

**Hearing on Enforcing the Ban on Imports  
Produced by Forced Labor in Xinjiang**

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HEARING  
BEFORE THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
ONE HUNDRED SIXTEENTH CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION

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September 17, 2020

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**Serial No. 116-56**

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**HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS & MEANS**  
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# ***ADVISORY***

## **FROM THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
September 10, 2020

CONTACT: (202) 225-3625  
No. TR-8

### **Chairman Blumenauer Announces a Trade Subcommittee Hearing on Enforcing the Ban on Imports Produced by Forced Labor in Xinjiang**

House Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee Chairman Earl Blumenauer announced today that the Subcommittee will hold a hearing on “Enforcing the Ban on Imports Produced by Forced Labor in Xinjiang” on Thursday, September 17, 2020, at 12:00 PM EDT.

This hearing will take place remotely via Cisco Webex video conferencing. Members of the public may view the hearing via live webcast available at [www.waysandmeans.house.gov](http://www.waysandmeans.house.gov). The webcast will not be available until the hearing starts.

In view of the limited time available to hear witnesses, oral testimony at this hearing will be from invited witnesses only. However, any individual or organization not scheduled for an oral appearance may submit a written statement for consideration by the Committee and for inclusion in the printed record of the hearing.

#### **DETAILS FOR SUBMISSION OF WRITTEN COMMENTS:**

Please Note: Any person(s) and/or organization(s) wishing to submit written comments for the hearing record must follow the appropriate link on the hearing page of the Committee website and complete the informational forms. From the Committee homepage, <http://waysandmeans.house.gov>, select “Hearings.” Select the hearing for which you would like to make a submission, and click on the link entitled, “Click here to provide a submission for the record.” Once you have followed the online instructions, submit all requested information. ATTACH your submission as a Word document, in compliance

with the formatting requirements listed below, **by the close of business on Thursday, October 1, 2020**. For questions, or if you encounter technical problems, please call (202) 225-3625.

#### **FORMATTING REQUIREMENTS:**

The Committee relies on electronic submissions for printing the official hearing record. As always, submissions will be included in the record according to the discretion of the Committee. The Committee will not alter the content of your submission, but reserves the right to format it according to guidelines. Any submission provided to the Committee by a witness, any materials submitted for the printed record, and any written comments in response to a request for written comments must conform to the guidelines listed below. Any submission not in compliance with these guidelines will not be printed, but will be maintained in the Committee files for review and use by the Committee.

All submissions and supplementary materials must be submitted in a single document via email, provided in Word format and must not exceed a total of 10 pages. Witnesses and submitters are advised that the Committee relies on electronic submissions for printing the official hearing record.

All submissions must include a list of all clients, persons and/or organizations on whose behalf the witness appears. The name, company, address, telephone, and fax numbers of each witness must be included in the body of the email. Please exclude any personal identifiable information in the attached submission.

Failure to follow the formatting requirements may result in the exclusion of a submission. All submissions for the record are final.

The Committee seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you require special accommodations, please call (202) 225-3625 in advance of the event (four business days' notice is requested). Questions regarding special accommodation needs in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats) may be directed to the Committee as noted above.

**Note:** All Committee advisories and news releases are available at <http://www.waysandmeans.house.gov/>

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**Enforcing the Ban on Imports  
Produced by Forced Labor in Xinjiang**  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Subcommittee on Trade,  
Committee on Ways and Means,  
Washington, D.C

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**WITNESSES**

**MS. RUSHAN ABBAS**

Executive Director, Campaign for Uyghurs

[Witness Statement](#)

**MR. SCOTT NOVA**

Executive Director, Worker Rights Consortium

[Witness Statement](#)

**MS. AMY LEHR**

Director and Senior Fellow, Human Rights Initiative, Center for Strategic and International Studies

[Witness Statement](#)

**MS. CATHY FEINGOLD**

Director, International Department, AFL-CIO

[Witness Statement](#)

**MR. STEPHEN LAMAR**

President and CEO, American Apparel & Footwear Association

[Witness Statement](#)

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The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 12:04 p.m., via Webex, Hon. Earl Blumenauer [chairman of the subcommittee] presiding.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. The committee will come to order. Good afternoon, and welcome. We appreciate everybody joining us today. It is a little bit awkward, with the votes going on, but we will work around it to make as much progress as we can.

Notwithstanding, we have got a great turnout. And I would like to begin by acknowledging the strong bipartisan teamwork that made today possible. I appreciate what our Republican colleagues did, with their staff working with our staff. They brought together a great panel of witnesses to move this hearing forward.

We are holding the hearing virtually, in compliance with the regulations for remote committee proceedings, pursuant to House Resolution 965. This authority has allowed us to continue to do our work on behalf of the American people, while keeping our staff, families, and the broader community safe.

While we all have started to become familiar with navigating this technology, more or less, I want to remind members of a few procedures.

First, consistent with the regulations, the committee will keep microphones muted to limit background noise. Members are responsible for unmuting themselves when they seek recognition, or when recognized for their five minutes.

Second, members and witnesses must have their cameras on at all times. If you need to step away from the proceedings, please leave your camera on, rather than logging off.

Third, as we have votes during today's hearings, I don't intend to recess for the votes. Members should go vote when their group is up and come back as soon as possible. If your turn for questioning comes up while you stepped away, I will come right back to

you.

Finally, without objection, Representative Suozzi will be authorized to serve as chair in the event of technical difficulties with my connection. He has been a real champion in this area, and I appreciate his special efforts.

Today the Trade Subcommittee is holding a hearing on enforcing the ban on imports produced by forced labor in Xinjiang.

“Forced labor” is a term we use today for what is often described as modern slavery. It refers to work that is performed involuntarily, and under the menace of any penalty. It refers to situations in which persons are coerced to work through the use of violence or intimidation, or by more subtle means, such as manipulated debt.

In today's China, researchers and investigators have documented that the Chinese Government is using forced labor in the production of all kinds of goods through a concerted program of oppression and coerced assimilation of China's Uyghur population and other Muslim minority groups.

Our committee has a long history of grappling with the depravity of forced labor and ensuring that goods produced under such circumstances do not eventually make their way into grocery stores and shopping malls across the country. Congress passed a law prohibiting the importation of such goods nearly a century ago. The United States import ban is founded on principles of morality, of human and worker rights, as well as principles of fair economic competition.

However, the history of the implementation of the American ban on forced labor imports has been spotty, to say the least. The law had serious flaws, including the so-called consumptive demand loophole that eroded the principle underpinning the prohibition by exempting goods made by forced labor if the United States could not produce those goods in sufficient quantities to meet consumer demand.

That demand loophole was also a moral loophole. I was proud to work with my colleagues on this committee to close that loophole in a strong and bipartisan fashion five years ago.

The strong forced labor import ban in the United States has become an important standard for worker protection and fair economic competition. Prohibiting the importation of goods produced by forced labor is now reflected in our updated NAFTA, where, because of House Democrats' renegotiation of the pact, the obligation for the NAFTA countries is now a strong and unqualified prohibition.

The import ban also serves as a clear and powerful economic sanction for countries whose governments tolerate, cultivate, or, at worst, perpetrate the coercion of labor. As both a sanction and as a tool to counter anti-competitive terms of trade, the United States forced labor import ban has an important role to play in addressing the Chinese Government abuse of its Uyghur population's human rights and rights as workers. And that is the focus of our hearing today.

Once we closed that loophole in 2015, our focus on improving the effectiveness of the American forced labor import ban has shifted to ensuring that the provision is meaningfully implemented and enforced. And it is certainly no easy task, and we will discuss that today.

The Department of Labor's annual report documents the presence of forced labor conditions in more than 70 countries, and a wide and diverse set of goods. The ILO estimates 20 million people around the world are subjected to forced labor in the private economy, which generates \$150 billion annually. Despite the pervasiveness of the problem, the enforcement mechanism has been dormant.

When Congress closed the consumptive demand loophole, CBP had not taken an enforcement action in more than 15 years. In the nearly five years since closing the



loophole, CBP has slowly increased its enforcement. Some positive steps have been taken, such as the ban on cotton from Turkmenistan in response to a state-sponsored program of forced labor.

However, much more needs to be done. Congress established the Forced Labor Enforcement Task Force in the USMCA Implementation Act to provide a central hub for the federal government to undertake this work and improve enforcement, not just for addressing the incidence of forced labor production in Canada and Mexico, but worldwide, and for counteracting the coercion of labor for workers in China.

A key first step is establishing a clear process and timelines for responding to allegations of forced labor. The law requires that the Forced Labor Task Force produce a report that does just that. Unfortunately, Congress is still waiting on that report from the task force, which should have been submitted in August.

Today I call upon the Department of Homeland Security, which serves as the inter-agency lead for the task force, to submit this task force report immediately, without further delay. I also want to emphasize the importance for this Administration and any administration to comply with statutory mandates and timelines.

The second step is establishing a proactive and comprehensive enforcement strategy for the federal government. This includes coordinating the efforts of the different agencies focused on forced labor. CBP needs to devote more resources to developing such a strategy and having the necessary enforcement personnel to investigate and enforce that strategy.

These efforts will underpin an effective policy response to the subject of our hearing today: the treatment of the Uyghur and other minority Muslim populations in China, specifically the use of the forced labor in the Xinjiang Province.

It is clearly documented that the Chinese Government is subjecting over one million

people to forced labor, trafficking, and enhanced surveillance. Under the auspices of saying they are combating religious extremism and poverty elimination, the Chinese Government has implemented a program to convert Muslim minorities, mostly Uyghurs, to the Chinese Han majority. The program includes the building of internment camps in Xinjiang, where Muslim minorities are sent to be reeducated. The scheme further includes forced labor for rural minority populations, current and former detainees at intern camps, and for prisoners.

Survivors have reported many incidents of intimidation, threats of detention, or threats to family members, restricted movement, isolation, abusive working conditions, bans on religious practices, and excessive work hours. Today's witness, Rushan Abbas, will share with us details about the horrific conditions in Xinjiang as she recounts her time interviewing survivors across the globe.

Despite the ongoing atrocities, the Trump Administration has failed to take effective action to address these practices. During the negotiation of the phase one China trade deal, the Administration failed to even raise a single labor concern or raise concern regarding the abusive treatment of Uyghurs in China. This was a huge missed opportunity, as an economic matter, and a profound failure of leadership overall.

It has even been reported by the Trump Administration's former national security adviser that the President expressed approval for the Chinese President Xi's plan to build more detention camps for the workers in Xinjiang. Just this week, the CBP issued five Withhold Release Orders, or WROs, which are intended to prohibit the importation of certain goods produced by companies and factories that use forced labor in Xinjiang. While issuing WROs are a positive step, they do not come close to adequately addressing the systematic problem in Xinjiang.

Businesses and brands that import products made with forced labor into the United

States must also play an important role in removing these abusive practices from the global supply chain. Just because supply chains are complex, and this issue is difficult, does not mean that we can shy away from making necessary changes.

In response to the Administration's ineffective approach thus far, the purpose of our hearing today is to examine the deeply troubling situations in Xinjiang, and to craft a strong and effective American policy response using the forced labor import ban. I look forward to hearing from our distinguished witnesses on that front.

[\[The statement of Chairman Blumenauer follows:\]](#)

\*Chairman Blumenauer. And with that, I will recognize the ranking member, Mr. Buchanan, for the purpose of an opening statement.

\*Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Chairman, can you hear me?

\*Chairman Blumenauer. I can, indeed.

\*Mr. Buchanan. Well, thank you for holding this important bipartisan hearing on enforcing the ban on imports produced by forced labor in Xinjiang. And thank you to the witnesses here today for taking the time and -- to testify and share your views.

It is clear and irrefutable that China is committing large-scale human rights abuses, including forced labor, against the Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities. The Chinese Communist Party continues to deny this reality, but we know it is not the case.

The U.S. must lead in condemning and confronting these horrific practices. Our most powerful tool is strictly enforcing our ban on products made with forced labor, so that these products do not enter the U.S. market. And this is a bipartisan issue.

This bipartisanship was on display in 2015 and 2016, when Congress strengthened the forced labor import ban by removing a long-standing exception to the ban through the Trade Facilitation and Trade Enforcement Act, led by then-Chairman Paul Ryan and Kevin

Brady. It was further confirmed this year, when Congress overwhelmingly voted to approve the USMCA, which created the Forced Labor Enforcement Task Force.

The Trump Administration has already demonstrated a commitment to rigorously enforcing these prohibitions by issuing 15 Withhold Release Orders since 2017 to halt imports of products made with forced labor.

There is also intense support among U.S. stakeholders for this ban. A strong partnership with private sector and civil society is essential to exchanging our ability to enforce this ban. Businesses, in cooperation with the government and civil society, must establish and strengthen the best practices to tighten the supply chain so that they confidently prevent these suppliers from utilizing forced labor, or find new suppliers.

At the same time, the law must enforce transparency, predictability and fairly, so that all stakeholders know what to -- what steps they must take to be in compliance. That means that all parties must share information and allegations of forced labor abuses so that they can be investigated and verified.

I look forward to hearing from our witnesses today about the challenges they are facing, and how we can help them achieve their goal.

Lastly, our trading partners must step up and follow our lead in condemning China and cracking down on imported products made with forced labor. It is no secret China is willing to use all tools at its disposal to intimidate and punish countries that oppose its illegal, immoral human rights abuses. I understand the immense amount of economic power China can exert, but our allies must stand firm with us in condemning these appalling abuses.

Mr. Chairman, I am glad this is not a partisan issue. I know that we both strongly support a thorough, effective, and strictly enforced ban on imports of products made with forced labor to force China to end its terrible abuse of human rights. Thanks again, Mr.

Chairman, for calling this important hearing. I look forward to the testimony from our witnesses. And with that, I yield back.

[\[The statement of Mr. Buchanan follows:\]](#)

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you very much, Mr. Buchanan. I appreciate the partnership. I look forward to working with you to be able to move forward with legislation that addresses this and look forward proceeding with the hearing.

Without objection, all members' opening statements will be made a part of the record.

And we will now turn to our witnesses. We have a distinguished panel of witnesses here to help us deal with the issue of forced labor in Xinjiang.

I would first like to welcome Rushan Abbas, founder and executive director of the Campaign for Uyghurs.

Then we will hear from Scott Nova, the executive director of the Worker Rights Consortium.

Following Mr. Nova, Amy Lehr, the director and senior fellow of the Human Rights Initiative at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Then we will hear from Cathy Feingold, director of the international department at the AFL-CIO.

Following Ms. Feingold is Steve Lamar, president and CEO of the American Apparel & Footwear Association.

Each of your statements will be made part of the record in its entirety, but I would ask that you summarize your testimony in five minutes or less, so we can have ample time for our discussion.

Ms. Abbas, would you please begin?

STATEMENT OF RUSHAN ABBAS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CAMPAIGN FOR  
UYGHURS

\*Ms. Abbas. Yes, sir. Thank you so much, Chairman and distinguished members of the committee. Thank you for this opportunity to testify today for those Uyghurs who have been completely brutalized by the Chinese regime, now leading to genocide.

While millions of workers have disappeared into China's concentration camps, millions more are being used as slaves in the largest government-directed human trafficking forced labor network in modern history. The Chinese regime's chauvinistic nationalism, racism, hunger for economic advancement, its cutting-edge technology, and the CCP's goal of world domination through the Belt and Road Initiative, these are the reasons that Uyghurs are facing extermination in their own homeland.

This issue is extremely personal to me, because my own sister, Gulshan Abbas, a retired medical doctor, is one of the victims. She was abducted in September of 2018. This happened only six days after I spoke out publicly, about China's human rights abuses against the Uyghurs, and the conditions of the camps, while outlining the disappearance of my husband's entire family.

For the past 24 months since her disappearance, we have no information on her, and my story is one of the millions. The Chinese authorities have changed their narrative regarding these camps multiple times without much response from the international community over their outright lies.

Detainees includes doctors, elites, businesspeople, and professionals, youth, and the elderly, none of whom need job training. Firsthand accounts of the former inmates reveal that those camps include mental and physical torture, rape, and the horrors that remind us

of atrocities in the history. With increasing reports of deaths and -- of otherwise healthy individuals, it is clear what is happening there.

The Chinese authorities have declared the Uyghurs as people that need to be cured because of their religious beliefs, and the government is deliberately, literally, eradicating them.

So hear those words: forced marriages, mass rape, forced sterilization, arrests, torture, child abduction, organ harvesting, crematoria, and genocide. And we cannot merely acknowledge that genocide. We must recognize that the purchase of the clothes on our backs is funding those crimes.

I had no idea that seeking to find my sister would involve finding out so many American companies are shockingly complicit in such disappearances. And it hurts me to think that my fellow Americans could be using products from my sister's forced labor.

Recently 13 tons of hair taken from the Uyghur detainees was seized, a product of genocide, 13 tons of hair. Can you imagine? And, you know, this image -- how can this image -- not pierce our conscience? Is this the hair of my sister? We know what this hair represents. It is the physical representation that we are failing never again.

What else is needed for our leaders to take tangible actions against this brutality?

How can anyone with a soul refrain from taking action?

This is not just the calamity of the Uyghurs, this is a test for humanity.

It saddens me to see that CCP is getting rewarded for genocide, while my sister and the millions of other Uyghurs are human collateral of international trade deals and economic benefits.

It horrifies me to see China continue to be allowed to become a power able to strong-arm the world.

What do you think is going to happen if this remains unchecked? Continuing to do

business as normal with China today is unimaginable, and American values should not be sold for complicity in genocide. We cannot continue to fund the spread of China's totalitarian ultra-nationalism to the world. History will remember those who acted and who failed to do so.

The international community has already largely failed the Uyghurs, and I hope that -- we must ensure that it is not too late.

You can see more details in my written testimony, and my recommendations on how we can address these atrocities. Failing to do so will result in a rapid replication and the darkness for all mankind.

And I am looking forward to the question-and-answer session. Thank you.

[\[The statement of Ms. Abbas follows:\]](#)

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you very much, Ms. Abbas, for your compelling and powerful testimony.

Next, we will turn to Mr. Nova, if he could begin.

#### STATEMENT OF SCOTT NOVA, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, WORKER RIGHTS CONSORTIUM

\*Mr. Nova. Chairman Blumenauer, Ranking Member Buchanan, thank you for the opportunity to testify.

After two years of research on forced labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, and connections to global apparel brands, our organization has reached a conclusion shared by human rights, labor rights, and Uyghur groups around the world. The only way brands and retailers can ensure they are not using forced labor to make their



apparel, and are not thereby breaking the law when they bring that apparel to the U.S., is to end all sourcing from the Uyghur Region, from cotton to finished goods.

The combination of widespread risk of forced labor across the region and insurmountable obstacles to the labor rights inspections apparel brands need in order to verify that workers' labor is voluntary, means that, as long as brands are sourcing from the region, they will be using forced labor.

The scope of the problem is vast. The Uyghur Region produces one-fifth of the global apparel industry's cotton, and a sizable portion of its yarn. From Target to Walmart to Kohl's, from Gap to UNIQLO, from Amazon to Zara, the supply chain of virtually every brand and retailer that sells cotton garments runs through the Uyghur Region. More than two billion articles of clothing with content from the region clear U.S. ports each year on their way to the closets of consumers.

The role of forced labor as a pillar of the Chinese Government's repression in the Uyghur Region is well documented, and it is well understood that the breadth of the problem means there is a risk of forced labor in any farm or factory.

Less recognized is the fact that apparel brands have no ability to keep the farms and factories they use free of forced labor. The method they would normally employ to address severe labor rights risk is workplace inspections, called "audits" in the industry, performed by employees of the brand or by contracted auditing firms. Central to the methodology of every credible audit are interviews with workers held under circumstances that enable them to speak candidly without fear of reprisal.

There is no Uyghur worker whose labor is coerced who can possibly feel safe conveying the truth to an auditor. The Uyghur population understands that statements against the interests of the government will draw brutal reprisal. Uyghurs also understand the ubiquity of the surveillance apparatus the government has erected to make sure such

statements do not escape their notice.

Under these conditions, the only purpose audits can serve is to create the false appearance of due diligence. This is exactly the role they have played. In early 2019 our organization documented forced labor at the Hetian Taida Apparel Company in Hotan. Customs and Border Protection issued a Withhold Release Order against the company later that year. What we encountered in our investigation, along with proof of forced labor, were reports from multiple auditing firms giving the company a clean bill of health.

This week, CBP announced a Withhold Release Order against a glove factory in Ili Prefecture. When we tied the French brand Lacoste to that factory in March, Lacoste defended producing there, even after forced labor was exposed, by citing a clean audit from a prominent auditing firm called Bureau Veritas.

When the Wall Street Journal uncovered the use of forced labor by Huaifu Fashion, a leading yarn producer, Huaifu also hired Bureau Veritas for an audit. The result? A clean bill of health for Huaifu, later used by industry leaders to justify continued partnership with that company.

The impossibility of due diligence is why more than 200 organizations from 3 dozen countries have launched a call to action asking apparel brands to end their complicity in forced labor, and stop all sourcing from the Uyghur Region. The call to action also asks brands to cut ties with major Chinese firms implicated in forced labor, and to ensure none of their suppliers in China are participants in the scheme to transfer workers from the Uyghur Region to factories in other parts of the country.

The proposed Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act also recognizes that due diligence is impossible, and that an effective ban on imports is essential.

If a ban is enacted through legislation or a region-wide action by CBP, enforcement will be complicated by the fact that very little of the apparel that has Uyghur Region

content is shipped to the U.S. from the region. It comes instead from sewing factories across China and around the world that use fabric fashioned from Uyghur Region cotton and yarn. Unless seeking preferential tariff treatment, most brands disclose nothing about the origins of cotton and yarn. Effective enforcement by CBP will require robust, independent methods to verify sources of cotton, yarn and garments, backed up by public reporting.

Our organization recognizes that the debate over the Uyghur Region unfolds in a broader political context. As labor rights advocates, we have no interest in promoting, and no desire to see, greater hostility between the U.S. and China. Our interest is combating forced labor.

Forced labor in the Uyghur Region is an urgent priority for us, because it is the worst human rights crisis in the global apparel supply chain. Thank you.

[\[The statement of Mr. Nova follows:\]](#)

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you, sir.

Next, we have Ms. Lehr.

STATEMENT OF AMY LEHR, DIRECTOR AND SENIOR FELLOW, HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVE, CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

\*Ms. Lehr. Chairman Blumenauer, Ranking Member Buchanan, and distinguished members of the subcommittee, thanks for holding a hearing on this important topic, and offering me an opportunity to speak today.

Over the past year, CSIS has conducted research on forced labor in Xinjiang and how it connects to global supply chains.

May I submit our October 2019 report and our July 2020 brief to the record?

[Pause.]

\*Ms. Lehr. Thank you. Over the -- today I will discuss patterns of forced labor in Xinjiang, industries that may be linked to it, and provide recommendations.

Forced labor in Xinjiang is unique. Typically, forced labor involves migrant workers who end up indebted to recruiters, and have their passports confiscated, leaving them trapped in a foreign country. In contrast, in Xinjiang, the Chinese state itself is organizing the forced labor. It is part of a broader effort to cut minorities off from their culture and religion, and increase loyalty to the CCP through detention, reeducation, and work.

Those subjected to forced labor include ex-detainees and the rural poor, who are transferred to work as part of what the government calls its "poverty alleviation efforts." Our interviews indicate that, in some cases, both ex-detainees and the rural poor are being threatened with detention if they don't accept work assignments. Both groups are being paid far below the minimum wage, in some instances. The government transfers minorities to work at companies both within Xinjiang and in other parts of China.

We learned, to our surprise, that the U.S. is Xinjiang's fastest-growing export market, increasing by 250 percent over the past year. Top direct imports into the U.S., in order of prevalence, are chemicals, hair, minerals, food products, apparel, plastics, and metals.

However, as Scott noted, the vast majority of Xinjiang's products are used as inputs within China, and don't ship directly to the U.S. It is, therefore, helpful to look at the Chinese Government's priorities for growth in Xinjiang, which are agriculture, apparel and textiles, electronics, mining, including rare earths, chemicals, and medical equipment. Chinese companies in these sectors are more likely to be asked to build factories in the

region, and accept labor transfers from the government, and thus may present heightened forced labor risks.

Xinjiang plays a really important role in the early stages of certain supply chains. It is certainly a key source of inputs for textile and apparel, possibly for solar energy, and other sectors. The fact that Xinjiang's role lies so deep in some supply chains creates challenges on two fronts.

First, companies and enforcement agencies must develop a much greater understanding of the chain of custody of products to know when Xinjiang inputs are being used. Most companies can only trace to tier one or two in their supply chain, which is often not where the problem lies. However, new technologies enable companies or enforcement agencies to test certain end products to identify their origins.

Second, Xinjiang's inputs contaminate large portions of certain supply chains. To address this, not only is better traceability critical, but alternative supply chains must be rapidly developed. To do this rapidly, it will require not only long-term company sourcing commitments, but appropriate tariff incentives, development assistance for infrastructure, and potential loans for the Development Finance Corporation.

Despite these challenges, the pervasiveness of forced labor in Xinjiang creates an imperative for action. My recommendations?

Stability in Xinjiang via repression is a top priority for the Chinese Government. Changing China's policies will be a significant challenge. U.S. policy must be multifaceted to have a chance of diminishing abuses on the ground. Improved enforcement of the Tariff Act is a piece of the puzzle, but this will not be sufficient.

The U.S. needs to act in a consistent and principled manner, and use its full array of tools, and convince its allies to do the same. The U.S. must show a predictable commitment to multilateral fora, and abuses in Xinjiang must be a constant priority in the

G-7, the UN, and in bilateral relations.

Abuses in Xinjiang, including forced labor, should be a pillar of all high-level negotiations with the Chinese Government, echoing U.S. engagement with the Soviet Union in the later years of the Cold War.

The Administration should apply global Magnitsky sanctions to companies and their officers directly involved in forced labor in Xinjiang, some of which have a U.S. presence, and encourage other countries like Canada and the UK to impose the same sanctions.

Given the scale of Xinjiang-linked products likely entering the U.S., CBP will need extra resourcing to enforce the existing ban on goods, and, especially if a broader ban is in place, a targeting strategy.

Thank you so much.

[\[The statement of Ms. Lehr follows:\]](#)

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you. That was compelling testimony.

Next, we will hear from Cathy Feingold, director of the International Department of the AFL-CIO.

Welcome, and you may begin.

STATEMENT OF CATHY FEINGOLD, DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL  
DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO

\*Ms. Feingold. Thank you. On behalf of the 12.5 million workers of the AFL-CIO, thank you, Chairman Blumenauer, Ranking Member Buchanan, and members of the subcommittee for inviting me to testify at this hearing today, and for your leadership on

this issue.

In my many years of working on global worker rights issues, this is the first time where I have found that unions, employers, many governments, and global leaders actually agree about the gravity and scale of state-sponsored abuse in the Uyghur Region. Given that there is shared recognition of the problem, now is the time to act together to end it.

This means that corporations must take responsibility for sourcing decisions, and the government must implement a new and far more effective approach to regulating global supply chains and enforcing our trade policies.

The profiting by global corporations from forced labor in the Uyghur Region represents an extreme reflection of the failures of the neoliberal model of globalization. For years, corporations shifted production to China to take advantage of the low labor costs, the overall repression of human rights in the country. Sourcing decisions by brands and suppliers are complicit with labor abuses, and they create a downward pressure on wages for all workers in the global economy.

The U.S. already has laws dedicated to addressing forced labor. The 1930 Tariff Act clearly prohibits forced labor, but the rules of its enforcement predate the vast global supply chains of today, and approach systematic problems with piecemeal approaches. The Tariff Act must be updated to reflect the current structure of the global economy and the need for effective enforcement of law.

The AFL-CIO and our allies recently submitted a 1307 petition to CBP for a regional Withhold Release Order. In response to the petition, CBP officials originally announced that they had sufficient evidence, and intended to block imports from the entire region. However, this week, CBP announced five new WROs, but they remain far short of what is necessary to change the situation.

And in spite of CBP issuing 12 previous Withhold Release Orders on goods from

the region, imports to the U.S. from the region have only increased. We strongly believe a regional WRO is needed to effectively address the violations.

And as a very first step, CBP needs to enforce all the WROs it has issued, and commit to increased transparency of its enforcement actions, ensuring that publications include the reason for the enforcement order, the number of shipments detained, and the value of the goods.

Ending corporate complicity in and profits from this systemic use of forced labor in traded goods will require broader concrete actions, reforming the rules of the Tariff Act, as well as immediately passing the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act.

The U.S. should also work with counterparts in the European Union and Canada to build support for similar trade actions. The EU, consistent with its obligations under the WTO, should also prohibit the entry of these forced labor goods. The EU's proposed legislation on corporate accountability could hold EU firms accountable from benefitting from forced labor in their supply chains.

Globally, the U.S. Government must regain its leadership and credibility within multilateral institutions, and play a leading role at the United Nations by calling for an independent international mechanism to investigate the situation in the region, and call for a special session of the Human Rights Council.

At the International Labor Organization, the U.S. should work with governments, employers, and unions to raise the visibility of this issue, including the support of a governing body resolution condemning the widespread violations.

In addition to government actions, we invite the large textile and apparel brands and retailers to sign on to the call to action launched in July by over 200 civil society groups calling for the end to corporate participation in supporting forced labor. The call to action provides an important platform for developing responsible exit strategies from the region.



It, however, cannot replace robust government action.

Let me end by reiterating the need to take actions, and actions that go beyond guidances and declarations and shaming. The U.S. should use the full range of its trade and economic policy tools to end forced labor, and build a new trade model that effectively protects the fundamental rights of workers in this region and worldwide.

I hope that, together, we can end this extreme form of repression and forced labor in the Uyghur Region, and ensure that no corporation profits off of this inhumane and illegal practice. Thank you.

[\[The statement of Ms. Feingold follows:\]](#)

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you very much for your testimony. I take your point about the broad agreement on the nature and scale of the abuses, that that might be able to translate into action. I really, really very much appreciate that.

Next, we have Mr. Lamar.

STATEMENT OF STEPHEN LAMAR, PRESIDENT AND CEO, AMERICAN  
APPAREL & FOOTWEAR ASSOCIATION

\*Mr. Lamar. Thank you, Chairman Blumenauer, Ranking Member Buchanan, and the members of the subcommittee for holding this hearing, and the opportunity to testify today on this important topic. My name is Steve Lamar.

I am the president and CEO of the American Apparel & Footwear Association. Our members include retailers, wholesalers, importers, exporters, and manufacturers. We make products that touch every American, and our industry employees nearly four million U.S. workers.

Our members and our industry have zero tolerance for forced labor. We work tirelessly to make sure it doesn't taint our supply chains in whatever form it takes, and wherever it manifests itself. For more than 20 years our members have implemented some of the most rigorous due diligence activities the private sector can muster to ferret out these practices.

Our efforts have uncovered forced, bonded, and prison labor in subcontract facilities around the world, and when we find it we act, resulting in millions of dollars in repayment of illegal recruitment fees, payment of unpaid overtime and severance pay, stronger protections for workers, and better and safer working conditions around the world.

Specifically, in China, our members have instituted rigorous protocols to make sure their partners continue to adhere to our industry's zero tolerance of forced labor. For example, they ensure that their subcontract manufacturing partners in other parts of the country do not employ Uyghurs or other ethnicities who have been recruited via labor agents or vocational schools connected to the Chinese Government. And I mention the other parts of the country because, in the region, as Scott Nova mentioned, it is extraordinarily difficult to perform those traditional due diligence activities.

As has been widely reported, the situation in the region is grave. This is a widespread campaign to repress and exploit Uyghur and other ethnic groups using many tactics, including forced and prison labor. This is intolerable. Our country and the world must unite to stop it.

We applaud the work done by the NGOs, activists, labor unions, Members of Congress, and others to bring light to this issue, and deservedly so. We partner with a broad coalition of industry associations to align and bolster our efforts to help put an end to these forced labor practices. Together we have coalesced around four principles I would like to share today.

First, our industry remains committed to ending forced labor. We are on the front lines of this battle, making sure that our workers are responsibly, legally, and voluntarily employed. We are constantly pioneering new methods and technologies to thwart forced labor. We build capacity, and we leverage the compliance arm of the U.S. Government in other countries. We share crucial intelligence and data with CBP, so their enforcement can become more effective. CBP calls us trusted traders for a reason.

Second, the problem in the region is bigger than any one industry can handle. Our leverage is limited. The situation in this region is of a scale, scope, and complexity that is unprecedented in modern supply chains. However, forced labor, as horrendous as it is -- and as we have heard already today -- is only one component of a much larger campaign of repression. We can only end this terrible situation through sustained government-to-government pressure that is led by the U.S. Government and involves all our allies and all our stakeholders.

Third, we must use the tools at our disposal properly. The most effective WROs and other sanctions tools need to be targeted, transparent, prospective, fact-based, and developed with the trusted industry partners that will ultimately enforce them. Our industry consistently strives to go beyond mere compliance. When the U.S. Government enforcement tools themselves are vague, or poorly defined, or retroactive, even basic compliance and enforcement becomes next to impossible.

We have been hearing in the last few weeks about a rumored blanket WRO, one that would, for example, declare all cotton from the region as a product made with forced labor. There has been a lot of talk about legislation that would declare any product or input originating from the region to be made with forced labor. Such a WRO and such legislation would no doubt make headlines, but it would wreak havoc to human rights, economic development, and legitimate supply chains, themselves already battered by

COVID-19 all over the world.

In my written statement I provide more details. But suffice it to say that, as a country, we simply do not have the capability or capacity to implement, comply with, or enforce a blanket WRO or the proposed legislation right now. Moreover, these actions would do little to stop the use of Uyghur forced labor and, more importantly, everyone's goal of ending the campaign of oppression of Uyghurs and other ethnic Muslim minorities.

And that brings us to my final point, which is to stay focused on the ultimate goal -- to end these forced labor practices and the larger campaign of repression it fuels. Among other things, this means we need to stay engaged so we can create safe, responsible, and legal alternatives to what these repressive campaigns are currently offering the Uyghur populace. We need to keep the pressure focused on those actors in China that are perpetuating the system. We need to evaluate our joint efforts through the lens of what will most effectively get us to our end goal. And we need a partnership that combines NGOs, industry, unions, Congress, and the rest of the U.S. Government and other governments to take a comprehensive approach to resolving this horrific situation.

I look forward to our discussion and continuing our partnership on this critical matter.

[\[The statement of Mr. Lamar follows:\]](#)

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you very much, Mr. Lamar, and I am encouraged by the positive expression of interest in solving the problem and look forward to working with you and your members in understanding what actually we can do, and refining targeted solutions.

Without objection, each member will be recognized for five minutes to question our witnesses. We will not observe the Gibbons Rule in this remote setting, but instead will

go in order of seniority, switching between majority and minority members.

Members are reminded to unmute yourself when you are recognized for five minutes.

I will begin by recognizing myself.

As our witnesses have highlighted, the problem in Xinjiang are pervasive, and impact supply chains throughout Southeast Asia and beyond. I am intrigued by how we could tackle such a daunting problem.

I would note that the CBP has some experience on this front. I'm thinking of the WRO issued on cotton from Turkmenistan. I would like to pose this question to Ms. Feingold and Mr. Nova. Has the Turkmenistan cotton WRO been enforced? Is this a success story? Are there things we can learn from our experience there?

When we think about Xinjiang and the development of real plans to disincentivize supply chains from sourcing material from that region, how should we approach going about this task?

Mr. Feingold?

\*Ms. Feingold. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. So thank you for that question, and I want to recognize that what happened in Turkmenistan actually was a really important first step, because it was the change in policy by CBP. It showed it was willing to move beyond facility level of enforcement, and really issue a broader WRO, which is our request at this time for the Uyghur Region.

But, you know, in answer to your question, has it been successful, I unfortunately have to say to you I wouldn't know. I mean I have to tell you no, because there really is no transparency about what CBP is doing. They never disclose if they have actually enforced a WRO by detaining shipments. I have only received information from my work in a coalition, where we have heard that some shipments have been detained. But I actually

got this information from an affected importer who wanted to talk to me about it directly.

So we need greater congressional oversight on CBP, we need to get greater data on their actions around enforcement. If we are all in this together, then we need to have the same information to know what is actually happening, and if this is going to be successful.

I would say before, you know, Scott jumps in, that a regional WRO is so important, because it creates one legal framework, one set of rules for all companies. China is a tough place. One company doesn't want to stick its head up. You know, they have good reason to be concerned about their workers in -- the retail workers in that country. So there needs to be one framework, one set of rules. And we believe that is why you need this regional WRO. And it would require increased capacity at CBP, and increased resources, financially.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Mr. Nova, do you have anything to add?

\*Mr. Nova. Yes, I would agree that the region-wide nature of the ban was critical, a very important step and precedent, but that enforcement has ranged from thin to nonexistent, even though well after the ban was announced, there were products coming in to the U.S. being openly advertised as containing Turkmenistan cotton.

So, we will need, if there is a region-wide WRO or the passage of legislation that creates a region-wide ban, a much more aggressive, creative, and, critically, publicly transparent effort by CBP to enforce.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you. Here in the United States, we are going through our own struggle with racial discrimination and addressing the legacy of enslavement in our country. This year many businesses and major brands have taken important steps to condemn discrimination by making public statements and commitments to invest in promoting racial justice and human rights.

I want to commend their leadership with their efforts, and also ask Ms. Lehr: how

can the American Government work with U.S. importers to address the use of forced labor in Xinjiang?

And Mr. Lamar, what are American companies prepared to do to make sure they are not profiting off the fruits of forced labor and human rights abuses?

\*Ms. Lehr. So, I will just offer a few ideas. I mean, it is, obviously, a complex area. Under the existing laws, one thing we have proposed is that CBP use a series of red flags that we identified in our October report last year that would help them. It basically is a strong indicator of risk if these red flags come up, that there could be forced labor, and that would make it, their evidentiary gathering, much easier. So that would be one really low hanging fruit as a starting point.

I also think there are areas like requiring or incentivizing much stronger traceability efforts by the sector that -- or by various sectors -- would actually be really important, both for this problem and beyond. And you can also think about due diligence requirements, and that could also assist CBP as they think about who to target.

Thank you.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Mr. Lamar?

\*Mr. Lamar. Yes, thank you for the question. So, there are a number of steps we are taking. Companies are developing alternative capabilities and capacities around the world. There is a long-term diversification outside of China and outside of the region, and that has been going on for some time, and that is continuing and is probably accelerating.

Those in China are continuing to double down on efforts to make sure that Uyghurs in their employment are not in such employment as a result of recruitment from a vocational school or government entity. There is a lot of diligence that is done there. And we are finding voluntary and legal employment to Uyghurs there. So, there is some good news in that category.

We are working very hard to promote more tracing technologies. I think only eclipsed by the effort to find a COVID vaccine, we are working desperately, pioneering a number of -- or looking to pioneer a number of technologies, whether it is DNA-based, bio-based. There are a lot of varieties of people who are looking at it. But those technologies aren't there yet. We hope they will be there soon, but they are just simply not there yet.

And last, we are coming to hearings like this, and we are advocating for our government to step up, again, to pull together a group of other governments and other stakeholders. This is going to require sustained, high-level, government-to-government efforts to make sure that we can address the underlying problems.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you. Do you just have an observation about what happened with the Turkmenistan cotton WRO? Do you have any understanding of how that has worked?

\*Mr. Lamar. Well, I would probably hear a lot of agreement. As a regional WRO, it provides a good learning opportunity. And we would certainly love to hear more from Customs on what their learnings have been. Have they been able to implement it? Has this given them the tools that they can use to implement other kinds of regional or other broader initiatives? Until we see that, we really need to focus on fact-based, evidence-based procedures.

We think there should be a lot more transparency, a lot more process, a lot more engagement with stakeholders. And we would like to hear, I think just like what Cathy said -- a little bit more information about what the results have been.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you.

Ms. Abbas, we deeply appreciate your sharing your family's story with the committee. It is just heartbreaking. It could not have been easy for you to make this testimony today.



We want to make sure that whatever policies America adopts do not further harm the Uyghur population. Do you think that the United States effectively banning the import of goods from Uyghurs in China who have been forced to produce in violation of their human and economic rights would make an important difference?

\*Ms. Abbas. Well, thank you so much, Chairman. The beneficiaries of the Uyghur forced labor are not the Uyghurs, and it is very clear that the aim and the end goal of these forced labor policies is not to promote the well -- you know, policies not to promote the well-being of the Uyghur society.

In fact, similar arguments were made about the justifying slavery in this great country, in the United States, back when slave owners maintained that those -- the slaves would be worse off, or would starve. This is just the paternalistic argument that the Chinese Government is saying, you know, they are providing the Uyghurs the opportunity to have a job, have a better life. No, those are all lies. You know, the Uyghurs -- it is not because of the Uyghurs' lack of ability to do a better life than the slavery in those factories.

We cannot support those institutionalized evils. Freedom is the only way to live, and for Uyghurs to be able to feed themselves, which is not even guaranteed when they are working under those factories. We are hearing that they are starving, they are not getting enough, you know, food, and they -- whatever they are supposed to get, those monies, they are supposed to send back to whoever those companies -- or whoever is sending them. So it is not only a qualification for a better life, but just the, you know, Chinese Government's and other narratives.

We should be concerned with how we can force the CCP to allow Uyghurs to live as human beings, so that better options for life are available for them. The Uyghurs are, you know, fighting to survive right now, as we have discussed. And many of the Uyghurs who are held are actually being -- used as slaves -- are intellectuals, actors, musicians, and

all the intellectuals, as my sister, a retired medical doctor. Where does that argument stand, in light of that information?

The Uyghur community really supports the departure of the corporations from the Uyghur Region and from China, because we need to unplug the lifeline from this monster's regime, and the -- acting like, you know, total threat to any kind of freedom and democracy. Thank you.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you very much. Next, Mr. Buchanan, you are recognized for five minutes.

\*Mr. Buchanan. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I want to thank all of our witnesses for being here today and taking your time.

Mr. Lamar and Ms. Feingold, let me ask you. I think, in terms of this whole thing, it is horrifying, with the forced labor. What more can the U.S. do to lead? I think we made some progress, but obviously not enough.

And how do we bring our partners in, and stakeholders in, and industry in, where we can even have a much bigger impact? Because, obviously, this is something that we talk about, but -- and we do something, but not enough. And we got to figure out how to raise the bar, so to speak, in terms of this area of forced labor.

Mr. Lamar?

\*Mr. Lamar. Thank you for the question. Well, the Forced Labor Working Group process, I think, is the first place to start, to make sure that all of our tools, all the enforcement tools that we have, are effective, efficient, and deployed in a manner that is going to help us get to the end goal.

I think there needs to be a lot more coordination, a lot more process that is addressed, so we can make sure those tools work. And I am glad to see that there has been some work, but we are going to need to see more, obviously, in the coming months. And

this really needs to be expedited.

And then, on the larger stage -- and I have heard a couple of recommendations to this effect, too, I think, also from Cathy -- is that we need to convene at the highest level, and consistently, all those countries that should be aligned with us. For those that aren't, we need to get them aligned with us. This is a global issue. The cotton that comes out of that region, 20 percent of the world's cotton comes from China, spreads through most countries. Every country has an interest in stopping these practices. So we need to align them, pull them together, and speak with one voice.

\*Mr. Buchanan. Ms. Feingold?

\*Ms. Feingold. Thank you for the question. I would, yes, reiterate that we have a tremendous opportunity right now.

You know, yesterday there was a Pew poll that came out that showed, really, the U.S. global leadership is seen as being greatly diminished by our allies. But I think this issue can help us rebuild credibility in our standing in multilateral institutions. We need to make this a key issue in all of our diplomatic efforts. And so I really think that the world is watching. The world is waiting to see how the U.S. is going to lead on this issue of forced labor.

We had some missed opportunities that have been mentioned. The phase one trade agreement did not include any mention of worker rights. You know, the feeling that our Administration has sent signals that we don't really care that much about this, or what happened in Hong Kong. I think we need to reboot. We need to make sure the world knows that we are serious.

We have built new mechanisms in the USMCA. We need to say, you know, we take this really seriously about forced labor.

So I think there is a tremendous opportunity here. Again, I think people want to

know there is -- and companies want to know there is -- a set of rules that are going to be effectively enforced in the U.S. And let's make sure our European allies are clear this should be a huge transatlantic project. Let's get it done. Let's end this.

\*Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Lamar, let me ask you. I think one of the critical things is getting accurate and timely information that is verifiable between all the parties and industry and governments. How do we take that to another level? Because that is my sense, what I have heard, is making sure, when you go to accuse someone, or -- what the actual facts are. How do we make sure information is something governments can share and work together on, and trust each other about?

\*Mr. Lamar. Well, for sure, governments must share that. And I think we can start with our own government, to make sure the evidentiary standards, the process that we use to receive allegations is clear, transparent, predictable, that the ability to respond to those allegations is also clear and transparent, because sometimes people make allegations where the allegations may be false. I mean, that is what our legal system is built on.

We need to make sure that -- we have an opportunity to learn from our past enforcement actions. We need to make sure those enforcement actions are also implemented in a way that the industry can take advantage of them. When there is a WRO that is announced, my members and others in the industry, we make sure that our suppliers and our suppliers' suppliers aren't sourcing, aren't connected to those entities. So we use those WROs as really important tools and guideposts to know who are some identified bad actors. And so having that information out there, more public, and in a transparent, prospective way is where I would start.

The COAC, the Customs Operations Advisory Committee, has come up with a number of very useful recommendations, and I would encourage the subcommittee to take a look at those recommendations, and support many of them. I think that is a great place

to start, too.

\*Mr. Buchanan. Well, thank you.

With that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you, Mr. Buchanan. We turn now to Mr. Pascrell.

\*Mr. Pascrell. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I must say that the panel is very, very impressive, all of them, all of the panelists, and reasonable.

So I think that, if we mean what we say -- and there is no reason to believe you don't -- we can expect some changes particularly from within, because we have not spent much time in the last five years, when we talk about trade, about the responsibility of the corporation itself. We expect that the government is going to be able to overcome its own cultural uniqueness, depending on which country you are talking about.

I think Mr. Lamar provided some very good recommendations. But there is no denying -- and I think he would agree with me -- that we have a pathetic scene here. I would characterize the Administration's response to the incredible and disgusting violations of human rights happening in Xinjiang Region as pathetic.

We closed the forced labor import ban loophole, elevated the issue by creating a Forced Labor Enforcement Task Force. That, I believe, was a tangible step in the right direction. But this Administration had to be dragged to stand up the task force, and it is a month late in sending Congress its report. Because if this doesn't happen at the top in our own country, or if this is not a priority -- and I have looked through all the narratives on trade. This Administration doesn't talk about labor practices, really.

Also, forced labor was never an issue raised during the negotiations in the original Trump-China agreement. You show it to me. Forced labor was never an issue.

We have credible reports of modern slavery in China. The law makes importers

responsible, the law itself, for removing these abusive practices from the supply chain. And I know the supply chain is complicated, as we are finding out in the United States through this terrible pandemic. The CBP, the Customs and Border Protection, knows what is happening, yet it doesn't take real action. That has got to change.

But this is not just Trump's problem. Corporations, as importers of record, are responsible, too. Whether it is a major movie studio filming in the back yard of forced labor camps, Kraft Heinz possibly buying tomatoes to make ketchup, or apparel companies like Nike potentially using cotton harvested by forced labor, we need accountability. Because it is wrong, it needs to be stopped. Forced labor, it is despicable. It destroys lives. It destroys families.

Forced labor is also terrible for the American worker, by making them compete against exploited labor -- think about that. My district has been impacted. A concern in August about forced labor caused Lenovo to proactively shut down a factory making Chromebooks. These laptops were needed by students in Paterson, New Jersey to start the school year.

While Paterson was able to find another last-minute supplier, our students' education should never be in question. A better auditing process and more aggressive action by CBP could have prevented this from happening. I appreciate CBP needs more resources. That is why I have led, with many other congressmen, an appropriations letter in support of increasing the staff and resources to prevent forced labor. This is for naught, however, if this Administration doesn't get off its duff and act, and make this a priority.

So, Scott, I would like to ask you this. The CBP targeted five companies in the Xinjiang Region. Given the wide-ranging allegations of forced labor, does targeting specific companies give the appearance that forced labor is not being used elsewhere? What do you think, Scott? Give me the short answer to that one, please.

[Audio malfunction.]

\*Mr. Nova. -- by targetings a very limited number of individual factories, that the impression might be given that the problem is not as widespread as it is. The reality is the risk of forced labor exists at any factory and any farm in the Uyghur Region. And that is why a regional action is essential.

\*Mr. Pascrell. Great --

\*Chairman Blumenauer. I am sorry. Thank you. Thank you, Bill, that -- you started your question when your time is expired. Could we move on? Okay, thank you.

\*Mr. Nunes. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I appreciate you holding this hearing. I think, the more hearings we can have on China and human rights abuses, is really great, and I really appreciate your time and attention to this.

And it is clear, I think to all of us, that human rights abuses committed by the Chinese Communist Party against its own people, especially in forced labor and genocide of Uyghur Muslims, cannot and should not be tolerated. As today's testimonies make clear, the Chinese Communist Party leverages these atrocious practices in concert with tools of economic warfare to threaten our economic and national security.

I am particularly concerned with China's continued theft of intellectual property of American businesses and infiltration of our universities. And, in fact, I have introduced legislation to this matter, and also we have a task force on the Republican side that we have been working with, with some additional policy proposals that we would love to share with you, Mr. Chair.

Mr. Lamar, I am just going to be -- ask one question here. I know you have provided some insight in your testimony, but I would like to give you a little more time and opportunity on the different practices that are used against the U.S. apparel industry, and any thoughts you have on holding China accountable.

And with that, I will mute my line to -- so we can get the response. And thank you again, Mr. Chair.

\*Mr. Lamar. Thank you, Congressman. Yes, so in our industry, there is an extensive array of tools, which I mentioned in written and mentioned also in the oral statement, as well: codes of conduct, terms of engagement, we have extensive education, extensive training that gets done, and then audits, verifications to make sure that the principles that we put in place are actually happening.

And this is an iterative process. It is a continually evolving process. Like you mentioned, intellectual property rights -- we do a lot of work to fight against counterfeiters. Counterfeiters are constantly trying to outwit us. And so, we have to constantly try to outwit them. And those that are intent on exploiting workers are constantly trying to change their tools -- so, we have to do that here, as well.

And that is where we find ourselves with this situation. This is a region where the problems associated with forced labor have grown up in the last 5, 10 years. And as a result, that is why we are stepping up, and we are raising our voice to encourage a whole-of-government approach. A whole-of-government approach linked to other governments, too, so we can actually address these problems once and for all.

\*Mr. Nunes. Well, I really appreciate that, Mr. Lamar. And, obviously, coming from California, we actually grow a lot of high-quality cotton that -- I know there has been more and more activity, in terms of knowing the source of the product, and how it travels away, ultimately to get processed, and then whether or not there is forced labor used in that. And I know some of the technology that the cotton industry has developed in concert with the U.S. apparel industry, you can actually track some of that back to ensure that you know the source of that material. So I want to encourage that continued practice.

And I think all of Americans, if we can know where our products are coming from,



the better. And especially we don't want to be buying it from people that are suffering, like the Muslims in China.

So with that, Mr. Chair, thanks again. And I will yield back.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you. I appreciate your comments. Next, we have Congressman Kind.

[Pause.]

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Ron, do we have you?

[No response.]

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Let's go to Congressman Davis.

Congressman Davis?

[Audio malfunction.]

\*Mr. Davis. -- earlier this week, with respect to China's forced labor import ban that Democrats worked to fix in 2015. Certainly, it is better than no action being taken at all. But I would like to hear from the witnesses whether you think that action is meaningful.

There are now perhaps as many as three dozen forced labor facilities in Xinjiang producing goods with Uyghur prisoners. But the WRO only covers five facilities. And how could the new order be enforced?

It seems to me that it would be extremely simple to relabel goods from one of the plants as goods of a plant not on the list. Is there really any way to effectively enforce, besides a presumption that all goods from Xinjiang are made with forced labor and forbidden, with only goods that meet the burden of proving that they are not goods produced with forced labor?

And if the witnesses could respond to that and answer, I would appreciate it.

[Pause.]

\*Mr. Lamar. Congressman, I am not sure if you were directing that at anyone specifically, but I will take a stab at that.

Actually, we think enforcement is best done when you have targeted, entity-specific, or -- and again, fact-based investigations that lead you to the conclusion that there is products that are, you know, mined, produced, or manufactured with forced labor. That is, literally, what the statute calls for.

So, there shouldn't necessarily be a limit to the amount of WROs we can do, just provided those WROs are each substantiated by the facts. As you go to a regional WRO, where if you, for example, change the burden of proof, that becomes much more difficult to enforce, because now you are talking about something that is threading throughout the entire globe.

And you will run into a situation, actually, where, not only are you straining customs authorities and abilities to enforce that -- and maybe we saw that with Turkmenistan, I don't know -- but you will find that companies in my industry will do what they can do to enforce it. They will put in compliance procedures. They will accelerate or try to manage it the best that they can. But without the proper tracing technology, without the proper capabilities and capacities around the world, they won't be in a position to be as effective on that.

And then there will be those who will be intent on breaking the law. They will violate it freely. So now you will have a gap between those who want to comply and those who don't want to comply. And that is the problem. That is the concern that we are really worried with, with a much larger, regional approach.

\*Mr. Nova. If I may, the problem with a targeted approach is that it only works when there are a limited number of targets. When you have a region-wide problem, as is the case now in the Uyghur Region, when there is forced labor risk across the region, and --

acknowledges there is no way to perform labor rights due diligence, then unless you ensure that all imports in the region are -- you are guaranteeing that you are continuing -- forced labor.

\*Mr. Davis. Ms. Feingold, I know that the AFL-CIO has been actively engaged in the processes of trying to get at this issue. Is there a way to determine how effective the WROs are being?

I mean, how do you determine whether or not there have been the changes that we are seeking, and the changes we are promoting?

\*Ms. Feingold. Thank you so much for your question. I would say that what -- in order for us to really know, we need a lot more transparency coming out of the CBP. We need them to maintain and regularly update a public Web page that has basic information about enforcement, the list of active petitions, investigation, goods targeted.

Right now, those of us that are working to address this issue really don't get the needed information from CBP in order to make a judgment whether or not they are effectively doing their job. What we can confirm is the egregious violations are continuing. So we know that whatever is happening is not happening in a way that addresses this.

And I wanted to just also jump in on what Steve said. Is -- the problem with the piecemeal approach -- we have seen this time and time again -- we are trying to dismantle an economic model that is based on forced labor. So you can't just pull -- piecemeal different pieces.

We need to all agree -- the system was built on -- I mean, we know that the global economy was built around labor arbitrage. And this particular system was built to use forced labor. And so we need to agree that it can't be one by one. That is going to not have a huge impact on China, not change the system. We need to have an approach that

deals with the problem, which is an economic model that is based on forced labor and severe repression.

\*Mr. Davis. Thank you very much.

And Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you very much, Mr. Davis.

Congressman Kind?

\*Mr. Kind. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for holding this very important hearing, and I want to thank the witnesses for your excellent testimony today.

But, you know, I sit back and think it is kind of the dog that hasn't barked in the hearing that needs more attention. I mean, if President Trump's former national security adviser, John Bolton, is to be believed, the President of the United States gave Xi Jinping the green light to establish Uyghur concentration camps and the exploitation that came from this. And in the phase one China agreement there is no mention, not one word, not one sentence, in the agreement, that addresses this imperative issue.

Now, the President may be reticent, at best, about this. But we in Congress should not be complicit.

Ms. Feingold, let me ask you. There is discussion about possible additional legislation to crack down on this. I am wondering how necessary that is. I, along with Chairman Blumenauer and others in 2015, when it came to reauthorization of the Trade Enforcement Act, worked hard to address the consumptive demand loophole, and make sure that we had clear language, enforceable, with resources to CBP, to prevent the importation of products based on the exploitation of slave, forced, and child labor.

Is there an argument to be made that we need to enhance the already law under the Trade Enforcement Act, and making sure that CBP has the resources they have? Because, like you, I am concerned about the lack of responsiveness from CBP. When I have

reached out to them asking for more information, there is a lack of candidness, transparency, and information that they are willing to share.

And additionally, what additional leverage do you think Congress has to really make the Trade Enforcement Act work the way we intended it to when we passed it with President Obama in 2015?

\*Ms. Feingold. Thank you so much, Representative, for your question.

Absolutely. I think that legislation is really important because, again, it sets out the framework, and because it, especially, has bipartisan support. And I think that is also a really important message. When I started my comments by saying this is a rare moment, we have some common ground here, and we really should be building off that common ground.

I think legislation is also important because it sends a strong message to our allies that, you know, this is what it should look like. This is the framework that perhaps they can use. We are taking this seriously.

Absolutely, we need additional congressional oversight. You need to be asking these hard questions about CBP: Where are your actions? Where is the data? What are you doing?

We don't -- we can't get that information, so we think that increased congressional oversight is really important. So, yes, to, you know, this important legislation, and to increased oversight.

\*Mr. Kind. Well, there is one point of leverage coming up soon before Congress again, and that is reauthorization of the Trade Promotion Act. And I am willing to work with any of my colleagues on committee to address this glaring problem we have right now with CBP, the reporting requirements, the transparency, the responsiveness that we are working with them.

But let me also just stay with you for a second. Is there a play that can be had here through the World Trade Organization in developing international consensus and the rules of trade, but to truly crack down on this exploitation of labor on a global basis?

\*Ms. Feingold. I think -- we have said for years the WTO needs to be reformed. It needs to take seriously enforceable labor rights issues. We have said this for years. The initial Havana charter actually recognized it: you need trade policies that are rooted in asking the question, "Do these policies contribute to the well-being of people, yes or no?"

The WTO currently doesn't do that. I would welcome any efforts to strengthen labor rights protections, address forced labor, make them binding and enforceable at the WTO.

\*Mr. Kind. Mr. Nova, let me ask you, you raised in your testimony the issue of verification of supply chain problems when it comes to products based on forced labor. Is there an enhanced role for the private sector to be playing, companies that are actually importing these products, to do a better job themselves in prohibiting this type of practice before they import these products?

\*Mr. Nova. There absolutely is. There is a lack of transparency in global supply chains, and some brands and retailers don't know where their cotton and yarn comes from.

But it is very important to stress, brands and retailers that don't know have chosen not to know. Brands and retailers have the ability to control where cotton and yarn is sourced in their supply chain, to determine who their business partners are in the supply chain from the top to the bottom, and they need to take the necessary actions to do that. They do it when it suits their interests. For example, when they are claiming preferential tariff treatment based on the origin of the yarn or cotton.

These are global corporations that have built supply chains that are enormously effective at yielding what the brands and retailers want, which is generally inexpensive

goods produced quickly. If brands and retailers devoted the same energy and effort to tracing cotton and yarn and, more broadly, to preventing forced labor, that they do for those other priorities, we would see fundamental change.

\*Mr. Kind. Great.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you, Mr. Kind. We are now going to go to the two-to-one ratio, and we will start with Mr. Holding.

\*Mr. Holding. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you very much for holding this very timely and important hearing today.

The ongoing repression of ethnic minorities in China cannot be stopped by our government alone. In order to put an end to forced labor in China all together, we need to create a unified front through strong partnerships with our private-sector and our foreign allies.

And right now the trade agreements that are in negotiations, and those that are up for renewal would create a shift in raw material sourcing. We realize now more than ever the importance of stabilizing and reshoring our supply chains, so finalizing and renewing trade agreements with our growing international partners will help us shift away from China, and will avoid the possibility -- entry of -- with forced labor in our supply chains.

We need to capitalize on the robust American private sector as a strategic partner. North Carolina is the proud home to the largest textile industry in the country, and they are dedicated to working with Customs and Border Protection to solve this problem. In order to see this through, we need to develop an efficient and transparent WRO process that will help identify and remove forced labor from our supply chains.

It is my understanding that the CBP issued another five Withhold Release Orders this week, and that a broader Xinjiang-wide WRO order is in the works. And I am glad to

see CBP use its authority to enforce our laws, and I urge them to continue open communication with stakeholders to optimize the use of Withhold Release Orders.

So my question -- and I will direct it to Mr. Lamar -- are there any specific developments that could be made to ensure that the WRO process is more effective? And how do you think we can expand our relationship with private partners and foreign allies to ensure China is held accountable, and ends forced labor of Uyghurs and the other ethnic minorities in China? Mr. Lamar?

\*Mr. Lamar. Thank you, Congressman. You have been an incredible leader for the textile and apparel industry for many years, and we really appreciate your leadership there.

For your specific question on how to improve the WROs, I would simply say what I mentioned before, is we -- look at what the COAC has produced. They have produced a number of reports, including two during the last four or five months. They make a number of recommendations about improving and making clear the evidentiary standards, providing for more transparency -- which a number of the witnesses have mentioned already today -- so we all have a better sense of what is going on, both as the WROs are being developed, but then also so we learn about them on a timely basis, so we can actually use those WROs to enhance and enforce our own compliance and enforcement efforts around the world.

I think we should look at whether and how we get Customs more funding, because it is clear that this is a potent tool that needs to be used more. Again, I would say used more -- used properly: be entity-specific, be fact-based.

And to comment on a point that was made before, the WROs are not the be all and end all. This is a regional problem that requires larger solutions. The WROs are not going to address the regional problem. The WROs are going to address problems where



the facts emerge, and we can use them, and then we will have other enforcement tools, as well.

But to address the regional nature of this crisis, that is where we need to bring out the bigger guns. And that is why I keep going back to the need to get government-to-government efforts, and bringing our allies on board with us.

\*Mr. Holding. Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman, I will yield back, because I need to run and vote.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you very much. Next, we have Mr. Kildee.

\*Mr. Kildee. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Can you hear me okay?

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Loud and clear.

\*Mr. Kildee. All right. Well, I want to thank you for holding this very important hearing. It comes at an important time.

And I want to thank all of our witnesses. The information you brought to us is very important and offered in a really compelling fashion. So, I appreciate all of the input that we received.

I want to sort of bring this back home to my district, if I can. And first of all, I mean, obviously, the kind of forced labor that we are talking about is an egregious use of authority, and a terrible example of how cheap labor in China often undermines not only human rights, but the American economy. So, I want to emphasize that the moral imperative, the moral aspect of this question, is the most significant piece of it. It is the one that I think ought to be the strong underpinning of American policy. It ought to drive not only our law, but the way we use existing law in order to promote values that we think are important and transcend boundaries.

Having said that, it is also important to note that there is an economic impact to the use of forced labor and the abuse, specifically of the Uyghur population in Xinjiang.

So, I wonder if, Ms. Feingold, if you might help me by translating, in economic terms, what this means to, say, the American worker, maybe a factory worker, an auto worker in my hometown. What effect does this abuse and this exploitation have on them? Because I think it is important that we explain it in terms that folks can understand the impact.

\*Ms. Feingold. Thank you very much for your question, Representative. I think, obviously, Michigan is a great example of the challenges of the economic model that we are up against and that we are discussing here today.

When we don't have regulations in this country about how we are producing, how we are setting up supply chains, what happens is precisely what happened in Michigan in the auto sector. You had supply chains leave the country. Companies no longer were paying taxes there. It affected the revenue base. It affected the ability of working people to have a decent job, a decent community.

And so we began to see a system of labor arbitrage, whereby companies left Michigan, went around the world looking for, you know, low labor costs, places with low unionization rates and, often, repressive environments. China is an extreme case of this model.

It is also, though -- I want to be clear that what we are saying is not, you know, leave this place for another repressive model. What we are saying is what we need are trade, economic, and investment policies that are based on fundamental worker rights. You level the playing field so that the auto worker in Michigan is able to produce, or we can make PPE in this country and know that it is being made decently, and with fundamental worker rights protected.

So this is really important, why I keep coming back to this is an economic model that needs to be undone, and we need to build new trade and economic models that start

with the fundamental premise we must protect the rights of all workers, whether in Michigan or in the Uyghur Region.

\*Mr. Kildee. Thank you very much for that. And I wonder if I might just turn to the panel.

You know, there is, obviously, a lot of discussion now regarding China. The President often refers to how tough he is on China. I know that the growers and the manufacturers that I represent back home, particularly in the context of the phase one agreement, expected to be able to access some of these markets. And, of course, that hasn't happened.

And we also know that Customs and Border Protection has the authority under existing law to enforce against products that are derived from forced labor.

And I just would like to get a comment in the brief time I have left regarding the extent to which existing authority is being used by this Administration to stop products from coming in. I mean we do need more law, and we need better law. And I agree with Ron Kind regarding the Trade Promotion Act. But under existing law, is enough being done? Anyone?

\*Ms. Lehr. So I want to get back to -- thank you for the question -- something I said earlier, which is that, even under existing law, CBP could be making certain presumptions that we think would be factually grounded. There are high indicators of forced labor. And they could identify -- we have done the work. We know you can do it. It is hard. You need Mandarin skills, but it is doable. And so they could, at a minimum, be making some presumptions that would enable them to broaden their targeting. So that would be, I think, an easy first step that could have been done some time ago.

\*Mr. Kildee. Thank you. I see my time has expired. Again, thanks to all the witnesses, and thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you, Mr. Kildee.

Mr. Panetta?

[No response.]

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Let's go to Mrs. Murphy. We will catch Mr. Panetta later in the proceedings.

Mrs. Murphy?

[No response.]

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Ms. Sewell?

\*Ms. Sewell. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Can you hear me?

\*Chairman Blumenauer. You bet.

\*Ms. Sewell. Okay. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for holding this important hearing about the human rights abuses against the Uyghur people in the Xinjiang Region of China, and the troubling, very troubling, use of forced labor in the global supply chain. Everyone should be deeply concerned about the reports laying out how millions of Uyghurs have been detained in so-called reeducation camps, where they are forced to perform tough labor, while being subject to terror, physical abuse, and indoctrination.

The United States has a moral, economic, and strategic imperative to respond to these abuses. We must use our unique position in the global trading system to advance our values of workers' rights and the freedom and dignity of all people.

I was proud to work with my colleagues last year to strengthen labor standards for North American workers in the USMCA trade agreement. We must similarly use the diplomatic and economic power of the United States to eliminate forced labor practices by our trading partners and global businesses.

I am highly disappointed, as my colleagues have indicated, that the Trump Administration has not taken more meaningful action to address these issues. It is

troublesome. It is actually really troublesome and offensive that the United States has not raised these human rights concerns in recent trade negotiations with China, and that the few enforcement actions that have been taken recently do not meet the scope or severity of this problem.

At the same time, private-sector actors, including companies that sell their final products to the United States, also have a clear responsibility to uphold the integrity of their supply chains. Global businesses must allocate whatever resources are needed to ensure that their upstream suppliers and manufacturers do not use forced labor. This is a crisis that demands a holistic solution, with cooperation from the United States Government, international businesses, and other nations. I urge and encourage all of the entities involved to take aggressive action to disincentivize and eliminate the use of forced labor in our manufactured goods.

My question goes to Ms. Lehr.

Amy, your testimony underscores the need for this sort of all-hands-on-deck approach to addressing this challenge. Yet we continue to see the inaction from the Trump Administration. What additional steps should the Trump Administration take to pressure the Chinese Government on these issues?

Likewise, what diplomatic and regulatory tools are there at our disposal to make a bigger impact on this critically important issue of human rights?

\*Ms. Lehr. Thank you for the question. I think, the first is just showing really consistent commitment to multilateral institutions and consistent leadership that is principles-based. And that alone will help restore our allies' confidence in us, and help them join in an effort like this, where they know there may be repercussions from China.

I think that Cathy provided the point that the UN has been quite inactive on this, and that there is an opportunity for a lot more action there. The more the U.S. engages,

and engages with these human rights mechanisms, the more likely that is going to be -- to occur. Well, right now, China is actually undermining those human rights mechanisms very actively, because of the vacuum the U.S. has left.

In terms of our own regulatory tools, I mean, I think there is quite a range of options. And obviously, people have talked about CBP a lot, and that is one piece of the puzzle. There is also the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, and you can bring both civil and criminal actions under that, private actors and the government -- used in this context at all. And in fact, it is used very, very little. So I think there is an opportunity there, as just another tool in the toolkit.

I think there is also opportunities, as I said, to really enhance traceability and supply chains that isn't there right now. And so I think there is a range of tools.

And I just want to put a little touch point on the traceability discussion, which is that some of these new techniques -- some of the companies have really extensive libraries from Xinjiang, and actually do have the ability to identify origin. Thank you.

\*Ms. Sewell. Cathy, in the time I have left, would you mind talking about the ramifications for American workers if we do not fully address the human rights abuses against the Uyghur people and others around the globe?

\*Ms. Feingold. Thank you so much for your question. First of all, it sends a strong message that this country doesn't care about worker rights or how our supply chains are built. We just heard the news this week our manufacturing numbers are going down, despite what is happening. We have our machinists union that has come out with very specific examples of how their membership has been hollowed out. They cannot compete with forced labor.

What we want is a set of rules in the global economy that work for workers here, and work for workers around the world. We think it can happen, that you can have decent

work, and allow workers to live with dignity. No worker should be pitted against each other. Thank you.

\*Ms. Sewell. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman, for indulging me in going over time. Thank you, sir.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you very much.

Did Mr. Panetta or Mrs. Murphy join us? We skipped them over. If not, we will go to Mr. Schweikert.

\*Mr. Schweikert. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And, you know, for those of us -- and I know there is a number on the committee who have been interested in this subject -- you know, some of the issues we are talking about are -- have been around us for at least in my decade in Congress. How many of us remember several years ago, when we were having the discussion of what was happening in Bangladesh?

So, you know, we need to be intellectually consistent all the time, as we work on this, on, you know, the fragility of sometimes, you know, bad actors, the institutions, and those -- and how we need to come up with a unified front.

To our witnesses, I do have a question. You know, we have seen some of the testimony. We have seen your documentation, the scale of the issue with -- in western China with our -- with the Moslem Uyghur population. Are there other populations also being exploited, other -- whether it be religious, or ethnic, or regional minorities? Can anyone answer? Do we need a -- even a broader understanding of worker exploitation happening in China right now?

[No response.]

\*Mr. Schweikert. Anyone with a thought on that?

\*Ms. Feingold. I am happy to jump in, and then I think -- I know my colleagues -- you know, the AFL-CIO has worked on this for decades, also with you, and, you know,

worker rights issues have been an issue for years.

So I would just say the overall framework in China is repressive. We have labor activists who are imprisoned. So, you know, I think there is no independent trade union movement. So, yes, it is all --

\*Mr. Schweikert. But I --

\*Ms. Feingold. -- about it.

\*Mr. Schweikert. Yes, but my interest is -- is there another religious minority or ethnic minorities who are -- population that we are also learning is being forced into production labor.

\*Mr. Nova. There are other Turkic Muslim minority groups, in addition to the Uyghurs, in the region who are subject to the same level of repression, the same instances of forced labor as the Uyghurs.

One of the factories that is the subject of a new WRO from CBP is in the Prefecture of Ili, against the Kazakh border, where the population is ethnically Kazakh. But again, the same repression, the same forced labor across all the Turkic Muslim minority groups in the region.

\*Mr. Schweikert. Okay, thank you. And my reason for asking that question is I am a believer that we are on the cusp of having technology -- if we can make it broad-based enough -- to truly understand sourcing. We even had a presentation before COVID of a company that was experimenting with almost a DNA testing of sorts on products that came by to be able to even identify regions and worker populations.

But we will need to understand what we are looking for because, heaven forbid, we come up with a methodology where we start to be able to block certain Uyghur-exploited products, to only find out that we just pushed it somewhere else.

Does anyone have an -- on the panel -- have an expert -- on the next generation of



technology that can identify products that were made through exploitation?

\*Mr. Lamar. Thank you, Congressman. I will take a stab at that.

So, yes, there is a lot of work being done, whether it is DNA-based, or checking out trace elements that are present in the soil. So, when you grow cotton and blend it and harvest it and so forth, that -- those elements will then show up in the fiber, and then they will show up in the finished product.

I would be cautious about saying where those are. There is still a lot of work to be done to determine whether they can be used, and all of the different ways that we may need to validate it, whether it can be a proper enforcement tool, and so forth.

I will just give you one example. If you are looking at the technology where you look at the trace elements, for example, the U.S. has calcium in its soil. India has some in their soil. Brazil, Argentina, they do, as well. As you blend those fibers together, and then you look at the finished number, all those numbers, do they add up together? Do they cancel each other out? And so you may end up with a false result, because you have now taken something that you could have traced individually, an individual fiber, if it wasn't blended with anything else, with a bunch of other fibers.

And the nature of the cotton industry is very, very fungible. It is a fungible commodity, and it gets blended. The kind of cottons that we grow here, long staple, is what they also grow in the region, the Xinjiang Region --

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Keep it short.

\*Mr. Lamar. There we are. So --

\*Mr. Schweikert. All right.

Mr. Chairman, as we move forward, thinking about this whole subject area, I think it would be worthwhile to do two real key things: understand the scale of the problem, what other regions of the world is this also -- this type of human exploitation happening;

and then what technology could we ever roll out, also propose to the EU and other purchasers around the world, and see if we can come up with a common threshold documentation.

And the reason I bring this up is the Blockchain Caucus in the previous years --

\*Chairman Blumenauer. I don't mean to be rude --

\*Mr. Schweikert. Am I over time?

\*Chairman Blumenauer. -- Mr. Schweikert. We have got other people waiting.

\*Mr. Schweikert. Oh, I am so sorry.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. That is okay --

\*Mr. Schweikert. -- over time, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for your tolerance.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. No problem. No problem.

I heard a rumor that Mr. Panetta may be back.

\*Mr. Panetta. I am here.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. You are on, Jimmy.

\*Mr. Panetta. Thank you, Mr. Chairman -- I appreciate this opportunity -- Ranking Member Buchanan, and, obviously, all of the witnesses, for providing your time and, most importantly, your expertise in highlighting such an important issue that, unfortunately, some people and some in this Administration are not. We appreciate your efforts in this area.

Look, I think we understand, wholeheartedly, especially based on your testimony, that the United States' relationship with China is really one of the most consequential in the world. China is the second largest economy with high ambitions, having experienced exponential growth in recent decades, and they are aggressively pursuing an economic dominance, as we are seeing.

But as we know, and as you have testified to, it has also an absolutely abysmal

record on human rights. Worse, it is becoming increasingly bold in its violations, as we have seen from Hong Kong, to the Uyghur people.

Now, I think we all know, and it has been said, we have trade relations with many nations who struggle to provide adequate labor rights. And some of those nations, though, don't have the capacity to enforce the laws on their books or on which their preferential trade status relies. And this type of struggle to improve labor conditions, as we have seen -- and I have seen firsthand, based on my time under the leadership of Chairman Blumenauer, that this struggle to improve these labor conditions is common.

But China, as we know, is just not a developing country. And it is not a country that is struggling to enforce its laws. And, unfortunately, it is struggling to make honest efforts to improve that, as well. Instead, China is using the state power to what appears to be absolutely discriminate against an ethnic and religious minority, and strategically exploit them for selfish economic gain.

Now, the first step, I believe, is for this Administration to raise this issue during trade negotiations with China. And I think it is beyond time that the United States starts to take these types of crimes from China against its Uyghur people very, very seriously.

Now, Ms. Lehr, if I could start off with you, I know in your testimony you noted that China is unique in that it is actually facilitating forced labor, and not simply failing to prevent it. And so I would ask kind of -- is there any precedent, in that -- are there any other examples of trade partners with the United States engaging in this direct forced labor? And if so, how has the United States addressed it?

\*Ms. Lehr. That is a great question. Thank you. So a couple of comments on that.

I think the situation in Xinjiang is actually rather unique, because it is not just that the government itself is involved in creating these patterns of forced labor, but that it is part

of a larger pattern of abuses that have been called crimes against humanity. And so that makes it, in my opinion, pretty unique.

There are other examples of state supported, encouraged, or run forced labor, for example, in Turkmenistan. And there is a ban on cotton from Turkmenistan. So there has been a U.S. response to that.

But it is not even that -- it is terrible, but it is not the same, in the sense that it is not that the Turkmen Government is also rounding up all those people who are being forced to work, and putting them in detention facilities, and trying to end their attachment to their religion.

I hope that helps. Thank you.

\*Mr. Panetta. Got it. It does, thank you very much, Ms. Lehr. And is there -- I think you probably have an opinion on this, and I would love to hear it -- any reason why the USTR has not raised or made the importation of products using this type of forced labor an issue in the context of our trade relationship with China?

\*Ms. Lehr. I think there was a decision to separate out the labor and human rights issues, and I would just note that is not consistent with what we have done in past situations. I, in my testimony, flagged the fact that, under President Reagan, in our relationships with the Soviet Union in the Cold War, human rights were always a killer of every single conversation at a high level with that government. And I think that is appropriate in this situation.

\*Mr. Panetta. Great. Thank you, Ms. Lehr.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back. I appreciate this opportunity.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you, sir.

Ms. DelBene?

\*Ms. DelBene. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you to all of our witnesses.

This is such an incredibly important topic, and there are just terrible stories about what is happening with forced labor.

Ms. Abbas, thank you in particular for sharing your story, and highlighting how critical it is that we take action.

I wanted to ask you, Ms. Lehr, if you had suggestions on how financial regulators in the G-7 and other advanced economies could work together on increased transparency requirements for banks and private equity firms that have significant investments in Chinese companies that are complicit in these gross human rights abuses?

I know, for example, it was reported last year that the Swiss Bank, UBS, was one of the biggest investors in Hikvision, which is a video surveillance systems company that has profited from security spending in the region. So, I would love your thoughts on that.

\*Ms. Lehr. This is a really important topic that hasn't gotten a lot of attention. I did testify on it in front of the USCIRF Commission recently.

So the concern is that, for example, when Hikvision was put on what is called the entities list, it turned out that large U.S. pension funds were invested in it, public pension funds. And the interesting thing is that these technology companies are being put on the entities list, but that doesn't actually affect the ability of U.S. entities to invest in them. So it is a real gap in oversight.

I would also add to the list venture capital. I would suspect that a lot of the money going to these emerging technology companies in China that are testing out their products in Xinjiang, it is probably venture capital. And right now there is no natural home for that oversight. But it could be added to a disclosure requirement. In particular, if companies are investing in entities on the entities list, that seems reasonable to ask for information on - or you could expand it more to companies involved in developing emerging technology, and using it in that region. Thank you.

\*Ms. DelBene. Thank you.

Ms. Feingold, in July the New York Times published an article that some Chinese personal protective equipment manufacturers, PPE manufacturers, were using forced Uyghur labor to meet the increased demand from the pandemic.

We know the President's failure to address this issue with President Xi and to effectively use the Defense Production Act means that we still are overly reliant on imports from China to address our persistent shortages of PPE.

And I wondered if you knew what immediate steps we could and should take to address our increased dependence on personal protective equipment that could be produced by forced labor?

\*Ms. Feingold. Thank you, Representative, so much, for that question. Absolutely. I think the crisis, this pandemic, showed what happened when we have allowed our supply chains to kind of go out of control, right, where there is no regulation.

I think we need to look at some of the debate that is happening around, you know, bringing those supply chains back closer to home, so that they are regulated in a way that, you know, protects worker rights. We know how things are being made.

And again, you know, one other idea that we haven't discussed here is there is a whole, you know, tool that we have, which is around procurement policy, as well. We haven't -- that is another tool that the government has at looking at, you know, how are products being made, and making sure that they are not being made with forced labor.

But I think, on the supply chain issue, as we discussed, we need different manufacturing policies that bring things back closer to home, make sure they are made with worker rights. And since this was produced in the Uyghur Region, we have to assume it was made with the forced labor that has been documented.

\*Ms. DelBene. Thank you.

Ms. Lehr, I have one more question for you. You mentioned earlier about the tools we have to encourage companies to shift supply chains. And you mentioned the Development Finance Corporation. Are there ways for the Development Finance Corporation to partner with other development banks, like the Japan Bank for International Cooperation, or the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development to create a program to support the development of new supply chains in the region?

\*Ms. Lehr. So I think, if we are serious about cutting our Xinjiang forced labor concerns, supply chains will have to be -- robust efforts to develop new ones. And certainly, involving various development banks is one option. And I think having that proactive, coordinated approach would be really powerful.

And I would just add, if we are going to put this effort in, let's make sure we do it the right way, with really strong labor safeguards this time, so we are not recreating a problem.

\*Ms. DelBene. Thank you very much, and thanks to all of you.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you very much, Ms. DelBene.

Mr. Smith?

\*Mr. Smith. Thank you, Chairman. Thank you, Chairman, for holding this hearing on this critically important topic.

This committee has heard me speak many times about the success of President Trump's tough stance on China. While many experts dismiss his policies as unproductive, his achievements are right in front of us: a fully enforceable trade agreement with China, signed in January of this year.

Unfortunately, China's abusive practices are just as much inward as they are outward. Their use of forced labor is an ongoing injustice we must continue to confront.

And just as the President has held China accountable for their abusive trade practices towards the U.S., his Administration continues to hold China accountable for its abuses against its people by aggressively enforcing our prohibition on the use of forced labor.

The U.S. must continue to be a world leader on confronting forced labor. And, thanks to the strong actions of the Trump Administration, we are.

With my remaining time, I would like to address a concern that came up earlier. I want to thank my friend, Mr. Pascrell, for bringing up the difficulty presented by complicated supply chains. This is truly one of the most challenging pieces in tackling the evil of forced labor.

I reached out, in fact, to the Kraft Heinz Company to better understand what Mr. Pascrell spoke about just a bit ago. They assured me that none of their products, from tomatoes to any other goods imported to the United States, are sourced from the Xinjiang Region. Kraft Heinz is also working with my friend and colleague from Missouri, Congresswoman Vicky Hartzler, who is a member of the China Commission Executive Committee, and has a Kraft Heinz facility in her district, to provide support as we address this problem more broadly.

I believe this is important information for this committee to know. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the time the committee has dedicated to this important topic, and I thank all of our witnesses for their commitment to ending forced labor. Thank you, Chairman, and I yield back.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you very much, Mr. Smith. And you raise some interesting points. I think it might be worthwhile for the subcommittee at some point to delve a little further into the consequences of the Trump China policy with skyrocketing trade deficits, no enforceability for the items that are there, and that damage that the tariffs have done to American business and consumers. And I think that might be a productive



opportunity for us to move forward.

\*Mr. Smith. Mr. Chairman, I would also recommend meeting and looking at all of the ag products that have been purchased in the month of July, such as --

\*Chairman Blumenauer. I think it would be great to look at the big picture, Mr. Smith.

\*Mr. Smith. -- Mr. Chairman, thank you.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Mrs. Murphy, have you joined us?

\*Mrs. Murphy. I have. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Oh, well, great.

\*Mrs. Murphy. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you to all of our witnesses for joining us today. I wanted to make some brief remarks, broadly, about my approach to the U.S.-China relationship, which is the most significant bilateral relationship in the world today.

But first I want to just acknowledge the heart-wrenching testimony of Ms. Abbas, who told how her activism has led to her sister's disappearance by the Chinese authorities, and presumed incarceration in one of the Uyghur re-education camps.

My own family feared and suffered from the brutality of a Communist regime. And at that time, they were also sending Vietnamese people into re-education camps. So, I am deeply sympathetic and moved by your story. Thank you so much for your bravery in speaking out against the atrocities in Xinjiang. It is an incredibly moving story. And I appreciate your testimony today.

As it relates to Chinese policy under the Chinese Communist Party, especially its foreign and defense policies, its trade policies, its human rights records, I have a lot of concern about where all of those things are going. And I think my concerns have only

deepened as a result of the Chinese Government's mishandling of the COVID-19 pandemic, and their campaign of dishonesty and disinformation that made this pandemic far worse than it had to be.

My concerns have led me to introduce legislation that requires the U.S. Government to identify and combat efforts by the CCP, the Chinese Communist Party, to exploit the pandemic to advance its foreign policy objectives to the detriment of the United States and our allies.

You know, at its core, this bilateral relationship is really a contest over divergent values and interests. It is a contest between opposed political and economic systems and different visions for the future of Asia and the world, writ large. And in this contest the U.S. needs to be unapologetically defending its interests and values, and the United States needs to be preparing for competition across a range of areas.

But even as we move into an era of increased competition, I think the U.S. also needs to try to preserve some areas of cooperation on issues like North Korea, climate change, pandemic preparedness and response, and non-proliferation.

We cannot and should not convert a nation of 1.4 billion people into a cartoon villain. China isn't going anywhere. And we have to figure out how to coexist and continue to bring it into alignment as a good participant in the community of nations that we have. We need to do the best we can to try to shape and influence its behavior. And our greatest chance of success will come from two approaches: one international and domestic.

First, I think we have to work with our allies in Europe and Asia to influence China's behavior, whether that is around abuse of trade and investment practices, or blatant human rights violations.

And then secondly, I think it is really important that Democrats and Republicans

need to work together. China policy has become very politicized, even though there is fairly broad agreement on policy. We have to remember that we are strongest internationally when we are united domestically, and weakest on the global stage when we are divided along partisan lines. And China's horrific and unacceptable human rights abuses in Xinjiang have rightly cause bipartisan concern. And bipartisan outrage is an important precondition to strong U.S. action to try to change Chinese behavior.

We have to be clear-eyed and not play political football with an issue this urgent. The CCP is trying to strip the Uyghur people of their dignity as human beings, subjecting them and other Turkic Muslims to horrific human rights violations, including forced labor. And we can't sit by and let this happen. We have to act using all of the foreign policy tools available to us, including working with our allies. I think our goal has to be to stop these horrific human rights violations from occurring.

Ms. Lehr, given what I just laid out, what does a comprehensive U.S. policy to protect the Uyghurs look like, and how can we leverage all of the various elements of U.S. power to apply maximum pressure on the CCP, while minimizing the harmful repercussions for the United States' security and economic interests?

\*Ms. Lehr. So that is, obviously, a huge question. I think, first of all, again, when we are engaging on this, being very principles based, that we are not against China, we are against human rights abuses. And we would be against abuses by any country doing this. So I think, especially in multilateral fora, and with our bilateral allies, that consistent messaging around the facts is very important, because that will help them get on board.

But I think, again, it is about elevating this issue in a lot of different places where we have historically had a lot of influence. And again, that includes the UN. Why hasn't the UN high commissioner conducted an investigation of what is happening?

Can we re-engage in the UN Human Rights Committee? Because, frankly, China

is starting to run that show. And so trying to hold them accountable there certainly isn't very viable right now.

And how do we engage with the G-7? Is this even on the table?

So I think there is a whole --

\*Chairman Blumenauer. As you indicated, it is a very complex and long -- but you started the answer when Congressman Murphy's time expired. So --

\*Ms. Lehr. I am sorry.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. I would like -- no, that is no problem. But I would like to move on to Mr. Beyer, who has been patiently waiting.

\*Mr. Beyer. Thank you very much, Chairman, and thanks to all of you for being part of this.

I understand that an updated version of Congressman McGovern's H.R. 6210 has been noticed at the Rules Committee, and I haven't had a chance to review the updates, but it is actually good to know that the House is moving forward on this.

Ms. Abbas, I know we are talking about forced labor, but I would love your insight on, especially in light of potential news this week in the U.S., all the AP reports on forced sterilizations, a sevenfold increase from 16 to 18, and the huge increase in apparently involuntary IUDs, and what your experience through your extended family has been.

\*Ms. Abbas. Thank you so much for bringing this up. The Uyghur women are facing, basically, forced sterilization and the forced abortions. So cutting off the bloodline, not allowing Uyghur babies to be born, putting all the Uyghur men into jail, and the forcing Uyghur women to marry Han Chinese, this is the one strong aspect of this being active genocide, what is happening in our homeland right now.

So, you know, with that, we should never second-guess any kind of conflicts between trade deal and against China's -- you know, forcing China -- enforcing sanctions

against the labor camps -- China's cheapest input to its trade advantage.

Forced labor is the type of the world-based international trade that must be insisted upon, and not something bargained away. So I plead each of you to support the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act.

Just think about those Uyghur women who are forced to give up their being a mother, you know. No matter if they have the second child or eligible for having another baby, they are forced to sterilizations, and we have witnesses. And we are hearing from those inmates that -- what kind of horrible things are happening, not only the three million or more Uyghur in the concentration camps, but just as regular people, living in regular lives.

So I am just going to use a minute to show my sister's picture. You know, this is my sister, and she is one of those millions of Uyghur women. So please do whatever you can, because, as Mrs. Murphy mentioned, China is basically buying out the compliance of the United Nations and compliance of the World Health Organization, the Hollywood, the celebrities, NBA, now Disney and the International Olympic Committee, getting rewarded by the international community, hosting the Olympics, Beijing 2022.

So please just act. Thank you for allowing me --

\*Mr. Beyer. Thank you, Ms. Abbas, very much.

Ms. Feingold -- and it was a long time ago that Jimmy Carter and Zbigniew Brzezinski first put human rights into play in American foreign policy.

We have been bragging, the Democrats and Republicans, about the success of the USMCA, which the AFL-CIO has actually endorsed -- the new gold standard for labor and environmental obligations -- is there any reason we shouldn't use those USMCA labor standards in future negotiations with China?

\*Ms. Feingold. I think, absolutely, that should be our starting point. So we

should start with what we got negotiated in the USMCA, enforceable worker rights, and I think we should build from there. We may need to look at other tools that we would include, so a USMCA Plus. Given the egregious worker rights violations in China, we may need to get other tools to complement USMCA.

\*Mr. Beyer. Thank you very much.

And Mr. Nova, we have heard a lot of discussion about the possibility of the regional orders, the legislation blocking goods from Xinjiang. But there is also the issue of Uyghur prisoners who have been moved to facilities. How do we address those?

\*Mr. Nova. There is a labor transfer scheme the Chinese Government is utilizing to transfer Uyghur workers from the Uyghur Region to factories across China as part of its overall campaign of repression and social control, and they are -- forced labor as the result of factories across China in numerous economic sectors, and it is incumbent on brands and retailers to take decisive action -- outside of the Uyghur Region are not engaging in this scheme.

And just a broader point about industry action. Apparel brands and retailers have known for two years that there is widespread forced labor in the Uyghur Region, and that it is impossible to address it through normal due diligence mechanisms. Under those circumstances, they should have already exited the region. By not doing so, they have created a situation where they continue to import goods made with forced labor.

That is why there is a call to action from global civil society, asking brands and retailers to publicly commit to leave the region. It is why CBP is considering a region-wide WRO. It is why, of course, Congress is considering legislation. During the time it has taken to conduct this hearing, tens of thousands of American consumers have unwittingly purchased goods with content from the Uyghur Region, much of it made with forced labor. And until comprehensive action is taken, that reality will persist.

\*Mr. Beyer. Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Thank you, Mr. Beyer.

Well, I certainly appreciate the engagement of all the committee members and the cooperation of Mr. Buchanan and the Republicans. We are, I think, getting a sense, despite the complexity that has been revealed, that there is, in fact, a powerful consensus against forced labor and what is happening to the Uyghurs.

I appreciate Mr. Lamar's expression of commitment on behalf of the industry to work with us to solve this problem.

It is clear we need more transparency, starting with the Administration, in terms of what it is doing at the border.

It is important to hold the Administration accountable. I think that is an important element here that we need to pursue.

I look forward to working with the committee to seize this moment. I think there is an opportunity. I appreciate the range of ideas that were expressed, and the commitment people have to help solve this horrific problem.

We are going to conclude the hearing, and members will have two weeks --

\*Mr. Suozzi. Mr. Chairman? Mr. Chairman?

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Yes?

\*Mr. Suozzi. This is Tom Suozzi.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Oh, Tom, oh, Tom, I am so sorry. I am so sorry.

You are on, Tom. You are on.

\*Mr. Suozzi. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I know everybody is anxious to get off, so I will try and be as quick as possible. I am at the airport, myself --

\*Chairman Blumenauer. I apologize. I apologize. I got ahead of myself.

[Pause.]

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Are you muted, Tom?

[No response.]

\*Chairman Blumenauer. I am not hearing you, Tom, are you muted?

\*Mr. Suozzi. Can you hear me now?

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Yes.

\*Mr. Suozzi. I will try one last time, because I don't want to hold people up.

The reality is that we need to pass the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act. We can't rely on technology, or an individual, one-off catching companies. We can't check the calcium in the soil.

Listen to the language we heard today: crimes against humanity, forced sterilization, people being taken away from their families, people that are being forced to eat pork when it violates their religion, people that are being forced not to read their prayers, to be re-educated. We can't say it is okay, this business over here, but we caught the one down the street.

The Chinese Government, the Chinese Communist Party, is cheating, and it is treating its people awfully. We have seen it in Hong Kong, we have seen it with the Tibetans, we see it with the Uyghurs. They are cheating as far as stealing technology from us. We have to start holding more of a hard line against this type of behavior. It is not acceptable.

We should be encouraging cotton production in other countries, in the Northern Triangle of Central America, for example. Most of the cotton in the world comes out of China, and 84 percent of the cotton from China comes from the Xinjiang Region. We cannot allow this economic sabotage and these huge crimes against humanity to continue, and we must take a strong action.



I hope that people will support the Uyghur Act against forced labor. There are currently 17 Republicans on the bill, one of which was Mark Meadows, before he went to the White House. There are 11 Republican Senators, as well. I encourage my colleagues to get on this bill. Let's try and get it passed.

Let's hold them accountable in China to get them to change their behavior. They will not change their behavior. Think of what they are doing. Everybody in the world knows that they have a million-and-a-half people that they are treating in subhuman conditions, yet they continue to flout the world community. We have to hold them accountable. We have to get our corporations on board with us. We need to support our corporations to source their products from other locations that would be beneficial to us, economically, as well as for foreign policy goals. But China must be held accountable for their behavior.

I was going to ask some questions, but I feel bad that I am holding everybody up already. I support everything the witnesses have to say.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. Tom, go ahead, ask questions, take advantage.

\*Mr. Suozzi. Okay. Mr. Lamar, I want to ask you. I mean, I understand what you were talking about. You spoke about how difficult it is to actually catch these companies in the act, how difficult it is to identify the use of forced labor. And you need better technology, and you need government-to-government action. We need all these different things.

Why don't we pass this bill? Why don't we say that you can't take any products from the Xinjiang Region and put the onus on them, who are benefiting from this economically, put the onus on them to show clear and convincing evidence that they are not using forced labor.

We are trying to change their behavior. This is not just a dollars-and-cents issue.

Think of the language we heard today, crimes against humanity, forced sterilization, people being forced to violate their religious beliefs by eating pork during Ramadan, families afraid to go back to their native land, families that can't speak out, because their loved ones are going to be imprisoned or worse.

We have got to take action. And I understand the economic sacrifices that will need to be made here, and we need to pull together as a nation to support our textile industries, to help them to source cotton from other locations. But we need you, Mr. Lamar, more than anybody here, as a representative of industry, and as a Republican witness here today to say, you know what, we really have to do something about this. This is against our values, as a nation. And it is only going to happen if we all do it together.

So how do you feel about that, Mr. Lamar?

\*Mr. Lamar. Well, Congressman, we are against this. It is against our values as a nation, and we need to do something about it. I completely agree with you.

I think the reason -- because it is complicated, and because we have heard all of this testimony about the horrific problems which go beyond forced labor -- very, very horrific problems -- that is why we need to be smart about it.

The WROs, in our opinion, aren't what is going to address -- the regional WROs are not what is going to address all of the range of problems that we have been talking about. WROs have their role, and we need to do them, they need to be --

\*Mr. Suozzi. If China is the largest grower of cotton in the world, and 84 percent of the cotton comes from Xinjiang, and if America takes this action and says we are doing a regional ban against cotton from this region, you don't think China will react to that, finally?

This around the edges, waiting for the technology, checking the calcium in the soil, they are not going to react to that. They are going to play this game, trying to outsmart us,

and do what they do regularly.

I agree with Congresswoman Murphy and others who said this is an important relationship, we have to continue the relationship. However, some things are simply unacceptable, and the way they are treating the Uyghurs and others is unacceptable.

--This is not like maybe they are doing forced labor, maybe they are doing crimes against humanity, maybe there is forced sterilization, maybe people are being arrested, maybe this is going -- maybe -- no, this is happening. And we have got to act as a country, as a nation -- business, government, labor, everybody together -- to say, boy, this is really bad stuff. We can't have our kids, 20 years from now, look back on this and say, "Wait a minute, you know, we could have -- you know, the price of cotton went up per" -- whatever it would be.

I mean, we have to recognize we have to do something. And I -- and listen, I know the -- I am pro-business. I want to see the textile industry and other industries boom, and I want to support them. But we need to support other growers of cotton because, God forbid, China does not act. We are going to have to find a source of cotton somewhere else, anyway.

So, let's start supporting other countries want to try and comply with the world order of values, and try and support them in that effort.

All right, Mr. Chairman, I am sorry, I got excited.

\*Chairman Blumenauer. We appreciate your joining the subcommittee, Tom, and I appreciate your passion and your involvement, and look forward to working with you as we move forward.

Members will have two weeks to submit written questions to our witnesses to be answered later in writing. Those questions and your answers will be made part of the formal hearing record.

We deeply appreciate your engagement with us today. I think it was extraordinarily productive and informative for us, and I am looking forward to working with us all to make some progress to address this intolerable situation.

Thank you very much. The committee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 2:25 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

[Questions for the record follow:]

[Trade Subcommittee Chairman Blumenauer Questions for the Record](#)

[Response from Amy Lehr to Trade Subcommittee Chairman Blumenauer](#)

[Response from Cathy Feingold and Scott Nova to Trade Subcommittee Chairman Blumenauer](#)

[Rep. Marchant Questions for the Record](#)

[Responses from Stephen Lamar to Rep. Marchant](#)

[Submissions for the record follow:]

[Center for Fiscal Equity](#)

[Esquel Group](#)

[Family Research Council](#)

[Rail Security Alliance](#)

[Stephen Lamar Follow-Up Submission](#)