

CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

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UPR Stakeholders' Submissions Flooded with PRC-Sympathetic Reports





CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

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UPR STAKEHOLDERS' SUBMISSIONS FLOODED WITH PRC-SYMPATHETIC REPORTS

When the United Nations Human Rights Council designed the framework for the Universal Periodic Review in 2007, one of the principles that it laid out was that the review should "[b]e a cooperative mechanism based on objective and reliable information and on interactive dialogue" Since the People's Republic of China's first review in 2009, it has reportedly used different tactics that tend to undermine this principle, including the deployment of non-governmental organizations to support its narrative and obscure human rights violations it had committed. This report documents the extent of this effort at the most recent UPR in January 2024 and provides evidence that many of these organizations are in fact heavily politicized, and some are under the direct control of the Chinese Communist Party.

I. Background

The People's Republic of China (PRC) defended its human rights record at the fourth cycle of the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) before the United Nations Human Rights Council on January 23, 2024. As is customary in the UPR process, the body receives in advance reports from stakeholders, including nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), regarding the human rights situation in the country being reviewed. The Civil Society Unit of the United Nations Department of Global Communications explained that an NGO is "any non-profit, voluntary citizens' group which is organized on a local, national or international level." Some NGOs are organized around specific issues such as human rights and may maintain relationships with U.N. offices and agencies.

According to a study, NGO reports submitted for the UPR can take different positions in relation to the government being reviewed, ranging from "systematically critical" to "sympathetic" and "laudatory." The author of the study used the term "government-sympathetic NGOs" to denote NGOs that "only lightly critique and more often praise their home government" Assertions made by an NGO in the UPR report favoring a government do not necessarily indicate that it is organized by the government or that it does not conduct charitable or other legitimate non-profit activities. And some of these reports contain helpful analyses

or recommendations. Nevertheless, a high percentage of government-sympathetic reports can skew the picture of human rights conditions in the country being reviewed. The present report adopts this definition of "government-sympathetic" and rephrases it as "PRC-sympathetic" to clarify the China context, while acknowledging that "sympathetic" can be broadly interpreted and does not assume any particular relationship (or lack thereof) an NGO may have with the Chinese government or Communist Party.

II. Nearly Half of UPR Reports Embrace the PRC's Narrative

For China's UPR, 162 stakeholders' reports were submitted.⁸ An examination by the staff of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China (Commission) found that 80 of these 162 stakeholders' reports can be considered "PRC-sympathetic" because they have one or both of the following features: (a) omission of material facts concerning the PRC's human rights violations identified in other NGO submissions, in the compilation of materials submitted by the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, or in member states' questions; or (b) they mirror the assertions made in the PRC's national report, which two China experts described as a "work of fiction" by propaganda authorities.⁹

As shown in the Appendix below, 41 of the 80 stakeholders' reports were submitted by organizations based in mainland China, 23 in Hong Kong and Macau, and 16 in countries other than China: Cuba (5), Egypt (1), Iran (4), Russia (3), Venezuela (3), all of which are identified as "not free" according to Freedom House's Freedom in the World Reports. With regard to the UPR review session, Reuters reported that "China has been lobbying non-Western countries to praise its human rights record" ahead of the UPR, sending diplomats notes with "specific speaking points to raise "11

III. Organizational Charters Show a Lack of Independence

In addition to the contents of the reports, Commission staff also reviewed other markers indicating an organization's ties to the PRC government or the Chinese Communist Party. Of the 41 mainland China-based organizations, the charters of 27 are available online. Twenty-four of these 27 charters (about 88 percent) contain language requiring loyalty to the Party. Charters operating under this requirement and that have a known date of adoption are all dated after 2014, suggesting that domestic NGOs are increasingly required to formalize Party loyalty in recent years.

In one instance, a discrepancy between the Chinese charter and its English translation supports an inference of deliberate concealment of an organization's political stance. The United Nations Association of China is one of the 24 organizations whose charter requires Party loyalty, but the charter's English translation omits this requirement, 12 which suggests an intention to project an inaccurate image to the English-speaking audience.

Five other organizations¹³ have posted discrepant charters on their websites, but the evidence of intent to conceal is less conclusive because the dates on the Chinese and English versions do not match. Specifically, the Party loyalty requirement is stated in the newer Chinese charters, all of which postdate 2017, but it is absent in the English translation that is based on the older versions of the charters. He Because the older Chinese charters are unavailable online, and therefore make comparison impossible, it cannot be determined whether the discrepancies indicate an intent to conceal or that the Party loyalty requirement is a recent addition. Regardless, either conclusion supports an inference of a lack of independence.

IV. Party Presence in State-Affiliated Non-Governmental Organizations

A lack of independence compromises the objectivity and reliability of reports submitted by PRC-sympathetic organizations. In the case of mainland China-based

organizations, Commission staff found evidence of the presence of a Party branch in 15 of the 41 organizations. This finding, however, does not preclude the existence of Party branches or other forms of political influence in the other organizations. Party branches ensure political conformity, and their presence is a strong indication that the organization is not independent. ¹⁵ In particular, some organizations are defacto Party or government entities, including the following:

- The charter of Amity Foundation (TAF) provides that the organization's operations are overseen by a provincial branch of the United Front Work Department, a Party department.¹⁶
- The China Committee on Religion and Peace (CCRP) is an entity within the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which is part of the Party's united front system.¹⁷
- 3. The China Ethnic Minorities' Association for External Exchanges (JS6) is managed by the PRC National Ethnic Affairs Commission (a State Council department) and is directed by the Party's united front department.¹⁸
- 4. The charter of the China Institute of Labour Relations (CULR) provides that the institute be led by a Party committee. 19

V. Need for Protecting the Integrity of the UPR Process

Organizations sympathetic to the PRC have a record of making submissions at U.N. reviews, which detracts from the proper examination of the PRC's human rights record. For example, in the 2023 U.N. review of China's compliance with a core international human rights instrument—the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)—at least 23 stakeholders' submissions reportedly were made by government-organized non-governmental organizations (GONGO) or other entities with ties to the Chinese Communist Party or government. A rights researcher opined that "[d]eploying GONGOs is an obstructionist tactic the Chinese government increasingly uses when U.N.

committees assess China's performance in implementing the treaties it has ratified."²² Not only do GONGO-like inputs obscure important human rights issues at the UPR, they also lend legitimacy to the tactic whereby allies of member states with poor human rights records use these reports to defend each other at the review.²³

PRC-sympathetic NGOs additionally take up the limited speaking time available to NGOs during the Human Rights Council plenary session when the final outcome report is debated and adopted.²⁴ Organizations that have been granted consultative status by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) may make general comments at the plenary session.²⁵ In the case of China's UPR, 30 of the 80 PRC-sympathetic NGOs have special consultative status and two of them have general consultative status. Among the mainland China-based organizations with consultative status, at least 18 of them are not independent by reason of their charter or the presence of a Party branch, as shown in the Appendix below.

To reduce the deleterious effect of government-sympathetic organizations on the integrity of the process, any initial application for consultative status or application for reclassification—regardless of the country of origin—could be adjudicated with knowledge of the relative degree to which a country's political system allows civil society, including NGOs, to operate openly and independently. In China's case, the political reality is such that civil society groups are not at liberty to make objective and unbiased submissions even if they are given some limited space to conduct nonpolitical activities domestically. The presence of Communist Party branches in organizations is particularly relevant to an eligibility requirement for being accorded consultative status.

To be accorded consultative status, the applicant organization would have to, among other things, show that its members are able to "exercise effective control over its policies and actions through the exercise of voting rights or other appropriate democratic and transparent decision-making processes." ²⁶ In addition,

any member of the organization who is designated by governmental authorities must not "interfere with the free expression of views of the organization."²⁷ In China, neither of these requirements can be met when the Party demands full political loyalty as documented above. Considerations of a country's political control over NGOs likewise can extend to the quadrennial applications for reclassification by an organization already in consultative status.²⁸ In addition, U.N. bodies can use information such as that contained in this report to ensure an accurate assessment of countries' human rights practices and to raise public awareness regarding abuses of U.N. processes.

Appendix: Data Concerning PRC-Sympathetic Organizations

Explanation of notations used in the table below:

- "N/A" means that the charter of the organization cannot be located.
- "Unk." stands for "unknown," which means that the existence of a Party branch cannot be determined.
- "G" means general consultative status granted by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).
- "S" means special consultative status granted by the ECOSOC.

| | UN-assigned document code | Organization Name | Does charter require loyalty to Party? | Is there a Party branch? | Prominently promote Party policies on | ECOSOC consultative status | Other notes |
|---|------------------------------|---|---|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| | | Organizations ba | sed in | Mainla | nd Chi | na | |
| 1 | ACEF2005 | All-China Environment Federation | Yes^{29} | Yes^{30} | $ m Yes^{31}$ | S | |
| 2 | BCLARC | Beijing Children's Legal Aid and Research Center | N/A | Unk. | No | S | |
| 3 | BDPF | Beijing NGO Association for International Exchanges | Yes ³² | Unk. | No | S | |

| 4 | CAFIU | Chinese Association for | N/A | Unk. | No | C | |
|----|---------------------|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|---|
| | | International Understanding | | | | S | |
| 5 | CANGO China | China Association for NGO Cooperation | N/A | $ m Yes^{33}$ | No | S | |
| 6 | CAPDTC | China Association for Preservation and Development of Tibetan Culture | No ³⁴ | Unk. | No | | |
| 7 | CAPVD | China Association of Persons with Visual Disabilities | Yes ³⁵ | Unk. | Yes ³⁶ | | |
| 8 | CCA(China) | China Charity Alliance | Yes^{37} | Yes^{38} | Yes^{39} | \mathbf{S} | |
| 9 | CCRP | China Committee on Religion and Peace | Yes ⁴⁰ | Unk. | No | | This organization is part of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. |
| 10 | CEAIE | China Education Association for International Exchange | Yes^{41} | Unk. | Yes ⁴² | S | |
| 11 | CFHRD | China Foundation for Human Rights Development | Yes ⁴³ | Yes ⁴⁴ | Yes ⁴⁵ | | |
| 12 | CHINAFPA | China Family Planning Association | N/A | Unk. | N/A | S | |
| 13 | CHRS-CASS | Centre for Human Rights Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences | N/A | Yes ⁴⁶ | Yes ⁴⁷ | | |
| 14 | Chunhui Children | Chunhui Children's Foundation | Yes ⁴⁸ | Yes ⁴⁹ | Yes^{50} | | |
| 15 | CIDF | China Internet Development Foundation | Yes^{51} | $ m Yes^{52}$ | $ m Yes^{53}$ | | |
| 16 | CNIE | China NGO Network for International Exchanges | Yes ⁵⁴ | Unk. | No | G | |
| 17 | | Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament | Yes ⁵⁵ | Unk. | No | S | |
| 18 | CQCESD | Chongqing Centre for Equal Social Development | N/A | $ m Yes^{56}$ | No | \mathbf{S} | |
| 19 | CSEF | YouChange China Social Entrepreneur Foundation | Yes ⁵⁷ | Yes ⁵⁸ | No | S | |
| 20 | CSHRS | China Society for Human Rights Studies | Yes ⁵⁹ | Unk. | Yes ⁶⁰ | S | |
| 21 | CSRH | Center for the Study of Human Rights at Nankai University | N/A | Unk. | Yes ⁶¹ | | |
| 22 | CTRC | China Tibetology Research Center | N/A | Yes ⁶² | Yes ⁶³ | | |
| 23 | CWRS China | Chinese Women's Research Society | Yes ⁶⁴ | Unk. | Yes | | Chinese Women's Research Society is run by Women's |

| | | | | | | | Studies Institute of China (WSIC), which in turn is part of the state-sponsored All-China Women's Federation. |
|----|-----------------|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---|--|
| 24 | GreenovationHub | Beijing Greenovation Institute for Public Welfare Development | N/A | Unk. | No | | |
| 25 | MUPAC | Minzu Unity and Progress Association of China | N/A | Unk. | No | | |
| 26 | NSCF | New Sunshine Charity Foundation | Yes^{65} | Yes ⁶⁶ | Yes^{67} | S | |
| 27 | TAF | Amity Foundation | Yes ⁶⁸ | Yes ⁶⁹ | No | S | The charter provides that the organization's operations be overseen by a provincial branch of the United Front Work Department, a Party department. |
| 28 | UNA-China | United Nations Association of China | Yes ⁷⁰ | Unk. | No | G | |
| 29 | WEDC | World Eco-Design Conference | N/A | Unk. | No | S | |
| 30 | WFAS | World Federation of Acupuncture-Moxibustion Societies | No ⁷¹ | Yes ⁷² | Yes ⁷³ | s | |
| 31 | WFCMS | World Federation of Chinese Medicine Societies | No ⁷⁴ | Unk. | No | s | |
| 32 | Z.G.M | ZHONGGUANCUN Green Mine Industry Alliance | Yes ⁷⁵ | Unk. | No | s | |
| 33 | JS6 | China Ethnic Minorities' Association for External Exchanges | Yes ⁷⁶ | Unk. | No | S | China Ethnic Minorities' Association for External Exchanges (CEMAEE) is listed as the author on the cover of Joint Submission 6. CEMAEE is managed by the PRC National Ethnic Affairs Commission, a government body. ⁷⁷ |
| 34 | JS37 | Shaanxi Patriotic Volunteer Association | Yes ⁷⁸ | Unk. | Yes ⁷⁹ | S | Joint Submission 37 was made by the Shaanxi Patriotic Volunteer Association. |
| 35 | CALC | China-ASEAN Legal Research Center | N/A | Unk. | No | | |
| 36 | CEPF | China Environmental Protection Foundation | Yes ⁸⁰ | Yes ⁸¹ | No | S | |
| 37 | ChMA | Chinese Medical Association | Yes ⁸² | Yes ⁸³ | Yes ⁸⁴ | | |

| 38 | CTS | Center for Tibetan Studies of Sichuan University | N/A | Unk. | No | | |
|----|---------------------------|---|-------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|---|
| 39 | CULR | China University of Labor Relations | Yes ⁸⁵ | Unk. | No | | Organization is led by a Party committee. ⁸⁶ |
| 40 | CYDF | China Youth Development Foundation | Yes ⁸⁷ | Unk. | Yes ⁸⁸ | | |
| 41 | NWUPL, FRI | Frontier Research Institute of Northwest University of Politics and Law | N/A | Unk. | N/A | | |
| | | Organizations based | l in Hoi | ng Kon | g and M | Iacau | |
| 1 | AAIL | Asian Academy of International Law | | | | | |
| 2 | ADY | Association of Democratic Youth | | | | | |
| 3 | C(M)TCEDP | China(Macao)Tibet's Cultural and Economic Development Promotion Association (China) | | | | | |
| 4 | HKAYC | Hong Kong Association of Young Commentators | | | | | |
| 5 | HKFLU | Women Affairs Committee of The Federation of Hong Kong & Kowloon Labour Unions | | | | | |
| 6 | HKIWA | The Hong Kong Island Women's Association | | | | | |
| 7 | MACAO YOUTH FEDERATION | MACAO YOUTH FEDERATION | | | | S | |
| 8 | MSHRS | Macao Society for Human Rights Studies | | | | | |
| 9 | NTWYOCS | New Territories West Yau Oi Cooperation Society | | | | | |
| 10 | FNTY | Federation of New Territories Youth | | | | | |
| 11 | FOS | Federation of Outstanding Students | | | | | |
| 12 | halofund | Halo Fund Limited | | | | | Hong Kong Free Press reported that the report of Halo Fund Limited (halofund) was edited by the Constitutional and Mainland Affairs Bureau, a Hong Kong government department. 89 The government reviewed the report but denied making |

| | | | | | | | substantive contribution to |
|----|--------------------------|---|--------|---------|---------|--------|-----------------------------|
| 13 | HKFLU-LEC | Labour Education | | | | | it. |
| 10 | HKFLU-LEC | Committee of The | | | | | |
| | | Federation of Hong Kong & Kowloon Labour Unions | | | | | |
| 14 | KWOF | KOWLOON WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS FEDERATION | | | | | |
| 15 | LawyersHK | Lawyers HK Limited | | | | | |
| 16 | New Line Youth | New Line Youth Volunteer | | | | | |
| 10 | Volunteer | Service Groups | | | | | |
| 17 | The HKMLPA | Hong Kong and Mainland Legal Profession Association | | | | | |
| 18 | TPRC1959 | Tai Po Rural Committee | | | | | |
| 19 | TPRYG2019 | Tai Po Rural Youth Group | | | | | |
| 20 | YCCA | Youth Concentric Association Limited | | | | | |
| 21 | WGAM | Women's General Association of Macau | | | | | |
| 22 | YLAY | YLAY | | | | | |
| 23 | Youth Vision HK | Youth Vision HK | | | | | |
| | 0 | rganizations based outside | of Chi | na, e.g | ., Cuba | , Russ | ia, Iran |
| 1 | ANEC Cuba | National Association of Economists and Accountants of Cuba | | | | | |
| 2 | EFCA | Egyptian Chinese Friendship Association | | | | | |
| 3 | FANJ | Fundación Antonio Núñez Jiménez de la Naturaleza y el Hombre | | | | S | |
| 4 | FMC | Federación de Mujeres Cubanas | | | | | |
| 5 | Friends of L'Humanite | Foundation for Independent Journalism Support "Society of Friends of L'Humanite" | | | | | |
| 6 | FUNDALATIN | FUNDALATIN | | - | | S | |
| 7 | Fundavivienda | Fundación Venezolana por el Derecho a la Vivienda | | | | | |

| 8 | Género con Clase | Fundación Género con Clase | | |
|----|------------------|---|---|--|
| 9 | IFWA | International Foundation Witnesses Ashoora | S | |
| 10 | IGCP | Information Group on Crimes against the Person | | |
| 11 | IPWR | Institute for Protecting Women's Rights | S | |
| 12 | IREC | Iranian Elite Research Center | S | |
| 13 | ISDNGO | Institute of Sustainable Development | S | |
| 14 | Project Verum | Autonomous non-profit human rights organization "Project Verum" | | |
| 15 | UNJC | Unión Nacional de Juristas de Cuba | S | |
| 16 | JS2 | Asociación Cubana de las Naciones Unidas | S | |

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¹ Human Rights Council, Resolution 5/1. Institution-building of the United Nations Human Rights Council, adopted June 18, 2007, A/HRC/RES/5/1, para. 3, https://perma.cc/GT4D-SYEN.

² Sophie Richardson and Rana Siu Inboden, "Beijing Is Pouring Resources into Its UN Human Rights Review—All to Prevent Any Real Review from Taking Place," *ChinaFile*, January 22, 2024, https://perma.cc/MPV4-E2P7.

³ "About Us," webpage of the Civil Society Unit, Outreach Division, United Nations Department of Global Communications, United Nations, accessed January 23, 2024, https://perma.cc/A65E-CG43.

⁴ "About Us," webpage of the Civil Society Unit, Outreach Division, United Nations Department of Global Communications, United Nations, accessed January 23, 2024, https://perma.cc/A65E-CG43.

⁵ Laura Landolt, "Rival Transnational Advocacy Networks and Middle East Politics at the UN Human Rights Council" in *The Routledge Handbook on Human Rights and the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Anthony Tirado Chase (New York: Routledge, 2010), 158.

⁶ Laura Landolt, "Rival Transnational Advocacy Networks and Middle East Politics at the UN Human Rights Council" in *The Routledge Handbook on Human Rights and the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Anthony Tirado Chase (New York: Routledge, 2010), 158.

⁷ Laura Landolt, "Rival Transnational Advocacy Networks and Middle East Politics at the UN Human Rights Council" in *The Routledge Handbook on Human Rights and the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Anthony Tirado Chase (New York: Routledge, 2010), 158. See, e.g., Tao Muqun, "全球最大圣经厂 「爱德」30 年印 1.5 亿本 立下社会企业新里程" [The world's largest Bible factory "Amity" has printed 150 million copies in 30 years, establishing a new milestone for social enterprises], *Christian Daily*, December 20, 2016, https://perma.cc/7R9D-XXR9; "让逆行者有力量,华泰、爱德基金会联合赋能民间救援队" [Power to those who go against all odds, Huatai and Amity Foundation jointly empower civil rescue teams], *Xinhua*, July 13, 2022, https://perma.cc/9GJR-23TY

⁸ Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review, Human Rights Council, Summary of Stakeholders' Submissions on China, A/HRC/WG.6/45/CHN/3, November 20, 2023, https://perma.cc/VJ9T-C8RF.

⁹ Sophie Richardson and Rana Siu Inboden, "Beijing Is Pouring Resources into Its UN Human Rights Review—All to Prevent Any Real Review from Taking Place," *ChinaFile*, January 22, 2024, https://perma.cc/MPV4-E2P7.

¹⁰ Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2023*, https://perma.cc/XA8J-EQRC (Cuba), https://perma.cc/76YE-97N3 (Iran), https://perma.cc/JUC6-FE7S (Venezuela).

Emma Farge, "Exclusive: China Lobbies Countries to Praise Its Rights Record ahead of UN Review – Diplomats," Reuters, January 22, 2024, https://perma.cc/7PPG-YRGT. See also Anouk Wear, "China's Universal Periodic Review Tracks Its Influence at the UN," *China Brief*, Jamestown Foundation, January 19, 2024, https://perma.cc/5TSY-UJZM.

12 "中国联合国协会章程" [Charter of the United Nations Association of China], passed July 4, 2018, art. 2, https://perma.cc/8AAF-HVQ9; "Constitution of the United Nations Association of China," passed July 4, 2018, art. 2, https://perma.cc/R4GA-4YMP.

These five organizations are 1) All-China Environment Federation, 2) China Committee on Religion and Peace, 3) China Education Association for International Exchange, 4) China Environmental Protection Foundation, and 5) Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament.

14 "中华环保联合会章程" [Charter of All-China Environment Federation], All-China Environment Federation, passed March 26, 2019, art. 3, https://perma.cc/PUN5-TJZE; "Rules of Procedure of All-China Environment Federation," All-China Environment Federation, passed April 22, 2005, https://perma.cc/K47H-WZJV. "中国宗教界和平委员会章程" [Charter of China Committee on Religion and Peace, passed July 3, 2019, art. 3, https://perma.cc/9SEH-VTSN; "Charter Introduction," China Committee on Religion and Peace, passed 1994, amended 2009, https://perma.cc/4PHF-4WHH. "中国教育国际交流协会章程" [Charter of China Education Association for International Exchange, passed October 16, 2019, art. 3, https://perma.cc/D8BA-3TJS; "Charter," China Education Association for International Exchange, passed October 16, 2019, art. 3, https://perma.cc/D8BA-3TJS; "Charter," China Education Association for International Exchange, November 30, 2014, https://perma.cc/BAP-3TJS; "Charter," China Education Association for International Exchange, November 30, 2014, https://perma.cc/BAP-3TJS; "Charter," China Education Association for International Exchange, November 30, 2014, https://perma.cc/BAP-3TJS; "Charter," China Education Association for International Exchange, November 30, 2014, https://perma.cc/GYN9-TW8F. "中华环境保护基金会章程" [Charter of the China Environmental Protection Foundation, passed February 20, 2006, https://perma.cc/KT2W-6YCK. "中国联合国协会章程" [Charter of the United Nations Association of China," passed July 4, 2018, art. 2, https://perma.cc/R4GA-4YMP.

15 Lu Zhiliang, "发挥党支部主体作用" [Giving effect to Party branches' role], *People's Daily*, September 8, 2017, https://perma.cc/AP59-YCGC.

16 "机构章程" [Organization charter], accessed January 16, 2024, https://perma.cc/EGT9-M4CZ.

17 "中国人民政治协商会议" [Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference], https://perma.cc/7XR4-BR2P.

¹⁸ "主管社团" [Managed social groups], webpage of the PRC National Ethnic Affairs Commission, accessed January 12, 2024, https://perma.cc/7SGU-BSWD.

19 "学校章程" [School Charter], China Institute of Labour Relations, accessed January 16, 2024, art.13, https://perma.cc/ZK6G-R393.

²⁰ Parth Sharma, "Going GONGO: How Chinese Civil Society Groups Influence the UN," Young Australians International Affairs, September 27, 2023, https://perma.cc/NZL5-5JSE; Sui-Lee Wee and Stephanie Nebehay, "At U.N., China Uses Intimidation Tactics to Silence Its Critics," *Reuters*, October 15, 2015, https://perma.cc/7ZP7-KNRJ.

²¹ William Nee, "How China Tries to Bamboozle the United Nations," *Diplomat*, February 11, 2023, https://perma.cc/45KE-ANXQ.

²² William Nee, "How China Tries to Bamboozle the United Nations," *Diplomat*, February 11, 2023, https://perma.cc/45KE-ANXQ. See also, Anouk Wear, "Hong Kong Finds Its Voice at the UN—And Uses It to Cheerlead for Beijing," *ChinaFile*, December 20, 2023, https://perma.cc/K9EG-MD9C. The Hong Kong government in recent years adopted a similar approach.

²³ "Basic Facts about the UPR," webpage of the Human Rights Council, United Nations, accessed January 24, 2024, https://perma.cc/JJP3-ZYPC; Fiona McGaughey, "From Gatekeepers to GONGOs," *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights* 36 (2): 125–26; Laura Landolt, "Rival Transnational Advocacy Networks and Middle East Politics at the UN Human Rights Council" in *The Routledge Handbook on Human Rights and the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Anthony Tirado Chase (New York: Routledge, 2010), 158; General Assembly, Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, A/RES/60/251, April 3, 2006, para. 5(e), https://perma.cc/3ZV5-WBGT.

²⁴ Laura Landolt, "Rival Transnational Advocacy Networks and Middle East Politics at the UN Human Rights Council" in *The Routledge Handbook on Human Rights and the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Anthony Tirado Chase (New York: Routledge, 2010), 158; Human Rights Council, Resolution 5/1. Institution-building of the United

Nations Human Rights Council, adopted June 18, 2007, A/HRC/RES/5/1, para. 31, https://perma.cc/GT4D-SYEN; Human Rights Council, Statement by the President, A/HRC/PRST/OS/16/1, December 9, 2022, para. 4, https://perma.cc/62TH-FEQH; United Nations Economic and Social Council, Consultative Relationship between the United Nations and Non-Governmental Organizations, Resolution 1996/31, para. 35, https://perma.cc/8JQ9-X9LG.

25 Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, "How to apply for consultative status with ECOSOC?," accessed January 24, 2024, https://perma.cc/8JQ9-X9LG.

Institution-building of the United Nations Human Rights Council, adopted June 18, 2007, A/HRC/RES/5/1, para. 31, https://perma.cc/GT4D-SYEN; United Nations Economic and Social Council, Consultative Relationship between the United Nations and Non-Governmental Organizations, Resolution 1996/31, para. 35, https://perma.cc/8JQ9-X9LG.

- ²⁶ United Nations Economic and Social Council, Consultative Relationship between the United Nations and Non-Governmental Organizations, Resolution 1996/31, para. 12, https://perma.cc/8JQ9-X9LG.
- ²⁷ United Nations Economic and Social Council, Consultative Relationship between the United Nations and Non-Governmental Organizations, Resolution 1996/31, para. 12, https://perma.cc/8JQ9-X9LG.
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