel – You were a teacher for 26 years and then in 2016 you were asked to go teach*  
6 *Chinese to “illiterates,” can you briefly describe the conditions of the camps?*

7 QS – I am Qelbinur Sidiq, I am a camp witness and I am grateful to have the opportunity  
8 to testify here today. Thank you very much. I was sent to a male camp in March 2017 to  
9 September 2017, it was called [? – 0:50:30] and sat at the top of a hill. This is the camp  
10 where I taught: “Number 5.” The place was surrounded by barbed wires and high voltage  
11 cables. It gave the impression that the soldiers and police were ready for anything. People  
12 in the camp were sleeping on the floor, without bedding, and were only given steam buns  
13 and watery soup. The prisoners had to crawl in and out of their cell. They were treated  
14 like dogs. The police enjoyed watching the prisoners getting humiliated, their suffering  
15 was a joy for them. In every cell there was between 40-50 inmates. They were given one  
16 minute to use the toilet, three times a day. When there were no lessons, they would be  
17 taken for questioning, in the basement not far from the class. We could hear the screams  
18 when they would take someone there. The male prisoners wore the camp uniform, grey  
19 pyjamas, with an orange and yellow vest with a number printed on it. I believe, from the  
20 numbers, nigh on 8000 inmates were in the facility. They had to endure a lot of humiliation  
21 and suffering. I was there from March to the 28<sup>th</sup> August and they had no opportunity to  
22 shower, they all had lice.

23 *Counsel – After about a day at home, you were sent to another camp, can you give detail*  
24 *about the second camp?*

25  
26  
27 QS – In September, I was taken to this camp called [? 0:56: 05] a female camp. It was a  
28 six-story building with several layers of security outside, a very secure building. I believe  
29 there were over 8000, perhaps 9000 inmates in this facility. Over 90 percent of women  
30 were aged 18 to 40 years old. In this building, on each floor there was one classroom that

31 could hold 300 so-called “students”. There were also 40 detainees in each cell. Similarly,  
32 the females in this camp lived in a very miserable situation. Every Monday they were  
33 given a pill and injection and had their blood extracted. The pill and injection are to stop  
34 them from having children. There is no toilet facility inside the cells so they had to use a  
35 bucket, and someone would have to throw the bucket once a day. During my time there,  
36 I heard that every time these women were taken for interrogation, they were not only  
37 tortured but also raped, and gang raped. The police would use electric rods, and insert  
38 that in their vagina. When I heard this, I was so devastated. I could see how they walked  
39 when they came to the class, they had difficulty to sit and stand up. From the way they  
40 walked I could see how they suffered and the kind of ordeals they had to go through. I  
41 witnessed a young (18-20 year old) girl who, due to the pill and forced injection, suffered  
42 from bleeding for over a month and a half, she ultimately died because of this. The things  
43 that I have witnessed and experienced, I cannot forget. I am a woman and I have a  
44 daughter, I wish no one had to suffer like that. At the end of October, I became very ill  
45 because of the medical conditions there.

46 *Counsel – When students were brought to your class, were their feet chained or were*  
47 *they free to walk?*

48 QS – They were chained, shackled. They couldn’t walk normally. To leave the cell they  
49 had to crawl out as the door was partly opened. Even in the class they had to sit on a  
50 small stool.

51 *Counsel – Were the students called by their names or by their numbers in the class?*

52 QS – It was always by their numbers. I did not know any of their names. We called them  
53 by the numbers printed on their jacket.

54 *Counsel – Can you talk about the “relative” introduced in your house in 2017 to live with*  
55 *you and your family by the Chinese government?*

56 QS – In 2017, under the Becoming Family policy, the Uyghur families were forced to  
57 house a Han Chinese male. I had to live with one at least one week per month. These  
58 “relatives” had a document given to him. He had a lot of freedom and he would abuse it,  
59 he tried to do a lot of terrible things in my house.

60 It means cook together, eat together, go out together, sleep together, study together.  
61 Because of this policy, even in front of my husband at the time, he would sexually harass  
62 me and I cannot forget that experience. He would come to the kitchen and ask to learn  
63 cooking, he forced me to teach him by holding his hand. During eating time, he would  
64 complain that it was too hot and would take his clothes off except for his shorts. He often  
65 said “you are a beautiful woman”, “your food is so tasty” and he would come hug me, and  
66 I would have to smile to him even though I was very upset inside.

67 *Panel – Why do you think you were selected to be a teacher in the camps?*

68 QS - I studied in Mandarin and I taught in that school for 28 years. I was only an Uzbek  
69 ethnic, and since 2016 there was an assessment process, and they selected the teacher  
70 with the highest school.

71 *Panel – You were told that you would teach illiterates, were any of the men in the camps*  
72 *illiterates? Could some of them already speak Chinese?*

73 QS – I was told I would teach them Mandarin, but when I arrived, I saw it wasn’t a school.  
74 It was a secured camp and the majority of the people were clerics, religious people. Later,  
75 new arrivals were people from 18 to 40 years old, many of whom were well-educated,  
76 some had studied abroad.

77 *Panel – What were you teaching the students 6 to 7 hours a day, what were you teaching*  
78 *them?*

79 QS – Most days I taught 6 to 7 hours. Some days, officials came to inspect, I had to teach  
80 8 hours. In the beginning I taught Basic Mandarin, and later I had to teach Red Songs.

81 *Panel – Can you tell us more about Red Songs?*

82 QS – The Red Songs are like national anthem, and songs that praise China and the  
83 Communist Party.

84 *Panel – What were your sources for the incidents of torture taking place in the camps?*

85 QS – As I said, in the male camp, they were often tortured. They were not allowed to have  
86 any communication with us. But few times we were able to. Once, a detainee told me that

87 he lived near the cement factory and asked me to tell his family that he was here because  
88 even his family did not know. However, the next day, that man disappeared. There was  
89 another young man, very active in the class, and on my way out of the class he  
90 approached me and said: "I live in [? – 1:20:28] street, near the [? – 1:20:31] restaurant.  
91 My wife is about to give birth, could you go tell her I am here?" But I could not say anything  
92 because I was not allowed to communicate with them. After the men were taken for  
93 interrogation, many were not able to come to class for months because of their injuries.  
94 Some would disappear and we were told they were diabetic or had a heart condition and  
95 they had died. The Chinese government may say that they have released people in re-  
96 education camps but we know that many of those that were released, are now disabled  
97 or have mental repercussions.

98 *Panel – In your interactions with the staff of the camp, what did they say the purpose of*  
99 *the camp was? And in what terms would they describe the men and women in the camps?*

100 The guard and the police in the camp would just call them "detainees", from their own  
101 words I learnt how they would torture them. Also, from my home to the camp I was  
102 transported in a police car. Sometimes there was an official in the car and he would  
103 converse with the driver. The driver would call the detainees "disasters", they were  
104 "disasters to the country and needed to be killed."

105 *Panel – In 2017-2018 you underwent processes related to birth control, could you tell us*  
106 *what they were?*

107 We often received a notice like this from the labour committee. The notice requested for  
108 us to come to a specific place to have an IUD inserted or undergo a sterilisation process.  
109 The threat was that if we did not follow this, our family, including our husbands, would  
110 suffer the consequences, personal consequences. They said if we did not comply, we  
111 would end up on a metal chair at the police station. In May 2019, along with many other  
112 females, I was put through the sterilisation process in the hospital on this picture.

113 *Panel – How many children do you have? And how many did the law allow at that time?*

114 I only have a daughter who went to the Netherlands in May 2011. By law, Uyghur people  
115 can have two children. Due to high pressure from my work, I only had one child. I received  
116 a certificate for that child but later, they did not even consider that certificate.

117 *Panel – Later you were allowed to leave, why do you think you were allowed to leave?*

118 As I mentioned earlier, I am Uzbek ethnic. In January 2019, my daughter sent us an  
119 invitation to come visit her in the Netherlands. After this letter was translated into Chinese,  
120 we went to the relevant office and they checked both mine and my husband's documents.  
121 They said I could go because I am Uzbek, but they told my husband that because he is  
122 Uyghur, he should not even think of going abroad.

123 *Panel – When you went to get sterilised, would you say you it was forcible sterilisation?*

124 They do not give a choice. They state clearly what the consequences are if you do not  
125 comply. I said I am Uzbek, I showed the certificate for my daughter but they still forced  
126 me to do it.

127 *Panel – Was one of your students ever released from the camps?*

128 No. It was called "education" but we never assessed the so-called "students." In six  
129 months, we never once assessed them.

130 I would like to add a few things. Since I have been giving evidence, I have been harassed,  
131 even by the local police. Even yesterday, they had released a video where my husband  
132 and the secretary of the school claimed that I never taught in a camp and was never  
133 sterilised.

134

135 **4 June 2021 (01:39:00 – 02:25:30)**

136 **Omer Bekali – UTFW-018**

137

138 *Counsel – Mr Bekali, your witness statement relates to several men disappearing, can*  
139 *you provide further detail on these disappearances?*

140 OB – I was in three different camps, with people up from 30-40 cell mates. The males  
141 were aged from 16-40. Every week some were taken out of the cell and never returned,  
142 to be replaced by newcomers.

143 *Counsel – Was there any pattern as to who was taken and who remained in their cells?*

144 OB – I was a healthy man, very strong, 150kg when I was arrested. The males who were  
145 detained in those facilities, especially those between 16-40 were very healthy. Those who  
146 were especially healthy and strong, were those who disappeared.

147 *Counsel – Did any of those disappeared returned to their cells, or was that the last the  
148 witness heard of them?*

149 OB – I do not remember seeing anyone return.

150 *Counsel – You have referred to a water prison, can you describe what that was?*

151 OB – We had 5 different types of torture. The water prison, though I have not experienced  
152 it personally, according to those who have the person is sunk in water up to their neck  
153 and hung from the ceiling.

154 *Counsel – Can you tell us who was sent there and how many were sent there?*

155 OB – I remember two names and both were young; Juret, who was 26 and Amet who  
156 was 23.

157 *Counsel – You have stated you gave blood once a month, which lasted 15-20 minutes.  
158 Can you confirm if the procedure lasted that long, or giving blood was that long?*

159 OB – The time that I mentioned was approximate, as I did not have a watch. When they  
160 came to draw blood, we just had to spread our arms through the hole in the wall. That is  
161 where they took blood, sometimes for 10 or 15 minutes.

162 *Counsel – In terms of profession, do you know what proportion of detainees were  
163 professionals?*

164 OB – In the cell that I shared it was mostly well-educated people. One was a lawyer, one  
165 a teacher and a few very successful businessmen.

166 *Counsel – Did you have any side effects from the unidentified medication you were given?*

167 OB – Yes, apart from the pills and the injections, people commonly suffer from food  
168 poisoning. I have also suffered this. I collapsed and I was told later, after I was given  
169 medicine to regain my consciousness. It is difficult to express the feelings with words.  
170 You become a very inward person reluctant to even talk or show any interest in anything.  
171 You become so tired and could not stand without feeling as if you were going to collapse.  
172 It is extremely difficult for me to even tell you how you feel after those pills and injections.

173 *Counsel – You have indicated you suffered many forms of ill treatment. You have brought  
174 something in today. Can you explain this?*

175 OB – The chain that I brought here is a chain that I was chained for 7 months 10 days and,  
176 if you allow me, I would like to show you how I was chained and demonstrate this. (\*the  
177 witness puts on chains which have strapped his wrists together to a chain connected to  
178 his ankles\*) I was chained like this – this is much more flexible. I could not stand up. I was  
179 in that position for seven months and ten days. It is about 7kg.

180 *Counsel – Can the witness tell us how he was able to get these chains?*

181 OB – In order to demonstrate about what happened to me and others. I bought the chain  
182 in Turkey as you can buy them.

183 *Panel – Have there been any criticisms of the witness by the PRC?*

184 Counsel – Media sources which claim the witnesses lied about being tortured in the re-  
185 education camp, that he has been involved in terrorist activities, and that his mother and  
186 sister are living normal lives in Xinjiang.

187 *Panel – In 2006, you decided to leave Xinjiang to Kazakhstan, what were the  
188 circumstances back then which caused you to leave?*

189 OB – Having graduated university in Beijing in 1997, I returned home but was unable to  
190 obtain a job in my chosen profession. I became a driver. The salaries we received,  
191 especially being Uyghurs and Kazakhs, were lower due to the discrimination. We received  
192 very unfair treatment.

193 *Panel – So you moved to Kazakhstan and travelled extensively back and forth between*  
194 *there and China. Did you have reason to believe you would be detained? Was there a*  
195 *risk?*

196 *OB – No.*

197 *Panel – When you were first detained, you were taken for a medical examination, you*  
198 *said you were worried they would remove your organs, why did you worry about this?*

199 *OB – During my time in Kazakhstan, when I was doing business (that is what I studied) I*  
200 *was interested in more information, and I learned that Falun Gong practitioners' organs*  
201 *were harvested. Uyghur peoples' organs were harvested as well. It was an extremely*  
202 *terrifying experience as people who were examining me, I could feel (although I had a*  
203 *black bag, I could feel) there were three people not saying anything and when they placed*  
204 *the cold gel on my body and started examining, I almost passed water and felt so nervous.*

205 *Panel – But do you know what the basis for that thorough medical examination was?*

206 *OB – Our people, we became here now on an international stage they are accusing us of*  
207 *lying. The organ harvesting is common as you must have heard that they advertise a halal*  
208 *organ. And even when they tortured us, they would make sure our internal organs were*  
209 *not damaged.*

210 *Panel – When you were first detained, you were told you had committed terrorist related*  
211 *crimes, did they explain what these were?*

212 *OB – No not at all, they did not present any evidence. On paper they showed me what I*  
213 *was accused of; organizing terrorism, instigating terrorism and intention to split the*  
214 *country, separatism. They forced me to sign the paper, to admit those so-called crimes. I*  
215 *was not the only one, every one experienced exactly the same pressure to sign the*  
216 *document. In order to make them sign, they would use torture.*

217 *Panel – In the camp, you explained it was an education camp, for education, can you say*  
218 *something about the nature of that education?*

219 OB – There is no such education. I did not need to be re-educated as I was director of a  
220 company. My father, who worked all his life for the government, who was detained and  
221 died in the camp, did not need to be re-educated.

222 *Panel – You said you were visited by Kazakh diplomats as a Kazakh citizen, they*  
223 *explained your rights, what rights did you have?*

224 OB – I was told that first, they cannot force me to work i.e. put me in forced labour. The  
225 second was a right to have medication if I was ill. The third right was getting 3 meals a  
226 day.

227 *Panel – Did you explain, to the diplomats, the nature of your treatment in the camp?*

228 OB – It was not possible to. Before I was taken to meet them, I was threatened - if I told  
229 them (the diplomats) about anything that happened and they removed all the chains and  
230 handcuffed me and took me.

231 *Panel – Did you experience any different treatment to the Uyghur detainees as a Kazakh*  
232 *citizen?*

233 OB – In the past it was slightly different, between the two. But after 2017, hardly any  
234 difference. Once I questioned it and said I am a Kazakh citizen - I was punished in a dark  
235 cell. I was locked up for solitary confinement for one month in a three square metre cell.

236 *Panel – When you came to be released, you were asked to sign conditions of release,*  
237 *what were the conditions?*

238 OB – The terms and conditions were that if I ever wanted to return to the country and visit  
239 my parents again, then I must not say anything about what I have experienced or  
240 witnessed during my detention.

241 *Panel – Your family stayed behind, could you explain the basis for your belief about their*  
242 *treatment as opposed to the Chinese government's version of the story?*

243 OB – After I was released, I started telling the truth to the world. My family suffered the  
244 consequences, my father died and my sister, brother and mother were all branded a  
245 terrorist family.

246 *Panel – How are you able to find this out?*

247 OB – I could not communicate with anyone. I was cut off.

248 *Panel – During the period of detention, can you describe the ill treatment and torture you*  
249 *have alleged in your statement?*

250 OB – It is extremely hard for me to talk about it. I don't even want to remind myself about  
251 it. But for the first four days and nights I was tortured intensely. In the beginning I was  
252 secured on the tiger chair and beaten up. I am showing these pictures from google, it was  
253 a similar cell. That was the basement of the police station. I was hung from the ceiling  
254 and then similar to this position – they used thin wire and other tools to hit my body all  
255 over including the soles of my feet. While experiencing such horror non-stop it makes you  
256 wonder whether those people are human.

257 *Panel – You heard, regarding the Karamay camps, that all government ethnic minorities*  
258 *were to have re-education and that this was a directive from the central government. What*  
259 *does that mean, can you explain some more?*

260 OB – Initially I thought what we had been put through was Chen Quanguo and therefore,  
261 I decided to go to Beijing to make a complaint. My father stopped me and said that without  
262 an order from Beijing, that would not happen.

263 *Panel – Can you explain the connection between Beijing and that region in northwest*  
264 *China? What did your father mean that the order came from Beijing to that region in*  
265 *question?*

266 OB – My father was a retired civil servant who worked for the government for over 30  
267 years so he knows the nature of the government. He has seen many official papers, and  
268 therefore he understands how the system cheats and lies. He knew that nothing could be  
269 achieved or implemented without an order from the central government in Beijing. I do  
270 not know how it works. We assume it is from the central government but how the central  
271 government works, we do not have any information.

272

**4 June 2021 (02:45:50 – 03:42:00)**273 **Muetter Iliqud**

274

275 MI – I am a researcher at the Uyghur Transitional Justice Database in Norway. I will be  
276 presenting on our annual report for 2021. The project was first funded on a voluntary  
277 basis in 2018 and later received funding more in 2019. We are building a comprehensive  
278 database to document the atrocities against Uyghur, and other populations, in 2017.  
279 Allowed the local government to transfer those influenced by extremism to camps. Our  
280 annual report 2021 examines the reality in East Turkestan by analysing the data.

281 The report was made to fit the tribunal's deadline but it will be updated in due course. We  
282 have tried to collect as much as information as possible. This is a general overview of the  
283 data so far. We have 232 in concentration camps, 257 in prison and 5,567 missing people.  
284 3000 are saved in our offline database. 2,567 people are connected to the online  
285 database. The chapter in our report is based on the Uyghur language - there would be a  
286 shift to memory only information in primary schools in Chinese only.

287 The Chinese state has arrested more than 100 Uyghur intellectuals who have navigated,  
288 art, literature and academia. According to the UTJD, 365 are registered as either missing,  
289 detained, sentenced since 2016. We have also included three statements in our database  
290 in our current annual report, first Abdurahman Imam Habdullah, an Uyghur linguist and  
291 researcher who previously worked in Xinjiang County. He participated in composing the  
292 Uyghur dictionary, and published academic papers. He was arrested in early 2019 for an  
293 alleged crime of terrorism. There is a statement from his son living in exile in Norway.

294 Yalqun Rozi is a public figure, journalist, writer and literature critic who was born in Atush  
295 in 1966 and graduated from Xinjiang University. He worked as an editor in publishing. He  
296 has written many books about Uyghur language, history. He was detained in October  
297 2017, soon after he returned from a trip abroad. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison.  
298 He was accused of attempting to incite separatism. A statement about him was provided  
299 by his son where he testifies for his father via video testimony which has been transcribed.  
300 We have included a chapter on July 5 2009 uprising, Uyghur peacefully took to the streets  
301 to protest against the Chinese governments arrest on Uyghurs working at a toy factory.

302 *Panel – Do you speak the language? How many languages do you speak?*

303 MI – Uyghur is my mother tongue but I speak 4 other languages, Mandarin. I was raised  
304 in Norway and I also speak English.

305 *Panel – How many of these people did you personally interview?*

306 MI – I can't give that estimate but over the past year I have been interviewing about 50-  
307 100 direct and indirect witnesses. I have also interpreted for some camp survivors.

308 *Panel – So many of these you have mentioned you have personally taken them.*  
309 *Presumably anyone can enter it?*

310 MI – We use several types of methodology – sometimes open source, information which  
311 is openly available, some via social media. Sometimes these are labelled as unconfirmed  
312 – many testifiers in many diasporas use this to express them. What we do when we collect  
313 this data is to try reach out to them and ask them to confirm the evidence of the testimony.  
314 At that point, the testimony is labelled as confirmed. Each one on the databases is verified  
315 then.

316 *Panel – In terms of protecting their identities, are they happy for them to be revealed?*

317 MI – We have two types of databases – offline and online. The online one, we get the  
318 testifiers' permission who can choose between the online and offline. The offline is not  
319 connected to the server so is 100% protected and only some of the team members can  
320 access this data. We cannot guarantee that no cyber-attacks occur but the testifiers are  
321 aware of the situation.

322 *Panel – So, are people frightened to come forward?*

323 MI – Yes, that is why we have 3000 offline databases. The offline are not made public.

324 *Panel – These data include both offline and online? So, it is fairly open. Have you cross*  
325 *referenced to other Uyghur databases?*

326 MI – We are aware of other databases but we do not cooperate with them so I cannot  
327 comment on their methodology or whether it overlaps.

328 *Panel – These data are not generalizable as they are self-selected. So, you can't use this*  
329 *data to say x number of intellectuals etc.?*

330 MI – We cannot generalize.

331 *Panel – For example, in table one, you have numbers for professionals but this is from*  
332 *this stage of the research?*

333 MI – The question was if they were actually attacking people who were professionals and  
334 intellectuals. We assume that this is happening. Our job is to investigate and we try and  
335 collect data and for other organizations who can use this information.

336 *Panel – This is a secondary database. How do we know the people you know were telling*  
337 *the truth? How do you check?*

338 MI – We ask them about the source of the information they are providing. For example, if  
339 they say families are detained in the camps, how do they know this? We ask how they  
340 know about their families.

341 *Panel – How do we know the pictures you use from google are true?*

342 MI – I was not too much involved in the data analysis part. We have a satellite expert  
343 doing this job. He refers to google earth and applications such as HERE WeGo and  
344 analyses them based on that. If the panel has questions on this basis, we can reach out  
345 to him as I was not involved in this.

346 *Panel – You were talking about the estimate on the number of people interned, they seem*  
347 *to be different. Is there any way you can check they are correct?*

348 MI – We refer to different references, the data presented is based on what we have. It is  
349 5567 in total, we do not have in total in references. It is not that everyone can come to us  
350 and report the data. Regarding villages and cities, 448 Uyghur women also have IUDs  
351 inserted after the first child, whilst in cities it – this does not fit with 451 it sort of contradicts  
352 it.

353 *Panel – Geoffrey is saying that you were asked to prepare a specific report and could*  
354 *answer more detailed questions in September. The questions you asked, were they*  
355 *reporting or were they in the camps themselves (table two)?*

356 MI – This was partly open source and several media had been reporting about this. We  
357 also based this on open source.

358 *Panel – So one person reporting could be reporting for four or five people?*

359 MI – Usually not, unless they are in a family. They report about four/five people – the  
360 religious scholar part would just be one person.

361 *Panel – When you say non-religious do you mean Muslim but not observing customs?*  
362 *And they are not practicing?*

363 MI – Not religious means not religious at all. Not practicing means they say they are  
364 Muslim, but not practicing daily. Practicing means they do pray 5 times a day for example.

365 *Panel – What is the difference between men and women in your figures here?*

366 MI – We do not have a gender differentiation right now.

367 *Panel – In terms of the separation, are they separated according to their age? And where*  
368 *do they go?*

369 MI – It differs. With most of them, one of their parents lives abroad and someone else  
370 testifies for their nephews. They know the parents are taken to the camps and the aunt  
371 knows the child was sent to the state-run orphanages.

372 *Panel – Do the parents know where the children are? Can they visit them?*

373 MI – No, as they are taken to state-run orphanages as the parents are in the camps or  
374 the parents are abroad.

375 *Panel – There are some single parents still working in the community, are they allowed*  
376 *in?*

377 MI – We do not have a report on that. If the parent is there, we do not collect data on  
378 them.

379 *Panel – The Tribunal needs to understand how much reliance we can place on your*  
380 *report. And so, I would like to ask what steps you have taken, or whether you have turned*  
381 *your mind to any confirmation bias that has taken place. In the narrative part, you rely on*  
382 *secondary literature which you cite thoroughly. Have you considered that you might be*  
383 *then studying open-source material and the satellite imagery with a particular outcome in*  
384 *the front of your mind or particular interpretative outcome. Have you taken any steps to*  
385 *minimize this? Have you thought what it might mean from the PRC?*

386 MI – No because we do have this confirmed and verified selection process. The open-  
387 source information is unconfirmed unless we reach out to that witness. We use our  
388 guidelines to label the testimony as confirmed, we cannot label as verified as this is  
389 challenging due to China shutting down information channels. We cannot verify, but can  
390 confirm, via testimony by conducting the interview. We do have other methodologies; it is  
391 not just open source. We have a UTJD registration form and we use the network of camps  
392 who visit the website and can fill out the online forms which is available in different  
393 languages. There are different variables, full names, ID number, year of birth, education,  
394 religious, travelled abroad, if family members abroad, if CCP party member. Everyone  
395 has exactly the same amount of information. Some are more detailed and some are less.  
396 For the past six months we have been providing the statements to the Uyghur Tribunal  
397 so you can see what it looks like. We have other methodologies such as  
398 telecommunications - we carry out interview via skype and phone calls which is part of  
399 our process. This data is usually more accurate than the online forms as we can directly  
400 interpret. We also sometimes do face to face interviews by travelling to different countries  
401 around Europe. In some cases, we have local volunteers in different countries which carry  
402 out the interviews based on our guidelines. We also interview on paper which we use due  
403 to increased harassment from the PRC, for those who are scared to use the online  
404 submission. So, people can also provide information on paper to protect privacy.

405 *Panel – Different number of people can have a different number of births. Is that central?*

406 MI – The format is the same for everyone. Anyone can fill out the information if they know.  
407 It is not required to fill out all variables.

408 *Panel – You say, when the AP in 2020 talked about deliberate measures of population*  
409 *having children, you say this is nothing new. Why does it take the journalists so long to*  
410 *come up with the truth?*

411 MI – It is not new as sterilization has been taking place for the last few decades. China  
412 has been implementing different policies, in different parts of east Turkestan. Some parts  
413 are stricter such as the northern parts are freer, vs the southern parts are stricter.  
414 According to our references they insert IUD and sterilization has been documented before  
415 the past five years, dating back to over 10 years ago in the countryside. There have  
416 always been different policies. Those counties are not very developed, from a  
417 technological standpoint, so it is not easy to communicate with those there. That is the  
418 reason why journalists have not been covering this.

419 *Panel – In the fact statements, we have come across number of coloured uniforms in the*  
420 *camps. Do you have a system of codifying them and who decides this?*

421 MI – The red and orange uniforms, according to Chinese state media, are used for forced  
422 labour and prisoners who worked in force labour. We combined this data with satellite  
423 images. We cannot state strongly this is a forced labour camp but we strongly suspect  
424 that this is one. We then submit this data to other investigators.

425 *Panel – Have you come across other colours or the number 54?*

426 MI – No.

427 *Panel – How do the authorities decide hair growth is a sign of extremism and at what*  
428 *length does it become a sign of extremism? Is it clear to Muslims in the region what is*  
429 *allowed and what is not?*

430 MI – That's not an easy question – keeping Qu'ran in home or wearing hijab are signs of  
431 extremism in the home. I did translate the entire list to English – you can see people are  
432 detained for different reasons such as having more than two children, or visit the mosque  
433 and these are signs of extremism. Nothing is explained.

434 *Panel – Can you explain the difference between concentration camps, prison and labour*  
435 *camps?*

436 MI – Concentration camps are usually referred to as vocational training centre and re-  
437 education facility. The prison, according to our data, refers to those who are already  
438 sentenced to prison, such as the man from the slide I showed before. He was interrogated  
439 for two years in a concentration camp. Then was taken to a sham trial, sentenced and  
440 moved to prison. Labour camps - we refer to the detention facilities from the construction  
441 courts which collect people and use them for forced labour.

442 *Panel – What is the actual physical differentiation between concentration camps and*  
443 *prison?*

444 MI – The re-education facilities they do not go through a judicial process. The prison ones,  
445 there is usually a judicial process carried out, maybe secretly, and then they obtain a  
446 document saying they are sentenced but without any lawyer or judicial support.

447 *Panel – The sources of information for the database, were they all diaspora?*

448 MI – Yes.

449 *Panel – Is there any guess as to how many Uyghurs there are in the overall diaspora*  
450 *around the world?*

451 MI – I can give an estimate for Europe which is about 15,000. I do not know about the  
452 rest.

453 *Panel – Out of the 15,000 in Europe, how many have you contacted?*

454 MI – I got involved in July 2020, I have contacted with more than 50-100 during the past  
455 year. Some other sources are based on open source, also the online registration form  
456 and other volunteers based in other countries (like Turkey and Istanbul) where there is a  
457 larger Uyghur community. It is those volunteers who take care of them there.

458 *Panel – The diaspora Uyghur in Europe and elsewhere are not united in a single body,*  
459 *and they don't necessarily share each other's information?*

460 MI – There are other databases, the Uyghur communities in the US - they testify.

461 *Panel – We repeat to provide this report on the basis of the work you have been able to*  
462 *do – it was provisional and interim. If we present questions to you after these hearings,*  
463 *can you answer by September?*

464 MI – Yes.

465

**4 June 2021 (3:43:10 – 4:12:00)**466 **Patigul Talip – UTFW-018**

467

468 *Counsel – You stated that your husband was imprisoned 30 years ago for teaching*  
469 *Arabic, the Quran and raising awareness about Uyghur issues. Could you clarify whether*  
470 *there were other reasons for his arrest?*

471 PT – No, there were no other reasons.

472 *Counsel – You said your daughter was arrested for failing to persuade you to return to*  
473 *China? Could you clarify whether this was the sole reason for her detention?*

474 PT – There was no other reason. Every time she would call us, she would ask for us to  
475 come back. As we did not return, she was arrested.

476 *Counsel – How do you know she was arrested?*

477 PT – My mother, who is 80 years old, told me on the phone. She knew she would be  
478 arrested for it, but she still told me about my daughter.

479 *Panel – Was 1996 the last time you were in China?*

480 PT – Yes.

481 *Panel – How old were your children in 1996?*

482 PT – My son was born in December 1990 and my daughter in March 1992. So, my son  
483 was probably about eight years old and my daughter about three years old.

484 *Panel – And that was the last time you saw them?*

485 PT – I arrived in Sweden in 2004. The last time was through a computer in 2005.

486 *Panel – Who was looking after your children after this?*

487 PT – My mother-in-law was looking after my children after we left.

488 *Panel – What did you do to try to have them leave the country?*

489 PT – I tried everything possible but I was unsuccessful. The last time they tried to board  
490 a plane to Sweden, they were taken off the plane.

491 *Panel – Who took them off the plane?*

492 PT – The Chinese police at the airport.

493 *Panel – So, they had permission to leave the country but they were stopped from boarding*  
494 *the plane to Sweden?*

495 PT – Yes, the passport was issued from Sweden, but sadly they were unable to leave.

496 *Panel – Your Mother-in-law was still looking after them?*

497 PT – Yes.

498 *Panel – What did they say regarding your children leaving the country?*

499 PT – They considered us to be a political family, and the condition was that one of us  
500 should return and only then they could leave.

501 *Panel – What did you fear if you returned to China?*

502 PT – My family discouraged me. My family told me that the police was visiting every  
503 month, asking if I wrote to them. I am actually illiterate but, because of this pressure, my  
504 family told me not to return. They said if I returned, I would be arrested and there would  
505 be severe consequences.

506 *Panel – Do you know if they have been detained in the last three years?*

507 PT – Mine and my husband's relatives have been detained. This is my daughter. She was  
508 arrested while she was pregnant.

509 *Panel – These images were sent to you?*

510 PT – Yes, by my mother, via the WeChat app on the phone.

511 *Panel – When your daughter was detained, what happened to her children?*

512 PT – I have no idea. I have no information since my daughter was arrested. I was cut-off  
513 from everyone. I don't know if my son and daughter are alive or dead.

514 *Panel – It was 2015, the last time you spoke to your mother?*

515 PT – That is right.

516 *Panel – You stated that your husband was tortured, can you talk about what exactly*  
517 *happened to him while he was detained and what are the effects of those treatments he*  
518 *received?*

519 PT – My husband is diabetic. Apart from that his general physical health is okay but his  
520 mental health is not.

521 *Panel – Did this start directly after his detention? Or could it be something else, like his*  
522 *aging?*

523 PT – Not his aging. When he was detained, he was constantly beaten on the head. This  
524 had consequences. I often need to remind him of things as he is very forgetful.

525 *Panel – You said that you, yourself have had some psychological issues and take*  
526 *medication, could you talk a bit more about that?*

527 PT – I am in poor health. I have a document from the Swedish government that says that  
528 I have 50% disability so I cannot work. I have to take antidepressants and medication to  
529 sleep.

530 *Panel – Since when have you been taking medication?*

531 PT – Since they forcibly took my daughter out of the plane. My condition deteriorated  
532 since I learnt that my daughter was arrested. Only mothers who have children can  
533 understand the pain that a mother would suffer in these conditions

534 *Panel – So, you are not in contact with any relative in China and as far as you know they*  
535 *may be detained, correct?*

536 PT – Yes, correct. None of them are outside.

537 *Panel – That is strictly because they are associated to you, correct?*

538 PT – Yes, correct.

539 *Panel – How many have been detained since 2014?*

540 PT – I believe, approximately, over 60 persons of all ages.

541 *Panel – Including your mother-in-law?*

542 PT – My mother-in-law died of natural causes. The other members of my family - I have  
543 no idea if they are alive or not.

544 *Panel – Do you know about your children’s education after you left? Did they learn*  
545 *Mandarin? Did they go to a boarding school?*

546 PT – As far as I know they went to school but I don’t know if they went to a Uyghur or a  
547 Chinese school.

548 *Panel – How did you manage to leave the country with all this surveillance?*

549 PT – My husband left the country illegally. I did as well, I paid money for someone else’s  
550 passport and used that.

551 *Panel – First, are you being harassed by Chinese authorities in Sweden? Secondly, are*  
552 *you able to practise your culture and are you teaching your children to speak Uyghur?*

553 PT – They couldn’t locate me because my name now, in Sweden, is different. My husband  
554 was harassed and only after he changed his telephone number, did the harassment stop.  
555 And for the second question: yes.

556 *Panel – Do you now have Swedish citizenship?*

557 PT – Yes, I hold a Swedish passport.

558 *Panel – Has the Swedish state done anything to help you? Maybe through their embassy*  
559 *in China, to help you locate your relatives?*

560 PT – We have not approached them because we know that the Chinese authorities will  
561 not cooperate with them.

562 *Panel – Do you want to add anything?*

563 PT – I just would like to thank you for listening to my sorrow.

564

565

**4 June 2021 (5:02:25 – 6:15:30)**566 **Sayragul Sauytbay (UTFW-001)**

567

568 *Counsel – Were you only in one potential camp? And if so, which one?*569 SS – I came here regardless of the pressure of the communist party to voice the suffering  
570 of millions who could not testify. Thank you for your question: I taught in one camp.571 *Counsel – Are you able to give the name of the camp?*572 SS – I don't know the name of the camp because when I was taken there, and out, I had  
573 a black hood over my head. It was located in the Mongolkure County [Zhaosu County] in  
574 the Ili Kazakh autonomous region.575 *Counsel – What was the ethnicity of the detainees?*

576 SS – Those detained there were Kazakh, Uyghurs, Kyrgyz and other groups.

577 *Counsel – Would you be able to say the proportion of each group among detainees?*578 SS – In the ethnic cleansing policies of the Chinese government in the region, they target  
579 the majority ethnic group. The area I come from is mainly populated by Kazakhs, therefore  
580 there were more Kazakhs.581 *Counsel – You stated that you handled medical documentation, is that correct? What was  
582 the name of this documentation?*583 SS – Apart from teaching in the camp, I had to accept any work allocated to me and I  
584 could not refuse. There were times I was asked to go check the files of the detainees so  
585 I was able to read some of their files. The medical records contained all the details of the  
586 women's health - from blood type, medical tests, how many children they had, details  
587 about childbirth and many other details like what diseases they may have.588 *Counsel – Was there a reason for her to see this sort of documentation, as a teacher?*589 SS – As I explained earlier, although was appointed as a teacher, I had to do any task  
590 given to me. The order was not to read the files in detail, my job was simply to categorise  
591 those files.

592 *Counsel – The book you provided us with notably mentions a document concerning CCP*  
593 *plans in respect to Uyghurs and other minorities, can you tell us more?*

594 SS – Yes this is very important. The document that I saw came from Beijing. It is  
595 classified. It reveals the three steps of the CCP's plan. It first dictates that, between 2014  
596 to 2025, all Uyghurs, Kazakhs and others must be completely assimilated and their  
597 identity as a group must be eliminated. The second step is to completely conquer the  
598 neighbouring countries between 2025 and 2035. These countries must follow instructions  
599 from the Chinese. The third point is to achieve the level of first superpower in the world.

600 *Counsel – Do you know who this document was addressed to?*

601 SS – When they brought these documents into the camp, the plan was not to give this  
602 confidential document to the detainees - only the most basic ideas were to be passed on  
603 to detainees. The purpose was for the detainees to eventually be brainwashed and to  
604 believe that there is no other option for them, besides accepting that China will be ruling  
605 the world in the end.

606 *Counsel – Is there a reason why this confidential document was not mentioned in your*  
607 *witness statement?*

608 SS – The statement that you have was based on previous interviews. When you sent it, I  
609 and my child were in very poor health so I did not have the opportunity to add to it. I  
610 actually contacted Rahima and told her that I had additional information, so I am here  
611 now.

612 *Panel – I noticed that your statement runs parallel to your account in your book. You recall*  
613 *the harassment, in 2017, following your husband leaving China for Kazakhstan. You*  
614 *report being taken to the police station in the middle of the night, how often did that*  
615 *happen?*

616 SS – It started in January 2017. It became frequent. Sometimes once a month, sometimes  
617 once every two weeks. Because my family was living in Kazakhstan, I was questioned  
618 repeatedly. They forced me to bring my family back from Kazakhstan.

619 *Panel – Where did they take you? Where was the police station?*

620 SS – There were different ones. Some were local, some were further away.

621 *Panel – Do you know who ordered your interrogation?*

622 SS – I don't know exactly where the order came from but the CCP, in order to achieve its  
623 evil plan, have branded 26 countries as "countries of our enemies." Kazakhstan was one  
624 of these 26 countries so, anyone with connection with or who travelled to this country,  
625 was considered suspicious.

626 *Panel – When in 2017 were you taken to the camp to teach?*

627 SS – It was in November 2017.

628 *Panel – What were you required to teach?*

629 SS – The contents of the course were prepared by the officials in charge of the camp.  
630 The content included the 90<sup>th</sup> Congress, the Chinese policies, the mainstream culture of  
631 the Chinese (e.g. the funeral process etc). So, there were many different contents of  
632 government policy.

633 *Panel – What was the goal of this teaching?*

634 SS – Their aim is to completely assimilate and convert the local ethnic groups, to bring  
635 them into the main Han population using brainwashing policies.

636 *Panel – You mentioned a directive against people who wear leather shoes and people  
637 who wear straw shoes, can you explain?*

638 SS – There were clear instructions to deal first with those who wear straw shoes, and  
639 those who wear leather shoes next. Those who wear straw shoes are the ordinary, simple  
640 citizens, while those who wear leather shoes are people from higher social classes.

641 *Panel – Can you tell us if you were treated differently from the detainees? And how  
642 differently?*

643 SS – I was a detainee there. The difference was that I had my own room where I could  
644 sleep and I did not have to wear shackles and chains.

645 *Panel – You were a member of the CCP as well, did that make a difference in your*  
646 *treatment?*

647 SS – No because, prior to that, they had already categorised my family as suspicious or  
648 dangerous. According to the Chinese policy documents, all the local people in one region  
649 must be categorised within three groups: first, the “dangerous” people, then “medium”,  
650 and the “safe” people. As my family was living in Kazakhstan, they were categorised as  
651 dangerous.

652 *Panel – Did other detainees also know their category? Why they were being detained?*

653 SS – To achieve their goal, the CCP listed 70 wrongdoings or crimes so all the people  
654 detained in the camp, were accused of one or several of these 70 wrongdoings.

655 *Panel – And they knew which crime they were accused of?*

656 SS – Yes, after arriving there they were told what their crime was. What is really heart  
657 breaking is that they all go through torture and methods in order for them to accept that  
658 they did those things.

659 *Panel – Regarding that classified document, can you explain what was the purpose of*  
660 *showing you that document?*

661 SS – According to the rule, one person must receive the document and sign it. If that  
662 person reveals the content, they face death. I believe that they wanted to persecute me  
663 after I was released from the camp. I believe they might have pre-planned this.

664 *Panel – You gave lots of details about the document in your book. Do you recall which*  
665 *arm of the Chinese state this document came from? Which authority?*

666 SS – The information came from the central government and it was signed.

667 *Panel – Do you remember the name of the signature?*

668 SS – I do not remember. I was watched and I did not have much time.

669 *Panel – How often did rape or sexual violence happen? Did it happen every night?*

670 SS – Yes. The women faced rape and sexual assault on a regular basis.

671 *Panel – Where did this happen?*

672 SS – The police are given unlimited power by Beijing therefore, they can do whatever  
673 they want. They can pick the girls that they like, take them out at night, and then they  
674 bring them back to their cell the next day.

675 *Panel – You described the rape of a young girl in front of a hundred persons or so and  
676 said it seemed planned. Do you know who ordered this?*

677 SS – I do not know who planned this. But if you look at how it happened, you see it was  
678 definitely planned.

679 *Panel – Do you think the people in the room were chosen to watch? Who did they choose?*

680 SS – I do not know who. I was ordered to go to that hall. There are different layers of  
681 management within the camp so every person has their own responsibilities.

682 *Panel – Can you describe what a Black Room is?*

683 SS – In the camps there are cameras everywhere so all the detainees' movements are  
684 watched. The black room is the only room without cameras because the room was  
685 designed for the torture of detainees - that is its purpose. There are many tools of torture  
686 displayed in the room. During my lesson, guards would sometimes choose detainees to  
687 punish and would drag them out of the class. We could hear their screams and them  
688 begging for help from that room. After they received severe injuries, they would be taken  
689 out and thrown on the floor. Some never returned. I suspect that they must have died,  
690 tortured to death. There are two very strict rules: First, no one should be allowed to  
691 escape, and second, no one should see the detainees' dead body.

692 *Panel – When you were taken to the black room, what were the reasons for you being  
693 taken there?*

694 SS – There are many different rules, strict rules in the camp. You are not allowed to cry,  
695 to smile, let alone talk to others. Detainees are taken away and they disappear. Their  
696 number decreased gradually. Then they would bring new detainees to replace them. On  
697 one occasion, as they brought new detainees, there was an old Kazakh lady who was

698 detained. She wasn't even given adequate clothes. She came to me, hugged me and  
699 pleaded for help saying: "I am innocent, please help me." For that, I was punished.

700 *Panel – I understand you are a trained doctor as well as a teacher, could you briefly tell*  
701 *us why they were testing people? And why they were so interested in reproductive health?*

702 SS – I believe the goal was to make sure that all the women became infertile. I also  
703 believe they wanted to check which were the healthy ones for forced labour and for organ  
704 harvesting purposes. Their form said which detainees were healthy and which weren't.

705 *Panel – Then you left the camp, please tell us briefly how you left the camp. Were you*  
706 *dismissed?*

707 SS – Exactly the same way I was taken there. With a black hood over my head, I was  
708 driven out and told to resume my job.

709 *Panel – You were chosen to do an important role in the camps, yet your family was*  
710 *classified as "dangerous." Why do you think they chose you for this role?*

711 SS – The reason was that I speak Chinese very well, as well as other languages like  
712 Uyghur, as well as my mother tongue. In my view, they had a plan to get rid of me, I think  
713 it was part of their plan.

714 *Panel – You mentioned 70 offenses for which people are taken to camps, how many of*  
715 *these are related to terrorism?*

716 SS – Those wrongdoings are pure accusations pre-planned by the Chinese government.  
717 The terror offences are related to religious practise: praying, going to the mosque, having  
718 a beard, encouraging children to practise religion, etc. In the past, when they built  
719 mosques, the state encouraged people to build these. Later they would be criminalised  
720 for these activities.

721 *Panel – You said Muslims were served pork on Fridays? Can you clarify what that means*  
722 *and how often that happen?*

723 SS – There were many different steps to check whether we were reformed, if we had  
724 given up our identity. They can test us by forcing us to eat pork.

725 *Panel – What does that mean for those of Muslim identity? They have to renounce their*  
726 *religion?*

727 SS – If they don't go against the orders and eat the pork, it prevents further punishment.

728 *Panel – Can you clarify who the higher officials were in the camps?*

729 SS – There are different categories of [cadres], responsible for various different tasks.  
730 The highest-level officials ordered the low-level officials, and then the police would  
731 implement and enforce these rules.

732 *Panel – What were the officials and police in the camp hoping to achieve with torture?*  
733 *What was their goal?*

734 SS – The final goal is not the detainee himself or herself, it is to bring more people to the  
735 camps, especially the detainees' relatives.

736 *Panel – What diseases were prevalent in the camps? Were there sexually transmitted*  
737 *diseases?*

738 SS – People suffered from various health conditions, most common ones were  
739 constipation and haemorrhoids, as well as viral infections. Among the detainees, some  
740 even had brain operations but were still brought to the camp, or kidney infections,  
741 diabetes.

742 *Panel – You stated that women were given regularly given injections or tablets, do you*  
743 *know what they were for?*

744 SS – They were destroying our ability to have children. They were also destroying our  
745 health.

746 *Panel – These torture instruments are mentioned in your statement: the electric chair, an*  
747 *iron rod, many tools and a sword-like tool with a sharp end, correct?*

748 SS – Yes.

749 *Panel – In the gangrape, all policemen, while raping, were masked, correct?*

750 SS – Yes.

751 *Panel – The one hundred witnesses of the gang rape were being tested to see if they had*  
752 *renounced their humanity, correct?*

753 SS – Yes.

754 *Panel – Is there anything else that you wish to tell us?*

755 SS – Thank you for giving me this opportunity. Since I left for Kazakhstan, I have been  
756 harassed and threatened constantly. Even yesterday, I was told that they have the power  
757 to take me back. I was told on the phone. It came from a Chinese number; I requested  
758 them to switch to a video call but they didn't.

759

760 **4 June 2021 (06:15:40 – 07:25:30)**

761 **Dolkun Isa– UTFW-021**

762

763 *Counsel – Would you briefly explain your student activities?*

764 DI – Thank you for inviting me as a witness to the tribunal. I had studied in Xinjiang  
765 University from 1984-1988. As I studied at university, I witnessed various forms of  
766 discrimination and government oppression and that raised, in my mind, a lot of questions.  
767 There was a political study class each Wednesday and we used to study Chinese policy  
768 and constitution. I realised nearly 70-85% in East Turkestan was Uyghur and Kazakh  
769 were left illiterate on purpose. And, by doing so, they knew people without a proper  
770 education and awareness would not have the power to demand their rights or exercise  
771 them. We established a student union focused on science and culture – it was a legal  
772 organisation. The purpose of this organisation was to dispatch the university's students  
773 to corners of East Turkestan to educate them, which was free. We found a poster on the  
774 school wall which said when: we return to Xinjiang, make the males slaves and the women  
775 prostitutes. We reported this poster to the university and demanded the university's  
776 administration come to punish those responsible. Our demands were left unanswered.

777 *Counsel – Were you ever arrested as a result of this label as ‘terrorist’?*

778 DI – After I came to Germany in 1996, the Chinese government issued. I was detained in  
779 Korea airport, detained in Turkey, U.S. and detained in Italy in 2017.

780 *Counsel – You were accused of being involved in the East Turkestan Islamic Movement,*  
781 *which was labelled a terrorist organisation, were you ever involved with them?*

782 DI – I have not heard of that organisation and I do not know the name of that organisation.

783 *Counsel – Would you like to make a personal statement about the difficulties your family*  
784 *has faced as a result of your activities?*

785 DI – I invited my family to come and join me in Germany but the Chinese government  
786 refuse to issue passports to them or my relatives. In January 2020, through the Chinese  
787 media Global Times, I found out that my father also passed away. On May 28, I became  
788 aware that my brother was sentenced to life imprisonment. My brother, Hushtar Isa, was  
789 sentenced to 25 years imprisonment and another report tells of 17 years. There is no way  
790 to verify which statement is correct. I have no idea how many of my family are in  
791 concentration camps or are alive.

792 *Panel – You stated that the student organisation’s main aim was bringing enlightenment*  
793 *to rural areas, did it include to raise political awareness or inspire political action and try*  
794 *expand separatist ideology?*

795 DI – The basic purpose of the student union was to help illiterate people to gain the skill  
796 of literacy. It was also, at that time, highly criminal according to the central government.  
797 There was no political or separatism as, at that time, it was 70-80% needed education  
798 which the government did not provide.

799 *Panel – At the time you were organising the protest at university, did this interfere with*  
800 *your academic attainment? Did failure to achieve academically contribute to your*  
801 *expulsion?*

802 DI – It was a summer holiday. After I was expelled, I could not continue my education. It  
803 was not about my study or academic practice that contributed this, it was my activism that  
804 became the primary reason for the expulsion. I could not continue my academic dream.

805 *Panel – Were the protests going on at this university supported by other student*  
806 *organisations or protests around Xinjiang? Why did you set up a restaurant in 1992 in*  
807 *Beijing?*

808 DI – Initially the government gave the impression that it was ok to open a language class  
809 to teach English, Russian and other foreign languages in my home town of Aksu. When I  
810 saw no hope of doing this I came to Beijing. I studied English and Turkish but there was  
811 no possibility for me to gain employment. To sustain my life, I decided to open a  
812 restaurant.

813 *Panel – What were the aims of the East Turkestan Students-Youth organisation you*  
814 *founded in Turkey?*

815 DI – There were 60-70 Uyghur students, most of whom were at the same time were part  
816 of the student's movement. They were my school mates from the university. The aim to  
817 form this organisation was, firstly to bring all of us together and at the same time, use our  
818 resources to generate public awareness in Turkey about what was going on to Uyghurs  
819 which involved seminars and lectures. That was the basic purpose of the organisation.

820 *Panel – At a later date you were elected president of the World Uyghur Congress, what*  
821 *were you known for to get elected?*

822 DI – Before establishing the WUC in 1995 when I was in Turkey I went to Almaty,  
823 Kazakhstan and had the first world Uyghur cultural day. Because there was a sizeable  
824 group of Uyghurs in Europe, a few in the US. Then were a few Uyghurs in the west, there  
825 was a small aim for Uyghur youth to have a platform. Uyghurs from 8 countries  
826 participated in this event. However, after the first day, China interfered in the event thus  
827 we did not have too much discussion. In 1996, I came to Munich and then I realised there  
828 was no awareness about the Uyghur situation in Germany either. In 1996 using our limited  
829 resources we represented the lack of Uyghur youth to come together in Germany to have  
830 a discussion and, after this, we decided to form the Uyghur Youth Congress.

831 *Panel – How can you be sure the denouncement by yourself, by your sister and sister-in-*  
832 *law were all due to duress by the Chinese authorities? Were either of your brothers*  
833 *politically active?*

834 DI – Neither of my brothers were politically active. It was impossible as, after I left China,  
835 the Chinese government kept my whole family under surveillance as such, they were  
836 afraid to go anywhere. They were afraid that if my family were visited, they would get in  
837 trouble. There was 24/7 surveillance, so it was not possible for them to do anything  
838 political. It was not allowed.

839 *Panel – Apart from China, which other countries have supported the claim that you are a*  
840 *terrorist?*

841 DI – There were countries which, under Chinese pressure, stopped me from entering but  
842 never issued anything or accused me with that label. Only China labelled me with it. Some  
843 countries were stricter due to Chinese pressure. Yesterday, the Chinese government  
844 accused me of terrorism about putting forward any evidence. It is not new for me. After I  
845 got the label of terrorist in 2003, the German authorities asked them to back up the  
846 evidence that I was a terrorist, to which they failed to reproduce any evidence.

847 *Panel – Can the tribunal assume that when you were detained under the Interpol red*  
848 *notice in Switzerland, South Korea, Italy and the US, that you were released promptly on*  
849 *the grounds that there were no grounds to detain you further?*

850 DI – Yes, it was not based on fact, just Chinese allegations.

851

852

**4 June 2021 (07:40:50 – 08:43:30)**853 **Sean Roberts**

854

855 *Counsel – Can you please provide us with an overview of your statement?*

856 SR – I am aware that the panel has been provided with a copy of my latest book and I  
857 will make some particular comments that come from the research that went into my book,  
858 today. I wanted to start by citing Raphael Lemkin's original articulation of the term  
859 'genocide', from his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* published in 1944. He writes: "By  
860 genocide we mean the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group...Generally speaking  
861 'genocide' does not mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when  
862 accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended, rather, to signify  
863 a coordinated plan of actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life  
864 of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves...Genocide is  
865 directed against a national group as an entity, and the actions involved are directed  
866 against individuals, not in their individual capacity, but as members of the national group."  
867 I cite Raphael Lemkin's definition because I think it is fairly germane to what is happening  
868 to the Uyghurs and other related peoples in the Uyghur region of China today.

869 In my book, I refer to what is happening as 'cultural genocide.' This is an academic term.  
870 It is not a legal term and it is not meant to take any stance on whether what is happening  
871 should be determined as genocide by international law. I adopted this term primarily to  
872 highlight the similarities between the situation of Uyghurs and the faith of indigenous  
873 peoples elsewhere in the face of settler colonialism historically because, that is when pure  
874 cultural genocide is often used, in that context, and I think that context is the most  
875 appropriate to understand the Uyghur situation. In the sense of cultural genocide around  
876 settler colonialization and removal of indigenous peoples, the aim is to neutralise the  
877 indigenous peoples by breaking their solidarity, severing their connection to the land,  
878 destroying their culture and replacing it with culture of the dominant people, and reducing  
879 their demographic footprint on the territory of their homeland to make way for  
880 development in settlement.

881 The reasons for my interpretation are that there is a gradual historical process of settler  
882 colonialization of the Uyghur homeland by modern China. We have to understand this as  
883 taking place over time, accelerating with the founding of the PRC but lacking urgency for  
884 quite some time - for as long as the state saw the region as a frontier and buffer zone,  
885 gaining intensity since the 1990s as the zone become viewed as a zone for opportunity  
886 in China's export-oriented economy. I would suggest it becomes imminent with the  
887 declaration of the Belt and Road initiative in 2013, given that this region is particularly  
888 important to the Belt and Road initiative.

889 The other aspect of my interpretation relates to the policies that have been employed  
890 against Uyghurs and other indigenous peoples since 2017 in the Uyghur region. I see  
891 these policies as mutually reinforcing and intent on accomplishing what Raphael Lemkin  
892 characterises as the two stages of genocide. The first stage is to destroy the national  
893 pattern of the oppressed and second, is imposing the national pattern of the oppressors.  
894 So, we see the mass internment and the imprisonment, accompanied by mass  
895 surveillance, basically serving to silence local people and ensure their compliance with  
896 other policies that are aimed at both, transforming their identities as peoples and territory  
897 of their homeland. This includes policies of development aimed at transforming the region,  
898 assimilation policies erasing local culture and replacing it with Han culture and I think most  
899 importantly, policies aimed at reducing their population density and demographic footprint  
900 in the region to allow for unfettered development and settlement.

901 Let me start with the historical gradual settler colonialism that we witness. You can see  
902 the region, that is the Uyghur homeland, is very much on the periphery of the PRC and  
903 has been of the periphery of all modern states in China but is also connected to a lot of  
904 other countries to the West and South-West that would have been influential and so a key  
905 to the kind of colonialization of this area, has been the colonial metropolises' understanding  
906 of the region as a frontier either to keep other influences out or as a bridge to protect  
907 China's influence externally.

908 To briefly characterise the initiation of this region's relationship with modern China, we  
909 can go back to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the Qing Empire, the last empire based in China  
910 conquered this area controlled it as a dependency (rather than a colony) for around 100

911 years. After a century, local revolts evolved in the 1860s that expelled Qing rule from the  
912 region but a decade later the Qing Empire returned and established control and made it  
913 a region of the empire in 1884, calling it “Xinjiang” or new territory. At the same time, it  
914 institutes a colonial regime with Han settlement and assimilating local people. However,  
915 this endeavour largely fails and falls apart in 1911. Republican China controls through  
916 Han governors, little oversight from the central government and in fact the Soviet Union  
917 has as much, if not more, influence on the region than does the Chinese state. That’s  
918 particularly true of the 1930s and 1940s.

919 The last point I want to make here is that in the 1930s and 1940s, we see the  
920 establishment of two regional independent proto states, the Eastern Turkestan Republic  
921 and the second one is supported by the Soviet Union. The leadership of the two different  
922 republics, the first leadership had a more Islamic character and the second republic was  
923 more influenced by Soviet socialism. But it is important to note that both of these republics  
924 were based very much on anti-colonialism ideology. The idea that this was a region where  
925 the Uyghurs and other indigenous Turkic Muslims, that it was their homeland and that it  
926 was occupied by China.

927 Talking about the first 40 years of PRC rule, I believe there was a missed opportunity for  
928 de-colonialization between China and this region. At the same time, there are failed  
929 attempts at assimilating the region and integrating it. Initially PRC showed some promise  
930 in de-colonialising this relationship. Of course, they created the Xinjiang Uyghurs  
931 Autonomous Region although they stopped short of giving it any allowance for cessation  
932 or any real political autonomy based on the majority ethnic group. At the same time, by  
933 the late 1950s and in the 1960s and 1970s, you see a lot of attempts of assimilation,  
934 especially during the cultural revolution. That includes: settlement development and  
935 assimilation attempts and there are some successes, in some sense, in relation to  
936 demographic changes. By 1980s, nearly 40% of the population is Han but they are mostly  
937 isolated in the Northern region and do not penetrate the Uyghur majority South and I think  
938 that the persistent view of this region is as a frontier buffer zone limiting the impact of  
939 assimilation measures.

940 Thus, in the 1980s, once the cultural revolution ends, there is a second opportunity for  
941 decolonisation and we see increased religious and cultural freedoms, even discussions  
942 of political autonomy but this is cut short by two tendencies becoming important in  
943 subsequent years and that is the importance of developing the region and by increased  
944 fears of ethnic autonomy. That brings us to the reform period which really is the precursor  
945 to where we are today. Economic reforms in China changes the utility of the region from  
946 a frontier and buffer zone, to a location for economic growth and international trade  
947 bringing an impetus for settlement and development. But, that happens at the same time  
948 in the 1990s when the Soviet Union fell and that China could go a similar way dissolving  
949 into independent separate nation states.

950 Particularly in the Uyghur region, we see (in the 1990s and early 2000s) accelerated effort  
951 at development, in settlements and exerting control over the Uyghur population by  
952 suppressing any expression that hinted at a desire for more self-determination. First  
953 branded as separatism, then terrorism. In short, this situation initiated, increased settler  
954 colonialism of the Uyghur homeland that intensified throughout 1990s and first decade of  
955 2000s. I think there is a major turning point in 2009, when ethnic riots break out in the  
956 capital of the region Urumqi. I view these riots as emerging from the tensions of state-led  
957 development and migration of Han to the region. With Xi Jinping in power and the  
958 announcement of the Belt and Road initiative, there is simultaneously less tolerance for  
959 resistance and more urgency for development and settlement.

960 This process finally intensifies in the declaration of the “People’s War on Terror” through  
961 extensive suppression of religion and securitisation and that really serves the precursor  
962 to the period we see since 2017, which I view as aiming to destroy the Uyghur and related  
963 indigenous nations of the region. Since 2017, we have seen mutually reinforcing policies  
964 in place that appear aimed at facilitating the regions development and settlement by side  
965 lining the indigenous peoples of the region, ensuring they cannot resist the developments,  
966 pacifying them, displaying them and essentially marginalising them. The intent, I believe,  
967 is to destroy their identity and solidarity and to reduce their demographic footprint to allow  
968 for the unfettered transformation and settler colonization of the region.

969 While I think the motivations have more to do with state plans for the region, the result is  
970 destruction of indigenous nations and cultures. That brings me to the complex of policies.  
971 It is important to understand what happened since 2017. It can look like a lot of separate  
972 atrocities but in fact, they are very much mutually reinforcing and have very targeted  
973 results. The first part is, that most people are aware of, is the mass internment coupled  
974 with mass surveillance. I see this, more than anything, as an attempt to completely  
975 immobilise the indigenous population of this region. It creates an atmosphere of fear  
976 which essentially ensures that all residents that are not in such institutions, are compliant  
977 with whatever other policies the state undertakes. So the state, at the same time as  
978 having this mass internment and the immobilisation of resistance, we see the state  
979 transforming the landscape, destroying mosques and holy shrines, turning historical  
980 monuments into tourist sights and essentially creating urban spaces that are more like  
981 the generic open spaces of China than have no connection to the local culture or history.  
982 This serves to sever the connection between the indigenous peoples and this region,  
983 and essentially erases their legacy.

984 There is also, what I term, cultural replacement, which Lemkin talks about in terms of the  
985 two stages of genocide; destroying the cultural pattern of the oppressed and replacing it  
986 with that of the oppressor. There are lots of different ways in which this is happening. It  
987 happens in the internment centres, it happens in the residential labour programmes but it  
988 also happens in villages, creating flag raising ceremonies and loyalty services and  
989 political education courses in the evenings. It happens through projects like a programme  
990 encouraging inter-ethnic marriage, which essentially encourages Han men to come to the  
991 region and marry Uyghur or other indigenous women. Per the regulations of the region, it  
992 is criminalised to turn down a hand in marriage of someone from a different ethnic group  
993 or religion.

994 The other phenomena I'd like to mention is the boarding schools that have proliferated in  
995 the region in recent years. This is particularly affecting families and children that are  
996 separated from their parents because their parents are either in internment or in prison  
997 or residential labour programmes. This provides the opportunity to socialise these  
998 children in a completely state dictated Han cultural milieu and Chinese linguistic milieu.

999 The last point is; reducing Uyghur population density and the population density of other  
1000 indigenous peoples in this region, really points to the motivations of the state. We think of  
1001 this in terms of the native Americans, the removal of the native Americans, we see a  
1002 removal of this indigenous population part through coercive birth control programmes that  
1003 have come to light recently. But also, through these residential labour programmes that  
1004 have come to light over the last year and where we see both former internees and rural  
1005 residents being sent to factories framed as a poverty alleviation programme. This  
1006 programme moves local peoples either to residential factories in the region or, more  
1007 importantly, to residential factories throughout China where they have limited movement  
1008 and can be controlled.

1009 The impact of these policies, when we look at them together as mutually reinforcing their  
1010 intent appears very clear. It is to dismantle the collective identity and actions of indigenous  
1011 peoples, to transform their homeland and erase their historical connection to it, to destroy  
1012 core elements of their social capital and cultural expression while replacing them with  
1013 those of the dominant Han and to reduce their demographic footprint in the region through  
1014 large-scale labour transfers to residential factories and forced sterilisation and birth  
1015 control.

1016 *Counsel – I have two questions – interrelated, so I will ask them together. In your opinion,*  
1017 *what triggered the massive reaction of the PRC towards the Uyghurs in and around 2017*  
1018 *bearing in mind that by that time, the general population had become more timid and, to*  
1019 *a large extent, compliant. There was no further resistance as such and very little incidents*  
1020 *reported. Another related question is: why, in your opinion, the PRC takes on the heavy*  
1021 *cost of building massive detention camps, monitoring them constantly, creating*  
1022 *international outrage and resentment for seemingly little gain in relation to a small*  
1023 *proportion of its population.*

1024 SR – I think my answer is also interrelated in some ways. I think one problem and that's  
1025 often very difficult to define is the actions of states in a singular way. I think the turn that  
1026 happens is a perfect storm effect. We do have a history of violent resistance happening  
1027 in 2014/15. Then we also have the urgency of the Belt and Road initiative. We also have  
1028 Xi Jinping's authoritarian term and its influence on the party, which includes a policy of

1029 trying to change the concept of ethnic minority and ethnic identity in China and push an  
1030 idea of a unified Chinese nation. I think these things all come together at once. Now, why  
1031 the Chinese government would do this to great cost is another question and I think that,  
1032 in my mind, it is like reading tea leaves to understand the actions of a state. I think the  
1033 Chinese Communist Party in its present configuration believes that it can get away with  
1034 it. It felt that it was strong enough globally that it would not have much push back from  
1035 the international community and I think the jury is still out as to whether they were right or  
1036 not.

1037 *Panel – Can you elaborate for those who might not be familiar with the literature on settler*  
1038 *colonialism - what you mean with that analogy? If you could specify, for example, because*  
1039 *it is that a place that is already a part of modern China might still be a target of settler*  
1040 *colonialism.*

1041 SR – This is something that I make reference to in my book actually. It was a question  
1042 that had arisen for me as well. As I started to look at other examples, I think it is not very  
1043 unique because we see in the case of the Americans, for example. We don't start to see  
1044 a removal of native Americans until the colonists need more land. What drives the push  
1045 to remove indigenous peoples from the equation is economic growth. It is something that  
1046 we saw in the nineteenth century and maybe the early twentieth century and I think it's a  
1047 question that faces the international community now - is that kind of behaviour still  
1048 acceptable in the twenty-first century? If we look at the native Americans, it is not until the  
1049 1820s or 1830s that we really start to see a push to remove them partially from the East  
1050 and the push goes on into the 1930s. It is not usually an immediate transition. It is also  
1051 important to understand this distinction between frontier and zone of settlement. For a  
1052 long time the Chinese state viewed this area as a buffer zone; an area to keep out external  
1053 forces and it really only is in the 1990s where we see the Chinese government thinking  
1054 about making this a forepart of its state and a forepart of its national engagement.

1055 *Panel – Is there a material difference between settler colonialism and what happened in*  
1056 *the region, for example in the 1990s, because you elaborate on how in the 1990s there*  
1057 *was a liberalisation and a flourishing of culture. That is not true is it with settler colonialism*

1058 *where we stand? It is either marginalisation or attack? How do you explain this period of*  
1059 *liberalisation and cultural flourishing?*

1060 SR – I think this information should not be seen as zero sum. This region could be  
1061 integrated into China, even today, in a way that would be considerate of the populations.  
1062 The issue gets down to a degree of where the Chinese government has given up on trying  
1063 to integrate the indigenous on their own terms. Most of the 1990s, up to almost 2017,  
1064 state strategy in the region was, what I call “carrot and stick” - there were incentives to  
1065 assimilate, like going to China to study and work. At the same time, there was a massive  
1066 clamp down and suppression of religion and any kind of political voices in the region.  
1067 Somewhat successful, some of the people who got caught outside of China after 2017  
1068 were actually from the Uyghur and Kazakh elite. They were studying abroad and their  
1069 parents and themselves had really bought into the Chinese system, learned the Chinese  
1070 language, went to Chinese schools, parents were party members and there is almost a  
1071 switch then happens. I would say, starting in late 2016 where the state starts to target  
1072 these ethnic groups at large and it begins very much like to look like a situation of settler  
1073 colonialism.

1074 *Panel – Do you discern that there is a bifurcated policy in relation to assimilation? My*  
1075 *reading of your report seems to suggest that, to some extent, there has been a dual policy*  
1076 *in which there is an urban assimilation process, almost like an assimilated class, and a*  
1077 *rural underclass – is this true in the present day? And if so, how does that inform our*  
1078 *analysis as a Tribunal. Should we be alert to urban rural policies and practices, which are*  
1079 *quite different from another?*

1080 SR – I think this was the shocking part of the change that happened late 2016/ 2017. Up  
1081 to that time that was pretty much the case. I mentioned earlier a lot of the inroads that the  
1082 Chinese Communist Party had built in the North and there was a lot of development in  
1083 the North and that region was connected by rail to Beijing and those occasions where  
1084 there was more assimilation, more Uyghurs, Kazakhs and other ethnic groups were  
1085 becoming part of China, speaking the Chinese language on a regular basis - maybe better  
1086 than their own language. In the South, which really was from the Chinese perspective an  
1087 area that they had not penetrated and they also saw it as an area where the rural

1088 population was particularly religious. I think that a lot of what the state is trying to do now  
1089 is to colonise that area, that never really has been colonised to a large extent. It began  
1090 by developing the city of Kashgar in the earlier 2000s but it has also gone on to develop  
1091 cities alongside. I think they want to urbanise the entire region to a certain degree and  
1092 get rid of villages and rural population that they felt were an obstacle to state aim.

1093 *Panel – What are the implications of the region being a frontier since 1949 - how does its*  
1094 *distance from Beijing impact state capacity and reach, and how does it impact*  
1095 *governance? What I want us to understand is, to what extent is there tolerated impunity*  
1096 *and to what extent is there a direct strong government line which can be shown and*  
1097 *demonstrated?*

1098 SR – It probably depends on the time period we are talking about. The early PRC period,  
1099 though cultural revolution, most of the research suggests head of communist party in the  
1100 region was trying to shield them from egregious cultural revolution to assure there were  
1101 not revolts in the area. Part of acknowledging the state didn't have strong reach beyond  
1102 the northern areas of Urumqi in particular. By the 1990s, that changes. When I first  
1103 entered there (I came from soviet Uzbekistan), I was shocked at how much more cultural  
1104 revolution existed on other side of the border – they have a similar culture and languages  
1105 but there had been much less development than the Soviets. That continues even to early  
1106 2000s – attempt in 1990s where Chinese state begins to capitalize on sports and pushing  
1107 development everywhere. Studies show development in the west lagged behind what  
1108 happened in the east. In 2000, they announced master development program to open up  
1109 the west, focused on developing this area. Back to Xi Jinping, who really has anything  
1110 can be accomplished by state led efforts, wants to make that link urgently and that there  
1111 is no impunity.

1112 *Panel – Given your expertise in international development, what is your assessment of*  
1113 *how development in that region is approached? Can you elaborate on the economic*  
1114 *proposition?*

1115 SR – The labour programs in many ways are more about population transfer and there is  
1116 a sense that the state does not to a limiting these people, and want to make sure they are  
1117 useful citizens. We see deliberate attempts, really from 2016/7 this kicks in, in terms of

1118 great factory workers bringing them in from rural parts. This has not spread throughout  
1119 China. The other question is whether the Chinese model... important to know the Chinese  
1120 models of development are stuck in retro ideal of modernization - it's about top-down  
1121 infrastructure and industrialisation and all of that will lead to development. Thinking of  
1122 development today is much more human centric. In places where you have an indigenous  
1123 population, to make sure development doesn't become disruptive, its ensured that  
1124 population plays a major role. That has been the key lacking from what the Chinese state  
1125 has been doing from the early 2000s.

1126 *Panel – You describe how, since 2014, there has been concerted attempt to break*  
1127 *solidarity and break people’s sense of collective identity, from point of view of institutions,*  
1128 *is this attempt being played out through the institution of the family, and does that account*  
1129 *for how much we are seeing in particular reports allegations of violence, including sexual*  
1130 *violence towards women?*

1131 SR – Its played out through family, also through other institutions such as religion and  
1132 also through village informed structures. Must understand about Uyghur culture is that it  
1133 very much community becomes the location where you uphold life cycle where everybody  
1134 is invited. It becomes almost a sub governmental level of orientation which will work  
1135 together to solve community problems. Those are the things that are being targeted. In  
1136 my opinion, I think the sexual violence in the camps is more related to humiliation. There  
1137 is a certain effect where a lot of view reproduction through a gendered lens. Humiliation,  
1138 for instance, becomes seen as a violation. I think the goal with that is humiliation and the  
1139 narrative of terrorism, I talk more about this in my book, really serves to dehumanise the  
1140 people of the region which allowed this atrocity to be carried out.

1141 *Panel – Can I offer you an alternative, if we say violence has an end of humiliation, then*  
1142 *we might miss what its material basis is, which is to target women because they do certain*  
1143 *sorts of labour. If you attack that point in social solidarity, you attack the material basis on*  
1144 *which the solidarity is formed?*

1145 SR – One of the labour programs which takes people to residential factories, are meant  
1146 for stay-at-home mothers and are essentially half day care. Effort to separate from parent  
1147 to children so children can be institutionalized in state institutions rather than reproducing

1148 Uyghur cultural norms. There is a potentially part of why they are targeted in different  
1149 ways.

1150 *Panel – What do you see as relationship between inside penal institutions and outside?*  
1151 *Reason to understand the way in which our witnesses express the view ‘we are*  
1152 *imprisoned even when we are free’.*

1153 SR – Person in region not been in penal institutions and told me what it was like to be  
1154 outside. It was an immobilising experience. Sense that become knocking on your door –  
1155 break down of trust – person said they didn’t feel comfortable speaking to anybody about  
1156 their fear. It's an inevitable thing that happens in this situation. We don’t have many stories  
1157 yet – but if the dust ever settles and things change, we will hear stories about how people  
1158 had to sexually sell themselves out. We have seen people forced to do testimonies  
1159 against children abroad. Your neighbour can report you - to think they may be kept out of  
1160 an institution but may put you in it. Nobody wants to talk about it. One of my colleagues  
1161 who went to the region in 2016, she would meet with friends and informants and would  
1162 be terrified to talk about anything but the weather and sports, for example. They had to  
1163 leave the city to have a discussion about anything else. There is an incredible fear which  
1164 is immobilising, silencing and pacifies everybody in this ethnic group and in this nation.

1165 *Panel – Policies don't have intentions, people have them. Who are the people or bodies*  
1166 *behind these policies which merged in 2017?*

1167 SR – Difficult thing to pin down completely. My feeling is, to large degree, it comes out of  
1168 the sector of the communist party in Beijing. We can see already Beijing calls Xinjiang  
1169 committee meeting which began in 2014 – they seem to be attempting to bring in central  
1170 party members to map out a strategy for the region. We saw already, in 2014, the state  
1171 starting to put a place on a lot of things – such as the integrated database which compiles  
1172 information about all people in the region such as where they have been, reports from  
1173 workplace, neighbourhood, etc. People's war on terror in 2014 we see the implementation  
1174 of programs in re-education. They don’t look like the centres we see in 2017 – first, they  
1175 are more limited number of people and there are several different types, experimenting  
1176 with residential or not, day re-education done in different regions. Determining who made  
1177 out the plan for these policies can be very complicated but that said, it's clear that the

1178 Communist Party brought in the party secretary of the region, Chen, in 2016 to implement  
1179 this. I don't know if he is the architect but he is certainly the manager.

1180 *Panel – Can you discern policies that are similar to those in acted in Tibet when Chen*  
1181 *was party secretary in Tibet before he moved to this region?*

1182 SR – The main one is, he implements these 'convenience police stations' - ensures the  
1183 state has the ability to manage society at every level and geography of the place. He  
1184 replicates this immediately after he finishes in Tibet. I assume that is the main reason why  
1185 he is brought to Xinjiang.

1186 *Panel – Do you discern a subtlety of these policies in recent years because of the*  
1187 *international attention on the region or successful colonization of indigenous population*  
1188 *in the region?*

1189 SR – I do see a certain softening. It's more in response to the success or perceived  
1190 success than to international pressure. There have been spy government officials saying  
1191 everyone has left them, there are other reports saying they are very much being used, or  
1192 used in slightly different ways. The residential labour programs have ramped up. We see  
1193 an attempt to move people who have been in extra-legal internment centres, moved them  
1194 into prisons and then imposed actual prison sentences. Shouldn't be seen as softening  
1195 or just moving in a different stage or direction. At the same time, they're able to cover up  
1196 the traces of what took place.

1197 *Panel – Your observation is that the PRC does not want to 'eliminate the Uyghurs forever',*  
1198 *means that any legal genocide based on that must fail, correct?*

1199 SR – I meant it on a physical level ... I'll leave that to the lawyers.

1200 *Panel – Genocide in your version is a process that continues over time, not instantly. Your*  
1201 *account of the reforms in 1980s and 1990s means there can be no continuing intent*  
1202 *starting before those reforms and continuing after?*

1203 SR – There has only been a drive to eliminate them as a collective since 2016. Prior to  
1204 that, I think the approach I mentioned was a carrot and stick of trying to separate out

1205 Uyghurs and Kazakhs, etc however I think that the intent is to destroy the collective  
1206 identity and ideally, over time, to dilute it.

1207

1208 **4 June 2021 (09:28:25 – 09:57:20)**

1209 **Abduweli Ayup – UTFW-013**

1210

1211 *Counsel – In your witness statement you state you currently reside in Turkey, do you*  
1212 *wish to make a clarification about this?*

1213 AA – I currently live in Norway.

1214 *Counsel – You were designated a political prisoner, was that an official designation?*

1215 AA – No, official designation is illegal fundraising. The third time it was illegally own public  
1216 investment, there are three different allegations. But in the interrogation was nothing to  
1217 do with these allegations – it was all to do with separatism.

1218 *Counsel – Was there a difference between political prisoners or not?*

1219 AA – Difference in uniform – if political prisoner, its orange. If not, its grey and blue uniform  
1220 (if not political). When I was arrested, I had orange but when transferred I wore red. Those  
1221 who came to arrest me in Kashgar.

1222 *Counsel – You were kept in four different facilities, how many other prisoners were?*

1223 AA – First in Kashgar, [then] in Urumqi I stayed with three political prisoners, then I moved  
1224 to another facility in Urumqi and there, I had several political prisoners. They always move  
1225 people from place to place. I can tell you that one facility was moved every week and  
1226 month moved from cell to cell so I do not know how to answer the question.

1227 *Counsel – Do you know what proportion of the prison was political prisoners?*

1228 AA – It means people arrested like me was because of speech, religious belief and ideas.  
1229 If the guys arrested because of theft, for using drugs or for crimes of corruption, they are  
1230 not political prisoners. Political imprisonment is related to belief.

1231 *Counsel – You stated Uyghur political prisoners were treated differently, can you explain*  
1232 *this further?*

1233 AA – I can give one example. In 2014, in September, I stayed with political prisoners, one  
1234 of them burnt a Buddhist temple in Urumqi as he was a Christian. Another one was  
1235 arrested as he cited the Qur’an. They are good friends. The one who wore the red uniform,  
1236 the Han Chinese wore grey uniform – both were political prisoners. So, they wore different  
1237 coloured uniform based on ethnicity. There’s different treatment for the two – if you are  
1238 Uyghur you have to sleep on the floor and wear handcuffs. If you are Uyghur, then you  
1239 have to interrogate most of them as you don’t need to, a Han Chinese. If you are a political  
1240 prisoner, you will not order detention centre you have police food and prisoner food; if you  
1241 are Uyghur political prisoner you cannot order police food, but you can if you are Han.

1242 *Counsel – You worked for Zhu Hailun, during what period was he chief of Kashgar?*

1243 AA – When I was appointed in Kashgar, he was already there, so I do not know when he  
1244 started. I was appointed there in January 1998 - he was already there. In 1998 around  
1245 September, when I left for Urumqi, he was still there,

1246 *Panel – When you were arrested in 2013, the police were investigating in separatism.*  
1247 *Why did they think that?*

1248 AA – Because I studied in the US, supported by the Ford Foundation. In the interrogation  
1249 they told me because of the Ford Foundation - they said it was an anti-China foundation.  
1250 They said: “you received an email” and that “you are a friend of journalists of Radio Free  
1251 Asia and your goal is to come back as a spy”. I started my mother tongue campaign to  
1252 preserve my language. During my interrogation they made one example, that of the  
1253 Dakar students in 1971 and at the end they said we wanted to become separate. They  
1254 said it was the beginning of the separatist movement.

1255 *Panel – You have a masters from the US, were you targeted because of your education?*

1256 AA – Yes, I think so because I often returned to China. My first phone number from that  
1257 time when I called someone or vice versa, I had a feeling there was someone listening to

1258 us. When I came back, I was a target. In October 2011, the state security came to Kashgar  
1259 and they interrogated me about why I came back from the US and what I did there.

1260 *Panel – When you were on your trial in July 2014 there were three defence lawyers, did*  
1261 *they defend you?*

1262 *AA – Everything was already prepped in the first trial. In the second when my friend and*  
1263 *family came it was just playing the game, repeating something I had done before.*

1264 *Panel – From that, would you say the outcome was predetermined?*

1265 *AA – Yes. I remember the name of those guys from the prosecution – if you accept this*  
1266 *allegation, we will say you are behaving very well during detention, if you deny it then we*  
1267 *will say you are misbehaving.*

1268 *Panel – You signed a 100-page document at the end, did you read it?*

1269 *AA – No as we already practised it, I just drew something as my signature.*

1270 *Panel – Your friends appealed, given lack of legal due process, how did that work? What*  
1271 *process did they use?*

1272 *AA – Before the trial, the prosecutors said we already gave you fair treatment, I do not*  
1273 *know why my friends appealed. The second trial was in October 2014 and was the first*  
1274 *time I was cheated as they told me I would be released but I was sentenced to 18 months.*  
1275 *The second time, as they were there, I said they did not keep your word and everything*  
1276 *you told me was false. I told them they lied. Three of us said it was not fair and we made*  
1277 *an example we stayed with other economical criminals and illegal fundraising that your*  
1278 *investors should be more than 50 but ours was only 18. The 18-month trial was not fair*  
1279 *depending on Chinese law we argued. They cut it to three months. I only heard when I*  
1280 *was released, when I came out in the chains and shackles – they only told me then upon*  
1281 *release that it was three months.*

1282 *Panel – When you were in the hospital, you were medically tested, do you know why?*

1283 AA – It happens to everybody after being arrested. Because they told me it was a medical  
1284 test, I never suspected there was a special reason. I worked as a professor in a university  
1285 and I never thought they had done something to me.

1286 *Panel – In your statement you describe torture and sexual violence, are you able to tell*  
1287 *us more about that?*

1288 AA – I already told the media and I do not want to cry.

1289 *Panel – Could you let the tribunal know Zhu Hailun's attitude to Uyghur's was?*

1290 AA – I first met him at Ramadan time. It was the culture that people did not open their  
1291 restaurant. At that time, I did not fast and we had nothing to eat. He thought that, because  
1292 I graduated in Beijing, I was the same level as him. He said I am educated so I am  
1293 different. He said the others are feeble which is why they fast. I didn't feel happy as they  
1294 are my people and my culture, even if I did not practice it. Its disrespectful and  
1295 discriminatory. At first, I learnt that he doesn't like Uyghur culture. In May, we started to  
1296 search for a Uyghur home, house by house to search for books about Uyghur history and  
1297 culture. There are three books which are banned and we looked for those books. During  
1298 that time, he praised himself as expert of Uyghur culture and of Islam. He deliberately  
1299 forced me to translate it as he knew who I was. The third house he treated us in the  
1300 restaurant, we were eating and he provided us with alcohol. However, some said they  
1301 don't drink and he said 'your god is shit'. I really wanted to punch him but I did not. I still  
1302 regret not punching him.

1303 *Panel – What did China, state government or CPP or all three seek to achieve through*  
1304 *its treatment of you?*

1305 AA – The main reason is: they want me, an intellectual, as an ideal enemy that has  
1306 ambition who can be mobilised and to inspire the people. You can show the guys who  
1307 are educated in the US to incite separatism.

1308 *Panel – You give a vivid description of changes after you came out of final deception,*  
1309 *describing a military scene, were there that many military vehicles?*

1310 AA – After I was released, I felt that the detention centre was safer than outside. No-one  
1311 would check my ID or stop me in the centre, no one would take me into another room to  
1312 ask those questions. I felt safer inside the centre as I wouldn't feel like I may be arrested  
1313 every day. Everywhere, there are cameras and every few hundred metres there is a police  
1314 checkpoint. I visited various places because I wanted to know – in the city it is very  
1315 restrictive, I felt in the countryside it was better as not as populated. And I felt that in every  
1316 village there is a school in three floors and in the yard there is a tank and all young Uyghur  
1317 guys were enlisted as paramilitary and they had to prep Chinese practice to walk and  
1318 stroll on the streets and get them to behave as soldiers. I was thinking they already have  
1319 a tank, why do you need extra Uyghur guys asking them to call in Chinese? In the city,  
1320 people are under surveillance. In the countryside, people/females are forced to dance in  
1321 the school. How can people even dance in front of a tank?

1322 **5 June 2021 (00:04:40 – 00:24:19)**

1323 **David Tobin**

1324

1325 DT – So the report we have produced for today is by five UK-based scholars. We've  
1326 pooled our resources deliberately because we've very different specialisms. As you were  
1327 hearing yesterday, this topic covers many issues. It requires different disciplinary  
1328 knowledge – we've pooled those skills. We have significant regional knowledge and  
1329 experience in the region. But we focused on providing information and analysis that is  
1330 relevant for those who are legally qualified. We are not lawyers, we do not make  
1331 pronouncements about international law, but we provided information that we believe  
1332 would be relevant for those qualified.

1333 The plain title we have gone with is 'State Violence' rather than 'conceptualising the  
1334 violence'... When I interviewed Nyrola Elima, who will be speaking, she told me "while  
1335 the world debates a word, we are dying". So, we had decided at this point we are not  
1336 going to focus on conceptualizing these actions – we are going to focus on the information  
1337 that we think is relevant and people will need to hear. So, the report and research were  
1338 structured by focusing on key issues of concern raised...by diaspora interviewees. These

1339 were forced labour, sexual violence in the camp system, child separation and coercive  
1340 birth controls and repression of religious and cultural practices.

1341 We link broad statistical evidence to real life impact. We present a comprehensive  
1342 assessment of evidence drawn from official primary sources. These include Chinese  
1343 government documents, procurement contracts, statistics, internal statements and white  
1344 papers. And we triangulate that data with interviews with families affected and testimonies  
1345 presented by witnesses to the US Congress, international media and NGOs. The report  
1346 shows that the Chinese party-state organizes and coordinates systematic and  
1347 interconnected practices of ethnically targeted violence in Xinjiang which prevent  
1348 intergenerational transmission of cultural, linguistic and religious practices - the  
1349 foundations of the targeted groups. The official and explicit intent of these practices is to  
1350 'break their roots'. The interviews we conducted for the report – we really link policy  
1351 analysis to impact on people's lives. I conducted the interviews for the report. I interviewed  
1352 12 Uyghur diaspora families who all requested full anonymity, so we have not included  
1353 those interviews in great detail. Most of these focused on issues of trauma and the  
1354 description of family separation as torture. But these families were too uncomfortable and  
1355 frightened of being included so we focused in the interview section on two high profile  
1356 interviewees – Nyrola Elima in Sweden and Jevlan Shirmemet in Turkey...cases that we  
1357 could verify.

1358 Those two interviewees – Jewlan Shirmemet and Nyrola Elima – they have publicly  
1359 available case details. These are all listed on the Xinjiang Victims Database, they were  
1360 already verified. I was able to see the documents that were relevant to Nyrola's cases,  
1361 including bank transfers and title deeds for a family home. When doing these interviews,  
1362 the methods of the interview – we ask detailed, specific questions focused on these case  
1363 details, focused on verifying their interviews that they have already conducted – but I  
1364 always combine this with broad open questions: how has your life changed? How has  
1365 your family been affected? This is standard practice we use to enable the interviewee to  
1366 talk on their own terms and to raise the issues they believe are important to this case. It  
1367 also reduces researcher bias, so that I am not deciding the issues that they believe are

1368 most relevant. So, the report shows how state violence targets families, severs contact –  
1369 and this prevents intergenerational transmission of cultural and religious practices.

1370 In the introduction, I use my fieldwork in the region from 2007 to 2010 to address the  
1371 question – what does counter-terrorism actually mean? The question, as we were  
1372 discussing yesterday with Sean Roberts, this is a long-term issue. This is about history –  
1373 before 1949, Uyghurs were simply described, generally, as barbarians. Chinese  
1374 narratives described *hua* (华) the Chinese civilisation and the outside world as  
1375 barbarians. It was only after 1949, when Mao Zedong comes to power, that Uyghurs are  
1376 reframed as internal ethnic minorities ‘*shaoshu minzu*’ (少数民族) and the construction  
1377 of the regional autonomy system – if we look at the regional autonomy law – is explicit  
1378 that the autonomy system is to hold China together and to modernize Xinjiang. And the  
1379 phrase ‘*minzu wenti*’ (民族问题) frames this discussion – ‘ethnic problem’. So, Uyghurs  
1380 in the region are being described as an ethnic problem since 1949. Fast forward to 2017,  
1381 in the spirit of the nineteenth Congress...the term ‘*shaoshu minzu*’ (少数民族)  
1382 disappears. It’s used twice in Xi Jinping’s speech, only to refer to minority cadre  
1383 recruitment. And now we have an official policy called ‘fusion’ – that all former 56 *minzu*  
1384 (民族) ethnic groups should be fused into one ‘*zhonghua minzu*’ (中华民族) .

1385 So, when I look at this term ‘counter-terrorism’, I first of all read the official explanations  
1386 that are given to the local population – not in English, not to the outside world. I read  
1387 universal ‘ethnic unity education’ textbooks that were used in universities and in work  
1388 units. So almost everyone I interviewed when I was in Xinjiang was aware of specific  
1389 texts, including ‘*the 50 Whys*’ – this is just an example of one. This text is used in  
1390 classrooms and universities. You chant the text, you memorize it and you answer exam  
1391 questions in order to proceed your education. It explains policy in the region and  
1392 adherence to the party-state’s narrative history as counter-terrorism.

1393 So, the July 2009 violence – violence by Uyghurs – was simply called a ‘life or death  
1394 struggle’ versus terrorists, and people were prosecuted as terrorists under anti-  
1395 separatism law. Han violence at the same time in [*inaudible*] was called an ordinary

1396 criminal incident, and they were punished according to criminal law. In this text, they're  
1397 very explicit about identity: "Uyghurs are not an Islamic group. Uyghurs are not a Turkic  
1398 group. Only the three evils would say this" – the three evils being separatism, terrorism,  
1399 and extremism. Uyghur identity, its roots, are being framed as a form of terrorism. It's not  
1400 about organizations – it's about ideas and identities. For example, the term East  
1401 Turkestan – 'dongtu' (东突) in Chinese – this phrase is used to mean ETIM East Turkestan  
1402 Islamic movement. You cannot say 'dongtu' (东突) without implying terrorism in Chinese.

1403 Similarly, the 1759 arrival of troops by the Manchu – this is called a reincorporation of  
1404 Xinjiang into China. Calling it an invasion is an act of terrorism under the three evils. So,  
1405 what we've seen under Xi Jinping then, is an intensification of these narratives, and an  
1406 intensification of state violence. First of all, he called it the 'great wall of iron'...in  
1407 2012...and then in 2014, we have the 'People's War on Terror'. But the logics are  
1408 consistent.

1409 We were aware of many of the issues we've been discussing for a long time. Many of my  
1410 interviewees in Xinjiang endured issues of forced abortion...particularly one lady who only  
1411 had one child but endured a forced abortion, under pressure from her manager and then  
1412 the party-state. She was also sacked from her job because she could not prove that she  
1413 was not involved in the violence – she was guilty until proven innocent. You had to get a  
1414 piece of paper proving that you were not involved in the violence from your local police  
1415 station but she happened to be in another [*inaudible*]. And she was sacked.

1416 In 2018, we have [a] XUAR government work report that describes camps and boarding  
1417 facilities as "defeating the foundations of separatism forever". And this is the three evils,  
1418 but remember – the three evils means Turkic and Islamic identities. So, this regional  
1419 government directive, "break their lineage, break their roots, break their connections", has  
1420 sparked...family breakups and widespread trauma for those inside and outside the  
1421 region. The camp system and related practices target and break up families with "relatives  
1422 in detention" – a key indicator determining internment. Families are usually given no  
1423 official verdicts unless they pressurise authorities and many do, with public campaigns to  
1424 give explanations.

1425 The reasons given are [*inaudible*]...religious and cultural practices... of course cadres  
1426 work with [quotas?]. And we know from history, that any attempt to round up people is not  
1427 orderly – it becomes arbitrary. You can't round everyone up at once. So, it's targeting  
1428 identities but the practice has become arbitrary.

1429 The reasons that I draw from Xinjiang Victim Database exemplary entries – so these are  
1430 ones that have eye witness testimony, document verification, and interviews – these  
1431 include interaction with the outside world: applying for a foreign visa, wanting to travel  
1432 abroad, being exposed to foreign thought, staying too long in Kazakhstan [and] obtaining  
1433 second citizenship. Also, banal everyday behaviours: not watching state television, not  
1434 greeting officials appropriately, not smoking, being born in the 1980s-1990s, contractual  
1435 requirements to maintain employment, and, importantly, disturbing public order by writing  
1436 letters to gain information on family whereabouts and health.

1437 Interviewees describe how not knowing their family whereabouts, while knowing anything  
1438 could happen, as torture...constant struggle as trauma. Most discussed deteriorating  
1439 mental health, anxiety, depression, suicidal thoughts and recurring nightmares. The  
1440 interviewees were keen to say: "this is only one story, we are not suffering as much as  
1441 many, many other people". But this tip of the iceberg, as they also say, provides enough  
1442 substantial evidence and testimony to conclude that state violence targets Uyghur and  
1443 other indigenous families, preventing transmission of cultural and religious practices.

1444 Nyrola and Jevlan's cases are representative examples of detainment, without  
1445 explanation, of highly educated, apolitical, Mandarin-speaking professionals and civil  
1446 servants who receive no vocational training, suffer deteriorating ill health, and appear to  
1447 be targeted because their family members are abroad. With the time I have left, I will  
1448 introduce you to these two interviewees. Nyrola Elima campaigned from Sweden for the  
1449 release of her aging aunt, Mahire Yaqup. Mahire worked as a Mandarin language teacher,  
1450 civil servant and insurance sales person...raising children alone. In 2018, Mahire was  
1451 detained in a vocational training centre without explanation. But when pressured, officials  
1452 referred to her family's 2013 bank transfer to pay for relatives' new home in Australia.  
1453 Following her release in December 2018, Mahire spoke with Nyrola before being detained  
1454 by Ghulja Public Security Bureau in 2019. She looked extremely pale and weak, having

1455 lost 13kg in weight during detention, suffering liver damage without access to healthcare,  
1456 and receiving no vocational training. Nyrola's contact with her retired parents, 62-year-  
1457 old mother Gulbekrim Memtimin, and 65-year-old father Qasim Tohti, was severed in  
1458 2017 and they're held under arbitrary house arrest. Nyrola explained she wants no  
1459 involvement in politics but must speak for her family.

1460 The targeting and breakup of Jevlan Shirmemet's elderly family members followed similar  
1461 patterns. Jevlan's mother, Suriye Tursun, was a party cadre and civil servant on the verge  
1462 of retirement. She was sentenced to five years in a camp with no written verdict in 2019.  
1463 Jevlan has had no contact since January 2018, at which time she was in poor health.  
1464 Jevlan continues to press Chinese embassy and consulate staff in Turkey to be permitted  
1465 to speak to his family. The embassy instead asked him to provide information on all his  
1466 contacts and activities in Xinjiang and Turkey. Jevlan's family, like Nyrola's, have no prior  
1467 criminal records, until moving abroad. Jevlan moved to Turkey to study law, and his  
1468 mother visited him for 15 days with an official Chinese tour group in 2013. The only  
1469 attempted explanation from embassy staff was "maybe terrorist activities".

1470 Jevlan concludes that his family members are being targeted and their connections  
1471 broken because he is a Uyghur who chose to study abroad. "They are trying to break my  
1472 family", he said. His aging father, Shirmemet Hudayar, was detained and brother, Irfan  
1473 Shirmemet, held under arbitrary house arrest. Both were subsequently sacked from civil  
1474 servant positions. No official explanations have been given. Jevlan wants no involvement  
1475 in politics, and he says he is targeted because, in the party-state's eyes, as long as you  
1476 are Uyghur, you are political. When I ask him what that means – I ask[ed] him the types  
1477 of questions that we had to engage with yesterday about intent and reasons – he just  
1478 says "I don't know. I just want to speak to my mother".

1479 The treatment of these two families is the tip of the iceberg. Their experiences illustrate  
1480 how the party-state's coordinated, systematic practices of ethnically targeted state  
1481 violence arbitrarily target and break up Uyghur family units. Family breakups deprive  
1482 Uyghur and other indigenous groups of community and they prevent intergenerational  
1483 transmission of cultural, linguistic, and religious practices – the foundation of the targeted  
1484 groups.

1485 **5 June 2021 (00:24:25 - 00:50:00)**

1486 **Laura Murphy**

1487

1488 LM – In the spring of 2018, significant evidence began to emerge that the People’s  
1489 Republic of China (PRC) government understood its system of detention centres and  
1490 internment camps as merely one part of a massive transformation of the Xinjiang Uyghur  
1491 Autonomous Region (XUAR or Uyghur Region) into a docile and lucrative economic hub.  
1492 While continuing to hold indigenous citizens of the region in internment camps without  
1493 trial, regional and local governments shifted their focus to the creation of an enormous  
1494 forced labour regime. This system had the explicit goal of employing practically every  
1495 adult citizen and was accompanied by the justification that the programme would increase  
1496 both the economic productivity and the “stability” of the region.

1497 In that same year, a paper was published by the Nankai University Institute of Wealth and  
1498 Economics that explicitly stated that the intention of the labor programs was to reduce the  
1499 Uyghur population density and to assimilate them into Han society and culture.

1500 We were easily able to identify that these labor programs were discernably not the same  
1501 as others across China. US Customs records, for instance, listed companies that were  
1502 exporting abroad were located in the same exact address as the Lop County #4  
1503 internment camp, which had already become famous because of the photo posted to  
1504 Weixin [WeChat] by the Xinjiang Department of Justice. In 2018, many companies were  
1505 still listing their official addresses as being in “vocational and educational training centers.”  
1506 They have since changed their addresses to indicate that they are inside “industrial  
1507 parks.”

1508 We needed to look no further than the PRC’s own media to understand that there was  
1509 forced labor happening within the internment camps. Chinese state television celebrated  
1510 the fact that people detained in the vocational training centers were being put to work to  
1511 contribute to the economy. Some of those media programmes even revealed that the  
1512 people were making goods bound for international markets. These camp/factory co-  
1513 locations are not unusual. This week alone, I have identified two companies that are  
1514 exporting into international markets that are located within the walls of internment camps.

1515 My research regularly identifies these camps/factory co-locations. Satellite imagery  
1516 reveals hundreds more. It is clear that if a person is in an internment camp, they have no  
1517 alternative but to perform the work that is assigned them. Experts agree that this meets  
1518 all international definitions of forced labor, human trafficking and modern slavery. But  
1519 internment camp forced labour is merely the tip of the iceberg.

1520 There are several other mechanisms by which the Xinjiang regional and local  
1521 governments compel minoritized citizens in the Uyghur Region to work. Abduweli Arish  
1522 was a computer programmer and GPS specialist before he was sent to camps in 2017.  
1523 He was only released under the supervision of his brother who owned a grocery and  
1524 promised that he would employ his college educated, highly skilled brother, where he  
1525 could be monitored. He was not allowed to return to his chosen profession or choose his  
1526 line of work. He was not in need of poverty alleviation but the government still compelled  
1527 him to work and determined where he would have to work.

1528 Even those who have never been in the camps are subject to forced labor transfers. In  
1529 many countries, in the southern part of the Uyghur Region, government agencies go door  
1530 to door to identify people they can send for labor transfers to meet the quotas set out by  
1531 county governments. In some places, people are rated on a point system that determines  
1532 whether they have to receive additional ideological training to convince them to go out to  
1533 work or whether they are safe to go out to work but need to be fairly close to home or  
1534 whether they can be sent to the rest of China to work in factories.

1535 The Emedin family was sent 50 kilometers away from home to work at Hoshine Silicon  
1536 Company but only after they were subjected to repeated coercive strategies. They were  
1537 told they had to take Chinese language classes to increase their capacity to work in  
1538 Chinese factories. They submitted but they were determined to need more ideological  
1539 training. A cadre came to their house regularly to train them to accept poverty alleviation.  
1540 They were then sent to do welding training to occupy them in the off season. They were  
1541 then told they needed to be transferred for labor. They balked because they had elderly  
1542 family members who needed care. The government agency provided medicines for the  
1543 grandparents to alleviate their concerns. As Dr. Thum discussed, there is a  
1544 disproportionate number of elder care facilities and orphanages being built in the Uyghur

1545 region to “alleviate the concerns” of people being sent away for labor. But the Emedins  
1546 also had land to tend... seven acres of grape farms. The government alleviated that  
1547 concern by taking it into the care of the state. According to the state media report in which  
1548 their story was told, they also had a beautiful home in their village, but the government  
1549 put them in a dormitory with other workers. They were transferred to Hoshine to work,  
1550 having had all of their home, family, land and community taken away from them.

1551 Others are sent much further from home. Buzaynap was compelled to go to work for  
1552 Huafu Textile company over 5000 kilometers away from home. When the labor agency  
1553 came to her village, no one volunteered to go. Agents went to her home over and over  
1554 again to coerce her family into letting her go. They tried to shame them by saying that  
1555 they were holding her back. She, herself, explicitly said that she did not want to go. And  
1556 yet they kept at the family and others join her village until several women relented. The  
1557 Nankai report tells us that there are many more people in the Uyghur Region who are  
1558 unwilling to engage in these labor transfer programs.

1559 In addition to a legitimate desire to take care of family, be with one’s children, take care  
1560 of and maintain the right to one’s land, the investment in community and one’s own right  
1561 to free choice, there are thus good reasons not to want to go to the factories. Government  
1562 directives tell us that inside the factories, people are controlled through “militarized  
1563 management” that typically involves armed guards or special security officers. They are  
1564 compelled to have “iron discipline.” All of this is premised on the racist beliefs that Uyghur,  
1565 and other minoritized citizens of the Uyghur Region, are inherently lazy, slow, idle and  
1566 have a dangerous penchant for personal freedoms.

1567 And yet, according to government documents, upwards of two million labour transfers  
1568 happen each year. This is because, as government directives explicitly tell us, labor  
1569 transfer programs are based in a logic that suggests that people who don’t take steps  
1570 recommended by the state are infected by terrorism and separatism. It is clear to  
1571 everyone in the region that the punishment for being associated with the “three evils” of  
1572 terrorism, separatism and extremism is being sent for re-education. In addition, a  
1573 forthcoming human rights report reveals interviews with both victims of the camps and  
1574 security within the camps that indicated that people outside the prisons were coerced into

1575 working in factories through a points system that promised better outcomes for loved ones  
1576 in camps if the ostensibly free people accepted labor transfers. As a result, we must  
1577 understand all state-sponsored labor programs in the region to be tantamount to forced  
1578 labor. While there are certainly people who might choose to work in the factory, what we  
1579 know is that people are not allowed to choose not to be transferred to factory labour.

1580 These programs, as they are practiced in the Uyghur Region, are clearly in violation of  
1581 the ILO convention on forced labor, which characterizes forced or compulsory labour as...  
1582 In my review of state directives, first-person narratives, and interviews with social auditors  
1583 who have been on the ground in factories in the last several years, the transfer of Uyghur  
1584 labour meets at least ten of the 11 indicators of forced labor as identified by the ILO (and  
1585 I am not ruling out the physical or sexual violence piece -- I just haven't seen evidence of  
1586 it as yet). Indeed, while I admit to not being a legal scholar, it is my opinion that these  
1587 practices meet the threshold for all sociological and legal definitions of modern slavery,  
1588 human trafficking and forced labour that I have studied.

1589 *Counsel – You state that a third of the minority population of XUAR may be help in this*  
1590 *intertwined system of internment and forced labour. Is there a breakdown of that*  
1591 *internment by gender or other protected characteristics?*

1592 LM – Not that I know of.

1593 *Counsel – Is there a statistical breakdown by profession and/or education?*

1594 LM – Not that I know of.

1595 *Counsel – You state on page 145 of your report that “many of the people who work in the*  
1596 *camps are trained professionals and business people” – on what basis can that assertion*  
1597 *be proved?*

1598 LM – The examples that I use are from reported accounts of family members, taken from  
1599 the Xinjiang victims database. Family members have reported their loved ones have been  
1600 moved into work. There are also accounts by people who have left the Uyghur region,  
1601 e.g. in Kazakstan who were forced into labour. There is not broader statistical analysis  
1602 yet as people working in these systems are not those getting out. Since the labour system

1603 began, fewer and fewer people are leaving the region. We do not have a lot of first-person  
1604 accounts so it is a challenge to our research. We have to do it from this distanced  
1605 perspective. But we use the government's own state media company's annual reports to  
1606 confirm what they themselves are doing.

1607 *Counsel – You state professionals are used to do menial work?*

1608 LM – Drivers, chefs, artisans, computer programmers who are highly trained Mandarin  
1609 speaking, often educated in other parts of the country, were successful before they were  
1610 put in camps or made to do menial tasks like sewing or agriculture.

1611 *Counsel – Can you explain what the forced labour programme is intended to achieve on  
1612 the part of the CCP?*

1613 LM – If we look specifically at Chinese state documents, some of what they say are  
1614 directives as to how to operate the system – to improve Uyghur discipline, less likely to  
1615 make them lazy. Also, points to depleting the population, studies saying there should be  
1616 more Han people and more dispersed Uyghur people. Moving them around China is one  
1617 way of operating this dispersal. It will move the thinking towards more industrialised  
1618 thinking, 'Hanified' way of thinking. All along, on side of programs, they are building  
1619 orphanages and elder care facilities for those left behind and for a Han based education  
1620 for the children.

1621 *Panel – What proportion of people are transferred outside of XUAR and why are they  
1622 transferred?*

1623 LM – 100,000s at least sent away per documents straight from local governments –  
1624 sometimes as many of 50,000 sent away. Not all sent far from their mother region, have  
1625 seen photos of people put on buses, stories of people sent on trains. Right now, we don't  
1626 have kinds of numbers we need to do accurate assessment.

1627 *Counsel – Is there a rationale for movement?*

1628 LM – There is, in a sense of the level of dangerousness or insecurity. Claims people are  
1629 matched with certain skills, and also programs matching cities with specific Uyghur region  
1630 towns e.g., Hotan sent to Dongguan.

1631 *Panel – You’ve stated that children are forcibly transferred – how long are children*  
1632 *separated from their parents from and do they get reunited?*

1633 LM – We have not seen evidence of any systematic child labour yet. One photo captioned  
1634 ‘children working in a factory’. They are away from their parents as long as they are out  
1635 on transfers. The program is fairly new so we do not have statistical sense of how long  
1636 sent out.

1637 *Panel – How long on average do people sent away?*

1638 LM – We do not have many stories. When the Chinese government gives reports, they  
1639 talk about people units and moving back and forth – ostensibly, six month, one year, I  
1640 have seen a three year contract some point. I couldn’t make a generalisation.

1641

1642 **5 June 2021 (00:51:00 – 01:12:00)**

1643 **Rian Thum**

1644

1645 RT – I wanted to give a review of both the phenomenon of the separation of children,  
1646 removal of children to Han dominated state care and limits on births. Partly as an  
1647 independent review of scholarship and media reports that have already come out, and  
1648 partly as an update as the Chinese government has released quite a few documents and  
1649 statistics on these phenomena. I wanted to tell the story from a different angle, based on  
1650 types of sources and where the information comes from. There are three types of sources.

1651 Firstly, reports from the Xinjiang Bureau of Education. In particular, a 2018 report on the  
1652 year 2017 first reported by the New York Times. It gives very specific numbers on  
1653 percentage of children placed in residential schools for whole region of Xinjiang (XUAR).  
1654 Can compare report with 2019 report from the same bureau to see change over time. The  
1655 increase in number of students has been reported elsewhere but I will give some context  
1656 to it that I don’t think is available elsewhere. Remarkable increase – it’s almost 400,000  
1657 placed in boarding schools within two years of children into schools – compulsory  
1658 education. The second reason this 2017 report is interesting – it is very explicit about the

1659 goals of increased in boarding education. Xinjiang has been extraordinary for not having  
1660 very many boarding schools which has changed overnight. The report has taken the  
1661 boarding schools are the number one planning item for the Xinjiang Bureau of Education  
1662 in 2017-18. The main reason is the overall stability of Xinjiang security. It goes on to  
1663 explain why a boarding school increases stability – “creates a stable and peaceful  
1664 environment for students blocking the influence of the family’s religious atmosphere on  
1665 the children to the greatest extent and reducing the occurrences of teaching science in  
1666 school, listening to the scriptures at home, with thinking and ideas suffering the shocks of  
1667 moving back and forth”. Explicit statements that the goal is to interrupt the knowledge and  
1668 customs going from the parents to the children.

1669 Interesting about the report is published in a larger report, over 200 pages which includes  
1670 reports from every level education bureau in China – shows distinctiveness of education  
1671 policy in China. There are other boarding schools elsewhere but different reasons which  
1672 is extending reach of education. In Xinjiang, it is linked to economic purpose. Don’t really  
1673 focus on boarding all that much for the schools in other regions and there are no stats as  
1674 it is not a priority. Focus on this as much of international media discourse on separation  
1675 of children from parents has focused on orphanages. But here the boarding schools are  
1676 equally or greater mechanism for the separation. I forgot to mention this has resulted for  
1677 middle school students in 49.5% by 2019 of students are in boarding schools. 77%  
1678 compulsory age students are from minority groups in Xinjiang. I recommend looking at  
1679 the full 2017 report - it has a lot of information on intent, such as getting more Han  
1680 teachers, teaching Chinese, having it as a language of operation in the school not just  
1681 language of education, involving the method of home visits to push these families into  
1682 sending their children to these boarding schools.

1683 My report does focus more on intent involving language, home visits as way to push  
1684 parents to send children to these schools. Second document I looked at was related to  
1685 the orphanages. We do not have the same kind of government stats in Xinjiang - I haven't  
1686 located a document which gives raw numbers. What I did was to follow in the footsteps  
1687 of the report by Associated Press which looked through construction tenders and  
1688 government bids to build new orphanages and repeated research that AP did to provide

1689 the raw docs in the appendix. I located 44 construction calls for orphanages – smaller  
1690 than AP as some have presumably been deleted since then. I also compared this to other  
1691 regions, specifically to Gansu which is a neighbouring province, similar population, similar  
1692 economic profile, only 16% as many calls. Construction boom happening whilst rest of  
1693 China there has been 40% decrease in number of orphans. One main difference is mass  
1694 internment program. Show Chinese state bureaus at local level dealing with children of  
1695 people put in internment camps.

1696 Last kind of document: a local government economic and social development report about  
1697 birth rates and natural increase rates. Very extensive reports by Adrian Zenz which brings  
1698 data to 2018. Documents starting to arise for 2019 so I was able to double check the Zenz  
1699 numbers and extend to the more recent past. This work has been superseded by the  
1700 report by Nathan Ruser and James Leibold. They have done for more units and spent  
1701 more time. So, no need to talk more on that. Look at things from another direction. I had  
1702 a look through the most plausible, or least implausible to the Chinese government,  
1703 response to birth rates – study from Urumqi academic who wrote almost journal link article  
1704 to attempting to pick apart the Zenz report - operates by omitting any response to major  
1705 claims, manipulating data, making invalid comparison e.g., Zenz claims that growth rate  
1706 is higher in Xinjiang but there are more Uyghurs in the region.

1707 On their face high boarding rates and birth limits exists in mainland China and Xinjiang –  
1708 but the way they operate and goals are quite different. In Han regions boarding schools  
1709 are not fully compulsive theoretically. In Uyghur they are. More important, for Han  
1710 students these residential schools are teaching with own mother language whereas  
1711 Uyghur is language of dominant group. For compulsory birth limits – telling Han people  
1712 to have more, Uyghur people to have less. Maximum penalty for Han is lack social  
1713 security, for Uyghur is arbitrary internment.

1714 *Counsel – We heard from you how Xinjiang moved from being a region of relatively low*  
1715 *percentage of students in boarding schools, to expansion by end of 2017, also heard*  
1716 *government stated reasons to expand boarding school are notable both for divergence*  
1717 *from polices in rest of PRC and for explicit assimilationist intent. Could you say more*

1718 *about government reasons for expanding residential schools in Xinjiang and the*  
1719 *assimilatory intent and diverge and differ from what they are doing in other parts of China?*

1720 RT – Boarding schools are not expanding as quickly in rest of China. In the documents  
1721 where they talk about them the reasons are to improve quality of education, to improve  
1722 the reach of education compulsory. Accessibility is not mentioned in the report for  
1723 Xinjiang. Quality is mentioned, they do use some of the same language, for example  
1724 poverty alleviation is mentioned (almost in any policy for Xinjiang). Assimilation is the  
1725 primary reason. This fits into larger ideological principles the state has promoted e.g.,  
1726 Official assimilation described as melting pot approach which is a stark divergence to  
1727 ethnicities policies before say 2010 there was careful curation of ethnic difference – there  
1728 has been turn at top level towards assimilation.

1729 *Counsel – Relating to birth rates – trying to understand what is happening in Xinjiang is*  
1730 *different and why to rest of China. Trying to understand how it is different. Report states*  
1731 *draconian Xinjiang polices have no parallel elsewhere in China, why is that so? Why are*  
1732 *birth rates in Xinjiang different and having different polices than rest of PRC?*

1733 RT – Numerous reasons – some cultural, frame have too many children as road to  
1734 extremism and terrorism. Personally, I suspect this is more a concern with population  
1735 managing the ethnic proportions in Xinjiang. Seen from the Nankai report that there is an  
1736 interest in diluting the Uyghur population. Has to be seen alongside program of migration  
1737 by Han people to Xinjiang. Policies such as ‘move to the south’ which is catch all term for  
1738 Uyghur dominated areas of Xinjiang. New interest in moving Han people to the south at  
1739 same time as we see the birth rate change. To put that in historical perspective in 1940s  
1740 less than five percent of Xinjiang were Han, in 1980, 40%, then stops moving here all way  
1741 through 2015-2017 – we don’t know where it is right now. I suspect it is changing. This  
1742 required balancing at that point as Uyghurs were having more children – so how to  
1743 balance that was to encourage migration of Han people to Xinjiang. We are seeing cutting  
1744 of birth rate of Uyghur and increase of Han.

1745 *Counsel – Why is the policy to dilute the Xinjiang population, the Uyghur and indigenous*  
1746 *population? What is the final purpose of diluting it?*

1747 RT – We do have some historical evidence of the central government considering the  
1748 settlement of the region to be crucial to the security of the region e.g., we see echoes of  
1749 that in documents. I would want to reread those before giving firmer answer but I am  
1750 happy to submit to the tribunal later.

1751

1752 **5 June 2021 (1:12:22 – 1:35:00)**

1753 **Rachel Harris**

1754

1755 RH – You read my report which is a survey of available testimonies and you will be  
1756 listening to some more over the next few days so I will limit my remarks to a few reflections  
1757 of the readings of the testimonies. Women have been detained in numbers which are  
1758 certainly in the hundred thousand. The women range from farmers to academics, my own  
1759 colleague and her postgraduate students are amongst those detained. From these large  
1760 number of women detained we have just a handful of testimonies and they come from a  
1761 handful of Kazakh and Uzbek women detainees. Of course, this speaks to the uneven  
1762 possibility of escaping the country. Each of these revelations comes at serious cost and I  
1763 must say that I seriously admit their courage. They have to overcome shame within their  
1764 community, they have been targets for Chinese agents who accused them of lying, of  
1765 corruption or being paid US agents. Male detainees also experience sexual violence in  
1766 the camps, we know this from testimonies and males are detained in larger number than  
1767 women. We focus on women’s experience. There are particular aspects of violence  
1768 against women, gendered violence and what I read is systematic sexual violence against  
1769 women, which are relevant to the discussions that are on-going in this tribunal.

1770 Just a quick word on background, for years academics have been writing on the position  
1771 of minority women generally in China and the practices of objectifications and  
1772 sexualisations against them, ubiquitous images of smiling, always welcoming. Women in  
1773 Xinjiang used in the same way as “window-dressing” for the current Chinese policies in  
1774 that region. We can see that from camp inspection visits and of course, very prominently  
1775 we see the use of these young women dancers as entertainment for the planned, over  
1776 200,000 mainly Chinese tourists who are expected to visit the region in the coming year

1777 under the new tourist drive. Just to state that given the violence these images are highly  
1778 problematic. I would like to trace a line then from that to the processes of de-humanisation  
1779 in the camps and this is a theme that is shared across the testimonies that we have seen.

1780 Just to mention a few names here, Gulbahar Haitiwaji, now resident in France, spend two  
1781 years in a camp near Karamay, describes her experience in terms of de-humanisation,  
1782 as brainwashing, having to memorise long tracks of political literature, enforced  
1783 sterilisation and public self-criticism. The language of de-humanisation is also used in  
1784 interviews given by Gulbahar Jelilova, she talks about experience of crowded cells,  
1785 hygiene, constant surveillance and drugs, again using the language of de-humanisation.  
1786 Across these reports, there is a high level of consistency, for example in Gulbahar  
1787 Jelilova's report paired with testimony given by Mihrigul Tursun; she has spoken  
1788 prominently in the US, has detailed her experience of torture and spoken of deaths of  
1789 fellow inmates. If we speak specifically about sexual violence, the reports have been slow  
1790 to emerge. I think that this is consistent with what we experience with reporting on sexual  
1791 violence within a conflict in other contexts around the world. From the Xinjiang context,  
1792 we have important testimony from Tursunay Ziyawudun; an ethnic Uyghur, now in the US  
1793 and she is recounting her personal experiences of gang rape and sexual torture, including  
1794 many disturbing details, like Sayragul [Sawutbay] who we heard from yesterday. She  
1795 notes that women were removed regularly from the cells every night and raped. This  
1796 testimony is also supported by testimony from Gulzira Aulhan, a Kazakh detainee. She  
1797 spoke how she was forced to strip women before being left alone with guards and camp  
1798 officials. Her account struck me because it shows how inmates within the camp system  
1799 are made complicit with the system. They also share the guilt. Gulzira also details a  
1800 financial incentive to the abuse. Something we hear from testimonies is guards or officials  
1801 paying or bribing for access. We also heard from Qelbinur Sidik, shocking details – two  
1802 aspects, the details on methods of torture, all kinds of electric shock. This, again, echoed  
1803 by accounts from Tursunay [Ziyawudun]. I also note Qelbinur's comment on her own  
1804 interlocutors who notes that rape has become a culture within the camps.

1805 There is an interviewee, a young woman called Rukiye, who is based in Germany who  
1806 has given a harrowing account of her own experience of rape and torture. She speaks of

1807 being held for long periods of time in an underground room filled almost to the roof with  
1808 water. We heard examples of that from Omer Bekali. Again, Rukiye talks of bribery, she  
1809 was only released because her family paid a large amount to get her released. And again,  
1810 this question of the difficulty of speaking out so Rukiye has claimed that 99% of women  
1811 have experienced rape but they wouldn't speak about it because they would feel too  
1812 ashamed. These descriptions range from daily life inside the camps, the nature and  
1813 method of abuse.

1814 I find them to be broadly consistent across different accounts. These are provided by  
1815 women who have spent time in different camps and who were speaking from different  
1816 countries. I consider these accounts to be broadly credible and sadly, I think that they are  
1817 representative of the experiences of large number of women detained in the camps. In  
1818 our joint report, we suggested that China organises and coordinates systematic and inter-  
1819 connected practices of ethnic targeted violence. I want to make explicit what the direct  
1820 links of these various forms of gender-based violence to my colleagues' statements are:  
1821 the culture of rape inside the camps, the sterilisation of women inside and outside the  
1822 camps, and also, we can make a link with the report on coerced marriages with Han  
1823 Chinese men.

1824 I also suggest sexual violence is an integral part of the planned transformation of the  
1825 Xinjiang region into a hub of the Belt and Road initiative and part of that drive for  
1826 development. I believe that sexual violence plays a major role in the climate of terror and  
1827 that underpins the production of a large and passive labour force which is being used to  
1828 populate the new factories which have sprung up alongside the camps, filled with so  
1829 called graduates of the camps as well as transfers from rural areas. As we have seen in  
1830 other contexts that have been designated as genocide sexual violence is an attack  
1831 against the individual woman and an attack against the ethnic group. In Yugoslavia and  
1832 Rwanda, in the case of the Yazidis and Rohingya, sexual violence against women has  
1833 been used to humiliate, subordinate and emotionally destroy entire communities.

1834 Violations against women and their bodies and reproductive capabilities are dubbed a  
1835 "weapon of war" against that whole ethnic group. I would link that comment to the  
1836 testimony of women who have come out of the Xinjiang camps. They talk about the

1837 experience suffered by many former inmates and detainees, of extreme trauma after  
1838 release, feeling dead inside, only a shell, insomnia, suicidal thoughts. There are also  
1839 reports of those released into the community in Xinjiang turning to alcohol or other forms  
1840 of addiction. To quote Tursunay Ziyawudun “it is designed to destroy everyone's spirit”.  
1841 My final point, we had a few questions about the question of intent on the level of which  
1842 these policies are sanctioned or deliberate. I suggest that this wide spread practice of  
1843 gender-based violence must be, at least, condoned at very high level.

1844 We know that the use of torture in detention centres right across China is well  
1845 documented, common methods employed - Omer Bekali's account that you heard and  
1846 we also have reports of rape in detention employed specifically against other groups of  
1847 women, so Tibetan nuns and Falun Gong followers. In relation to the Xinjiang camps, the  
1848 leaked internal documents shared with the New York Times in 2019, for example, do  
1849 demonstrate the direct leadership of Xi Jinping in the crack-down, that goes back to the  
1850 series of speeches that he made in 2014. This explicit call for a people's war on terror  
1851 and the specific call for the education, remoulding and transformation of criminals. Sean  
1852 Roberts told you about the direct role of Chen Quanguo and how he is the direct architect  
1853 of many aspects of the system in Xinjiang, the great social management system. I will  
1854 leave it there.

1855 *Counsel – In your report, you surveyed a number of secondary reports and testimonies,*  
1856 *mainly from 2017 onwards. You have also conducted field work in the region for 20 years*  
1857 *and you said that, over this period, you witnessed incremental levels of repression of the*  
1858 *indigenous people, can you elaborate on this?*

1859 RH – Already in the 1990's, I was observing a series of crackdowns against religious  
1860 practice for example, with high levels of censorship. Around the 2000's things started to  
1861 get more difficult. I think a real turning point, in terms of my personal experience of the  
1862 region and the increasing securitisation, would be 2009: I was in Urumqi during the 2009  
1863 demonstrations and the subsequent crackdown and inter-ethnic violence that occurred in  
1864 the city. I saw high level of securitisation across rural Xinjiang, with mobilisation of local  
1865 police, checkpoints and a lot of arrests. As I began to work with rural women, I conducted  
1866 a lot of interviews with religious practitioners, who already were speaking of being

1867 arrested for these normal, everyday practices, like teaching children to read Arabic or  
1868 recite the Qur'an, etc. Also, in general, the question of reproductive rights was very  
1869 prominent so, many of the women would talk about their experience of coerced abortions  
1870 going back to the 1990s.

1871 *Counsel – In your opinion, would the stigma inhibit the re-integration of the victims of*  
1872 *sexual violence into the Uyghur community, and/or would inhibit their desire or ability to*  
1873 *reproduce?*

1874 RH – Undoubtedly there would be difficulties in re-integrating for women who dare to  
1875 speak out about this. The shame is a problem for the family, the wider family. I believe  
1876 that would be a powerful restraint on women's willingness to speak out about these things.

1877 *Counsel – As mentioned, the report is primarily based on secondary reports and*  
1878 *testimonies and you stated that, based on your experience, these reports are credible.*  
1879 *Can you explain?*

1880 RH – We have seen Chinese official sources attempting to discredit these witnesses on  
1881 the basis of the lack of reliability of the women and I think there is a widespread tendency  
1882 to regard minority, and particularly Muslim women as unreliable, uneducated “baby-  
1883 making” machines, to quote one recent comment from a Chinese official. But I'd like to  
1884 give credit to them as witnesses who have an equal validity to any other person who could  
1885 sit up on a panel like this.

1886

1887 **5 June 2021 (01:36:00 – 02:20:50)**

1888 **Joanne Smith-Finley**

1889

1890 JSF – Thank you for reading my report. I'm going to just summarize, hopefully fairly  
1891 quickly, the main ideas. As you know, the report focuses quite significantly on my own  
1892 ethnographic field work so, particularly, my two most recent field trips to the Uyghur region  
1893 in 2016 and 2018. I'm going to bring some more photographs – I couldn't put all the  
1894 photographs in the report, so I'm going to bring some more photographs today to show

1895 you. But the bulk of my evidence from there is from snatched conversations – the only  
1896 way to have interviews at that time – photographic evidence and video evidence. We  
1897 don't have time to watch any of the video evidence, but I can provide that at a later date  
1898 if necessary.

1899 The most recent intensification of religious repression begins from 2017, seven months  
1900 after Chen Quanguo came to power as the regional Party Secretary. So, we have the  
1901 Regulations on 'de-extremification', which ostensibly aim to halt the penetration of  
1902 extremism. So, we see things like 'making religion more Chinese', the Sinicization of  
1903 religion, establishing 'correct beliefs', 'correctly handling the relationship between law and  
1904 religion' and this refers to a longstanding division in China between official and unofficial  
1905 religion and legal and illegal religion...

1906 As my colleague Ondřej Klimeš has written in 2018, what the party seems to be doing  
1907 here in fact is seeking to "solve the problem of to whom to listen, whom to trust, and whom  
1908 to follow". So, here, the party is wanting the Uyghurs not to be following an alternative  
1909 authority in the form of Islam, but to be following the CCP and CCP ideology. So, in  
1910 practice what's happened is that Islam has been targeted as a virus, as an addiction.  
1911 We've had Imams referred to as parasites in state discourses and piety referred to as  
1912 parasitic, in the sense that individuals, Uyghur individuals, who are spending time praying  
1913 five times a day cannot possibly be useful economic producers for the Chinese nation.

1914 We've seen these medical analogies used – virus, addiction, malignant tumours...poisons  
1915 – to justify mass internment using population targets and arrest quotas. And actually, if  
1916 you look closely at the regulations themselves, you can see straight away, in Article 5, a  
1917 direct reference to an annual target responsibility evaluation system, which refers directly  
1918 to the targets and quotas that have been used to intern individuals. And in Article 14, a  
1919 direct reference to educational transformation which is, of course, a reference to  
1920 transformation through education or political re-education, which consists of combining  
1921 ideological education, psychological counselling (as a euphemism) and behavioural  
1922 'corrections'. You'll notice that the word 'correction' appears a lot in state discourses in  
1923 the last few years with regard to the Uyghurs.

1924 So, what the state purports to be as a targeting of extremism, is in practice what Darren  
1925 Byler has referred to as a ‘carpet-bombing’ approach – it has been completely arbitrary.  
1926 This internment campaign has targeted anyone, really, who displayed a high level of piety  
1927 or a high adherence to daily religious practices – everyday, ordinary peaceful religious  
1928 practices. The state itself has referred to it as an indiscriminate use of ‘weed-killer’. So,  
1929 the state itself uses the term ‘weed-killer’. ‘You can’t just pull out the weed, you have to  
1930 spray the entire field’ – I think is the rough translation of what the state has said.

1931 During my last trip to Xinjiang, to the Uyghur region, conversations with both Han Chinese  
1932 residents and Uyghur residents brought the same notions out. “So, these detained  
1933 people”, said one Han taxi driver, “they’re just there to have their thinking changed, and  
1934 then they will come out of the camps again”. Although everyone I spoke to during that trip  
1935 told me that very few people were coming out of the camps. An Uyghur businessman said  
1936 to me, “some people were given medicine to change their thinking in the camps, medicine  
1937 for their minds and this made them ill. And when they became ill, only then were they  
1938 allowed out”. I’ve seen other reports from human rights defenders, Chinese human rights  
1939 defenders, working on the ground in China, that have referred to these people [as having]  
1940 been actually transferred to mental health facilities from the internment camps.

1941 What are the eligibility criteria for internment then? Not terrorist acts as you and I know  
1942 them, but in fact everyday religious practices. Growing a beard, regular prayer, inviting  
1943 too many people to one’s wedding, giving your children names of Islamic origin, looking  
1944 too religious, reciting an Islamic verse at someone’s funeral, washing bodies according  
1945 to Islamic custom, holding strong religious views, allowing other people to preach religion,  
1946 teaching the Qur’an to your children, asking an Imam to name your children, attending  
1947 the mosque regularly, studying or teaching ‘unauthorized’ forms of Islam, praying at a  
1948 mosque other than on the traditional prayer day of Friday, attending Friday prayers  
1949 outside of your village, making a pilgrimage Mecca, or possessing illegal religious content  
1950 on a mobile phone or computer – and this can simply be a woman wearing a niqab or  
1951 hijab. So what does this look like? What does this religious repression campaign look like  
1952 inside the camps? It has been a campaign of coercive secularization. Internees have  
1953 been forced to renounce Islam, to disavow their Islamic beliefs, to make self-criticisms.

1954 The most religious internees, the ones who perhaps were Islamic scholars or much more  
1955 pious than others, have been forced, singled out and forced to eat pork as punishment.  
1956 Or to drink alcohol. Internees have not been allowed to wash their hands and feet – this  
1957 sort of regular washing of hands and feet was...labelled as extreme.

1958 They were lectured about the dangers of Islam and, in some cases, they were tortured.  
1959 And, as reported in the Guardian in 2018, from one camp survivor, “they would say to us:  
1960 there is no religion. The government and the Party will take care of you”. The government  
1961 and the Party is benefactor, wanting to switch off the internees’ authority from Islam, from  
1962 God, to the CCP. So, it’s just one slide about my trip in 2016 – there’s a lot more data if  
1963 you want to know anything...I can tell you that at a later date. This is just to say that  
1964 trouble was already brewing very significantly in 2016. So, just a couple of quick  
1965 snapshots there – restaurant staff who had [fled] from Kashgar and Aksu to Urumqi  
1966 saying, “we’ve come to Urumqi because there’s no freedom in the south anymore. A man  
1967 can’t even grow a short beard or a moustache. Only older men can grow a longer beard.  
1968 Women are not allowed anymore to wear the niqab or burka”. And a migrant taxi driver  
1969 who had also fled from Hotan to Urumqi, “a lot of people have been put in prison down  
1970 south for very, very small things, like wearing a veil or growing a beard”.

1971 So, to my 2018 trip, lots of photos from here on in. I did a lot of walking during this trip – I  
1972 walked around the city for hours, hours and hours, and observed everything, and  
1973 photographed everything, as well as I could, [and] had a lot of snatched  
1974 conversations...around mosques and in different places, and took video footage. All of  
1975 the mosques, without exception, were completely deserted. I never saw anybody go in at  
1976 any time of day, on any day of the week whilst I was walking around – this was a three  
1977 week visit, during which I was mostly unmolested by the state. I have a couple of, two,  
1978 arrests which I could tell you about later if you’re interested – brief arrests, two-hour  
1979 arrests. We have the PRC flag in four courts of the mosques, barbed wire, razor wire,  
1980 coiled all over the perimeter fences, digital running slogans against religious extremism  
1981 and so on. But nobody praying.

1982 So, in my conversations, I found that people were saying that only between ten to twenty  
1983 elderly men [go] to the mosque at prayer times, although I never saw one single person

1984 go in myself. Most other retired men, they explained, were too afraid to go in because the  
1985 state would stop their retirement benefit if they did. People who were still employed in  
1986 state work units said they could not go in because if they went in, they would lose their  
1987 jobs. If you work for a state enterprise or a state organ, you're not allowed to be religious.  
1988 And everyone else, they said, even the independent businessmen who used to go in in  
1989 droves prior to 2016, and even still in 2016 actually, are now too scared to go in. No one  
1990 is going in. Why? Because of these security checkpoints set up at all the mosque  
1991 entrances with iris scanners. People said, "we want to go in the mosques, but if we go in  
1992 the mosques they will take us to prison. They look at our identity cards and they will mark  
1993 us for internment".

1994 Moving to Kashgar in the south – this is probably the most important mosque, one of the  
1995 most important mosques, in the Uyghur region. This mosque was turned into a museum  
1996 when I visited in 2018. You see a Uyghur ticket seller sitting at the counter there on the  
1997 right. Just to her right, there is a riot policeman asleep on the desk with two riot shields in  
1998 front of him. And I was allowed to go in as a tourist only. So, this is what happened when  
1999 I went inside (*refers to quote on slide*) – I'll just let you read this by yourself – gives you a  
2000 sense of at the atmosphere. Moving to the Kashgar old town, we have a similar situation.  
2001 All of the small neighbourhood mosques are padlocked without exception – razor wire,  
2002 barbed wire, framed posters of the 'de-extremification' regulations on the outside walls,  
2003 CCTV and, in some cases, the mosques have been desecrated - not in this case on the  
2004 left there but in many cases, crescents removed from the domes; a de-sanctification.

2005 Again, through conversations, I asked people, "where has the crescent gone? Did  
2006 someone take it away?" Sometimes people were too scared to say, to speak out loud,  
2007 because the CCTV camera was right above their head. They would nod and say "yes,  
2008 they took the crescent away", but they would not answer verbally because they were  
2009 afraid of being recorded. Others were less fearful and said, "yes, they took it away. They  
2010 took the crescent away". What was really noticeable, if you look at that slogan across the  
2011 door here – this slogan says: '*Love the Party, Love the Country*'. This has replaced an  
2012 earlier slogan that said: '*Love the Country, Love Religion*'. It used to be okay to love  
2013 religion as long as you loved the country a little bit more but now, it's no longer okay to

2014 love religion. You can only love the party and love the country. These are the only options.  
2015 And some mosques unbelievably – I couldn't quite believe my eyes when I walked into  
2016 this place – have been turned into café bars and are now being frequented by Han  
2017 Chinese tourists who are drinking beer inside.

2018 So, here's another little story, little snapshot – I spoke to a Hui man and his Uyghur wife  
2019 who said that the school, the Islamic school on right hand side there, had been closed for  
2020 many years already. Closed down lots of years ago, whereas the mosque on the left had  
2021 been closed down almost exactly around the time of the publication of the 'de-  
2022 extremification' regulations. And they said, "oh, some foreign Muslims came the other day  
2023 and they wanted to go in the mosque and we had to redirect them to the Heytgah  
2024 mosque". I just looked at them and said, "I'm so sorry, the Heytgah mosque isn't open  
2025 either". And I explained what had happened, and they looked absolutely dismayed and  
2026 shocked.

2027 His wife asked me, "what do you do?"

2028 I said I am a university teacher.

2029 She looked at me for a moment and said, "so you know then. You know all about it".

2030 I said, "yeah, I do".

2031 And she burst into tears.

2032 She squeezed my hand, I tried to comfort her and I said, "look, everything changes,  
2033 everything changes".

2034 And she says, "when? When will it change? When will it get better?"

2035 That's just one example, but there were lots of examples like that.

2036 And then the defacement and removal of halal signage – this was all over Urumqi – it was  
2037 already complete for the Uyghurs by the time I got there in 2018. All of the Uyghur  
2038 restaurants already had no halal signage when I got there. But it was still in process for  
2039 the Hui. It had spread to the Hui communities and the Hui restaurants as well, and it was  
2040 still in process. You can see the mosque; picture of the mosque insignia and the halal

2041 signage has been removed from the top left corner there... I have hundreds of photos like  
2042 this showing various stages of defacement.

2043 And onto other reports – these are not my reports – these are reports from other scholars,  
2044 from my colleagues Dr. Harris, Dr. Thum and also from the ASPI.

2045 And so, we began to hear then, in around the time [of] April 2019, of the systematic  
2046 destruction of religious built heritage. This included mosques and shrines. So first of all,  
2047 we heard from Shawn Zhang, who is a Chinese PhD student at UBC, about the north  
2048 gatehouse of the Keriye mosque in Hotan having been demolished. And the satellite  
2049 imagery came out to show how this had still been visible in November 2017 on satellite,  
2050 but by April 2018 it had vanished. This gatehouse had vanished.

2051 And this is an example, as Dr. Harris has written, of what UNESCO calls “strategic cultural  
2052 cleansing: the deliberate targeting of individuals and groups on the basis of their cultural,  
2053 ethnic, or religious affiliation, combined with intentional and systematic destruction of  
2054 cultural heritage”.

2055 Also, while I was in Kashgar, I visited the Buwi Maryam Khenim Mazari, Bashkirem, on  
2056 the instruction of Dr. Thum, who said that I must go and see what was the current situation  
2057 with this shrine. When I got there, it was still intact, but it was deserted. It was padlocked  
2058 – all of the...offerings had been removed from the garden. And there was a massive  
2059 convenience police station built right next door to it. Huge police station, about probably  
2060 ten times the size of the shrine. I couldn't photograph that for, I hope, obvious reasons. I  
2061 still got arrested. This was a two-hour arrest with three levels of interrogation from three  
2062 levels of police in three different languages. So, I won't go into the details, but I can tell  
2063 you about it later if you are interested to hear more.

2064 The Guardian [and] Bellingcat also came out with a satellite-based survey, satellite  
2065 imagery analysis which documented, in May 2019, more than two dozen Islamic religious  
2066 sites partly or completely demolished. One of them was the Imam Asim shrine, which  
2067 showed that the shrine was empty, the mosque and the khaniqah and other buildings had  
2068 been torn down, and only the tomb remained. As with the shrine I visited myself, pilgrims'  
2069 offerings, flags...had all disappeared.

2070 And this is what the shrine would have, should have, looked like at a pilgrimage, on a  
2071 pilgrimage day.

2072 So just to sum up on the shrines again, I quote my colleague Dr. Thum: “Nothing could  
2073 say more clearly to the Uyghurs that the Chinese state wants to uproot their culture and  
2074 break their connection to the land than the desecration of their ancestors’ graves, the  
2075 sacred shrines that are the landmarks of Uyghur history”.

2076 And to quote our colleague, and especially Dr. Harris’ close colleague, Rahile Dawut, who  
2077 was disappeared in 2017: “If one were to remove these shrines, the Uyghur people would  
2078 lose contact with earth. They would no longer have a personal, cultural and spiritual  
2079 history. After a few years, we would have no memory of why we live here or where we  
2080 belong”.

2081 Moving on to culture... of course, culture and Islam are entwined in the Uyghur society to  
2082 a large degree. But when I was walking around in Kashgar old town, there were a lot of  
2083 padlocked homes.

2084 The parent generation was conspicuous in its absence. There were a lot of children  
2085 around, there were a lot of grandparents around, very few people in between – which  
2086 suggested immediately to me that those parents had been interned. And what we saw  
2087 were signs that these families had desperately tried to prove allegiance to the state. They  
2088 had desperately tried to prove a patriotic allegiance to the Party before being taken away,  
2089 in the form of New Year couplets pasted on either side of their door, Chinese New Year  
2090 lanterns hanging on either side of their doors.

2091 And the propaganda tells the same story too. The posters all over Urumqi in 2018, like  
2092 this one, it says – [*speaks in Chinese*] – ‘respect traditional Han festivals, hand down  
2093 beautiful Chinese virtues’. When we talk about Chinese virtues and traditional festivals  
2094 here, we are talking very much about Han traditional festivals and Han traditional virtues.  
2095 And we can see this in the picture, which shows very clearly, Han traditional architecture  
2096 and traditional living setup.

2097 A female Uyghur bookseller in Xinhua bookstore at this time said to me, “we don’t have  
2098 any festivals now, we Uyghurs. No one dares even to say *assalam alaikum* – peace be  
2099 with you – anymore either. It’s just too religious”.

2100 So, onto language – very quickly – coercive Chinese-medium education is happening  
2101 inside the camps and outside the camps.

2102 Outside the camps – as my PhD student is documenting now meticulously – we are  
2103 seeing a “slow linguicide”, which has been taking place since 2002. In 2018, this was  
2104 becoming very, very clear. You could see it everywhere, most particularly in this picture I  
2105 took of a poster outside the number one Urumqi primary school in which – this is a textile  
2106 poster – you can see it hanging down the wall there – and the Arabic script has been  
2107 literally cut out and then blacked over in that rectangle you see there. This should have  
2108 been the Arabic script for [...], the greeting ‘hello’. Almost like a cancer being cut out, I  
2109 would suggest.

2110 And then children of ‘doubly-detained’ parents have been placed in securitized national  
2111 education boarding schools, as we’ve heard from my colleague Dr. Thum, and, we hear,  
2112 psychologically tortured. So, in one report from ethnic Han Chinese human rights  
2113 defenders working undercover – these are religious Christian human rights defenders  
2114 who are working undercover for *Bitter Winter* magazine in China – they wrote about how  
2115 children in classrooms were showing extreme caution when trying to speak and write in  
2116 Chinese, almost “as if they were skating on very thin ice”. In my most recent research,  
2117 together with Dilmurat Mahmut at McGill University in Canada – who is a Uyghur scholar,  
2118 Uyghur folklorist, we have been analysing closely, very closely analysing, a set of  
2119 textbooks that were revised and re-published in 2018. And in these textbooks, all Uyghur  
2120 cultural and social characteristics have been erased, completely erased.

2121 The word ‘Islam’ does not appear once in 6 books. The ethnonym ‘Uyghur’ only appears  
2122 once or twice and then, only as a part of the name of the region – XUAR. All of the pictures  
2123 of human characters are showing Han facial features, not Uyghur. All the names are  
2124 typical Chinese names, no Uyghur personal names.

2125 Han Chinese and western literatures are highlighted but no Islamic literature, no Turkish  
2126 or Middle Eastern literatures and definitely no Uyghur literatures. The same is true for  
2127 poetry.

2128 Mahmut and I argued that this is a deliberate intention to ‘invisiblize’ and, eventually, to  
2129 eradicate the Uyghur people as a separate ethnic group or nation.

2130 I’ve put these two pictures up here because this was a quite stunning thing we discovered,  
2131 which didn’t fit the pattern I’ve just described. We found one picture – just one picture, the  
2132 lower picture – which clearly shows Uyghur children. We think this was left in the set of  
2133 textbooks by mistake. If you look at the top picture – this is the same picture doctored to  
2134 make the children look Han, ethnically Han, in appearance. So, in the bottom picture, we  
2135 have shadowed eye sockets to show the deep-set eyes. We have Uyghur braids on the  
2136 girl in the pink dress. In the top one, all of the children have magically become Chinese –  
2137 Han Chinese. And we have regular pigtails instead of the Uyghur braids.

2138 So, these changes are causing significant mental harm, I would argue. The controls on  
2139 religious dress and facial hair...a colleague of mine was in Ghulja, in the northern oasis  
2140 of Ghulja, in 2018, and interviewed a Uyghur taxi driver. He got out a picture of him[self]  
2141 when he used to have a moustache and began to cry, and said to her, “today, it’s not  
2142 possible to grow a moustache. It’s not officially forbidden but everybody knows the  
2143 consequences of doing so”.

2144 I spent two hours talking to this young man in Kashgar. He sang the national Chinese  
2145 anthem to me in perfect Chinese. He also sang me a song in perfect Chinese that helped  
2146 him to learn the Chinese tones, the four tones, the pitch in Chinese – in mandarin  
2147 Chinese. And then, all of a sudden, he got some white sticky labels and began to recreate  
2148 a beard on his face. He’s not aware of what’s happening to him yet, at age 6. There is a  
2149 significant psychological trauma, I think, in this community resulting from these  
2150 restrictions.

2151 There was also the campaign to cut women’s tunics and dresses, which was going on  
2152 when I was in the Uyghur region in 2018. I didn’t see any of it personally but it was being  
2153 reported at the time by Radio Free Asia and some Taiwanese news outlets, where women

2154 were having their long tunics and skirts cut in the street – cut short in the street – because  
2155 wearing a long tunic and hiding your behind was supposedly a sign of religious extremism.  
2156 And, of course, this has been described as an attack on Uyghur women’s dignity.

2157 Also, Dr. Harris made reference to coerced intermarriages. The PRC has been  
2158 aggressively incentivizing intermarriage since 2014 by offering couples money and  
2159 material goods to encourage them and persuade Uyghur women to marry Han Chinese  
2160 men. And indeed, we’ve had a recent report last year, June 2020, from the Associated  
2161 Press, where a mixed couple report receiving such incentivized goods. However, our  
2162 colleague Darren Byler has published analysis of PRC state narratives which suggest  
2163 significant level of coercion. So, we have Han male migrants and security workers  
2164 choosing a Uyghur woman in the region and then working with various arms of the local  
2165 authorities to convince the families to agree. And when this is happening in a context  
2166 where refusal will be labelled as extremism and will result in you or your parents being  
2167 interned in a camp, it is very difficult to refuse such an intermarriage.

2168 We’ve also seen the detention, the targeting of famous cultural figures – or ‘killing the  
2169 chicken to show the monkey’ – to use a Chinese phrase. So this is the deliberate targeting  
2170 of celebrity and cultural figureheads. Again, it’s a way of inducing terror in the community,  
2171 inducing fear. It promotes the state project to eradicate local languages and cultures but  
2172 it also warns everyone – all of the broader masses – that nobody is safe, not even the  
2173 Uyghur elites. This practice has reached beyond the realm of high culture – for example,  
2174 we see a celebrity footballer interned, we see a philanthropist businessman sentenced to  
2175 life imprisonment and so on.

2176 The pictures you see here are of very highly respected musician – Abdurehim Heyit – a  
2177 long-term friend of mine and Dr. Harris’. And these are pictures of him before and after  
2178 detention. He is now out of the internment camp but, we believe, under house arrest in  
2179 Urumqi.

2180 Just very quickly, just to say that, everything I was describing - from what I saw with my  
2181 own eyes in 2018, is still happening now. We know this from a recent Reuters report,  
2182 among others, in which Reuters investigative reporters visited around 24 mosques across

2183 seven counties during Ramadan and found that most of them were either partially or  
2184 completely demolished.

2185 You see a picture here of part of a minaret broken off from the Xinqu mosque in Changji,  
2186 and you see here the same mosque with the minarets removed.

2187 In this picture, you see a mosque that has apparently been destroyed altogether and  
2188 reporters were prevented from entering the site. And a Han Chinese resident told  
2189 reporters, “there are no Muslims like that here anymore” meaning, there are no Muslims  
2190 who pray publicly in a public place in a public mosque here anymore.

2191 I’ll stop there.

2192 *Counsel – You mentioned that the Chinese Communist Party sees Uyghur Islam as a*  
2193 *virus and you also referred to the party using this medical analogy to describe with*  
2194 *reference to cleansing treatment and so forth. Is this a reference to cleansing the people*  
2195 *of their religion or is it something more than that?*

2196 JSM – I think it is something more. I think it is a hollowing out of their entire identity and  
2197 religion is targeted, amongst other things, because it is the central component of their  
2198 identity but it is not the only component of their identity. I think it is a hollowing out; an  
2199 emptying of the Uyghur identity so that, in the end, the Uyghur group as we know it will  
2200 not exist anymore. In the same way that the Manchu group have already inter-married to  
2201 such a level and being sinicised to such a level that really the Manchu group doesn’t really  
2202 exist anymore in China and Uyghurs often refer to the Manchu group when they are  
2203 voicing their fears about eradication and disappearance.

2204 *Counsel – You stated that in fractions in the community leads to detention and you*  
2205 *discussed in your report that, within the detention facilities there is forced secularisation*  
2206 *and de-extremification. What are the consequences for those who refuse secularisation*  
2207 *in the camps?*

2208 JSM – We don’t have much information about this. There is a report called “From camps  
2209 to prisons” by Gene Bunin, an independent researcher. He is also the curator of the  
2210 Xinjiang Victims Database In which he has described how the most un-reformable, in

2211 Chinese official's eyes, internees have been transferred from internment camps, into  
2212 formal prison situations. And, in these situations, there have sometimes been kangaroo  
2213 court held within the internment camps and those internees that were sort of perceived to  
2214 be un-reformable or unrepentant have been handed a very arbitrary summary, a sentence  
2215 of ten, 15 or 20 years. There are some statistics in that report that show the kind of  
2216 proportions and backgrounds but it is usually young men, young, very pious men who  
2217 refuse to renounce Islam in the camps who end up being treated in that way. Apart from  
2218 that report I am not aware of other information.

2219 *Counsel – You stated that when severe restrictions on religious practice were put in place*  
2220 *in South Xinjiang, that people were then going from the South to the North. Can you tell*  
2221 *us how common that was and whether that could be construed as a forced displacement*  
2222 *or not?*

2223 JSM – To a certain degree, it was a forced displacement because there people were  
2224 migrating to Urumqi in the North because they were no longer able to practice their  
2225 religious beliefs and were molested in the South and if they continued practicing everyday  
2226 religious activities in the South, they risked being interned and imprisoned. Those people  
2227 were moving to Urumqi because there were much greater freedoms there. This has been  
2228 happening for quite some time already. I have been going to the region over a period of  
2229 thirty years. If I think back of the first time, I was there in 1995/96, at that time all the  
2230 people would be going into a mosque on a Friday in Urumqi were elderly men; local  
2231 Urumqi residents and very few of them actually. Not very many. A handful of elderly man  
2232 going into the mosque around Friday lunchtime. By 2002-2004, as the local Islamic revival  
2233 was picking up in pace, it was very different. In Urumqi, the mosques had been rebuilt.  
2234 They were four/five times the size, two or three story, huge forecourts, and thousands of  
2235 men of all ages going in and out. A lot of those people at that time had already started  
2236 coming up from the South, I think. This intensified very much after 2009, after the  
2237 demonstrations in Urumqi. By 2016, when I was there, we were already seeing  
2238 restrictions in Urumqi whereby the women wearing niqab and hijab and so on. In 2004 or  
2239 in the 2000s when I was there were no longer wearing those. They were replaced by a  
2240 halfway hijab, like a permissible hijab that the authorities would allow and we also turban,

2241 saw these fashionable turbans, especially the young women, which seemed to be allowed  
2242 by that time. But, by 2018, all of that had completely vanished. In Kashgar in 2018, I saw  
2243 one lady with a very regular sort of chiffon lightweight headscarf during the whole time  
2244 that I was there and even she was asked to take that off as she passed through a security  
2245 checkpoint and no other woman was wearing any other head covering at all.

2246 *Counsel – the severe restrictions you refer to have extended, as you stated in your report,*  
2247 *to Urumqi and the rest of Xinjiang. Has that led to a consequent pattern of displacement*  
2248 *of movement of people in Xinjiang to elsewhere or within Xinjiang?*

2249 JSM – I interviewed some Uyghurs who had to move to Inner China from the Uyghur  
2250 region because, ironically, it was easier to practice in Inner China than it was in the Uyghur  
2251 region. However, by 2019, even the migrants in Inner China had come under significant  
2252 scrutiny. So, for example, in Shanghai when I was interviewing Uyghurs in restaurants in  
2253 2019, they had removed all of the Arabic calligraphy and all the sort of Islamic pictures  
2254 from the walls inside the restaurant. They explained how they were no longer able to go  
2255 into the mosque. The mosque was just across the street and the Hui Muslims were happily  
2256 going in and out of the mosque without any problem at all but the Uyghurs said “we cannot  
2257 go in the mosque, as soon as we go in the mosque, we will be rounded up and send back  
2258 to Xinjiang to be locked up”. And they said they had Han Chinese political cadres coming  
2259 into the restaurant and checking up on them, coming to eat in the restaurant but clearly  
2260 coming for surveillance purposes.

2261 *Counsel – you stated in the report that Uyghur cultural leaders have been detained and*  
2262 *at page 189 of your report you refer to artists, writers, poets, academics, singers and*  
2263 *athletes. It might be that there aren't any details about this but, how widespread is the*  
2264 *detention of Uyghur cultural leaders?*

2265 JSM – It is hard to gage that as, with everything, we know about what we know. Often it  
2266 may just be the tip of the iceberg. In the case of celebrity figures, the most recent report I  
2267 have seen numbers about 435 known celebrity figures to have been disappeared,  
2268 imprisoned or detained. But how representative that is across the whole it is hard to say.

2269 *Counsel – Does the detention of these figures, is it accompanied by publicity in state*  
2270 *media about the fact that they have been detained or not?*

2271 JSM – No. Everybody knows the person has disappeared. Everyone in the community  
2272 knows so the fear is instilled but it is not loaded publicly in the press. Not that I have seen.

2273 *Counsel – My final question which in one form or another has been asked of your*  
2274 *colleagues. What would you say is the logical conclusion, if any, that could be reached in*  
2275 *respect of the policies you have mentioned relating to cultural destruction?*

2276 JSM – What we are seeing is an identity castration. That is a term I used recently and  
2277 that I think that really resonates. It is like an identity castration or it is like an absolute  
2278 emptying of the Uyghur religious, linguistic and cultural identity. It is leaving the physical  
2279 shell. Yes, we are not seeing mass killings. No, but we are seeing the mass killing in the  
2280 sense that we are seeing the mass killing of an identity and we are seeing a physical shell  
2281 of people left without the cultural substance left anymore, in any recognisable form and  
2282 we are seeing that people are being deprived of the ability to transmit that life force that  
2283 cultural life force from one generation to the next. Deliberately, intentionally deprived of  
2284 the opportunity to do that by the state.

2285

2286 **5 June 2021 (02:45:40 – 04:09:20)**

2287

### 2288 **Questions to the Expert Panel**

2289

2290 *Panel – in your statement you start by saying voluntary, what do you think of the Chinese*  
2291 *use of the word “voluntary”? What do you think the authorities mean by that?*

2292 LM – In many documents I have seen in the last year, the Chinese government /local  
2293 authorities use it in a defensive posture against claims against forced labour and that they  
2294 are using forced labour in these programmes. When we see publicity about the labour  
2295 transfer programs, the celebration is the ideological readjustments of those subject to  
2296 these labour force programs. Though the stories are about those explicitly unwillingly –

2297 the success story is via consorted efforts of cadres and agencies and private labour  
2298 agencies as well, which are subsidised by the government, that people who were  
2299 previously unwillingly to go to work/accept government's "largess" that they have been  
2300 transformed and now voluntarily join work. These efforts are clearly coercive and  
2301 consistent and going back to people's houses and telling them that they need to be re-  
2302 educated if they don't go. The threat to resist the programmes are tantamount to being  
2303 affiliated terrorist mean what the Chinese government calling voluntary and celebrating  
2304 voluntariness is in fact a systematic program of coercion.

2305 *Panel – The words “work enforcement” and “enslavement” – what are the pointers to*  
2306 *slavery?*

2307 LM – When we talk about slavery as sociological or legal – sociological definition e.g.,  
2308 Kevin Bales at Nottingham who has defined it as person experience being compelled to  
2309 work against their will, under threat of violence and without ability to walk away. All these  
2310 factors are there in this case – that the people who are being subjected to these  
2311 programmes are going unwillingly, they are being subjected to forced work and under  
2312 threat of violence (camps) and unable to walk away – some are literally behind fences  
2313 and walls. Others are extraordinarily isolated, that there would be no way to get out of it  
2314 unless someone where to transport you. These programmes meet the sociological  
2315 definition that is about the experience of the enslaved person. At the same time, we have  
2316 definitions in UK modern slavery law, or the Palermo Protocol on trafficking or the ILO  
2317 Convention on forced labour. Some of those focus on, not the ILO Convention but the  
2318 others, focus on the criminal act, the programme, the state or the person who enacts  
2319 inflicts slavery on someone. Typically, these definitions hang on three categories or three  
2320 characteristics of slavery: forced, fraud or coercion. In the UK, it is often called deception  
2321 instead of fraud. But in this case all three of these characteristics are met – there are  
2322 many cases in which people are being forced by being held within the fences of the  
2323 internment camps, or within the fences of the factory, fraud they are being promised of  
2324 paid or promised that they can go back. In some cases, people are being paid but in other  
2325 cases people are not. And then coercion, being coerced through this system of agencies

2326 that go out and after them, time and time again. All of these possible definitions of  
2327 trafficking and slavery and forced labour seem to be met in my opinion.

2328 *Panel – In terms of that internment site and the Palermo Protocol – how do they explain*  
2329 *what they are doing?*

2330 LM – I can't possibly tell how they would do that.

2331 *Panel – When you talk about forced labour do you mean slave labour as well as low-paid*  
2332 *labour?*

2333 LM – Yes, most definitions of slavery... there is a lot of debate about what constitutes  
2334 slavery. Some people would suggest that the definition of slavery hangs on whether or  
2335 not a person is paid. There are testimonies to the effect that there are people who are in  
2336 the system of labour transfer that are in fact not paid or paid little. Some testimonies show  
2337 debt bondage, that is that they are being told that they own money for transportation, for  
2338 housing at the place of work and therefore never make the money promised. Most  
2339 definitions of slavery do not hang on this question of payment but hang on the question  
2340 of voluntariness of labour and the ILO definition of forced labour is like this; that is an  
2341 unwilling coercion to work and so compulsion/compulsory work. Question of pay is not as  
2342 relevant, even if person is paid, they don't have right to spend as they like, they don't  
2343 have the right to come and go as they please, they don't have the right to choose their  
2344 work which is a right given to humans by UDHR.

2345 *Panel – Does money ever reach their families, who presumably wouldn't have any money*  
2346 *to survive on, if they were detained?*

2347 LM – Chinese government reports people do send money back home and that is a method  
2348 of poverty alleviation. We don't have any first-person testimonies suggesting this  
2349 happens. We have very little ability to know anything about what is happening to workers  
2350 there because no auditors or researchers or journalist can go to factories allowed to get  
2351 close. We cannot independently verify if people are being paid or sending money back  
2352 home to their families. We can't know.

2353 *Panel – Going back you just said that you can't go back in. How do you corroborate the*  
2354 *evidence you have given us? A lot is secondary, from articles, how do we know this is*  
2355 *true?*

2356 LM – A lot of what I use to describe the systematic nature of the programs is drawn directly  
2357 from government directives and documents – typically local level documents instructing  
2358 labour agencies on how to operate labour transfers and that instruct them to  
2359 systematically employ everyone who can be employed. I work with a team of incredible  
2360 researchers from the region, who do not currently live there and speak Uyghur and  
2361 Chinese and Kazakh. I also work with a supply chain analyst – we are a team. We do a  
2362 lot of work to verify this. When we locate a media article about these directives, those  
2363 directives are typically celebrated or promoted through many different media sources and  
2364 we track down the original government directive that comes from the regional  
2365 government. This is the public regional directive, there might be other ones that we don't  
2366 know about. These are the claims they want the public to know, the operational systems  
2367 that they expect people to understand and implement on the ground and ostensibly, they  
2368 have no concerns about hiding because they are open sourced online. The main contours  
2369 of this system are drawn directly from government evidence.

2370 *Panel – Have any of you actually been to a camp? Seen what goes on within the camp?*

2371 LM – No.

2372 *Panel – Nobody within the team has been there. This is all secondary. Let's talk about*  
2373 *having being arrested, is there a problem about seeing anything, presumably this is 2018?*  
2374 *Has anyone been allowed and look?*

2375 LM – I know of a financial auditor before 2016 or 2017. She says before the wall came  
2376 down, was allowed to inspect a factory in Xinjiang, since then they had no access to that  
2377 region.

2378 *Panel – You mentioned quantitative point system, could you explain this to us?*

2379 LM – Over the course of last four years I have seen number of different quantitative point  
2380 systems, early on there was a form found online showed different practices that would

2381 determine the status or outcomes for people who were of ethnic minorities in that region.  
2382 I specifically talk of one assigning people to different forms of labour transfers or education  
2383 if they deemed dangerous. There are a number of different ways those points are masked  
2384 and working in labour transfer is a way to gain points, which is a form of coercion (losing  
2385 could mean detention or worse treatment for your family members). Those points are  
2386 accrued or lost through these incredibly invasive visits of Han people which are often  
2387 implemented by companies themselves. We have investigated several companies that  
2388 have programmes in their companies, where they move Han workers out to Xinjiang  
2389 region to do more technical parts of the jobs, the education they have and then those  
2390 people are required to go into Uyghur people's homes to educate them on Chinese  
2391 thinking and ideology and gear them up towards working in factories and to monitor them  
2392 and to assign these points.

2393 *Panel – The Xinjiang Construction Corps operation, is that a government or a commercial*  
2394 *organisation?*

2395 LM – It is a paramilitary corporate organisation which owns cities, 14 publicly held  
2396 cooperations and has 4,400 entities under its investment portfolio – it is, what you may  
2397 call an “archipelago government” – runs satellite cities across the vast region of Xinjiang  
2398 but it's also the local government in those places while making tons of money from labour  
2399 transfers and the people they govern.

2400 *Panel – Can you explain difference between orphanages and boarding schools, in*  
2401 *policy documents and in practice?*

2402 RT – That's a difficult question. Orphanages for those who cannot return home. We do  
2403 not have lots of information about how boarding schools are operating over the last two  
2404 or three or four years. In previous situations and in other parts of China, some boarding  
2405 schools would allow children to return home at weekends, others will allow them to return  
2406 home only during holidays. Whereas orphanages is conceptualised as something being  
2407 permanently raised there. The orphanages are also considered as being a part of social  
2408 services, so they are often paired with elder care institutions and in a large number of the  
2409 construction bid documents that I submitted they are soliciting bids simultaneous  
2410 construction of an orphanage and an elderly care facility which hints at the possibility that

2411 the internments and the forced labour; the forcible transfer of the labour programme are  
2412 not just leaving children without family support but the elderly without family support and  
2413 these are seen as linked issues by the state.

2414 *Panel – Is there a link to the 2017 policy document from the Xinjiang Education*  
2415 *Department, the one that set out to isolate children from their families and any*  
2416 *documents you are aware of from the Ministry of Education in Beijing?*

2417 RT – Yes, that report is actually published by the elementary level education division of  
2418 the Education Bureau in Beijing. It is a collection of reports from the provincial level  
2419 education bureaus published by the Beijing Department of Education.

2420 *Panel – Do you know the extent of children’s placement in residential care when only one*  
2421 *parent is interned?*

2422 RT – That is a difficult question to answer as we don’t have systematic data for it and will  
2423 probably best be asked to Dr Zenz. He has done quite extensive research on the question.

2424 *Panel – Language of correction of the derogatory relating to infection, is that found in*  
2425 *policy document relating to children?*

2426 RT – I have not seen that language in those documents.

2427 *Panel – What is the nature of parental consent? What does your data suggest that the*  
2428 *transfer of children is taking place without parental consent or indeed children’s own*  
2429 *consent?*

2430 RT – First of all, this is compulsory education, when the state changes what type of school  
2431 you are compelled to go to. Of course, compulsory education is common around the  
2432 world. Families are compelled to send their children to school. What we are seeing here  
2433 is that the nature of the schools is being changed. Once the schooling is changed to  
2434 boarding, the families are still compelled to send children there. We have a handful of  
2435 first-person testimonies, actually they are family testimonies from people who have  
2436 escaped the region. Those are found in the Xinjiang Victim Database but not particularly  
2437 numerous. Here, we face the usual barrier of access to data.

2438 *Panel – Given that Chinese is not just media but also communication, any evidence from*  
2439 *parents or children of communication between the generations?*

2440 RT – Yes, absolutely. Last time I was in the region was December 2017, the goal was  
2441 changing the medium of education and administration in schools to 100% Chinese and  
2442 has been around for quite a long time before 2008 and was slowly moving at first. You  
2443 can already see the effects. When I was there, doing field work, people would complain  
2444 having trouble talking to their children as they didn't know their mother language well and  
2445 I believe you can find some quotes on media reports on people talking about this as well.

2446 *Panel – Given children are separated from their parents, that they are using a different*  
2447 *language of communication to one they are familiar with and experiencing the curriculum*  
2448 *as your colleagues have explained that is not reflecting their own culture and experience,*  
2449 *do you know of any evidence on children's mental health or psychological wellbeing?*

2450 RT – Talk of concern about mental wellbeing of children in state documents, particularly  
2451 when they talk about the so called “hardship students”. Can refer to a range of hardships,  
2452 often specified as a product when parents are in indoctrination camps. Mental health is a  
2453 focus of some state documents for such “hardship” students. But this is a very recent  
2454 policy and we do not have access to information about what has happened to children in  
2455 the last two years who have been raised and educated in these schools.

2456 *Panel – If you had to respond to the argument that the increase in boarding provision,*  
2457 *let's leave aside orphanages in the region, constitutes a kind of levelling up of provision*  
2458 *in line with other areas of China?*

2459 RT – I would argue that there was no need for boarding up to give educational access. In  
2460 Xinjiang and especially in the South, where the Uyghurs are in majority, has not seen  
2461 proletarianization that the rest of China has seen with the concurring hollowing-out of rural  
2462 areas. The population until then, it is hard to tell what is happening the last two/three  
2463 years but until then, the overwhelming majority of Uyghurs were small independent farm  
2464 operators so there was no problem that needed to move or concentrate educational  
2465 resources in light of closing schools in the countryside into the towns. There is no  
2466 evidence of any need, in fact it is counterintuitive and a major expensive, unnecessary

2467 use of resources. It doesn't fit the needs of resource provision that are talked about for  
2468 the interior of China.

2469 *Panel – Turning to coercive birth control, you referred Uyghur women allowed fewer*  
2470 *children than the official entitlement, we heard that from witnesses. Are there any*  
2471 *statistics on this phenomenon?*

2472 RT – No comprehensive statistics, not something the government would measure, we are  
2473 reliant on government statistic for these comprehensive numerical measures. It is  
2474 something that happens in drive to meet quotas rather than a drive to meet regulations.  
2475 There are parent quotas for birth rates in various local regions and those put pressure on  
2476 people on the ground to sort of bend the rules against national policy. Those quotas seem  
2477 to emanate from either the region or Beijing. This means they are not keeping track of  
2478 things that go against official policy.

2479 *Panel – Was there a 2020 census?*

2480 RT – There was a 2020 census. Data is not out yet. There might be a preview.

2481 *Panel – Was a Uyghur category in that?*

2482 RT – I do not know, more relevant would be the 2020 Xinjiang statistical yearbook which  
2483 provides more fine-grained data for Xinjiang and in that they have eliminated ethnic  
2484 categories in much of the data. When we used to get very clearly, for example birth-rates  
2485 and natural increase rates at the county level. They have eliminated the birth rates on the  
2486 country level and they have also eliminated ethnic categorisation on some of the data  
2487 sets.

2488 *(3:12:35) Panel – How many female camps do you think there are in Xinjiang?*

2489 RH – I do not have those kinds of statistics available right now.

2490 *(3:14:20) Panel – How many camps do we have reports of torture rooms being present*  
2491 *within them?*

2492 RH – We have a quite limited number of accounts altogether, which is due to the extreme  
2493 level of secrecy.

2494 *Panel – This is just to determine if this is a general thing, which would mean it is a central*  
2495 *directive. Do you think it is reasonable to generalise from a very small number of cases?*

2496 RH – That kind of evidence is very hard to determine, Adrian Zenz would probably be  
2497 more able to answer that.

2498 *Panel – With regards to the rape culture you referred to within the female camps, do we*  
2499 *know whether a similar rape culture exists in the prison services in Mainland China?*

2500 RH – I have only come across suggestions of systematic rape of female detainees on  
2501 Tibetan nuns and Falun Gong practitioners and these are special groups, so I would not  
2502 say a widespread practice across the mainstream population, no.

2503 *Panel – Do we have any idea what the drugs forcibly given to detainees are?*

2504 RH – We believe they are designed to halt menstruations.

2505 *Panel – Why do you believe that?*

2506 RH – This is what has come from testimonies. Women coming out of camps have on  
2507 several occasions independently stated that they believed these drugs were given in  
2508 order to stop their ability to have children, to sterilise them.

2509 *Panel – I don't doubt that that's what they believe. Stress and weight loss are two major*  
2510 *causes of cessation of menstruation. I wonder how you get beyond that. Is there any*  
2511 *procurement data,,, because these are massive amounts of these drugs that are being*  
2512 *administered,,, Is there any procurement data on drugs from pharmaceutical companies*  
2513 *within China?*

2514 RT – I haven't seen any data like this and I know that there is a lot of interest in it and  
2515 there have been efforts to find it. To date we don't have any knowledge on precisely  
2516 what these medicines are. We rely entirely on the testimony of survivors for any picture  
2517 of what is happening.

2518 *Panel – We also heard that drugs have been forcibly administered to men in the camps.*  
2519 *Do we know if they are the same of different drugs?*

2520 JSF– We don't know exactly which drug it is. We have some reports from doctors, from  
2521 the Xinjiang Victims Database, where former internees had medical checks after coming  
2522 out of the camps and have been found to be sterile. There are a limited number of such  
2523 reports. After medical examination in Kazakhstan.

2524 *Panel – I am not sure what medical checks would tell you that someone was sterile*  
2525 *beyond the fact that they weren't menstruating but we will leave it there.*

2526 RH – This was regarding man was it not?

2527 DT– Uyghur men were interviewed claiming to be impotent after taking medicine but  
2528 there is no medical examination.

2529 *Panel – With that rape culture in place, one could anticipate an increase in the*  
2530 *transmission of sexually transmitted diseases, have we observed any evidence of a rise*  
2531 *in sexually transmitted diseases?*

2532 RH – No, that is not information that I have.

2533 LM – We might also expect there to be massive outbreaks of pregnancies and we do not  
2534 see that either.

2535 *Panel – Do you think the placement of Han relatives in Uyghur home are the main source*  
2536 *of sexual harassment?*

2537 RH – Yes, I think there are a lot of accounts now, it seems intuitive for me that it is going  
2538 to be a very problematic practice. We heard one from Qalbinur [Sidik].

2539 *Panel – Is there any evidence of religion, given that it can't be practiced openly, has*  
2540 *been driven underground?*

2541 JSF – Originally yes as it became harder to practice in public spaces for pious Uyghurs.  
2542 It retreated into the family space. For example, in the 2000s, I was interviewing a lot of  
2543 Uyghurs that had taken up Islam in a very pious way for the first time, teaching themselves  
2544 how to pray at home, using pamphlets at home they had bought at the market. Uyghurs  
2545 who were very pious practising religion praying 5x day at home even though they were  
2546 state employees and not allowed to do so. So that was happening in the 2000s. Since

2547 becoming family campaign and cadres visiting and then home-staying, it has become  
2548 almost impossible. The cadres are sent into the homes with the manual, an instruction  
2549 manual, on which Darren Byler has written extensively about and they are told to look out  
2550 for Qu'rans to Arabic calligraphy on the walls, any indication the household is following  
2551 religion in a pious way. Going into the house with pork dumplings and if refusing pork  
2552 dumplings, interpreting that as a sign of religious extremism. In that context it has become  
2553 very hard to practice religion in the domestic space compared to before.

2554 *Panel – Not expecting to give an empirical response, is your sense of the repression of*  
2555 *the religious activity is more aggressive than towards other groups, for example House*  
2556 *Christians?*

2557 JSF – We have to recognise that the CCP has a problem with religion in general. This  
2558 has been on-going for decades. It sees religion and God as a rival authority, and has  
2559 done so for years. We are seeing Christians and Falun Gong persecuted as well as  
2560 Buddhists to a greater degree in the last few years, but nothing on scale of what done to  
2561 Uyghur Muslims. The Hui, yes, we are beginning to see effects on the Hui - I have  
2562 anonymous Han contact in Wuhan who is sending me picture. The same on halal signage  
2563 defacement happening in Wuhan on Hui Muslim, the Islamophobia is spreading across  
2564 the country. Not seeing Hui interned in re-education camps on a massive scale as  
2565 Uyghurs. Not in comparison with numbers of Uyghurs. It's much bigger with the Uyghurs  
2566 that just religion, it is about their whole identity. The difference between the Uyghur and  
2567 the Hui is that Uyghurs always concentrated in the northwest border region and had  
2568 history of recent independent republics in the 1930s and 1940s. The state is trying to  
2569 dilute the population density by transfer of Han in and Uyghur out into forced labour  
2570 situations elsewhere. This is a concerted effort to try and reorganise the population  
2571 composition in that region. Don't see that with Hui as they have always been widely  
2572 distributed around China. They have had a different population distribution and the Hui  
2573 are much less suspected than the Uyghurs because they have intermarried extensively  
2574 over the centuries and adopted the Chinese language. They are sinicised in a way the  
2575 Uyghurs have not been until forced.

2576 *Panel – Shed light on the number of ways there are to destroy a society by internal*  
2577 *fragmentation by creating fear and division, children reporting on their parents and so*  
2578 *on... any evidence on that?*

2579 JSF – We have reports from AP investigative journalists about how children in boarding  
2580 schools and schools have been asked about parents' religious practices. Han Chinese  
2581 teachers in those schools asking if parents been on pilgrimage, or relatives, if parents  
2582 praying at home. It is another way to observe religious activities at home. In one case  
2583 reported by AP, an innocent child informed on their uncle, had mentioned he had been  
2584 on pilgrimage unofficially, who was then arrested and taken away to an internment camp.  
2585 This is just one example.

2586 *Panel – Do you think the characterisation of recalcitrant people, as the state sees it, in*  
2587 *this group as viruses, illnesses and so forth... Is that commensurate descriptions used of*  
2588 *other cases such as Rwanda e.g., cockroaches, rats and so on.*

2589 JSF – Since the answer to the 'people's war on terror' in 2014, we have seen 'extremists'  
2590 but extremists here just means pious Uyghurs describes as rats since 2014. We have  
2591 seen a progressive dehumanisation of the Uyghur group whereby they are now being  
2592 described as ideological illness, mental illnesses and people who have viruses in official  
2593 state media, a long piece that I analysed for an essay I wrote a couple of years ago. We  
2594 see a horrific discourse describing Imams, so called 'wild Imams' (not trained by state)  
2595 referred to as parasites. We see pious Uyghurs referred to as parasitic as they are not  
2596 active economically productive citizens as they cannot be as they spend too much time  
2597 praying. We see discourses on the infiltration of Islam and contagion of Islam. It is all in  
2598 this discourse of 'halalification' so within the de-extremification, we see a lot of talk about  
2599 'halalifications' - the state seems to be very concerned about 'halalification', beyond  
2600 simply abstention from pork and then infecting the rest of society. I think this  
2601 dehumanisation has been discussed in detail by Dr Roberts.

2602 *Panel – If you destroy the religion, language and cultural base as a group such as this,*  
2603 *identity castration, can that group survive as a recognisable group?*

2604 JSF – It is very difficult to eliminate a group permanently and for good. As we have seen,  
2605 groups can recover e.g., certain native American groups, First Nation groups in Canada.  
2606 New policies allowing the indigenisation of education in universities in Canada. We see  
2607 groups in Australia regaining new rights to a certain degree. Not to a great degree.  
2608 Chinese state appears to be going about that goal in an orchestrated, systematic and  
2609 concerted manner.

2610 *Panel – Dr Tobin thank you for a presentation, remarkable in clarity and power to*  
2611 *illuminate. Is there anything you would like to add, correct, interpret, particularly on*  
2612 *matters of intent?*

2613 DT – When I engage with that in my work, I do not when I discuss intent, I discuss,  
2614 continuity of intent. That is not to say that policies have not changed. They have changed  
2615 frequently throughout Chinese history. What I try to do is show the underlying narratives  
2616 of dehumanisation that are present in each era. We see in 1949, the establishment of the  
2617 regional autonomous system, that is framed as holding China together and modernising  
2618 the region. Of course, this is after promises of independence. Mao Zedong and most  
2619 Chinese academic work during that period call it historical materialist in the sense that  
2620 drawing, the idea that cultures and identities are strictly related to economic development.  
2621 The idea was that modernisation means those cultures disappear naturally. In practice,  
2622 that is not a natural process but the narrative was that disappearance was natural. In  
2623 2012, for the first time, there was a formal debate about ethnic policy, it was called the  
2624 ‘intergenerational debate’ where the historical materialist saying we need to preserve the  
2625 regional autonomy system to hold China together and that people will naturally assimilate.  
2626 But then you had the second generation consisting of people like Ma Rong (马戎) ,  
2627 historian and anthropologist, Zhu Weiqun (朱维群) who worked for the united front work  
2628 department and Hu Angang (胡鞍钢), a political economist. They drove what they called  
2629 second generation of ethnic policies, essentially responding to 2009 violence saying  
2630 these policies do not work. China’s great revival as they call it meant securing the region.  
2631 Securing the region meant shifting policies we are discussing today. This was taken up  
2632 in formal policy, diffusion policy, where, when I started working on this, every document

2633 was structured around the notion of 56 *minzu* (民族) . You have the Han and you have  
 2634 the non-Han, the civilisation and barbarian binary call it that. Now this is formal policy to  
 2635 shift towards one *minzu* (民族) , *zhonghua minzu* (中华民族), the Chinese nation. Ma  
 2636 Rong, who was a historian and anthropologist, now writes articles celebrating this policy.  
 2637 This is a very different tone, this is more classics looking to the leader, thanking him for  
 2638 his contributions and thanking him for revolutionising this policy. When we read regional  
 2639 government documents, their tone speak to the party; the party state. Most regional  
 2640 governments just run through these policies and explain how they have achieved them.  
 2641 The regional government documents celebrate Xi Jinping as resolver of tensions between  
 2642 how to include Uyghurs. Inclusion was always violent and leads to ethnic disappearance,  
 2643 we now see much more physical violence which exists to police Uyghur identities. When  
 2644 you look at any situation for comparison, there are decision-makers that matter and that  
 2645 we can talk about. A long-term political process and a multi layered social process which  
 2646 involves society and the state.

2647 *Panel – Anything you would like to put right or correct on what has been said?*

2648 DT – If I may add something on the camps question and the structure of the camp,  
 2649 numbers of camps, types of camps. Darren Byler’s work, the three layers of camps that  
 2650 are often within one facility – the most dangerous areas e.g., black rooms where  
 2651 intellectuals and public figures disappear that we have no contact with. Most of the  
 2652 testimonies that we have don’t come from those layers but come from the safer layers of  
 2653 the camps. That is the point of my description on regional government about the three  
 2654 types of people, they would all be called terrorists when those three layers are there.

2655 *Panel – I would like to examine the president’s declaration of people’s war on terror, which*  
 2656 *Professor Harris raised and its link to state social management and policies, that were*  
 2657 *mobilised to go with that. Would I be correct in assuming that in Mandarin, ‘people’s war’*  
 2658 *could be interpreted as state violence?*

2659 RH – Revolution is not a tea party. There is a long history of an embrace of “necessary  
 2660 violence” in the social change necessary to bring about socialism, this is the socialist  
 2661 tradition of propaganda. It is an interesting question: it raises the question of the

2662 relationship between the people of the state. The party assumes leadership over the  
2663 people. So yes, I think you could very easily make that link.

2664 *Panel – You have an organigram in front of you now, with the state, the government, and*  
2665 *the party. Can we say that this tri-partite area is the state in terms of People’s war?*

2666 RH – I am not an expert on the structures of Chinese governance. I would refer you to a  
2667 colleague such as David Tobin.

2668 DT – When we use the phrase “party state” - we use it because there isn’t much  
2669 separation between party and state. We study these types of diagrams when we do level  
2670 one Chinese politics and when we show how the party state presents itself. It is actually  
2671 important. In my teaching I take diagrams from Xinhua news, the diagrams used in China,  
2672 and we discuss these institutional frameworks and, usually, I would involve Chinese  
2673 students in conversations to ask them; what do you think? Does it work like this? The  
2674 answer is no, of course not. The answer is *guanxi* (关系) relationships, this is just formal,  
2675 and you use your *guanxi* (关系) to work through the system. People would say there is  
2676 not really a distinction between the party and the state like I said the regional government,  
2677 the autonomous regional government, responds directly to the state counsel. It does not  
2678 have as much autonomy as the provinces. The provinces have some economic autonomy  
2679 but the autonomous regional governments do not. When we go back to Hu Jintao (胡锦  
2680 涛) era which was ten years ago, when we taught these diagrams, usually then you would  
2681 talk about formal decision-making power which I think would matter here. You would point  
2682 to the Public Bureau Standing Committee and that would be it. Now under Xi not so much,  
2683 it is really Xi Jinping who has power to such a great extent. And the Public Bureau  
2684 Standing Committee is obviously very influential but when you centralise power and you  
2685 increase their term limits, that body no longer performs that same function.

2686 *Panel – Dr Smith-Finley – you often refer to normal and every day Islamic practices, I*  
2687 *take those to mean practices that would be regarded as normal and every day in all*  
2688 *Muslim countries, Muslim majority countries and also Muslim minority countries, and also*  
2689 *practiced by the Chinese Hui Muslims. Are you aware of anywhere else that would regard*

2690 *them as systematically, those practices, as signs of extremism or radicalisation? Can you*  
2691 *also tell us about the tradition of Islam amongst the Uyghurs?*

2692 RT – It is diverse within the Uyghur community. There are a lot of shared elements with  
2693 nearby Muslim communities in Central Asia and India. Usually people, when I answer this  
2694 question, will first go to say that it is from the Hanafi legal school of the Sunnis which is  
2695 overemphasised on law because there are not really a lot of decision being taken by most  
2696 Uyghurs on narrow questions of legalistic, Islamic law until this recent turn after which  
2697 there is not much public practice. Islam is seen, by a lot of Uyghurs, as something  
2698 integrated into daily life, not a separate religious vocation but a normal pattern of life and  
2699 correct knowledge. It involves, for example, visiting your parents grave on Thursday,  
2700 making proper gestures before you eat, people might say grace in many Western  
2701 countries, greetings like people say in English “bless you” after you sneeze. All these  
2702 things are part of Uyghur Islam but it is also important to note distinctive elements that  
2703 you find amongst Uyghur Muslims. One I have done research on is shrine pilgrimage.  
2704 The landscape is dotted with places that are seen as extremely sacred, as point as  
2705 connection and communication with God or mediation of saints who are buried there and  
2706 there are a lot of particular traditions associated with that. Often, they are called Sufi  
2707 although they have a local flavour. There are also a lot of Sufi also meditative practice  
2708 that until recently was common.

2709 JSF – We see differing degrees of potential criminalisation of Islamic, every day practice  
2710 elsewhere, but nothing on scale as Xinjiang at the moment. If you speak to British  
2711 Muslims, they will make a comparison with the prevent programme. On that, I would say  
2712 yes, we certainly see under the prevent programme in the UK, we see heightened  
2713 surveillance on Muslim communities, which has been very unwelcome for many of those  
2714 living in Muslim communities for sure. Key difference between prevent and the internment  
2715 and re-education that we see in Xinjiang is that with prevent in UK, the UK authorities are  
2716 asking communities to flag up those who are potentially being radicalised, then these  
2717 people are monitored by social workers and asked to voluntarily submit to deradicalization  
2718 programme and they are given the choice, whether they join that programme or not. Major  
2719 difference in the two. In the Uyghur region, you are not given a choice. If you are identified

2720 by the system as suspicious or problematic in some way, you will be taken into internment  
2721 involuntarily. This is one very big difference between the two.

2722 Another example of where we see partially comparable restriction is France – restriction  
2723 on religious symbols as part of the secular band of that nation and we have seen  
2724 increasing restrictions on different aspects of veiling. I cannot think of any other example  
2725 in the world where peaceful religious everyday practices are criminalised in same way as  
2726 in Uyghur region right now.

2727 *Panel – Did the interrogators at the various arrests at different levels you experienced*  
2728 *have a common line in what they said to you? Did what they say to you indicate a common*  
2729 *approach to their effective condemnation of you being there?*

2730 JSF – Yes, but very basic. At the \*Azkhadem\* shrine in Kashgar Prefecture – first I was  
2731 arrested by a local Uyghur policeman who came out of convenience police station who  
2732 came out of the police station located next to the shrine. He asked me: who I was, what  
2733 my profession was, what country I come from, was I travelling with anyone? Very basic  
2734 questions. What was I doing there? My purpose in being there. Then he held onto me –  
2735 he tried to wipe all my photos from phone, put them in recycle bin from where I was later  
2736 able to reinstate them. Then, he held on to me and took me to a restaurant invited to have  
2737 a cup of tea. This is what normally happens in Han China when you are in trouble with  
2738 the authorities. They invite you to have a cup of tea. I was held in a restaurant until a  
2739 district Han policeman came and asked same questions in Chinese. He was still nervous  
2740 about letting me go, he phoned the undercover Uyghur policeman back in Kashgar where  
2741 I had come from, ironically. Out into the countryside. He called them out, they drove all  
2742 the way out, in the car. They were Uyghur, plain clothes, English speaking with American  
2743 accents asked same question again, took away passport and took it into the local police  
2744 station. Photocopied it, still didn't realise who I was although my profile is all over the  
2745 internet. They ought to just do a quick google search but still didn't know who I was and  
2746 believed the story I told them and let me go two hours later.

2747 *Panel – So no policy statement by any of the interrogators?*

2748 JSF – No.

2749 RH – The story is indicative of how power works in that region – the extreme nervousness  
2750 of people at low level to act with any autonomy. This successive, you know, referring the  
2751 problem up. That says a lot.

2752 *Panel – Say more about your understanding of “Uyghur Islams” - Uyghur Islams*  
2753 *jurisprudence – is there a notion of ‘Taqiya’, that is valid to conceal your religious practices*  
2754 *for a time when being persecuted? In the expectation that in some later time, it may re-*  
2755 *emerge? I understand that it is a notion common amongst Shia Muslims. Is there any*  
2756 *such notion that might inform people about how it is acceptable to stand back from your*  
2757 *religious practice for a while until it is appropriate to practice it again because this goes*  
2758 *to the question of whether or not there is a sense amongst people of whether they think*  
2759 *their religion is being destroyed.*

2760 RT – There is not a lot of education in the Islamic legal sciences that has been available  
2761 to the people over the last seventy years. There is not much discussion. Over the last  
2762 twenty years, discussion is more accessible to the outside world. One does not encounter  
2763 these types of attempts to make legal decisions based on Hanafi or based on compilations  
2764 of previous decisions by Islamic judges. There is not much in way of informal Islamic  
2765 opinions. This is not really part of the discourse. I have not met many Uyghurs who have  
2766 been concerned by the ‘is it permissible’. I would be surprised with the idea of ‘Taqiya’ - I  
2767 would be surprised to meet someone who would be familiar with that term. You frequently  
2768 encounter people who have own informal understanding and rationalisation - “I will say  
2769 this out loud, but in my head, I will say the opposite” or something like that.

2770 There is a foundational sacred history of the Uyghur Muslim king who was commanded  
2771 by his father to build a Buddhist temple and then in his head he said silently to himself  
2772 with each brick “I am building a mosque”. There are models for this. That’s a fairly  
2773 widely known story but it is not framed in terms of Islamic law.

2774 *Panel – And it is not within people as an understanding? I understand that the notion of*  
2775 *‘Taqiya’ is not taught to the people because there aren’t schools of jurisprudence. It is*  
2776 *not in any way indigenous to the people’s way of understanding themselves? Not*  
2777 *necessarily through jurisprudence but perhaps through folklore?*

2778 RT – That’s what I meant to get out through the story. Folklore, like you may call it.  
2779 Histories. It is something that people could derive that from.

2780 *Panel – I have a question on the census - you say the datasets have eliminated the ethnic*  
2781 *categorisation, why is this?*

2782 DT – I link that straight away to diffusion policy. When I first arrived in Urumqi, I was using  
2783 these statistical yearbooks. I was shocked that I could essentially walk into the shop that  
2784 is for cadres and wonder about and see what cadres were reading. And they told me  
2785 you need to read this and so forth which speaks to policies being very ad hoc and have  
2786 been centralised recently. At the same time, you have diffusion policy where the concept  
2787 of ethnic minority is disappearing out of official narratives and official speeches. Then we  
2788 have the census data which suddenly changed and this is shocking for someone, all their  
2789 knowledge was structured around these categories when we studied these subjects  
2790 because everything is divided by ethnicity and now it is not. It comes from above, in terms  
2791 of narrative, and just to mention the question on the ‘people’s war on terror’ you know  
2792 these are grand narratives, this is what the leader pronounces and that is what is used to  
2793 explain these policies.

2794 *Panel – I am trying to square in my mind the fact that the categories have been eliminated*  
2795 *and the data collection but on the other hand, we hear the policy in the language. We*  
2796 *hear ‘break their lineage’, ‘break their roots’, ‘break their connections’. There is always*  
2797 *‘their’ ...*

2798 DT – It is the Uyghur people. When the phrase ‘people’s war on terror’ is used, a Uyghur  
2799 knows that refers to Islamic and Turkic identities and of course, party state leaders must  
2800 know this. I know this, why would they not? There has been an ambivalence. One reason  
2801 the case confused the world is because of the notion of including minorities and the types  
2802 of images we see where people are dressed up in artificial nylon and clothing and so  
2803 forth. That exists alongside the violence we are discussing.

2804 *Panel – Reflective of Professor Harris’ commentary – what is the inability of subordinates*  
2805 *to make decisions and the fear around that? This is a question to all of you. In your view,*  
2806 *is it possible for the policy or dehumanisation by destruction of religious base, of language*

2807 *through detention system and torture and other elements you have talked about in that*  
2808 *regard? Could that happen without the implicit consent or direction of the most senior*  
2809 *people within both the state and or the party?*

2810 DT – No.

2811 JSF – It would be almost impossible for low level official to operate on that basis without  
2812 explicit approval of central authorities. That is how the vertical structures work as seen in  
2813 your diagram here. As Professor Harris just highlighted with my story on the arrests, low  
2814 levels officials were terrified when considering what to do with me, how to deal with me  
2815 and had to refer it all the way up to the sort of ‘highest level’ in that part of Xinjiang before  
2816 they would even consider letting me go.

2817 Sir Geoffrey, I remember something important in regard to that story. You asked me if  
2818 there was anything indicative of policy? Yes, there was actually. The plainclothes  
2819 policeman who came from Kashgar city repeatedly said that this area, this shrine is not  
2820 open for foreign visitation. That is very important. Why? The district policeman said this  
2821 as well. Not open to foreign visitation. This phrase has been around for a long time. You  
2822 used to have hotels where foreigners could stay and others where you could. Decades  
2823 ago. It is the same phrase. It indicated the idea, those rural areas and those religious sites  
2824 that not been flagged up for touristic visitation purposes were out of bounds for foreign  
2825 researchers.

2826 *Panel – You said all detainees had medical checks. Is there any data, documentation of*  
2827 *long-term medical problems apart from mental side?*

2828 RH – No long-term phenomenon yet, the testimonies are from people coming out from  
2829 detention from 2015. Questions on medical side are very useful and there is a need for  
2830 research to be done.

2831 *Panel – I wish you would do some. We know that men are sterile, are they sterile*  
2832 *because they have no sperm or are they impotent because of depression? Clearly,*  
2833 *depression is going to be one of the major causes of what happens. It has to be.*

2834 RH – Again you have to understand the extreme difficulty of conducting any kind of  
2835 research that would have significant validity through your understanding of methodology  
2836 because of the problem of access.

2837 *Panel – I am sure but in terms of disabilities, fractures or have they mutilated or*  
2838 *amputated...have they done other things?*

2839 RH – We have a limited number of people that we are able to engage with outside of  
2840 China and the extreme difficulty of asking those questions through official channels within  
2841 China. We can go somewhere perhaps to running a project that looks into procurement  
2842 orders. That very careful combing of government data that is freely available on the web.

2843 *Panel – Do we know what the reaction is, worldwide, in the Islamic community?*

2844 RH – It is a frequent question. I am not sure about the idea of “the worldwide Islamic  
2845 community.” We should distinguish Muslim-majority countries and their governments, and  
2846 then communities, groups and people. Obviously, there is a problem with the response  
2847 of governments of Muslim-majority countries, many are themselves abusive regimes with  
2848 their own kind of human rights issues to mask. And many of them have had direct  
2849 relationships with China, in particular since the Belt and Road initiative. In terms of  
2850 communities, well just speaking of the Muslim communities here in this country, they have  
2851 shown fantastic support.

2852 *Panel – The Muslims in Xinjiang, are they Sunni?*

2853 RH – Sunni, yes.

2854 *Panel – Thinking about the personal testimonies we heard yesterday or ones we will hear,*  
2855 *ones that come to mind which talk about the forced labour aspect, have any of you come*  
2856 *across personal testimony about the forced regimes?*

2857 DT – One reason we do not have so many, is that forced labour section are those are in  
2858 the safest category, they have not escaped. Usually, the accounts I have on forced labour  
2859 are from people discussing their family members.

2860 LM – There are several, maybe ten or 12 that have been collected across various different  
2861 journalists and databases of direct first-person testimony of people working in factories

2862 through these forced labour programmes, but not enough for us to make broad  
2863 generalisations. We should be very aware of in process of asking questions about first  
2864 person testimony and its availability, we have to interrogate the question of why we don't  
2865 have access to more people, why we don't have access to data, why we do not know the  
2866 medical outcomes of people who are there? Why is the Uyghur ethnicity being erased?  
2867 The more important question is, why can't anyone see what is happening there? We have  
2868 seen a number of people who have been extraordinarily brave and shared their  
2869 experiences, knowing that they are being erased by the minute. What we can do is rely  
2870 on these as best as we can and to understand what is happening. These few people who  
2871 have spoken about their experiences on work suggest that they were unpaid, unwilling  
2872 and that they were only able to leave because of some special dispensation and that  
2873 people remained in those factories. We need to take the first-hand testimonies very  
2874 seriously.

2875

2876 **5 June 2021 (05:04:36 – 06:00:00)**

2877 **Tursunay Ziyawudun – UTFW-019**

2878

2879 TZ – I am very excited and emotional to be here today. I would like to thank the Tribunal  
2880 to have this opportunity to testify.

2881 *Panel – You've stated that you were forced to take pills – how many of the detainees*  
2882 *were forced to take these pills?*

2883 TZ – All of the detainees took these pills, including myself, and had injections also. The  
2884 over 60-year-old detainees did not take them. But under 60-year-olds took the medicine.

2885 *Panel – How many were forced to take contraceptive measures?*

2886 TZ – The camp that I stayed in I had witnessed all the women under 50 had either  
2887 sterilised or IUDs inserted. I had personally witnessed it three/four days those measures  
2888 were implemented on all the women.

2889 *Panel – You’ve stated there was a bus for medical examination – how many people were*  
2890 *taken for medical examination?*

2891 TZ – Almost all of the detainees had been through that examination. They used to bring  
2892 a big bus and we used to get onto it and on there was the medical examination. They  
2893 targeted women under 50 years old.

2894 *Panel – Are you happy to answer questions on everything in your statement?*

2895 TZ – Yes, I am.

2896 *Panel – What is your occupation and do you have any children?*

2897 TZ – I originally was a business person - I owned a clothing shop. Later, I changed to  
2898 nursing, after I went to Kazakstan. I do not have children.

2899 *Panel – At your first detention, what was the reason to take you to the camp given by*  
2900 *police?*

2901 TZ – Because I had gone to Kazakhstan.

2902 *Panel – Who was the person who gave the order from the top?*

2903 TZ – I do not know about the first name. I know the police who was particularly responsible  
2904 for me – Wan Ping – he told me, after they took me, the reason I mentioned above.

2905 *Panel – The food that gave you food poisoning, what did you eat?*

2906 TZ – The food is very watery black rice kind of soup and also a very small steamed bun  
2907 which was very hard. I got sick.

2908 *Panel – You were sent to hospital. Can you tell us what it was like and did you see a*  
2909 *doctor?*

2910 TZ – They took me to the people’s hospital and I did see a doctor.

2911 *Panel – How did he treat you?*

2912 TZ – I stayed there for one week, I got injections and treatment. The result was diagnosis  
2913 was food poisoning and digestion infection. The doctor told me I had to have proper soft

2914 food and proper rest and I would recover if I did that. After that week, I was taken back to  
2915 camp and after the camp I was released.

2916 *Panel – When you were released, you didn't dare walk on the street, how did you get*  
2917 *food?*

2918 TZ – Yes, without police permission, it was impossible for me to go anywhere. I had to  
2919 stay at home and have food at home as well. Because I was unable to get proper  
2920 treatment the condition got worse.

2921 *Panel – The second time you were put into detention, you said there were 4 big buses to*  
2922 *take children away, do you know where they were taken to?*

2923 TZ – I do not know where they were taken. After one month or two there is a lady detained  
2924 where I was and she was telling me and crying that she was unable to see her child. Later  
2925 she found out her child was taken to another children's camp. She said she has seen her  
2926 child at that children's camp.

2927 *Panel – How long did the interrogation last and what did they do to you?*

2928 TZ – The questions began from May/June and I was taken ten times for questioning. Each  
2929 time was different, in some occasions I was beaten, sometimes abused, each time was  
2930 different.

2931 *Panel – Are you happy to answer questions about your rape?*

2932 TZ – Yes.

2933 *Panel – You were raped three times and artificially raped a few times, can you tell me*  
2934 *what happened?*

2935 TZ – It is very difficult for me to think about that night. It is horrific. I was dead. It is very  
2936 difficult. I was taken to the interrogation on one occasion I was questioned as usual – told  
2937 tell the truth', 'what did you do overseas', 'what organisations did you connect with' - if I  
2938 say i don't know the result is the beating and kicking. That is what I thought it was. The  
2939 thing is the situation when girls taken away was always during the night. One was wearing

2940 a mask and one in a uniform. There is no camera in the dark room, it looked very dark. I  
2941 was then taken to other dark room the girl was in.

2942 *Panel – Did you get any injuries when you were artificially raped?*

2943 TZ – It was just a horrible, they used the equipment first. Because of using the equipment,  
2944 I had nonstop bleeding. It was not a simple rape; it was extreme inhuman torture. They  
2945 also hit you on the wall, they bite your body just like dogs.

2946 *Panel – Is there anything she wants to tell us she hasn't asked?*

2947

2948 TZ – No. I would like to tell, the tribunal there are millions of girls like me who do not have  
2949 any supporters. I have my husband who can speak up and campaign for me but there are  
2950 many girls who were like me in camps in East Turkestan who need to be saved.

2951

2952 *Panel – What kind of questions were they asking you? Such as asking about Uyghurs in*  
2953 *America? Also, what were the confessions you signed?*

2954

2955 TZ – The question about connection to Uyghurs outside and especially in the US is very  
2956 common. Any Uyghur who has travelled overseas after being detained will be asked this.  
2957 They think the US government is instigating issues. That is the question to everyone who  
2958 has travelled overseas. That confession at the time is implemented to every detainee who  
2959 would be released. A few hours after I left the camp, they would bring you in and talk to  
2960 you. Not like before, with torture, it was more polite and say you have to sign this paper  
2961 and you will never talk about the camp. If you don't promise or sign they will not let you  
2962 leave. Before I left the country, 5/6 days earlier they asked all my relatives to sign the  
2963 same letter. They told me if I talked about the camp when I left they would punish my  
2964 relatives. They are hostages to the Chinese authority.

2965 *Panel – There are accounts, from the PRC, that have picked up that you claim no direct*  
2966 *rape or abuse or harsh treatment in some reports, and in some that you do, can you*  
2967 *explain why you have these different accounts?*

2968 TZ – I am not surprised as the PRC always lies, especially if you tell the truth, the agitation  
2969 gets even worse. I am not afraid of anything and although you can see me physically, in  
2970 reality, I am dead already. I am only living to see justice to be served to see people are  
2971 saved and to stop people suffering what I have been through. That hope is keeping me  
2972 alive. If the international community are interested in investigating and knowing the truth,  
2973 I am happy to go and show them the camps where I was detained and show the people  
2974 who were sentenced to life.

2975 *Panel – In your statement, you say a teacher told you shouldn't have children and it was*  
2976 *punishable by law. Which law is she referring to?*

2977 TZ – That law is CCP's law, it is outside the camp as well. If anyone has more children  
2978 than government designated they get punished. I have witnessed it, one lady was almost  
2979 due to given birth but she had to abort the child. Another one had to give away her extra  
2980 child to other people otherwise they would get punished. If the person keeps the child,  
2981 then her husband would be sentenced to 10 years prison sentence.

2982 *Panel – You have no children, your uterus was removed, so I am just trying to understand*  
2983 *what law she was referring to.*

2984 TZ – What I am talking about in the camp there are classes, one class is specifically about  
2985 birth policy of China government. Another one is about denouncing religion and God.  
2986 Especially the statement I was talking about, it was in the class we learnt about the birth  
2987 policy, teacher told us about the law that if we had extra children beyond the planned birth  
2988 policy you can pay the fine but nowadays it is impossible and punishable by law. If anyone  
2989 has more than designated by the government, those families get punished. That was the  
2990 law the teacher was teaching us.

2991 *Panel – In paragraph 11 of your statement, who gave the instruction to the policeman to*  
2992 *remove all the old lady's clothes?*

2993 TZ – I do not know who ordered the policemen to do such a thing. I had witnessed this  
2994 when I entered the camp through the gate. We were a few women there. The police are  
2995 very powerful and do what they want. I have witnessed it was a policeman to get her to  
2996 do so.

2997 *Panel – In paragraph 26, you mention you had to put your head through the food flap to*  
2998 *have your hair cut, for whom was the hair intended?*

2999 TZ – I do not know as we were not told and we were unable to question it. We just followed  
3000 orders. That what happened, I was shaved and hair was put in a bag and taken away.  
3001 We just followed orders so whatever they told us to do we would. Within those three days  
3002 everyone had to have IUDs inserted. Suddenly the orders were that everyone had to have  
3003 their heads shaved. I do not know who ordered it, we just followed.

3004 *Panel – It is said in a French interview on 30 October 2019 you did not refer to being*  
3005 *tortured and gang raped, do you remember the interview? Do you remember whether you*  
3006 *mentioned being tortured or gang raped?*

3007 TZ – Yes, I do remember, at that time I was in Kazakhstan. While I was there, I had to  
3008 think of the security of my family. I was also facing pressure from the Chinese government  
3009 to deport me back to China. But now I am not afraid of anything. In Kazakhstan in 2019 I  
3010 was also living with family so I was ashamed of speaking in front of my husband and  
3011 relatives about my rape.

3012 *Panel – Were you in custody in March 2019?*

3013 TZ – I was not in the camp at that time, I was released but the Chinese government was  
3014 issuing my passport.

3015

3016 **5 June 2021 (6:00:00 – 6:58:00)**

3017

3018 **Zumret Dawut (UTFW-020)**

3019

3020 *Counsel - What kind of medical tests were you forced to undergo before entering*  
3021 *detention?*

3022 ZD – Before entering the camp, I was taken to a hospital. The doctors and personnel  
3023 were wearing white gowns over military uniforms. We underwent examinations that

3024 included face scans, blood samples, all ten fingerprints, voice recognition, eyes scans,  
3025 height check, etc. And also, they took blood from our finger to put in a tube labelled "DNA."  
3026 In order to get voice sample, we had to read, again and again, a paper for twenty minutes.  
3027 Also, regardless of the age, they checked female organs - they inserted something into  
3028 the vagina. There were so many women, a long line, and they had to check every woman  
3029 one by one so by the time we were done it was night.

3030 *Counsel - In the camp, you regularly underwent further checks, what kind of medication*  
3031 *did you have to take? Pills? If so, what kind of pills?*

3032 ZD – We had to take a white tablet every day. The guards would put their hands in our  
3033 mouth to make sure we swallowed it. After taking the medicine, you don't think of  
3034 anything, you feel like your hallucinating, like you don't feel anything, it's just one day after  
3035 another. It makes people feel sluggish and thoughtless. I stayed in the camp for 62 days,  
3036 during which I was vaccinated twice without knowing what it was for. They would take our  
3037 blood every fifteen days. We wouldn't know how much blood they took because we just  
3038 put our arm through the door of the cell and they would take our blood on the other side  
3039 of the door, so we could only guess from the time it took them to take the sample.

3040 *Counsel - You stated that you met an old woman who had diabetes and you felt sympathy*  
3041 *for her, so you gave her some food and for this, you were beaten. What kind of behaviour*  
3042 *got people beaten in the camp?*

3043 ZD – That happened the day after I arrived so I did not know I could get punished for that,  
3044 so I just shared my food with her. That lady was 69 years old and was detained because  
3045 she went to the Hajj. She had to have insulin because of her diabetes. That woman was  
3046 feeling dizzy and she was hoping that with more food, she would fare better. I couldn't  
3047 stand it so I shared my food with her. Since there are cameras in the camp, they saw  
3048 what I did so the policemen burst into the room and started beating me with sticks and  
3049 kicking me with their boots. Also, I was beaten for saying "Oh Allah!" and they said "Here,  
3050 find your God" and they beat me.

3051 *Counsel - When you were released, you were paired with a Han Chinese family, could*  
3052 *we get more information about them? Their background, where they come from, etc.*

3053 ZD – We don't know their background, who they are and where they come from. The  
3054 authorities just allocated them to us, like all Uyghur families. We have to treat them very  
3055 well, including shopping for them. The worst thing is, when they allocate them, they  
3056 allocate men to women and women to men, they mix them. That family allocation is really  
3057 interesting: it's one Han individual for one Uyghur individual. For example, even my five-  
3058 year-old daughter has a Han relative. In this picture, my daughter was ten years old and  
3059 she is with her 19 years old Han relative. In one month, these Chinese relatives stayed  
3060 15 days.

3061 *Panel – How did you meet your Pakistani husband and where did you live after your*  
3062 *marriage?*

3063 ZD – I got married in 2005 and had my first child in 2006. We continuously lived in Urumqi  
3064 and owned business there.

3065 *Panel - Your first instance with the police in 2015 arose out of your request to go to the*  
3066 *US. The police knew you had travelled before (Singapore, Japan, Pakistan) Could you*  
3067 *tell us why you wanted to travel to the US in 2016 and what travelling you had done*  
3068 *before?*

3069 ZD – My husband had his import/export of electronic equipment business and in 2014 he  
3070 was in Shenzhen. One of the business exhibitions was happening in the US so he got a  
3071 visa to go in 2014. He came back saying that the US was a great place. We thought that  
3072 we might go to visit this country, we did not want to move there because we had a good  
3073 life in Urumqi, we just wanted to visit. That's why we applied for the visa.

3074 *Panel - You stated that the authorities requested Uyghurs to return their place of origin in*  
3075 *that same year, was this a law? What did it mean for Uyghurs?*

3076 ZD – That happened in 2016 very suddenly. The order came and said that everybody has  
3077 to go back. Suddenly Urumqi became empty, some people who'd lived there for 20 years  
3078 had to go back to where they came from. Also, it said that wherever you have your  
3079 household registry is where you need to go back, so that is what happened.

3080 *Panel - Two days later you were detained, you had had a number of surveillance items*  
3081 *put on your phone and other things, but what reasons were you given for your detention*  
3082 *and what do you think the reasons were?*

3083 ZD – They didn't clearly state the reason. The main questioning/suspicion, according to  
3084 me is because I had received a US visa, I had my third child, and my husband is Pakistani.  
3085 They kept asking if as a Muslim, he had educated me in religion, if I thought having more  
3086 children was better, if he had influenced me to have more children.

3087 *Panel - You suffered various injuries, notably a dislocated ankle, how long did it take for*  
3088 *you to heal?*

3089 ZD – I am recovering still. After being released, it was extraordinary for me. I was kind of  
3090 overweight originally but I lost 18 kilograms in 62 days. My condition was not good at all  
3091 but my husband helped me a lot, he encouraged me to exercise and until today I am still  
3092 recovering.

3093 *Panel - You state the number of people in your cell varied a great deal. Why do you think*  
3094 *the number of people in your cell changed so much? Did you ever see again the people*  
3095 *that would not come back to the cell?*

3096 ZD – Few came back, most who left - we would not see them again. I am thinking they  
3097 probably did not want us to feel connected to each other because, even with the cameras  
3098 in the cell, we would always find chances to talk to each other. To me it looks like they  
3099 were trying to disconnect us from each other. Sometimes it was clear that someone would  
3100 not be coming back because we could sense that the person was probably taken to an  
3101 interrogation room and was not going to come back.

3102 *Panel - What were the conditions in the cell like when it was most populated, with 37*  
3103 *people?*

3104 ZD – When you enter into the cell you feel like you are in an open toilet. It is extremely  
3105 smelly. There is a toilet inside but there is no privacy at all, nothing to separate the toilet  
3106 from the people. If someone goes to the toilet, the rest of the 36 people can see whatever  
3107 you are doing. These are extremely smelly, horrific conditions. I stayed in the cell for two

3108 months and I did not take any shower and I did not see anyone take a shower. There is  
3109 a camera inside the cell, the camp officials can monitor every move of the detainees  
3110 inside the cell, including when you are on the toilet.

3111 *Panel - You stated that you were sure that many other Uyghur women were victim of rape*  
3112 *while they were in the camp, can you tell us the basis for your believing that?*

3113 ZD – It is very obvious. The most beautiful, young girls were taken at night and when they  
3114 came back, their condition was horrific and unbearable. Anyone who witness this situation  
3115 will see these girls faced rape. Because of the, kind of, guilty feeling, the extreme abuse,  
3116 you would see them biting their hands and arms, it's obvious from the condition of these  
3117 girls. The worst insult was when sisters were taken and made to take their clothes off.  
3118 Then the police urinated on them, saying “you say you are Muslim? Well, you must clean  
3119 yourself” and they urinated on them. It's just extreme torture.

3120 *Panel - You stated that you were forced to confess to having extreme religious ideas. Can*  
3121 *you say what those ideas that you confessed to were?*

3122 ZD – I was accused simply because when I first faced torture, I spoke out loud, imploring  
3123 God. That made me extreme. In their teachings, they keep saying Islam is a virus, religion  
3124 is a virus. So, I was already kind of designated as extreme, just for mentioning God.

3125 *Panel - Immediately prior to your release, your husband went to Beijing to speak to the*  
3126 *authorities and you said the authorities decided to release you. Which authorities were*  
3127 *these?*

3128 ZD – After I was detained, at the beginning my husband did not know about me, so he  
3129 went to XUAR Public Security Office, Foreign Affairs office, Regional police stations, and  
3130 asked about my whereabouts, asked why would I be detained, saying I was innocent of  
3131 any crime. Since he did not get any results through local authorities in XUAR, he went to  
3132 Beijing and met officials in Pakistani embassy. He told them that his wife disappeared  
3133 and that I am innocent. Not only him but many other Pakistani citizens' Uyghur wives were  
3134 detained and their husband would come ask for their wife to be released. The first time  
3135 they went, a few Pakistanis came searching for their wives, the officials told them nicely  
3136 that they had talked to XUAR Public security office and that the wives would be released

3137 and that they should go back to Xinjiang. After he came back again, I still was not released  
3138 and I had been detained for over one month. He went a second time to Beijing to demand  
3139 my release again. The embassy did not welcome him this time, they were really rude and  
3140 did not allow him in. After that my husband said we would talk to the media about my  
3141 wife's disappearance, I will call BBC, CNN, Washington Post, etc. At that time the Xinjiang  
3142 Public Security office, knowing what would happen, called my husband and told him he  
3143 should come back from Beijing immediately. They bought tickets for him and he came  
3144 back to Xinjiang.

3145 *Panel - You were forced into a sterilization procedure following an order issued by the*  
3146 *authorities. Do you know which authority it was that issued this order?*

3147 ZD – The order came from the Autonomous Regional Government.

3148 *Panel - In the detention centre, with shackles on your feet, you and 80 to 100 others were*  
3149 *taken to a hall where there were pictures of Xi Jinping, you were not allowed to move and*  
3150 *sat there for four to five hours. Did you sit in silence or were people saying things to you?*

3151 ZD – We sat on the floor and there was a teacher, separated from the students, in a sort  
3152 of cage. There was a Chinese language lesson, there was a teaching about the CCP 90<sup>th</sup>  
3153 Congress and about how we shouldn't practise Islam.

3154 *Panel - One of the other women who you thought had been assaulted in prison, told you*  
3155 *that after she had been undressed, the guards urinated on her, correct?*

3156 ZD – Yes that is the woman that I mentioned earlier.

3157 *Panel - When you had a Han Chinese family living with you, were you obliged to treat*  
3158 *them well, including by shopping for them and answering every question they asked of*  
3159 *you?*

3160 ZD – Yes, we had an order from the local authority to do everything for them.

3161 *Panel - Regarding the death of your father on 12<sup>th</sup> October 2019, when was the last*  
3162 *occasion before that, that you knew of his being in good health?*

3163 ZD – In September 2019 (23<sup>rd</sup> or 27<sup>th</sup> I can't remember) I went to New York to testify.  
3164 Before I left, I had a telephone message from my brother, asking me to stop what I was  
3165 doing and whatever I was planning to do because our father was in police custody. After  
3166 about ten/twelve days, I received a phone call from my Chinese neighbour telling me my  
3167 father had passed away in the police station. Because they were Chinese, they were able  
3168 to tell me that he passed away.

3169 *Panel - It should be noted that the PRC claimed that the witness' father died from a heart*  
3170 *disease after living a normal life and was never interrogated or detained.*

3171

3172 **5 June 2021 (07:21:40 – 08:03:35)**

3173 **David Tran (Quoc-Hung Tran)**

3174

3175 DT (QHT) – I'll give a brief summary...this journey has been increasingly common for  
3176 Uyghurs to escape from Xinjiang. Between 2011 and 2015, around 15,000 Uyghurs tried  
3177 to escape via Southeast Asia.

3178 Chinese reports also suggested that Southeast Asia is the preferred route out of the  
3179 country. Vietnam is one of the chosen routes, as Chinese nationals do not need a  
3180 passport to cross the border – just a travel permit, which is easy to obtain.

3181 Just for a period of eight months, from May 2014 to January 2015, statistics from China's  
3182 Ministry of Public Security revealed that Chinese border authorities, in their campaign  
3183 against so-called 'jihadi immigration', "busted 262 human smuggling cases, seized 352  
3184 suspects who allegedly organized such activities and 852 suspects who attempted to  
3185 cross the border illegally".

3186 [...]

3187 On 18 April 2014, Vietnamese border guards and police, acting on a tip from the Chinese,  
3188 intercepted and killed five Uyghur males. This happened at the border between Vietnam  
3189 and China. If the pictures would come up – you can see...at the middle circle – this is  
3190 where it happened. This is the border map between Vietnam and China – Vietnam is in

3191 the bottom of the picture, China is on the top. At this border gate was where the  
3192 interception and killing happened. The rest of the group of 16, which included four women  
3193 and two children, were handed over to the Chinese authorities within hours. On the same  
3194 day, Vietnamese authorities arrested another 21 Uyghurs from China after being alerted,  
3195 again, by the Chinese authorities, that the group was trying to enter Vietnam by sea. This  
3196 happened at the second location – if you can see the right of the photo – at the second  
3197 red circle on the right.

3198 In December 2014, police in [*inaudible location*] shot dead one Uyghur and detained a  
3199 group of 21 people described in Chinese state-run media as “religious extremists” who  
3200 had been trying to cross the border in Vietnam at [*inaudible location*]...this is at the circle  
3201 on the left. In spite of what the state-run media described...an employee of the detention  
3202 centre reported that the group consisted entirely of women and children. Al Jazeera  
3203 reported this group consisted of 19 children. In January 2015, Chinese police shot and  
3204 killed 2 members of the Uyghur ethnic minority trying to flee into Vietnam and “had  
3205 arrested hundreds of people since the year before in an effort to staunch illegal  
3206 immigration into Southeast Asia”.

3207 The police were seen in pursuit of a...suspect who fled into an area near [*inaudible*] city.  
3208 Local residents were asked to take part in the security checks, including the manhunt for  
3209 this suspect. Chinese authorities are known to encourage local people in southwestern  
3210 China to report groups of Uyghurs traveling together. Uyghurs are often placed under  
3211 much tighter security restrictions than other Chinese citizens, facing delays of several  
3212 years in getting passports.

3213 Desperate to leave China, Uyghurs paid more than 100,000 yuan each, or \$15,000, to  
3214 human smugglers, and make their way across the border where (many times) they would  
3215 unknowingly meet a hostile welcome. Despite this significant flow of Uyghurs, the UNHCR  
3216 has operated an office in Hanoi, Vietnam for decades but so far, it has not received any  
3217 Uyghur refugee applications. The repatriation of Uyghurs in Vietnam also happens in  
3218 other countries – Thailand, Malaysia, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Pakistan, Cambodia, Laos,  
3219 Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt and Turkey.

3220 I will stop here for further questions.

3221 *Counsel – In your report, you referred to a campaign of the Chinese authorities against a*  
3222 *‘jihadi immigration’. What is this campaign against ‘jihadi immigration’?*

3223 DT (QHT) – My understanding is that they believe that these are terrorists, and they have  
3224 been trying to shut down the immigration of the refugees from China into Vietnam and  
3225 other Southeast Asian countries. I think this is an effort to stop that migration.

3226 *Counsel – Do you know whether there has been any notable increase in the numbers of*  
3227 *Uyghurs fleeing Xinjiang since 2017-2018, as compared to previous years, for instance?*

3228 DT (QHT) – I don’t have that information but my belief is that the number of immigration  
3229 or refugees has increased, based on anecdotal evidence – mostly because of the number  
3230 of illegal immigrants has increased recently. There’s no description of Chinese nationals,  
3231 since the Vietnamese press has eliminated that description recently, so we don’t have  
3232 those specifics about who has actually tried to immigrate into Vietnam.

3233 *Counsel – This relates to one of the photos in your report – you have a photo of a group*  
3234 *of elderly Uyghur women and children being stopped at the border and being returned to*  
3235 *China. And my question to you is, have you got any information on the fate of Uyghurs*  
3236 *attempting to flee who are captured and returned to China?*

3237 DT (QHT) – If I can have the pictures up of that group...I can get into the specifics of that  
3238 incident...

3239 This is an incident that happened on 18 April 2014 – one group of 16 Uyghurs allegedly  
3240 escaped detention by the Vietnam border guards and apparently barricaded themselves  
3241 in a building on the Vietnam side of the border. Chinese police officers and Vietnam  
3242 border guards surrounded the building and killed [all?] the Uyghur men.

3243 The details of the incident – the best that we can find – is that at 5:30am that day, 18 April  
3244 2014, Vietnamese border guards were informed by the Chinese that a group of Chinese  
3245 nationals would attempt to enter Vietnam illegally. The Vietnamese border guards and  
3246 police intercepted the group and detained 16 people, including 10 men, four women, and  
3247 two children.

3248 The police and guards immediately took the refugees to the border gate, called the  
3249 Chinese authorities and waited to hand the refugees over to the Chinese. At about lunch,  
3250 1 PM or so, according to the official Vietnamese version, the Uyghurs attacked the  
3251 Vietnamese police. After that, five Uyghurs were killed – most of whom had allegedly  
3252 committed suicide by leaping from a multi-story building – again, this is according to the  
3253 official Vietnamese version. And others were gunned down by Vietnamese police and  
3254 border guards.

3255 The Chinese government, [which] was also on the scene, has admitted that the refugees  
3256 involved in this clash with the Vietnamese border guards are from Xinjiang but did not  
3257 mention anything about them attacking the Vietnamese police. Other eye witnesses  
3258 reported that the deceased Uyghurs were in handcuffs – so it was raising doubts about  
3259 Vietnam’s official account, this fatal incident.

3260 This photo shows bodies – apparently male – being stacked on several carts after the  
3261 incident. They were getting ready to be transported back to China. The next picture shows  
3262 women and young children being returned to China...they are being returned to China as  
3263 Uyghur “extremists and terrorists”.

3264 Some of the deportees have been sentenced to life imprisonment [up]on reaching China  
3265 – that’s an answer to your question.

3266 One person of the group – if I can see the last picture – her name is [Rizwan?] Tursun –  
3267 she was 18 when this happened. She would be 25 now – she was one of those women.  
3268 She had vanished completely from police custody. Her father broke [his] three-year  
3269 silence to ask for information on her whereabouts and conditions. He had successfully  
3270 escaped with his family, with other family members, into Turkey the year before. He said  
3271 that he has “not learned anything about the fate of my daughter since day she was  
3272 deported to China and so far, none of my relatives in my hometown have been informed  
3273 of any charges against her, nor have any of my friends or neighbours”.

3274 According to their families, not just in this incident, but other incidents, many of the  
3275 Uyghurs who were detained by the Vietnamese authorities and returned to China have  
3276 disappeared while in custody, and nothing has been heard about them.

3277 *Panel – Dr Tran, you are, I believe, a medical doctor in the United States of Vietnamese*  
3278 *heritage. Can I ask...how you came to pursue this line of inquiry about Uyghur migrants*  
3279 *into Vietnam.*

3280 DT (QHT) – My organization has been working with groups within Vietnam to promote  
3281 democracy for Vietnam. This came just by accident – some of the groups that we are  
3282 working with were given information about the plight of the Uyghurs as we were talking  
3283 about...as the investigation of Uyghur genocide was coming into the news.

3284 *Panel – So your interest related to aspects of democracy in Vietnam.*

3285 DT (QHT) – Yes, mam.

3286 *Panel – And could you tell us more about the sources for the information that you’ve given*  
3287 *us now and in your report. What are your sources for this information?*

3288 DT (QHT) – Some are from the contacts we have and some are from the groups that we  
3289 [are] working [with] inside Vietnam. I’m sorry, I’m not at liberty to give out their names.

3290 *Panel – So would you say that this is – that you feel that the facts that you have outlined*  
3291 *are thoroughly verified?*

3292 DT (QHT) – Yes, we have verified through a couple sources.

3293 *Panel – You tell us that a reason that this has become a route out of China is because*  
3294 *you just need a travel permit to come across the border into Vietnam. Could you tell us*  
3295 *more about how that works...how people obtain a travel permit to come?*

3296 DT (QHT) – I’m sorry, I don’t have that information.

3297 *Panel – And at the border, there’s presumably Chinese border authorities checking*  
3298 *documents as well as Vietnamese border authorities.*

3299 DT (QHT) – Yes, mam.

3300 *Panel – You provide information in the report about the increase of trafficking – they say*  
3301 *hundreds of people are crossing using traffickers. What can you tell us about the*  
3302 *traffickers?*

3303 DT (QHT) – I don't have that information for you, mam. I know that the activities have  
3304 increased [in] recent years but I don't have any specific information about [those]  
3305 activities.

3306 *Panel – How do you know about the amount that is quoted in the report, that has to be*  
3307 *paid to traffickers, which I think you say is around \$15,000, which I think is perhaps just*  
3308 *to get to Vietnamese border?*

3309 DT (QHT) – That information has been published in the past – I think I have a reference  
3310 for that in my statement. I don't remember the exact publication but it's in my references.

3311 *Panel – So it's a press report, I think.*

3312 DT (QHT) – A press report, yes.

3313 *Panel – You talk about the hostile reception...that Uyghurs receive at the border. And this*  
3314 *incident that you were also just telling us about here – in the report, you state that there's*  
3315 *conflicting evidence about actually what happened. So, do you think it is actually possible*  
3316 *for us to know what happened – whether people were shot, whether they jumped from*  
3317 *the building?*

3318 DT (QHT) – I don't think that we will ever know the true story about what happened...  
3319 There're the Vietnamese reports, there's also the Chinese report, there's also reports that  
3320 we have from the local people. According to the local villagers, the information that I have  
3321 is that there was no attack on the Vietnamese police and then, that seemed to be  
3322 corroborated [by] the Chinese report [whom were (Chinese authorities)] also on the  
3323 scene.

3324 The Vietnamese report, the official report, said that the attackers actually, the Uyghurs  
3325 actually, grabbed a gun – an AK47 assault rifle – from one of the Vietnamese border  
3326 guards and started shooting. That's the only thing we have from the Vietnamese official  
3327 report.

3328 *Panel – An aspect of the story is that Chinese police officers were there on the*  
3329 *Vietnamese side of the border, as well as Vietnamese border guards. Would that be usual*  
3330 *for Chinese police officers to be operating within Vietnam?*

3331 DT (QHT) – I think that would be a politically sensitive question to answer. I think that they  
3332 should not have been there but the reports that we have is that they were there on the  
3333 scene after being called by the Vietnamese side and they actually assisted in the situation  
3334 with the detention and eventual killing of the Uyghurs.

3335 *Panel – Another aspect of the hostile reception you mention is that Vietnamese at the*  
3336 *border, detain Uyghurs. Do you have any evidence whether other nationals of China are*  
3337 *detained at the border with China?*

3338 DT (QHT) – The information we have is that the border is actually very [*inaudible*] between  
3339 Vietnam and China and actually, not many were detained or arrested. Most of the  
3340 migration actually goes the other way – from Vietnam to China – for jobs and other  
3341 purposes. The migration from north to south is a lot more uncommon.

3342 *Panel – You talk about the Vietnamese press being quick to cover up the 2014 incident.*  
3343 *Can you tell us how you know that?*

3344 DT (QHT) – First, we saw initial reports of this in the official news and those were quickly  
3345 taken off and it's no longer available. If you search for information regarding this incident  
3346 – it's known as the [*inaudible*] border gate incident – there's no mention of it anywhere on  
3347 any official websites.

3348 We know that Vietnam, like China, they have strict control of the press...thousands of  
3349 news [agencies?] in the press in Vietnam...but they are very similar in the way that they  
3350 present information. I think if you search for it now, there's no pictures, no images, and  
3351 no information regarding what happened.

3352 *Panel – You mention in the report that families say that refugees who have been detained*  
3353 *have disappeared while in custody, either in Vietnam or once returned to China. How*  
3354 *have you heard those allegations?*

3355 DT (QHT) – This has also been reported in the press. There's references to those, to that  
3356 question specifically...I don't remember if it was a report by Radio Free Asia or another  
3357 press agency. But I can give you that information if you would like.

3358 *Panel – And those reports specifically say people have disappeared in Vietnam, as well*  
3359 *as once returned to China?*

3360 DT (QHT) – Yes, mam.

3361 *Panel – So perhaps, just as a bit of context, could you tell us a little bit about the*  
3362 *relationship between China and Vietnam? You mention that you feel that this evidence –*  
3363 *the quick return of bodies and the other cooperation – suggests that there is a Vietnam-*  
3364 *China deal on the Uyghurs which, you say, is in contravention of international law. So,*  
3365 *could you perhaps just tell us what the broader relationship is between Vietnam and China*  
3366 *– the economic and political relationship between the two countries?*

3367 DT (QHT) – They're both communist states and their political structure[s] are very much  
3368 similar. Vietnam is controlled by the [Communist Party of Vietnam], much like China is  
3369 controlled by the CCP. I think the relationship, especially regarding internal security, they  
3370 are very closely connected – they assist each other in controlling the population.

3371 Vietnam received assistance from China in this aspect from technical support to financial  
3372 support that they don't have. And so, I spoke about this problem because it's in a way a  
3373 violation of international human rights and humanitarian and customary law. It prohibits  
3374 states from transferring or removing individuals from their jurisdictions or effective control  
3375 when there are substantial grounds for believing that the person would be at risk of...harm  
3376 upon the return of that individual... can include persecution, torture, ill treatment, or other  
3377 serious human rights violation. Under international human rights law, the prohibition of  
3378 this *refoulement* is explicitly included in the [Convention Against Torture] and also in the  
3379 International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance.  
3380 So, we see this as a human rights violation of the Uyghur people – and how this policy  
3381 has played out in Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries.

3382 *Panel – If, as you believe, there's a significant flow of Uyghur refugees into Vietnam, why*  
3383 *do you think there have been no applications to the UNHCR office in Hanoi?*

3384 DT (QHT) – I think they will be stopped from even getting there. I think most Uyghurs are  
3385 somehow prevented from getting to the agency, most likely by the Vietnamese officials. I  
3386 think that also speaks to collaboration between the two governments.

3387 *Panel – Do you know if Uyghurs do successfully get into Vietnam, where they may tend*  
3388 *to move onto from Vietnam? Do you know anything about that?*

3389 DT (QHT) – It seems like that the first migration is to a country like Vietnam or [other]  
3390 Southeast Asian countries and then I think from there, they move to – they usually don't  
3391 stay in Vietnam – they would try to have a second wave of migration to a second country  
3392 – Cambodia, or a country that doesn't border with China – and eventually to a place like  
3393 Turkey, and then, finally, many of them would move one last time to the US or another  
3394 western country, like the UK.

3395 *Panel – In your statement, it seems that Han Chinese, I assume it's Han Chinese, citizens*  
3396 *do not require a passport to cross the border from China into Vietnam but it seems that*  
3397 *Uyghurs do need to pay, as you've stated, up to \$15,000. In your view, is that because*  
3398 *Uyghurs cannot obtain the pass required and is there any evidence of a discriminatory*  
3399 *policy in that regard?*

3400 DT (QHT) – I think it's difficult to have something of a proof that there's a difference, as  
3401 far as a document, a policy document – but I think, as far as practice, there's been  
3402 publications about how difficult it is for Uyghurs to obtain passports... [It's] worth noting  
3403 that China is not pursuing the repatriation of the Han citizens who also illegally immigrate  
3404 into Vietnam. So, there's also a discrepancy there too. So, we saw that the killing and  
3405 disappearing of the Uyghur refugees, irrespective of age and gender, it illustrates the  
3406 practice of a much a larger policy.

3407 *Panel – My question is related to the last one. Have you any data on the number of travel*  
3408 *permits that have been given to the Uyghur population?*

3409 DT (QHT) – I don't have that information, I'm sorry.

3410 *Panel – There must be some somewhere – either in Vietnam or...*

3411 DT (QHT) – I'm sure there is.

3412 *Panel – The second question, really, is what is China worried about in allowing the Uyghur*  
3413 *population to leave China?*

3414 DT (QHT) – I think that they – again, this is my personal opinion – I think at the beginning,  
3415 the reason that they stated was [that] they want to prevent people – Uyghurs – from taking  
3416 up...terrorist activities outside of China and trying to regain their independence for East  
3417 Turkestan. But I think we [are beginning] to see that a lot of the people... that they are  
3418 arresting and deporting back to China are children and women. So, it seems like this is  
3419 not just limited to Vietnam – in my statement report, it involved at least 12 other countries  
3420 – so there's geographical dimension and then there's a time dimension of more than a  
3421 decade of trying to suppress this migration, the refugees. So, it seems to demonstrate an  
3422 intent – but as far as specific reasons or intent, I don't have the answer to that. I can only  
3423 speculate.

3424 *Panel – Are the human traffickers Chinese or Vietnamese?*

3425 DT (QHT) – They're both. Chinese and Vietnamese.

3426 *Counsel– One very brief question, Dr Tran – the question really is, why? Why would a*  
3427 *Uyghur pay significant sums of money, travel hundreds of kilometres, to seek asylum in*  
3428 *a country that is run by the Vietnamese Communist Party, and, as you said, has very*  
3429 *strong and friendly relations with China. Why?*

3430 DT (QHT) – As I answered before, I think the target destination is not Vietnam. The target  
3431 destination is another country that may, to them, may be more friendly to them, to their  
3432 people. A country like Pakistan or Turkey, for example. And I think, as you already  
3433 probably know, I think even that is becoming problematic for the Uyghur people.

3434 *Panel – Dr Tran, you declined, when asked, to speculate about the reason. Feel free to*  
3435 *give us your opinion, even if it is speculation, because we will be free to disregard it if we*  
3436 *don't come to that or a similar conclusion by other means.*

3437 DT (QHT) – If I can speak about the Amnesty International report, where recently, they  
3438 collated information from approximately 400 Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and members  
3439 of other ethnic groups living in 22 countries about people who live abroad. I think what  
3440 they are doing with the Uyghurs abroad – the harassment that they are facing – may  
3441 indicate the reason why the PRC is trying to stop these Uyghurs from leaving China or  
3442 Xinjiang. Of the 400 people that they interviewed, 81 people were threatened when they

3443 tried to speak out. [This] harassment that the Chinese – either they call these Uyghurs to  
3444 harass them or have them... For example, here in Houston, the Chinese Houston  
3445 consulate, when it was still open, actually called the Uyghurs, even [those] with US  
3446 citizenship, to harass them and threaten them. 26 people of the 400 were also asked to  
3447 be informants. 39 people received intimidating phone calls to obtain personal information  
3448 about them. 21 people reported that the Chinese authorities had used social messaging  
3449 apps to track and intimidate them. So, the answer that I would speculate is fear; fear of  
3450 being criticized, fear of information about what is happening in Xinjiang being exposed to  
3451 the world.

3452

3453

**5 June 2021 (08:05:00 – 08:43:00)**

3454 **Bumeryem Rozi UTFW-039**

3455

3456 *Counsel – You've stated that where you were taken to hospital for the forced abortion*  
3457 *procedure there were many other Uyghur women. Were all these women being forced*  
3458 *into abortions?*

3459 BR – Yes.

3460 *Counsel – You've stated your family have been detained. Can you provide details why*  
3461 *they would be targeted?*

3462 BR – Yes, I can. I lost all communication with my family and have not had any news of  
3463 them. I do not know if they are in the camp.

3464 *Counsel – Do you have news of your son, daughter and brother who are detained? Do*  
3465 *you know about your other family?*

3466 BR – I have no new information about them. An excuse given for my son's arrest was  
3467 because I was abroad. Since I came to Turkey, I had eye surgery and my gall bladder  
3468 was removed. Because of the pain and the suffering since I left, I left alone with my pain  
3469 here without information of my relatives.

3470 *Panel – What did you and your former husband do in Kashgar?*

3471 BR – We used to be peasants and I and my ex-husband owned 20 moors of land (one  
3472 moor is 666 square metres, 1300 square metre). We owned this land we used to cultivate.  
3473 My children were small.

3474 *Panel – So you left your property and land behind? Who has taken it over?*

3475 BR – Yes. In 2017, I heard from my daughter that our house was sold off, I do not have  
3476 any information who owns it right now or the land.

3477 *Panel – Why did you leave Kashgar in 2016?*

3478 BR – After 2015, one of my sons was detained by the authorities and I left in 2016 and  
3479 came to Turkey because my son was arrested with the offences. The whole family  
3480 suffered the cost of our son's detention for a so-called political crime. If I stayed there we  
3481 would suffer the same. Because of my fear of persecution, I had to leave.

3482 *Panel – Did you leave on your own or with other people?*

3483 BR – I came with 18 others because of fear. After they were forcefully returned and  
3484 arrested at the airport they disappeared and I do not have any further information. I did  
3485 not dare to go back as my son was already in jail. If I went back, I would face the same if  
3486 not more due to my son.

3487 *Panel – Where you used to live, how many children were you legally allowed in Kashgar?*

3488 BR – As far as I know, government officials/cadres were allowed 2, peasants were  
3489 allowed to have 3. Because I had children from previous marriage, and my second  
3490 husband also had children from previous marriage, I was not allowed more.

3491 *Panel – When was your fourth child born?*

3492 BR – He was born May 1995.

3493 *Panel – Did you pay a fine for that child?*

3494 BR – For my fourth child I did not pay any fine because it was rather relaxed policy. After  
3495 I gave birth to fourth child, the policy was tightened and abortion became widespread in  
3496 hospitals so it became impossible to have any more children.

3497 *Panel – In 2008 you weren't allowed to pay the fine any more. If you were Han would you*  
3498 *have been allowed to pay a fine?*

3499 BR – There was permission for Han Chinese to have more children. Some Chinese had  
3500 a number of children in mainland China and then came to Kashgar to have children  
3501 because of the Chinese policy to increase the amount of Han Chinese in the area.

3502 *Panel – Who took you away to have your abortion for the 5<sup>th</sup> child?*

3503 BR – Village officials report to one level higher entity and from the communication with  
3504 this they put maximum pressure on us to abort the child with a direct threat of confiscating  
3505 the land and property and jail. We begged to pay 10,000 yuan to have the 5<sup>th</sup> child, to  
3506 deliver, but it was not accepted.

3507 *Panel – Which higher authority?*

3508 BR – The lowest level administration is called village, then it's Gacha (嘎查) in Chinese.  
3509 Then county level, the prefectural level. Whether the abortion order came from highest  
3510 level I do not know but it would have been a collaboration.

3511 *Panel – When you got to hospital, how many women did you see had an abortion or were*  
3512 *about to have an abortion?*

3513 BR – I came with six women. There were a lot of women waiting in the same unit. I did  
3514 not count one by one and I was in great pain at the same time. There are units for  
3515 abortions in each hospital and it is mostly Uyghur women.

3516 *Panel – So mostly Uyghur women?*

3517 BR – Yes, we don't see any Chinese women.

3518 *Panel – You say in your statement 'I saw aborted babies a few days short of being born',*  
3519 *how and where did you see these?*

3520 BR – It was called Kashgar City Hospital. And that baby was due for delivery 10-15 days  
3521 before. That baby was aborted where I was at that time.

3522 *Panel – The question is whether witness can confirm whether she personally saw the*  
3523 *number of women waiting for abortion in a unit at the hospital was approximately in the*  
3524 *10s, 100s or 1000s of persons.*

3525 BR – Where I stayed there were more than ten in the room. After that abortion happened,  
3526 I engaged with other women and we talked about the abortion and we shared our  
3527 experience. I heard a lot of women’s accounts. In neighbouring areas, there were a lot of  
3528 neighbourhood regions surrounding Kashgar, I experienced such a pain and we tend to  
3529 talk with other women. From that conversation I could say there were a lot of women in  
3530 same.

3531 *Panel – Regarding this witness, did the PRC produce something adverse?*

3532 BR – Nothing we are aware of.

3533 *Panel – Anything else you would like to add?*

3534 BR – One thing I would like to emphasise here that the abortion became a lawless matter,  
3535 and an incentive for local authorities from the top level. If they had more abortions there  
3536 was a reward for them to show they have done a good job. So, because of this, even with  
3537 the limit of two child there were examples of aborted children. It became widespread  
3538 because of the government incentives encouraging local officials encouraging abortions.

3539

3540 **5 June 2021 (8:43:30 – 9:35:00)**

3541 **Shemsinur Abdighafur (UTFW-016)**

3542

3543 *Counsel – You witnessed forced abortions and sterilisations in your service at the*  
3544 *hospital. How many of these do you estimate took place on average in a week in the*  
3545 *hospitals you worked in?*

3546 SA – In my best estimate, where I worked, 20-30 abortions a week, 4 or 5 daily maybe,  
3547 in the hospital where I worked.

3548 *Counsel – How many babies do you estimate were born alive and then injected every*  
3549 *week?*

3550 SA - I would say 15 to 20 babies per week. Sometimes, a baby was born alive and we,  
3551 as Uyghurs, would avoid doing the injection. Sometimes some babies were born alive,  
3552 but even so they were killed by doctors. On some occasions, the baby would be born and  
3553 the family managed to leave with the baby but the authorities would find them and punish  
3554 them, for example by confiscating property.

3555 *Counsel – You refer to four cases of forced abortions in your statement. Would the*  
3556 *procedures be different if the mothers were Han Chinese?*

3557 SA – If the parents were Han Chinese, they would not face such a hardship. The babies  
3558 would be born alive and the mother would not have to go through any surgery or anything,  
3559 she would have her baby alive. Even if she exceeded the allowed number of babies.

3560 *Counsel – So the procedures would be different if the mothers were Han Chinese.*

3561 SA – Yes there is a huge difference between Uyghurs and Han Chinese in this situation.  
3562 The Han Chinese do not go through the same procedure, they have a special treatment  
3563 and are allowed more children.

3564 *Counsel – You were scared for cancer and after they removed your womb you realised it*  
3565 *was a mistake. Can you explain, what did the doctor who removed your womb say when*  
3566 *you threatened to sue?*

3567 SA – She said that I would be in trouble if I sued him. She was a Uyghur doctor, so I  
3568 asked her to promise not to do this again. She did not promise but I thought at least having  
3569 a Uyghur doctor in the hospital was good for other Uyghur patients.

3570 *Counsel – Did the doctor say that each doctor has to remove about 2000 wombs a year?*

3571 SA – Yes. Then I asked to promise not to do this again, he said it was his duty to do this,  
3572 that those were orders and he needed to do it to keep his job.

3573 *Panel - Can you tell us what powers the Planned Birth Authority have (over the hospital*  
3574 *doctors)?*

3575 SA – They have more power than the doctor because they work with the police. They can  
3576 access the surgery room, access medical records, investigate, visit the households,  
3577 monitor pregnant women, to reach a decision about whether or not a child should be  
3578 delivered. They even visit households at night with the police, to have more chance to  
3579 catch all the children at once to count them and see if a new birth is allowed.

3580 *Panel – Do the PBA report to the Ministry of Health or another Ministry in Beijing?*

3581 SA – I don't think they report to the Ministry of Health, they report to the government and  
3582 secret entities that work with the government on this. They are closer to the police than  
3583 the Ministry of Health. Members of the PBA can sometimes give orders to police officials.

3584 *Panel – Can you tell us, briefly, about your 14 year old brother in 1993, when he was*  
3585 *expelled from school for putting Kashgar as a capital on the map and what he did after?*

3586 SA – We are a well-educated family with a history of persecution from the Chinese  
3587 government in the previous generations. That is partly a reason why I am here. My brother  
3588 was also influenced by this. Because of this consciousness in the family, he put Kashgar  
3589 as capital in the map and was expelled as a consequence. After being expelled he  
3590 befriended other people with the same views. He started reading about explosives and  
3591 tried to build one which injured a Chinese man. My brother was sentenced for life and  
3592 may of his friends are in prison for collaborating.

3593 *Panel – So, your brother, a 14-year-old boy at the time, received a life sentence in 1993,*  
3594 *Do you have any information on him since then?*

3595 I don't have any update on my brother since I came to Turkey. He used to be in ["?"]  
3596 prison in Urumqi. When I was there, I was able to visit him once a year or once every  
3597 couple of months depending on his behaviour. Since I left the motherland, I have no  
3598 information. I was told in Urumqi that my brother was very smart and that if he could come  
3599 up with any good idea or invention, they would reduce his sentence.

3600 *Panel – You estimated that 70% had their womb removed for contraception while usually*  
3601 *the tying of the fallopian tubes would be enough for this. Is that what you are referring to*  
3602 *with the “removal of the womb.”*

3603 SA – My assessment is based on my own study and research. After my womb was  
3604 removed and was told that there was an annual quota of 2000 wombs, I started to dig for  
3605 some information in Hotan. In a doctor's record in a Hotan hospital, I found an order to  
3606 remove the womb of Uyghur women regardless of the reason of their complaints. Also,  
3607 the Chinese government tried to promote all contraceptive measures and to control the  
3608 births, and sometimes it didn't work effectively so the authorities shifted the policy to  
3609 permanently disabling Uyghur women's capacity to reproduce through surgeries or IUDs.  
3610 If you go to hospitals now, you see so many Uyghur women in gynaecology units. So, I  
3611 can comfortably say that about 70% of women either have an IUD or had their womb  
3612 removed.

3613 *Panel – Did any or many of the doctors or nurses ordered to do very late abortions or to*  
3614 *end the life of a baby object to the order?*

3615 SA – For Uyghur doctors, they cannot openly object to government policy. In some cases,  
3616 doctors try to find ways to help some of the pregnant women to deliver, by injecting lesser  
3617 doses for example. But no one can openly object.

3618 *Panel – Was there any ethical standard that would prohibit killing a baby born alive or a*  
3619 *very late abortion?*

3620 SA – In every hospital there is some level of standards but Family Planning is another  
3621 government entity. The orders are directly imposed by Family Planning. So, ethical  
3622 standards could be displayed on hospital walls, but it wouldn't apply to us as part of the  
3623 Family Planning Unit. Also, it doesn't go with the ethical standards when it comes to  
3624 abortion, it goes with the Family Planning. It is dictated by the Family Planning Committee,  
3625 which decides which family can have children and which family cannot. To remove  
3626 contraception, you need approval from family planning units and you cannot do it in just  
3627 any hospital, so whatever ethical standards are written on the hospital walls, it does not  
3628 apply there.

3629 *Panel – When talking about the assimilation, you said a teacher went mad because of the*  
3630 *self-criticism exercise, what do you mean by mad, is that a clinical term?*

3631 SA – A part of my practise was in psychology as well. One patient could not handle the  
3632 history. Many teachers are forced to write a letter of self-criticism with 5000 characters  
3633 during their re-education. If they don't find anything to criticise when they submit, they  
3634 need to go back and if they still can't, they go to prison. This teacher tried several times  
3635 to write this letter, and this person had psychological problems following this. It was a  
3636 huge pressure for Uyghurs, because in their routine every day they had to self-criticise at  
3637 some point, they had to write it down with minimum 5000 characters and if they couldn't  
3638 they had to go through re-education again.

3639

3640 **6 June 2021 (00:00:04 – 01:27:00)**

3641 **Gulbahar Jelilova UTFW-004**

3642

3643 *Counsel – Ms Jelilova, you were born in Kazakstan and you are a Kazakh citizen by birth.*

3644 GJ – Yes, I was born and brought up in Kazakhstan. Ladies and gentlemen, I am pleased  
3645 to have this opportunity to give this testimony.

3646 *Counsel – You went to Urumqi in 2017 and police arrested you.*

3647 Yes correct, on 22 May I was arrested from the hotel room.

3648 *Counsel – Can you explain what happened to your passport and to your Chinese identity*  
3649 *card.*

3650 GJ – Yes when they arrested me, I had my Kazakh passport. After my number 3 detention  
3651 centre they took away my passport and replaced it with a Chinese ID card and changed  
3652 my name to Gulbahar Jelil.

3653 *Counsel – One of the first things you did was a medical examination, one you say was a*  
3654 *pregnancy test.*

3655 GJ – Yes.

3656 *Counsel – You say if you were pregnant, they would have forced you to abort there and*  
3657 *then?*

3658 GJ – Yes

3659 *Counsel – You say you saw this happen to many people, can you elaborate and how did*  
3660 *you see that?*

3661 GJ – When we entered the cell, they were heavily bleeding and sweated all the time and  
3662 the doctors would come and give the two pills and after that the bleeding stopped.

3663 *Counsel – You were taken to three different detentions centres, can you briefly explain*  
3664 *the conditions of the detention centre, the tribunal has read the report and knows all about*  
3665 *it.*

3666 GJ – I was in number three and number two detention centres and I found this picture on  
3667 google which is exactly the same cell. There were about 40 of us in the cell. We had to  
3668 face the wall and there was a toilet which was a glass bowl. We had to sleep on the  
3669 concrete floor only two hours a night. There are no cleaning facilities - within one month  
3670 we developed lice. Without our consent our hair was shaved off. Once every ten days, a  
3671 mix of female and male police and two armed guards stood on both sides of the cell door  
3672 and we were stripped naked and we had to place our hands behind our heads and had  
3673 to do three sit ups. The cell door has a food slot and we would be called, from there, to  
3674 stretch our hands out and they would give us two pills we had to take once a week. the  
3675 women would stop their periods and after a while, even after we were beaten up, we  
3676 couldn't feel anything anymore.

3677 *Counsel – You were taken to hospital for 40 days, are you willing to discuss the reasons*  
3678 *why you were taken to hospital here?*

3679 GJ – I was taken to a police van and shackled and had handcuffs, they were about 5kg.  
3680 I was taken up there, was in the shackles for one year three month three days, about 40  
3681 minutes' drive I was in hospital. It was terrifying - the experience in the so-called hospital,  
3682 the police left me there and I was there for ten days. They did an ultrasound. The reason  
3683 I was taken there was because I had a heart problem and I had collapsed. I saw some

3684 ladies wearing orange-coloured vests – we had to sing five red songs in that hospital as  
3685 well. At night, some girls quietly told me those who wore orange vests would be killed by  
3686 injection. I saw a young lady who sat next to me who had an operation, I saw a bag  
3687 hanging over her, she had her kidney removed.

3688 *Counsel – You were taken to the dark room a number of times. Can you explain what the*  
3689 *dark room is?*

3690 GJ – I was not taken to that room, it was the other ladies in the cell and a lady who was  
3691 25 years old. She described it to me - the solitary confinement in this metal cage, 1x1m.  
3692 She said there were rats and it was impossible to sleep as she had to keep the rats away.

3693 *Counsel – You talked about the medicine you had to take; can you explain the effect of it*  
3694 *on you?*

3695 GJ – Initially when I was inside, I missed my children and relatives, and gradually I lost  
3696 this feeling of thinking about them. I couldn't taste any food. It was as if I grew up there.

3697 *Counsel – You refused to sign the document and every time, you were beaten, can you*  
3698 *explain how severe your torture was?*

3699 GJ – On the first day, I was questioned from 8am – 11pm during that time they tried to  
3700 force me to sign the document to indicate I was a terrorist and to admit I was a terrorist. I  
3701 refused. For the first interrogation I was secured on a metal chair for 24 hours. Every time  
3702 when I dozed off, they used an electric stick to remind me and force me to keep my eyes  
3703 open. While I was secured on the metal chair, my legs were hanging of 5kg of shackle  
3704 dragging my feet. In the end, my feet were swollen when I was released from the chair I  
3705 collapsed and that is when they took me to hospital. The interrogation room has cameras,  
3706 after I refused to sign, they took me out of that room to the place where there is no camera  
3707 and the police can do whatever they wish, including rape.

3708 *Counsel – Did you notice any sign of torture on other inmates at the camp?*

3709 GJ – Yes, I frequently saw this especially the girls taken out of the cell when they returned  
3710 after 24 or sometimes 72 hours - their nails were pulled out, all 10 nails had a stick in the  
3711 nails, they were bleeding, their face was bleeding. When I asked girls whether they were

3712 raped, they did not say yes or no they just cried. Soon after I was released from the camp,  
3713 I noted down 67 ladies' names. There is one lady, who was 27, who was beaten to death  
3714 - [saw] with my own eyes.

3715 *Counsel – You were released after more than 15 months; do you think you would have*  
3716 *been released if you did not have a Kazakh nationality?*

3717 GJ – No, I do not think so. I do not think anyone can leave there safe or alive. I thought,  
3718 after my husband was confiscated and I was given a Chinese ID card and told I was given  
3719 a death penalty, I thought I would die there. After my children repeatedly wrote to  
3720 organisations, in the end, I was released. It was on the 23 August, I was stripped naked  
3721 and when my name was called, I was ready to take off my clothes and I followed an order  
3722 and they took me to hospital. After arriving at hospital they tested my blood pressure it  
3723 was very high and they fed me and gave me vitamins and removed the shackles and they  
3724 said 'you are free' three days later. So, then I was taken to a hotel where I was well looked  
3725 after for another three days as I'd lost 20 kg in detention. I was told I could go home and  
3726 they had a visa for me. They said I must remember the policy of the Chinese government  
3727 and forget what happened here and if you ever speak of it, remember the arms of China  
3728 are very long. They said you are intelligent, if you need help you can reach up from the  
3729 state security police number. They took me, my hair was short and grey and took me to  
3730 colour my hair and did my make up before sending me back to Kazakhstan.

3731 *Counsel – The Chinese government maintains you were not in the camp and you were*  
3732 *arrested on charges of terrorism.*

3733 GJ – Up until now I couldn't understand the harm they accused me of. I was locked up  
3734 for one year and three months without any procedure. I never saw a court up until now  
3735 they did not prove anything. The only reason I believe I was locked up was because I was  
3736 Uyghur.

3737 *Panel – You showed us a list of women locked up with you that you wrote down, did you*  
3738 *write down any other details when you were freed?*

3739 GJ – After I was released, I often thought about those girls and so I wrote down all the  
3740 names I remembered, their age and for what reason they were there. During the signing

3741 session they passed a message to me saying I would be free, so please tell the world  
3742 what is happening to us. I carry that message with us.

3743 *Panel – You mentioned a 14-year-old girl, did you see other children in the camp you*  
3744 *were in?*

3745 GJ – Yes, I saw many from 14-80 years old.

3746 *Panel – Do you know why children were there? What they were accused of?*

3747 GJ – They were all innocent, they did no crime whatsoever, some had WhatsApp, some  
3748 listening to ‘forbidden’ songs. I can just read out several to you – the reasons for a few  
3749 were visiting Dubai, or Turkey, or America.

3750 *Panel – Were children treated differently to adult women?*

3751 GJ – No, not at all. Me, as a foreigner, they did not treat me differently.

3752 *Panel – You describe some women who permanently disappeared, can you tell us how*  
3753 *old they were?*

3754 GJ – Many women were called after black sack over their head. Aged between 25-40.

3755 *Panel – You testify about your own rape, are you able to talk more about that?*

3756 GJ – The first experience was when I was taken to the interrogation room number 404.  
3757 Where I saw a bed and bedding, I was locked/secured on that chair and again they tried  
3758 to force me to sign the document. After being beaten severely it did not change my mind  
3759 I resisted. Then eventually this male police, about 27-year-old came next to me and pulled  
3760 down his trousers. I said: please kill me, don’t you have a mother or a sister? They verbally  
3761 abused me and said ‘how dare you compare yourself to my mother and sister, you are  
3762 just an animal’ and he started pinching and poking me with an electric rod. It is extremely  
3763 difficult to me to talk about this. I was beaten up and again I was taken to hospital after  
3764 that experience.

3765 *Panel – I wonder if you could tell us what the impact of talking about this has had in your*  
3766 *community?*

3767 GJ – It was extremely difficult after arriving in Kazakstan after 15 months. Not seeing my  
3768 own children. I could not look at their face. I decided to speak up after I left Kazakstan. I  
3769 could not tell them my experience. I thought it was better for them to hear it from the  
3770 media than from me. I am suffering from this deep pain which is sustained in my heart. I  
3771 am not normal, I am suffering.

3772 *Panel – Can you tell us whether there are any other impacts on your health other than*  
3773 *the obvious mental suffering?*

3774 GJ – I suffered from heart problem and high blood pressure. I also suffer from  
3775 tuberculosis.

3776 *Panel – Would you like to take a break?*

3777 GJ – I survived China's camp, of course I can continue.

3778 *Panel – You said the 14-year-old were treated the same, were children also subjected to*  
3779 *the same experience, were children raped to your knowledge?*

3780 GJ – I do not know, the child was 14 years old, she just sat there and cried.

3781 *Panel – So they did not answer when you asked if they were raped?*

3782 GJ – It is impossible to communicate to anyone as we have to sit facing the wall. We  
3783 could only speak quietly to the girls nearby. The police repeatedly warned us that they  
3784 could see through everything. They said even in Beijing they could see us. This was a  
3785 repeat warning that we must be careful about speaking to one another. Every time, when  
3786 I asked the girls to translate as I did not speak Chinese, the the order came through the  
3787 transmitter. Then, after, the police would run and asked who was speaking. And everyone  
3788 said it was me and many times, I was forced to stand facing the wall for hours for just  
3789 talking to other girls.

3790 *Panel – You have been told the arm of the Chinese state is very long, you have been told*  
3791 *Beijing might see you when you were in the prison, who do you think could see you there?*  
3792 *What did you fear?*

3793 GJ – Yes, when I was there in detention and also, after I left the detention, I knew they  
3794 were after me and the threat is there. For me, up until today I do not care even if I die, if I  
3795 can tell everyone about all the disgraceful inhuman treatment not just from myself but for  
3796 others also. I believe sacrificing my own life, I might be able to save those millions of my  
3797 fellow Uyghurs in the camps.

3798 *Panel – When you say Beijing could see you, they spoke Mandarin, what words did they*  
3799 *use?*

3800 *GJ – The girls sat next to me interpreted, any time during the day we were constantly*  
3801 *forced to sing 5 red songs. During this period, they explained to me what was said.*

3802 *Panel – Your family were sent a letter on 25 May 2017 in that letter they charged you with*  
3803 *terrorist, had you signed a document in this camp at that point?*

3804 GJ – I refused to sign. I did not want my relatives to suffer as a result.

3805 *Panel – You were given regular medicines - did they look the same or were they different*  
3806 *types?*

3807 GJ – They all looked the same, we also got a glass of water to take the pills.

3808 *Panel – On one occasion you said you were given 20 pieces of medicine, did they all look*  
3809 *the same or were they different types?*

3810 GJ – Those were different, they prescribed me during the time after I was released, three  
3811 days in hospital, so those were vitamins which were different from what I took during the  
3812 detention.

3813 *Panel – You said you had a drip, what colour was the fluid they were giving you?*

3814 GJ – No, I never had a drip in hospital but once every 10 days, they drew blood. All of the  
3815 girls in the cell had to give blood. It was possibly lost in translation.

3816 *Panel – You said sometimes you were taken to hospital, on one occasion it was prison*  
3817 *hospital, was it the same hospital or did you have to travel out?*

3818 GJ – The hospital where I was taken on the top of the mountains was surrounded by other  
3819 detention centres, including number 5. The prison hospital where no ordinary people were  
3820 there. All four occasions I was taken to the same place.

3821 *Panel – Were the women forced to undergo abortion in the prison having been*  
3822 *impregnated by rape?*

3823 GJ – No...I do not know.

3824 *Panel – Were the medical examinations you had to undergo for monitoring your health or*  
3825 *some other reason?*

3826 GJ – Not for my health, definitely for other reasons.

3827 *Panel – What do you think the point of the torture and sexual violence was? What were*  
3828 *the guards and police officers seeking to achieve? Why did they do this?*

3829 GJ – It was to destroy us and displace us. They are carrying out the destruction of the  
3830 soul and dignity of the Uyghurs.

3831 *Panel – If the medical check-up was not for health, can you speculate as to why they*  
3832 *might have been carrying out these inspections?*

3833 GJ – Once every three months, buses arrived at camps and we were taken there. 40  
3834 women on the same bus taken to the check-up place, they did an ultrasound and brought  
3835 us back. Soon after that, we would group people, I did not know what the purpose of doing  
3836 that was.

3837 *Panel – In your statement, there is evidence of a young woman who had a kidney missing,*  
3838 *do you have any more information about that?*

3839 GJ – When I saw this young lady sitting next to me. I saw the blood and they had to  
3840 exchange it. Later, I asked her at night what happened to you? They said my kidney was  
3841 removed. The whole world should know if they are taking organs off the prisoners. I know  
3842 the women there were waiting to be injected to death and even then, the organs would  
3843 be removed.

3844 *Panel – Is the witness aware that the girl had a kidney issue or was the kidney healthy*  
3845 *before it was removed?*

3846 GJ – It is impossible to talk more or explain anything as the officers were on duty.

3847 *Panel – In regard to your response, was it common knowledge, discussed, were you*  
3848 *aware of the practice or forced organ harvesting in the prison system or beforehand?*

3849 GJ – Yes, discussions happened in prison on this. I expected they might take my organs  
3850 away and kill me.

3851 *Panel – Could you explain why this fear existed? Where was the information in regard to*  
3852 *that concern coming from?*

3853 GJ – Every time the girls from 20-30 girls were taken and never returned, we had this  
3854 concern that we were all healthy and suddenly disappeared so we thought they had  
3855 organs removed.

3856 *Panel – As far as the witness is aware, were the young women taken away... had they*  
3857 *been subject to medical examination at some point?*

3858 GJ – It happened soon after the medical exams that they were taken away. At the  
3859 ultrasound, the girls knew already something would happen. After we were all grouped in  
3860 ages, there were girls missing.

3861 *Panel – Were there any older women who disappeared or were they younger, in 20-30*  
3862 *age group?*

3863 GJ – Predominantly younger.

3864 *Panel – You say, when you were in hospital, people were wearing orange clothes. What*  
3865 *was the proportion of those wearing orange clothes? Someone said this meant they were*  
3866 *sent to sleep, what was the source of her information?*

3867 GJ – In total I saw two, one was the day I was admitted to hospital. They took the girl in  
3868 an orange vest and taken out. The girl who was teaching me the song during the singing  
3869 session she used that opportunity to say did you see the orange girl taken out she will be

3870 put to sleep. I thought can't she sleep herself? But she said that she will sleep forever.  
3871 They do not kill via shooting but via lethal injection.

3872 *Panel – How old was the girl?*

3873 GJ – Possibly 14.

3874 *Panel – Did the Kazakh government make any effort to help you get released and after,*  
3875 *did they show any interest in your case and your release?*

3876 GJ – The letters that were written after the ministers of other organisations received letters  
3877 from my children replied that they were looking for me and searching for me. I suspect  
3878 because they changed my ID completely when I was interned and changed my name, it  
3879 is possible, they were told no such name exists in the camps. But, after I arrived in  
3880 Kazakhstan after missing for 15 months, no one ever came to ask me about my wellbeing.  
3881 Being a Kazakh citizen, I felt very disappointed and very sad.

3882 *Panel – You spoke earlier about 25 May 2017 letter, who was it who sent that? Was it*  
3883 *department of the Chinese government?*

3884 GJ – It is XUAR Public Security Bureau.

3885 *Panel – When blood was taken from you, did the person have difficulty finding a suitable*  
3886 *vein to take blood?*

3887 GJ – No, not really, they were very skilled, we just stretched our arm through the hole and  
3888 they took it. It surprised me when they took blood from 40 women at the same time and  
3889 they never changed the blood so fast.

3890 *Panel – Did you ever hear of women who were subject to forced abortion or sexually*  
3891 *assaulted or rape when fighting back?*

3892 GJ – Yes, there were women who were subjected to abortion. Also rape as I have  
3893 mentioned. I would like to add that there were women who were brought in soon after  
3894 giving birth and they also were given pills. There was a woman, 27, who just shouted  
3895 back and they fixed her hands and ankle so she had to bow in that position so she had to  
3896 crawl to the toilet. She was eventually beaten to death. Her name is \*Huriat\*.

3897 *Hearing Transcript: 04.06.21- 07.06.21 – Uyghur Tribunal*

3898

**6 June 2021 (01:27:45 – 02:47:00)**3899 **Nathan Ruser**

3900

3901 NR – I'm a researcher at the ASPI in Canberra and one of the things that we've been  
3902 trying to do throughout our work in Xinjiang is take a lot of these disparate reports and  
3903 trying to quantify them. So that's involved in that cultural destruction, in the camp networks  
3904 especially. We've tried to get an idea of a whole regionwide picture of the situation there  
3905 through, generally, open-source and satellite means.

3906 So, this started in 2018 with a project that was mostly done in, sort of, our free time...we  
3907 actually looked at about 100 camps but only 30 got published on. And what that's showed  
3908 was there was sort of continuing and in fact accelerating, growth for these camps to mid-  
3909 2018 when we started looking.

3910 Then, in the last two years, we've focused a lot more on trying to look at it a lot more  
3911 comprehensively. So, our first report was sort of attempting to locate and identify what we  
3912 believe is the vast majority of the detention facilities across Xinjiang. And I'm sure there  
3913 will be questions later on the methodologies there, so I might expand on that later but we  
3914 basically were able to locate over 380 different facilities across the country– I mean across  
3915 the region.

3916 We only looked at facilities that were newly constructed since 2017, or had been  
3917 expanded since 2017. And so, to put that into context – this isn't a one to one comparison  
3918 but I think it helps to contextualize these numbers – those camps that we found represent  
3919 one new detention facility for every 37,000 indigenous people in Xinjiang – so Uyghurs,  
3920 Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, a bunch of those other indigenous nationalities. By comparison, in New  
3921 York, there are about 2,000,080 Black Americans. So, applying that ratio to New York  
3922 City...would see more than 55 detention prisons built just for Black Americans, just in  
3923 New York City, just since 2015. Over 55.

3924 So, it's a huge number. One of the other things that we tried to do in this report is develop  
3925 a typology of these facilities. So, we noticed distinct architectural trends within them, and

3926 so we split them into four different facilities, from one - the least secure, to four - the most  
3927 secure and what appeared to be prison-like facilities.

3928 Journalists...have only ever been taken to the lower-security facilities. And, until 2019,  
3929 when these facilities began to de-secure and decommission in some cases, they were  
3930 only taken to a very small number of those lower-security facilities. So, it can be very clear  
3931 that the access that international observers – diplomats and journalists – have had to  
3932 Xinjiang is only in this...very small part of the detention regime more generally.

3933 In 2019, we noticed that a number of these lower-security facilities began to be de-  
3934 securitized and, in some cases, decommissioned. But we also noticed that a number of  
3935 high-security facilities were showing signs of construction and expansion. And this  
3936 corroborates reports from victims and other sources that a lot of the detainees in those  
3937 lower-security 're-education' facilities were either being released generally into some form  
3938 of village or neighbourhood detention, or into coerced labour conditions. But those ones  
3939 that weren't being released from those facilities were being sentenced to higher security  
3940 prison camps. So, these are the ones with very high walls and watchtowers around the  
3941 whole edge.

3942 What we were able to also find was some very clear notes between the camps to forced  
3943 labour pipeline – and that's actually been shown recently by some journalists quite  
3944 well...Nathan VanderKlippe, he's a Canadian journalist and recently, he went to Lop  
3945 County in Hotan and found that directly adjacent to one of our detention centres, there  
3946 was a large factory complex – in fact, a factory complex stretched about 5km beyond the  
3947 edge of the detention centre. And along that whole sort of perimeter there was high  
3948 barbed wire fencing with CCTV cameras every couple of hundred of metres.

3949 Beyond that, I think what's important to note about this carceral regime is, because there  
3950 is such a large number of facilities and we've heard from a lot of victims that very minor  
3951 things can end up with you being detained. I think there needs to be a broader  
3952 understanding of how this sort of background of detention props up the entire coercive  
3953 system of government in Xinjiang, where any slight against the government or any sort of  
3954 statement that could be perceived as against the government authorities could result in  
3955 your detention. Because of that, in my opinion, there's not really such a thing as consent

3956 in Xinjiang anymore – whether it is within or outside of the camps – because if you say  
3957 no, then that is reason for you to be detained in these camps. We’ve heard...of how  
3958 horrific a lot of those conditions are.

3959 We also looked more distinctly at cultural destruction, the idea of cultural genocide. For  
3960 our methods there, we looked at about 1000 different cultural sites that we found through  
3961 a mix of point of entry databases, old heritage journals that had been published in  
3962 Xinjiang, and also this random stratified search method that looked at every county in  
3963 Xinjiang and tried to find mosques and religious sites in it. And what we found was that  
3964 about a third of the mosques had been demolished, about a third of the mosques had  
3965 been damaged, generally through rectification campaigns where the authorities removed  
3966 minarets...from the mosques.

3967 These are similar rates of destruction and damage that we found in other sacred sites,  
3968 like mazars, tombs, graves and cemeteries. This was relatively uniform across Xinjiang.  
3969 There were some areas with less destruction, namely Urumqi and Kashgar city, and we  
3970 suspect those were sort of lower rates of demolition because in many cases they’ve been  
3971 ‘Disney-fied’...into this tourist city.

3972 What we did find actually quite interesting was that the destruction of cemeteries seemed  
3973 to be quite a local matter. So, for example, we estimated between 400 and 500 cemeteries  
3974 in Aksu Prefecture – which were over 50% of the ones we looked at – had been  
3975 demolished. Similarly, there are many counties in Hotan where the vast majority of  
3976 cemeteries had been demolished. But there are other areas of Xinjiang such as Kashgar  
3977 where that didn’t seem to be taking place so much.

3978 One example I want to talk about, specifically on that cultural genocide, front is that of  
3979 [*inaudible*] mazar, which is this thousand-year-old sacred site between...in the desert  
3980 outside of Kashgar – about 20 km from the nearest cultivated area. That’s always been  
3981 the site of a large pilgrimage in Xinjiang....In that early 2000s era, the site was closed,  
3982 and people were sneaking in at night to do that pilgrimage. But we found that the entire  
3983 facility, the entire community, the mazar itself and the village that was surrounding it was  
3984 entirely demolished in December 2017. So, every single building in that area had been

3985 razed... That necessitated taking bulldozers through 20 km of sand dunes and such to  
3986 conduct that demolition.

3987 What we also found was that, that was about the same time that prominent anthropologist,  
3988 Rahile Dawut, was also detained in December 2017. And a lot of her body of work had  
3989 been studying that shrine and other pilgrimages in Xinjiang.

3990 Another interesting thing that we found was that, throughout northern Xinjiang in the  
3991 period from 2012 to 2015, a lot of mosques had actually been revitalized – reconstructed  
3992 – with a lot more prominent Islamic architecture and that – I can't speculate as to why that  
3993 was – but it was a trend that we definitely saw throughout the northern part of Xinjiang.  
3994 And then two years later in 2017, you started seeing that reverse – you started seeing  
3995 mosques that just got rebuilt two years ago being demolished or having a lot of those  
3996 renovations removed.

3997 In a good way what sums up some of those...attitudes towards Uyghur culture and  
3998 traditions is a speech from the Deputy Secretary of Aksu prefecture – [*inaudible name*] –  
3999 they call on government departments to waste no time in guiding the masses to “change  
4000 their customs” and “abandon closed, backwards, conservative, and ignorant customs”.  
4001 That was their defence for the reason that they demolished a lot of those cemeteries.  
4002 That shows that...it gets referred to a lot in Chinese documents... that human quality  
4003 element that sometimes has that racial tinge to it, sometimes it doesn't.

4004 The final report I'd like to briefly talk about in this statement is our birth rates report.  
4005 Basically, what we found – what was widely known – was that the birth rate in Xinjiang  
4006 had declined precipitously since 2017 – specifically since 2018, because these policies  
4007 started taking place in May and June 2017, so they started affecting the birth rate in 2018.

4008 Throughout Xinjiang, there was about half decline – so the birth rate effectively halved in  
4009 two years. I think it was 48.75% – I'd have to check that number but it was something  
4010 around that.

4011 What we also found was that that decline had almost exclusively been occurring in Uyghur  
4012 areas – in areas where there were high indigenous percentage of the population. When  
4013 we just looked at the indigenous majority counties, we saw this really sharp decline in

4014 birth rates. So, for example, comparing the 2018 birth rate, which is the last year that full  
4015 data was released, there were about 160,000 fewer children born in Uyghur-majority and  
4016 indigenous-majority counties than would be expected based on an average birth rate  
4017 baseline from prior to the crackdown. Whereas in Han majority counties in Xinjiang, of  
4018 which there are quite a few, the birth rate had stayed pretty much stable. In fact, there  
4019 were about 3000 more children born than what you would expect.

4020 What we've showed is that, across Xinjiang, not only are you seeing this unprecedented  
4021 decline in the birth rate, and from all of our research we were unable to find a similar  
4022 decline in such a quick period in any part of the world since 1950...So it should be noted  
4023 that, like a lot of places that have experienced genocide...don't keep good birth rates  
4024 statistics but we did find some good stuff from the Khmer Rouge, where the Cambodian  
4025 government had done surveys after the genocide to sort of work out this demographic  
4026 effect. We found that, throughout the Khmer Rouge, the birth rate declined by about 30%  
4027 among this cohort of – I think it was women that were aged in their 20s at the time of the  
4028 genocide. So you've seen the birth rate decline in Xinjiang being a much greater rate than  
4029 what you saw in Cambodia during the Khmer Rouge.

4030 But not only is this decline unprecedented and precipitously steep, but it also is  
4031 disproportionately affecting heavy indigenous communities in Xinjiang. We found  
4032 evidence of government directives specifically saying these Uyghur-heavy, 4 southern  
4033 prefectures of Xinjiang – these are targeted with specific birth reduction campaigns. And  
4034 we also found there was this incredible decline – almost exclusively in Uyghur areas.

4035 This birth rate decline had declined into 2019, where we were able to construct partial  
4036 data from...50 to 60% of the counties in Xinjiang, we found that this actually had very  
4037 dramatically increased the decline in birth rates. So, what you saw was sort of a period of  
4038 about 20 years, from 1990 to 2015, where the birth rate in Xinjiang remained quite stable  
4039 at about 125% of what China's national birth rate average is. Then in the last two years it  
4040 has dropped precipitously to about 70-80% of what China's national birth rate is.

4041 And then this sort of goes counter to what we've seen the Chinese government authorities  
4042 attempt to do in recent months, in recent weeks even, across the rest of China, which is  
4043 encourage births, encourage Chinese women to have more children. And we've seen

4044 very targeted policies across China to pursue that goal in the last...few years, but its only  
4045 in the last few months that that policy has really taken place. But in Xinjiang, were seeing  
4046 very deliberate efforts to systematically lower the birth rate, especially and  
4047 disproportionately affecting areas that are heavily Uyghur and heavily indigenous.

4048 *Counsel – You have analysed satellite data for over 380 different suspected detention*  
4049 *facilities. In that report, you go on to state as follows: “the available evidence suggests*  
4050 *that many of the detainees in Xinjiang’s ‘re-education’ network are now being formally*  
4051 *charged and locked up in higher security facilities”... How are you able to say that or to*  
4052 *know that?*

4053 NR – We got that information from examining satellite evidence, especially seeing these  
4054 higher security...formal prisons or pre-trial detention site actually expanding and  
4055 constructing and building more buildings in the region. But I don't think that is enough to  
4056 prove what we were seeing on its own but that also corroborated evidence that we were  
4057 hearing from a lot of victims and victims' families that their relatives who were detained  
4058 were going from 're-education' centres and political indoctrination centres and formally  
4059 being sentenced to prison...especially picked up in 2019 but has continued still.

4060 It would be fair to say that– at least my assessment is that, at the moment, the detention  
4061 facilities are not at their greatest capacity. I believe that a lot of people in the lower security  
4062 facilities have been released into forced labour streams or location control... my  
4063 understanding is that it seems likely that the rate of formal detention and prison sentences  
4064 is increasing, and that's based on satellite imagery but also victim testimony. I think there  
4065 has been some indication of it in official records but I don't know that too well myself.

4066 *Counsel – That then raises the question of, what's the point? What's the point of re-*  
4067 *educating students if they then end up in a high-security facility?*

4068 NR – That would be just speculation from my part. It is definitely not all of the lower  
4069 security people that did get sentenced to formal prison sentences – a lot of them were  
4070 released into labour streams or generally neighbourhood or village detention. I would  
4071 suspect it was the ones who showed adequate progress in those 18 months to two years  
4072 of political 're-education' were released, and those that showed insignificant or

4073 unsatisfactory progress, in what China was attempting to teach them and indoctrinate  
4074 them in, were then sentenced to prison. That would be my guess – pure speculation.

4075 *Counsel – Let us speak about those who showed progress and were released. With so*  
4076 *many re-education camps in Xinjiang, given that they began operating since around 2017,*  
4077 *I would say you would expect to see today a proportion of newly graduated and highly*  
4078 *educated Uyghur students in Xinjiang. With the document that you have come across, do*  
4079 *you know whether this is the case?*

4080 NR – ‘Highly educated’ probably isn’t the correct word – a lot of this is political education  
4081 and indoctrination but also vocational training. So, you’ve obviously seen stuff like people  
4082 who were previously highly educated such as school teachers or nurses or doctors being  
4083 trained in vocational training such as garment factory produce and stuff.

4084 And we certainly have seen a lot of people that appeared to be introduced into these  
4085 government-organized labour programmes that are coming from what used to be  
4086 detention sites. We know that in part because of Chinese state media so it’s not the most  
4087 reliable source. There is no reason to me, personally, to doubt that those people that  
4088 they’re showing are actually genuine ‘graduates’, as they call them from these centres.  
4089 And yeah, also the fact that a lot of victims, families in the diaspora have started reporting  
4090 that some family members have been released...

4091 *Counsel – ...Family ‘de-planning’... In your research on that matter and the changing*  
4092 *birth rate in Xinjiang, you find that, beginning April 2017, the CCP launched what you call*  
4093 *a series of ‘strike-hard’ campaigns against illegal births in Xinjiang, with the explicit aim*  
4094 *to decrease the birth rate in southern Xinjiang. You go on to say, however, that this policy*  
4095 *is in stark contrast with the loosening of birth control restrictions elsewhere in China. So,*  
4096 *first and foremost, would it be fair to say therefore that the PRC [is] specifically targeting*  
4097 *Uyghurs, Kazakhs and other minorities in southern Xinjiang for this reduction in birth*  
4098 *rates?*

4099 NR – That’s a question we were seeking to answer. It’s increasingly difficult to answer  
4100 that because less and less statistics are being released by the Chinese government. Prior  
4101 to 2017, their official statistical communiqué, the Xinjiang Statistical Yearbook, had tables

4102 of birth rates for each county and it split that birth rate into the actual birth rate and the  
4103 birth rate among ethnic minorities – the *minzu* people – populations in the county.

4104 So, you could very clearly see the difference between overall birth rate and generally  
4105 Uyghur birth rate. Since 2017, that data has stopped being published, and they only  
4106 provided the overall birth rate. That is why we use this geographic perspective, because  
4107 across the counties in Xinjiang, they range from about four percent indigenous to 99.5%  
4108 indigenous. So, by looking at the birth rate decline across that gradient of increasing  
4109 indigenous populations, we then could infer how that policy was affecting the birth rate of  
4110 Uyghur people and other indigenous nationalities in Xinjiang. And yes, what we found  
4111 was a very clear correlation that the more indigenous an area was, the further the birth  
4112 rate had fallen since the crackdown, since specifically April 2017.

4113 *Counsel – Would you be able to tell, from the documents you've come across, whether*  
4114 *such a policy would have been planned at the local, regional or national level?*

4115 NR – It seems to be quite uniform. A lot of these policies...are not public. What we found  
4116 referenced in a lot of family planning documents was specific reference to a Xinjiang-wide  
4117 directive talking about the lowering of birth rate for specific prefectures that were Uyghur-  
4118 majority. So that is [*inaudible*], Kashgar, Hotan, and Aksu – those four counties which are  
4119 predominantly Uyghur. We did find reference to Xinjiang-level directives trying to target a  
4120 lower birth rate in those areas. But it should be noted that the birth rate did get lower quite  
4121 uniformly outside of those four prefectures too.

4122 Han counties showed a much lower rate of decline.

4123 *Counsel – You referred to it this morning...you said that the birth rate decline in Xinjiang*  
4124 *is unprecedented and precipitously steep. However, in your report, you suggest that this*  
4125 *is aimed at reducing the population in Xinjiang. You never really use the term 'destroying'*  
4126 *that population. Is that correct?*

4127 NR – Yes. So, I think it's really difficult to sort of draw those implications just out of these  
4128 statistics. So, we've generally been quite cautious in that. I think what this report shows,  
4129 and especially the disproportionate way in which Uyghur families are being affected, is  
4130 that there [are] definitely systematic campaigns to reduce the birth rate. And what it

4131 appears to be is that the birth rate in most of the areas is now below what is necessary  
4132 for their population...to stay stable. And I think if you look at the 2018 and 2019 population  
4133 figures, the birth rate – the overall population of Uyghurs has actually declined slightly. I  
4134 don't think personally I'm qualified, based on the statistics research that we did, to say  
4135 whether there is intent there to destroy or whether it is just to sort of politically control and  
4136 limit the influence and reduce the population.

4137 *Counsel – You then go on to say, however, that the birth reduction...birth control policies*  
4138 *in Xinjiang should not be seen in isolation but should also be seen in connection with*  
4139 *other policies in the region, such as state-sponsored migration and other forms of*  
4140 *population control. And you state that these policies aimed to reduce the size of the*  
4141 *Uyghurs and other indigenous populations and to dilute their social and political influence.*  
4142 *I'm not sure whether you are able or have the data to answer this... and what's the overall*  
4143 *final aim of that? Why is the government trying to reduce the Uyghur population and dilute*  
4144 *its social and political influence?*

4145 NR – This is my personal belief – I don't think we have the statistics to back this up – but  
4146 my understanding is that, I think the authorities in Xinjiang and the authorities in China  
4147 more generally see Uyghurs specifically as a threat to the state, that ethnicity they see as  
4148 a threat to the state. So they are taking measures to in one way dilute them physically,  
4149 as far as what percentage of the population there are - and you've seen that through that  
4150 birth rate decline – but also attempt to [inaudible] Uyghurs. There doesn't appear to be a  
4151 campaign of mass death as part of this crackdown...literally just outlaw a lot of aspects  
4152 of Uyghur culture and history. And we've seen that through the physical destruction of  
4153 mosques but we've also seen that through this detention regime backbone which means  
4154 that, for long periods, if you were seen wearing a beard, you were liable to be thrown in  
4155 a detention camp. So, I think there are...these parallel efforts to physically reduce the  
4156 number of Uyghur through birth control policies and birth rate reductions but also to, sort  
4157 of, make Uyghurs that remain 'less Uyghur' and, sort of, forcibly assimilate them into the  
4158 Han polity that sort of exists in Xinjiang.

4159 *Panel – You refer in the report on birth rates to 'scholar officials', and I think you*  
4160 *mentioned three of them in particular to, or social scientists. And in the cultural destruction*

4161 *report, you mention a researcher at a CCP school and also a public intellectual. I wonder*  
4162 *if you could tell us what the relationship in China is between academics and the*  
4163 *government or other state authorities or party authorities.*

4164 NR – That’s not my specific area of expertise – you’d probably be better directing that  
4165 question to someone more specifically an expert on that. But what I would say is that, in  
4166 a lot of these cases, the official government documents are not available to us – we’ve  
4167 seen through some leaks how, in a way, explosive they are. But a lot of those guiding  
4168 philosophies do filter down to publicly accessible – generally in party journals – or the  
4169 party journal of a university, where there is this nexus between the scholarship and the  
4170 official party membership of people.

4171 I wouldn’t be able to speak to how strictly controlled those publications are but I would  
4172 say that if you were a senior member and a senior lecturer at a party school specifically,  
4173 what you write would be very much in line with what the government authorities have  
4174 suggested and put forward.

4175 *Panel – You refer to things they’ve said which support government policies, which might*  
4176 *be read as belittling to Uyghurs in their description of them or describe what once might*  
4177 *have been called as ‘civilizing mission’, in terms of female emancipation for example as*  
4178 *an objective of the policies. So, would you say that that is a role that those academics or*  
4179 *scholars officials are playing – a sort of ideological role justifying the policies?*

4180 NR – I think in many ways those publications can be seen as a window into these  
4181 decision-making processes. And how direct those relationships are isn’t something that  
4182 we can know without seeing the documents, the internal discussions themselves. But I  
4183 certainly would accept your characterization of a lot of these arguments as being quite, in  
4184 many ways, belittling and suggesting that Uyghur culture and Uyghur people are lesser  
4185 to the Han culture in the region. I would suggest that does play quite a role in the formation  
4186 and dissemination of these policies.

4187 *Panel – Of course I’m just going on the people that you’ve quoted in your reports rather*  
4188 *than any wider view. On the birth rates, you use the Chinese government’s own publicly*

4189 *available statistics and also county-level implementation documents. Could you tell us a*  
4190 *bit more [about] which government bodies produced those documents?*

4191 NR – We mainly looked at the Xinjiang Statistical Yearbook, which is an annual  
4192 publication by, I think it's a specific statistical bureau in Xinjiang, that collates a lot of these  
4193 statistics, not just on demographics but also on all of the economic and  
4194 livelihood...indicators...

4195 But then, as we noted, [the] final year in which they were published was 2018. So, to seek  
4196 more recent figures, we turn to, in most cases - it was the statistical communiques  
4197 published on the official county website, but in some cases it was family planning  
4198 departments and bureaus/ implementation and target policies.

4199 It should be noted I think, there were only three occasions where we used a target figure  
4200 and that target figure should be seen as a ceiling where the birth rate is in no way higher  
4201 than that but there is a chance that the actual birth rate is lower than that. The way that  
4202 generally works is that there is this sort of family planning department within the health  
4203 bureau of a local government area based on their statistics to regional bodies to compile  
4204 them into these annual statistical communiques. But in some cases, it comes straight  
4205 from the county government rather than the regional government.

4206 *Panel – The documents you have seen from family planning units – are you able to tell*  
4207 *from those under which authority, which part – are they under health or other structures*  
4208 *within the government?*

4209 NR – I believe they are under health but I would have to check to be certain...

4210 *Panel – You've talked about how the policies disproportionately affect areas with large*  
4211 *indigenous populations, and that that's discriminatory, but you also mentioned that there*  
4212 *were exceptionally high birth rates in some counties, especially in the south, and an*  
4213 *increase I think in the period shortly before the decline.*

4214 *Is it arguable that what the 2017 Regulations say that the policy is about is what is*  
4215 *happening, which is that it is an attempt to make the birth rates the same across*

4216 *populations just to allow Uyghurs to have the same number of children as are allowed if*  
4217 *you're Han Chinese? So not discriminatory, more of an equalizing policy?*

4218 NR – I think the way to characterize the birth rates before was that there were specific  
4219 years with exceptionally high figures – these are generally. 2014, I think, was the year  
4220 with the highest figure and that's the following year is when a lot of these – the precursors  
4221 to these policies came into play. What I would note is that, when you look at just the birth  
4222 rate now compared to the ethnic makeup of a region...the birth rate is slightly lower in  
4223 Uyghur areas now than in Han areas – though it's not necessarily statistically significant,  
4224 but it is certainly lower.

4225 What I would say is that these policies should be seen in the context of the wider  
4226 government push to raise the birth rates nationally. There's often attempts to raise the  
4227 Han birth rate in Xinjiang, which has traditionally been quite unsuccessful in the past. But  
4228 the fact that there have been attempts to raise the Han birth rate and now there are  
4229 attempts to lower the Uyghur birth rate, at least in Uyghur areas, I think that shows, or  
4230 it...demonstrates the ideological backing behind this policy. You've seen documents from  
4231 the Chinese central bank talking about the low birth rate as a national emergency; there's  
4232 no way that China can continue to prosper if the birth rate remains slow. And as a result  
4233 of that, nationally, China has started to implement a lot of policies to raise the birth rate.  
4234 That direct contrast is what shows that these aren't just policies to equal the playing the  
4235 field, I guess, between Han communities and Uyghur communities.

4236 And it should be noted that, traditionally, Xinjiang hasn't had that much higher of a birth  
4237 rate although the statistics were less well kept before the crackdown. The Xinjiang birth  
4238 rate had, for about 20-25 years, remained at about 125% the national birth rate, whereas  
4239 we've seen a much more significant drop since then.

4240 But yeah, I think when you put it into context of the wider attempts to raise the birth rate  
4241 and make sure that people have more children... The target birth rates in Uyghur  
4242 communities that you are seeing right now is unprecedentedly low and a lot lower than the  
4243 replacement rates. I think there was one county that had their 2020 birth rate target at  
4244 four people per 1000 – for comparison, Japan and Korea, which had very public national  
4245 emergencies about demographics, have their birth rate at between six and seven.

4246 *Panel – You mention there was an increase in the budget for family planning in the region.*  
4247 *Would you know who sets that budget?*

4248 NR – Unfortunately, I don't, sorry. That part of the report wasn't a part that I was mainly  
4249 working on. I don't know that, sorry.

4250 *Panel – Turning to the cultural destruction report, you mention earlier that Article 4 of*  
4251 *China's Constitution – about preservation of cultural heritage...Article 36 of the*  
4252 *Constitution – protection, freedom of religious belief. Would you say that the cultural*  
4253 *destruction that you are evidencing in your report is in breach of China's constitution?*

4254 NR – Yes, it certainly appears that and we documented that...so when you look at the  
4255 heritage register in Xinjiang, there's sites that are listed but not protected under the county  
4256 heritage register, there are sites that are protected under the county heritage register,  
4257 then there are sites that are protected under the prefectural heritage register, then there  
4258 are sites that are protected under the regional and then national heritage register. So  
4259 there's a lot of different levels of protection granted. And what we found was there were  
4260 still high numbers even in the most significantly protected region in sites of destruction.  
4261 But there was a slight down tip, so the less protected sites were being demolished at a  
4262 slightly higher rate but there was still definitely demolition occurring in the nationally  
4263 protected sites.

4264 Another thing – there's a mosque in [*inaudible location*] I believe it is, that we looked at in  
4265 the report specifically and this is one that is afforded a very high level of heritage  
4266 protection. What we found was they demolished the gatehouse of the mosque that had  
4267 been constructed in, I think, the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century and replaced it with this reconstructed  
4268 miniaturized version of it. We've actually seen since then that they've demolished that  
4269 miniaturized version of it and reconstructed it in a side alley so it can't be seen from a  
4270 public area or the public square that it used to dominate. I think that, in a way, shows that  
4271 they are at least aware of those protections, and I think this shows the example of – this  
4272 is a site that was highly protected, they realized there would be a lot of bureaucratic work  
4273 in demolishing it - though we have seen highly protected sites be demolished - so instead  
4274 they tore it down and reconstructed it so at least they can say, "no, this site is still here".

4275 *Panel – I think you say somewhere in report that 17.4% of sites protected under Chinese*  
4276 *law have been destroyed. ‘Protected under Chinese law’ – is that being on the various*  
4277 *registers that you’ve mentioned?*

4278 NR – Yes, I’d have to check the actual – I think we have like a donut chart that shows the  
4279 different levels of protection and the rates of demolition there in the report. But I can’t  
4280 remember what those statistics are off the top of my head, but yes, I think that is how we  
4281 would characterize what we mean by legally protected under Chinese law.

4282 *Panel – Later on in the report, you refer to a revised set of government regulations*  
4283 *monitoring religion in 2017, subsuming the state body managing religious affairs into the*  
4284 *CCP’s United Front Work Department (UFWD) in 2018. Could you tell us what the UFWD*  
4285 *is? What its function is?*

4286 NR – I probably wouldn’t be the best person to address that as well but the UFWD  
4287 generally is this body that pushes the...that seeks to promote that Chinese narrative and  
4288 the central policy in which all government bodies follow as well. I think it’s a way to  
4289 communicate and coordinate that message across government bodies so to push it out  
4290 into the rest of the world. But there would be people much better qualified to speak on the  
4291 UFWD than me.

4292 *Panel – The researcher I mentioned earlier at the CCP school who you refer to and who’s*  
4293 *at a CCP school in one of the northern prefectures – she recommends that there should*  
4294 *be one mosque only for each administrative unit. What would she mean by administrative*  
4295 *unit?*

4296 NR – That’s a good question and it wasn’t specified in the source document so we don’t  
4297 know. Generally, the administrative structure of locations in Xinjiang is split between: the  
4298 regionwide, which is the admin level one; the prefecture, which is the admin level two; the  
4299 county, which is the admin level three; the township, which is the admin level four; and  
4300 then specific village communities, which is the admin level five.

4301 And so, I would suspect that it is either the number four or five, the township or the village  
4302 level. Based on what we’ve seen, I would suspect it’s the township but the source  
4303 document doesn’t specify.

4304 *Panel – On the reports on the detention centres, I think one of your sources was public*  
4305 *construction and service tenders. Who was issuing those tenders?*

4306 NR – That was generally – that was always a government body – it was generally either  
4307 the Department of Education or Department of Justice that would put out specific tenders,  
4308 public tenders for public companies to be the people that construct this. That was how we  
4309 knew about these earlier mechanisms of the detention regime. People such as Shawn  
4310 Zhang and some journalists did a lot of really exemplary work in seeking those tender  
4311 documents and sharing them. Since then, those have mostly disappeared as a source of  
4312 finding camps but, in 2018 especially, that was the only source before we got an idea of  
4313 what these camps actually look like.

4314 *Panel – So that's another source of information that has become more difficult to access.*  
4315 *And of course, you've mentioned on the birth rates, the change in the way that statistics*  
4316 *are presented makes it more difficult for you to analyse. And you've suggested, on the*  
4317 *cultural destruction side, that leaving in place more of the religious and cultural sites in*  
4318 *Urumqi and Kashgar is because those places are visible to outsiders.*

4319 *So, across all those different areas of research that you are doing, are you saying that*  
4320 *you suspect that there's a systematic attempt now in response to researchers' work and*  
4321 *journalists' work to deliberately...ensure that its harder to get hold of the evidence that*  
4322 *you need?*

4323 NR – Yeah, absolutely, there's no question about [that]. We have seen sources deleted  
4324 within days of us managing to archive them. We've found a lot of sources where we can  
4325 only archive a cache version of this site because the live version has disappeared.

4326 In the past few days, there seems to be very active methods to delete evidence and  
4327 documents from the internet, yes. In fact, with the cultural destruction site, a lot of what  
4328 we've used was scanned versions of old books because that information isn't online  
4329 anywhere, at least not anymore.

4330 *Panel – I have a couple of questions on the same point if I could follow this through with*  
4331 *you. I just want to talk about the demolitions, not the desecrations. The demolition of the*  
4332 *mosques, the burial sites, and the shrines, and other heritage sites.*

4333 *You say that they're mostly located in Aksu and Hotan Prefectures and these are around*  
4334 *the border of that region which adjoins Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and then going further*  
4335 *westwards into Afghanistan. In your report, I don't see any roads or these arterial roads*  
4336 *which connect inland China to exterior areas, including this region. I just did a quick*  
4337 *Google search and there's some prominent roads here – one being the G315 which goes*  
4338 *southwards, another being G314 which goes northwards and they join.*

4339 *So, I know it's hard to get access to plans for the future from the country. You say these*  
4340 *areas of destruction are left vacant but from their distribution, can you begin to see a*  
4341 *pattern emerge which points to future developments? And we all know about the BRI.*  
4342 *And the peculiarity where you say certain cities are outliers like Kashgar and Urumqi don't*  
4343 *really matter if you bring in that logic, because the intention here is to develop. And the*  
4344 *fact that Muslim-dominated countries haven't spoken out against something which might*  
4345 *be seen as sacrilegious – for instance, destroying a mosque or even burial sites. Is there*  
4346 *something that you point to corroborating such a hypothesis?*

4347 NR – Quick clarification – when we referred to Aksu and counties in Hotan, that was  
4348 specifically on cemetery demolition. We saw, except for Urumqi, which had a very low  
4349 number of mosques to start with – I think it had about 160 registered mosques in Urumqi  
4350 city compared to something like 20-21,000 across Xinjiang – we saw lower rates of  
4351 demolition in specifically Urumqi and to a lesser extent Kashgar city. What I would add is,  
4352 other than that, there was pretty uniform demolition of mosques and shrines across the  
4353 region.

4354 What we would say is that we were only able to look at the evidence from a satellite  
4355 perspective. We were able to see when a structure was physically demolished or when  
4356 there were significant changes to the structure. From what I've heard from people who  
4357 have visited the region, a large number of the mosques that remained standing are locked  
4358 shut and pretty derelict inside. I know there's been some people that have pushed their  
4359 phone up against the crack in the door...and it's pretty derelict and desecrated inside. So,  
4360 our statistics don't take into account those mosques, and that appears to especially be  
4361 the case in Kashgar city, where a lot of the mosques have been closed or locked shut,  
4362 even though they have not been physically demolished.

4363 I don't think there's a way in which we can sort of tie these demolitions to examples of  
4364 future development. What I would say is that, when we did this satellite research, the best  
4365 quality satellite imagery that was available in recent times, I think it was something like  
4366 90%+ of the mosques that had been demolished had not been developed on since and  
4367 had remained vacant land...I think that goes to show that this isn't more generally a  
4368 campaign to revitalize a city, but it is just to demolish areas.

4369 And we've seen that similarly, in Uyghur traditional houses, where in some counties - in  
4370 most counties in fact - a large portion of the traditional houses had been demolished and  
4371 left vacant land. But in some counties, that goes up to probably about more than half of  
4372 the traditional Uyghur houses. Such as [*inaudible location*] – actually a county where  
4373 that's happened very strongly, so is [*inaudible location*] county. In most cases, there  
4374 seems to be very little attempt to develop these sites that have been demolished since.

4375 *Panel – There is no pattern emerging in terms of their location for instance – the 20 kms*  
4376 *desert that was razed that had the ancient site and settlement?*

4377 NR – It does appear to be quite uniform, except for those two cities. [*Inaudible*] mazar is  
4378 just a notable case, not so much because of its location, beyond the fact that it shows  
4379 how much effort was required to demolish it. It would be like incredibly easy to just close  
4380 the roads to it and that's what they've been doing for more than a decade now. They've  
4381 closed the site. There are 30 people that still remained in the village adjacent to the sacred  
4382 site. But instead of just closing that, they went to the effort of taking bulldozers through all  
4383 [those] sand dunes for 20 kms to explicitly raze the entire site that was about 1000 years  
4384 old.

4385 *Panel – ...Why would they invest so much time, energy and money destroying so many*  
4386 *buildings and sites?*

4387 NR – I suspect because, I mean, again - these are speculations, it comes back to that  
4388 scene – Uyghur culture as inherently incompatible with the CCP rule. Any expression of  
4389 this Uyghur culture, Uyghur history, is itself seen as a threat. That's why they've  
4390 neutralized that perceived threat by demolishing mosques. Again, that is speculation.

4391 *Panel – From your understanding of the political power structures within the PRC, is it*  
4392 *possible, in your opinion, that the policies being prescribed and executed by the PRC,*  
4393 *such as the destruction of religious sites and places of Uyghur culture, could occur without*  
4394 *the direction or the knowledge of the most senior people within the PRC or the CCP?*

4395 NR – So, I would more generally link this crackdown to the appointment of Chen Quanguo  
4396 as the Party Secretary of XUAR in 2016. My understanding is that this crackdown, more  
4397 generally, is very much – he’s the architect of it. But I would also add that this couldn’t  
4398 have happened – and we have seen from how invested the central government is in the  
4399 narratives around Xinjiang and how much events and issues in Xinjiang is a national  
4400 priority and a national secret, and the fact that the Xinjiang aid policy is I think a good  
4401 policy of that national incorporation into regional policy – I don’t think any of this could  
4402 happen without the knowledge, and permission I guess, of even Xi Jinping.

4403 *Panel – In your travels through the data promulgated by the authorities, either at*  
4404 *government or provincial or even at town level, is there a formal structure to that? Is there*  
4405 *one database essentially or is it a myriad of different structures and places?*

4406 NR – It is very much a myriad and there’s a big complicated differentiation between party  
4407 organs and governmental authorities, and it is extremely complicated. I believe that we  
4408 will try to, sort of ,have a product soon that tries to demystify some of that but that’s not  
4409 what I’m working on – I just find it quite confusing myself that there is definitely a big  
4410 number of government bodies, government authorities, party organs, that all have a  
4411 different role in this administration of Xinjiang. It’s quite convoluted and quite complex,  
4412 yes.

4413 *Panel – Is it something you are specifically working on in regard to a creation of what I*  
4414 *might loosely call an organogram of these different sites that are posting this data?*

4415 NR – Not so much on the sites but on the government authorities specifically. Not me  
4416 personally, but that is work that is being undertaken.

4417 *Panel – Would you be able to point us to whoever is doing that work at some stage?*

4418 NR – Yes.

4419 *Panel – Could you say a bit more about the satellite technology that underlines the*  
4420 *tracking of the destruction of sites? Particularly its reliability going back historically when*  
4421 *you compare original situations to what is happening or has happened more recently.*

4422 NR – The differences in satellite coverage are not so much an issue but it does cause  
4423 problems, especially in north Xinjiang where there is a lot less systematic satellite  
4424 coverage. What we would say is, I think for pretty much the entirety of Xinjiang, we were  
4425 able to get high resolution imagery from at least one point between 2012 and 2015. And  
4426 then since then, and that's sort of what we did the basis of this change analysis on, looking  
4427 at it from whatever point was available. What we were also able to find was that, since  
4428 the crackdown in Xinjiang began, there has been a very comprehensive effort to take  
4429 satellite imagery of the region because I think there is this understanding that satellite  
4430 imagery is one of the most unambiguous ways to get access to areas. And so, what that  
4431 has translated into in a lot of regions, is imagery every week and even sometimes multiple  
4432 times within a week. This isn't for the whole of Xinjiang, but for certain areas there is that  
4433 regular [*inaudible*].

4434 Also, graciously, Google Earth has decided to acquire a lot of that satellite imagery so  
4435 that's available to anyone, beyond just the traditional paywall behind the commercial  
4436 imagery sources generally.

4437 So, what we were able to do for most cases was to work out the month that this demolition  
4438 happened by being able to look at a– let's just say in August 2018 imagery image, and  
4439 let's say an October 2018 image. And we can see that the demolition occurred sometime  
4440 within that window.

4441 ...There was very strong coherence between the times of demolition of mosques within  
4442 a city or within a county. And we found that in lots of cases, all the mosques in this region  
4443 had been either demolished or rectified with their minarets taken off and their domes  
4444 removed at pretty much the same week or the same month. There are definitely areas  
4445 where that coverage is a lot less good and in many cases where it is honestly inadequate  
4446 to do proper fully comprehensive looks at this, and that's mostly in north Xinjiang but  
4447 generally it is quite good, especially since the crackdown.

4448 *Panel – For how many years has the centre been preparing reports on these various*  
4449 *subjects?*

4450 NR – Our first report on Xinjiang was actually just an unfunded project that we took on to  
4451 do in our spare time in mid to late 2018, so that was when we first...and then following  
4452 back, we started trying to look at it more systematically within the concept of these  
4453 themes.

4454 *Panel – How many reports, roughly, have been made public before the present one that*  
4455 *we are looking at?*

4456 NR – All of our reports have been made public, so we don't have private reports...

4457 *Panel – Roughly, how many?*

4458 NR: This is my fourth one. A lot of colleagues have done some as well...between seven  
4459 and ten.

4460 *Panel – Do you take the step of – do you make the step of posting a copy through the*  
4461 *PRC's embassy in Canberra to make sure they know about it?*

4462 NR – No. We've also found that, in a lot of cases, it's quite detrimental to do that – sources  
4463 could disappear and we don't want...the government to have prepared a propaganda  
4464 response to our research findings.

4465 What we have done is generally shared it with journalists in the days before its  
4466 released...and this is outside the peer review processes that we use. Sometimes they will  
4467 send findings of our research to Chinese government authorities to comment on it, but  
4468 we don't do that.

4469 *Panel – One way or another, the reports are public.*

4470 NR – Yeah.

4471 *Panel – Have they ever been cited, to your knowledge, in parliamentary or committee*  
4472 *hearings in Canberra?*

4473 NR – Yes, they have. I can't remember exactly when or where but I think they have been.  
4474 Especially the 'Uyghur for Sale' report, which isn't one that I was heavily involved in but  
4475 that, I think, has especially been cited by parliaments generally.

4476 *Panel – You've noted reaction to your report by taking items off the web.*

4477 NR – Yes.

4478 Panel – Just two questions in respect of that. The reports are available, so if the PRC  
4479 wanted a full report, it could always have got one, once it was a public document?

4480 NR – Yes, we actually do see – we definitely can see that people in China are accessing  
4481 our reports.

4482 *Panel – Has the PRC, or anybody that's connected to the PRC or speaking for the PRC,*  
4483 *ever published a detailed rebuttal of any part of any of your reports?*

4484 NR – Not really. They often respond to questions...just dismissing us as much as  
4485 possible, dismissing the institute as much as possible.

4486 There have been a few cases where they've tried to dig in deeper. I recall one case when  
4487 – the Global Times [or a] state media organ – went to disprove a lot of what we said were  
4488 camps. And for example, in one case they showed drone pictures of an area about 12  
4489 kms away from where we said the camp was and in other cases, they showed across the  
4490 road. I think that certainly is their response but I wouldn't necessarily call it that rigorous  
4491 of a response and certainly not addressing the specific findings and trying to rebut them.

4492 *Panel – Have you ever felt obliged to issue a correction to any of your reports following*  
4493 *material raised by the PRC?*

4494 NR – There was one facility that we identified as a detention camp that we no longer  
4495 believe is. That was identified because we picked it out as a point of interest while it was  
4496 under construction and at some point, it migrated from the point of interest list to the actual  
4497 list. And when that got brought to our attention, we saw it when the construction was  
4498 finished and [said], "this doesn't appear to be a camp" and removed it.

4499 Other than that, there's been probably well over 50 camps...that people have tried to call  
4500 out and say, "it's not a camp". [But] other than that one, I believe we've looked at them all  
4501 and [said], "no, we are still confident that this is a camp".

4502 *Panel – You explain that there's been some activity, maybe more than usual activity, in*  
4503 *taking things down roughly at the time of this Tribunal. Can you give us an idea of any*  
4504 *particular type of things that have been taken down just about now?*

4505 NR – I wouldn't be best to speak to this, but there is generally, quite broadly, a lot of  
4506 information is being taken down. We are seeing government websites and county official  
4507 websites being a lot less accessible, making documents harder to get more generally, not  
4508 just documents on a specific topic. You see rounds and rounds of things being taken  
4509 away.

4510 So initially it was those construction reports, I mean those construction tenders, that got  
4511 removed. Then we saw reports on the Xinjiang Aid Project and government-organized  
4512 labour programmes being systematically removed. You've seen very much these rounds  
4513 of these different topics being systematically removed. But at the same time there is just  
4514 generally information documents and websites being removed.

4515 *Panel – Is the intention from the directives that are coming centrally down to the areas –*  
4516 *is their intention that they want to get rid of all the religious sites, or do they have a quota?*  
4517 *We heard yesterday that one of the mosques had been converted into a museum. So are*  
4518 *they going to keep a few to show people or make sure that they're not actually destroying*  
4519 *the religion?*

4520 NR – There definitely have been mosques that have remained. The question that I think  
4521 stands, which is quite pertinent but I don't think I can answer it, is how accessible these  
4522 mosques are to people seeking to pray. I think in most cases... since 2017 especially,  
4523 that has pretty much stopped, but it's hard to assess to what extent.

4524 There is still the physical shell of a lot of mosques, I think about a third of them, but a  
4525 number of them are locked shut, a number of them are open in this way that I don't think  
4526 is accessible to prayer, and a lot of them have been converted into one use, such as a

4527 bar, like you said. Previously, I saw a report recently which [is about] one that was  
4528 converted into a public toilet.

4529 The question is how accessible the remaining structures are to parishioners and to people  
4530 who look to pray there. My understanding is that, especially in 2017-2019, that was  
4531 extremely inaccessible. There may be, potentially, signs in the last year or so that certain  
4532 people are being allowed back to pray but none of that research is finalized. And I can't  
4533 begin to speak to the extent of how much that is occurring, if it is occurring. It's just a  
4534 general sense that I've got.

4535 *Panel – There have been attempts to debunk the reliability of yours and others' evidence*  
4536 *based on satellite imagery. Is there an incontrovertible way of verifying these images?*

4537 NR – No. The way that we've done this is– I think this is the best time to talk about that  
4538 methodology in detail...what we looked at to start with was these lists of about 30-60  
4539 detention sites that were well documented and I think incontrovertibly detention sites by  
4540 the construction tenders and other documents such as party visits or local media.

4541 And from that list of about 50-100 sites, that we have no doubt...we started to build this  
4542 very comprehensive idea of what these facilities looked like and what features they have  
4543 and what set them apart from other more innocuous buildings, such as schools or  
4544 government offices or whatever else is occurring in Xinjiang. We got this very  
4545 comprehensive idea of what to look for. Then it became a matter of scanning through as  
4546 much of Xinjiang as possible through satellite imagery to find these distinct signatures  
4547 that fit facilities into these four architectural typologies that we found.

4548 I can understand that, for a lot of people, especially people that don't want to believe  
4549 what's happening in Xinjiang, that is a kind of inaccessible method, and when they look  
4550 at satellite imagery it's kind of difficult to see those signatures unless they get specifically  
4551 pointed out to you.

4552 When we have had people try to debunk, that's been the vast majority of people going, "I  
4553 guess this site doesn't look like a camp to me, what's make you say it's a camp?" We  
4554 were able to articulate what makes us say it's a camp, such as these watch watchtowers,

4555 these fences, these internal fences, that you don't see on other public buildings and other  
4556 buildings in Xinjiang.

4557 But this is only from that one perspective from the sky. So, there is a reason that we call  
4558 it all suspected facilities rather than confirmed facilities. In an ideal world, that wouldn't be  
4559 the case. But with the complete opacity of information in Xinjiang, I think that's the best  
4560 that we can get at the moment. What I would say is that we have been confronted with  
4561 dozens of sites that people have attempted to debunk and none of those...I'm still  
4562 extremely confident that all of those sites, except that one that I mentioned previously  
4563 while it was under construction, are actually camps.

4564 *Panel – So you are right to point out that there are two bits to my question. The first is*  
4565 *about verification as to whether these are camps. Before that, are you able to verify that*  
4566 *the images themselves were taken of that place and they're not in some way doctored or*  
4567 *falsified?*

4568 NR – Yeah, that's actually an argument that I've had, that people affiliated with the  
4569 Chinese government have brought up before – “how can you trust these satellites?  
4570 They're owned by US companies”. Then I was able to show them Chinese satellite  
4571 companies that have imaged the same area and showed the same thing.

4572 I think generally it is quite unheard for there to be entire areas of satellite imagery that  
4573 have been falsified. The one example I can think of is the Russian Ministry of Defence  
4574 tried to make their own composite of satellite imagery to show that a Ukrainian jet shot  
4575 down MH17 – only example I can think of off the top of my head where satellite imagery  
4576 has been faked.

4577 But in this case, we have multiple sources of satellite imagery on multiple days from  
4578 multiple different companies and individual satellite platforms that all show the same  
4579 thing. So, I don't think there's any reason to suspect that what we are seeing through  
4580 satellite imagery and even through Google Earth is not an accurate representation of what  
4581 is on the ground.

4582 *Counsel – Your research has shown the sheer scale of the camps in Xinjiang and I was*  
4583 *wondering whether you can draw any views on, therefore, the estimates of the detainees*  
4584 *in those camps. I know it’s difficult, but if you could say a few words on that.*

4585 NR – That is one thing that we have been very reticent to do because I don’t think the  
4586 information, at least that we have looked at, exists for us to create a firm estimate. There’s  
4587 too many changing variables across different types of camps. It wasn’t until extremely  
4588 recently that we knew that prison camps were structured in a way in which there was a  
4589 dorm structure inside each room rather than individual cells. And all those questions that  
4590 remain unanswered make it really difficult to estimate even knowing the exact floorspace  
4591 of how much room is dedicated to detainees, what an actual number would be.

4592 What I would say...is that, based on the scale on the spread of these facilities, the  
4593 estimates that we have heard of about one million would not be out of the realm of  
4594 possibility. The capacity is probably somewhere near that level. But the capacity is  
4595 different to the actual number of people detained at any one point and the actual number  
4596 of people detained throughout the length of this crackdown.

4597 *Counsel– If you were to hear the number two or three million, you would say that that*  
4598 *would be beyond the capacity of the current camp?*

4599 NR – Yes, I would not consider those estimates to be particularly robust – what I would  
4600 say is that, beyond the people physically detained in camps, there are a large number of  
4601 people that we know have been forced to attend day school and have these political  
4602 indoctrination practices, like visiting a school one day a week to undertake these lectures  
4603 and that number is undoubtedly higher but I would not personally put a lot of weight in the  
4604 scale of physical detention being much above one million.

4605 *Panel – Has there been any, I loosely describe it as, triangulatory cross-referencing*  
4606 *evidence in regard to the construction of these camps – so purchasing of raw materials,*  
4607 *or evidence about transport of, what must be very significant, volumes of materials to a*  
4608 *region far, distant from the core of the country.*

4609 NR – Yes. So, Xinjiang itself has quite a high amount of primary industry already – it’s a  
4610 highly industrialized area. There are government bodies that control a lot of that industry

4611 – especially through the XPCC. So, I don't think there is– I'd be surprised if there were  
4612 many cases of raw materials needing to be brought in from the rest of China. But what  
4613 we do certainly see... is these government construction tenders, where they say we want  
4614 X number of buildings of X size to be built in this area and then we can cross-reference  
4615 that to there being a camp in that area. Another way of triangulating it...is victim testimony.  
4616 When you have had people who had been released from detention, in most cases where  
4617 they have been able to identify what site they were held in, it is a site that we have on our  
4618 database. Which is why we believe our database is quite comprehensive. It probably  
4619 doesn't capture all of them but I would say it captures the vast majority of facilities.

4620 *Panel – ...is there any evidence of, for instance, recruitment...for prison guards?*

4621 NR – Yes, there is. Again, those sources of evidence have mostly dried up. There  
4622 certainly [have] been documents that say 'recruitment of guards', 'recruitment of teachers'  
4623 especially, in a lot of these facilities.

4624 This isn't the vast majority of facilities. There [are] a lot of facilities that aren't documented  
4625 beyond the satellite evidence because a lot of these construction tenders weren't ever  
4626 public to start with. A lot of those that were have disappeared now. So, it's not to say that  
4627 every camp has this triangulatory basis of evidence – but the ones that have, have pretty  
4628 much all been included in that database.

4629

4630 **6 June 2021 (03: 14:10 – 03:50:40)**

4631 **Habibulla Achad UTFW-060**

4632

4633 *Counsel – In your statement you refer to the early 1990s that people told you they wouldn't*  
4634 *be able to protect you in the future, that those with a religious background would be*  
4635 *targeted for arrest.*

4636 HA – We enjoyed a relatively better freedom between 1980s/early 1990s and since the  
4637 early 1990s, after the uprising, there was a crackdown on religious behaviour. During this  
4638 religious crackdown, the first target were the young students who studied religion. My

4639 father's friends told him that the friendship will not save your son, it is better to let him go  
4640 somewhere safe.

4641 *Counsel – You say they had this information on the basis of some policies?*

4642 HA – It is not possible for me to know the exact policy but I was warned, through my father  
4643 and his close acquaintances. One man, specifically, warned that this was the new policies  
4644 being implemented and it will be extremely difficult to protect religious people, especially  
4645 young terrorists. Also because of a teacher, a fellow religious teacher, anyone who had  
4646 lessons from him were being targeted.

4647 *Counsel – The coded language you refer to in your statement, why is there a need for the  
4648 coded language and what was it used for? What were individuals afraid of?*

4649 HA – I believe it was around 2016 as I cut off my last contact with my father in 2015. The  
4650 language was used regarding my sister's husbands arrest when taken into hospital and  
4651 my nieces referred to as 'paralysed'. At first, I just thought that they were ill in the hospital  
4652 and I thought my niece was paralysed literally. Even up until 2015 my communication with  
4653 my family members was very short over the phone. We never used other apps or the  
4654 internet. After my father died in mid-August 2015, during that period I still managed to  
4655 communicate with my brothers. Since then I have been cut off.

4656 *Counsel – In your statement you state five boys were sentenced to death for theft, was  
4657 the sentence carried out?*

4658 HA – I believe they were executed between 1992-1994. I attended the court hearing of  
4659 one of them who was my friend and classmate. The hearing was an open hearing which  
4660 was in an open cinema. He was accused of theft and robbery. The sentence was one  
4661 year suspended death penalty. Because it was an open trial, many thousands of people  
4662 attended. As a classmate, I know there is no way he would commit any theft or robbery  
4663 and, in our teachings, we're taught not to do so. When he was tried his head was bolted  
4664 down.

4665 *Counsel – How old was he and the others accused?*

4666 HA – Most of them were the same age. In 1992-1993, he was 22/3 and I believe he was  
4667 26 years old and maximum 28.

4668 *Panel – In the trial you attended, did they have the benefit of a defence lawyer and did*  
4669 *the defence lawyer defend them?*

4670 HA – Yes it was a sham trial, the so-called lawyer works for the communist party.

4671 *Panel – Is the reason they were arrested and sentenced to death because of the theft or*  
4672 *some other reason?*

4673 HA – What we did at that time was to teach young people religion, how to reach the  
4674 Quaran. I had 40 students. The rest who was sentenced to death that was the reason. At  
4675 that time, they could not say to give a death penalty for this reason so had to accused  
4676 them of theft and robbery. But I know from their character that these people wouldn't  
4677 touch anything, let alone stealing. In fact, the crime that they were accused of, apart from  
4678 theft, the biggest crime was attempt to separate the country, to split the country. At the  
4679 time I didn't know how it was possible to split the country. I was not even aware of the  
4680 concept of separatism.

4681 *Panel – Could you tell the tribunal why the authorities considered your family a mistrusted*  
4682 *family?*

4683 HA – After I fled my country, up until 1998, I did not have any communication with anyone  
4684 back home. After then during one conversation with my elder brother, I asked him why he  
4685 did not go to pilgrimage. He said it is impossible as our family is branded mistrusted. He  
4686 said they could not leave their region without permission. Prior to leaving the country, my  
4687 family were quite financially well off. After I left, they made it financially difficult for them.  
4688 Whenever they needed to do anything, they were pressurised to bring me back.

4689 *Panel – Why do you think persecution of your family is happening? Do you think it is to*  
4690 *persuade you to go back to China?*

4691 HA – Exactly, I remember during their trial they said 'you bunch of small separatists  
4692 wherever you go, even if you fly up to the sky or go down to the earth, we will find out and

4693 make sure you will be tried.’ Even during my time in Kazakhstan, I was arrested. I had no  
4694 peace. The police in Kazakhstan colluded with Chinese police to take me back.

4695 *Panel – When the people were given the life sentence, were they ever released, did their*  
4696 *relatives know where they were, what were they doing in prison?*

4697 HA – They were executed after a period.

4698 *Panel – Were any of them under 18? Were there any children?*

4699 HA – During that time the children were not arrested, they targeted the teachers. About  
4700 40-50 were arrested and they were adults and teachers. I used to have that video but I  
4701 do not have it any more. I believe those 40-50 arrested, are gone. Since 2017, I was cut  
4702 off from contacting anyone. There were many young boys who grown up and I did not  
4703 know. Until now I do not know what happened to them. Based on survivor stories I do not  
4704 think they left them alone. They must be in hardship. I can say 100% the testimonies from  
4705 camp survivors I believe my family endured the same treatment.

4706 *Panel – Is there anything else you would like to add?*

4707 HA – I do not have much to add but I would like to let you know I am extremely worried  
4708 about my family members, especially the women, my sisters. I wish there was an  
4709 earthquake and if they died, I would be in peace.

4710

4711 **6 June 2021 (3:53:07 – 4:24:35)**

4712 **Omer Rozi – UTFW-030**

4713

4714 *Counsel – You stated in your statement that the first time you were detained in 1993 in*  
4715 *Kashgar, you were tortured, how were you tortured?*

4716 OR – They used all sorts of methods. I was constantly hung and beaten. During this one  
4717 month of detention I was often in a hanging position, beaten up, deprived of food, water  
4718 and sleep. Then I was taken back to my home county.

4719 *Counsel – After this he was detained for six months in his home county and tortured, how*  
4720 *was he tortured there?*

4721 OR – For the first five months, I was interrogated daily. Before they asked questions, they  
4722 would beat me while I was hung up, with wooden batons. If I passed out, they throw water  
4723 on me to bring me back and then ask questions. For the last month, I did not suffer that  
4724 much torture, then my family managed to secure my release. In addition, I was deprived  
4725 of food and water so when I was released, I was just skin and bones.

4726 *Counsel – You referred to a “water prison”, can you describe what it means?*

4727 OR – You have water up to above your waist. It is dirty water and then sometimes they  
4728 change it to make it colder. They put you in there for three hours at a time. They did not  
4729 allow us to stand straight, you are constantly bowing, which is another method of torture.

4730 *Counsel – Can you describe what are the physical and mental consequences of this?*

4731 OR – One of my cellmates was shot dead, repeatedly shot into pieces. And I was forced  
4732 to pick up his flesh in a bag. Later, I was brought to another prison where I was placed in  
4733 solitary confinement for one year. So, I did not speak to anyone during this one year.

4734 *Counsel – Is it correct that your cousin was imprisoned as a result of your escape?*

4735 OR – Yes, my cousin was given an eight-year prison sentence but he was later beaten to  
4736 death.

4737 *Counsel – How did you find out?*

4738 OR – During that period I was in conversation with my family and I knew he died when  
4739 his mother moved to Urumqi. In one of our conversations, she told me “Because of you,  
4740 they killed my son.”

4741 *Panel – Did you anticipate that going to Hajj for a second time would cause these*  
4742 *consequences?*

4743 OR – No, I did not. If I did anticipate the consequences, I would not have returned.

4744 *Panel – Do you now know the content of the envelope you delivered?*

4745 OR – No, I promised not to open the letter and I fulfilled my promise to deliver it.

4746 *Panel – Your first two detentions were in regular prisons rather than re-education camps,*  
4747 *is that correct?*

4748 OR – No, it was prison. Even when I was taken to Urumqi, my fingernails were pulled out  
4749 so, throughout my detention, I suffered torture in interrogation.

4750 *Panel – In these two first prisons, can you estimate the ethnic proportion in these*  
4751 *institutions?*

4752 OR – Only Uyghurs. They were all accused of separatism.

4753 *Panel – In these prisons, were there specific rooms where torture took place?*

4754 OR – Yes, it was a separate room. As I mentioned, they pushed a metal nail into my leg  
4755 twice. Each time they would insert the nail into my leg they would tell me to confess.

4756 *Panel – Do you consider that the initial shooting of your cellmate could be considered*  
4757 *self-defence by the guards?*

4758 OR – The beating of prisoners was constant. Whenever they came to the cell, they would  
4759 beat up everyone. Eventually my cellmate tried to take some revenge with a little metal  
4760 nail but he was unsuccessful and was shot dead.

4761 *Panel – Was your cellmate chained at the time? Was he a real risk to the guards?*

4762 OR – Well, we were chained and shackled all the time. It was not something that could  
4763 cause any kind of life-threatening consequences. He just tried to take a bit of revenge by  
4764 using that nail.

4765 *Panel – When you met your brother and sister in Turkey in 2016, had they been forced*  
4766 *to travel to Turkey?*

4767 OR – I believe it was forced and intentionally planned. For three generations they said we  
4768 are not allowed to apply for passports. But suddenly, in February 2016, they called us to  
4769 the office to say that they will issue a passport and that if we did not have money, they  
4770 could help buy tickets.

4771 *Panel – When you receive the disturbing video of your brother and sister, it doesn't appear*  
4772 *that you were asked to come back, is that correct?*

4773 OR – That is correct, they did not demand that I return.

4774 *Panel – When you saw your brother and sister hanging... can you give a little more detail*  
4775 *about it?*

4776 OR – They were in that position (hanged from the ceiling by the hands). I could see that  
4777 their feet were about one meter from the ground.

4778 *Panel – You were told that only if you abided by the conditions imposed would they*  
4779 *release your brother and sister, who were screaming at the time, is that correct?*

4780 OR – During the time when I was asked to complete these four conditions, I did not hear  
4781 any noise, only before they turned off the video did I hear them scream.

4782 *Panel – You have had no contacts with them since?*

4783 OR – No, it has been five years now. This is my elder brother, [Muhametili], who is 62  
4784 years old and has eight of his family members that have disappeared. This is my elder  
4785 sister, [Rusalat Rozi], 54 years old and disappeared with two of her children and her two  
4786 grandchildren. That's five more people gone. Here is my younger brother who had mental  
4787 disability, also disappeared. This is another brother, who became disabled after an  
4788 accident and he also disappeared. My third brother, who had two children and later had  
4789 twins, for which they were fined 50,000 Yuan. They have now also disappeared. My  
4790 youngest brother had two children, they all disappeared as well. And this is my uncle,  
4791 who, after I sent 5,000 Kroner from Norway, was given a 15 year sentence for accepting  
4792 this money. All my extended family were financially well-off, they had big houses and they  
4793 had shops. All the houses were knocked down and converted into a park. I learnt that  
4794 after sending someone from Kazakhstan to look for my family members.

4795 *Panel – In Paragraph 15 of your statement, you state that the fourth condition is taking a*  
4796 *picture with the police, I assume Norwegian police, was this because they wanted to*  
4797 *circulate it? To show you were a criminal, a terrorist or an extremist?*

4798 OR – Yes that is correct.

4799 *Panel – All three?*

4800 OR – I can only guess that. The only thing that I can think of is that they might want to  
4801 present me as a criminal in the country where I was.

4802 *Panel – Who were the people who asked you?*

4803 OR – The police.

4804 *Panel – Could you be more specific? Can you say what kind of police?*

4805 OR – All I know is that they were police because they were wearing uniforms. They told  
4806 me those four conditions and then I heard the screaming of my brother and sister and  
4807 then they turned off the video.

4808 *Counsel – What were the mental and physical consequences, if any, of being held in the*  
4809 *water prison?*

4810 OR – Physically, I became weak. Psychologically it took me long to recover, I was almost  
4811 finished at that time.

4812

4813 **6 June 2021 (05:36:00 – 06:27:05)**

4814 **Gulbahar Haitiwaji UTFW-006**

4815

4816 *Counsel – Can you explain the situation in the detention centre that you were first taken*  
4817 *to?*

4818 GH – On January 29 2017, I came from Gulja to Karamay Police Station. Three policemen  
4819 from the state security department came and they took me away and they tested my eyes,  
4820 my voice, took blood from me and after they did all the checks, they took me to the  
4821 hospital. After this they did a medical examination which included urine tests, heart check,  
4822 blood pressure test and also, they checked my organs. They took me to Karamay city  
4823 detention centre. They forced me to sign a document that confesses I committed to disrupt  
4824 the social order. At the first centre I had to take off my clothes and change to the orange-

4825 coloured centre uniform. They took my pictures from the front and side, measured my  
4826 height and weight and they shackled my feet and detained me.

4827 *Counsel – Please tell us about the conditions.*

4828 GH – In total, I was detained in two detention centres and two camps. The condition of  
4829 the camps is very bad. There are just little holes into steel and no air coming through the  
4830 camps. There are cameras everywhere. Every move is monitored by the camera. In the  
4831 camp, speaking in Uyghur language is prohibited and also, any religious gesture is  
4832 prohibited. The light is on 24/7 and every night, we had to take turns to guard and sleep.  
4833 Every day we studied for 11 hours including history, Chinese language and Chinese law.  
4834 Also, we learned about educational things against religious extremism and the rules and  
4835 policies of the camp. We also sang red songs. Everything we had to learn has to be  
4836 memorised as every Friday we sat for an exam. From October 2017 we started to write a  
4837 diary but every three/four days the teacher would take them and check the content.

4838 This is the condition of the concentration camp. The condition of the detention camps are  
4839 different. We used to wear less clothes and it was colder. We were taken outside in few  
4840 clothes and the temperature was –28 degrees.

4841 *Counsel – You said it was very cold in Karamay which prohibited you doing your duty,  
4842 what duty was that?*

4843 GH – It is very cold still there, there is a room where they would take us once a day -  
4844 sometimes twice - in a room for having air, which was very cold. When we came back to  
4845 our cells, they made them colder by putting on the air-conditioning. Every night we took  
4846 turns to watch and do this duty at night.

4847 *Counsel – You said you have to keep a diary; can you explain what was the content of  
4848 the diary and what did you have to write in it?*

4849 GH – Initially the teachers said write whatever you feel and think. But since teachers  
4850 would check it we wouldn't write whatever we really think or feel as we are not allowed to  
4851 express our feelings or views. We only have to write something praising China's

4852 communist party, not unhappiness about the condition; only appreciation of the authority  
4853 and life we had been offered by the CCP.

4854 *Counsel – Do all the inmates have a diary?*

4855 GH – Yes.

4856 *Counsel – Then you had two weeks military training – can you explain the nature and*  
4857 *purpose of the training?*

4858 GH – That training happened over the first two weeks we came to the camp. That training  
4859 included standing up, turn left/right/back and also stand still for half an hour. The training  
4860 was undertaken / instructed by the military personnel. The purpose is absolutely obeying  
4861 what we are ordered to do. It is a training of loyalty and obeying the rules. The camp  
4862 detainees are between 17-70 years old. Due to age and some health conditions for some  
4863 detainees the training was very harsh and some were unable to do the training, and some  
4864 fainted.

4865 *Panel – In October 2018, you were moved to another camp where there was a courtroom,*  
4866 *is that correct?*

4867 GH – Yes, correct - there is one.

4868 *Panel – Eventually, you had a hearing in which you family members participated, correct?*

4869 GH – Yes, only...just my one sister from Urumqi.

4870 *Panel – You were released in March 2019 accepting all charges against you and forced*  
4871 *to give an interview live on camera denouncing your family members, correct?*

4872 GH – Yes.

4873 *Panel – The Chinese government claims you lied about being forced to come back to*  
4874 *China, they say you came on your own volition. And they said you lied about being*  
4875 *detained. They also say you were involved in terrorist activities. Do you want to respond*  
4876 *to these charges?*

4877 GH – This is not surprising; they just deny whatever I said and what is happening to my  
4878 homeland. Every witness talking about what they have been through. This is not a special

4879 case that China is denying. They are accusing everyone of being a terrorist in my  
4880 homeland. While I stayed in France for ten years, ending at the end of November 2016,  
4881 within the 10 years I did not take part in any anti-China activities at all. On 19 August 2019  
4882 when the Chinese government issued my passport, the Secretary told me the camps are  
4883 correct and told me the camp operation was the correct thing to do. They asked me to  
4884 inform whatever is happening here outside to the authority.

4885 *Panel – In France, did you work and did you work for a French or Chinese company?*

4886 GH – It is a French one.

4887 *Panel – Do you speak French?*

4888 GH – Yes, a little bit.

4889 *Panel – When you went back on 21 August 2019, you'd been subject to three years of*  
4890 *harsh imprisonment and substantial brainwashing. Did those managing you think you*  
4891 *were a reliable brainwashed person who would take the message of China back to*  
4892 *France?*

4893 GH – No, it did not change my mind. If it did, I would have done the order that the secretary  
4894 Public Security Office told me to do. I did not follow what he told me to do. Maybe they  
4895 think I am or else they would not have released me.

4896 *Panel – To your arrest in November 2016. While in France, you had gone back and forth*  
4897 *to China. Do you think when they arrested you, they had a plan for you in particular?*

4898 GH – I think they have a plan because, when we visited in 2012/2014, the Chinese public  
4899 security officials met with my husband. I am innocent and they know I am innocent. Simply  
4900 they arrested me in order to get revenge for my husband. This is my guess, I am not sure.

4901 *Panel – Please consider two possible plans: either, from the beginning, knowing you are*  
4902 *integrated into French society, may they have planned from the beginning to brainwash*  
4903 *you and send you back? Or was it connected to the medical tests you had when you were*  
4904 *first tested?*

4905 GH – I am unable to say much about it.

4906 *Panel – Having experienced ten years of French culture, did you with that experience/  
4907 notice changes in China over those years when you went back and forth?*

4908 GH – Yes, I did notice changes. When I went back, first I went to Urumqi, to my old home  
4909 town - Karamay. I realised the changes - there are more checkpoints, cameras  
4910 everywhere, people were transferred from one place to another; everywhere is monitored.  
4911 The checkpoints are targeted to Uyghurs only, not for the Chinese.

4912 *Panel – Did you have any fear your organs might be harvested?*

4913 GH – No, I did not have that concern. First, I went through the medical exam and after, I  
4914 was taken to the hospital, again but all that time, I never suspected whatever they are  
4915 doing to Uyghurs.

4916 *Panel – What did you think was the purpose of the medical examination?*

4917 GH – Initially, at the beginning, the female doctor told the police that I had high blood  
4918 pressure so they have to be careful.

4919 *Panel – You may know, we have heard evidence of people detained medically tested but  
4920 we have not heard of one having voice recorded. Why do you think they recorded your  
4921 voice at that first test?*

4922 GH – My thinking is that the authorities wish to identify the communications inside the  
4923 country and abroad to recognise the voice.

4924 *Panel – Why did you not change your passport to French when your husband and  
4925 daughter had changed theirs?*

4926 GH – Because my mother and mother-in-law are elderly and I kept my Chinese passport  
4927 for convenience of travel so I did not need a visa.

4928 *Panel – Could it be possible your colleague was told by the police to tell you to come back  
4929 for retirement and what was the point of the retirement?*

4930 GH – I believe the phone call I got was purposeful, the police may have asked him or told  
4931 him to ring me. As soon as I arrived, within 15 minutes, the police came to me. Regarding  
4932 my pension, the importance is that after my daughters graduated, my thinking was - I may

4933 be able to help my relatives back home, in my country and maybe I would go back to my  
4934 country.

4935 *Panel – Could you explain what the purpose of chaining you to a bed for nearly 3 weeks*  
4936 *in 2019?*

4937 GH – It was 1 April – 20 April 2017. I was chained for 20 days. I saw people chained for  
4938 more than 2 months. We were not told of a purpose, we were told it was ordered from the  
4939 top.

4940 *Panel – You describe mistreatment - caught speaking Uyghur, you would be severely*  
4941 *punished. Do you have any idea what the purpose of the punishment and humiliation*  
4942 *would be?*

4943 GH – I believe the purpose is just plan to destroy us mentally and physically. And make  
4944 us absolutely obey them and follow whatever they say. The end result is genocide.

4945 *Panel – Did you see this punishment having this impact, in the sense of destroying them*  
4946 *mentally and physically, from the other inmates locked up with you?*

4947 GH – There is no chance of we talking with other inmates in the camps or detention  
4948 centres. Although I was unable to talk with others, the other people I was detained with in  
4949 the same cell, I heard from them: they will not achieve its goal of destroying us. I believe  
4950 the torture and humiliation made Uyghurs stronger.

4951

4952 **6th June 2021 (08:28:05 – 09:16:00)**

4953 **Mihrigul Tursun UTFW-006**

4954

4955 *Counsel – Can you briefly mention about your first arrest?*

4956 MT – I was questioned and separated from my children and taken to a detention centre.  
4957 My nose was flattened during torture. After two and a half months detention in number  
4958 one prison in Urumqi. I was restricted in using my ID, two police men were always  
4959 watching over me. On the day of release, they took me to the children's hospital to see

4960 my children. They showed me two but not the third. They had operated on all of them in  
4961 the neck. They brought out my third child from the freezer the next day. I saw my third  
4962 child's frozen body. They did not tell me the reason why he died. From the hospital this is  
4963 the picture of my three children. I took two of them and a frozen dead body. 2015 was the  
4964 beginning of the arrest and punishment of those gone overseas. Once I left the hospital I  
4965 was blacklisted. I was not allowed to stay in Urumqi, I had to go back to my original home.

4966 *Counsel – You were left on your own until 2017, when you were arrested again, correct?*

4967 MT – Yes.

4968 *Counsel – You were subjected to extensive interrogations?*

4969 MT – Yes. Although I was released, two policemen were always with me. They stayed at  
4970 my house. In April 2017, I was told to come to the police station to sign. I was arrested  
4971 again. I was interrogated non-stop for 3 days. I was tortured, sat on the tiger chair, I was  
4972 beaten severely and lost my hearing in my right ear. They tortured me with medicines.

4973 *Counsel – You were not involved in any political activities or anti-China demonstrations  
4974 in Egypt, were you?*

4975 MT – No, I did not engage in any political activities. I only stayed in my home town - from  
4976 12-20 years old, I was in mainland China in the Chinese school.

4977 *Counsel – Tell us about the ninth of June.*

4978 MT – Yes that happened during the April-June detention/the interrogation. I'd witnessed  
4979 horrible things and have suffered that horrific torture. I was detained in a cell of about 400  
4980 square meters. There were over 60 women, food extremely bad, toilet in the cell. I  
4981 witnessed nine women die in the camp because of torture over that time. I was mentally  
4982 dead from this and physically sick from the bad food and conditions. I do not know how  
4983 many other people are dying in other cells. We used to be taken once a week for police  
4984 interrogation. When they moved us, they put black hoods over our heads. It was mental  
4985 torture and dehumanising us. When I was interrogated, they said 'you made a big mistake'  
4986 and 'you commit crime' and 'if you don't confess or tell us... this is what will happen'. If  
4987 you keep listening to such words, mentally you will be dead.

4988 *Counsel – You said the cell was 400 square meter is that correct?*

4989 MT – Square feet.

4990 *Counsel – The PRC say you have never been in detention, only detained 20 days - you*  
4991 *renounced your nationality, exciting national enmity.*

4992 MT – They asked if I believed in Islam, they tortured me harder to the point I denied my  
4993 religion. When I was released, I just asked from them, what was the reason for me being  
4994 arrested and facing such torture? They said it was because I was Uyghur.

4995 *Panel – You say Egypt is a red line country but China has been investing there, was it*  
4996 *just because you were Uyghur that you were picked up?*

4997 MT – Yes, as long as you are Uyghur that is what you will go through. Uyghurs travel  
4998 back to China the first thing they will check you at the airport, they look at your passport.  
4999 If it says Xinjiang and you do not look Han Chinese you are thoroughly checked at the  
5000 airport, you are put in a separate place. This is not just me - it is anyone travelled to a red  
5001 country. As long as you are Uyghur you will be checked thoroughly.

5002 *Panel – At the airport, who took away your children?*

5003 MT – Police officers.

5004 *Panel – They arrested you. You were out on parole. Were you allowed to be close to your*  
5005 *children after coming out of detention? Were you allowed to breastfeed again on parole?*

5006 MT – No, I was not able to breastfeed any more after my release - I was only able to for  
5007 40 days. The Chinese police man who witnessed everything, my children was very weak  
5008 and disabled.

5009 *Panel – What were they feeding them through the tube in their necks?*

5010 MT – They didn't tell me. One doctor said they didn't do anything. Right now, they are 6  
5011 years old but whatever they eat now, they vomit everything.

5012 *Panel – Were you allowed to bury your child according to your Islamic practice?*

5013 MT – No, I was not able to do or bury my child in the Islamic way. I was not able to perform  
5014 any religious or cultural process. Even my relatives were unable to visit us and express  
5015 sympathy for the loss. Usually, there is circumcision for the boys. The Chinese destroyed  
5016 so much. I was not able to do anything that I really wished to. I was not even able to give  
5017 them an Islamic name.

5018 *Panel – Who said to you ‘being Uyghur is a crime’?*

5019 MT – It was both the County Police Station and when I said ‘god’ during torture. They said  
5020 ‘tell your God to come save you from here, there is no God. We created you, we fed you’.

5021 *Panel – Do you remember their name?*

5022 MT – Yes, I can provide it.

5023 *Panel – You heard someone say ‘this is China, we can do whatever we want according*  
5024 *to the local law’. Who was that and what was the law they were referring to?*

5025 MT – I can give you the names of the policeman who said that. Each policeman says that  
5026 they are the law.

5027 *Panel – When you were imprisoned, you saw two women naked being harassed by*  
5028 *policemen and dogs, is...to bring dogs in the centre, was that usual practice or was that*  
5029 *the only time you saw this?*

5030 MT – Yes, it is a usual practice - bringing dogs into such centres. It is one of the ways the  
5031 Chinese police torture us, the first thing they show us them torturing others so we tell the  
5032 truth, if we do not that would be the result. We are shown the torture room. You can see  
5033 how they are torturing others. Sometimes they come during the night and take you into  
5034 the torture cell and back to the cell with big black dogs accompanying you. We are scared  
5035 of dogs now.

5036 *Panel – Could you say, what was the point or purpose of the abuse and torture in the*  
5037 *prisons? Why did they do this?*

5038 MT – I think they tried to get more information from others. They showed me lots of  
5039 pictures and asked me whether I know them. They think that if I disclose information about

5040 them or I might confess about something. I didn't recognise any of those people at all.  
5041 They asked me 'do you believe Islam' then they beat me so hard every time I said 'yes'  
5042 so, after a while, I said no. They beat me when I said Allah was my God. After that, I said  
5043 nothing. Let told me the CCP is God, we give you life and death.

5044 *Panel – Is there anything else you want to say?*

5045 MT – I do not know how many times I have told my story to the world. Whatever I say and  
5046 do is to bring justice to the criminals who commit the crimes I witnessed, what I have been  
5047 through and suffered in the prison. I hope this tribunal can come up to judgment and so,  
5048 justice for my people.

5049

5050 **6 June 2021 (6:27:50 – 7:17:32)**

5051 **Darren Byler**

5052

5053 DB – I just have some short remarks on the three main foci in my report looking at  
5054 involuntary surveillance, family planning policies, and gendered violence and their effects.  
5055 State authorities often describe detention in re-education camps as voluntary but internal  
5056 police documents demonstrate that very little interaction between Muslims and state  
5057 workers is in fact voluntary. One of the ways this coercive pressure is built is through  
5058 surveillance. Xinjiang now has one of the highest densities of surveillance cameras, face-  
5059 recognition checkpoints and digital forensics infrastructures of any location in the world.  
5060 It also has one of the greatest densities when it comes to policing as well. From cellular  
5061 towers to mobile devices to smart ID systems, QR coded housing, neighbourhood level  
5062 sub-monitoring stations, decentralised command centres, server rooms and smart  
5063 detention camps; a system of digital enclosure has enveloped the entire region.

5064 The early stages of a lot of this system in 2017, state workers started to conduct  
5065 assessments of the population to determine who was trustworthy, normal or  
5066 untrustworthy. In face-to-face interviews and in surveys that were sent to people's homes,  
5067 the neighbourhood police officers assessed mostly using ten categories: whether the  
5068 person was Uyghur, whether they were of military age between the ages of 18-55, were

5069 unemployed, whether they prayed regularly, possessed unauthorised religious  
5070 knowledge, had a passport, had travelled to one in 26 Muslim majority countries, had  
5071 overstayed their visa, had an immediate relative living abroad or had taught their children  
5072 about Islam in their home. This is how it is laid out in the form. These ten categories. Each  
5073 category that counted towards them was used to deduct points from a score of 100,  
5074 moving them down a scale, towards an untrustworthy scoring.

5075 Those who were deemed untrustworthy were sent to the detention centres, where they  
5076 were interrogated as to confess their crimes and to name others who were untrustworthy.  
5077 In this manner, the officers determined which individuals should be slated for  
5078 transformation through re-education and who should be formally prosecuted. The state  
5079 documents I reviewed show that, since 2017 and up to 2020, 530,000 people in the region  
5080 have been formally prosecuted. This is at a rate that is six times higher than the national  
5081 average and it is not accounted for people that are yet awaiting prosecution and that are  
5082 in the camps themselves.

5083 The system of surveillance has an immediate effect on Uyghur religious institutions. A  
5084 police report from April 2018 provides some of the most detailed and straight forward  
5085 assessments of the goals and effects of the Urumqi policing system on Uyghur religious  
5086 institutions, it describes 'a dramatic decrease in mosque attendance as a success of the  
5087 system'. While the mosque remains open and in this particular case, the number of people  
5088 who entered the mosque to pray during the first four months of 2018 had dropped by  
5089 96.52% as compared to 2017 when 80,211 people had attended the mosque to pray. The  
5090 report specifies that religious people are now afraid to pray in the mosque because they  
5091 had been 'told that those who enter the mosque more than 200 times will be sent to  
5092 education', which is the widely used euphemism for involuntary detention in the  
5093 camps. The primary actors in the surveillance system are the more deputised citizens.  
5094 Beginning in late 2016, hundreds of advertisements from the Xinjiang Public Security  
5095 Bureau for auxiliary police and other workers across Xinjiang.

5096 As other scholars have shown, approximately 90,000 new officers were hired at this time.  
5097 While some of these officers were formal employees transferred from other places, the  
5098 majority were low-level contracted employees or low-level security guards. After a ten-

5099 day boot camp training they were assigned to post in newly built people's convenience  
5100 police stations which former grit policing throughout the entire station. These stations  
5101 function as surveillance hubs forming centralised nodes of the surveillance system which  
5102 an Urumqi police chief reported to be seamless.

5103 The system is deeply invasive. Over the week of April 23<sup>rd</sup> in 2018, in one present in  
5104 Urumqi 40 state workers scanned the phones of 2,057 people using a digital forensics  
5105 tool called an 'anti-terrorism sword' which looks for more than 53,000 markers of religious  
5106 extremism and political activity. In addition to scanning phones, the police assistants  
5107 manually scanned the faces of 935 people using face-recognition technology. Over 2018  
5108 and 2019, there are slight fluctuations in numbers of people scanned per week but in general  
5109 they are fairly consistent. This is an on-going iterative process. As of 2018, in the present  
5110 that I am speaking of, there are 36,000 people in the total population of which 6,569 were  
5111 ethnic minorities and around 2/3 of which were adults. Because the police assistants  
5112 prioritised scanning Uyghur Muslims, on an average week, it is likely that as many as half  
5113 of the adult population in the jurisdiction were subjected to involuntary phone scans. And,  
5114 according to government documents, more than 100,000 people were (at least initially)  
5115 detained due to digital activity from years before the camps were built.

5116 The assessments continue over time, many Muslims were stopped attending the  
5117 mosques and passed their first assessments were subsequently detained because  
5118 someone else named them as untrustworthy due to their religious background. The state  
5119 also assigned additional 1.1 million Han big brothers and big sisters, that's how they are  
5120 often referred to, to conduct week long assessments in Uyghur homes. Over the course  
5121 of these visits, the relatives tested the trustworthiness qualities of Uyghurs who remained  
5122 outside of the camp by forcing them to participate in activities forbidden by certain forms  
5123 of Islamic piety such as drinking, smoking and dancing. As a test, they brought Uyghur  
5124 hosts food without telling them whether the meat used was used in the dishes was halal  
5125 or not.

5126 These relatives focused on the families that have been taken away and they looked for  
5127 signs of resentment or lack of enthusiasm. They gave the children candy or they were  
5128 told to give the children candy because they said the children would tell them the truth

5129 about what the parents thought. They also made sure that there were no illegal births in  
5130 the family, which brings me to the second focus of my report which is the zero illegal births  
5131 programme.

5132 In order to understand this programme, it is necessary to read the directives given by the  
5133 Chinese Civil Ministry very closely. On April 12<sup>th</sup> 2019, a government committee in Aksu  
5134 city in southern Xinjiang made the following announcement: ‘the people’s government  
5135 has decided to implement a real name system of rewards for reporting illegal child-births  
5136 behaviours, violations of law and family planning work while at the same time urging those  
5137 who violated laws and regulations to take the initiative to self-report and strive to be dealt  
5138 with likely’. The announcement then announces to the citizens throughout the municipality  
5139 of around 700,000 people that ‘citizens who report illegal birth activities of their  
5140 neighbours will be given a reward of 5,000 Yuan’, which is 550 GBP.

5141 Included in the listing of rewarding information on not only violations of having more  
5142 children than permitted but also adopting children in violation of regulations or illegal  
5143 procedures undertaken to give births to children. Again, my interviews indicate that the  
5144 illegal procedures that are referred to here is the removal of IUDs and other family  
5145 planning devices or birth control devices, which are subjected to regular inspection.  
5146 Nurtures ensure that all illegal pregnancies are detected, state workers are tasked with  
5147 ‘finding women of child-bearing age within their jurisdiction’. They must then assess the  
5148 birth control measures used by each woman. The directive states, and here I am quoting  
5149 again, ‘those who have not taken long-term birth control measures in small towns and  
5150 villages must be visited every month and subjected to portable pregnancy checks. Illegal  
5151 pregnancies must be ‘disposed of early in reference of state-mandated abortion’.  
5152 Nowhere in the document does it state that these checks are done voluntarily. In fact, my  
5153 interviews suggested that these checks are received as orders. The directive also states  
5154 that ‘married women of child-bearing age who have adopted long-term birth control  
5155 measures should be classified as trustworthy personnel’, which means that they won’t be  
5156 send to the camps and receive IUD or ring inspection services. That is to say there is an  
5157 incentive to receive an IUD in a way of protecting or insulating yourself from potential  
5158 detention.

5159 These exams extend beyond unmarried women as well. For instance, female students  
5160 are also mandated to receive regular physical examinations. Further evidence of the  
5161 involuntary nature of the reproduction monitoring programme is demonstrated by the  
5162 unplanned and surprise inspections that women are not permitted to refuse. The  
5163 implementation of the programme rests on organised system of 'unannounced visits'  
5164 where women will be inspected and households examined for unregistered children. Who  
5165 exactly is targeted by this system? In state documents from across the region, state  
5166 authorities lay out that zero illegal births, the programme was to target all ethnicities with  
5167 particular focus on government employees, religious figures, farmers and herders. In  
5168 another document from \*Hochin\* county in southern Xinjiang, state authorities say directly  
5169 that the programme should also target farmers and herders; a demographic in that  
5170 location and most locations across Xinjiang that disproportionately draws from the Muslim  
5171 minority populations.

5172 Since the new regulations were introduced, since 2017, with this new explicit focus on  
5173 childbirth amongst Muslims, the consequences for previous and current illegal births have  
5174 become stark. Not just in terms of monetary rewards but also in fines and prosecutions for  
5175 those deemed illegalised parents. The new regulations target parents of illegal children  
5176 as far back as 1992. Out of a sample size of 1,500 detainees that were sent to camps  
5177 since 2017, 151 were detained for violating birth policies and the sample is being taken  
5178 as indicative of camp detentions as a whole, which is an estimated 900 to 1.5 million  
5179 people. Approximately 90 – 150,000 parents may have been detained due to violations  
5180 of family planning. Taken together, all of these systems meet standard definitions of  
5181 negative eugenics but they also do something more.

5182 A key component of the zero illegal births programme is the illegalisation of adoption  
5183 amongst Uyghur families. My interviews show that in practice this policy prevents Uyghurs  
5184 from caring for the children of detained relatives. Instead, children of detainees often  
5185 become wards of the state in residential boarding schools dubbed kindness centres. As  
5186 other research has shown, the Uyghur majority areas, as many as 70% of all children of  
5187 zero to five have been assigned to a range of schools ranging from week-long full-care  
5188 schools to day-care schools. According to state documents, as many as 500,000 children,

5189 Uyghur and Kazakh children, have been raised in anonymising environments. In 2019, a  
5190 state spokesperson announced that they had recruited nearly 90,000 new politically loyal  
5191 teachers to the region. Since these new teachers are primarily Han and functioning as  
5192 parental figures to Uyghur children that have been removed from their homes, in some  
5193 sense, they are enacting enforceable transfer of children from one ethnicity to another.

5194 Now, I move on to my final focus which is on Han male marriage to Uyghur women...

5195 *[Interruption by counsel: Due to limited time, I will ask you some questions. The panel has*  
5196 *read your report in full. Please forgive my interruption.]*

5197 *Counsel – You have estimated that some ten percent camp detentions relate to violations*  
5198 *of birth policies. How many of those related to the Uyghurs or other minorities?*

5199 DB – All of them are Uyghurs or other minorities, based on the limited sample that we  
5200 have. It is a quite common reason for detention as we see in multiple datasets across the  
5201 region.

5202 *Counsel – Would you know what the other 90% of camp detentions relate to?*

5203 DB – There is range of reasons given. One of the most common is violating public order,  
5204 or social order, which means gathering a crowd, conducting religious activities outside of  
5205 a mosque or going to the mosque too often, more than 200 times. I'd say the majority are  
5206 being sent to the camps for the religious practice reason, the evidence often being digital  
5207 activity from the past or confession during interrogation.

5208 *Counsel – Is it just children of detainees that become “wards of state” or all so-called*  
5209 *“illegal children?”*

5210 DB – This is not fully clear. If both parents are taken, it is often the case but if it is one  
5211 parent, the children may remain with the other parent. However, most children are being  
5212 sent to boarding schools regardless of their parents being detained or not. So, in some  
5213 sense, children in general are being separated from their parents. Even as early as in  
5214 elementary school. These schools can be 50 to 100 kilometres away from home, so they  
5215 do not have regular visits with their parents.

5216 *Counsel – To clarify, that would be children deemed “illegal,” that are separated from their*  
5217 *parents even if both were still at home?*

5218 DB – Not necessarily, the illegal birth program is really to prevent parents from having  
5219 two or three children depending on where they live. That does not necessarily mean that  
5220 the child will be treated differently than other children of the household. The children that  
5221 become “ward of the state” are just children of families that the state has deemed  
5222 untrustworthy or unfit to care for the children. In addition, the regular school system itself  
5223 is becoming a residential school system so all children can be sent to that type of children.

5224 *Counsel – Is becoming a ward of state permanent?*

5225 I don’t have a lot of information about this but it does appear to be the case in the limited  
5226 cases where I have seen enough evidence, where children have been separated from  
5227 their parents. In some other cases, they are allowed to have a visit with the grandparents  
5228 once in a month. But the grandparents report that the children no longer speak Uyghur or  
5229 Kazakh in the home and are withdrawn - they are damaged from the situation.

5230 *Counsel – You have identified Uyghur birth rate declines of between 50% to 80% in*  
5231 *Uyghur-majority areas. Does that bring the Uyghur birth-rate in line with the Han Chinese*  
5232 *birth rate in Xinjiang, in a relative sense?*

5233 DB – No, I don’t think so. My sense is that Han birth rates have remained steady in Han-  
5234 majority areas in the region and Uyghur birth rates have simply dropped dramatically.  
5235 What we are seeing is that Uyghur birth rates are now below Han birth rates across the  
5236 country, at least in some areas.

5237 *Counsel – When you refer to Uyghur-majority areas, would that necessarily mean that*  
5238 *southern-Xinjiang has more majority areas than northern-Xinjiang?*

5239 DB – That is right. I am referring to Kashgar and Hotan prefectures in particular, which is  
5240 home to three to five million Uyghurs. Aksu is also Uyghur-majority but Hotan and  
5241 Kashgar seem to have the highest rate when it comes to the drop in birth rates.

5242 *Counsel – To what extent is it possible for a Uyghur woman to consent to the imposition*  
5243 *of a male “relative?”*

5244 DB – It is not possible at all. They have to consent or be sent to a camp. There are some  
5245 ways to find excuses like: they are not home, they are not feeling well, they can negotiate  
5246 with the “relative,” who might also not want to be part of the program and they can divorce  
5247 their husbands, which is often the case. This is a way of stopping the visits: once divorced  
5248 you are not on the “families watchlist” and the visits stop. But, in general, there is no way  
5249 of refusing the “relative.”

5250 *Counsel – To what extent is it possible for a Uyghur woman to consent to a marriage to*  
5251 *a Han Chinese official or any sexual approach by a Han Chinese male?*

5252 DB – It depends on the situation. I would say in general it is difficult. There is a good deal  
5253 of pressure and political incentives on Uyghur women to consent to a marriage to a Han  
5254 person. I have found that unmarried women will try to find excuses or marry quickly to  
5255 someone else as a way of protecting themselves. Oftentimes the marriages are arranged  
5256 through the parents of the couple so the pressure is actually placed on the parents of the  
5257 Uyghur woman. The pressure comes from Civil Ministry officials in their community. If the  
5258 family has a bad family background already, like having a relative detained, this would  
5259 make them even more vulnerable than others. But all Uyghurs are vulnerable in these  
5260 kinds of situation because refusal can be seen as untrustworthiness, of being too pious or  
5261 too connected to your Uyghur identity.

5262 *Counsel – Is it correct that the highest organ that receives intelligence information is the*  
5263 *Municipal Public Security Bureau?*

5264 DB – It is a complex system and Urumqi is the capital of the region. The Ministry of State  
5265 Security is higher than the Public Security Bureau. I would say their relation could be  
5266 compared with the relationship between the CIA to the FBI. But it is all interlinked - the  
5267 information gathered in Xinjiang is available throughout the entire region and people that  
5268 have security clearance throughout the country. So, the watchlist that is generated is, in  
5269 some ways, a national watchlist. This watchlist is widely available to Urumqi police officers  
5270 but also the entire country.

5271 *Counsel – You have referred to the deputisation of Uyghurs for law-enforcement purpose,*  
5272 *is that a voluntary or compulsory program?*

5273 DB – It is deputisation of citizens in general. Many are Han, significant numbers are  
5274 Uyghur and Kazakh. It is voluntary but also a form of protection of these people and their  
5275 family. Often, they did not know what they were signing up for, that they would put people  
5276 in camps. Many were hired before the camps were built. Then they find out that they are  
5277 not permitted to quit or to speak to anyone about what they are doing. There is a coercive  
5278 element built into the system. Some of the police officers have been detained for showing  
5279 weakness on the job or for protecting people.

5280 *Counsel – How do you account for abuses of Uyghur citizens by Uyghur police officials,*  
5281 *or Uyghur camp guards, or Uyghur intelligence officers?*

5282 DB – There is a great deal of pressure that you could be called “two-faced” if you are  
5283 Kazakh or Uyghur. This is someone who pretends to follow party doctrine but is secretly  
5284 working to support other Muslims. I think initially they may start to resist and try to help  
5285 Uyghurs if they can but overtime, it becomes normalized. They may have to prove to their  
5286 hierarchy that they are “brutal” enough to be in their position. Others may gain some  
5287 power and privilege through their positions of authority and that has its own enticement.

5288 *Panel – You wrote that a key component of China’s “Zero Illegal Births” program is the*  
5289 *illegalisation of adoption and the transfer of children into care as “ward of state”. With your*  
5290 *experience, could you briefly summarise for us the conditions that lead children to being*  
5291 *sent to these residential institutions?*

5292 DB – There is an account of parents losing contact with children after they were taken by  
5293 local authorities on the grounds that they are children of extremists and that they must be  
5294 re-educated. This is a fairly extreme example, it is not necessarily normative across the  
5295 region. I know of examples where the children are able to visit with family members  
5296 occasionally but they exhibit, in their visits, forms of trauma. In addition, there is normative  
5297 separation because the entire system is becoming a boarding school system.

5298 *Panel – So, in some cases at least, the guardians or parents are not notified about the*  
5299 *location of the children?*

5300 DB – That is right, the children disappear and the family loses contact.

5301 *Panel – Regarding the teachers in these residential schools, can you give us a sense of*  
5302 *how the teachers are recruited and whether they can be likened to the recruitments of*  
5303 *minor functionaries who don't know what they are going to be doing, as you mentioned*  
5304 *earlier?*

5305 DB – I have seen thousands of advertisements for teachers, these are publicly available.  
5306 They typically look for native Chinese speakers, with clean political background,  
5307 resoluteness in the fight against extremism and terrorism, etc. So in some sense, they do  
5308 know that they're engaging in part of the war against terror, which is what the camp  
5309 system is framed as being a part of. My sense is that they often do not know what they  
5310 are getting into when they are sent. The salaries are relatively high and there are terms  
5311 in the contracts preventing people from leaving early if they are dissatisfied with the  
5312 employment. In that way the state brings people in and doesn't let them leave easily.

5313 *Counsel – Do you have any knowledge of the different experiences of, for example, a boy*  
5314 *child and a girl child in these institutions? Do you know of any examples of sexual abuses*  
5315 *towards girls in these institutions?*

5316 DB – I do not have enough evidence to speak of the gender components of this. It is  
5317 possible. The deeper concern is probably neglect, children being crowded, held in  
5318 inadequate structures, with inadequate care, etc. There is potential for sexual violence  
5319 but I have no evidence pointing to it.

5320 *Counsel – Do you know of any occasion where party officials have either visited these*  
5321 *schools or spoken about them?*

5322 DB – Yes, there are numerous documents you can find that speak to the love and care  
5323 provided in these “kindness centres,” which is how they are referred to. There are official  
5324 visits, but the presentation is quite a bit different from what I have heard from witness  
5325 statements, so I would see these visits as staged.

5326 *Counsel – Regarding the “Becoming Family” program, what evidence do you have that*  
5327 *these visits are not entirely innocuous and friendly?*

5328 DB – The manuals provided to the “relatives” speak explicitly about the goals, which are  
5329 surveillance-oriented. It provides guidance like: first creating some conversation before  
5330 starting to interrogate or befriending the children because they’ll be honest, etc. It talks  
5331 about what you should be looking for in your inspection. There is evidence pointing to the  
5332 testing of people’s willingness to participate in secular or non-religious practices, like  
5333 drinking and smoking. There are forms of elimination and replacement of Uyghur cultural  
5334 traditions and practices inside the home. For instance, the relatives will bring new  
5335 equipment to modernise the home. I interviewed a “relative” who said “We don’t know  
5336 why they are not using the new washing machine we gave them, they just put it in the  
5337 corner.” So, there is a real disconnect at times, from the “relative’s” viewpoint of being  
5338 benevolent, giving gifts to these people and the way it is received. The families are often  
5339 under a lot of pressure and have relatives detained. Some of the coercion is explicit but  
5340 some is implicit.

5341 *Counsel – Do you know who bears the cost of the visits? Who underwrites the cost of*  
5342 *living together, travelling together, etc.?*

5343 DB – The relatives are often formally regarded as volunteers from certain organisations,  
5344 like civil ministries, companies, etc. These companies bear at least a portion of the cost,  
5345 it is not entirely clear where the money comes from but it is not much. The relatives are  
5346 supposed to bring gifts of 200 Yuan or so, for the host. In some cases, they bring some  
5347 daily necessities that are supposed to supplement their income because of their lack of  
5348 income due to one of them being detained in a camp, for example. It seems the funding  
5349 comes from the companies or organisations that these relatives are coming from.

5350 *Counsel – Regarding marriages between Han men and Uyghur women - can you tell us,*  
5351 *historically, what the proportions of these marriages have been? And when, and how, that*  
5352 *has changed?*

5353 DB – Historically, Uyghurs have not married Han men to a large extent at all. I would say  
5354 it is probably less than one percent. That is due to religious difference and social pressure  
5355 from both communities. We are seeing a dramatic increase in these marriages now and  
5356 it points to a new dynamic that is coming from this campaign.

5357 *Counsel – How do we know these marriages are not the result of women exercising their*  
5358 *personal preference or choice?*

5359 DB – The women could be exercising their freedom, for example, to protect themselves.  
5360 From interviews, my sense is that this is often not the case, they seem to try not to interact  
5361 with Han men out of fear of being forced to marry them. It appears to be coercive in many  
5362 cases. Also, from the perspective of Han men, there is a power being exercised, like when  
5363 they say “if you are interested in Uyghur girls, come to Xinjiang because you can marry  
5364 them now.” There are also advertisements that speak to matching Han men to Uyghur  
5365 women, etc.

5366 *Counsel – If there is an incentive, is it also possible that there could be any suggestions*  
5367 *of sex tourism into the region in order to access Uyghur women?*

5368 DB – That is a potential. I don’t know if its tourism as much as it is an additional incentive  
5369 to come. People put in these positions are not tourists but rather volunteers, or working  
5370 as “relatives”, or they are government workers in the camp system. This is more about a  
5371 government’s settlement policy that is bringing people into the region.

5372 *Counsel – Has it ever been reported that a Uyghur male married a Han Chinese woman?*

5373 DB – That has happened at times, and typically it is Uyghur men working in the police or  
5374 camp system, but it is quite rare. I would say 95% or 98% of marriages are between  
5375 Uyghur women and Han men.

5376

5377 **6 June 2021 (7:37:05 – 8:26:49)**

5378 **Rushan Abbas – UTFW-064**

5379

5380 *Counsel – You stated that Chinese authorities confirmed that your sister was sentenced*  
5381 *for involvement in terrorist activities. How old was your sister when arrested for activities?*

5382 RA – She was abducted in September 2018. She was 56 years old.

5383 *Counsel – What kind of activities do you think she might have been involved in?*

5384 RA – There was no evidence or trial. Nothing was given, other than the Foreign Ministry’s  
5385 claims. She is a retired medical doctor - she is quiet and non-political. She is a very law-  
5386 abiding person, living a simple ordinary life. These are just accusations against her.

5387 *Counsel – She was arrested soon after you appeared on a panel discussion, speaking*  
5388 *on the conditions in the camps, correct?*

5389 RA – Yes, on 5<sup>th</sup> September there was a panel at the Hudson Institute in Washington DC  
5390 with people like Sean Roberts. I talk about the conditions in the camps and the genocide  
5391 policy that Uyghurs are facing since August 2016, outlining the fate of my in-laws: my  
5392 husband’s entire family in Hotan was missing since April 2017. Six days after this, my  
5393 sister and my aunt both got abducted on the exact same day. My sister lived in Urumqi  
5394 and my aunt in **[Artush? – 7:41:55]**, a town near Kashgar, 1400 kilometres or 900 miles  
5395 away from each other but those two women were picked up on the same day, six days  
5396 after my speech.

5397 *Counsel – Your younger sister-in-law was accused of excessive religious activity?*

5398 RA – The Chinese regard all simple religious activity like praying, going to the mosque,  
5399 fasting for Ramadan or wearing a headscarf in places like Kashgar or Hotan, as  
5400 excessive. If anything, my sister-in-law may have worn a headscarf. Even saying Salam  
5401 Aleikum is being outlawed. The regime has claimed, for the last four or five years, that all  
5402 normal or simple religious activities are illegal Islamic activities and based on that pretext  
5403 they send people to camps or sentence them to harsh prison terms.

5404 *Panel – Is it clear to people in the region what they can do and what they can’t do*  
5405 *regarding religious activity?*

5406 RA – No. Before 2014 or before Xi Jinping, people were able to practise their religions for  
5407 a while. At the request of the Chinese regime, Mohammed Salahaddin, a religious  
5408 scholar, translated the Quran from Arabic to Uyghur and even his work, per the  
5409 government’s request, was considered a crime. He was sentenced to detention in a camp  
5410 and he died in the camp at more than 80 years old. They sanctioned people for travelling  
5411 to the Mecca for Hajj or to places like Turkey and Dubai for tourism, even with legal  
5412 entities like travel agencies. Any Uyghur that travelled to Muslim majority countries faced

5413 harsh sentences. I have travelled around since my sister's abduction, I met thousands of  
5414 Uyghurs looking for their relatives. Everything that used to be normal became prohibited,  
5415 so no one knows what they can and can't do.

5416 *Panel – Legally, at the national level, some aspects of religion are legally permitted,*  
5417 *except in this region, is that correct?*

5418 RA – Yes. that is true, in a large extent. It started from our homeland. Some people have  
5419 tried to excuse the Chinese government's genocidal policy by saying "we have seen  
5420 mosques in Xi'an or Beijing where people are still praying." But in our homeland, anybody  
5421 who goes to the mosque to pray commits a crime.

5422 *Panel – So these people would be categorised as "extremists" and this is one of the three*  
5423 *"Evils," correct? When did this begin to happen?*

5424 RA – It started when Chen Quanguo arrived in August 2016 although it goes back to  
5425 2014, when they built the first camp in [Lubnur? – 7:48:08]. At that time, they started to  
5426 exercise a "shoot at the spot" policy so, if any law enforcement agent (like traffic police),  
5427 believes that if someone runs a red light, they can shoot that person to kill, no questions  
5428 asked. RFA did an excellent report on that with, notably, a story of a teenager running a  
5429 red light with a motorcycle who was killed. If you look at official documents from 2016,  
5430 when party-secretary Chen Quanguo delivers China's central government's order of  
5431 systematic ethnic cleansing, the beginning of the genocide, there is an official document  
5432 that states that they must first "break their lineage," "break their roots," "break their  
5433 connections" and "break their origins." Those chilling words stated in official documents,  
5434 reported by the media to the public, explain the intent of eradicating the Uyghurs.

5435 *Panel – What happened to your high school classmates' brother, Qeyser Qeyum?*

5436 RA – I read on a RFA article that my friend's brother, who was editor-in-chief of a small  
5437 journal in Urumqi. The conditions of the camps are so bad that he did not want to be taken  
5438 there. So, when police officers came to arrest him, he was so fearful he jumped through  
5439 the window from the 8<sup>th</sup> floor of the building.

5440 *Panel – Why did he think he would be arrested?*

5441 RA – Well, all intellectuals, editors and scholars were being arrested. Per the education  
5442 department’s request, several prominent Uyghur scholars worked on the Uyghur  
5443 textbooks for middle and high school students. This was done at the request of the  
5444 government, it was fine. But since the rules have changed, they all have been sent to  
5445 prison and camps. Many other prominent scholars like **[NAMES: 7:52:13 – 7:52:21]** were  
5446 all targeted because they were Uyghur intellectuals.

5447 *Panel – Did they say or publish anything that could be described as separatist or terrorist?*

5448 RA – No, they are not writing about separatism. They are just promoting and writing about  
5449 Uyghur literature, history and ethnic identity. That is not separatism. It just a way of using  
5450 Uyghur ethnicity and religion to eradicate Uyghur people. That shows the ultra-  
5451 nationalism and racism on the part of the communist party.

5452 *Panel – Would this order have come from party-secretary Chen or from the department*  
5453 *of education in Beijing?*

5454 RA – I am sure it came from Beijing and that Chen Quanguo is the person who is  
5455 delivering in our homeland.

5456 *Panel – There were reports in the Global Times that you worked for American intelligence*  
5457 *agencies, can you talk about that?*

5458 RA – I actually printed something on this as I thought it might come up. This is **[? –**  
5459 **7:54:27]**, who is the deputy-director of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This is a  
5460 tweet from his twitter account with my picture, calling me a CIA asset, a Guantanamo  
5461 torturer or saying I work for Homeland security, etc. This is the narrative of the Chinese  
5462 communist regime, to discredit me. It is a common thing for them to call anyone who  
5463 opposes the Chinese state’s propaganda line, CIA agents. In fact, I understand Sir  
5464 Geoffrey Nice was also recently called a UK intelligence asset as well. This other  
5465 document is from the Global Times network, on 23<sup>rd</sup> December 2019, so a year before  
5466 the regime announced that my sister is a terrorist and it said that we stole some Uyghurs’  
5467 photos and information, claimed these people to be missing relatives in Xinjiang. Ever  
5468 since my sister disappeared, I have been carrying around my sister’s picture, I did not

5469 steal her picture or her information, it is my sister. Then, a year later, they came back and  
5470 said that my sister had been sentenced and mentioned her by name.

5471 *Panel – Regarding your other relatives, particularly your husband’s fourteen nephews and*  
5472 *nieces, aged between 5 and 22, they are presumably older now?*

5473 RA – I would say that is their age now. I hope they are alive. I hope my in-laws are alive.  
5474 We don’t know. We have no idea who is surviving, who is living; who is sent to where;  
5475 who is becoming the victims of organ harvesting; which kid is sent to which orphanage;  
5476 which Chinese family adopted which nephew of ours - we have no idea.

5477 *Panel – But their parents are detained? How do you know that?*

5478 RA – My husband last talked to his mother on 25<sup>th</sup> April 2017 and she told him not to call  
5479 them anymore. After that he did not try for a couple of weeks but then he still tried just to  
5480 see how they were doing, but none of the phones worked anymore - nothing worked. He  
5481 tried to find out from distant relatives in Mainland China and everybody said “no one is  
5482 there anymore.” Later in the summer, my husband found out, from one of these distant  
5483 relatives, that my in-laws, including my parents-in-law, my sisters-in-law and their  
5484 husbands were all taken away. Nobody knows where the kids are. The family lived  
5485 together in Hotan but the door of their house was sealed. My husband is with me here  
5486 right now, I witness him unable to sleep, unable to find out anything, he cannot find  
5487 closure. Every Uyghur from the diaspora that you talk to will tell you it has been years  
5488 since they talked to their relatives.

5489 *Panel – Why would they have been detained? Is it purely because of their association*  
5490 *with you or your husband?*

5491 RA – I don’t think so. For my sister yes, they tried to send me a message, to silence me  
5492 by taking my sister and aunt six days after I spoke. But every single Uyghur is being  
5493 targeted. All the intellectuals or thought-leaders are targeted in particular and, as an  
5494 Uyghur and a trained medical doctor, I am sure that even without me she would have  
5495 been targeted anyway. Everyone’s family is disappearing even if they are not engaging  
5496 in political or religious activities, and they are able not to reach out and to speak out,

5497 testify about it as we do here, because many are afraid to speak about it. They worry  
5498 about their other relatives.

5499 *Panel – Uyghur people who go abroad are afraid whereas Han people who go abroad*  
5500 *are not afraid, correct?*

5501 RA – I cannot speak for the Han people but for Uyghur people, yes. They feel that when  
5502 Uyghur people go abroad and we see Western cultures, we start seeing the repression  
5503 on our people and we demand being respected and treated with dignity.

5504 *Panel – Can you elaborate on your and your husband's physical and mental health?*

5505 RA – Thank God we are healthy but emotionally, how can you be? When your people are  
5506 facing genocide with an intent to completely exterminate your people. I am the youngest  
5507 in my family, my dad raised me during the Great Cultural Revolution, when he was  
5508 targeted as a Uyghur intellectual. He did not have a job after and he was sent to re-  
5509 education centres. He passed away eleven years ago but I am so grateful that my father  
5510 is not of this world and that he passed away because if he were alive, he would have  
5511 faced the same things. And we are not an isolated family, we are one example of all  
5512 Uyghur families abroad. Even those “model” citizens who are happy with the system of  
5513 the Chinese, even they are targeted because they are Uyghur.

5514 *Panel – In 1989 you left the country, was it difficult for you to leave, besides the family*  
5515 *ties?*

5516 RA – I had mixed feelings. I love my family despite graduating from university with the  
5517 second-highest score in the biology department, I was thrown out only because of my  
5518 involvement in advocating for human rights of Uyghur people with people like Dolkun Isa  
5519 or my friend Waris Ababekri who died after being released from the camps. I was thrown  
5520 to the street with no job. Also, I was sent, by the Education Ministry, to work at the  
5521 Agricultural University but later, because of my involvement in politics I did not have a job.  
5522 My father was worried about my safety, so I left. Three weeks after I arrived in the United  
5523 States, there was the Tiananmen massacre. I watched this barbaric regime kill their own  
5524 children - they were Han Chinese! Ever since 1949, the regime relentlessly used every  
5525 opportunity and labelled Uyghurs in so many names like “nationalists,” “counter-

5526 revolutionary,” “separatists” and later, “terrorists.” Now they are basically holding my  
5527 family members hostage.

5528 *Panel – But, even with your political activism, you were permitted to leave?*

5529 RA – Actually, right at that time (after the Afghan war in the late 1970, until the Tiananmen  
5530 protests of 1989) there was a period that many people called the ‘Golden Times’, that is  
5531 when I went to university. Mosques were being built, we could publish books, we could  
5532 study abroad, etc.

5533 *Panel – Concerning the detention of your sister and your aunt, you had been in the US*  
5534 *for almost 30 years and your sister was not subject to detention. What was it about the*  
5535 *Hudson Institute panel session that caused your sister to be detained?*

5536 RA – In the 2008 Beijing Olympics, there was confirmation from the West that the Chinese  
5537 government can get away with anything. Because they were persecuting the Uyghurs  
5538 and the Tibetans and there were repressive laws against anybody who does not worship  
5539 the Communist Party, like democrats, underground Christians and others. The regime  
5540 started being more aggressive. My last visit to my homeland was in 2005. Then, Xi Jinping  
5541 came to power and after the Beijing Olympics, the regime took a ‘U-turn’ regarding human  
5542 rights and became more authoritarian and the Uyghurs started facing more and more  
5543 forced sterilisations and forced abortions, etc. Even just for the Uyghur people, not for  
5544 anyone else: after you have your first baby you cannot get pregnant until three years, you  
5545 must wait for three years. That was one way of affecting the Uyghur population. Especially  
5546 after Xi Jinping announced the Belt and Road initiative in 2013, one of the main reasons  
5547 why Uyghur are facing genocide today. That is why, in 2014, they started building the  
5548 camps. So, the repression increased gradually.

5549 *Panel – When did you first find out your sister and aunt had been detained?*

5550 RA – Last I spoke to her was in Summer of 2017. I used to talk to her quite often but after  
5551 seeing what happened in April 2017, I stopped communicating with her. She has two  
5552 daughters however, who are in America and they communicate with my sister all the time.  
5553 The youngest one was pregnant in her third trimester, so she spoke to her mom very  
5554 often. The other niece just had a baby in late May and they were talking to their mother

5555 on a daily basis. They last heard from her on the evening of 10<sup>th</sup> September 2018. They  
5556 could not reach her. We waited five weeks but we still did not hear anything. Only later,  
5557 we found out from our distant relatives in other countries that my aunt was also last seen  
5558 on 10<sup>th</sup> September 2018.

5559 *Panel – If part of the reason in arresting your aunt and sister was to get to you, did they*  
5560 *assume you would find out eventually?*

5561 RA – I cannot tell but the only thing I can think of is that they want to silence me and also  
5562 show people what happens when you speak out.

5563 *Panel – I assume you have a USA passport?*

5564 RA – Yes, I am a US citizen since 1995.

5565 *Panel – Do you feel you have been harassed in any way? Are people following you?*

5566 RA – Even though I am an American citizen and I exercised my constitutional right to  
5567 freedom of speech, I feel like I paid the highest price for speaking out and exercising my  
5568 freedom of expression so I do not really think of my safety. I do hope I am safe.

5569 *Panel – If you applied to China would they allow you in? If they did, would you fear going*  
5570 *to prison?*

5571 RA – I never thought of going back there. I have been on a black list for a long time now.  
5572 I don't think it would be wise going there.

5573 *Panel – Do you know how many Uyghurs there are in America?*

5574 RA – I would say more than 10,000.

5575 *Panel – Would that be an underestimate because people would be frightened to join?*

5576 RA – Yes, a lot of people are afraid to speak out and join our advocacy work.

5577 *Panel – Has your group met with or joined up with others around the world?*

5578 RA – We have our umbrella organization, the World Uyghur Congress. We also have  
5579 Campaign for Uyghurs, of which I am the executive director. We all work together, we  
5580 coordinate and collaborate together to raise awareness.

5581 *Panel – How many people do you think around the world?*

5582 RA – That is difficult to estimate. If you look at Uyghurs who left East Turkestan after the  
5583 occupation by the Chinese Communist regime after 1949, when Uyghurs left for Pakistan,  
5584 Saudi Arabia, Central Asia, etc - altogether, probably about half a million.

5585 *Panel – Have you approached the government to ask about any ways that they could*  
5586 *help you?*

5587 RA – Yes, we have approached NGOs, students, international entities, as well as  
5588 politicians and governments around the world.

5589 *Panel – Does China allow any charities in, like the Red Cross or any other charity from*  
5590 *outside?*

5591 RA – I'm sure they are allowed but I don't know how effective they could be because of  
5592 the information blockade, the orchestrated tours, etc.

5593 *Panel – Mr Dolkun Isa has testified that Interpol was issued with a red notice and that he*  
5594 *has suffered interference at UN functions and so on in this advocacy, have you had similar*  
5595 *interferences?*

5596 RA – No, I have not.

5597 *Panel – When was the first time you publicly said that what was happening was genocide?*

5598 RA – I wrote on Op-ed on May 2019, where I wrote it was a “slow-motion” genocide. I  
5599 have been calling it a genocide since the summer of 2019. I think in my first public speech  
5600 in early June, and interviews, I called to recognise all countries who signed up the Belt  
5601 and Road initiative complicit in genocide.

5602 *Panel – Being an activist and working on RFA may have exposed your relations to some*  
5603 *risks. Did you discuss with your relations in China your position as an activist? And the*  
5604 *risks for them?*

5605 RA – No. Never. But I know the situation, I lived there.

5606 *Panel – You tried to go through other people to contact or find out about your relatives,*  
5607 *how many layers of hearsay would you say there generally was?*

5608 RA – It usually works through the reports given by Radio Free Asia. The RFA Uyghur  
5609 service get email or message tips and then they follow up on these tips and verify them.  
5610 Actually, they confirmed my sister’s detention in June 2019.

5611

5612 **7 June 2021 (00:07:36 – 00:50:23)**

5613 **Nyrola Elima (UTFW-044)**

5614

5615 *Counsel – Your cousin Mayila tried, in 2013, to transfer a significant amount of money to*  
5616 *her mother in Australia to help her buy a house. Your cousin was then arrested and being*  
5617 *charged with financing terrorism. Can you elaborate?*

5618 NE – In 2019, the Public Security Bureau arrested her for this crime and said the transfer  
5619 was funding terrorism. The transfer was in 2013 but the law they referred to was from  
5620 2015. We tried to reach out to Xinjiang government to explain but they never responded.  
5621 The document from the Ili Kazakh Prefecture was given to my cousin by a government  
5622 representative.

5623 *Counsel – Do you have any knowledge of how she was treated when she was arrested*  
5624 *and whether she was sent to a vocational camp?*

5625 NE – In March 2018 she was taken to a camp and stayed there for ten months. On  
5626 December 24, 2018, she was released. She was then hospitalised and diagnosed with  
5627 liver damage by a doctor. She had to stay home for around 100 days. She was not able  
5628 to tell me too much about the conditions in the camps. I did ask her once how it was. She  
5629 took a long pause and then she asked me if I remembered how we would throw left over  
5630 food after a day. She said now, if a piece of food fell on the floor, she would pick it up and  
5631 eat it because it was a luxurious thing for her in the last ten months. She also mentioned  
5632 that she had to sing communist songs, songs about the party. She had to sing songs  
5633 about her mother, so it would make her think about her mother and her kids. She felt so  
5634 wrong doing that. They would punish her, ask her why she was crying and they would  
5635 have her sing the song again and again. That is the kind of mental torment she went

5636 through. Besides that, we did not talk about it. She had lost around 13 kilos so my mother  
5637 was very worried about her health. That's when she was diagnosed with liver damage.

5638 *Counsel – She is now facing 6 years imprisonment, who will be looking after her children?*

5639 NE – It will be my mother. My mother has been taking care of her three kids since 2018.  
5640 The local community officials wanted to take the kids away but my mother begged to take  
5641 care of them. She said with her pension she was able to and somehow, they let her take  
5642 care of the kids. But my parents are also under house arrest and the authorities can take  
5643 them at any time. I don't know what will happen to the kids if they do.

5644 *Panel – Could you describe the background about how your cousin's parents were able*  
5645 *to leave the PRC for China?*

5646 NE – I think it was in May 2007. They got "visiting family" visa to their son in Australia.  
5647 [Six months later], their son, my cousin, died in an accident on New Year's Eve. He  
5648 drowned in the ocean. He left two kids behind (3 and 1 year old) so his parents, Mayila's  
5649 parents, stayed in Australia with the children. Then, in 2011, the Australian government  
5650 issued a family reunion to Mayila's sister, Marhaba, and she ended in Australia as well.  
5651 So, we all left the country legally. In fact, in Australia, China issued my uncle and aunt  
5652 visas. My aunt was able to back to China and to return to Australia without any issue,  
5653 although it was after the money transactions, they did not question her or anything.

5654 *Panel – How did you become aware of your cousin Mayila's detention and your parents'*  
5655 *house arrest?*

5656 NE – The first time I found out after a few weeks, because at that time we were not allowed  
5657 to contact each other. But we were always checking if she updated her social media,  
5658 that's how we knew she was safe, if she updated her social media. On 2<sup>nd</sup> March she  
5659 disappeared. I asked friends to help me find information and eventually, after a few weeks,  
5660 we found out she had been taken.

5661 The second time, my cousin's arrest was confirmed by Australia's Department of Foreign  
5662 Affairs and Trade in May 2019. She had been taken in April.

5663 *Panel – And they had learnt about it through official channels?*

5664 NE – Through the Chinese Embassy in Australia, yes.

5665 *Panel – Regarding the transfer, is it quite common for PRC citizens to transfer money*  
5666 *abroad?*

5667 NE – Yes, it is very normal. There are limits on transfers, for all citizens of China. In this  
5668 case, the bank (a state bank - the Bank of China) approved the transfer. If they believed  
5669 that my aunt was a terrorist, the authorities would ask the bank to verify every penny ever  
5670 transferred on that account. But they allowed the transaction.

5671 *Panel – Were they aware of the linkage between the various transfers that made up the*  
5672 *payment which went to your cousins' parents in Australia?*

5673 NE – They told my cousin that you cannot transfer this big amount, so they had to divide  
5674 in three. So, my cousin did that. They had told us to do it that way.

5675 *Panel – Do you know if it is legal to do this?*

5676 NE – It is legal. Mayila transferred her mother. My mother transferred to my Marhaba, my  
5677 sister, and my father transferred to my cousin's father. Those were three different  
5678 transfers that were under the limit, it was legal.

5679 *Panel – Do you have an understanding of why your cousin was first detained in 2018? It*  
5680 *was 5 years after the transfer.*

5681 NE – The first time, they gave no explanation. They would take almost every Uyghur in  
5682 each household. In 2019, when they arrested her, they did not give any explanation. But  
5683 in May, so for the second time - when the Australian authorities approached the Chinese  
5684 authorities, they gave a reason: which was this alleged terrorist activity.

5685 The authorities did not get an arrest warrant, there was no document for Mayila's case. I  
5686 asked my mother if we could find a lawyer but my mom said: "when the state calls you  
5687 a terrorist, who will defend you? Who will represent you?" No one will represent a Uyghur.

5688 *Panel – What is meant by "house arrest" in Xinjiang at the moment?*

5689 NE – My mother can leave the house to buy groceries. So, she can go to the city but she  
5690 is not allowed to call her younger sister in another city. She is not allowed outside the city.

5691 She has severe health conditions and she asked many times to be allowed to go to  
5692 Urumqi for her legs, and my father for his own condition, but they are not letting them go  
5693 to a hospital.

5694 *Panel – It was alleged that they were in possession of “extremist items,” I believe they*  
5695 *were photographs?*

5696 NE – Yes. The police told my parents that they had 66 pictures taken in Malaysia. A  
5697 journalist from Associated Press presented my cousin’s case to the XUAR Propaganda  
5698 Bureau a few days ago, they changed the number to 129 pictures of their trip to Malaysia.  
5699 They travelled to Malaysia as tourists in 2015 and 2016, it had nothing to do with terrorism.  
5700 They framed my mother, accusing of wearing a burqa when she only covers her hair. She  
5701 loves her hair and wearing make-up, she would never wear a burqa. But in the Malaysia  
5702 pictures, she was covering her hair because sometimes you have to in certain specific  
5703 places in Malaysia.

5704 *Panel – When you refer to the police, is that local police?*

5705 NE – Yining police. Yining Public Security Bureau.

5706 *Panel – Do you have any idea where the decision was made to detain your sister twice*  
5707 *and put your parents on house arrest?*

5708 NE – I believe it is from Yining Local Ppublic Security Bureau, because I do not think  
5709 XUAR even know who my mother is, I think they just give directives but it was local  
5710 authorities who decided to target my relatives.

5711 *Panel – How were the photographs discovered?*

5712 NE – When they arrested my cousin Mayila the second time, they confiscated my  
5713 mother’s telephone, their computer and Mayila’s telephone, and that’s where they found  
5714 the pictures.

5715 *Panel – Your parents were never subject to formal proceedings for these allegations?*

5716 NE – No. There was no lawyer, no due process. They just said: “you are under house  
5717 arrest.”

5718 *Panel – You said that you subsequently sent to Chinese authorities the bank transfers*  
5719 *documents, the property purchase in Australia. Which authorities did you send the*  
5720 *documents to?*

5721 NE – As I recall, I sent the inquiry to Xinjiang Public Security Bureau through journalists  
5722 at the Washington Post, CNN and several Australian journalists.

5723 *Panel – And they received no reply?*

5724 NE – I think [Zhang Ming], the Ambassador of the Chinese Mission in the EU, has the  
5725 document as well. We sent it to him as well, to prove my cousin's innocence. They have  
5726 our documents, they know we are innocents.

5727 *Panel – You have made efforts to contact the Chinese authorities, what were these*  
5728 *efforts?*

5729 NE – Marhaba called, several times, the Chinese Embassy in Australia. They would either  
5730 say that it is under investigation, or they had no comment or they would just hang up.  
5731 When I tried to call the Embassy in Sweden, I got nothing back either. That's why we  
5732 asked the journalists to do it for us.

5733 *Panel – Could you just explain the level of education that you have?*

5734 NE – I studied retail management in Lund University, Sweden.

5735 *Panel – How would people in Xinjiang understand how policies might be made at a local*  
5736 *level? Is there an understanding that direction may come from Beijing or from regional*  
5737 *power structures?*

5738 NE – The local government receives directives from the Autonomous Region government,  
5739 and the Autonomous Region receives directives from the central government. They give  
5740 general orders but, from local government to local Public Security Bureau, the local  
5741 communities and the police stations, they will apply these directives to the individuals. It  
5742 is like a reverse pyramid.

5743 *Panel – Is that generally understood by people in Xinjiang?*

5744 NE – I cannot speak for all the people but in my own case, that is how we understand it.  
5745 As I said, I don't think the central government or the autonomous knows who Mayila is  
5746 but the local authorities know. I want to point out that the general order is to destroy the  
5747 Uyghur people. They arrest my cousin, it affects me in Sweden, my parents, my sister in  
5748 Australia. One innocent person in prison destroys several people.

5749 *Panel – When your cousin's case was covered by the Washington Post and CNN, how*  
5750 *did they learn about it?*

5751 NE – I reached out to the journalist from the Washington Post, I showed her the  
5752 documents, the bank transfer and the prosecutor document. She went to Yining city to  
5753 observe. She contacted XUAR to ask about Mayila's case. It is the same for other  
5754 journalists. They have examined all the evidence I submitted to them.

5755 *Panel – Did this have any repercussions on Mayila?*

5756 NE – My cousin is in prison now, I don't know where she is. When the Bureau confirmed  
5757 her sentence to the journalist from Associated Press, they only said she was sentenced.  
5758 They did not reveal where she is held, which prison, nothing.

5759 *Panel – What was the difference between the different detention centres (camps, prison,*  
5760 *detention facilities)?*

5761 NE – Re-education camp hold people without reason, without judicial process. Detention  
5762 facilities are for people who the authorities assume committed a crime. They hold them  
5763 on suspicions but they don't charge them. In prison, they hold people who have been  
5764 formally charged. However, in Xinjiang, there is no court/no judicial process so all of it is  
5765 illegal detention.

5766 *Panel – Is the treatment different, for example, in the detention centre?*

5767 NE – From what my cousin told me, she lost a lot of weight in detention centre. After the  
5768 second time, we had a very short video conversation and there was only skin on her skull,  
5769 and she showed me her broken ribs. I did not recognise her. We were so thrilled to see  
5770 her home. She also lost a lot of weight.

5771 *Panel – You said she had liver damage, what was the diagnosis and the symptoms?*

5772 NE – The diagnosis is liver damage according to the doctor. I do not know the exact  
5773 symptoms but she lost so much weight. Before being arrested, in around 2017, she had  
5774 a medical exam. At that time, she only had an issue with her breast, but never liver  
5775 damage. Only after she left the camp did she have liver damage so, it was caused by the  
5776 detention.

5777 *Panel – You said the local community tried to take her children away, who and what are*  
5778 *the local community?*

5779 NE – They have not taken them yet but they have mentioned it. The officers are not police,  
5780 they are local community officers. Every community, for every street, has community  
5781 officers. They are in charge of this community, of what people do and what they do, and  
5782 who should be arrested. They have a quite strong power.

5783 If they had taken my cousin's daughter from my mother, they would have transferred her  
5784 to an orphanage. We know this from rumours mainly. She can't really talk a lot because  
5785 there is so much surveillance.

5786 *Panel – So they used the term “orphanage”, which implies that there are no parents, yes?*

5787 NE – Yes, they have nursing homes, orphanages, and it is all for the same purpose.  
5788 Nursing homes are for older people whose children are detained, while orphanages are  
5789 for children whose parents are detained.

5790 *Panel – Are orphanages the same as “boarding schools”?*

5791 NE – Yes, they are the same.

5792 *Panel – You have mentioned that the documents had been sent to the Propaganda*  
5793 *Bureau via the journalists and the Chinese Embassy in Australia. How were they sent?*

5794 NE – The documents were sent by fax. I did not do that, the journalists did it so I believe  
5795 they can prove it was sent.

5796 *Panel – Is there anything else that you wish to tell us?*

5797 NE – I want the panel to understand: I am taking a lot of risks to speak here. Once I leave  
5798 this place, they can take my parents because of me testifying here. I just hope that this

5799 whole thing can be over soon. I don't think my cousin can survive in these severe health  
5800 conditions.

5801 *Panel – Would any request from this tribunal help or harm?*

5802 NE – I don't know what will happen, I'm scared. They are not happy with us speaking up.

5803

5804 **7 June 2021 (00:50:36 – 02:15:00)**

5805 **Wang Leizhan (Mr Jang) – UTFW-022**

5806

5807 *Counsel – You are trained as policeman and posted to Xinjiang in 2018, how long did you*  
5808 *serve there?*

5809 WL – Several months.

5810 *Counsel – You mentioned policemen there did not receive proper training, is that correct?*

5811 WL – They are actually not police, they are assistant police. They were recruited all over  
5812 China and majority had never had a job.

5813 *Counsel – You refer to a secret committee deciding on warrants of arrest. Can you explain*  
5814 *more about this committee or anything you know about it?*

5815 WL – The committee consisted of the local government officials. Most of them are from  
5816 the department of work. There are no officials from the judicial system. The main purpose  
5817 of the committee is to come to convert or correct the political view the so called 'incorrect'  
5818 political view or people who had the 'problem with their thoughts'.

5819 *Counsel – Have you heard of the computer program the Joint Integrates Operations*  
5820 *Platform?*

5821 WL – Yes. It is used as a major database that collects the data of the Uyghur people. All  
5822 the information including their driving license and any information related to their daily life  
5823 is collected in this system. If someone went to Beijing, for example, you can detect they

5824 are there. As soon as they touch their ID anywhere, we know where they are. This is for  
5825 complete control over individuals.

5826 *Counsel – Does this computer program order arrest of individuals?*

5827 WL – The system management is through the ID card number. When you go to a train  
5828 station or an airport, as soon as you use it, who you are or if you are a suspect or if you  
5829 have a tendency against the government will show up on the system and the police can  
5830 arrest you there and then.

5831 *Counsel – You said there were 300,000 arrests of Uyghurs during your time, can you say  
5832 how this number was handled, how many arrests a day?*

5833 WL – All the neighbourhood committee, including schools, must provide names of  
5834 suspects - those considered to have problems in their thoughts. All the activities, including  
5835 using the telephone and using the internet, every movement was completely under  
5836 surveillance. The police in all the different neighbourhood or county level or city level go  
5837 to those houses and arrest them. They target the names provided and they would be  
5838 arrested and detained. Through this complete surveillance system using the data and  
5839 also, with the information provided by different committees, village level or town level  
5840 including schools, if students said something which gives away information which is a  
5841 tendency which needs thought reform, or information provided by other sources. We  
5842 arrest them if we think they have a tendency to commit terrorism.

5843 *Counsel – You stated the Uyghurs were treated differently?*

5844 WL – All the Uyghurs were considered politically incorrect and a threat to the state.  
5845 Political prisoners are different from the normal criminals. The police were always ready  
5846 to attack them as they were considering a threat to the state.

5847 *Counsel – You mention that Uyghurs were tortured?*

5848 WL – Yes, I can confirm.

5849 *Counsel – Can you let the tribunal know in your training what is the guideline for torturing  
5850 witnesses or criminals?*

5851 WL – In the past, especially 20 years ago, it was common to beat up any detainees  
5852 regardless of what kind they were. Later, there is an inspection department - after  
5853 interrogation they must have a video record submitted to this department and they will  
5854 check. For the Uyghurs, because they are considered to be political and be ones who try  
5855 overthrow the party, there is no such procedure. The police do not have to do any  
5856 recording of their behaviour or the interrogation process. The police have the complete  
5857 power to interrogate and torture and force them to confess.

5858 *Counsel – Did they mention...during training, did they mention whether you can or not*  
5859 *torture criminals?*

5860 WL – It completely depends. In general they say we are not supposed to torture prisoners.  
5861 But if the prisoners are considered political then we have a different method such as  
5862 depriving them of food, sleep, water and in some cases, use various methods for them to  
5863 confess their accused crimes.

5864 *Counsel – What type of torture are you allowed to inflict to obtain the confession?*

5865 WL – There is no written order how to torture these prisoners. However, the police have  
5866 the complete power to torture them. These people are tortured severely and forced to  
5867 water pipe into their lungs and all the methods in my statement.

5868 *Counsel – When you were trained, were you also trained in methods of torture?*

5869 WL – It is quite secret. I am an old policeman but, after arriving in Xinjiang, what I  
5870 witnessed/realised, there're unwritten rules that allow police the power to torture prisoners  
5871 and you do not need to be trained on how to torture prisoners. When you watch what  
5872 happened you will know what to do.

5873 *Counsel – Are you permitting to beat the prisoner to extract a confession?*

5874 WL – The police ranks aren't different. The police in charge of interrogation is medium  
5875 level. My role was not the medium level. I did not receive such training as I was not police  
5876 trained to interrogate prisoners. In Xinjiang, the situation is very different. Many things are  
5877 done very secretly. The state security police have the total power to arrest Uyghurs  
5878 according to their own.

5879 *Counsel – You witnessed Uyghur prisoners had bags tied on their heads to induce*  
5880 *suffocation to force confession?*

5881 WL – Yes, I can confirm this.

5882 *Counsel – You mentioned sometimes their limbs were tied and a pipe forced down their*  
5883 *throat to pump water into their lungs, can you confirm this?*

5884 WL – Yes.

5885 *Counsel – You also witnessed the use of electric rod connected to the penis in order to*  
5886 *electrocute those parts, correct?*

5887 WL – Yes.

5888 *Counsel – Also, prisoners were left to starve and food was offered to taunt them, correct?*

5889 WL – Correct.

5890 *Counsel – Did you see any witnesses going crazy or mad as a result of the torture?*

5891 WL – Yes.

5892 *Counsel – Did you witness any prisoner die as a result of torture?*

5893 WL – I did not see with my own eyes.

5894 *Counsel – Have you heard about it?*

5895 WL – Yes.

5896 *Counsel – Did you witness any sexual harassment or rape against the prisoners?*

5897 WL – Well, it is a topic I never liked to discuss therefore I never made any inquiry into  
5898 this. But I believe such behaviour exists. Well, I did hear about assistant police who heard  
5899 about it against the detainees.

5900 *Counsel – You refer to state orphanages, have you seen them or been inside any of*  
5901 *them?*

5902 WL – It was not orphanages. In Xinjiang, all the schools the children had no summer or  
5903 winter holidays as they live in those schools. It is state boarding facilities. They recruited

5904 teachers from mainland China. The conditions were extremely bad - in small facilities, ten  
5905 square metres where many children slept in bunk beds, the food is also very poor.

5906 *Panel – Regarding the time before Xinjiang in mainland China, what events or factors*  
5907 *usually led to you detaining political or religious suspects?*

5908 WL – The Falun Gong people and religious people who practice underground, all were  
5909 targeted.

5910 *Panel – Were these multiple ethnic groups?*

5911 WL – They didn't care what ethnic group as long as you participated in the banned  
5912 religion.

5913 *Panel – In the prisons were there interrogation rooms without cameras for such*  
5914 *prisoners?*

5915 WL – I didn't participate in the process of these interrogation but I have knowledge these  
5916 people have different facilities that they were taken to and the police in those facilities  
5917 were in charge of what to do with them.

5918 *Panel – Why you were transferred from the mainland to Xinjiang?*

5919 WL – The program was to recruit police from the mainland to support and protect Xinjiang  
5920 police. Different regions have to support the different regions in Xinjiang. This was the  
5921 process of bringing a more policemen of all levels to Xinjiang in order to help and support  
5922 the police there.

5923 *Panel – You say when you arrived in Xinjiang, this was the first time you learnt of the re-*  
5924 *education camps. Did you mean first time you learnt of their existence or of their nature?*

5925 WL – I didn't know about the re-education until after arriving there. In training, we were  
5926 told the state was fighting against terrorism and Uyghur separatists. We were warned we  
5927 were not meant to disclose any information about it. It was all separate. Many Uyghur  
5928 police were arrested as they detection they spoke about these facilities over the phone.  
5929 It was all in strict secrecy.

5930 *Panel – Re the local committees deciding who should go to the camps, who chose the*  
5931 *individuals on these committees?*

5932 WL – The party and the state you cannot separate. It is the party and department who  
5933 decides and has absolute power to make that decision.

5934 *Panel – Is it the party who trains the people as to what to do?*

5935 WL – Yes.

5936 *Panel – In paragraph seven, you refer to prison rules preventing guards from reviving*  
5937 *Uyghur prisoners with food and drink, were these written rules?*

5938 WL – It is the rule very clearly – no guards or assistant police or police show any mercy  
5939 towards the prisoners.

5940 *Panel – Is this written?*

5941 WL – Every rule is a rule not necessarily seen by others. I believe there are written rules  
5942 at each level of management.

5943 *Panel – In paragraph ten, you state you believe there was encouragement of torture by*  
5944 *the Chinese government due to the ‘terrorist’ label. Could you expand on that and do you*  
5945 *think the label necessarily implies it is allowed to use torture on them?*

5946 WL – The Communist Party considers any forces who against their power are labelled as  
5947 terrorist are the enemy of the people. They are not considered as human beings, so they  
5948 can be treated the way how they wish. They do not treat them as normal human being.  
5949 They received inhuman degrading treatment.

5950 *Panel – Where did you go after you left Xinjiang for a few months?*

5951 WL – First Beijing before going home.

5952 *Panel – Were you still working as a policeman in Beijing?*

5953 WL – No, I was not working in Beijing - it was just a place to transfer to come home. I  
5954 continued to be a policeman back home.

5955 *Panel – How did you manage to get to Germany?*

5956 WL – It is a long story, some of my actions were against the CCP and I was at risk and  
5957 therefore I left and arrived in Germany. The whole journey was not easy. It is complicated.

5958 *Panel – You say Uyghurs are enemies of the people and, as such, are not human. Could*  
5959 *you comment on the language/slang that was used by government and officials to refer*  
5960 *to Uyghurs as a description? Any informal language used?*

5961 WL – Referred to as terrorists and separatist. The forces that are against the state. I didn't  
5962 hear apart from what I know and what I have told you. The whole time, they were called  
5963 was terrorists or separatists.

5964 *Panel – In paragraph 7, you refer to the national Chinese policy to arrest Uyghurs– what*  
5965 *is it?*

5966 WL – It is to protect and maintain the power of the CCP. All different levels of the  
5967 management, they have policies that serve this policy. It said very clearly that you shall  
5968 not give any opportunity for these separatists or the so-called terrorists to achieve their  
5969 own goal to separate Xinjiang and achieve their own ideology to build an independent or  
5970 separate country. The whole policy is to maintain power of the CCP in Xinjiang.

5971 *Panel – Which department would it have come from?*

5972 WL – It is under the leadership of the highest level of the party committee. Every level  
5973 there is a party committee – they have absolute power to implement the policies that they  
5974 receive from the highest level. Including the part committee at village or county level.

5975 *Panel – You said state powers acted according to their own rules, so that is under the*  
5976 *party secretary in the region, is that correct?*

5977 WL – Yes.

5978 *Panel – In regards to these policies, did you see or receive or aware of written instructions*  
5979 *in that regard, or receive oral / verbal instructions?*

5980 WL – There was a department established anti-terror department. From the provincial  
5981 level from all levels, the police stations and department.

5982 *Panel – Did the level increase in 2016?*

5983 WL – Yes, especially since Chen Quanguo became Party Secretary in Xinjiang. He  
5984 carried out complete control policy.

5985 *Panel – Do you know under which department the anti-terror department sat? What was*  
5986 *the senior organisation to this department?*

5987 WL – The highest level of the Bureau is in Beijing and then it comes down to the local  
5988 level.

5989 *Panel – In paragraph 11, you link the national policy of Uyghurs seen as terrorists to their*  
5990 *being tortured and being arrested. Once they have been arrested there is no need to*  
5991 *torture them, so why do they torture them?*

5992 WL – The reason of torture is to remove any kind of disagreements or their own opinion.  
5993 After putting them through the worst degrading treatment makes them completely obey  
5994 the party. Afterwards they have no thoughts left, completely in line with the communist  
5995 party. That is the purpose of the torture. The people who are arrested there are some  
5996 educated who had strong own opinions, only through such cruelty will this purpose be  
5997 achieved.

5998 *Panel – In paragraph 13, you speak of the Chinese government wishing to destroy the*  
5999 *identity of the Uyghurs and promote Han Chinese. You also speak of natural resources*  
6000 *claimed by both Uyghur and Han, how important is the economic problem in the way*  
6001 *Uyghurs are treated?*

6002 WL – It is extremely important the cotton industry and resources and also oil and other  
6003 agricultural resources. They expect the resources for their own power. The economic  
6004 benefit includes the need for labour. The CCP acted like they are the emperor or empire  
6005 in that region.

6006 *Panel – I noticed when you were visible you had your uniform on. Can I assume one, you*  
6007 *are a patriot who loves China and two, if you are a patriot in China, are you able to critique*  
6008 *the conduct at all of the state especially when it comes to this region?*

6009 WL – When I became a soldier, my dream was to serve my country and protect my  
6010 people. It was not to protect the emperor. Gradually from my own experience I've seen

6011 through how the system works. I was not serving the people but protecting the power of  
6012 the people. I am a patriot to my people but not to the fascist regime and how they are  
6013 ruling the country in a most cruel way.

6014

6015 **7 June 2021 (2:37:00 – 3:09:05)**

6016 **Nursiman Abdureshid (UTFW-062)**

6017

6018 *Counsel – Were all women forced to have an IUD?*

6019 NA – In the summer vacation, when I was back from university, I witnessed local  
6020 community officers coming to every home and asking women to gather in the village  
6021 centre. My mother was here and when I came back, I asked her what had happened.  
6022 They said all the women should be tested and receive contraception, they would be  
6023 checked regularly for pregnancy and contraception.

6024 *Counsel – What does an “IUD check” involve?*

6025 NA – It’s a ring they put in the private parts of a woman and it prevents the pregnancy.

6026 *Counsel – You stated there is a nurse in every village for this, do you know what authority*  
6027 *these nurses work for?*

6028 NA – Normally, the nurse would just check the ladies and distribute the medicines. I know  
6029 the nurse; she was appointed nurse just because her father was a doctor. When doctors  
6030 came to the village to check pregnancies, she would assist them but she does not have  
6031 any education background about medicine.

6032 *Counsel – You described forced labour of Uyghur women in another province and you*  
6033 *also travelled to a factory where this was happening. How were you able to travel to this*  
6034 *factory without being forced to work there yourself?*

6035 NA – It was in 2008 and I was studying in **[Jiangxi Technical University]** for my pre-  
6036 university education: I was studying in Chinese to prepare for my university education in  
6037 **[Shanghai]** University of Finance and Economics. So, I was able to visit the factory

6038 because it is just one hour away from the [**Nanchang city of the Jiangxi Province**]. I  
6039 have a friend from that same village and her father worked in the group which managed  
6040 the women workers in the factory. So, we would go to the factory to visit her father.

6041 *Counsel – Tell us more about how factory workers who try to leave can be trafficked?*

6042 NA – When we arrived, we were able to have a conversation with the girls there. They  
6043 said they don't want to work here and they even tried to escape. But, if they escaped and  
6044 went to the train station they were followed, and someone would come and ask if they  
6045 wanted to go back to Xinjiang. Then, they would panic and then the police would come.  
6046 If they leave, people come and ask if they are trying to escape.

6047 *Counsel – What was the fear, in respect of being trafficked? From whom?*

6048 NA – Random persons. According to what they said, when they would leave the factory,  
6049 random people (sometimes Han and sometimes Uyghur), they would come talk to them  
6050 and they would feel threatened by them.

6051 *Panel – Birth control policies - are the village officials the local communist party officials?*

6052 NA – Yes.

6053 *Panel – The village nurse is untrained?*

6054 NA – Yes.

6055 *Panel – Who decides when a woman should be fitted with an IUD?*

6056 NA – In every village there is an office focusing on women issues, they arrange activities  
6057 and most of the time, in our village, the head of this women's office, he decides and maybe  
6058 receives order from above.

6059 *Panel – Regarding your mother, how many children did she have when she was forced  
6060 to receive the IUD?*

6061 NA – We are four children, my youngest brother was born in 1990, the year of the  
6062 beginning of the program. We paid a fee for my brother's birth.

6063 *Panel – Your mother had bad effects from the IUD, could she choose a different method?*

6064 NA – When my mom started being the target, I was very small. When I went to university,  
6065 I started learning about it and my mom started to talk about it. But she is a very shy lady,  
6066 very uncomfortable, she said she really wanted to go to the hospital to have it removed.  
6067 But she has to have it until she can't have babies anymore, like until she is 60 or so.

6068 *Panel – You said that your sister-in-law was fearful of punishment when she was*  
6069 *pregnant, so she aborted from twin children...*

6070 NA – It was the end of 2015. I learnt it from my mom over the phone. My sister had kids  
6071 in beginning of 2015 then, at the end of the year, she found out she was pregnant with  
6072 twins. My father is a CP member so the punishment would be worse, so my sister decided  
6073 and went with my mother to abort.

6074 *Panel – What punishment would it be?*

6075 NA – They could charge us a huge amount of money or take her to detention.

6076 *Panel – About the factory in Jiangxi - you explained that when girls finish middle school*  
6077 *they may have to go, can you tell us how does that happen?*

6078 NA – Generally, the village officers know everything about the villagers, so they know  
6079 about the village girls who do not go to high school. On paper, it is a volunteer program.  
6080 They go from door to door to say they can work, and the government will help, they try to  
6081 convince girls to work in Mainland China.

6082 *Panel – How old are they when they leave middle school?*

6083 NA – Normally they are 16 but some might be 17.

6084 *Panel – So they may be forced to go at 16, or some of them would accept a very young*  
6085 *marriage to avoid going to the factory?*

6086 NA – Yes. The forced labour program started in 2006 as far as I know and initially, it was  
6087 not that strict, just the single women were targeted and the married were not really forced  
6088 to go, but this changed over the years.

6089 *Panel – The girls earn 25 to 35 RMB a day, which is very little money, and they are paid*  
6090 *according to how hard they work, how much they produce in a day, correct?*

6091 NA – Yes.

6092 *Panel – The money they earned is sometimes less than the money they have to pay for*  
6093 *accommodation?*

6094 NA – Yes, correct.

6095 *Panel – So you can build up a debt to the factory and it can increase, and their family*  
6096 *have to send money? How does that work?*

6097 NA – This is not for all the workers. The salary is calculated, this number of 25 to 30 per  
6098 day is after the cost of accommodation. But girls who are not able to work enough, yes,  
6099 they have to pay. If they owe the factory they cannot leave, they have to ask money from  
6100 their parents.

6101 *Panel – The girls who escaped went to the train station, they feared being trafficked, what*  
6102 *did they think these people would do?*

6103 NA – We grew up with stories of Uyghur kids being trafficked so that is why the girls were  
6104 afraid, they assumed that they would be trafficked.

6105 *Panel – Do you know of any girls from your village who went missing?*

6106 NA – Yes, there was a five-year-old boy in my village who was trafficked. [The father]  
6107 eventually found him in Urumqi city and got him back. So, there was still a way to find the  
6108 kid. I know because he had come to our home to get money from my dad.

6109 *Panel – Do you know what happens to these children? Adoption or something else?*

6110 NA – They make the kids become [thieves]. To go to university, I would need to stay on  
6111 a train for two days and I once met a boy in a train station who came to us and told us he  
6112 was scared of traffickers. He asked us to save him because he had escaped traffickers  
6113 who made him become a thief. We would see things like that on every trip to university  
6114 or back to Kashgar.

6115 *Panel – You have made various efforts to establish what has happened to your family.*  
6116 *Would it help you and your family if the Tribunal were to directly ask the PRC about the*  
6117 *whereabouts of your family, or would it cause more damage?*

6118 NA – Yes, their situation cannot be worse. Four out of six of my family are detained. I  
6119 have not heard of them for four years so I would like news. It's okay for me if you want to  
6120 ask.

6121 *Counsel – In instances of trafficking that you are aware of, do you know whether the*  
6122 *family asks the authorities of the PRC to investigate the matter?*

6123 NA – Yes, they always ask the police about it. But there's never any result. The families  
6124 look everywhere and even try look for traffickers to ask for their help.

6125 *Counsel – Do the authorities follow a procedure?*

6126 NA – Yes, they take the case but I did not see any kids brought back home with the police.

6127 *Panel – Anything else to add?*

6128 NA – [Pictures of relatives and their sentences.]

6129

6130 **7 June 2021 (03:11:36 – 03:58:40)**

6131 **Melikzat Habibul – UTFW-034**

6132

6133 *Counsel – In your statement, you say in 2016, Chinese authorities confiscated \$20,000*  
6134 *from your business account. Did they provide a reason for this confiscation?*

6135 MH – The confiscated amount was the Chinese currency but can be approximately to  
6136 20,000. No reason was given.

6137 *Counsel – Was that money or your business connected with extremist, separatist or*  
6138 *terrorist activities?*

6139 MH – No.

6140 *Counsel – In your statement, you say one of your husband's brothers' name was on the*  
6141 *Aksu list, could you confirm and what led you to confirm it was your husband's brother*  
6142 *and not someone with a different name?*

6143 MH – I did some research and already I knew my husband’s brother was spent three  
6144 years in the camp, so I can confirm the name on the list was him.

6145 *Counsel – How did she gain access to the Aksu list?*

6146 MH – My husband is from Aksu Abat and there is a WhatsApp group anyone from that  
6147 region would be part of it to access this information and do some kind of investigation  
6148 work themselves.

6149 *Panel – You moved to Turkey in 2014 with your husband, could you tell us more about*  
6150 *that business and why would it be good to go between Turkey and the region?*

6151 MH – The clothes made in Turkey are very popular in my country, 90% were buying these  
6152 clothes from Turkey. My sister was quite senior in business so we thought it would be  
6153 profitable.

6154 *Panel – When you applied for a Turkish visa, it was refused, you obtained it in Egypt, was*  
6155 *that when you visited in 2010 or did you visit on other occasions?*

6156 MH – In the beginning, my goal was to go to Japan but spending two years awaiting a  
6157 passport a visa to Japan was refused. Then I applied for one to Turkey but then I learnt  
6158 about the visa from Egypt, so I then I applied to go there in 2010 which was 2010.

6159 *Panel – So that was a long-term visa?*

6160 MH – The initial visa was not but when I registered at a university there, I obtained a visa  
6161 for a year and extended it each year.

6162 *Panel – When you were in Turkey, family members visited you. How many did and did*  
6163 *any of your husband’s family visit you?*

6164 MH – No, as they were not able to obtain a passport.

6165 *Panel – In 2015, your husband’s niece sent money to Turkey, and your husband’s brother*  
6166 *also did. Could you tell us when and how much they sent?*

6167 MH – There were other reasons accused of - I only learned from the conversation they  
6168 were taken away because of transferring the money.

6169 *Panel – You mention your clients in China, are those from your clothes business? Is it still*  
6170 *operating?*

6171 MH – No, it is not.

6172 *Panel – Members of your family were sent to camps from 2017 and some on from there,*  
6173 *to prisons - three sisters, four brothers and parents, is that correct? Are there others?*

6174 MH – No I do not know any other family members but I know there are some former  
6175 business clients who were taken.

6176 *Panel – As far as you know, what were the reasons for their detention?*

6177 MH – The main reason is that I did not return to my home country because for 3-4 months  
6178 they pressurised me to go back. After I failed to obey that order, that was the result.

6179 *Panel – You have obtained information from some friends about what has happened to*  
6180 *your family, have those friends been concerned about their own safety in finding that*  
6181 *information for you?*

6182 MH – I do not think they were concerned up until April 2020 with a self-deleting message  
6183 – we used a secure way of communication.

6184 *Panel – Your husband's niece served part of a sentence in a forced labour camp*  
6185 *alongside your brother-in-law. Do you know the name of the forced labour camp, or the*  
6186 *company, that either of those people were made to work for?*

6187 MH – In a factory in the Ghulja region.

6188 *Panel – You didn't return as you thought two members of family were in the police so you*  
6189 *thought they would be protected. Why do you think holding those positions did not protect*  
6190 *them?*

6191 MH – I believe it is the policy carried out since 2016 and that was a reason as one of the  
6192 criteria to detain people to camps were relatives abroad.

6193 *Panel – You decided to speak out about your family's circumstances on social media.*  
6194 *Can you tell us what effect this has had?*

6195 *MH* – In the beginning, I was not so concerned but then in January in 2019 my father was  
6196 released and I thought the rest would be released also, but later in December, I learned  
6197 that my brothers and sisters were given prison sentences. They were imprisoned in  
6198 November 2019.

6199 *Panel* – *What has been the effect of using social media to publicise their cases?*

6200 *MH* – For example, one of my brothers was arrested and detained for two months.

6201 *Panel* – *Is there any reason why the authorities might regard you as a terrorist, separatist*  
6202 *or extremist?*

6203 *MH* – No.

6204 *Panel* – *When the land was taken by the state, did they pay for it?*

6205 *MH* – I do not know. A lot of people's land was confiscated to grow cotton.

6206 *Panel* – *Do you know whether the land was given to other people or is it in the possession*  
6207 *of the state?*

6208 *MH* – All I know is that it was confiscated by the state.

6209 *Panel* – *You say your husband's older brother who owned it, he went to a camp. Does*  
6210 *the PRC call that camp a re-education centre?*

6211 *MH* – Yes, in the beginning they said they would need to be educated.

6212 *Panel* – *Which camps were they (ones can return home)?*

6213 *MH* – The one who was detained was a re-education camp.

6214 *Panel* – *He was treated as a criminal after coming out of the re-education centre and his*  
6215 *land was confiscated?*

6216 *MH* – They only live on a very small portion left for them.

6217 *Panel* – *The cotton business belonging to another brother-in-law, was that also taken by*  
6218 *the government?*

6219 MH – They ordered that their business was all confiscated, I do not know if it happened  
6220 before or after they went into the camp. There is no way to continue making business, so  
6221 they had to go to factories to survive.

6222 *Panel – In total, \$20,000, 250 acres of land and a cotton business all taken from your*  
6223 *extended family, is there anything else that was taken?*

6224 MH – The \$20,000 was frozen.

6225 *Panel – Is this a pattern you have come across in other family, business contacts? Is this*  
6226 *a familiar pattern? Does this happen to other rich Uyghur families?*

6227 MH – Yes, that is correct. Even my former clients were taken and placed into camps,  
6228 many were wealthy business camp.

6229 *Panel – Can you give a number of roughly how many she knows have had land, business,*  
6230 *property confiscated she knows of?*

6231 MH – I know people taken to camps but I do not know the exact number who had land,  
6232 etc taken.

6233 *Panel – Would you like this tribunal to ask questions to the PRC about your relations or*  
6234 *would that do more harm than good?*

6235 MH – I would like you to do so.

6236 **7 June 2021 (4:03:00 – 5:58:30)**

6237 Mehmet Tevekkul – UTFW-038

6238

6239 *Counsel – You stated Zhu Hailun murdered people in Kargilik county, how do you know*  
6240 *this?*

6241 MT - After Zhu Hailun came to our village, he went and arrested people. It is a relatively  
6242 small village and he arrested some of our immediate neighbours. On about 30 people,  
6243 only three were released. One, Mehmet Hassan was returned dead and another, Mehmet  
6244 Imam Aymet, returned dead as well.

6245 *Counsel – In what period was that?*

6246 MT - It happened in 2008. The dead body of Mehmet Hassan returned in 2009.

6247 *Counsel - Who was targeted for killings?*

6248 MT - Initially, it was the people with religious knowledge and then the people with a certain  
6249 wealth. Also, Uyghur officials working for the government that were suspected of praying.  
6250 Then, they installed policemen around the mosque to monitor who entered the mosque  
6251 and who was praying, and they would be arrested. At the time they strictly enforced the  
6252 rule that any government officials could not pray. Also, the people under 18 were not  
6253 allowed to pray. And anyone who was not obedient.

6254 *Counsel - In how many villages were people being murdered?*

6255 MT - Bishar village, a relatively small village. I heard 18 people were taken away in that  
6256 village.

6257 *Counsel - So you are referring to only two villages in which people were murdered?*

6258 MT - Yes.

6259 *Counsel - How have you come to this estimate of 50 to 100 people being murdered in  
6260 these two villages?*

6261 MT - Around the time of Zhu Hailun being in charge, I heard the stories of people being  
6262 taken and their dead bodies being brought back from jail.

6263 *Counsel - How was your uncle's death related to the detention of his three sons?*

6264 MT - After the detention of his three sons, my uncle, a CP member and village secretary  
6265 whose sons had had religious education, went to county administration to talk to CP  
6266 officials of the county. He begged to release at least one of his sons for the sake of his  
6267 30 years of service to the CP. They said they would do a public trial in the village. That  
6268 was devastating, his sons were given long sentences. My uncle could not bear this and  
6269 he basically died from this torture in 2002.

6270 *Counsel - Birth control offices in every village with checks on women every three months  
6271 for presence of a coil, correct?*

6272 MT - Yes. People there work on special duties. They call women to come every three  
6273 months or sometimes, they visit all the families. If they find any woman who is pregnant,  
6274 either the family is heavily fined or punished.

6275 *Counsel - How do you know what happens in villages other than your own village?*

6276 MT – I know for sure that in every village there is a birth control unit besides the communist  
6277 party office. At the beginning, it was introduced as a policy and then became a strict law  
6278 to be implemented. I would go around so I saw that in other villages.

6279 *Counsel - How do you know that 8 months old babies were being killed?*

6280 MT - In my village, about 1700 people live there. There was this one lady who was 8  
6281 months pregnant, she was fined but she was too poor to pay the fine. She came to the  
6282 town centre and they brought her to the hospital to abort. She died soon after and I was  
6283 there at her funeral.

6284 *Counsel - Who was the Uyghur militia that had detained this woman?*

6285 MT - My youngest brother is Ablat Tevekkul. There is frequent police raid at night in all  
6286 Uyghur homes. They would rudely search the house. Village police found, in my mother's  
6287 home, a map (official Xinjiang published map) of the region and a map of Kashgar  
6288 prefecture and Kargilik county - for this, they took my brother away to interrogate him.  
6289 When I learned this, I looked for him and found him in the detention centre. He had to  
6290 repent. He was later released. He was only 15 years old.

6291

6292 *Panel – It was your youngest brother Ablat who was arrested first and later Achmed, yes?*

6293 MT – Yes, my middle brother was arrested in June 2010 and sentenced to life  
6294 imprisonment. If he is alive, he should be in Urumqi jail.

6295 *Panel – Your father, a member of the party, was also religious? How was he able to be*  
6296 *both?*

6297 MT - That is also part of the reason why his three sons were detained. Yes, my uncle was  
6298 a CP member, his son received a religious education, for that reason he was punished.

6299 *Panel – Regarding the death of your neighbour, Mehmet Hassan, are you suggesting he*  
6300 *died from torture?*

6301 MT - I believe his killing is related to torture. He was the same age as me, we used to go  
6302 to forced labour together and he was an able man. During his funeral there were police  
6303 cars and heavy security everywhere. They did not allow other friends from different  
6304 neighbourhoods and villages to attend. Also, the body was checked and they found signs  
6305 of torture. He had four children.

6306 *Panel – You described the confiscation of lands, what is the process of land confiscation?*

6307 MT - It became very common in our village. Zhu Hailun ordered to change the farming  
6308 methods and to plan certain vegetables, like peppers and tomatoes. We were not able to  
6309 sell it at the proper price and the villagers complained because they could not cultivate  
6310 wheat and other crops. Even if they did cultivate wheat, the state would take some. They  
6311 used the excuse that Uyghur farmers were not adequate, so they took the lands to give  
6312 to Chinese as they were more profitable.

6313 *Panel – Regarding your second detention, you said that the beatings of prisoners were*  
6314 *collective, not individual, what did you mean by that?*

6315 MT – My second brother did not commit any crime. I used to be a very simple peasant. I  
6316 was detained just because of my brother Achmed, the police looked for him everywhere  
6317 but could not locate him. For that reason, they took me and my youngest brother. They  
6318 interrogated us and beat us. My brother avoided them for a year but the police found him  
6319 in June 2006 and we were detained again in July 2006. The beating is quite widespread,  
6320 even my younger brother was beaten during that detention.

6321 *Panel – You said the doctor called the prisoners “pigs”?*

6322 MT - There a lot of ways to insult and humiliate Uyghur detainees. They don't treat us as  
6323 human beings. When they detain you, they strip you naked and they mock you. I had two  
6324 interrogations and, during the interrogations, I was subjected to torture. They put a wire  
6325 into your genitals. They punish you whenever they want to, by beating you with batons or  
6326 wires. On one occasion, I had a stomach ache, I asked for medication. Instead, they beat

6327 me, saying: "this is your medication." They would say things like "Fuck you, fuck your  
6328 mother, you are a slave, etc."

6329 *Panel – You were told there was an order from the top to not release your brother, where  
6330 at the top do you think it came from?*

6331 MT - It was in 2013 and when they said that, they most likely meant the prison  
6332 management unit in the Urumqi region which issues the prison orders. That is what I  
6333 assumed. At the time, my father went and waited for hours to see my brother. The police  
6334 threatened him and told him that his son did not cooperate, he is a troublemaker. They  
6335 told him to pressure my brother to cooperate with him. At that time, he was put in solitary  
6336 confinement because he went on hunger strike. My father said he would talk to him. So,  
6337 we were allowed a brief meeting.

6338 *Panel – You refer to very late abortions, at 8 or 9 months. Do you know of such things  
6339 going on in villages other than your own?*

6340 MT - Yes, I can confirm that.

6341 *Panel – How were these babies being killed?*

6342 MT - It would happen in hospitals, sometimes anyone could see the bodies of the babies  
6343 were dumped into garbage bins.

6344 *Panel – How many villagers are there in Kargilik county?*

6345 MT - There are 18 villages in Kargilik, that are similar to mine.

6346 *Panel – So 18 times 50 to 100 people disappeared and you saw their bodies, correct?*

6347 MT - Yes.

6348 *Panel – And Zhu Hailun had a hand in that?*

6349 MT - Yes. Can I add something?

6350 *Panel – Yes?*

6351 MT - In my 70 days of detention, there was a man named [Hussein] in a neighbouring  
6352 cell, who was originally sentenced for eight years. During interrogation, his hand probably

6353 touched a policeman's body, accidentally, and for this he was re-sentenced to life  
6354 imprisonment.

6355 *Counsel – You stated that the prison's chief interrogator [Abdulkader Barat] and his*  
6356 *deputy [Hassan Kirem] were directly involved in your interrogation, who were they taking*  
6357 *their orders from?*

6358 MT - I believe they received the order from the political law enforcement unit, of which  
6359 Zhu Hailun is the head

6360 I would like to add another thing: we illegally left China through the border with Vietnam  
6361 in January 2014. I believe a large number of Uyghurs crossed that border and I think it is  
6362 a conspiracy of the Chinese government to let Uyghurs leave this way.

6363

6364 **7 June 2021 (05:34:30 – 06:49:20)**

6365 **Ethan Gutmann**

6366

6367 EG – I'm going to keep my testimony very short here today and just concentrate on tying  
6368 up a couple of those points you just mentioned, really from five to seven, or eight. And I  
6369 want to do that to allow more time for questions because I think that's what's most  
6370 important.

6371 I'm beginning with a very familiar image – this is a video still of Uyghur, or possibly  
6372 Kazakh, prisoners being moved by rail. We don't know what happened to these men –  
6373 we just have this video taken by presumably drone. But it is interesting that, starting in  
6374 about 2016, a couple of Uyghur and Kazakh refugees have described sporadic mass  
6375 executions. For example, a bunch of prisoners are being [*inaudible*] in Shanghai. God  
6376 knows why. I don't know what they're doing there, but they're moving them around. And  
6377 when they crossed the provincial boundary line, the PSB led the prisoners out, and shot  
6378 them all in open fields. We don't have double verification on that but it is an interesting  
6379 story. We don't know the motive for these sorts of killings. But what we do know is that  
6380 the mass executions are associated with disposal problems.

6381 So mass killings – we have evidence of a mass killing overwhelming a crematorium facility  
6382 within a matter of hours. That’s a fairly good witness – this was somebody who worked at  
6383 the crematorium and quit their job during that period. There are cases, sporadically at  
6384 least, of local crematoriums acknowledging burning bodies from the camps–

6385 *[intervention by Sir Geoffrey Nice]*

6386 That is a second-hand witness but I know the father of the daughter. So, it’s the daughter  
6387 who worked at the crematorium– that I consider a fairly close relationship...We can go  
6388 through those individually but I don’t think that they’re that important...I don’t know what  
6389 to do with those cases. I don’t have a particular opinion on them. As I said, we don’t know  
6390 the motive for those killings. What we know is that there’s a disposal problem it is creating  
6391 in some cases, overwhelming crematorium facility. We do know that local crematoriums  
6392 *[inaudible]*...so I believe that one comes from Gulchehra *[inaudible]*...

6393 Disposal systems can be critical evidence. For example, the only Wuhan Covid death toll  
6394 estimate, in my opinion with any real reliability, comes from *[inaudible]* county...sale of  
6395 funeral urns in Wuhan. So, it’s approximately 40,000 when Covid first entered the scene  
6396 and they were claiming about 4000 deaths.

6397 Beijing is aware of this vulnerability. And since 2018, Uyghur cemeteries like the one you  
6398 are looking at – former Uyghur cemeteries – have been routinely bulldozed. Clearly, this  
6399 is an attack on Muslim cultural traditions but it also permanently eliminates family DNA.  
6400 Three years ago, Gulchehra Hoja of Radio Free Asia discovered that local authorities had  
6401 put out a directive in 2017 to construct 9 new crematoriums across East Turkestan, or  
6402 Xinjiang. Urumqi was first – an ad appeared in the Chinese-language press to fill 50  
6403 security guard positions, and an unheard of salary for security guards in Xinjiang, which  
6404 would be \$1,200...That’s very high.

6405 In 2020, a camp refugee in Norway took a virtual tour of a camp he recognized in Aksu  
6406 prefecture. Ms. Hoja, using the ‘Wayback Machine’, established that that camp, that is  
6407 the camp that you are seeing as a whole, was built around an already existing and still  
6408 functional institution - that’s the Aksu Infection Hospital. That’s that one in red on the

6409 screen. In fact, all the elements of organ harvesting – a hospital, two camps and a  
6410 crematorium – come together in a single square kilometre.

6411 So, what we were just looking at is now on the right side of the screen, the lower right,  
6412 that's the red area, and that contains the Aksu Infection Hospital and a camp I believe of  
6413 about 33,000 people approximately. Going to the west or going to the left, you see another  
6414 camp outlined in red and that one is about 16,000 approximately. It's fairly new and it's  
6415 still being constructed. And then above that, at the top, we can see in the other red area,  
6416 the north, this is about 900 metres from both camps – this is a large crematorium.

6417 Now that crematorium – I will just mention that I have verified that this is a crematorium  
6418 because there is a road that drives very close to it, and I talked to a witness in Kayseri,  
6419 Turkey on something completely different, and then he mentioned he was from Aksu, and  
6420 I said, "gee, do you ever go on this road?" and he said, "I drive it every day, I used to".  
6421 And he was very aware that this was a crematorium. He thought it was for Chinese  
6422 people, not for Uyghurs. But he did establish that it's definitely a crematorium.

6423 I asked him about whether he saw smoke coming from it - he said he never did. That's  
6424 kind of interesting because, if you look at this crematorium, instead of smokestacks, what  
6425 we see coming in from the west and the east (really from the east) enjoining the  
6426 crematorium in the middle of the building are two distinct lines...if you look carefully in the  
6427 middle, you can see there's a line running along there. Now that could be a wall but it  
6428 actually closely resembles pipes. And the crematorium may be using a water-based  
6429 system. In America, we call this system alkaline hydrolysis. And the idea is to pump fresh  
6430 water in, mixed with [*inaudible*], and heat the chamber to approximately 300 degrees  
6431 Fahrenheit. Fats, hair, bones even, break down over a space of an hour or three hours  
6432 and the effluence can be drained at a nearby leach field or simply put back into the  
6433 river...you'll see that there's a river right there...we are looking at the Aksu river. You'll  
6434 also have a big vacant lot as well. So, it could be [that] they are pumping it directly into  
6435 the river or into that vacant lot; either way, it ends up in the river.

6436 From Aksu Infection Hospital – it's a short drive to Aksu airport, with a special fast lane  
6437 for human organs. Although China Southern Airlines confirms that the human organs are  
6438 transported via the Aksu green passage – that's on the website – they don't provide a

6439 photo. Here's a typical green passage photo. I believe that's from Kashgar airport, I may  
6440 have mixed it up, but I believe it is Kashgar. This one is nice because it actually says it in  
6441 English so we can all understand it: 'special passenger – human organ transplant  
6442 channel'.

6443 From Aksu airport, there could be several end users. The one I look at as my prime  
6444 suspect – I mean, there are others that could be using these organs, but this one is a  
6445 hospital of [*inaudible name*] near Shanghai. This was discovered by a researcher, who I  
6446 cannot name, who was directly working on this problem. And she discovered that the First  
6447 Hospital of [*inaudible name*] province has a formal 'big brother' relationship with Aksu's  
6448 doctors and medical apparatus. It's one of China's 10 certified ECMO training centres. I  
6449 won't get into everything about ECMO today...but ECMO basically is an oxygenation  
6450 system which can keep organs very healthy, even during live organ harvesting, and  
6451 possibly can be used to transport organs to them. There are arguments about that.

6452 This is something that's not commonly done in the West – most doctors who've worked  
6453 with ECMO consider it a wonderful life-saving device...but in China, through Taiwanese  
6454 doctors, we happen to know that this is used for live organ harvesting. There was even a  
6455 manual written about it...that manual is important because it showed that you can  
6456 basically take an organ that would ordinarily die off in four to six hours and you can keep  
6457 it going for 24 hours or 16 hours or something like that. So, enough time to transport it  
6458 over the east coast, which is where this hospital is – this is not far from Shanghai.

6459 In 2017, in the First Hospital in [Jiaxing?] province, liver transplants increased by 90%  
6460 and kidney transplants increased by 200%. On 1 March 2020, First Hospital in [Jiaxing?]  
6461 province successfully performed the first double-lung transplant on a Covid patient.  
6462 Essentially, this was an advertisement, this was when the pandemic was really taking  
6463 hold, that advertised to foreign organ tourists that even during the pandemic, First  
6464 Hospital was open for business. To summarize those points, we have found one of the  
6465 crematoriums with housing, we found medical and we found transport infrastructure for  
6466 the live organ harvesting of Uyghurs, and quite possibly Falun Gong, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz,  
6467 and Hui.

6468 We'd like to collect all nine crematoriums – we don't have that yet. But we've rarely had  
6469 so many elements all in the same location.

6470 I want to change subjects slightly and conclude on these points – my investigation in  
6471 Kazakhstan just before the lockdown...involved extensive interviews with camp refugees.  
6472 The fact is, China lets very few refugees out of the camps.

6473 ...We only have 9, or some people say 11, in the West right now. By going into  
6474 Kazakhstan quietly, I was able to double the global number of Uyghur and Kazakh refugee  
6475 interviews. I wasn't able to double the number of people that I can give names of but I  
6476 was able to double the number of interviews. A lot of these people have to stay completely  
6477 confidential – they have family in China and so forth.

6478 Let me conclude with these findings. Literally none of these witnesses were from the  
6479 same camps. None of them. Several of them had distinct recollections of forced organ  
6480 harvesting. Just earlier I mentioned Sayragul [Sauytbay], so that was sort of the view from  
6481 above. She was a Chinese teacher in a camp and she, in the faculty lounge or the  
6482 equivalent, after they did tests on the prisoners, health checks – those blood tests would  
6483 come back and they would put them up on a board and they would put pink check marks  
6484 next to 4 or 5 of the names and whatever. And those people would disappear within the  
6485 next week. She saw this several times – this pattern repeated itself over and over.

6486 The other is the view from the below – I had several people in Kazakhstan relate to me  
6487 that they saw corpses stripped of organs. There's actually a third case which I am trying  
6488 to tie down... I didn't talk to him directly... Others simply had recollections of the blood  
6489 tests, 'health checks' as they call them, that were given to the entire Uyghur population in  
6490 2016. What's interesting about that is that few remember getting a DNA test – they all  
6491 remember getting blood tests. My main focus in these interviews was to go after, 'What  
6492 do you remember? Who disappeared from the camps? Who just simply disappeared?'  
6493 And there are two sorts of people who disappear from the camps. There are 18-year-olds  
6494 who 'graduate', essentially doing forced labour, and this is often announced at lunch in  
6495 the canteen and they then disappear, but everybody knows they're going off to do forced  
6496 labour – even the name of the company is sometimes mentioned and so forth. So that's  
6497 one kind of person. That's often female.

6498 The second group is 28-year-olds – approximately 29-year-olds, 27-year-olds on  
6499 average, right around 28 and not too far from that – 31 is the outside limit, 25 is the other  
6500 limit, but mostly 28. This is a significant number because we have looked at this for years,  
6501 I've looked at this for years with World Organisation to Investigate the Persecution of  
6502 Falun Gong. They have done comprehensive studies of Chinese medical literature, and  
6503 it's very clear that that is the age they prefer for organ harvesting. The organs are the  
6504 healthiest, the body has matured but it has not started to deteriorate.

6505 Here is my preliminary conclusion when I talked to these witnesses. At a minimum, 25,000  
6506 Uyghurs, average age 28 years old, are taken from the camps to be harvested every year.  
6507 That's about 68 people a day. The higher range of my witness statements doubles that  
6508 number to 50,000 per year. That's 126 a day.

6509 Just a few closing remarks on this. The party's strategy, in my opinion, is a troika of  
6510 forced labour, lowered Uyghur fertility and organ harvesting. And I've called this  
6511 combination 'maintenance genocide'. When I'm in a different mood, I call it 'differed  
6512 genocide'. But I have assumed, in the past at least, that the party's intention runs  
6513 something along these lines: 'We will assimilate Uyghurs and Kazakhs, but mainly  
6514 Uyghurs, if we can, but we will kill them if we must'.

6515 Now I suspect that's only under conditions of consistent Western pressure on this issue.  
6516 A crematorium that can support 50 guards can process 126 bodies a day without breaking  
6517 a sweat. And it is that excess capacity of nine industrial scale crematoriums that should  
6518 make us all wonder if the party's true intention are actually closer to this statement: 'We  
6519 will assimilate Uyghurs if we must, we will kill them if we can'.

6520 I'll end there. Thank you very much for this opportunity.

6521 *Panel – Mr. Gutmann, this particular theory of yours is based on relatively recent*  
6522 *research. Have you made it public before?*

6523 EG – I get supported by patrons, that I have to make things a little bit public. I'd prefer to  
6524 just keep them all close to my chest. But I haven't broadcasted–

6525 *Panel – And the PRC hasn't yet reacted to it?*

6526 EG – No, they haven't been forced to. It's just one little video that I did for the Victims of  
6527 Communism Foundation on the web.

6528 *Panel – And it was because this is a new or different theory that you have put yourself*  
6529 *out in order to give evidence at this session, so that if there's any challenge to it, the*  
6530 *challenge can be made before the September session. And will you be in a position to*  
6531 *join us in September, in person or by video?*

6532 EG – I don't know– I think it's important to just say that these are very strong charges.  
6533 Obviously, I want to gather as much evidence as I can. You know the kind of evidence I  
6534 prefer, which is human evidence, and I'm trying to do that.

6535 *Panel – You will be publishing your findings in more detail but not for some time?*

6536 EG – I do have a book planned...this would be out in certainly less than a year, about 6  
6537 months.

6538 *Panel – For your findings to be challenged by the PRC, and your findings, if they can*  
6539 *assist in any way to be of value through the judgment of the Tribunal, it is important that*  
6540 *your research is available now and in September.*

6541 EG – That's certainly true, but it's also true that my first responsibility goes to the  
6542 witnesses who can't be named. So, I can give their stories, and I can give them in some  
6543 detail, but I cannot name them. And I know that the Chinese find it easy to say, 'well if  
6544 you can't name them, then they don't exist'. But that's not my fault – that is because their  
6545 families are being held hostage essentially and the fact that...the environment for  
6546 refugees from China in Central Asia is a toxic one.

6547 *Panel – Dealing with a few details, the aerial imagery on which you've relied for the*  
6548 *establishment of crematoria connected to camps and the river and so on – is that your*  
6549 *analysis of the imagery? And if so, are you an aerial imagery expert?*

6550 EG – Well, no, I'm not. But it's interesting you ask that question because I did run it by  
6551 somebody from the CIA.

6552 *Panel – So if you are in a position to provide us with the imagery and we can put it out to*  
6553 *any other expert, that issue can be settled one way or another by September.*

6554 EG – That’s perfectly fine. And in fact, the image of the crematorium has changed since  
6555 Gulchehra Hoja – and we sometimes work a little bit together – since she came out with  
6556 that article on this in Radio Free Asia, actually, they repainted the crematorium.

6557 *Panel – Has the PRC in any way explained the positioning of crematoria and camps?*

6558 EG – No.

6559 *Panel – The one diagram that I think you showed showing hospital camps and crematoria*  
6560 *all within the same curtilage. Has that been explained in any way?*

6561 EG – No.

6562 *Panel – Your calculation of numbers of Uyghurs who have either disappeared, gone to*  
6563 *forced labour, or are surviving but in internment – how many witnesses have you relied*  
6564 *on for the estimate that you’ve given?*

6565 EG – Basically, it’s over 20 witnesses. I didn’t make an estimate on how many have been  
6566 sent off to forced labour because I wasn’t asking that question. I regret that. I wish I had  
6567 been asking that question and including forced labour in my initial research in  
6568 Kazakhstan. But I can’t give you an estimate on that. It was just very common for people  
6569 to mention 18-year-olds going missing and then to mention the 28-year-old group going  
6570 missing. The difference between the two is that one is very public and the other one is  
6571 just something people notice.

6572 *Panel – GN: The 20 witnesses who have spoken to you come from how many different*  
6573 *camps?*

6574 EG – They’re all from different camps. Everyone is from a different camp.

6575 *Panel – So that’s approximately 20 different camps. And according to these 20 different*  
6576 *witnesses, what were the strongest common features, as narrated to you?*

6577 EG – The strongest common feature – I’m sorry can you clarify the question – strongest  
6578 feature in what respect?

6579 *Panel – Well, age of people disappearing, purpose for disappearance, that sort of thing.*  
6580 *What was the most common and strongest feature?*

6581 EG – Two things that are very common. One is the 28-year-old, the approximate 28-year-  
6582 old. People would say, ‘well, they were between 25 to 35’. Somebody else would say,  
6583 ‘well they were about 29 years old’. Then somebody else would say, ‘well, they are about  
6584 27 years old’.

6585 For example, one of the questions – I’d often try to take this apart and say [to women], ‘4  
6586 women went missing in these two weeks after they get a health check’, and I said ‘you  
6587 know, this is a really rude question, but were these women sexually attractive?’

6588 And they would say, this is an awful thing to say about somebody but no, these women  
6589 were not particularly great looking...and I’d say, ‘well, what would they have in common?’  
6590 They’d say they were healthy.

6591 So that’s a very common thing. I was very struck by the fact that it was 2% to 5% that it  
6592 was right in that range. That’s a very narrow range. It’s as if they really put out a directive  
6593 saying ‘this is how many you can harvest over...a given period of time’. I was struck by  
6594 the fact that...they all disappear in the middle of the night...there’s no announcement  
6595 [that] they’re going off to do some work somewhere...it is just a mysterious process.

6596 *Panel – So in each case of your 20 witnesses, they come from within the camp, and they*  
6597 *give you an explanation by numbers, as well as by age, of people who disappear and*  
6598 *don’t come back.*

6599 EG – Well they don’t – I have to really elicit that, I have to ask very careful questions.  
6600 They can’t certainly do it for a year. I break it down to a month. I do whatever I have to do  
6601 to sort of get to a common estimate. That’s my job. But it is striking how there is only one  
6602 witness, I mean maybe two witnesses, who didn’t experience this. And he was Kazakh,  
6603 and he was in a Kazakh camp and it was an entirely Kazakh camp. It was a fairly small  
6604 camp, about 300 people. And I very much had a feeling, when he talked to me about that  
6605 camp, that the camp was very much going through the motions, that they were sort of  
6606 checking the box – like, ‘we put these people in for ‘re-education’ and so forth. And there  
6607 were a few Uyghurs there, but mostly not.

6608 You’ve always got outliers on these things. You have one man who was in a camp that  
6609 [had] something like 5000 people, and he claimed that 20%...were disappearing. The 28-

6610 year-olds, 20% were disappearing. I think that's probably too high a number, but I don't  
6611 know. But those are the two outliers. In general, what I saw was a very strong continuity  
6612 and that was what was so striking.

6613 *Panel – Your figures were between 68 and 126 per day – can you, in summary please,*  
6614 *explain how you reached those figures?*

6615 EG – Well that's just multiplication. I'm just taking a yearly rate and turning it into a daily  
6616 rate because for some people, that has a little more emotional impact. People are different  
6617 and have different reactions to numbers, so if big numbers don't mean much to them,  
6618 then if I say 68 people a day...it's a bit shocking.

6619 *Panel – The camps – what was the maximum distance between any two camps? How far*  
6620 *away were they?*

6621 EG – They don't know that. They don't know the answers to those questions. You know,  
6622 the experience in the camps...you have blinders on. You're basically kept from seeing a  
6623 lot of other things. If you are male, you don't know what the female camp is like. If you  
6624 are female, you don't know what the male camp is like. The only time [they] maybe get  
6625 together is when they have a forced labour centre or a factory centre where sometimes  
6626 they mix them.

6627 *Panel – Did people know where their own camps were? I'll explain why I ask you the*  
6628 *question Mr Gutmann–*

6629 EG – Often, they do not. There are quite a few cases where they didn't and there were  
6630 some where they did, and they identified on Google. But I can't give you an exact estimate  
6631 right now, but I think it was kind of like half, only half knew where their camp was.

6632 *Panel – Is your theory developing that each camp had its own medical facility for organ*  
6633 *extraction, or may there have been shared facilities?*

6634 EG – I do not think that each camp – I would say definitively not each camp. Each camp  
6635 did not have its own hospital. The Aksu Infection Hospital business is pretty striking. It's  
6636 also striking because when Aksu Infection Hospital was called by Gulchehra, they kind of

6637 danced around the question of whether they did transplants, but it's fairly obvious they  
6638 do. But please explain why you asked.

6639 If you are asking about the hospitals, I don't think we're going to find a lot of cases where  
6640 hospitals are built in like that, I just think that one is very striking and a real example of it.  
6641 I believe they do have perfectly good transportation methods to take people to hospitals.

6642 What we do know is that a veil of secrecy has descended upon the medical establishment  
6643 of Xinjiang. We don't know how many hospitals are in Xinjiang anymore. I have a  
6644 researcher who's dedicated to this and looking into this, and it's very hard for her to tell –  
6645 these things simply disappear. We know there were a lot more hospitals, now there seem  
6646 to be a lot less and that's probably not true. More likely they've just become more  
6647 secretive.

6648 *Panel – The signage – it's bilingual – is all the signage in that airport bilingual?*

6649 EG – In my experience in Chinese airports, they always are...but in that case, there are  
6650 several pictures of similar signs of 'green passage' for human organs and some of them  
6651 even have a kind of Arabic script in them as well as English and Chinese.

6652 *Panel – Arabic script?*

6653 EG – Well a kind of a Uyghur – sometimes Uyghurs use Arabic script at times in some  
6654 regions.

6655 *Panel – The sign you've shown us – is that an incoming passenger?*

6656 EG – It's always outgoing. It is not incoming. What's interesting about this, and if Enver  
6657 Tohti was here, he would make this point, he would say these are tiny populations by  
6658 Chinese standards, I mean ridiculously tiny... some island...and to have...organs going  
6659 out of a place like that–

6660 *Panel – The signage, of course doesn't...refer to organs as organs. But your case is, or*  
6661 *your theory is, that there will have been somebody carrying an organ or organs in a*  
6662 *container, is that right?*

6663 EG – Well, either that or a corpse that is being kept where the organs are being kept alive  
6664 through a procedure like EKMO... It is pretty explicit that these are for organs. The reason  
6665 why this happened was there was a very famous doctor in China, a heart surgeon - a very  
6666 prolific heart surgeon, who was trying to transport some organs on Southern China  
6667 Airlines and he missed the flight or they wouldn't hold up the flight for him, and the organs  
6668 were worthless, I think they were hearts. And he was so angry, he made a big fuss. He's  
6669 got very good connections with the top leadership and he got Southern China Airlines to  
6670 do this – to start making these green passage lanes – it actually shows us how powerful  
6671 surgeons are in China. But yes, it was absolutely about organ transplants. That's why the  
6672 green passage lanes were created. The picture of the first green passage lane has that  
6673 doctor...with the head of Southern China Airlines...

6674 *Panel – Is there evidence of possible destination in the Middle East of organs? Is the*  
6675 *state of organ preservation science such that they could travel to the Middle East?*

6676 EG – I'm really glad you asked that question. There's been a phrase that's been used –  
6677 'halal organs' – people use this to describe this phenomenon.

6678 We do have two pieces of evidence that Middle Eastern, or rather Gulf state residents,  
6679 are going to China for 'halal organs' because...Uyghurs and Kazakhs and Kyrgyz and  
6680 Hui are all Muslims – it's more appealing. They don't eat pork, that's the main point. We  
6681 don't really have proof of that. What we have is advertisements from the Chinese side.  
6682 So, for example, we have a video of a hospital which does do transplants and they  
6683 interview an [Arabic-speaking] guy about how great the care is there. They show that they  
6684 have a Muslim prayer room for...the foreign Muslims who come and so forth, so we do  
6685 have that.

6686 We also know, and this goes back to the London China Tribunal which you chaired, we  
6687 know that the biggest hospital in China for transplants, [Tianjin?] Central Hospital, was  
6688 filmed by a South Korean filmmaker, and he established that a lot of the foreign organ  
6689 tourists there were clearly from the Gulf states or appeared to be from the Gulf states or  
6690 were speaking languages from the Gulf states.

6691 So I think one can say that this is occurring. But the wilder things I have heard about them  
6692 doing charter flights full of organs to the Middle East – I don't think there's any proof of  
6693 that yet. But that could take place from a place like Aksu airport. It's big enough – I have  
6694 looked at the runways, and they are big enough to accommodate that sort of activity. But  
6695 until we actually have some proof of that, it's not clear that that's going on.

6696 We don't have advertisements from the Arabic side saying, 'come and get your halal  
6697 organs'. That doesn't mean they don't exist, it means that maybe we don't have a robust  
6698 research department in the Arabic side.

6699 *Panel – Mr Gutmann, last couple of questions from me... You've been heavily involved*  
6700 *in research of forced organ harvesting since the beginning of this century and you've*  
6701 *written extensively about it. We don't have to go through the whole history of forced organ*  
6702 *harvesting of Falun Gong practitioners, but is it the case that the availability of Falun Gong*  
6703 *practitioners may have reduced substantially in recent periods?*

6704 EG – There's a complex answer to that because, on one hand, I don't believe the amount  
6705 of Falun Gong in detention in some form in the Laogai system...has gone down that much.  
6706 I believe they are still out there. But the age – they've gotten older. And it's very clear that,  
6707 as much as you can use an older person's organs, you can use mine, but you wouldn't  
6708 want to. And one thing that the Chinese medical establishment prides itself on is its very  
6709 successful transplants. In general, they have a very good record now of successful  
6710 transplants and that's why they can charge a fair amount of money to foreigners.

6711 So, I believe the Uyghurs are a younger population and they are there. I'm not saying that  
6712 the entire Uyghur – this has never been all based on the profits of organ harvesting, that's  
6713 not the motive here. I believe there is a lot of money to be made from the Uyghurs, and  
6714 they are fairly healthy people, and you've got the young people and you've  
6715 got...essentially 15 million or 13 million Uyghurs tested right now. All tested. They have  
6716 the blood...they'd consider harvesting them all if they wanted to. They won't because they  
6717 will stick to this age group that is particularly successful for...

6718 But having said that, there are Uyghurs even in the Xinjiang camps, because several  
6719 witnesses said that – two witnesses said that to me – and they elicited that information  
6720 without me even asking about it.

6721 *Panel – Finally, from your general research, and given that a single body can provide*  
6722 *several organs or body parts for transplantation, have you done an approximate*  
6723 *calculation or estimation of the maximum financial return per body?*

6724 EG – Yeah, it would be \$500,000 to \$750,000. Basically, each lung is worth approximately  
6725 150,000 and lungs are extremely popular for transplant now, partially because of Covid  
6726 but also pollution and so forth. Hearts can be 150,000 or 200,000 easily. Kidneys tend to  
6727 be 50,000 approximately...and liver goes for about 100,000 to 150,000. And then the  
6728 corneas – which are worth about 15,000 or 10,000 each – they're not really organs,  
6729 they're tissues but they can be transplanted.

6730 China is the only place which transplants spleens, pancreas, all these other organs that  
6731 are possible, those are extremely...uncommon. But it's fairly easy to get up to those  
6732 numbers because, depending on the population – for example, Japanese don't tend to  
6733 bargain so much, we have, anecdotally, Japanese organ tourists have paid up to a million  
6734 dollars for an organ. I think that's rare, but I think it happens.

6735 *Panel – Can I ask, is the distribution of HLA antigens and haplotypes similar in the Uyghur*  
6736 *population compared to the Han population?*

6737 EG – As far as I know, they're similar. It's not something I've put a lot of time into looking  
6738 at. I think the Uyghurs don't have any particular – there's been rumours that the Uyghurs  
6739 had some particular good blood or special organs, I don't really believe that, I don't buy  
6740 into that.

6741 I think they're similar enough to Han Chinese... genetically, they're not the same, but  
6742 they're similar enough.

6743 *Panel – What I just wonder, you could look at it the other way around. Presumably,*  
6744 *medical tourism is obviously thriving. Is there any way of finding out, first of all, where*  
6745 *they're coming from, and secondly, what organ they might be wanting?*

6746 *And I was thinking also in terms of the operations that they're doing – it must be quite a*  
6747 *complex task of sending livers and kidneys and hearts to different places. I just wonder*  
6748 *whether it all goes to one hospital and it's all done there–*

6749 EG – No, they don't send organs out. As far as we know, they never do. You have to go  
6750 to China–

6751 *Panel – No, I appreciate that–*

6752 EG – Most people won't even go to Aksu Infection Hospital–

6753 *Panel – Of course not. I meant within China. To the hospital.*

6754 EG – There's no question that some of these hospitals – Wuxi Hospital and Tianjin Central  
6755 Hospital and Sun Yat-Sen and some other places – are actually centres for this.

6756 But I think that the biggest change that we've seen over time, and this is something that  
6757 our 2016 study with David Matas and David Kilgour showed very clearly, is the expansion  
6758 into every province – that is, every province now has a major transplant hospital.

6759 Do those hospitals attract foreigners at same rate? No, foreigners like to go to Beijing and  
6760 Shanghai and Shenzhen and Guangzhou – they want to go to some place familiar where  
6761 they think everything will be modern and good. But there are a lot of other tourists out  
6762 there. There are Japanese tourists, and they have a special hospital that's been there for  
6763 years, which is called the 'China-Japan Friendship Hospital', clearly cater[ing] to  
6764 Japanese organ tourists. The Koreans prefer, this is anecdotally, they prefer Tianjin  
6765 Central Hospital and some others, they've got their special favourites and the relationship  
6766 is done hospital to hospital.

6767 We don't know that much about the Germans. They do have some special relationships  
6768 with some of the transplant surgeons in China which then allow German patients to go to  
6769 China on a regular basis. We have, anecdotally, we've been told that Tianjin Central, the  
6770 number one organ tourists in the world are Germans. I have no way to verify that. We  
6771 tried to go and look at hotel stays around Tianjin Central to try and figure out if there's a  
6772 way we could trace it through that. We haven't been able to do that at this point, I wish

6773 we had more information on it. So, it is really hard to tell. And we know the Gulf states...we  
6774 don't know much about Russians.

6775 *Panel – ...in most countries, cardiac surgeons, heart surgeons, or other surgeons publish*  
6776 *their success rates. Presumably, the Chinese don't – I don't know whether they do or*  
6777 *don't – but to attract people, they would have to actually produce some.*

6778 EG – They used to. They used to publish a lot of these things and that's how we were  
6779 able to do the 2016 report – was because they were bragging about this stuff. The  
6780 surgeons were bragging about how many surgeries they did a year. The hospitals were  
6781 bragging about how many successful kidney and liver transplants they did. They stopped  
6782 that after 2016. By 2017, that was gone because we had used that to show that their  
6783 volume was much higher than they were claiming, about approximately six to ten times  
6784 higher than they were claiming.

6785 So, they've been trained to kind of keep their mouths shut about this. But the reputation  
6786 was already there for organs. The main thing that China offers is speed...they've literally  
6787 done emergency liver transplants – somebody coming in in an acute liver crisis, and 4  
6788 hours later walking out. Four hours. For most people who have [*inaudible*], they can do it  
6789 within two weeks, in many cases within one week. I'm sure if you offer more money, you  
6790 can get it within three or four days, there is no question about it. So speed is the key thing.  
6791 Speed and quality.

6792 But I wish there were those figures, I wish they were still out there, talking about their  
6793 success rate but they're not. Those days are gone. We have to look to new strategies.  
6794 This is why I'm so interested in witnesses, because it's the one thing that's a little harder  
6795 to control.

6796 *Panel – Mr. Gutmann, two questions for you. One, clearly Xinjiang is a long way away*  
6797 *from Beijing and Shanghai and so on. Have you done any research on the improvements*  
6798 *in ischemic times for organs, because I think that has changed quite profoundly in the last*  
6799 *two years.*

6800 EG – Yeah, that has...obviously, there are other oxygenation systems that you can use  
6801 and a lot of those have come up during the Covid period. But the one I'm the most familiar

6802 with is the ECMO system. This basically can be targeted at an organ – you can oxygenate  
6803 it and keep it in a very fresh state well before the patient dies, and you can actually remove  
6804 the organs and keep them at very high, very good state.

6805 Now this is a matter of controversy but, apparently, you can keep them in this oxygenated  
6806 state. Some people say that you have to have the entire corpse still resident around it,  
6807 other people say that is not true. It's hard for me to tell – I've been going mainly with  
6808 Taiwanese doctors here who are familiar with this procedure and at least one of them –  
6809 he seems like a very trustworthy bloke to me – claims that you can basically keep the  
6810 organ, basically in a live state for significantly a long time.

6811 The other way of course it works is that if you are taking out – you can stop an operation  
6812 in the middle, for example. So, let's say we are all tired, we are doing surgery, it is 12  
6813 midnight, we can stop, we can put the patient on ECMO, and keep those organs alive –  
6814 this is a dead patient – and come in at 6 in the morning to finish doing it...

6815 The question is which transportation. I have something I want to add about that, it's  
6816 important. China developed its own ECMO mobile machine this year. It is super portable.  
6817 Before that, they were buying Medtronic equipment from America – Medtronic is the  
6818 godfather of ECMO technology – but they didn't like it because it was big and  
6819 cumbersome apparently – you explain why – but they started...buying from the Germans,  
6820 because the Germans made a much more mobile version. Now, they're no longer buying  
6821 from the Germans but we do know that when the persecution of the Uyghurs went up in  
6822 2016, in 2017 particularly, to 2018, that's when the sales of these ECMO machines and  
6823 the import of ECMO machines from Germany exploded. Absolutely exploded. And we  
6824 have the figures on that...it's very clear what happened. And half of the hospitals ordering  
6825 this – these were prime suspects...in our 2016 report as major transplant hospitals.

6826 So, I think one could make a very strong case that ECMO has played a very huge role in  
6827 allowing Xinjiang or East Turkestan to become a viable centre for organ harvesting  
6828 which...can be transported to these places where people feel more comfortable coming,  
6829 like Tianjin Central or Shanghai.

6830 *Panel – The second question is, if you translated the number of organs that became*  
6831 *available from a voluntary donation system, say from the US, to a population base such*  
6832 *as that in Xinjiang, it would produce a very small number of organs, one imagines. Is there*  
6833 *any particular reason that there is a better inclination to voluntary organ donation in this*  
6834 *region than anywhere else in China or anywhere else?*

6835 EG – I think the big issue in China – I disagree with some of my colleagues about this  
6836 because they say there is this traditional belief that you have to have all your organs intact  
6837 when you die. Well, there's a lot of traditional beliefs in China, and the Communist Party  
6838 has been very good at just getting rid of them, throwing them in the trash and moving on.

6839 I think the reason people are reluctant to give up their organs voluntarily is because they  
6840 think they'd be suckers to do so. Obviously, people are making huge amounts of money  
6841 off this – so their feeling is – why should I do this for free? I'm not doing this for free.  
6842 Unless you pay me a lot of money, I don't want to get involved.

6843 I think the second point to that is that live organ harvesting is the key here. The Chinese  
6844 are not really interested in voluntary donors because, when are you going to use them?  
6845 How many car crashes are you really going to have? Not that many. So, the chances of  
6846 somebody coming in at death's door and then getting their organs taken out are very  
6847 low...they don't want that. They want very fresh organs. They want these organs removed  
6848 while the healthy person is still very much alive. And they didn't want to use not too much  
6849 anaesthesia, because it makes the organ sluggish when it goes into the new host. Again,  
6850 I think quality really, really matters to them.

6851 *Panel – May we return to the green passage at the airports. I'm not...in my mind who*  
6852 *uses these passages.*

6853 EG – They're for – as I understand it – they are for doctors or medical teams to bring  
6854 organs onto planes. Or to bring corpses into planes.

6855 *Panel – And you say 'as you understand it' because your thesis is that the whole thing is*  
6856 *veiled in secrecy.*

6857 EG – No, because we actually know this. This is why it was created. Because this doctor  
6858 whose name is escaping me for some reason, but I don't want to say the wrong doctor's  
6859 name, that would be terrible, but it's a guy I've studied quite a bit and he actually had this  
6860 where was trying to bring organs onto a plane and they died because they didn't hold the  
6861 plane up, so the organs just expired - they were useless. And he thought this was such a  
6862 crime and created this programme. This is matter of record in China.

6863 *Panel – It's curious to me that the signage would be bilingual and that English would be—*  
6864 *we know that if you put the first language above, that's the language of priority. Why on*  
6865 *earth would the signage be bilingual?*

6866 EG – A lot of things in China are bilingual, first of all. The word 'police' is bilingual, it's  
6867 right on policemen's uniforms, it's just as visible as the Chinese...I don't put too much  
6868 significance on that. I would say that there's a lot of pride about these kinds of  
6869 programmes, especially in the medical world... 'this is pretty great and sophisticated' and  
6870 that China's leading the world in human organ transplants and they say this... [*inaudible*  
6871 *name*], the master of ceremonies of this whole thing, has been bragging about the fact  
6872 that China's numbers are going to surpass...America's numbers...

6873 *Panel – I can't reconcile in my mind – on the one hand, you are saying it's highly secretive*  
6874 *and the data's not there, and it's very difficult to get any information about the hospitals*  
6875 *and on the other, you are saying there's a lot of bragging and there's a lane which is in*  
6876 *bright lights, is pasted up...the word 'organ'. So how do we reconcile these two things?*  
6877 *Which is it?*

6878 EG – China is a very contradictory country. It's always been that way. I guess we wouldn't  
6879 really be able to do any research if it weren't.

6880 Our 2016 report was all based on their numbers. They put them out there.

6881 *Panel – I'm just left wondering whether the contradictions are China's or whether they're*  
6882 *in your research.*

6883 EG – No, I don't believe they're in my research. Let me give an example that maybe will  
6884 clear this up – China for ten years said 'we do 10,000 transplants per year'. That's how

6885 many we do. All we did was look at what actual hospitals were saying about how many  
6886 transplants they did per year. When we added it up, we came up to a number of about  
6887 50,000 right there. And then we added in some other big hospitals, and we were able to  
6888 come up to numbers of 60,000. Then we were able to look at it from that perspective and  
6889 from what doctors were saying, it was obvious that we were looking at, at least, a number  
6890 of 60,000 and above.

6891 Both things were being said, both things were actually in their own media. But the one the  
6892 Western world chose to accept was the official number, because it was soothing and  
6893 reassuring, because it didn't challenge anything. I believe that, I honestly do. And the  
6894 point was it wasn't even that hard to come up with those contradictory numbers. People  
6895 don't choose to. That's all.

6896 So, I don't believe that's a research— I mean that's a research dilemma, but I don't believe  
6897 there is anything underhanded about this. This is all very transparent, the way we've— our  
6898 methods on this.

6899 *Panel – Can I ask a further question which is also puzzling me, which is, you've set out*  
6900 *that the industry is growing, that it's a hungry beast, that there has been in the past a*  
6901 *problem with attrition rates amongst Falun Gong. How do we then explain your colleague*  
6902 *Professor Zenz's finding that there are measures to prevent births, for example – how do*  
6903 *we reconcile that with the fact that clearly there's a need for organs – why on earth would*  
6904 *you want to stem the growth of a population, which is a valuable population in your thesis,*  
6905 *a valuable population for organ harvesting?*

6906 EG – There are two things at work here, but...I don't believe they're necessarily looking  
6907 at the Uyghurs as the population for infinity that...could grow them and harvest them...

6908 If you really ask me what I think, I believe this is a race war – I think it's that simple. I think  
6909 this is an attempt to destroy a race. Organ harvesting is one element in that. It's a very  
6910 profitable element. What Adrian has identified, and I think proven, is clearly part of the  
6911 same structure. So, they're contradictory in that sense, but they don't have to be—

6912 Look, there are other populations they could be harvesting if China wants to – we've never  
6913 found real evidence of them harvesting political dissident but they could easily move to

6914 that system if they chose. The Hong Kong population would be – awful lot of dissidents  
6915 in Hong Kong – I'm not saying this is going to happen but I'm saying it's at least possible  
6916 that, down the line, some of the Hong Kong population could be...candidates for organ  
6917 harvesting...Taiwan...that's up to them, how they think of this. But I think the overall  
6918 picture we have is of a disrespect for human life in East Turkestan or Xinjiang. I think  
6919 that's the common theme.

6920 *Panel – Yesterday, we heard evidence from ASPI about the mapping of detention facilities*  
6921 *across the region – 380 identified – they think that's the vast majority of them. Has there*  
6922 *been an attempt to look at those and see if any other crematoria are visibly co-located*  
6923 *with camps, or is it just this one case that we know of?*

6924 EG – I think there's just one case, but that speaks more to [how] poverty-stricken our  
6925 research is, not to the facts on the grounds. It's true, it's hard to identify these things and  
6926 I'm really pleased that I was able to verify it with a human being that that's definitely a  
6927 crematorium, and there's no question that the camp is there, and he remembered the  
6928 Aksu Infection Hospital... And that's a very unusual case. I stressed it because we never  
6929 had that kind of a case with the Falun Gong. We never had everything co-located like  
6930 this. But because we haven't found them just means that researchers...I think that the  
6931 question was asked...expert in reading Google or satellite maps and so forth, and I'm not.  
6932 This is why I ran it by another expert, actually two experts, and said, 'what do you think?'  
6933 They came back and they said, 'well I think this...'

6934 ...we ran into an awful lot of false leads, because there's an awful lot of things that look  
6935 like crematoriums and so forth. So, I think it's a difficult procedure. I wish there was a  
6936 computer programme...but I don't think– there's no question that the order went out to  
6937 build 9 crematoriums and clearly they're of substantial size. If you look at that building in  
6938 comparison to the others, it's quite an enormous building. And the fact that we have the  
6939 50 security guards. So, I think that's still very significant. The fact that we haven't found  
6940 everything is...I wish we had.

6941 *Panel – The two camps near the Aksu Infection Hospital. What are their names and are*  
6942 *they described as high-security 're-education' centres or high-security prisons?*

6943 EG – The answer to your question is no clue. The reason for that is because China has  
6944 purposely, or Beijing or the Communist Party has purposely, gone out of their way to not  
6945 name these things. Out of all the witnesses that I've interviewed on this, only a couple of  
6946 them could actually supply a name for the camp that they were in. They literally don't  
6947 have a name. And I know that sounds strange, but I think that's done on purpose to just  
6948 make the whole thing harder to identify. There must be some sort of internal number or  
6949 something that the Chinese use, but they didn't know.

6950 *Panel – We've come, in the evidence that we've seen and read, across a number of*  
6951 *torture narratives where the detainees have been forced to confess to terrorism, and*  
6952 *they've been tortured on various areas of the body, particularly the head, the feet, nails,*  
6953 *and vile rape. Would any of these areas of the body affect the condition of the organs of,*  
6954 *let's say, a 28-year-old?*

6955 EG – No, not really... there's a woman who was extensively raped and clearly, they were  
6956 still looking at her organs. She was raped severely and over a period of time and  
6957 publicly...an important story. But they were clearly still interested in her organs because,  
6958 based on the testing that was being done...

6959 With Falun Gong, one of the things that happened was they were tortured very severely  
6960 and they often allowed other prisoners to do it...whatever came to mind, they'd do. This  
6961 was a problem, because it made them sometimes ineligible for organ transplants, to be  
6962 an organ donor.

6963 So, I think it's more systematic now. That's my impression, but obviously this is not  
6964 something one could put numbers on.

6965 *Panel – And if you starve the prisoners or detainees, does that affect the condition of the*  
6966 *organs?*

6967 EG – Yes, it does. One of the reasons why hunger striking is dealt with so severely is to  
6968 prevent that.

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**7 June 2021 (06:49:50 – 07:31:50)**6972 **Rukiye Turdush**

6973

6974 RT – The report that I am presenting today was written at the end of 2018, published in  
6975 February 2019 and was partially updated in October 2020. Some update on my recent  
6976 article on Uyghur women and genocide that I co-authored with Dr Magnus Fiskesjö. I am  
6977 continuously updating my report which is called ‘Genocide in East Turkestan’. I would like  
6978 to present again, if it is necessary, in the September hearings with new information.

6979 I have updated the report with new evidence published in media reports, NGO reports  
6980 and expert reports but I didn’t have a chance yet to go back to each interviewee and  
6981 update information about their arrested or killed relatives or how many of them were  
6982 released or how many of them were sentenced and so on. The report proves China’s  
6983 intention of genocide as well as China’s criminal acts, at least 4-5 criteria of 1948 UN  
6984 Genocide Convention. I am continuing my research to find evidence for all five prohibited  
6985 acts under the UN Genocide Convention. My reports show how China is well-funded,  
6986 planned organised and repeatedly implemented state policy against Uyghurs and other  
6987 Turkic Muslims and these nations group identity constitutes acts of genocide.

6988 Methodology – the report was prepared on 135 testimonies of Uyghurs, arrests and  
6989 forcible removal of Uyghur children and in prison interview about forced sterilisation on  
6990 Uyghur woman in 2001, when I was in East Turkestan, and a video and phone interview  
6991 with concentration camps survivors, and eye witness accounts. I also used the secondary  
6992 sources such as reviews of experts reports and the Chinese state media evidence. This  
6993 methodology was used to obtain evidence about China’s mass violations against the  
6994 Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims as well as to understand the escalation of the violence.  
6995 Amongst the 135 who testified about their arrested or disappeared relatives, 56 live in  
6996 Canada and Kazakhstan, 59 in Turkey, 52 learned that direct family members were taken  
6997 to concentration camps. Some entire families, I have some of the photos. The rest of them  
6998 have lost contact, not able to learn about the whereabouts of their family members or their  
6999 children.

7000 *Counsel – Mrs Turdush, just to remind you, the panel has read your report. Rather than*  
7001 *to provide us with a summary can you focus on the main points?*

7002 RT – I am not going to talk about methodology right now. So, I mention in the report the  
7003 historical background of East Turkestan and China state legislation that target and  
7004 implement cultural genocide. I have included the historical background of East Turkestan  
7005 and the colonisation as the root cause of genocidal intent. I also included cultural  
7006 genocide, which is destroying Uyghur language and religion and destroying cultural  
7007 heritage and mosques, analysed in this report because it is important for China's intention  
7008 of genocide. Even though cultural genocide was excluded in 1948 Genocide Convention  
7009 however there is no [inaudible]...

7010 *[intervention by Sir Geoffrey Nice]*

7011 *Panel – I am afraid you are speaking at a reading speed not a speaking speed and there*  
7012 *are people who have to be able to understand what they have not probably read. Forgive*  
7013 *my interrupting you.*

7014 RT – I included historical background as well as cultural genocide because cultural  
7015 genocide is important because it proves China's genocidal intention. We know that the  
7016 cultural genocide was excluded in 1948 Genocide Convention however, there is no  
7017 difference between intention of cultural genocide and genocide. I documented cultural  
7018 genocide, as well, in my report. I have raised other examples of China's genocidal intent  
7019 in this report, I will mention them separately at the end. Third, I wrote in this report China's  
7020 genocidal acts violating Art. 2 (a), Art. 2 (b), Art. 2 (d) and Art. 2 (e). China's violations of  
7021 Art. 2 (a) which is killing of members of the group whole or in part because of their identity  
7022 and religion and culture. As an example of China's implementation of physical genocide,  
7023 I have included China's killing and Baren massacre, Ghulja massacre and Urumqi rising  
7024 and the killings in other incidences [inaudible] as well as statements of eye witness  
7025 accounts. Even though these killings were prompted by China's dissatisfaction, the  
7026 Uyghur's people's dissatisfaction China's treatment and Uyghurs and other Turkic  
7027 Muslims, the violent Chinese repression during and after each uprising regardless of  
7028 whether Uyghurs had participated or not strongly suggested a Chinese intention to  
7029 destroy the Uyghur people as an ethnicity not a political reason.

7030 For example, one of the Chinese soldiers who participated at the crackdown at \*Barun\*  
7031 stated that that time was very entertaining. We shut anybody human in that Uyghur  
7032 village. The conversation was quoted by Chinese officials who wrote the article and  
7033 posted on Chinese website. Footnote 37 in my report which is missing, wasn't updated.  
7034 China's violation of Art. 2 (b) causing serious bodily and mental harm to members of the  
7035 group. China's state surveillance policy that controls every move of Uyghur people and  
7036 policy that placed 1.6 million Han Chinese in Uyghur homes, destroys Uyghurs mental and  
7037 physical autonomy. Several direct victim accounts statements about rape and torture is  
7038 evident for serious bodily and mental harm as well.

7039 According to the New York Times, half million Uyghur kids were removed from their home  
7040 and separated from their parents and I have cited this in my report. Separation from their  
7041 parents and their community created long-term psychological and physical damage on  
7042 brain cells. It was proven by many neurologists. We do not yet know how poorly these  
7043 kids are treated and how many of them are killed and abused but I assume that those  
7044 separations are harming those kid's mental development.

7045 China violated Art. 2 (d) as well, which is imposing measures to prevent births within the  
7046 group. I have included an analysis of the Chinese State's policy about birth prevention,  
7047 statements of interviews within my report. Further China's forced marriage policy and  
7048 forced labour policy that I argue about in my recent article about Uyghur women in China's  
7049 genocide co-authored with Dr Magnus Fiskesjö. I argue that China is state-sponsoring  
7050 forced marriage, forced labour camps, segregated Uyghur women and men. Different  
7051 places also contributed to population reduction and it is violated Art. 2 (d).

7052 Violation of Art. 2 (e) which is forcibly transferring children of the group to another group  
7053 is documented in this report as well. China's violation of Art. 2 (c) was not included in the  
7054 report as I had too little evidence when I wrote the report in 2018. It should be updated  
7055 because Chinese concentration camps, forced labour camps, deportation and appalling  
7056 number of prison sentences in the region tearing families apart, destroying survival  
7057 conditions and a move that could not only cause population reduction but also bring about  
7058 physical destruction in whole or in part which is seriously violating both, Art. 2 (d) and 2  
7059 (c) after UN Genocide Convention.

7060 Now, I would like to give more examples of China's genocidal intent. Its intent was pre-  
7061 dated before its colonisation. All nations in China's territory, including the colonised  
7062 nations, including in East Turkestan are referred to as *zhonghua* (中华) nation and  
7063 China's founding father Sun Yat-sen published a statement on behalf of Chinese National  
7064 Party in 1923, he mentions it as well as in later essays *zhonghua* (中华), the process  
7065 of becoming *hua* (华) means Chinese so they would like to assimilate everyone to ethnic  
7066 Han Chinese. This was cited in several scholars' books. Intention of forced assimilation  
7067 was very clear; it exists here and is just another term for cultural genocide. Even though  
7068 act of cultural genocide is very different according to UN Genocide Convention. Both  
7069 cultural genocide and genocide are aimed at destroying existence of group in whole or in  
7070 part because of their ethnicity, religion, nationality and their race.

7071 *Counsel – My questions relate to genocidal intent. In your report, you state 'intent to*  
7072 *destroy the Uyghur nation is verbalised by Chinese leaders increasingly in recent years'.*  
7073 *However, you also state 'even though they have not articulated an official written plan to*  
7074 *the public about destroying Uyghur nation, China's intention is clear'. How is China's*  
7075 *intent to destroy the Uyghur nation has been verbalised by Chinese leaders in recent*  
7076 *years?*

7077 RT – Uyghurs are described by Chinese officials as a cancerous tumour or weeds, not as  
7078 human beings with right to maintain distinct culture and religion. Has been described as  
7079 'three evil forces', which must be eliminated. Also, 'break their rules', 'break their roots'  
7080 'break the lineage' are phrases used. Labelled Uyghurs as terrorists for religious beliefs  
7081 are similar to description of Jews by Nazis. Each Uyghur no matter even if innocent is a  
7082 terrorist for the Chinese government. That is how they label the Uyghurs and dehumanise  
7083 them. By saying weeds, 'spray the chemicals to kill the weeds'.

7084 *Counsel – Are there sources for these phrases?*

7085 RT – I cited in my report the sources. If it is not in there, I can send you the sources  
7086 separately.

7087 *Counsel – Are there other informal phrases, coded phrases or derogatory terms which*  
7088 *Chinese authority may use for Uyghurs, Kazakhs or other minorities?*

7089 RT – Also say when they forcibly remove the children, that ‘break their origin’, ‘break their  
7090 roots’, ‘break lineage’ – shows intention too. When they move them to the children’s  
7091 concentration camps, they cannot see parents, they can’t speak their language, can’t  
7092 practice their religion. They are being transformed into ethnic Han Chinese, completely  
7093 cut off from their background and never can find parents again. This is how to break the  
7094 roots; this is how you destroy Uyghur nation. When they grow up they are going to  
7095 become Han Chinese and they cannot contribute to their community for reproduction.  
7096 This explains their intention and I have more examples about this.

7097 *Counsel – I think some of these examples of these derogatory phrases will be of interest.*

7098 RT – Chinese ambassador in the US responded to global criticism on the re-education  
7099 camps that it is to change the Uyghur into ‘normal person’. For them Uyghurs are not  
7100 ‘normal people’ in that sense. Sending them to the camps they justified them by calling  
7101 them not normal. This is de-humanising as well and can explain their intention. The  
7102 Chinese state policy against Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims is completely evident of  
7103 China’s intention – they do not explicitly advertise genocide but are couched in the  
7104 language of re-education and pairing families, and birth prevention policy has destructive  
7105 effect as well as force labour camps. This disruptive effect is plainly evident. It is achieved  
7106 by planning, budgeting and allocating resources to carry out the plans.

7107 *Counsel – Many of these phrases or terms you have cited in your report are either*  
7108 *verbalised or are based on secondary sources, though you have referred to embassy*  
7109 *website, which would be a primary source. On basis of your knowledge of the Chinese*  
7110 *government system, is it possible such an official plan or policy would exist in writing*  
7111 *rather than verbalised somewhere in the system?*

7112 RT – They do not write it down especially ‘to kill the Uyghur nation’. They are not going  
7113 to do that. Especially the Chinese government. They try to hide their crimes, of course.  
7114 They camouflaging their policies e.g., concentration camps as re-education camps,  
7115 forced labour as poverty alleviation, removing children for education purposes or that it is

7116 an orphanage. They have beautiful words to camouflage their plans. They enforce birth  
7117 prevention policy, too. They do this repeatedly and it was achieved by planning,  
7118 budgeting, and allocating resources. They are doing this despite their being a devastating  
7119 effect. They know that when they use the birth prevention policy it dramatically drops the  
7120 Uyghur population but they are still implementing. The Chinese president, Xi Jinping,  
7121 says their policy is 100% correct and they will continue. They know the devastating effect  
7122 but still they continue – that demonstrates intent.

7123 *Counsel – Family planning workers – they have so much power, they can put you in prison*  
7124 *or imprisonment for life, order sterilisation, contraception, abortions... do you think these*  
7125 *workers act on their own initiative or are they following a policy? If yes, what level is that*  
7126 *plan set?*

7127 RT – They strictly follow a plan. They also have a lot of power. Some Uyghur families can  
7128 bribe them and hide their children or get extra children if they have money. At the same  
7129 time, in some regions if you don't know the worker, it depends on the region. It is very  
7130 different. Some regions, some family planning workers are very strict and use a harsh  
7131 policy. Some regions can relax and hide bending the rules. If you give them money, this  
7132 is based on my research.

7133 *[Intervention Sir Geoffrey Nice] – We ought to have Mrs Turdush back as well as next*  
7134 *witness [Adrian Zenz] at the September hearings. We don't want to rush things.*

7135 *Panel – What is the aim of data collection? Was it to look for areas compliant with the*  
7136 *word genocide? Did you collect the data under the various aspects of genocide, or did*  
7137 *you fit in the data you already had under these headings?*

7138 RT – No. I didn't collect the data under this aspect. Since 2007, I was thinking the human  
7139 rights violations escalation. That's why I collected data. Once I finished collecting, after I  
7140 had done the interviews, I then found it fit with the 1948 Genocide Convention's criteria.

7141 *Panel – You said the testimonial is based on hundreds of Uyghur civilians, but only get*  
7142 *data for 135. Were there data which was contradictory with what you wanted to find out?*

7143 RT – I don't think it is contradicting. I did not only use those witnesses' interviews for my  
7144 conclusion in my report. The conclusion is based on secondary sources and some of the  
7145 other information from East Turkestan based on my contacts, and media reports  
7146 internationally, North America, Europe, Chinese State media, Australian, NGO reports  
7147 and a literature review I did for the expert report. They are consistent and linked with the  
7148 Chinese government's policy. It also then fits to the Genocide Convention.

7149 *Panel – It could be argued you have not included negative data – so if you had hundreds*  
7150 *of civilians, why only taken 135, just picked up positive ones and left out negative ones.*

7151 RT – I used structural interview questions – these are most of them as testimonial. Most  
7152 are secondary victims. 19 are direct victims. I used both, structured and unstructured  
7153 interview questions. Direct victims I used in the report, indirect ones I didn't use as much.

7154 *Panel – Your words like 'Islam is mental disease' etc. are they coming from higher officials*  
7155 *or lower officials in counties?*

7156 RT – Not from Beijing, some are local officials. I do not remember right now. I have the  
7157 sources - I was very ill so have not checked over my report but I can send it to you.

7158 *Panel – One official said 'the only crime is being Uyghur' - how official is that? Is that*  
7159 *something that comes from the top?*

7160 RT – That is the camp police officers or guards. This related to Mihrigul Tursun. Her only  
7161 crime was being Uyghur.

7162 *Panel – If that is the case, why did they make up excuses to take people into camps, you*  
7163 *have a mother abroad or you sent money?*

7164 RT – They have to hide the crime. They are excuses, they also explain their intention too.  
7165 They have expressed that Uyghurs are terrorists and with that excuse, they are justifying  
7166 killing and detaining Uyghurs.

7167 *Panel – Why do you think they are going after the intellectuals?*

7168 RT – That explains China’s genocidal intent, too. Uyghur intellectuals are the leaders of  
7169 the Uyghur people. When you kill and destroy the leading forces, when you kill the head,  
7170 the body is going to be paralysed. That’s how they want to destroy the Uyghur population.

7171 *Panel – Was the persecution of the Muslims fuelled by anti-terrorism law adopted in*  
7172 *2015? Did the adoption of that law make the persecution worse or within China?*

7173 RT – Yes, that is how they justify their killings and executions against the Uyghurs. They  
7174 just label Uyghurs as terrorists. Is your questions Muslims overseas?

7175 *Panel – Sorry we are short on time. Tell me more about the two things which are*  
7176 *important, the children being sent to camps and then women.*

7177 RT – I have documented 52 children taken from their homes. Many whose parents  
7178 overseas in Turkey. I have a lot of pictures that I can send to you. Those kids whose  
7179 parents arrested first, some family members like grandparents and aunts who can take  
7180 care of them they were still taken away. The example in my report, not the real name.  
7181 Those kids, he has 3 siblings, his parents refused to eat Chinese dumplings made with  
7182 pork, so they were arrested. This happened in Aksu. The person who interviewed them  
7183 was in Holland before he was in Turkey... He said the 14-year-old when taken to boarding  
7184 school. Another person I interviewed. not in my report, he had four children. The girl after  
7185 she fled to Turkey, his wife was arrested and sentenced to ten years. Parents and brother  
7186 arrested. He had four children left, eldest taken to the school by government officials (girl,  
7187 12 years at that time). The other one went to the street and got into a car accident, another  
7188 disappeared. The last one was taken by Chinese officials.

7189 *Panel – I think you have sufficient evidence for that. The women – what you published*  
7190 *today and the efforts to try to interrupt their reproductive system. What evidence do you*  
7191 *have for the abortions and reproductive systems? How strong is the evidence?*

7192 RT – It is very strong. When I went to east Turkestan in 2001. They showed me certificates  
7193 who I saw, the proof how they are sterilised. In Kashgar and such places, I didn’t see the  
7194 certificate as women did not carry them around. But at their house, I saw the certificate,  
7195 like an award – Chinese word for it to show how families followed the family planning.  
7196 This exists for a long time. I myself got an IUD after my first child – they could not find it

7197 in Canada. I didn't go sick like those women but some of them got infected. I had to go  
7198 back to China to get it removed.

7199 This does not happen to every woman but they escalated this in 2017 and strictly  
7200 controlled this birth control policy, use this policy. Any women, sometimes before they  
7201 had a chance to if they have a religious brother or family planning worker so they bribe  
7202 and hide. Since 2017, it has become very strict. They could not do it. They could not do  
7203 anything. This policy was implemented. Not only this policy birth control implemented but  
7204 birth control policy strictly implemented to Uyghurs and you may say that it was  
7205 implemented to Han Chinese also but that policy was relaxed to Han Chinese. they stayed  
7206 in cities where Han people can have 2 children.

7207 *Panel – I want to go back to genocide. We have two definitions, Lemkin's definition and*  
7208 *UN Genocide Convention. How does your data fit in with this? You end up saying there*  
7209 *is no difference in intention – could you explain this to us?*

7210 RT – Intention fits Lemkin's definition here because in the book 'Axis Rule in Europe' he  
7211 was saying it was not only mass killing to be genocide, you don't have to do a mass killing  
7212 in front of the public. You can destroy them culturally; it is the same thing. This nation was  
7213 going to disappear so it be genocide but it was not included in the UN Genocide  
7214 Convention in 1948. So, I didn't not use the Lemkin's definition as a criterion but I used  
7215 some of it to prove the cultural genocide and intentions.

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**7 June 2021 (07:52:30 – 09:42:20)**7220 **Adrian Zenz**

7221

7222 AZ – Previously, we have been able to gather substantial evidence of a campaign of birth  
7223 suppression and mass sterilisation from Chinese documents and witness statements.  
7224 Together with official data showing declines in birth rates. This evidence raises but did  
7225 not answer the question of the ultimate intent of which the Chinese state is pursuing these  
7226 policies besides referring that this would make the Uyghur population easier to control by  
7227 reducing its size. If these policies continued, they would depress the population, but will  
7228 they, any what population loss would the suppression potentially cause?

7229 Today, I would like to attempt to provide evidence regarding these urgent questions by  
7230 presenting new research that provides evidence of the Chinese's state's likely intent to  
7231 substantially reduce ethnic minority natural population growth in Xinjiang on the long term  
7232 by optimising Chinese *youthua* (优化) - the ethnic population. This refers to a targeted  
7233 dilution of populations deemed problematic by the state with Han Chinese through in-  
7234 migration, which results in so-called 'processes of embedding Chinese [inaudible]'.  
7235 Besides providing evidence on intent, the research seeks to quantify the destruction that  
7236 was part results from this intent.

7237 Between 2015-2018, combined natural population birth rates in the four prefectures of  
7238 Southern Xinjiang declined by 73%. In 2019, rates continued to decline. In ethnic minority  
7239 countries, birth rates declined by 50% and in Han countries by 20%. On comparison,  
7240 national figures in decline are only 4%. These figures have a leverage effect on national  
7241 population growth because most natural population growth is birth rate – death rate and  
7242 if birth rates decline but death rates stay the same, then when birth rates approach the  
7243 level of death rates, the national population birth rate in terms of percentage declines  
7244 much faster than the birth rate and we are quickly getting to a point where natural  
7245 population growth approach 0.

7246 Prefectures with both, data for 2018 and 2019, and individual counties weighted by  
7247 population. In the provided population growth sample, the average national population

7248 growth rate on these Uyghur counties fell from 5.19 per mil in 2018 to 1.66 in 2019. Now  
7249 only amounting half of the national natural population growth. In several regions birth rate  
7250 reductions result or will result in growth rates that are near 0 or below 0. In my view, this  
7251 growth rate is not a coincidence. Today, I am not focusing on the numbers but I am  
7252 focusing on the long-term planning behind them. I argue that growth rates near or below  
7253 0 are directly consistent with Beijing's long-term plans for ethnic groups in Xinjiang. I will  
7254 now present the evidence.

7255 In an otherwise, unremarkable report, about August 2019 Health and Family Planning  
7256 Work commissioned in the Uyghur region references an unpublished population growth  
7257 document issued in 2017 by Xinjiang's new population planning office, its title is 'Meeting  
7258 minutes on honestly and thoroughly implementing the spirit of General Secretary Xi  
7259 Jinping's important instructions, researching and advancing the work of optimising the  
7260 ethnic population structure in Southern Xinjiang'. This document has not been made  
7261 public rather it points us in the right direction mentioning Xi Jinping himself with this  
7262 intention to 'optimise' Xinjiang's ethnic population.

7263 According to a 2017 research paper on optimising Xinjiang's population structure, the  
7264 central government in Beijing 'attaches great importance to the problem of Xinjiang's  
7265 population structure and population security'. Expressions such as 'optimising the ethnic  
7266 population structure' or just optimising the population structure in reference to Southern  
7267 Xinjiang and ethnic minorities are very common to the academic literature on Xinjiang's  
7268 counter- terrorism and they are consistently linked to birth control measures.

7269 These sentiments behind these terms was bluntly expressed by a Dean of Tarim  
7270 University at a 2015 academic event. When discussing methods to solve Xinjiang's  
7271 problems, Liao Zhaoyu, the state must 'change the population structure and layout [and]  
7272 end the dominance of the Uyghur ethnic group'. It refers to their numeric dominance in  
7273 Southern Xinjiang.

7274 In a 2016 academic publication, he also argues that the underlying reason for Xinjiang's  
7275 unrest was the high concentration of Uyghur population in Southern Xinjiang. Due to a  
7276 recent exodus of Han Chinese, the 'imbalance of the ethnic minority and Han population  
7277 composition in Southern Xinjiang has reached an unbelievably serious degree'. These

7278 sentiments are echoed by Xu Jianying, a research fellow at the Chinese Academy of  
7279 Social Sciences. In 2014, Xu argued in an interview with the Global Times that to counter  
7280 the terror threat, the state must ‘change Southern Xinjiang’s population structure’. It  
7281 should be noted that nearly all of this research is funded by the state, often funded directly  
7282 by specific government projects. Some of them on the topic of counter-terrorism.

7283 Xinjiang’s most authoritative voice on the subject is arguably Liu Yileu, deputy secretary  
7284 general of Xinjiang’s Production and Construction Corps (XPCC). He is also a Dean at  
7285 Xinjiang University. At a July 2020 symposium with over 300 experts and scholars from  
7286 across China, Liu notes that despite all progress, ‘the root of Xinjiang’s social stability  
7287 problems have not yet been resolved’. That’s quite remarkable after all they have done  
7288 so far. To quote directly from his speech, ‘the problem in Southern Xinjiang is mainly the  
7289 unbalanced population structure. Population proportion and population security are  
7290 important foundations for long-term peace and stability. The proportion of the Han  
7291 population in Southern Xinjiang is too low, less than 15%. The problem of demographic  
7292 imbalance is Southern Xinjiang’s core issue’. Just to note, in the four heartland Uyghur  
7293 prefectures of Southern Xinjiang, this share of the Han population in 2018 was only about  
7294 half of that, 8.4%. Liu included Bayangol Prefecture in his calculations on Xinjiang. You  
7295 can do either one, both are common.

7296 In 2018, Liu had argued that Xinjiang’s population structure is unreasonable and that  
7297 Xinjiang must ‘afresh analyse its population structure and ethnic structure...from a  
7298 viewpoint of national security’. One of the most sophisticated accounts of this perceived  
7299 population problem or threat is found in a 2017 research brief by Li Xiaoxia, director of  
7300 the Institute of Sociology at the Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences. She has published  
7301 major reports on Xinjiang’s population and used to write attack pieces against myself.  
7302 She is very high-profile. She defends the government’s birth prevention policies.

7303 In her paper, Li argues that ‘the population gap between ethnic minorities and the Han  
7304 continues to widen, which has made the concentration of a single ethnic group in certain  
7305 regions more obvious. The lack of communications between different ethnic groups and  
7306 cultures has caused the three factors of ethnicity, religion, and land area to overlap,  
7307 strengthening the view-point that one ethnic group owns a particular land area, thereby

7308 weakening national identity and identification with the Chinese-Nation-Race, impacting  
7309 long-term rule and stability’.

7310 Consequently, controlling the growth rate of the ethnic minority population and adjusting  
7311 the regional ethnic population structure are considered to be important ways to achieve  
7312 long-term stability in Xinjiang. Written in 2017, the very year when the crack-down and  
7313 birth prevention really took off.

7314 Liu Yilei argues that ‘the population structure is one of the roots of Xinjiang’s problems’.  
7315 Soon after this population, in 2017, in Xinjiang new initiatives to prevent births were set-  
7316 up in ethnic minority regions. Specific outcome indicators of these initiatives were the  
7317 mandated target to ‘optimise the population structure’. Or more commonly ‘to balance the  
7318 population structure. To this end, family planning officers are required to ‘formulate the  
7319 counties mid, and long-term population development plan and annual plan; be  
7320 responsible for the macro-control of the county’s new born population and the review of  
7321 applications for birthing another child due to special circumstances; manage the county’s  
7322 information system for women of childbearing age...’

7323 By the end of 2018 or 2019, Xinjiang was fully equipped to forecast population growth at  
7324 an extremely detailed level and you find some more information on that in my full paper.  
7325 The region had created the precondition for optimising its ethnic population structure. A  
7326 detailed review of this literature shows that a deep threat was arising from concentrated  
7327 Uyghur population centres around the four following themes:

7328 First, Uyghur overpopulation creates an excessively large rural surplus workforce, posing  
7329 economic and therefore social stability risks. Secondly, high ethnic minority population  
7330 concentrations in sensitive border regions pose an inherent security risk. Thirdly, high  
7331 Uyghur population density breeds a “‘dense religious atmosphere’ and creates reduced  
7332 identification with the Chinese nation, promoting a dangerous identification of one ethnic  
7333 group with what they consider to be ‘their’ land. Last, high minority population growth in  
7334 southern Xinjiang poses a risk to ‘population security’ by exceeding the carrying capacity  
7335 of the land.

7336 Other Chinese researchers have argued that the solution to solve Xinjiang's problems is  
7337 to 'solve the human problem'. Specifically, this requires 'diluting the proportions of ethnic  
7338 populations' by increasing the Han populations share, reducing shares of populations with  
7339 negative energy referring to religious or traditionally minded Uyghurs. This process of  
7340 targeted ethnic dilution was first proposed by Xi Jinping in 2014 at a world conference in  
7341 Xinjiang after declaring the war on terror on Xinjiang. It was referred through as population  
7342 embedding – *renkou qianru* (人口嵌入) in Chinese.

7343 A 2017 report published by two researchers from the Xinjiang Police Academy argues  
7344 that population embedding is the key strategy to eradicate terrorism by rapidly optimising  
7345 the population structure. That's a quote. 'To completely eradicate terrorists' crimes in  
7346 Xinjiang, it is a necessity to completely eradicate the soil, the growth conditions and the  
7347 environment in which terrorists produce crimes. To do so it is necessary to rationalise the  
7348 population structure'.

7349 Specifically, the academics suggest that population embedding requires a careful  
7350 balancing of desirable versus less desirable populations. To quote from them: 'Therefore,  
7351 optimising the proportions of the populations and improving and enhancing the quality of  
7352 the population – which is to solve the human problem - is the foundation of solving  
7353 Xinjiang's counterterrorism problem. Embedding the population is one of the simplest and  
7354 most direct ways to solve the human problem...

7355 This will achieve the goal of diluting the proportion of the poor population, the proportion  
7356 of the unemployed, the proportion of the low-educated, the proportion of certain ethnic  
7357 population...the proportion of the population with a criminal history, etc. We see that  
7358 embedding involved a targeted dilution of undesirable population segments such as low-  
7359 income, less-educated, more traditionally minded ethnic minorities. Who are seen as  
7360 more susceptible to extremism and other so-called crimes.

7361 In a 2019 publication, Chinese academic, Li Ming, argues that the establishment of  
7362 embedded communities requires 'calculating precise embedding targets'. The Han ethnic  
7363 majority population ratios should range between 50 to 50 and 40 to 60. He is not the only  
7364 one, that's a very common ratio that you also see in government documents.

7365 The goal of the targeted embedding is the creation of a cultural counter-terrorism,  
7366 Chinese – *wenhua fankong* (文化反恐) . A multi-ethnic environment where religious  
7367 extremism is unlikely to take root. To quote from his paper: ‘For example, according to  
7368 the village’s cultural counterterrorism needs, the scope of the population with positive  
7369 energy in the village should be expanded to 80% or 90% in a planned, step-by-step, and  
7370 methodical manner, and the scope of the population with negative energy in the village  
7371 should be reduced to seven percent or less than three percent. Here, persons with  
7372 ‘positive energy’ or positive Chinese culture even – Chinese *zheng wenhua* (正文化) are  
7373 those who are more highly educated, more secular, more resistant to the crippling  
7374 influence of ‘religious extremist thought’ especially Han, while those with negative energy  
7375 – Chinese *fu nengliang* (负能量) are more susceptible to extremist thought meaning  
7376 Uyghurs. Researchers argue that plans must achieve counter-terrorism outcomes on  
7377 these problem regions based on specific qualitative indicators, qualitative ratios,  
7378 population ratios and detailed target indicators.

7379 This is not mere hypothesis, starting in 2014, Kashgar, other regions...Hotan established  
7380 embedded communities at a cost of several billions on Chinese Yuan of investment but  
7381 involving tens of thousands of populations each. This continues and much money is spent  
7382 on these. The Associated Press visited one in 2018 and so on.

7383 To boost Han population shares, Beijing has to get millions of Han to move to Southern  
7384 Xinjiang. By 2022, it has a specific plan already to settle 300.000 Han settlers to Southern  
7385 Xinjiang by 2022. But there is a problem. The South is also Xinjiang’s most fragile region.  
7386 Arable land and water are scarce. Industrialisation and development vastly increased.  
7387 The capital resource allocation is ecological footprint. There are a bunch of Chinese  
7388 studies, I only cite one here. They say ‘Xinjiang as a whole is already overpopulated by  
7389 2.3 million humans in 2015.’ Significantly exceeding its ecological population carrying  
7390 capacity. One study founded by the government found that Hotan prefecture; the Uyghur  
7391 prefecture in Southern Xinjiang started to enter red alert state in terms of exceeding its  
7392 carrying capacity in 2008.

7393 Once the so-called overpopulation is in rural Southern Xinjiang meaning Uyghurs...that  
7394 means the state cannot simply transfer millions of Han to Southern Xinjiang to optimise  
7395 the population structure. It has to find a different solution as well on top of that. So, part  
7396 of the population optimisation is also achieved through labour transfers of Uyghurs.  
7397 Labour transfers, one form of forced labour, do not have to imply physical relocation, they  
7398 are primarily being referred to a transfer of ecocultural surplus laborers, Chinese *fuyu*  
7399 *laodongli* (富余劳动力) out of the primary and into secondary and tertiary sectors. The  
7400 problem was extended to all of Xinjiang in 2005, so it has been going for a while but it  
7401 became increasingly coercive especially after 2014 and then 2017, as I have  
7402 documented.

7403 It is different from labour transfers of released former camp detainees, who are often  
7404 called Chinese *jiaozhuan ren yuan* (教专人员) from the internment camp; the re-education.

7405 The latter, the re-education forced labour programme began in 2018 and came into full  
7406 force in the latter half of 2018 and into 2019. The forced labour linked to the camps targets  
7407 predominately men, given that over 85% of such detainees are typically male from  
7408 different database sets that we have. Whereas the coercive labour transfer targets  
7409 persons who typically were never detained, with a particular focus with getting women out  
7410 of traditional household roles and into full-time work especially in the textile industries.

7411 According to official figures Xinjiang had 2.59 million rural surplus laborers in 2019 and  
7412 1.65 million of them in Southern Xinjiang, therefore Uyghur prefectures. The first ten  
7413 months of 2018, about 13% of all labour transfers, 360,000 were outside broad people  
7414 outside their home prefectures. 25,000 of them or 1% went to other provinces. Labour  
7415 transfers have intentionally and disproportionately displaced persons from Uyghur majority  
7416 regions and especially targeted the Southern Uyghur heartlands and poor households. In  
7417 2018, the overall percentage of labour transfer from Xinjiang to other provinces was only  
7418 around 1% where labour transfer efforts target poor households and therefore mostly  
7419 ethnic minorities, transferred 11% to other provinces. Even so labour transfers that this  
7420 place ethnic minorities by coercing them to work in... outside their home regions, so  
7421 outside of Southern Xinjiang. They help with the problem to optimise the population but

7422 in themselves they only have comparatively small numbers ...they are entirely insufficient  
7423 to achieve the above mention population optimisation goals. They alleviate... they help to  
7424 alleviate the pressure on the land by reducing the Uyghur population in Southern Xinjiang.

7425 A Chinese academic report, called the Nankai report, admitted that labour transfers are  
7426 a method to 'reduce Uyghur population density in Southern Xinjiang'. However, the  
7427 numbers of transferred labours are too small, especially given that annual transfer  
7428 numbers often refer to the same persons being transferred again each year, sometimes  
7429 twice a year and then they double the number. Labour transfers do not necessarily  
7430 constitute permanent relocations. In fact, often refer to seasonal labour like cotton picking  
7431 and harvesting of different kinds. Evidence of longer-term re-location does exist but is  
7432 very limited though. Importantly the Nankai report notes that Uyghurs with problematic or  
7433 criminal backgrounds are typically not accepted, not eligible for cross-provincial transfers  
7434 meaning that labour transfer focus persons concentrated in Southern Xinjiang which is  
7435 not in line with population optimisation needs. They do that for security reasons, other  
7436 provinces wouldn't accept 'dangerous Uyghurs'.

7437 As a result, nearly all of the cited academics and officials strongly urge birth prevention  
7438 as a primary means to optimise ethnic population ratios. One of the analyses confirms  
7439 that indeed, the only way the state can significantly increase Han population shares  
7440 without having to transfer unrealistic numbers of Han to Southern Xinjiang, which will be  
7441 very expensive, difficult, and cause severe overpopulation. The only way to avoid this is  
7442 to limit ethnic minority population growth.

7443 My analysis shows that the most ideal rate for this growth is in fact negative, around - 2.5  
7444 per mil. By 2040, the state could boost Han population shares in Southern Xinjiang to  
7445 nearly 25% by settling 1.9 million Han there. This would dilute Uyghur populations  
7446 concentrations in line with counter terrorism targets. 25% Han means the state can  
7447 embed half the Uyghur population at 50:50 ratio, which we have heard about above,  
7448 diluting so called problem populations and neutralising these concentrated ethnic minority  
7449 populations which would be considered a human problem. This would also align Southern  
7450 Xinjiang's Han population share much closer than 25% for currently 35% for Han  
7451 population share percent for all of Xinjiang. So, what is the ramification of all this?

7452 As a result, ethnic minority population in Southern Xinjiang would shrink at the 2.5% mil  
7453 scenario from currently 9.5 million to 9 million by 2040, which is a decline that could pass  
7454 unnoticed by outside observers. A smaller population is also easier to control and  
7455 assimilate. The destruction in part resulting from these aims is assessed as the difference  
7456 between (a) a projected natural population growth without substantial government  
7457 interference, with still some level of family planning especially now that everybody can  
7458 have three kids supposedly and (b) a reduced growth scenario due to birth prevention in  
7459 line with the state's intent to achieve counter-terrorism goals by optimising the Uyghur  
7460 population structure.

7461 Based on adapted projections that were recently published by Chinese researchers in a  
7462 peer-reviewed international journal, Southern Xinjiang's ethnic minority population could  
7463 increase to an estimated, and this is a conservative estimate - there could be higher  
7464 estimates than this, to an estimated 13.1 million by the year 2040 without severe  
7465 measures to prevent births, broadly based on existing family-planning, especially now  
7466 with three children. The 4.1 million discrepancy between 9 million and 13.1 million can be  
7467 understood as constituting destruction in part caused by the state's intent to optimise the  
7468 ethnic population and dilute the problem populations. This would reduce the projected  
7469 ethnic minority population in Southern Xinjiang alone. Not in other parts of Xinjiang. In the  
7470 four prefectures of Southern Xinjiang alone, this would reduce the projected ethnic  
7471 minority population in the coming twenty years by 31%, nearly one third. How realistic is  
7472 this plan?

7473 My paper goes into more detail on that. Natural population growth firstly in Southern  
7474 Xinjiang is already trending in this range +2.5 to -2.5 per mil toward that at least. In some  
7475 cases, has reached that. Recently Xinjiang told Family Planning Officers to optimise the  
7476 population structure and to carry out population monitoring and early warning also with a  
7477 view to avoid overpopulation in relation to the ecological carrying capacity. The region  
7478 has created pre-conditions for optimising the ethnic population structure. And the final  
7479 point: it no longer reports or calculates population growth by regional ethnic group leaving  
7480 the researchers in the dark and covering its tracks.

7481 These findings shed important light on Beijing's intent to physically destroy in part the  
7482 Uyghur ethnic group. Other measures aimed at achieving ethnic population changes,  
7483 such as Han in migration and Uyghur out migration, are in themselves insufficient. There  
7484 has to be systematic birth prevention and it is a matter of national security. The whole  
7485 thing here is a matter of national security. This distinguishes the situation in Xinjiang and  
7486 Southern Xinjiang from China's general policy and population control measures to other  
7487 ethnic groups, including the Han.

7488 The new findings shouldn't be seen without other impertinent aspects such as targeted  
7489 internment and imprisonment of leading community figures and elites. Many intellectuals  
7490 have been sentenced to long prison terms. Internal documents show entire families by  
7491 internments status show that the re-education campaign mainly targets heads of  
7492 households. The main influencers within families. In some regions, between 25 and 50%  
7493 of heads of households were shown as detained in camps in 2018. This strategy enables  
7494 the state to use the absence of men, husbands and fathers, to separate children from  
7495 parents and subject women to birth control surgeries.

7496 According to official data, the number of students in Xinjiang who live in boarding facilities  
7497 increased by 77% from half a million to 880 000 between 2017 and 2019. Evidence from  
7498 non-public Xinjiang government spreadsheets shows over 10,000 children, just in one  
7499 county - Yarkant County, has at least one parent in detention. 10% of them have both  
7500 parents in detention. Some are being kept in orphanages although this is mostly achieved  
7501 through boarding schooling.

7502 Beijing's population control strategy consists of a combination of internment and  
7503 imprisonment, coercive labour, parent-child separation and birth prevention. All four of  
7504 the [inaudible]. Key intellectuals and community influencers have been sentenced to long  
7505 prison terms of around twenty years removing them from cultural transmission.

7506 Forced labour separates families and enables greater state control over the next  
7507 generation. Again, a generation to adulthood is also roughly twenty years. Birth  
7508 prevention is the cornerstone of raising Han population shares and neutralising the  
7509 minorities through embedding and dilution. Over the next twenty years all of these aspects  
7510 can be expected to work enteral, just to set a sort of foreseeable time frame. Within this

7511 time frame, we can expect to see a substantial destruction in part resulting from birth  
7512 prevention together with the severe impact on the distinct identity and unique  
7513 characteristic of these groups as groups.

7514 My final statement is that the most concerning aspect of official and academic discourse  
7515 about these minorities is that they are demonised and framed as a problem, that threatens  
7516 an otherwise healthy society quoting from Sean Robert's book. Some Chinese scholars  
7517 even call it a human problem. This language is akin to purport statements by Xinjiang  
7518 officials that problem populations are like 'weeds hidden among the crops'. Out of the  
7519 same quote, where the state 'needs to spray chemicals to kill them all'. While this  
7520 statement refers to re-education itself in camps and not directly to mass slaughter, it is a  
7521 metaphor. Mind you a very problematic one. The framing of Uyghurs and others as a  
7522 human problem and their concentrated populations and growth as a threat to China's  
7523 national security is a cause for grave concern.

7524 *Counsel – You referred to the so-called second generations of ethnic policy and the calls*  
7525 *by CCP officials from 2014 to equalise minority birth rates with Han Chinese birth rates.*  
7526 *Can you tell us whether such equalisation policies are necessarily discriminatory?*

7527 AZ – Uyghur birth rates have for a long time been substantially higher than Han Chinese  
7528 birth rates one could interpret...due to both preferential policy; meaning they were officially  
7529 allowed to have more children and a laxer enforcement for cultural sensitivity reasons  
7530 because it is a Muslim region. On one level, if the state would say OK, we are now  
7531 equalising this, which it did officially in law in 2017. In 2017, the Han were also allowed in  
7532 Xinjiang if they are urban, to have two children and if they are rural, to have three children.  
7533 So, the equalising was achieved by increasing the Han birth rate quota and of course  
7534 Xinjiang also says that the stricter enforcement of birth control is a form of equalising.

7535 However, if you look at the birth rates statistics and how they decline and how Southern  
7536 Xinjiang birth and natural population growth rate is by 2019 now significantly lower, less  
7537 than half of Xinjiang and half of national. You are looking at a situation where the  
7538 prevention of Uyghur births is going to a level that is extremely dangerous for maintaining  
7539 positive population growth and, of course, states in complete contrast to the promotion of  
7540 babies now, having more children among the Han. Han are now encouraged, almost

7541 semi-coerced or exhorted to have more kids. Now, everybody can have three kids. The  
7542 contrast between that and the nature of the enforcement that Uyghurs are put into an  
7543 internment camp as punishment for exceeding birth control. That's just paying fines etc  
7544 and the drastic surge in the ratios of IUDs and also the plans for mass sterilisation,  
7545 specifically in two Uyghur counties documented my research of [...] Between 40 – 44%  
7546 of all women of child-bearing age. These are really unprecedented measures.

7547 *Counsel – You stated that from 2017 onwards the birth policy in Xinjiang did allow the*  
7548 *same number of births between Han and Uyghurs. You also stated that family planning*  
7549 *policies since 2017 have been draconian. Can you clarify whether the policy of*  
7550 *equalization itself is draconian, or the means and methods by which it is enforced or*  
7551 *implemented?*

7552 AZ – If you look at the evidence, it's a bit like with the re-education campaign. With the  
7553 re-education campaign, right before it started, they put out a new legal amendment that  
7554 makes re-education legal. Called it psychological counselling. We all know what re-  
7555 education actually is. The same is going on here, they put out a new law about equalizing  
7556 ethnic birth quotas, while in reality, both in terms of the policy enforcement in Uyghur  
7557 regions and the national birth rate and population growth declines. Speaks another  
7558 language; they speak of a suppression of ethnic minority growth rates significantly below  
7559 the Han and continuing to decline even further in 2019. After they already fell by huge  
7560 amount in 2017 and 2018. The draconian punishments to suppress them and keep them  
7561 low, very low targets, are in complete contrast with the policies for the Han. Leading to a  
7562 level where Uyghur... Uyghur natural population growth rates are below the national  
7563 average. Not equalised to even the national which wouldn't be realistic actually. You  
7564 would expect Uyghur birth rates to decline gradually and maybe development and maybe  
7565 adjustment just a little bit and then align a little bit. Now you have it like this [points  
7566 downwards with hand]. So draconian that the belief that this is just a mere equalising is  
7567 just like believing that a re-education camp does just psychological counselling.

7568 *Counsel – Is it possible to have a draconian implementation policy but still have a*  
7569 *reasonable policy objective of lower relative birth rates between the two populations, is it*  
7570 *not? Even if only theoretical?*

7571 AZ – You would have to define reasonable. If you say okay, Uyghur birth rates were very  
7572 high - maybe two to three times as high as Han. Maybe four times as high in some regions.  
7573 If you define a ‘reasonable’ policy as gradually lowering them to the level of the Han that  
7574 is one thing but if you see that within 12 or 24 months, they are in free-fall and now most  
7575 recently going below that of the Han, then the equivalence that you are making here  
7576 between a draconian enforcement of a potentially reasonable policy...I would question  
7577 the definition of ‘reasonable policy’ because I think a draconian enforcement of a  
7578 ‘reasonable policy’ might, yes it might bring it down quite a bit but not below Han level.  
7579 Even so it would not be at that speed. Because if you are aiming for really low then you  
7580 shoot lower faster. If you are just aiming at equalising, you would have a slightly different  
7581 trajectory.

7582 *Counsel – You selected Southern Xinjiang for your study, is it because of the Uyghur*  
7583 *majority prefecture are in the South as opposed to the North?*

7584 AZ – Yes. The North has individual counties with significant Uyghur population shares,  
7585 but approximately 80% of the Uyghur population is in Southern Xinjiang. I did this in order  
7586 to focus on the projection. If you are trying to extrapolate the Chinese population  
7587 projection from Hotan prefecture, beyond Southern Xinjiang you end up with more  
7588 problems. And also, in the narratives, there is a quantitative analysis reason for doing so  
7589 but there is also a qualitative analysis reason because the narrative focuses on Southern  
7590 Xinjiang, which has been the location of acts of violent resistance, bomb-attacks, etc and  
7591 the highest concentration of Uyghurs.

7592 *Counsel – You stated in your report that academics associated with the state or state*  
7593 *officials see the population distribution in Northern Xinjiang as reasonable. Would it be*  
7594 *correct to say that draconian enforcement of the equalisation policy is therefore not as*  
7595 *pronounced in the North as opposed to the South?*

7596 AZ – Yes and no. It is draconian enforcement in Uyghur counties that are outside of the  
7597 four Uyghur majority prefectures, such as in Bayangol. But some of the threats of  
7598 internment, we see at some of these Uyghur majority counties but on the whole there is  
7599 clear that the enforcement and targets are specifically focused on Southern Xinjiang.

7600 *Counsel – Would it be correct to say that there is a clear distinction here between*  
7601 *equalisation of birth rates and equalisation of population growth between Uyghurs and*  
7602 *Han?*

7603 AZ – You mean equalising birth rates and natural population growth between Uyghurs  
7604 and Han?

7605 *Counsel – Yes. On the one hand you equalise birth rates and on the other hand you*  
7606 *equalise the proportions of the population. There are two distinct concepts.*

7607 AZ – Yes, academics and official statements make a clear link between the need to  
7608 optimise the ethnic population ration, meaning increasing the Han population, and the  
7609 need to achieve so, not just by Han in migration but also curbing, some say drastically  
7610 curbing, Uyghur population growth. Yes, there is a very clear link between the two.

7611 *Counsel – Is it correct to say it is not official state policy to equalise population numbers,*  
7612 *i.e., to equalise the number of Uyghurs and Han within a prefecture?*

7613 AZ – The officially stated policy target is to balance or optimize the population, which  
7614 leaves open a number of things...without directly saying that this refers to Uyghur  
7615 proportion needs to be reduced. Except for the statement by Liu Yilei, although that's not  
7616 a policy. Not a written policy statement. We are making some inferences from the  
7617 substantial body of discourses in statements and constraints and from what is already  
7618 going on. It is very common like with the re-education camps. We often don't have the  
7619 one single smoking gun statement that says we are doing this.

7620 *Counsel – Is the decline, between 2015 and 2018 of combined natural population growth*  
7621 *rates in Southern Xinjiang of 73.5%, is that consistent with an equalisation in birth or is*  
7622 *this in practice tending towards absolute decline in population growth?*

7623 AZ – This decline is in some ways both. It does bring Southern Xinjiang closer to Xinjiang  
7624 as a whole but at the same time...I think by 2018, we see a strong alignment through this  
7625 decline. Starting, especially, in 2019, but for some regions already in 2018, we see even  
7626 that it goes below. Southern Xinjiang goes below Xinjiang; below the national. Some

7627 Uyghur majority counties in 2018 even started having a slightly negative birth rate or just  
7628 above 0. So significantly below.

7629 *Counsel – Is it not possible that the authorities could forcibly sterilise the vast majority of*  
7630 *women in one or even in most prefectures in the South of Xinjiang but that overall, they*  
7631 *can maintain an equalisation policy for the whole of Xinjiang?*

7632 AZ – If you sterilise up to a certain percentage of women, then you technically still could  
7633 have plenty of other women to still give birth and maintain an equal birth rate. You also  
7634 have to take into account, however, that the Han birth rate in Xinjiang was negative  
7635 because it was affected by Han out migration leaving Xinjiang. There were also declines  
7636 in birth rates among the Han that can be attributed some of these population shifts and  
7637 population dynamics which can be corroborated with witness statements published by  
7638 media by Han who are saying ‘we are getting out of here’.

7639 The question is what is your baseline. If you accept a baseline a little bit before that, the  
7640 difference becomes even more pronounced. Maybe you could set the baseline to the rest  
7641 of China but even if you did that, the question is... my projection or quantification of the  
7642 destruction in part is based on the manifest intent of the Uyghur population. The Uyghur  
7643 population has sought and wanted to have certain numbers of births of children that are  
7644 significantly higher than Han population. In my opinion, the baseline for Chinese  
7645 government policy to assess genocide is not just or maybe shouldn't be the Han birth  
7646 rates especially under certain circumstances. It should be the demonstrated historic intent  
7647 of the Uyghur population.

7648 Sorry if that was a counter-point to your question.

7649 *Counsel – You quote the Deputy Secretary-General of the Party Committee of the*  
7650 *Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC) saying the 15% Han Chinese*  
7651 *population in Southern Xinjiang is too low and it needs to be higher to achieve the better*  
7652 *proportion. Now, assuming that that policy is pursued, do you think a proportion of 50/50*  
7653 *Uyghur Han birth rate would satisfy the XPCC and others who raised concerns about*  
7654 *population imbalance?*

7655 AZ – In my research paper, I have taken... narrowed it a little bit to the four prefectures of  
7656 Southern Xinjiang where this share is not 15% but 8% even, much more problematic. In  
7657 my opinion, taking various things into account, to satisfy these requirements at a minimum  
7658 it would have to increase to 25% in these four prefectures. That means in the five  
7659 prefectures that Liu Yilei referred to with the 15% Han share, the Han share would then  
7660 probably have to increase to 30% or 35% to be more similar to the average in Xinjiang,  
7661 which is 34%.

7662 I argue that in the four prefectures under consideration you will have to at least have 25%,  
7663 which is still lower than the whole rest of Xinjiang but at least you could embed half of the  
7664 Uyghur population. You could embed in some way in a 50:50 setting for which you would  
7665 have to have 25% Han. That's how I argue. I stand by that – so 25%.

7666 *Counsel – If that percentage stopped, would you argue that intent is the biological*  
7667 *destruction of Uyghurs in part?*

7668 AZ – At that point, a crucial objective, a minimum level would have been achieved. The  
7669 question is it is unpredictable how the intent will change. There is a possibility that the  
7670 intent would then be achieved. They would not let the Uyghur population grow  
7671 significantly. There are reasons who speak against that mainly the policing costs, the  
7672 assimilation problem, the surveillance and everything. So, they might then allow for a  
7673 natural population growth that is a little bit above 0 or maybe slightly similar to the Han. I  
7674 think they will still want to reduce it, because in 20 years and even at 50% embedding  
7675 there will still be a risk. People who have been traumatised in the internment camps.  
7676 There are significant doubts that they would stop at that but they would review their  
7677 policies if there were more problems. If Uyghurs start violent terrorist attacks, they might  
7678 go for much higher. They might not stop until it is double that. We don't know, I think there  
7679 is a good chance they would continue to suppress Uyghur birth rates. I am almost certain  
7680 that they would suppress Uyghur birth rates significantly below that used to be when the  
7681 Uyghur could have more freedom to have as many children as they wanted.

7682 *Counsel – Is there a risk that with such widespread sterilisation in Southern Xinjiang, the*  
7683 *population may collapse completely?*

7684 AZ – I argued in my paper that it is unlikely that they will reduce birth rate to 0 because  
7685 that would cause a collapse of the education system. It would become very obvious to  
7686 external observer. It would cause a collapse of society in many ways. It would go against...  
7687 I have always maintained that the aim is to totally integrate the Uyghurs. I think the  
7688 complete annihilation of the Uyghurs; its physical annihilation is unlikely. I think, that  
7689 unless there was a major emergency, and they think they didn't have much of a choice,  
7690 they would always try to maintain a Uyghur population and a certain birth rate.

7691 *Counsel – You've looked into the carrying capacity for Xinjiang and identified that*  
7692 *Southern Xinjiang can only absorb a certain amount of Han Chinese and that the current*  
7693 *population of Xinjiang is almost at capacity. How is that consistent with reducing Uyghur*  
7694 *population numbers but significantly increasing Han Chinese numbers without birth*  
7695 *restriction, subsequently on the Han Chinese?*

7696 AZ – Han Chinese natural population rate has been very low. They have stopped the  
7697 report. The distinction between Han and Uyghur population growth a while ago but for the  
7698 XPCC regions, which are predominately Han. Han natural population growth in the last  
7699 7-8 years it has been below 1.5% per mil. Very low. It is more expensive to bring in Han,  
7700 to attract Han and prevent them from leaving. They would be stupid to try to prevent Han  
7701 births in these regions. Even though birth control policy was applied to the Han and is  
7702 being applied to the Han. I think they try to maintain some level of consistency but, of  
7703 course, for the Han the natural population growth is below the quota. Below new one of  
7704 three, which is three kids for everybody. They want to bring in Han, not 10 million, about  
7705 1.9 million would be enough to achieve the 25% goal if they can reduce Uyghur population  
7706 growth and slightly reduce the Uyghur population.

7707 *Counsel – On the empirical basis for meeting the test of genocide: do you accept that you*  
7708 *could have measures intended to restrict birth, but that not all measures intended to*  
7709 *restrict births are necessarily intended to destroy a group physically or biologically?*

7710 AZ – Certainly. They are not trying to commit genocide on the Han majority even though  
7711 there were drastic curbs. It is a matter of interpretation and of the relationship. I think you  
7712 need to look at what is the relationship; what is the percentage, for example, of the  
7713 destruction that could result in part from long-term birth prevention. In this case, if it is

7714 between 20 and 30%, possibly over 30%. That is very significant. Especially if you  
7715 combine that with other measures to attack the group as in attacking the elites, separating  
7716 parents from children, looking at that in tandem, I think that's really huge in terms of a  
7717 genocidal determination.

7718 I would agree that you could have measures to prevent births that - it depends on the  
7719 magnitude and the intentionality. So, what is the resulting quantifiable destruction, in  
7720 terms of loss of life, firstly, and secondly, what is the intent behind it? The intent to dilute  
7721 and embed that is not just a physical destruction through birth prevention but there is also  
7722 an identity destruction of the identity of a group, as a group is also reflected in the  
7723 embedding and dilution. You have kind of a dual thing and I know some who view the  
7724 genocide determination a little bit more physical, others see a bit more of the distinct  
7725 group as a group and yet others see both of them as significant. Population optimisation  
7726 relates effectively to both of them.

7727 *Counsel – I have four short propositions derive from you report: Firstly, you state that it is*  
7728 *unlikely that birth would be reduced to 0 because that would quickly become noticeable.*  
7729 *Secondly, you state that there is likely to remain some restrictions in Han birth rate due*  
7730 *to carrying capacity in the region, so Han will be subject to some form of birth restrictions*  
7731 *even if less disproportionately than against Uyghurs. Third, you argue that the state does*  
7732 *not wish to see societal collapse, or educational collapse, or indeed heightened*  
7733 *international scrutiny, so the population is managed rather than eliminated. Fourth, you*  
7734 *have accepted that forced labour programmes and re-education programmes do not*  
7735 *permanently render Uyghurs estranged from Xinjiang. Are these four propositions*  
7736 *consistent with an intent to physically or biologically destroy the Uyghurs?*

7737 AZ – Regarding the second point, I would seek some correction. I have said that family  
7738 planning restrictions have also been applied in Han regions, however, we now see the  
7739 promotion of up to three children and even policies planned that promote that which is  
7740 significantly above current Han birth rate. For Southern Xinjiang it would be especially not  
7741 interested to suppress Han birth rates because of the targeted embedding. So, I would sort  
7742 of disagree with this statement about family...applied family planning in Xinjiang. I think  
7743 it is basically irrelevant especially with the latest point on three children.

7744 Generally, I think it is not likely that they would try to, through birth prevention, eliminate  
7745 physically all Uyghur population. The aim is not to bring them down to 0 but to cut them  
7746 drastically, significantly, especially in order to manage their identity and who they are for  
7747 assimilation means we see a very likely very substantial birth prevention. Now genocide  
7748 determination is another matter. I am not an expert on genocide determination so I would  
7749 actually ask not to answer this question. Because genocide determination could be made  
7750 even if 10% of a population is destroyed. You don't need, and I think a lot of experts would  
7751 say that on genocide and I am not an expert on genocide. A lot of experts would say that  
7752 the complete physical destruction, like a 0 birth rate of 100 years whatever... that is not  
7753 necessary apparently for genocide determination because it has a wider, more complex  
7754 meaning. A question - whether these three points whether have left standing of yours  
7755 contradict...genocide determination is not for me to answer.

7756 *Panel - Your focus on birth rates is predicated on stability of the mortality rate. Could you*  
7757 *confirm that that really is stable in the Uyghur population? Could you tell me the sensitivity*  
7758 *of the mortality rates analysis? What's sort of change would you be capable of detecting?*

7759 AZ – The reported mortality rates in Xinjiang can fluctuate in quite interesting ways. Not  
7760 all of which I would say might be consistent or I fully understand. I would not say that  
7761 mortality rates is my area of expertise. I would very much like to preface it by saying that.  
7762 However, the numbers are relatively stable. More or less. There is a stability to those  
7763 numbers on the whole. Some individual regions have some fluctuation. Maybe slight  
7764 declines. I do not think that mortality rates are sort of colouring this analysis in an overly  
7765 drastic way but they would influence it and this would ideally be subjected to further  
7766 research.

7767 *Panel – How confident can we be that the quotations you made from Chinese academics*  
7768 *are a true reflection of central party policy?*

7769 AZ – Several of them come from so-called scholar cadres both government officials.  
7770 Some in a fairly high position. Also, these institutions where they work at are closely  
7771 affiliated with the government. In some cases, like the Chinese Academy of Sciences, is  
7772 strongly affiliated and funded by the central government and has historically influenced  
7773 central government policy. These academic studies inform policy. They make demands

7774 and if you see, of course they are not free of censorship, they all follow an official line, an  
7775 official thinking and, if you see, a high degree of consistency between statements,  
7776 discourses and conclusions and demands made by these statements. It is often a matter  
7777 of time before they become policy or especially if it more sensitive, they already reflect  
7778 policy. We see the same pattern, for example the calls for counter-terrorism measures to  
7779 change thinking. We see the same sort of pattern with the labour transfers, the labour  
7780 problem and labour transfers become more and more enforced and the problem of the  
7781 Uyghurs not sticking with labour transfers and them leaving, and not being enforced and  
7782 they are not skilled enough and they are not good enough for the Chinese bosses. That  
7783 is happening now. Same with counter-terrorism, re-education, eliminating and rooting out  
7784 the extremism, that is also happening now.

7785 *Panel – If at the moment, all women having compulsory birth control, there is going to be*  
7786 *a time when there will not be enough women to work – how will this play out?*

7787 AZ – You are saying that compulsory birth control leads to women not to be able to go  
7788 out of the house?

7789 *Panel – In time, there won't be many babies yet you say that they need the workforce to*  
7790 *get women out into the textile factories. You haven't got enough Han there anywhere and*  
7791 *you seem to be having difficulty in getting them in – there seems to be a labour problem*  
7792 *in the future?*

7793 AZ – It would create an imbalance between generations in terms of the workforce  
7794 sustaining how many elderly which China currently has. The main goal of labour transfer  
7795 is arguably, not economic or cheap labour, that is side benefit. The main goal is control  
7796 population and to shift around population and prevent the threat of Uyghurs being idle  
7797 and hanging around and not being busy. They are shifting them into controlled factories  
7798 which they can't just leave. There is a fence, a camera, can't go to the mosque on Friday  
7799 because they are working. The kids are at boarding schools. Families are separated. The  
7800 main goal of labour transfers is not economic and therefore I would say the argument you  
7801 make is severely impacted by that fact. Long-term generational demographic imbalance  
7802 would be created by such low birth rates but I think they would accept that. Let the old  
7803 generation die out and the shrinking smaller population is easier to assimilate and

7804 indoctrinate. The whole population dimension and my new research shows this: the  
7805 primary consideration, the national security consideration of the Chinese state is to  
7806 manage the population.

7807 *Panel – Can you impute anything into suspension of the data about the number of births*  
7808 *as split between indigenous and majority population?*

7809 AZ – Yes, I believe I have imputed and I can be more implicit. They are no longer reporting  
7810 births or birth control measures, population counts by prefecture and county, breakdown  
7811 by ethnicity. There is no independent or academic way to ascertain based on any official  
7812 data, which they could make up. I think they prefer not to report it. It is impossible to  
7813 assess - birth rate projections that I have shown you and that other researchers have.  
7814 They are impossible. 2019 may be the last year where we can have any meaningful  
7815 subsample of any kind and that's it. After that, they may throw around propaganda number  
7816 that can't be verified and has no breakdown. That's what they want. They can cover their  
7817 tracks and that's also why I think just a slightly negative population growth, slightly over  
7818 20 years, reducing Uyghurs by 450,000 which would be easy to cover up if you don't  
7819 publish detailed data. I see it as a direct link. It is piece of evidence for what they are  
7820 doing to be blunt.

7821

7822 *Panel – What was the particular haste to publish your article? Can we be certain of the*  
7823 *robustness of the peer-reviewing process for that paper?*

7824 AZ – Yes. The peer-review was expedited but not by reducing quality but by asking peer  
7825 reviewers to turn around in shorter time-frame than the usual several months. What  
7826 happens in peer review is that it sits on your desk until you got around it and most  
7827 academics read it in a couple of days and then write a report. This is a process that you  
7828 can condense down to a few weeks if you cut out the slack. In fact, what happened in my  
7829 case was the opposite, I knew it would be publicised and feature at the tribunal and  
7830 everything. The journal went the other way and slapped me with a few extra peer  
7831 reviewers, which also meant that I nearly wasn't able to testify on this today. Production  
7832 is not happening yet but the manuscript has been accepted for peer review and the final

7833 version will be copy edited now and will come out in a bit. I had 4 peer reviewers, instead  
7834 of 2 or 3 there were 4 peer reviewers look at this paper.

7835 *Panel – I am well aware of how peer-reviewing works. What was the haste?*

7836 AZ – I asked the journal to do speedy peer review that would give reviewers appropriate  
7837 time but not drag it out for several months and I hoped that it would be published in time  
7838 as genocide determinations are being made. It is a significant piece of research. The main  
7839 consideration was quality and the journal did that. The journal said yes, we can. Said...we  
7840 will ask peer reviewers if they can review it in a certain time-frame but not at expense of  
7841 quality. The expense of quality was never a consideration. Then they invited more peer  
7842 reviewers to look at the statistics and to look at the whole thing again. We ended up with  
7843 a more thorough peer reviewed than is normal as a result.

7844 *Panel – A broader question. It requires enormous financial resources to run these*  
7845 *policies, the surveillance, the detention facilities, etc, do you have any sense of budgets*  
7846 *allocated to these purposes?*

7847 AZ – In 2017-2018, I published three articles in total, the \*Jamestown Foundation\* on  
7848 China's domestic security budget, especially on the near doubling of this budget in  
7849 Xinjiang between 2016 and 2017. Then a follow-up piece looking at multiplying in one  
7850 case and even quadrupling on expenses on specific categories e.g., detention centre  
7851 management and some larger spending, which you would use for the surveillance system  
7852 and infrastructure including quite likely the internment camps. These papers were  
7853 published and they contain detailed breakdowns of the cost. Since then, it is hard to trace  
7854 spending. Since 2017/2018, some of these budgets are no longer published but they were  
7855 staggering percentage increases.

7856 *Panel – The officials and academics that have you drawn to our attention and others that*  
7857 *you have evidence of what they have said on the optimisation policy, which is the most*  
7858 *senior, the highest authority, amongst all of those?*

7859 AZ – Liu Yilei from the XPCC and I would also mention Li Xiaoxia – a very high profile  
7860 academic and she wrote the main kind of new population report of Xinjiang that came out  
7861 in 2021, which was largely a refutation of my work from last year and really thought to

7862 challenge the international criticism and based on her report the Chinese embassy in New  
7863 York tweeted that Uyghurs are no longer baby making machines. Liu Yilei undoubtedly is  
7864 the highest.

7865 *Panel – I would like to draw on your experience with long-term plans in China. Amongst*  
7866 *the material that the tribunal has been presented with was one document said to be 40-*  
7867 *year 3 Points CCP Plan – how credible is it, if it is, what could be its source? It broadens*  
7868 *into geopolitics and it overlaps with some of what you have been saying. The first part is*  
7869 *2014: assimilation of ethnic groups...how credible is it? I will say the main points for*  
7870 *everyone's benefit. Elimination of those who don't assimilate and in 2016, in the North of*  
7871 *the region... that's the first point. Second point is 2020 – 2025: controlling neighbouring*  
7872 *countries, Kirgizstan, Kazakhstan and other borderlands due to the BRI and the third point*  
7873 *is 2025-2055: China on focusing to extend influence in Europe. Could you tell us what*  
7874 *you think about this?*

7875 AZ – This is not my own research and I have not spent time on verifying it. I can only state  
7876 limited points on it but I am not a main authority on it. That's the limitation on what I can  
7877 say about it. A somewhat similar statement albeit a somewhat different was published by  
7878 Bitter Winter through interviews with Kazakh witnesses, which was the testimony of a  
7879 person who attended regular flag raising ceremonies – and some sort of similar scheme  
7880 is what was taught to ethnic minorities during flag raising.

7881 I have also been told by the publisher of the German book of this witness, Sayragul  
7882 Sauytbay - who testified as to this, that there are one or two others who have similar  
7883 statements against which this could be corroborated. I requested from the German author  
7884 of the book so that I could take a look at this. What I think is based on this limited available  
7885 evidence and what Mrs Sauytbay said herself about this. She said she believes this was  
7886 done in order to scare and discourage detainees to show them that China has plan to  
7887 dominate the world, especially starting in Central Asia, which is significant because  
7888 Central Asia might be the only hope in this Kazakh majority region. It is strategic to say  
7889 we will hold influence over other countries so that they have to do what we tell them but  
7890 then it is gonna go to Europe you know and etc. So, you can't put your hope into these  
7891 countries. We control you; you are ours and if you collaborate with us you will benefit from

7892 it on the long term. To me this makes sense. However, in itself this is not a corroboration  
7893 of this document. Further corroboration would be helpful.

7894 *Panel – Who could we go to for corroboration?*

7895 AZ – I can put you in touch with the respective person and I would recommend this. Do  
7896 consider the interpretation given by Sauytbay and others as to why they think this is being  
7897 taught.

7898 *Panel – If it is credible where would it have come from in the CCP?*

7899 AZ – This is a difficult and interesting question. In terms of general authorship of this  
7900 whole internment campaign and plan, I have some speculations in my February 2020  
7901 paper on the Karakax list, where I argue that this is premediated and must have come  
7902 from Beijing. We have some other corroboration of that, scattered bits. Telling detainees  
7903 something like this, I am not sure if the government in Xinjiang, Chen Quanguo, had the  
7904 authority to single-handedly say OK that's what we will do. That's true or not. They could  
7905 tell this to detainees regardless of whether it's an actual real plan or not. It could be a  
7906 psychological strategy but who knows. It would have to be authorised by the central  
7907 government, if I you look at Xi Jinping and his leadership style, I think that a lot of things,  
7908 especially significant things have to be authorised by him and I am not entirely sure how  
7909 much free reign Chen Quanguo has... I think he has some but my impression is that this  
7910 was ultimately authorised by Beijing.

7911 *Panel – In your report, you talk about incentives to bring Han into the region with promises*  
7912 *of free land, housing, education and government jobs – when did these incentives come*  
7913 *about? Can we link them to confiscation of property/land and those people who lost their*  
7914 *government jobs who ended up in detention or prison?*

7915 AZ – Starting in 2016, with Chen Quanguo, you had a real increase in the advertisement  
7916 for police jobs but then also of Chinese language teaching jobs in Uyghur regions and a  
7917 lot of them targeting Eastern China. Of course, that would be a way to get people in.  
7918 Some of the teaching jobs especially promised free housing and other benefits. The police  
7919 jobs came with different benefits. Certainly not all of them would have promised free  
7920 housing. Then we find more dedicated advertising and I have to look...out of my head it

7921 is a bit difficult but I am pretty sure this would be in 2017 that they ramped up some effort  
7922 to attract Han to the region through promises of land, housing etc... Like a direct colonial  
7923 settler strategy. In 2018, we have the official policy published. Ideally, a bit more research  
7924 would be done on that to see if that aligns and then of course, land confiscation – much  
7925 more anecdotal or limited evidence to find correlations. That should ideally be a bit of a  
7926 dedicated research effort, which I have not conducted at this point.

7927 *Panel – Anyone doing this research?*

7928 AZ – I get so many requests. It seems I have gotten some requests by somebody. I can't  
7929 disclose this publicly. Some work has been done on this.

7930 *Panel – I want to follow on from my colleague's reference to the forty-year plan. The PRC*  
7931 *is well known for long term plans, your research draws a line or makes a relationship*  
7932 *between academic study from leading Chinese academics and state policy. In your*  
7933 *opinion, and from that you infer intentionality, does a further link need to be made between*  
7934 *existing policies and long-term planning to determine intentionality?*

7935 AZ – Intentionality on birth prevention?

7936 *Panel – Intentionality on questions around genocide, for example.*

7937 AZ – In general, yes. As an empirical researcher, I hope to always see more empirical  
7938 evidence, as much as possible. For purposes of a genocide determination, I think the  
7939 evidence is quite sufficient. The reason for that is, that a genocide determination,  
7940 arguably, is not been made against a country as it is against an individual human being  
7941 – you convict a human being of being a perpetrator of genocide on the highest bar of  
7942 evidence, the presumption of innocence and safeguards. But to determine whether a  
7943 country could be engaged in an on-going or planned genocide in order to meet obligations  
7944 to prevent genocide, making a determination of a country doing a genocide in order to  
7945 meet obligations; treaty obligations to prevent it, that is a different standard. That is what  
7946 I argue with a colleague, Erin Rosenberg actually, if we take the latter, which I think is the  
7947 more appropriate one, although legal experts would speak better to that, to determine this  
7948 intentionality on that level, rather than trying to convict an individual on the presumption  
7949 of evidence, I think the evidence is quite strong.

7950 *Panel – We have heard from a number of witnesses that, faced with forced abortions, the*  
7951 *possibility of children of two or three in Xinjiang. There are possibilities of paying a fine to*  
7952 *escape from that – is that official system? Are you able to maintain the increase in your*  
7953 *family by paying a fine or money in other form or is that something that happens on a*  
7954 *more informal basis?*

7955 AZ – It is an official system that you have to pay a fine if you have a child in excess of  
7956 birth quota. The system also at the same time; this formal system was exploited informally  
7957 allowing Uyghurs to pay officials off in order to have more children. Often that is how they  
7958 were able to have more children. It was a formal system – the formal system did not exist  
7959 to enable Uyghurs to have more children, which is pay money. It was meant as a deterrent  
7960 and other problems could come with it. We see that this changed significantly, even  
7961 though fines remained. They were increased but remained.

7962 We see another factors in 2017 and 2018, the threat of internment. Now, I think the  
7963 strategy has completely shifted. In the past, both with policing and pre-empting attacks  
7964 and with birth control, the state was kind of running behind. A knife or bomb attack and  
7965 then oh you have to come in. Or there are too many kids, so you come in. Now the state  
7966 works preventatively. Preventative policing. Preventative birth control. You plug their  
7967 vaginas, so women cannot physically have children without state permission. IUDs are  
7968 non-removable except through surgery by a state-approved institution or you sterilise or  
7969 do whatever is needed. The preventative method greatly changes the dynamics of the  
7970 whole system but preventing unplanned births outside of state control from taking place  
7971 in the first place. That's why you have the zero-birth violation policy, a term that I used in  
7972 my research from last year. I cite it again in this current research, zero-birth evaluation  
7973 policy. That is how you achieve that not by running behind and collecting fines...You  
7974 achieve it through preventative birth prevention.

7975 *Panel – The linkage between academic statements and policy – it this because, on the*  
7976 *one hand, in a state like China, it would be impossible for academics, certainly senior*  
7977 *academics like this to publish statements like that, unless they reflected government*  
7978 *policy this but still gives the government one step of deniability so to speak? Or is there*

7979 *a policy around somewhere and we just haven't found the statement by a government*  
7980 *official?*

7981 AZ – If the Chinese state would publish as policy that it is reducing the Uygur population,  
7982 it might as well put out a policy to say they are putting millions of people in camps. Just  
7983 to preface my response. There are of course things the Chinese government will never  
7984 say officially. Oftentimes we find a precursor to action a policy in academic statements as  
7985 I have said before. The answer is yes to one of your points.

7986 We find, for example, calls for more coercive labour transfers, systematic labour transfers  
7987 in academic publishing. We find calls for much tougher calls for counterterrorism and re-  
7988 education in publishing. So, yes. They cannot just wildly throw around their own ideas,  
7989 they can to some extent but if twenty of them agree on the same thing more or less, of  
7990 course you can see a pattern. That's within the approved. Then you also have the scholar  
7991 cadres who have much more...like Liu Yileu for example, who have much more direct  
7992 political power, also. Their statements, I think, especially in front of these experts at the  
7993 symposium have to be taken at a different level. That is the second layer of evidence.

7994 I would argue for and the third layer of evidence is actual policy. We have actual policy  
7995 evidence. It just doesn't say: we gonna do what I wrote in my research paper. You know  
7996 there is the directive from Xi Jinping about optimising the population structure in Southern  
7997 Xinjiang and using the exact same term terminology as in these academic papers  
7998 published before. We have the mandate for family planning officers to optimise or balance  
7999 the population. Again, referring to the same. We can of course refer to other  
8000 things...balancing the gender ratio. Can refer to a number of things but also it certainly  
8001 refers to that in the Xinjiang context.

8002 We have the data point of the birth rate declining and we also have further policy evidence  
8003 of officers to forecast population growth, population early warning system. In one chapter  
8004 in my report, I make this very strong link between the carrying capacity research funded  
8005 by the early warning project and the early warning project being implemented after that.  
8006 Government officials saying it, the link is even stronger, for population carrying capacity  
8007 we have the strongest link to policy. I think we have evidence on three levels.

8008 *Panel – Your reports seem to assume that there may be legal ways of forcing birth control,*  
8009 *is that correct? Is your report premised on the fact that people can be forced to have birth*  
8010 *control? To have their bodies invaded by IUDs. Is it legal? Is there any country which has*  
8011 *forced birth control on people and if tested as lawful, found it to be in compliance with*  
8012 *human rights?*

8013 AZ – My research doesn't assume that anything that China does is necessary legal, it  
8014 doesn't evaluate legality or morality whether specifically in Chinese law or generally. I  
8015 keep my personal opinion out of it. I think it is inappropriate and morally abhorrent to make  
8016 women get IUDs inserted against their will. That's my personal opinion kept out of the  
8017 research. Women might be willing to have that done. On questions of legality, I would be  
8018 careful. I would remain in own field of expertise and I do not feel that I am up o  
8019 commenting on legality of things.

8020 *Panel – It is not for us but I know that it's for some people. Were there to be any*  
8021 *inclinations soon/fairly soon on the part of the PRC to become fully compliant with human*  
8022 *rights – what sort of change in policy could meet their objectives?*

8023 AZ – If China did nothing to prevent Uyghur births, we would see a significant increase. I  
8024 have sought to quantify this based on Chinese researchers' own research and I have  
8025 taken lowest prediction and also cut it by an additional 30% because we are using Hotan  
8026 as the basis for four different prefectures. I am using very conservative caveats built in. It  
8027 is entirely possible that the ethnic minority population by 2040 would not just go to 13.1  
8028 million, it could be below that for various reasons. People can change their mind but it  
8029 could be 15 million, 14 million is an easy projection, it could be higher. It could go beyond  
8030 that. The longer you go out, the more imprecise the projection becomes; that's one of the  
8031 reasons why I limited it to 2014. Also, to have a more imminent policy. In twenty years,  
8032 you will have a policy risen so absolutely. It is inconceivable, how many million Han would  
8033 they have to bring in to archive 25% or more of Han and then the carrying capacity...in  
8034 my opinion, entirely inconceivable which is the argument of my paper is, they have to  
8035 systematically to prevent millions of births.

8036 *Panel – With your experience, is your report bound to draw criticism from PRC or fellow*  
8037 *academics? To plan whether to allow colleagues more questions or not and await*  
8038 *challenge to your report until September hearings.*

8039 AZ – I see some denialist corner who may try to launch criticisms and with a population  
8040 projection, you can always criticise something. I am not claiming it is 100% accurate. It is  
8041 a broad estimate just like internment figures, they are very broad estimates. They give us  
8042 an impression of scale. If you say I might anticipate significant justified constructive  
8043 criticism on this work, I would be surprised given peer review process and other informal  
8044 comments I have received in the process, I would be surprised if there were problematic  
8045 level of criticism. I am happy to be back either way.

8046

8047 *Panel – If my colleagues might make requests in writing, would you reply to those in order*  
8048 *to assist in the meantime?*

8049 AZ – I would be happy to reply in writing and I can certainly testify by video again in  
8050 September.