

Witness Name: Rushan Abbas			
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^{*}Please note that all recordings of the Uyghur Tribunal hearings can be found on You Tube: <u>Uyghur Tribunal - YouTube</u>

Witness Statement

- 1. My name is Rushan Abbas. I was born on June 14, 1967 in Ürümqi. I started my activism work while I was a student, organizing and leading the pro-democracy demonstrations at Xinjiang University in 1985 and 1988 which preceded the Tiananmen Square protests.
- 2. I studied Biology at Xinjiang University from 1984 until 1988. After graduating from the university in 1988 with the second highest score in the entire biology department of Xinjiang University, I was left jobless as the government's retaliation for my activism as a student. I left my homeland at the urging of my father because of my involvement in student activism and fears of repercussions from the Chinese Communist Party officials. I came to the United States in 1989 as a visiting scholar at Washington State University then accepted there for my master's degree. After coming to the United States in 1989, I studied plant pathology at Washington State University. I currently live in Herndon, Virginia, USA. I have always been a vocal human rights activist for the Uyghur people. In 1993 I co-founded the Uyghur Overseas Student and Scholars Association and also served as the Vice President of the Uyghur American Association for two terms. When I did that, my father Abbas Borhan, an Uyghur scholar, academic writer and a public figure, who was only 59 years old at the time, lost his professional job as the president of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Science and Technology Council. He was forced to retire as retaliation for my activism in the United States. In 1998, I started working as the first Uyghur reporter for Radio Free Asia Uyghur service.
- 3. I currently work as the Executive Director of the NGO, Campaign For Uyghurs, based in Washington, DC, which I founded in order to advocate for the human rights and democratic freedoms of Uyghurs and other Turkic peoples who are being oppressed by the Chinese regime, and to highlight the voices of Uyghur women and youth. I believe my own family's suffering to be as a result of retaliation by the Chinese government for my advocacy work.
- 4. I am testifying for my sister, Dr. Gulshan Abbas, a retired medical doctor who disappeared on September 10, 2018, and for the entire family of my husband, Mr. Abdulhakim Idris. He is serving as the General Inspector of the World Uyghur Congress and has also been diligently advocating for Uyghur human rights for decades. He studied at Al-Azhar University in Egypt, and co-founded the World Uyghur Youth Congress as well as helping to found the World Uyghur Congress.

- 5. My father-in-law and mother-in-law, Abdulkarim Zikrulla Idris and Habibehan Idris, are 69 and 71, and they are a farmer and a housewife, respectively. My three younger sisters-in-law, Turannisahan Idris (aged 47), Buayshehan Idris (aged 42) and Buhedichehan Idris (aged 32) are all housewives raising kids at home. Their so-called "excessive religious activities" by the CCP were wearing a headscarf and regularly praying at home. Their three husbands are also law-abiding ordinary people living ordinary lives, and were also taken to the camps. My brother-in-law Abdurehim Idris (aged 44 yrs) was sentenced to 21 years in jail for fasting during Ramadan and for obeying the traditional dietary restrictions of Islam. His wife Amina is also missing. The last time my husband spoke to his family was on April 25th, 2017. When my husband called his mother that day, she told him not to call them anymore. My husband knew there were Chinese people living inside of his parents' house at that time and that is the last communication he ever had with his entire family. When he tried to call again after several weeks, the house phone and their mobile phones were all disconnected.
- 6. More than a hundred days after that last phone call to his mother, on August 2017, a distant relative from an inner city in China, sent my husband a message and informed him about his brother Abdurehim's sentencing and that all of his sisters had been thrown into the concentration camps and the fate of my in-laws was unknown. At the end of the message, my husband was informed that the door to his parents' house was locked and sealed. When he asked about his nieces and nephews, he was told that no one knew where they were but they had ascertained that none of them were home.
- 7. He and I have not been able to find out the whereabouts of my in-laws, or anyone in the family, since then. We have no idea where my husband's 14 nieces and nephews are today. They range in age between 5 to 22 years old. The thought of children separated from their parents is heartbreaking for us. A total of 24 people are missing from my husband's family. The family all lived together in a large house in Aguyt neighborhood, Kollek town, Laskuy Bazar in Hotan city, Xinjiang, China. The last time my husband heard any sort of news about his family was in the summer of 2017. Then he learned that his family home was locked up and there was a large lock on the front gate of their house. My husband Abdulhakim Idris has been trying to use any possible ways he could think of to find out his family's whereabouts since the summer of 2017, without success.
- 8. On September 5th 2018, I took part in a panel at the Hudson Institute in Washington D.C. where I spoke about the conditions of the camps, and the atrocities Uyghur people are facing, while also outlining the fate of my in-laws. Six days later, my sister, Dr. Gulshan Abbas, born on June 12, 1962, and my aunt, Mayinur Abliz, born in 1955, disappeared. I learned that my aunt, a housewife in Artush, about 1400 kms away from Urumgi, had disappeared exactly the same day

as my sister after speaking with relatives in the region. My sister's detailed information is below:

- Name: Gulshan Abbas (XXX XXX and 古丽先.阿巴斯 on her Citizen ID and passport) Chinese ID#: 650103196206122322, Chinese Passport#: E23022399; The U.S Visa #: J7214050 9 (valid until 11/2024)
- Work: Xinjiang Oil field company Ming Yuan Worker's Hospital, 789 North You Hao Road, Wulumuqi (Urumchi), Xinjiang, China
- Home: 318 Sheng Li Road, unit 302, Wulumuqi (Urumchi), Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China
 - 9. Neither my sister or my aunt is famous; nor are they educators, writers or scholars. Neither has traveled abroad to any Muslim country, and they both speak Mandarin Chinese fluently. Neither of them needs any sort of job training. I say this because Uyghurs are often targeted when they travel abroad or if they cannot speak Mandarin (which is seen by the Chinese central government as a sign of being ignorant, backwards, or as a form of nationalist rebellion).
 - 10.I also can testify two Uyghurs who are the victims of this genocide. One was my high school classmate's brother, Qeyser Qeyum, the editor-in-chief of a literary magazine in Urumchi. The conditions are so intolerably bad that 55-year-old Qeyser Qeyum, in August 2017, committed suicide by jumping from an eighth-floor window out of fear of being detained.
 - 11. The other is my friend from my university, Waris Ababekri who was 53 years old when he was detained in Urumchi and taken to one of the concentration camps in January 2019. He was then released in early November of 2019 and died on November 24, 2019, two weeks after being released.
 - 12. Several months after my sister's abduction, my aunt was released but there is still absolutely no information on my sister's whereabouts. I learned from Radio Free Asia on June 2, 2020, that she was confirmed to be detained after they called the hospital where she used to work. By speaking with an employee there they confirmed it. There was still no word from the Chinese authorities, and no answer to our requests to speak to her.
 - 13. We received information through a third party on December 25, 2020 that she was given a harsh prison sentence on false charges. December 30, we held a press conference with the U.S. Congressional Executive Committee on China (CECC) to address this news. Following the press conference, on December 31, 2020, the

Chinese Foreign Ministry held a press conference where they confirmed her sentencing, stating that she was involved with terrorist activities. This was in direct contradiction to the piece published in Chinese State-run media outlet Global Times, in which they accused me in December 2019 of making up my sister. Now we hear that she was sentenced in March of 2019, well before Chinese State media published this libel. The Chinese Foreign Ministry has continued to accuse my organization of being connected with separatism and to smear me. I still have not seen any proof of life or concrete information regarding her condition, her wrongful sentencing, or extrajudicial detainment.

- 14. My sister is a retired medical doctor, non-political, warmhearted, loving, caring and kind mother. She devoted her life helping people and saving lives. My sister suffers from multiple health ailments, including osteoporosis that often leads to immobilization and she has undergone multiple surgeries on both of her eyes.
- 15. Her medical conditions require constant monitoring and medical attention. She retired early because of those health complaints. My sister visited her family in the U.S. multiple times over the past ten years with the last time being in 2016. During her visits, we took her to the doctor to address these health issues. The charges against her are baseless and preposterous. She has been punished for her family members' Uyghur human rights advocacy in the United States, spoke out against the Chinese government's unfair treatment of Uyghurs and other minorities in the region, and she was being treated merely as China's scapegoat. The fact that she was secretly detained, arrested and sentenced proves she has suffered great injustice. The atrocities committed against the Uyghur people are well-documented, widespread, and horrific. The cruel treatment of my sister is a direct retaliatory action.
- 16. The burden of her detainment pains me every moment of every day. Her children and grandchildren must face every day without her, without any news of her. One of her daughters even moved from her home in Florida to Virginia in order to be closer to Washington D.C. to do her best to advocate for her release, all to no avail. She and her sister have also suffered health complaints as a result of the distress of their mother's extrajudicial detainment.
- 17. My husband is also living with the daily agony of such enormous loss. I am wracked with guilt and torment on a daily basis as this ordeal stretches on. Our pain is magnified millions of times over in the heartbreak felt by every Uyghur around the globe every minute of the day.

I have read and understood this witness statement and I confirm that I agree with its contents.

5378 5379	Rushan Abbas – UTFW-064
5380 5381	Counsel – You stated that Chinese authorities confirmed that your sister was sentenced for involvement in terrorist activities. How old was your sister when arrested for activities?
5382	RA – She was abducted in September 2018. She was 56 years old.
5383	Counsel – What kind of activities do you think she might have been involved in?
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- RA There was no evidence or trial. Nothing was given other than the Foreign Ministry's claims. She is a retired medical doctor; she is quiet and non-political. She is a very law-
- abiding person, living a simple ordinary life. These are just accusations against her.
- Counsel She was arrested soon after you appeared on a panel discussion, speaking
- on the conditions in the camps, correct?
- 5389 RA Yes, on 5th September there was a panel at the Hudson Institute in Washington DC
- with people like Sean Roberts. I talk about the conditions in the camps and the genocide
- policy that Uyghurs are facing since August 2016, outlining the fate of my in-laws: my
- 5392 husband's entire family in Hotan was missing since April 2017. Six days after this, my
- sister and my aunt both got abducted on the exact same day. My sister lived in Urumqi
- and my aunt in [Artush? 7:41:55], a town near Kashgar, 1400 kilometres or 900 miles
- away from each other, but those two women were picked up on the same day, six days
- 5396 after my speech.
- 5397 Counsel Your younger sister-in-law was accused of excessive religious activity?
- 5398 RA The Chinese regard all simple religious activity like praying, going to the mosque,
- 5399 fasting for Ramadan, or wearing a headscarf in places like Kashgar or Hotan, as
- excessive. If anything, my sister-in-law may have worn a headscarf. Even saying Salam
- Aleikum is being outlawed. The regime has claimed for the last four or five years that all
- normal or simple religious activities are illegal Islamic activities, and based on that pretext
- they send people to camps or sentence them to harsh prison terms.
- 5404 Panel Is it clear to people in the region what they can do and what they can't do
- 5405 regarding religious activity?
- 5406 RA No. Before 2014 or before Xi Jinping people were able to practise their religions for
- 5407 a while. At the request of the Chinese regime, Mohammed Salahaddin, a religious
- 5408 scholar, translated the Quran from Arabic to Uyghur, and even his work per the
- 5409 government's request, was considered a crime. He was sentenced to detention in a camp
- and he died in the camp at more than 80 years old. They sanctioned people for travelling
- to the Mecca for Hajj, or to places like Turkey and Dubai for tourism, even with legal
- entities like travel agencies. Any Uyghur that travelled to Muslim majority countries faced

- 5413 harsh sentences. I have travelled around since my sister's abduction, I met thousands of
- 5414 Uyghurs looking for their relatives. Everything that used to be normal became prohibited,
- so no one knows what they can and can't do.
- 5416 Panel Legally, at the national level, some aspects of religion are legally permitted,
- 5417 except in this region, is that correct?
- 5418 RA Yes that is true in a large extent. It started from our homeland. Some people have
- 5419 tried to excuse the Chinese government's genocidal policy by saying "we have seen
- mosques in Xi'an or Beijing where people are still praying." But in our homeland, anybody
- 5421 who goes to the mosque to pray commits a crime.
- 5422 Panel So these people would be categorised as "extremists", and this is one of the three
- 5423 "Evils," correct? When did this begin to happen?
- 5424 RA It started when Chen Quanguo arrived in August 2016 although it goes back to
- 5425 2014, when they built the first camp in [Lubnur? 7:48:08]. At that time, they started to
- exercise a "shoot at the spot" policy, so any law enforcement agent, like traffic police
- 5427 believes that if someone runs a red light, they can shoot that person to kill, no questions
- asked. RFA did an excellent report on that, with notably a story of a teenager running a
- red light with a motorcycle who was killed. If you look at official documents from 2016,
- 5430 when party-secretary Chen Quanquo delivers China's central government's order of
- 5431 systematic ethnic cleansing, the beginning of the genocide, there is an official document
- that states that they must first "break their lineage," "break their roots," "break their
- connections," and "break their origins." Those chilling words stated in official documents,
- reported by the media to the public, explain the intent of eradicating the Uyghurs.
- 5435 Panel What happened to your high school classmates' brother, Qeyser Qeyum?
- 5436 RA I read on a RFA article that my friend's brother, who was editor-in-chief of a small
- journal in Urumqi. The conditions of the camps are so bad that he did not want to be taken
- there. So, when police officers came to arrest him, he was so fearful he jumped through
- the window from the 8th floor of the building.
- 5440 Panel Why did he think he would be arrested?

- RA Well, all intellectuals, editors, and scholars were being arrested. Per the education department's request, several prominent Uyghur scholars worked on the Uyghur textbooks for middle and high school students. This was done at the request of the government, it was fine. But since the rules have changed, they all have been sent to prison and camps. Many other prominent scholars like [NAMES: 7:52:13 7:52:21] were all targeted because they were Uyghur intellectual.
- Panel Did they say or publish anything that could be described as separatist or terrorist?
- 5448 RA No, they are not writing about separatism. They are just promoting and writing about
- 5449 Uyghur literature, history and ethnic identity, that is not separatism. It just a way of using
- 5450 Uyghur ethnicity and religion to eradicate Uyghur people. That shows the ultra-
- nationalism and racism on the part of the communist party.
- 5452 Panel Would this order have come from party-secretary Chen of from the department
- 5453 of education in Beijing?
- 5454 RA I am sure it came from Beijing and that Chen Quanguo is the person who is
- 5455 delivering in our homeland.
- 5456 Panel There were reports in the Global Times that you worked for American intelligence
- 5457 agencies; can you talk about that?
- 5458 RA I actually printed something on this as I thought it might come up. This is [? -
- 7:54:27], who is the deputy-director of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This is a
- tweet from his twitter account with my picture, calling me a CIA asset, a Guantanamo
- torturer, or saying I work for Homeland security, etc. This is the narrative of the Chinese
- communist regime, to discredit me. It is a common thing for them to call anyone who
- opposes the Chinese state's propaganda line CIA agents. In fact, I understand Sir
- 5464 Geoffrey Nice was also recently called a UK intelligence asset as well. This other
- document is from the Global Times network, on 23rd December 2019, so a year before
- the regime announced that my sister is a terrorist, and it said that we stole some Uyghurs'
- 5467 photos and information, claimed these people to be missing relatives in Xinjiang. Ever
- since my sister disappeared, I have been carrying around my sister's picture, I did not

- steal her picture or her information, it is my sister. Then, a year later, they came back and
- said that my sister had been sentenced and mentioned her by name.
- 5471 Panel Regarding your other relatives, particularly your husband's fourteen nephews and
- 5472 nieces, aged between 5 and 22, they are presumably older now?
- 5473 RA I would say that is their age now. I hope they are alive. I hope my in-laws are alive.
- We don't know. We have no idea who is surviving, who is living; who is sent to where;
- 5475 who is becoming the victims of organ harvesting; which kid is sent to which orphanage;
- which Chinese family adopted which nephew of ours; we have no idea.
- 5477 Panel But their parents are detained? How do you know that?
- 5478 RA My husband last talked to his mother on 25th April 2017, and she told him not to call
- them anymore. After that he did not try for a couple of weeks, but then he still tried just to
- see how they were doing, but none of the phones worked anymore, nothing worked. He
- tried to find out from distant relatives in Mainland China, and everybody said "no one is
- there anymore." Later in the summer, my husband found from one of these distant
- relatives that my in-laws, including my parents-in-law, my sisters-in-law and their
- 5484 husbands were all taken away. Nobody knows where the kids are. The family lived
- together in Hotan, but the door of their house was sealed. My husband is with me here
- right now, I witness him unable to sleep, unable to find out anything, he cannot find
- closure. Every Uyghur from the diaspora that you talk to will tell you it has been years
- 5488 since they talked to their relatives.
- 5489 Panel Why would they have been detained? Is it purely because of their association
- 5490 *with you or your husband?*
- RA I don't think so. For my sister yes, they tried to send me a message, to silence me
- by taking my sister and aunt six days after I spoke. But every single Uyghur is being
- 5493 targeted. All the intellectuals or thought-leader are targeted in particular, and as an
- 5494 Uyghur and a trained medical doctor, I am sure that even without me she would have
- been targeted anyway. Everyone's family is disappearing even if they are not engaging
- 5496 in political or religious activities, and they are able not to reach out and to speak out,

- testify about it as we do here, because many are afraid to speak about it. They worry
- 5498 about their other relatives.
- 5499 Panel Uyghur people who go abroad are afraid whereas Han people who go abroad
- 5500 are not afraid, correct?
- RA I cannot speak for the Han people, but for Uyghur people: yes. They feel that when
- 5502 Uyghur people go abroad, and we see Western cultures we start seeing the repression
- on our people and we demand being respected and treated with dignity.
- 5504 Panel Can you elaborate on your and your husband's physical and mental health?
- 5505 RA Thank God we are healthy, but emotionally how can you be? When your people are
- facing genocide with an intent to completely exterminate your people. I am the youngest
- in my family, my dad raised me during the Great Cultural Revolution, when he was
- targeted as a Uyghur intellectual. He did not have a job after, and he was sent to re-
- education centres. He passed away eleven years ago, but I am so grateful that my father
- is not of this world and that he passed away, because if he were alive, he would have
- faced the same things. And we are not an isolated family, we are one example of all
- 5512 Uyghur families abroad, even those "model" citizens who are happy with the system of
- the Chinese, even they are targeted because they are Uyghur.
- 5514 Panel In 1989 you left the country, was it difficult for you to leave, besides the family
- 5515 *ties?*
- 5516 RA I had mixed feelings. I love my family, but after graduating from university with
- second-highest score in the biology department, I was thrown out only because of my
- involvement in advocating for human rights of Uyghur people, with people like Dolkun Isa
- or my friend Waris Ababekri who died after being released from the camps. I was thrown
- to the street with no job. Also, I was sent by the education ministry to work at the
- agricultural university, but later, because of my involvement in politics I did not have a job.
- My father was worried about my safety, so I left. Three weeks after I arrived in the United
- 5523 States, there was Tiananmen massacre. I watched this barbaric regime kill their own
- children; they were Han Chinese! Ever since 1949, the regime relentlessly used every
- opportunity and labelled Uyghurs in so many names like "nationalists," "counter-

- revolutionary," "separatists," and later "terrorists." Now they are basically holding my
- family member hostages.
- 5528 Panel But even with your political activism, you were permitted to leave?
- 5529 RA Actually, right at that time, after the Afghan war in the late 1970, until the Tiananmen
- protests of 1989, there was a period that many people called the Golden times, that is
- when I went to university. Mosques were being built, we could publish books, we could
- study abroad, etc.
- 5533 Panel Concerning the detention of your sister and your aunt, you have been in the US
- for almost 30 years and your sister was not subject to detention. What was it about the
- 5535 Hudson Institute panel session that caused your sister to be detained?
- 5536 RA In the 2008 Beijing Olympics, there was confirmation from the West that the Chinese
- 5537 government can get away with anything. Because they were persecuting the Uyghurs
- and the Tibetans and there were repressive laws against anybody who does not worship
- the Communist Party, like democrats, underground Christians, and others. The regime
- started being more aggressive. My last visit to my homeland was in 2005. Then Xi Jinping
- came to power, and after the Beijing Olympics the regime took a U-turn" regarding human
- rights and became more authoritarian and the Uyghurs started facing more and more
- forced sterilisations and forced abortions, etc. Even just for the Uyghur people, not for
- anyone else: after you have your first baby you cannot get pregnant until three years, you
- must wait for three years. That was one way of affecting the Uyghur population. Especially
- after Xi Jinping announced the Belt and Road initiative in 2013, one of the main reasons
- why Uyghur are facing genocide today. That is why in 2014 they started building the
- 3347 willy dygridi are lacing genocide today. That is willy in 2014 they started building the
- camps. So, the repression increased gradually.
- Panel When did you first find out your sister and aunt had been detained?
- 5550 RA Last I spoke to her was in Summer of 2017. I used to talk to her quite often but after
- seeing what happened in April 2017 I stopped communicating with her. She has two
- daughters however, who are in America and they communicate with my sister all the time.
- 5553 The youngest one was pregnant in her third trimester, so she spoke to her mom very
- often. The other niece just had a baby in late May and they were talking to their mother

- on a daily basis. They last heard of her on the evening of 10th September 2018. They
- could not reach her. We waited five weeks but we still did not hear anything. Only later
- we found out from our distant relatives in other countries that my aunt was also last seen
- 5558 on 10th September 2018.
- 5559 Panel If part of the reason in arresting your aunt and sister was to get to you, did they
- 5560 assume you would find out eventually?
- RA I cannot tell but the only think I can think of is that they want to silence me and also
- show people what happens when you speak out.
- 5563 Panel I assume you have a USA passport?
- 5564 RA Yes, I am a US citizen since 1995.
- 5565 Panel Do you feel you have been harassed in any way? Are people following you?
- 5566 RA Even though I am an American citizen, and I exercised my constitutional right to
- freedom of speech, I feel like I paid the highest price for speaking out and exercising my
- freedom of expression, so I do not really think of my safety. I do hope I am safe.
- 5569 Panel If you applied to China would they allow you in? If they did, would you fear going
- 5570 to prison?
- 5571 RA I never thought of going back there. I have been on a black list for a long time now.
- I don't think it would be wise going there.
- 5573 Panel Do you know how many Uyghurs there are in America?
- 5574 RA I would say more than 10.000.
- 5575 Panel Would that be an underestimate because people would be frightened to join?
- 5576 RA Yes a lot of people are afraid to speak out and join our advocacy work.
- 5577 Panel Has your group met with or joined up with others around the world?
- 5578 RA We have our umbrella organization, the World Uyghur Congress, we also have
- 5579 Campaign for Uyghurs, of which I am the executive director. We all work together, we
- coordinate and collaborate together to raise awareness.

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- 5581 Panel How many people do you think around the world?
- 5582 RA That is difficult to estimate. If you look at Uyghurs who left East Turkestan after the
- occupation by the Chinese communist regime after 1949 when Uyghurs left to Pakistan,
- 5584 Saudi Arabia, Central Asia, etc. Altogether, probably about half a million.
- 5585 Panel Have you approached the government to ask about any ways that they could
- 5586 help you?
- 5587 RA Yes, we have approached NGOs, students, international entities, as well as
- 5588 politicians and governments around the world.
- 5589 Panel Does China allow any charities in, like the Red Cross or any other charity from
- 5590 outside?
- 5591 RA I'm sure they are allowed but I don't know how effective they could be because of
- the information blockade, the orchestrated tours, etc.
- 5593 Panel Mr Dolkun Isa has testified that Interpol was issued with a red notice and that he
- 5594 has suffered interference at UN functions and so on in this advocacy, have you had similar
- 5595 *interferences?*
- 5596 RA No, I have not.
- Panel When was the first time you publicly said that what was happening was genocide?
- 5598 RA I wrote on Op-ed on May 2019, where I wrote it was a "slow-motion" genocide. I
- 5599 have been calling it a genocide since the summer of 2019. I think in my first public speech
- in early June, and interviews, I called to recognise all countries who signed up the Belt
- and Road initiative complicit in genocide.
- 5602 Panel Being an activist and working on RFA may have exposed your relations to some
- 5603 risks. Did you discuss with your relations in China your position as an activist? And the
- 5604 risks for them?
- 5605 RA No. Never. But I know the situation, I lived there.
- 5606 Panel You tried to go through other people to contact or find out about your relatives,
- how many layers of hearsay would you say there generally was?

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RA – It usually works through the reports given by Radio Free Asia. The RFA Uyghur service get email or message tips and then they follow up on these tips and verify them.

Actually, they confirmed my sister's detention in June 2019.