

I beg to move,

That this House
notes that the December 2021 Uyghur Tribunal's judgment in London found beyond reasonable doubt that the People's Republic of China was responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity and torture in the Uyghur region; and calls on the Government to urgently assess whether it considers there to be a serious risk of genocide in the Uyghur region and to present its findings to the House within two months of this motion being passed, use all means reasonably available to ensure the cessation of ongoing genocide, including conducting due diligence to ensure it is not assisting, aiding, abetting or otherwise allowing the continuation of genocide and fulfil its other obligations under the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, accept the recommendations of the Fifth report of the Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy Committee, Uyghur forced labour in Xinjiang and UK value chains, HC 1272, including black listing UK firms selling slave made products in the UK and putting in place import controls to protect UK consumers, and place sanctions on the perpetrators of this genocide, including Chen Quanguo.

1. Mr Speaker, I want to put on record my thanks to the Inter-Parliamentary Alliance on China, and the World Uyghur Congress, in particular Rahima Mahmut and Dolkun Isa.
2. I would also like to thank Sir Geoffrey Nice QC, who chaired the Uyghur Tribunal.
3. Sir Geoffrey worked at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia – the ICTY – between 1998 and 2006 and led the prosecution of genocide against Slobodan Milošević, former President of Serbia.
4. I really cannot stress this enough – there is no person more qualified than Sir Geoffrey to assess allegations of genocide, the crime of all crimes.
5. Mr Speaker, this Government has a legal and moral duty to respond to the Uyghur Tribunal's verdict, and the evidence put before it.
6. It must stop shirking this duty by using expensive Government lawyers to weasel out of acting – to do so would be truly reprehensible.
7. As we know, last month's Uyghur Tribunal verdict was crystal clear that genocide is taking place in Xinjiang region of North West China – so I ask - what more does the Government need to see and hear?

8. Surely the Minister cannot argue with the evidence presented to the Tribunal, nor its conclusions that human rights abuses, torture and genocide are taking place?
9. There is no plausible reason why the Government can ignore the conclusions of the Tribunal.
10. To do so is to quibble on a point of dubious legality, to ignore evidence, and to ignore the moral and legal duty to act.
11. So when is the Government going to do what is right?
12. Where is the organising force of this Government?
13. Even when Parliament provides a clear direction, there is no action.
14. Mr Speaker, I'm not interested in hearing from the Minister if the Uyghur Tribunal is or isn't a competent court.

15. The International Court of Justice's *Bosnia and Herzegovina v Serbia and Montenegro* 2007 ruling completely blows that argument out of the water.
16. Let me remind the Minister of the current legal situation our Government is in – the ICJ ruled that “*a State’s “obligation to prevent, and the corresponding duty to act, arise at the instant that the State learns of, or should normally have learned of, the existence of a serious risk that genocide will be committed”* – that’s the crux of the issue.
17. These are the rules our Government is operating under, unless the Minister suggests we are making new international laws on the hoof.
18. Mr Speaker, this House has also examined some of the horrific evidence put to the Uyghur Tribunal.
19. With one voice, Parliament agreed genocide to be taking place in Xinjiang against the Uyghur people and other minorities.
20. This was a significant development, joining our allies in America and followed soon after by Parliaments in countries across the world including the Netherlands, Lithuania, Canada, and the Czech Republic.

21. So today's debate is about three things.
22. First – now that the evidence has been presented to the Uyghur Tribunal, the Government must assess whether it considers there to be a serious risk of genocide under its ICJ obligations.
23. The motion today aims to force the Government to present this analysis to the House in two months.
24. Second - if the Government won't do anything about the genocide, mass rapes, torture, and abuses taking place in Xinjiang, then it must at least tell us how it will protect the British people.
25. The British public, my constituents and I'm sure those of the Minister, do not want to assist, aid or abet the Uyghur genocide, and only the Government can protect the British consumer by putting in place import controls, blacklisting British firms profiting from slave labour, and toughening anti-slavery laws.
26. It's the least the Government can do to protect the British people – and it's not that hard, as the American Government has shown.
27. And finally, the Government should act in line with our closest international allies and use Magnitsky sanctions against Chen Quanguo, the “architect of the misery” in Xinjiang.

28. Mr Speaker, the Tribunal spent a year amassing the most comprehensive body of evidence on the Uyghur crisis in existence, taking testimonies from academics, legislators, witnesses – it was their testimony that allowed the legal determination to be made.
29. Take the evidence presented to the Tribunal on the massive drop of Uyghur birth rates in Xinjiang, which represents one of the five markers of genocide.
30. In one Uyghur region, birth rates are down 84%.
31. The destruction of a people by stopping them having children, in just a generation.
32. This is a biological genocide – nowhere else in the world are so many women being violated at the same time.
33. Despite the region accounting for just 1.8% of China’s population, 80% of all birth control device insertions in China were performed in the Uyghur region.
34. And Mr Speaker, is the Minister going to challenge the evidence the Tribunal presented, that *“pregnant women, in detention centres and outside, were forced to have abortions even at the very last stages of pregnancy. In the course of attempted abortions babies were sometimes born alive but then killed.”*
35. Mr Speaker, the picture I have just painted using witness testimony is so utterly horrific that the Board of Deputies of British Jews compared it to the Holocaust.

36. President Marie van der Zyl wrote *“Nobody could ... fail to notice the similarities between what is alleged to be happening in the People’s Republic of China today and what happened in Nazi Germany 75 years ago”*
37. And having considered this evidence, the Tribunal said it was *“satisfied beyond reasonable doubt that the PRC, by the imposition of measures to prevent births intended to destroy a significant part of the Uyghurs in Xinjiang as such, has committed genocide.”*^[2]
38. This cannot be a case of hear no evil, see no evil and speak no evil – that is right out of the CCP playbook.
39. The Government knows the United Nations Security Council is in paralysis, choked by veto powers given to China and Russia.
40. So let me give the Minister a heads up - rewrite that speech given the Government has **now** been made aware of the ICJ’s 2007 ruling.
41. And let me perhaps pre-empt some of the points the Minister will make.
42. In the past, the Government has deferred to its holding statement, that this is a matter for competent courts.

^[2] <https://uyghurtribunal.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/Uyghur-Tribunal-Summary-Judgment-9th-Dec-21.pdf>

43. This House now knows that the ICJ's *Bosnia and Herzegovina v Serbia and Montenegro* 2007 ruling has blown that out of the water.
44. Let me say it again: countries have a “*duty to act ... at the instant that the State learns of, or should normally have learned of, the existence of a serious risk that genocide will be committed.*”
45. And that duty has long been triggered.
46. So Mr Speaker, when the Minister recently praised the Tribunal for “*building international awareness and understanding of the human rights violations occurring in Xinjiang*”, that triggered the duty to act.
47. And not only that, but the Minister “*urged the Chinese Government to engage with the evidence provided by the Uyghur Tribunal*” during a recent meeting with the Chinese Ambassador.^[6]
48. So, does the Minister agree with the ICJ ruling, and agree it is the duty of Governments, not courts, to continually assess whether there is a serious risk of genocide?
49. After all, a Government must carry out risk assessments, due diligence, and similar procedures to ascertain the ongoing risk.
50. This responsibility falls on Governments – not courts.
51. And other Governments are acting.

^[6] <https://www.theyworkforyou.com/wrans/?id=2022-01-05.98339.h&s=uyghur+tribunal#g98339.r0>

52. Our allies in America last month introduced a landmark piece of legislation.
53. The Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act will utilise strict important controls on all goods arriving in America from Xinjiang, putting the burden of proof on companies to show that they are not selling goods stained red with Uyghur slave labour.
54. The British customer does not want to be duped into putting money in the pocket of firms profiting from slave labour and stained red by genocide.
55. And if we are set on seeking a Free Trade Agreement with America, the Government must strongly consider how enthusiastic our allies in Washington will be about the prospect of the UK being used to whitewash Uyghur slave labour goods imported from Xinjiang, through London, and into America.
56. We are becoming a laughing stock.
57. Additionally, last year the Government promised a bundle of measures “*to help ensure that British organisations are not complicit in, nor profiting from, human rights violations in Xinjiang.*”^[7]
58. There has been zero progress.
59. The Government promised a “*Minister led campaign of business engagement to reinforce the need for UK businesses to take action to address the risk*” – zero progress.

^[7] <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-government-announces-business-measures-over-xinjiang-human-rights-abuses>

60. The Government promised “*the introduction of financial penalties for organisations who fail to meet their statutory obligations to publish annual modern slavery statements, under the Modern Slavery Act*” – zero progress.
61. We have a duty to act – and we must act, now.
62. Mr Speaker let me leave you with the story of Tursunay Ziyawudun, a Uyghur camp survivor who I had the honour of meeting last year.
63. This is the most technically advanced genocide the world has ever seen, and survivors are rare.
64. She told of mass rapes which were state sanctioned, where women were removed from the cells "every night" and raped by one or more masked men.
65. She was tortured and later gang-raped on three occasions, and had an electric device inserted into her vagina.
66. And she was ashamed – but it is us who should be ashamed, that we have taken no action to stop her people being destroyed by genocide.
67. I urge, she pleads, we implore this Government to live up to its moral and legal obligation and carry out the urgent assessment of genocide in Xinjiang and to the Uyghur people.