

# THE BEIJING OLYMPICS AND THE FACES OF REPRESSION

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## HEARING BEFORE THE CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA ONE HUNDRED SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS SECOND SESSION

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FEBRUARY 3, 2022  
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Printed for the use of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China



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46-732 PDF

WASHINGTON : 2022

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## **THE BEIJING OLYMPICS AND THE FACES OF REPRESSION**

**THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 2022**

CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE  
COMMISSION ON CHINA,  
*Washington, DC.*

The hearing was held from 10:07 a.m. to 12:16 p.m. in Room G-50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Jeff Merkley, Chairman, Congressional-Executive Commission on China, presiding.

Also present: Co-chair James P. McGovern, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi, and Representatives Smith, Wexton, and Steel.

### **OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JEFF MERKLEY, A U.S. SENATOR FROM OREGON; CHAIR, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA**

Chair MERKLEY. Today's hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China entitled "The Beijing Olympics and the Faces of Repression" will come to order.

In less than 24 hours, the Beijing Winter Olympic Games will commence and usher in weeks of pageantry designed to showcase a shiny façade, the face that the Chinese government and the Communist Party want the world to see. Beneath this glitz and glamour lies the real story. As the Commission and so many others have documented, the story of Chinese leadership is one of genocide, slave labor, forced sterilization, the desecration of democracy in Hong Kong, Orwellian repression in Xinjiang and Tibet, bullying of critics at home and abroad, and suppression of freedom of religion, freedom of speech, civil society, and the rule of law across the country.

This Commission, which exists to shine a light on the real human rights situation in China, has sought to prevent these Olympic Games from perverting the Olympic spirit and distracting from the real story. We have held multiple hearings, including one with the top U.S.-based Olympic sponsors. We've engaged those sponsors, the International Olympic Committee, the U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Committee, broadcasters, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. I hope it has made a difference in the degree to which U.S. companies are willing to lend their prestige to the false display of peace and harmony the Beijing Olympics represent. I hope it will influence the way these Games are covered and the way these Games are perceived by the world. I hope it will provide support to the Olympians who fear for their freedom of expression, their data privacy, and their basic rights.

But these Olympics are commencing and will show a face the Chinese government and Communist Party don't deserve to show to the world. In this hearing, we will put a spotlight on the face of repression, the exact face and stories the organizers of the Beijing Olympics don't want the world thinking about as the torch is lit. For the last 60 days, the Congressional-Executive Commission on China has conducted a daily Olympic prisoner social media campaign to tell a few of these stories. There are so many more in the CECC Political Prisoner Database, which is only a sliver of the untold number of Chinese citizens detained or disappeared merely for exercising their human rights or for being a member of a disfavored minority group. To better document these cases, in recent months we've revamped the database in several ways. In June 2021, we launched a new platform aimed at modernizing the database to address the security and sustainability concerns, streamline information, and maintain our ability to record and display a wide variety of data. This upgrade enhanced the database's search functionality, added publication of prior detentions, expanded detention details, and created a permanent archived source link.

The CECC Political Prisoner Database recently began to document cases of political detention and imprisonment in Hong Kong, in recognition of the rapid deterioration in rule of law conditions, including arrests made under the National Security Law, as well as the ongoing loss of independence of the judiciary and prosecutor's office. I never thought I would see the day when that would be necessary, but the sad reality is here, and it's our mandate to document these cases. In this hearing, we will hear about some of these cases in Hong Kong as well as others we've highlighted in the Olympic prisoner project.

We are deeply honored that one of the greatest champions of human rights in China, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi, is here to help frame our discussion of these cases. I am similarly humbled by the panel of witnesses we will hear from, who will share deeply personal accounts of the repression they and their family members have suffered. These witnesses have started organizations dedicated to the causes of human rights, the rule of law, and democracy. They have lost fathers, husbands, uncles, friends, to the Chinese system of arbitrary detention, and they have been locked up themselves. I can think of nobody better to hear from on the eve of the Beijing Olympics. These and the images behind them are the faces of repression we hope the world remembers as the Olympics get underway.

Congressman McGovern.

[The prepared statement of Senator Merkley appears in the Appendix.]

**STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES P. MCGOVERN, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM MASSACHUSETTS; CO-CHAIR, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA**

Co-chair MCGOVERN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for convening this hearing on prisoners of conscience on the eve of the Beijing Winter Olympics. Thank you for your leadership on so many human rights issues. I'm also honored to be here with my colleague from Virginia, Jennifer Wexton, who's been a leader on so many issues related to human rights, and obviously, I am thrilled to be here with—and honored to be here with—the Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi.

Before I begin, I want to just say a few words about the Asian American community. They have experienced a spike in hate crimes, discrimination, and invective directed toward them. This has happened in a climate where public figures have declared or implied that China is to blame for all our ills. Think “China virus.” This Commission monitors the human rights record of the Chinese government. Our criticism is not directed at the people of China or at Chinese heritage. I take great care—and I know that the Chair does as well—to make this distinction clear. I hope that all my fellow commissioners do as well. This Commission's important work is based on international human rights standards. Our message is strongest when grounded in the law and morals. We must strive to keep it that way.

Hundreds of athletes are preparing to compete in this Olympics. They have trained for years. This may be their last, or only, shot at a medal. Ideally, the athletes' experience should be uncomplicated by the venue or the host, but sadly, that is not the case in 2022. When the International Olympic Committee awarded these Games to Beijing in 2015, China already had the worst human rights record of any country on the planet. It has gotten worse since. The Chinese government has engaged in genocide against the Turkic Muslims, cracked down on civil society, and snuffed out democracy and freedom in Hong Kong.

Many, including members of this bipartisan Commission, asked the IOC to relocate the Games so that the athletes wouldn't have to compete under a cloud of repression. They refused. We asked the IOC's U.S.-based corporate sponsors to use their leverage to insist on human rights improvements so athletes on the medal stand wouldn't have human rights violations as the backdrop. They refused. They, save one, wouldn't even admit to the fact that genocide is happening in Xinjiang. If given a choice, I believe no athlete would want to compete in a country committing genocide and crimes against humanity. But that is what they are forced to do because of the feckless IOC and its corporate partners.

You know, the risks are real. Last month, a Chinese Olympic official said that “Any behavior or speech that is against the Olympic spirit, especially against the Chinese laws and regulations, are also subject to certain punishment.” Reportedly, the app that athletes are required to use in Beijing could result in theft of their personal information. Participants could be exposed to food or clothing made by IOC exclusive suppliers who use forced labor. Make no mistake, I am rooting for the athletes. I hope nothing goes wrong. The athletes shouldn't be forced to bear this burden created by companies

and entities who want to protect their ability to make money no matter the human cost.

I don't drink Coca-Cola anymore. They operate a bottling plant in Xinjiang. They source sugar from a company implicated in forced labor. Coke will be served at Olympic venues. Every athlete should be aware of the risk. Sponsor companies told us that if they spoke up, they would lose market share in China. And then they don't speak up. This is wrong. You know, this has to change. The paradigm must change. These companies are going to need to figure out a way to make money other than reliance on forced labor and abetting crimes against humanity.

The IOC will eagerly inform us of how many viewers around the world watch the Games. But they won't tell us who can't watch the Games, those unjustly imprisoned and deprived of their most basic freedoms by the host Chinese government: Ilham Tohti, Ding Jiaxi, Joshua Wong, Zhang Zhan, Bonkho Kyi. These are the faces of repression, and resilience, who are represented by our witnesses today. We must always remember the human dimension behind our policy work. It is for prisoners of conscience that we speak out. We must never, never, ever forget them.

One person who has never forgotten this is our first witness, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi. She has been a principled voice for human rights in China and Tibet for decades, and I want to thank her in particular for working with all of us in a bipartisan way to get the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act through Congress and on the President's desk, where he signed it. She has been a champion for so much important legislation. We welcome her, and we welcome all of our witnesses. I look forward to your testimony.

[The prepared statement of Representative McGovern appears in the Appendix.]

Chair MERKLEY. Thank you, Congressman McGovern.

Speaker Nancy Pelosi is the 52nd Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. She made history in 2007 when she was the first woman elected to serve as Speaker of the House, and again in January 2019 when she regained her position, second in line to the Presidency. Few alive have been as stalwart as Nancy Pelosi in fighting for the rights of the Chinese people. We are deeply honored to have you with us this morning. Welcome.

**STATEMENT OF HON. NANCY PELOSI,  
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE**

Speaker PELOSI. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for your invitation to be here, for your kind introduction, for your great leadership. Your opening statement was values based, a source of inspiration, and you used the word "hope." It gives us hope as to how we go forward and how we can shed light on the injustices that are happening in China. I'm honored to be with you, and with Mr. McGovern, who has been—we call him our spiritual leader on this subject when we've been to China and Tibet and the rest, because, again, he has been relentless over the years and intensely involved in shining a light on human rights violations in China, particularly now with the genocide of the Uyghurs.

Congresswoman Wexton is blessed with a large number of Uyghurs in her district, and so she has been an important leader in passing the legislation that Mr. McGovern and you referenced. I thank you for your leadership, Congresswoman Wexton. I know he will probably be coming, Chris Smith, we've worked in a bipartisan way for decades on this subject, sometimes with another Virginian, Frank Wolf, no longer in the Congress but always with us in this struggle.

So as House Speaker it is my privilege to again testify before the CECC, as I did most recently in May 2021, and to do so with leaders with whom I have worked to fight for human rights in China. As I mentioned, Mr. Chairman, Senator Merkley, you have been a respected voice on the Foreign Relations Committee, and a CECC chair, bringing a steadfast commitment to ensuring that our nation lives up to our values abroad. Mr. McGovern, CECC Co-chair, has been a clarion voice on human rights in the House, across the country, and around the world, and a leader, since his days as a staffer, in Congress to advance human rights in China. I thank also Chris Smith, again, a former co-chair of this Commission, long-time partner to many of us in holding Beijing accountable. And again, I thank Congresswoman Wexton for her leadership.

Thank you, Mr. Merkley, and the entire Congressional-Executive Commission on China, for hosting this important and timely hearing, "The Beijing Olympics and the Faces of Repression." When the Winter Olympic festivities begin tomorrow in Beijing, the Chinese government once again attempts to distract the world from a decades-long campaign of abuse and repression. But the United States and the international community know the truth: the People's Republic of China is perpetrating a campaign of gross human rights violations, including genocide. Over the next two weeks it is our urgent moral duty to shine a bright light on the many human rights violations being perpetrated by the host nation. I say by the host nation because I associate myself with the remarks of Mr. McGovern. This is not about Chinese people. It's about the People's Republic of China and a repressive government that has been in power. While we fully support and will root for our athletes, we cannot and will not be silent on human rights in China.

I also am honored to be here with brave witnesses testifying today. Yaxue Cao, Jewher Ilham, Sophie Luo, Nyima Lhamo, and Nathan Law. Nathan remotely, is my understanding. For decades, the PRC has orchestrated a campaign of terror and repression, from the genocide of the Uyghur people most recently, to aggression against the culture, religion, and language of Tibet, to crackdowns against basic freedoms in Hong Kong, to jailing of journalists, activists, and dissidents throughout mainland China, and the intimidation of Taiwan, and more. Yet, the Chinese government works desperately to cover up their abuses, rewriting history and projecting a very different image to the world—or tries to, anyway.

Many in Congress have fought to ensure that the world remembers the truth of the PRC's human rights record and to hold them accountable—including by seeking to deny them the honor of hosting the Olympics. In 1993, Congress passed strongly bipartisan legislation calling on the IOC to reject China's 2000 bid and we were successful then in doing so. Many of us, again, opposed Chi-

na's 2008 bid. Sadly, the IOC chose to sell out on human rights in China. But we continued to speak out, including by urging President Bush, then, to boycott the opening ceremonies. Now the IOC, aided by corporate sponsors, once again turns a blind eye in the 2022 Winter Olympics, just to bolster their bottom lines, as Mr. McGovern mentioned.

As I said, if we do not speak out against human rights violations in China because of commercial interests, we lose all moral authority to speak out against human rights violations anywhere. That is why at a CECC hearing last May I called for no official presence at the Beijing Olympics. Thanks to the strong leadership of President Biden, the Administration has joined Congress in presenting a united front in this effort. And proudly, many nations have followed America's lead including the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Make no mistake about it, our athletes should participate. They've trained. They're disciplined. They've dreamed. They've aspired. They've worked hard. But this year we must celebrate them from home as they compete in China.

I would say to our athletes: You're there to compete. Do not risk incurring the anger of the Chinese government, because they are ruthless. I know there is a temptation on the part of some to speak out while they are there. I respect that, but I also worry about what the Chinese government might do to their reputations, to their families. So again, participate, let us celebrate from abroad, and don't risk thinking that there are any good intentions on the part of the People's Republic of China government, because there are none.

While you're competing, Congress continues to take bold, bipartisan action to defend human rights in China and hold the Chinese government accountable. Most recently the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, which was proudly signed into law in December, will harness America's economic might to make clear that the genocide of Uyghurs must end now. And now, with our America COMPETES Act, which is on the floor of the House, we will take another strong step to help those who fear for their futures by designating Uyghurs as prioritized refugees of special humanitarian concern and pursuing a humanitarian pathway for Hong Kongers who feel political persecution.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman, and Congresswoman, one of the most sinister forms of torture employed by authoritarian regimes, and certainly the PRC, is to tell the prisoners: Nobody even remembers you. They don't know why you're in prison. So why are you just insisting on the truth? We say that with this hearing, we declare to all who are suffering in the PRC under their abuses: America sees you. America stands with you. America will continue to fight for you. That is why I am so proud to join our witnesses today to lift up the names of those who are in prison, such as democracy activists Jimmy Lai and Joshua Wong, Uyghur leader Ilham Tohti, and the Panchen Lama, just to name a few. Now, we have—as Chairman Merkley indicated—we have reams of names of prisoners. They will not be forgotten. Many of them will be named by our witnesses today.

In that spirit of remembering and saying to the PRC, No matter what you do, we will not forget, we will not go away. Much of our activism on this started in Tiananmen Square, when we saw you crush the young lives and hopes and dreams of so many young people in China who were there to demonstrate for a better future—crush them with your tanks and then try to erase from the history and the memory of people in China what happened that day. But we will persist.

In that spirit, I'll close by quoting Lee Cheuk-yan, a former legislator who has devoted his life to keeping alive the memory of those who died fighting for freedom in Tiananmen Square. A former chairman of the now-defunct Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements of China, he is currently serving time in prison simply for standing up for democracy.

He said the following to the judge before he was sentenced this past fall: "For 32 years we have marched together in the fight to bring justice to those who put their lives on the line June 4th, 1989, and in the struggle for democracy. Despite setbacks, we are steadfast in our belief that the universal values of freedom, the rule of law, human rights, and democracy that we have been struggling for will one day take root in Hong Kong and China. And on that day, we will be able to console the souls who came before us."

Thank you to the CECC for the opportunity to participate today and to elevate the voices that the Chinese government has worked relentlessly to silence. We will not be silenced. We will not let those with courage be forgotten. With that, I thank you again for the work of this commission—not just this hearing today, but ongoing, and especially at this time, one day before the Olympics begin.

It's hard to fathom how they could choose a country like China to host the Olympics, but they have. And we wish all of the athletes well. We wish them safety, and that safety includes—don't for one moment believe anything the Chinese government might tell you about freedom of expression; you take a risk. Be safe. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Madam Wexton.

Chair MERKLEY. Thank you, Madam Speaker, for your powerful words and your powerful advocacy for human rights in China and around the world.

Congressman Chris Smith.

**STATEMENT OF HON. CHRIS SMITH, A REPRESENTATIVE FROM NEW JERSEY AND RANKING MEMBER, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA**

Representative SMITH. Thank you. You know, as the chairman of this commission for four years, co-chairman for another four years, and ranking member for eight as well, 16 years total, this has always been a very bipartisan commission, seeking to protect democracy activists and others. Certainly today's hearing—and I thank you, Chairman Merkley, for bringing this about, particularly today, the day before the genocide Olympics kicks off. The first hearing we had, because this is part of a series, was in the Lantos Commission. I chaired that one along with Co-chair McGovern on the Lantos Commission. That was on May 18th, entitled "China, Genocide, and the Olympics."

And we were then as well joined by Speaker Pelosi. Thank you for that. I do thank her that she reminded us—back in 1983 Congress took very strong action in admonishing the IOC not to accept China for the Olympics in the year 2000. I actually met with Wei Jingsheng—the father of the democracy world movement—who was let out of prison, I met with him in Beijing, as a high-value political prisoner to get the Olympics 2000. When they didn't get it, they rearrested him and beat him almost to the point of death. So the Chinese Communist Party's methods have not changed. They have actually gotten worse under Xi Jinping, as we all know.

In 2018 Chairman Marco Rubio and I wrote a letter to the IOC, and I know others have done it too, and that was mentioned earlier—to say, Don't go to China. We love the Chinese people, and we stand with the oppressed and not with the oppressor, and that's the Chinese Communist Party. So thank you, Speaker, for reminding us of the '83 efforts. Unfortunately, we did not succeed this time.

The second hearing that you had, and I want to thank you for that, was on corporate sponsorship of the genocide games, to examine the complicity of companies such as Coca-Cola, Visa, and Airbnb in subsidizing Xi Jinping's propaganda extravaganza. The genocide against the Uyghurs, and we all know this, this is Xi Jinping's genocide. He should be at The Hague being held to account for crimes against humanity and genocide. And instead, he'll be at those opening ceremonies and throughout, shining in the spotlight while people are being forced into labor, are being tortured, and are being killed, including forced abortions in order to diminish the population of the Uyghurs.

You know, on the eve of the genocide Olympics, today's hearing will elevate the voices of those who speak for the oppressed, including Yaxue Cao, who will remind us of the ordeal suffered by tennis star Peng Shuai, sexually preyed upon by a 75-year-old member of the Chinese Communist Party Politburo Standing Committee. In so telling her story, we will also hear about the courageous stand taken by the Women's Tennis Association in suspending all tournaments in China, in stark contrast to the craven pandering by the International Olympic Committee and its corporate sponsors, again, to Xi Jinping's brutality and cruelty.

We will hear testimony from representatives from other repressed communities, including Tibetans, Uyghurs, and from the great Hong Kong defender of democracy, Nathan Law. You know, indeed just last week, on January 27th, I stood outside the Chinese embassy in protest with a crowd of remarkable activists, including Chen Guangcheng, calling for democracy, the rule of law, and an end to the human rights abuse. The next day in New York, Tom Suozzi was outside of the United Nations protesting the Chinese Communist Party. As I noted then with the crowd of activists before me—we were there for about three hours; it was a three-hour gathering—and I will note today with our great witnesses gathered before us that you are representing the people and speaking for those in China who are voiceless.

And just as we spoke at the embassy last week, those cries need to be heard. The international committee—and, as a matter of fact, those participants in this Olympics, they need to be protected. If

they speak out in China, what will happen to them? We will be watching that very closely as well. Thank you again, Mr. Chairman. I yield back the balance of my time.

Chair MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Congressman, and for your longtime advocacy for human rights.

I'd now like to introduce our panel of witnesses, some of whom are joining us here in person and some joining us virtually from other parts of the world.

Yaxue Cao is the founder and editor of China Change, a website launched in 2013 to write and translate information about Chinese citizens' struggle for human rights, the rule of law, and civil society. Cao grew up in northern China during the Cultural Revolution. Now she works with dissidents, human rights lawyers, activists, and intellectuals to bring often suppressed information to a global audience.

Nathan Law is a democracy activist currently in exile in London. The youngest legislative councilor in Hong Kong's history, his seat was overturned in July 2017, following the Chinese government's constitutional reinterpretation. He was later jailed for his participation in the Umbrella Movement. In 2018, the CECC nominated him and his fellow student activists Joshua Wong and Alex Chow for the Nobel Peace Prize. In 2020, he was listed as one of the 100 most influential people in the world by Time.

Jewher Ilham is an advocate for the Uyghur community and her imprisoned father Ilham Tohti. She works at the Worker Rights Consortium and is also a spokesperson for the Coalition to End Uyghur Forced Labor. She has accepted numerous awards worldwide on behalf of her father, including the European Parliament's Sakharov Prize. Her second book, "Because I Have To: The Path to Survival, the Uyghur Struggle," will be released this spring.

Sophie Luo is the wife of human rights defender Ding Jiayi. Her husband was detained in April 2013 and sentenced to three years and six months in prison after calling for government transparency. He was disappeared on December 26, 2019. Ms. Luo continues to advocate for the release of her husband.

Nyima Lhamo is a human rights advocate and niece of the late Tulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, a highly revered Tibetan lama who died in a Chinese prison in 2015. After questioning the cause of his death, Ms. Lhamo was arbitrarily detained, along with her mother. She continues to call for an investigation into the treatment of her uncle and other Tibetans.

Our witnesses, thank you for being here. We will now begin with our first witness, Ms. Cao.

**STATEMENT OF YAXUE CAO,  
FOUNDER AND EDITOR OF CHINA CHANGE**

Ms. CAO. Chair Merkley, Co-chair McGovern, members of the Commission, thank you for holding this important hearing and for asking me to share my thoughts on the case of the Chinese tennis star Peng Shuai. Indeed, Peng Shuai has become a special kind of political prisoner. Peng Shuai revealed how she was forced into a sexual relationship with Zhang Gaoli, former vice premier and member of the CCP Politburo Standing Committee. Despite repeated reassurance from the Chinese government and the Inter-

national Olympic Committee, questions about her well-being remain. Meanwhile, the Women's Tennis Association's decision to suspend all tournaments in China has raised a moral question for all of us.

I will address these two aspects of the Peng Shuai incident. China's treatment of Peng Shuai followed a familiar playbook, namely censorship, denial of sexual assault allegations, a concerted propaganda campaign, and a staged TV confession. Both Peng Shuai's Weibo post and her account were deleted. A WTA-affiliated WeChat account posts only news and photos of tennis events. Chinese netizens are censored for mentioning Peng Shuai or the WTA. In short, the Chinese government has erased any discussion about Peng Shuai inside China.

Outside of China, Chinese overseas state media and the IOC have carried out a propaganda campaign. In the email purportedly from Peng Shuai to WTA, Peng Shuai denied sexual assault allegations and asked the WTA to cease talking about her without her consent. After WTA announced the suspension of tournaments in China, the IOC issued a troubling statement parroting CCP's official language on "human rights," urging quiet diplomacy to address concerns over Peng Shuai. Such unlikely unison raises suspicions that the IOC was coordinating with the CCP to suppress the matter.

In mid-December, a pro-Beijing newspaper in Singapore posted a video interview with Peng Shuai, in which she stated that she had never accused anyone of sexually assaulting her and that she had no reason to travel overseas. An important takeaway from this interview is that the Chinese government doesn't really care whether you recognize the interview as staged or not. By getting Peng Shuai to say what she was scripted to say, China established the new ground for going forward. Now that Peng Shuai herself has spoken, what else do you want?

So what comes next? Since Chinese player Li Na won the French Open in 2011, interest in women's tennis skyrocketed in China. By 2019, before the pandemic, the WTA was holding over 20 events a year in China. In 2018, the WTA signed a 10-year contract with China to hold its season finals in Shenzhen. China needs WTA to develop women's tennis, and WTA was poised to expand into the Chinese market, and profit big. So far, WTA is not backing down from its demand for verifiable proof of Peng Shuai's safety and the investigation into her allegation of sexual assault. WTA also confirmed that they have not been able to speak to Peng Shuai "in an environment where we know she's not being really controlled."

After the Winter Olympics, we will see more CCP maneuvers trying to bring the WTA to its knees. China has gotten used to foreign businesses bowing to its demands. The WTA's position is an unacceptable offense. Now, nobody is against money, but our businesses, universities, and sports leagues don't seem to have fully grasped that to eat at the CCP's pig trough, you will have to turn into a pig, shed your principles. It's long past due that we take a look at the way we strike deals with the CCP, with China, and if we don't, we stand to lose ourselves in the process. It's already happening. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Yaxue Cao appears in the Appendix.]

Chair MERKLEY. Thank you very much. We now turn to our second witness, Nathan Law.

**STATEMENT OF NATHAN LAW, DEMOCRACY ACTIVIST AND  
NOMINEE FOR THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE**

Mr. LAW. Chair Merkley, Co-chair McGovern, and members of the Commission, it's really nice to hear Speaker Pelosi again, and I thank her for her tireless support to our movements. I'm very grateful for the invitation to this important hearing.

On August 17th, 2017, I was sitting in the dock of the court of appeals in Hong Kong with Joshua Wong and Alex Chow. We were all sentenced to months of imprisonment for inciting and participating in an unlawful, yet peaceful, assembly during the Umbrella Movement. Today while I'm exiled in the U.K., Joshua has been sitting in jail for a year without knowing when his trial under the National Security Law can even begin. The number of high-profile political prisoners has continued to rise as the government cracks down on professors, reporters, and many other members of civil society. Americans used to talk about Hong Kong as the pearl of the Orient and one of Asia's freest enclaves. Now, however, all there is to associate with the city is rising authoritarianism and the decline of freedom.

Since the massive 2019 protests, tens of thousands of protesters have been arrested, with more than 2,000 formally charged. And all of this has occurred in parallel to government-appointed judges presiding over National Security Law cases. Joshua was very young when I met him, and we have been fighting alongside each other for eight years. He was my closest ally, and we shared joys and pains. So it is particularly hard that amid the lunar new year, traditionally when family and friends gather and celebrate, that he and a lot of my friends are still behind bars, while I am unable to connect with my family because it will endanger them, and political turmoil in Hong Kong and the growing number of political prisoners show that Chinese leaders have grown very confident about their more technologically advanced and sophisticated Orwellian model of social control. They disregard any commitment to human rights and international obligations.

Last December, to counter President Joe Biden's Summit for Democracy, at which I was privileged to speak as the sole Hong Kong representative, the Chinese leaders published a white paper promoting what they call China Democracy. They claim that China's democracy was the one that worked. They tried to redefine democracy in a way that universal suffrage, checks and balances, and the division of power would not be part of it. Instead, they called the totalitarian system in China, in which the people have absolutely no rights to elect their country's leaders, a democracy. This is the level of disinformation and hostility they are imposing on the free world. They're trying to undermine the history of Hong Kong, the culture of Hong Kong, what it means to be a Hong Konger, and, most importantly, the democratic values that we all treasure.

The Chinese government has broken every promise it made to the world ahead of the last Olympic Games it held in the summer of 2008. Fourteen years later, under General Secretary Xi Jinping, it is more aggressive and arrogant than ever. To see corporations

and other countries rolling out the red carpet for it is plainly disgusting. There is nothing to celebrate about the current Winter Olympics in Beijing while a genocide is literally happening. That is why an even larger coalition of activists, not just Hong Kongers but also our Uyghur, Tibetan, Taiwanese allies, are standing up now.

The Biden administration is right to diplomatically boycott the event, but there is far more that policymakers in Washington can do to support Hong Kong. Congress should consider the various bills on everything from sanctions to internet freedom that have been introduced in recent years. Of even more importance are humanitarian pathways for Hong Kongers in need, including the Hong Kong Safe Harbor Act, the Hong Kong People's Freedom and Choice Act, and the relevant options of the America COMPETES Act, which I know the leadership and many members of this Commission support.

The Olympic Games may be a one-off event, but our struggle against China is global, essential, and potentially lifelong. We will all do well to reduce our reliance on China in every way possible and forge better multilateral partnerships with like-minded stakeholders to coordinate an international pushback. We must grasp every opportunity to send a signal and stop the complacency. Fight for freedom. Stand with Hong Kong. Thank you so much, and I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Nathan Law appears in the Appendix.]

Chair MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Law.  
Now, Ms. Ilham.

**STATEMENT OF JEWHER ILHAM, SPOKESPERSON FOR THE  
COALITION TO END UYGHUR FORCED LABOR AND DAUGHTER  
OF IMPRISONED UYGHUR SCHOLAR ILHAM TOHTI**

Ms. ILHAM. Thank you, Senator Merkley and Congressman McGovern, for hosting this hearing and inviting me here to testify. I'd like to thank Madam Speaker Pelosi for being here, and for your tireless work to pass the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act.

In April 2014, I testified before this commission on behalf of my father, Ilham Tohti, an economics professor at Beijing Minzu University who had been detained that year. It has been eight years, and my father is still in prison now serving a life sentence for the alleged crime of separatism. The Chinese government accused my father of being an extremist and advocate of violence. These are nothing more than fabricated charges. My father had never incited violence nor extremism, or promoted separatism, as the Chinese government claims.

He's a renowned scholar who dedicated his life and work to brokering peaceful dialogue among Uyghur and Han people. He was well loved by his colleagues and many students. That is why his arrest generated such an outcry from not only the international community, but also from many inside of China. On his website, Uyghur Online, he hosted articles that evaluated the disparities in the Uyghur region and opportunities—or lack thereof—for economic

growth and development. He proposed constructive solutions to the Chinese government in efforts to develop the Uyghur region.

Instead of engaging in constructive dialogue, the Chinese government locked him up. My father was sentenced in September 2014. While in prison, he was shackled, beaten, and denied food twice—each time for 10 days, and those are only the times that we were aware of. He has not seen a lawyer since his second trial in 2014. Our family has not been able to visit him since 2017. Now my family doesn't know whether he is even alive.

That is also the case for many other Uyghurs who are being held captive by the Chinese government. A number of them were scholars, like my father, and some were my father's students. Atikem Rozi, a former student of my father's, was sentenced to four years in prison in 2014 for the alleged crimes of separatism and endangering state security. Her association with my father and her contribution to the website Uyghur Online were reasons for those charges. And Atikem Rozi's term ended in 2018, but she remained detained.

Rahile Dawut is a renowned anthropologist, scholar, and expert in Uyghur folklore and traditions. She has been missing for four years. In the summer of 2021, the Chinese government finally confirmed that she is imprisoned but shared no details of the charges against her or of her alleged crimes. Rahile Dawut's daughter, just like me, lives in the United States without her family, does not know her mother's current status, and is still fighting for her release.

Yalqun Rozi, a scholar and a publisher, was sentenced in 2018 to 15 years of imprisonment for inciting subversion and ethnic hatred. Yalqun Rozi published Uyghur-language textbooks that authorities claim "incorporated ethnic separatism" and "terrorism," even though the Chinese government had permitted use of his language textbooks for years, until PRC officials suddenly ramped up their repression of the Uyghurs and their language and culture.

I raise these names as examples, in addition to my father's, because it is important to remember that those imprisoned on fabricated charges, and the over one million Uyghurs and other Turkic and Muslim-majority people who have been arbitrarily detained in internment camps, are not just numbers, but real people who have parents, children, and friends. We need to lift up the names of individuals who are imprisoned in violation of their human rights and draw attention to their individual cases. We need to impress upon people who are unmoved by the Chinese government's pervasive and systematic repression in the Uyghur region that the detention of over 1 million people is not an abstract idea. It is a horrifying reality that is destroying the lives of individuals and families, like mine, like Yalqun Rozi's, like Rahile Dawut's, like Atikem Rozi's.

As I noted, I was last here in front of the Commission eight years ago. Sadly, since then the only changes in the Uyghur region have been for the worse. I'm grateful to see the U.S. Government's support for the Uyghur people. Once fully implemented and enforced, the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act will counter the regime of state-sponsored forced labor that is taking place on a massive scale. But there is more that can be done to call for an end to the Chinese government's oppression against Uyghurs.

This includes raising the names of Uyghurs who have been unjustly imprisoned and highlighting the human toll of the repressive policies. This can help personalize the large-scale atrocities that are taking place in China, and hopefully the growing indignation and outcry will move governments that so far have remained silent on the repression of Uyghurs to action. Through building more united and concerted international pressure, we will have a greater chance at changing the Chinese government's human rights abuses. I look forward to working with you to address these tough issues, and I really hope that in eight years we're not having the same conversation again. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Jewher Ilham appears in the Appendix.]

Chair MERKLEY. Thank you so much for your testimony.  
Ms. Lhamo.

**STATEMENT OF NYIMA LHAMO, HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATE  
AND NIECE OF THE LATE TULKU TENZIN DELEK RINPOCHE**

Ms. LHAMO. Hello everyone. My name is Nyima Lhamo. Thank you for this opportunity to testify.

The opening ceremony of the 2022 Olympics will take place tomorrow, so it is urgent that we raise our voice today for those who have been silenced by the CCP. I'm the niece of the late Tulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche. Tenzin Delek Rinpoche was a highly respected lama in our area, in the Lithang district. He earned respect through his social work, establishing schools, clinics, orphanages, and old-age homes, but the respect he earned among the common people angered the Chinese authorities. They falsely accused him of serious crimes and committed him to life in prison in 2002. He was kept in prison until he suddenly died in custody after thirteen years.

After Rinpoche died, the Chinese authorities said he was a fake lama, a criminal, a threat to so-called "social stability." My family and local Tibetans weren't allowed to offer butter lamps. We weren't allowed to organize public prayer in memory of Rinpoche. Pictures of Rinpoche were banned in Lithang. My family was also threatened. Despite the difficulties and hardship, I escaped Tibet in order to share the story of my late uncle. I left my family and 6-year-old daughter behind. Last year in September, the authorities took my 57-year-old mother and two brothers for questioning. They were kept in different places for seven days. They were questioned about how I escaped from Tibet.

My mother was beaten. They told her that they could easily kill her because she is my mother. They were questioned about how I escaped from Tibet. My mother was made responsible for making me stop my advocacy. They wanted her to say that Trulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche was a fake lama, that I don't know anything about the situation inside Tibet, that I'm being used by "outside forces." When my mother became ill she tried to go to the Chengdu Hospital. At first the police didn't allow her to go. Later they allowed her to go, but the police followed her there, from her hotel to the hospital, watching her the entire time.

I am very, very worried about my family's safety. They told my mom that if I continue to speak up out here, they will beat, arrest,

or even kill members of my family. Today Beijing is putting on a friendly face for the Olympics, but that isn't their real face. The Tibetan people have seen who they really are. We saw it when they destroyed our temple, when they shot and beat us, when they make our religious leaders disappear, when they arrest and kill innocent people. Our language and culture are on the edge, facing the crushing weight of Chinese repression. Tibetans don't have the freedom to speak the truth.

Hearings like this help those who are inside Tibet. Those messages will reach them and give them hope. While growing up in Tibet it was common to hear of Tibetans dying in Chinese prisons without any justice. There were so many of them. Today, I want to bring the case of four political prisoners to your attention. The first is Gedhun Nyima Choekyi. He was disappeared in 1995 at the age of six and has never been seen since. The second is Lhundup Dakpa, a singer. He was given a six-year sentence for singing a song opposing Chinese rule in Tibet. Third, Bonkho Kyi. A young woman, she arranged a small celebration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's birthday. She was sentenced to seven years in prison. Lastly, please remember Lobsang Dhondup, a relative of mine. He was arrested alongside my late uncle, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, and executed.

Finally, my mother's health has always been an issue. I would like to ask if there is any way my mom can be brought out of Tibet for health reasons. My family has lost so much. Anything you can do to help her I would greatly appreciate. Thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak.

[The prepared statement of Nyima Lhamo appears in the Appendix.]

Chair MERKLEY. Thank you, and we certainly will follow up on your question in every possibly way we can.

Ms. Luo.

**STATEMENT OF SOPHIE LUO, WIFE OF  
DISAPPEARED HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDER DING JIAXI**

Ms. LUO. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Co-chairman, and distinguished members of the Commission, thank you so much for holding this hearing.

Today I will be telling you about the case of my husband Ding Jiayi and three other rights defenders who are currently in detention in China in connection with a crackdown after a private gathering in December 2019. My husband, Ding Jiayi, is a human rights lawyer and activist. He met leading law scholar Xu Zhiyong in Beijing in late 2011, and the two led together the Chinese New Citizens Movement. Their ideas and activities centered on getting Chinese people to take their rights, written in the Chinese constitution, seriously, practice them in everyday life, and become real citizens of the country.

Their peaceful and lawful activities in 2012 and 2013, however, resulted in official prosecution. They were sentenced to 4 years and 3.5 years in prison for charges of "gathering a crowd to disrupt public order." After they were released from prison, Xu Zhiyong and Ding Jiayi resumed their activities to promote civil rights. They reached out to citizens around the country who shared the

same aspirations and continued to promote the growth of civil society, but their activism caught the attention of the authorities again.

After a two-day private gathering in Xiamen with around 20 lawyers and friends on December 7th and 8th, 2019, Chinese police detained Ding Jiayi on December 26th, 2019, and Xu Zhiyong on February 15th, 2020, and held them under “residential surveillance at a designated location,” RSDL. While held in RSDL, both men were subjected to torture and ill treatment, including to prolonged sleep deprivation, loud noise harassment, interrogation while being tightly strapped to an iron “tiger chair,” food and water restrictions, no exposure to sunlight, and no showers.

In June 2020, both men were formally arrested on suspicion of “inciting subversion of state power” and transferred to a detention center. In January 2021, Ding Jiayi and Xu Zhiyong finally were able to meet their lawyers by video after 13 and 11 months in secret detention. In August 2021, Chinese authorities indicted and charged them with “subversion of state power,” a more serious crime that could result in life imprisonment. Others were detained as part of the Xiamen gathering crackdown. Still in detention are Chang Weiping and Li Qiaochu.

Chang Weiping is a younger generation human rights lawyer. He was placed under RSDL for 10 days in January 2020 after participating in the gathering and was sent to RSDL again in October 2020 under the charge of “subversion of state power.” He was subjected to brutal torture and was denied access to a lawyer for 11 months.

Li Qiaochu didn’t attend the gathering but was sent to RSDL for four months in 2020 simply because she was Xu Zhiyong’s fiancée and was detained again in February 2021 under the charge of “inciting subversion of state power” for exposing Xu Zhiyong’s torture and disclosing the corruption of the detention center. She was denied access to a lawyer for 10 months and now is suffering from severe mental health issues.

Senator Merkley, Congressman McGovern, and members of the Commission, I am an engineer by training and by profession. I would never have imagined that I would be here in Washington, DC telling Members of Congress about my husband and our friends who are under persecution. This is not something I have ever done before. I want to sincerely thank you for holding this hearing on the eve of the Beijing Olympics and thank the Commission for continuing to advocate for political prisoners like my husband Ding Jiayi. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Sophie Luo appears in the Appendix.]

Chair MERKLEY. So much appreciation to all of you for sharing your experiences, your insights, your direct knowledge of the horrific crimes against humanity that are underway. We are here at this moment, less than 24 hours before the Olympic Games begin, to say it is not acceptable to let the glitz and glamour of Olympic gold hide the egregious human rights crimes of the Chinese government. When we had the members of the International Olympic Committee before us, in our conversations that followed, they said that athletes can express themselves outside of the Olympic platform when they are receiving medals. On the other hand, the Bei-

ing Organizing Committee warned athletes that any behavior or speech that is against the Olympic spirit or Chinese laws and regulations is subject to certain punishment.

Do we have any confidence, Ms. Cao, that athletes can exercise their freedom of speech during the Olympic Games?

Ms. CAO. I doubt it. I read in the news that athletes were compelled to install an app designed for the Olympic athletes. So everyone has the same app. We have known for a long time about China's censorship of its own citizens, or any speech inside China that expresses any dissent. So these athletes will be closely watched through this app. They will also be surrounded by minders watching their movements and who they're going with and what they're doing, I'd say 24/7. There won't be any break. So I would say they will be subjecting themselves to a lot of risk if some of them decide to speak up.

At the same time, the Chinese people, the Chinese citizens have had tight control on expression on social media and across the board placed on them. They can't talk about anything that's disagreeable to the government. They can't—as a matter of fact Chinese dissidents, activists, can't even have an account on the Chinese social media platforms. So that's the situation. Athletes will be risking a lot if they decide to speak up.

Chair MERKLEY. Thank you. Which means that if individuals do speak up, they know they're doing so at great risk and they will be exhibiting the type of courage that so many of you and your family members and your friends have exhibited.

Mr. Law, what recommendations do you have for Congress about how we can better support political prisoners in Hong Kong, given the new political-legal environment there?

Mr. LAW. Thank you so much, Chairman, for your question. As I said in my speech, there are numerous bills that are waiting to be passed in Congress, including providing safe harbor, including providing security on internet freedom, and also the COMPETES Act generally puts pressure on the Chinese Communist Party. For now, it's really difficult to directly do a lot of things, or do something, on the situation of Hong Kong's political prisoners because Beijing always holds the facade of the rule of law in Hong Kong. And even though they have full control under the national security accords, they appointed judges, and the judges are obviously following orders.

For them they would definitely say that, oh, it's judiciary issues and the government has no intervention over it. So definitely on the surface level they are saying that there is nothing to do. But at the end of the day the reason why Hong Kong ended up losing its freedom and that Beijing seems to be much more aggressive than ever, is because Beijing has confidence in its own system. Hong Kong used to be seen as a gateway—or as an example for the Chinese Communist Party and the PRC to move towards liberalization. For now they feel good in singing the totalitarian song so they no longer need that example of Hong Kong anymore. They just treat Hong Kong as an ordinary Chinese city. So for now it's really for us to gear up our pressure on the Chinese Communist Party, to have a good alliance, to have good policy, a good global agenda, and coordinate global pushback.

Chair MERKLEY. Thank you.

Ms. Ilham, I'm very struck by two items that I'd like you to amplify your thoughts on, if you would like to. One is the way in which apparel brands and retailers are complicit in forced labor by utilizing products made with that forced labor. And second, the incredible impact of surveillance technology, which has created an Orwellian world where every movement is watched and recorded, giving no personal space for expression, or learning, or reflection, or advocacy. Your thoughts on those two pieces of the challenge.

Ms. ILHAM. Thank you for your question. First, I would like to note that the surveillance tools that the Chinese government is using are directly benefiting the forced labor situation that's happening there. First of all, virtually speaking, we'll have to assume that the entire apparel industry or any industry—it doesn't matter what products—made in the Uyghur region are tainted by forced labor. That's why we passed the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, because of the level of surveillance we're talking about.

People are not free outside of their homes. People are not free inside their homes. I grew up having bugging devices in my living room. I grew up being followed by Chinese policemen to shopping malls. I grew up having policemen constantly coming to our homes, traveling with us to different cities, and putting us under house arrest. And back then, things were not even that bad. Imagine how it is now. The due diligence mechanisms that work elsewhere in the rest of the world simply don't work in China. That's why if any companies claim that their item is free of forced labor, even though they're directly sourcing from the Uyghur Region, then they are lying or they are pretending that they don't know what's going on.

Given the exposure of the situation in China, the brands and corporations have the responsibility to know what's going on with their suppliers and where they're sourcing from. Also I want to note that currently the Olympics is happening, and recently the IOC issued a statement saying that the Olympic uniforms are free of forced labor. I have to say that it's hardly a true statement because, first of all, in the IOC's recent statement it only listed two brands. One is Anta. Another one was HUYX, Hengyuanxiang. Both of these two brands publicly announced that they have always been using Xinjiang cotton, and they would continue to do so.

How would two brands who have actively supported the use of Xinjiang cotton be free of forced labor, even though virtually the entire apparel industry is tainted by forced labor? The IOC has failed to provide transparent due diligence that they have conducted in the Uyghur Region and they have failed to disclose their factory names, the auditor names, and they have failed to explain why they did not disclose that information. So there is a great challenge, but given that we have passed the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, hopefully it will very effectively reduce forced labor goods entering the U.S.

One more note, the Forced Labor Prevention Act is great. It has the rebuttable presumption that basically makes sure that any goods from the Uyghur Region cannot enter the U.S. unless there is clear evidence to support that. But we also have to note that the recently released report, "Laundering Cotton," released by Sheffield Hallam University, has stated there are 53 manufacturers linked

to over 100 international brands who have secondary links to the Uyghur Region. And they could be linked to countries like India, to Indonesia, to Pakistan, to elsewhere. And those products are not stated as sourced in the Uyghur Region, but they have secondary links to the Uyghur Region. They are transferred to a second country, third country, then they end up in the U.S. market.

So we need to be cautious and the brands need to be cautious. They need to choose to be on the right side of history. Thank you.

Chair MERKLEY. Thank you very much.

Co-chair McGovern.

Co-chair MCGOVERN. Well, thank you very much. Let me just say, in response to the concerns you just raised, one of the things that Senator Merkley, Senator Rubio, Representative Smith, and the entire Commission are working on is to try to make sure that we provide adequate funding in our appropriations process so that the bill can actually be enforced. I'm going to yield the balance of my time to Speaker Pelosi, who has been here for this entire hearing. I think it speaks volumes about her commitment to human rights.

I just want to make one point, and that is that I hope that the media that are covering these Olympics—and we sent a letter to NBC, by the way, the commissioners here—I hope that they make a special effort to highlight the realities in China. I hope that they don't see themselves as a vehicle simply to promote the propaganda that the government is going to put forward, where everybody's holding hands and singing kumbaya, and everything is perfect. We know that that's not the case. But we know that that's what the Chinese government will want to do.

You know, it is not unreasonable for journalists, sports journalists as well, to highlight that there is a genocide going on, to highlight the ethnic cleansing that is occurring in Tibet, to highlight the issues that Nathan Law talked about in Hong Kong. I think the Chinese government is counting on our media, the international media, to turn a blind eye to that, and I think that would be a tragedy. So this cannot be business as usual and I think there is a moral obligation by those who are covering these events to make sure that people understand the background in which they are occurring.

Now I want to yield whatever time I have to the distinguished Speaker of the House.

Speaker PELOSI. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I will be brief because I want you to have the balance of your time. I want to thank you and the Chairman for the opportunity to be with you today, to have the benefit of this very, very important testimony. I want to acknowledge also the bipartisan nature of all of this. You mentioned Senator Rubio's work as well as Chris Smith's. It's bicameral, both houses. It's bipartisan, both parties, and a reflection of the values of the American people.

What I hear from our witnesses is further evidence of the courage of the people who are committed to freedom of expression and respect for human rights in China. What I see is the cowardice of the Chinese government, the cowardice of their actions, to take actions against family members because you are speaking out in other places, as some of you have mentioned. The cowardice of the

business community not to have confidence in their ability to compete, but to fold to the Chinese government without speaking out.

I will again thank all of you, as well as Congresswoman Wexton for her leadership on the Uyghur situation, and make this point, and I said this to our caucus this morning: When we talk about genocide of the Uyghurs, it's a horrible thing. It's diabolical. It also has an impact on the workforce, because it is a human rights violation of the greatest magnitude. However, it is also unfairness to American workers or workers in other economies because you're making people compete with slave labor.

I've told this story in press events before: I talked to the former President of the United States, the most recent one, when he was in Japan at G-20 and I said: When you talk to President Xi, tell him of the bicameral, bipartisan awareness we have of what's happening to the Uyghurs and the genocide that is happening there. The former President called me the next day and said, I spoke to President Xi about that and he said the Uyghurs like going to those camps. Really?

So I would just say to the business community and to those who are afraid, as they demonstrate their cowardice vis-à-vis the Chinese government, and the cowardice of that government, they're afraid of your values, your courage. What does it profit a country if it gains the whole world and suffers the loss of its soul? We don't want that to happen to us. This is a challenge to the conscience of the world. Thank you for your courage. And with that, and thanking you, I yield back to Mr. McGovern.

Co-chair MCGOVERN. Thank you very much. I'll ask most of my questions in the second round, but I just want to reinforce what the Speaker said and, again, remind the business community that does business in the region that the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act that Senator Merkley, Senator Rubio, and Representative Smith and I championed, is now law. We will make sure it is funded. We will make sure that it is enforced. The days of see no evil, hear no evil are over. The corporations that turned a blind eye to what is happening to the Uyghurs, and to others, they are complicit. I mean we're all speaking in very strong terms here, but it is true. And I get it—everybody wants to make money, but the bottom line is, we will make sure that the American people know which companies are complicit and people will make choices based on that. I'm not drinking Coca-Cola, as I said at the beginning of this, because of their involvement right now. There are clothing companies, there are footwear companies, I can go right down the list. They know who they are. And so things have to change. Let me yield back my time and I'll ask questions in the second round.

Chair MERKLEY. Thank you very much. A special thank you to Speaker Pelosi for being here to lend your long advocacy and the prestige of your position to these important issues. I think your phrase will stick in my head—what does it benefit a nation to gain the world but lose its soul? You said it more poetically than I did, but I think that sums up what we're looking at. Thank you.

Congresswoman Wexton.

Representative WEXTON. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. Thank you also to Chairman McGovern. I really appreciated your opening remarks, because it's important that we remember that a

lot of people conflate the Chinese people, or Asian people, with the actions of the CCP. We should never let that happen. There's been a huge increase in anti-Asian hate and we want to make sure we get that under control and make it very clear that that is not permitted.

Ms. Ilham, I did appreciate your remarks, especially about the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act. I share with you the concerns about the possible shortcomings of that legislation. That's why I introduced the Uyghur Forced Labor Disclosure Act, which would require companies that are publicly traded to actively investigate their supply chains for forced labor and ensure that there is no forced labor used in the production of those goods, and if it is, to disclose that. Also to disclose if they're unable to determine one way or the other. That would be publicly, in their SEC documents. That has passed the House of Representatives twice, and if anybody in the Senate is interested in picking that up, I certainly would be very interested in working with you to make that happen.

I'm glad that we are holding this hearing today on the eve of the opening ceremony for the 2022 Beijing Genocide Games, because the PRC wants nothing more than to distract the world from its crimes against humanity in Tibet, its anti-democratic crackdown in Hong Kong, and the ongoing genocide happening in Xinjiang. I'm disappointed that we, as a Commission, were unable to compel the U.S. sponsors of the Beijing Games, like Airbnb, Coca-Cola, Procter & Gamble, Intel, and others to withdraw their support, even though we tried. It's very clear that they are prioritizing their bottom lines over everything else, including human rights. Now, I never expected the IOC to do the right thing. They are a deeply corrupt organization. But their treatment and what they did as accomplices in the disappearance of Peng Shuai was disappointing and even undershot my very low expectations.

I want to thank Speaker Pelosi for joining us here today. You have been a champion on human rights in China throughout your entire tenure in Congress. I also want to thank you for getting my resolution condemning the IOC for their treatment of Peng Shuai to the floor so quickly. It passed the House of Representatives on a recorded unanimous vote, which does not happen very frequently and shows you the wonderful bipartisan cooperation that we have on this legislation.

I do have some questions for some of the witnesses. Ms. Cao, you testified that it was really that the CCP's treatment of Peng Shuai was basically following their playbook, the way that they treated her when she came forward. Can you describe that a little bit more fully and also describe what the status of the #MeToo Movement in China is? Do many of the women who come forward face the same kind of effects?

Ms. CAO. Yes. Thank you, Congresswoman Wexton, and thank you for the resolution you introduced condemning IOC's complicity in the Peng Shuai incident. Speaking of China's playbook, I wrote an article two months ago called "What Awaits Peng Shuai." Initially, I didn't feel like I had too much to say about Peng Shuai, but a month into the incident I feel like I have a lot to offer. What I have to offer is this playbook that, as a human rights activist, I'm so familiar with. Many of us are very familiar with this. There is

a clear pattern and clear components in this playbook when China deals with dissent or human rights cases that cause wide international attention.

In my article, I gave a few examples. If I could just briefly tell you a couple other stories, everybody here will know——

Representative WEXTON. If you could very quickly, because I do have some questions for the other panelists as well. If you could make it brief, that would be great.

Ms. CAO. Yes. So for example, when Wang Yu was given the Human Rights Award by the American Bar Association, China actually sent a false lawyer letter to ABA denouncing the work in Wang Yu's name. In the case of Gui Minhai, the Hong Kong bookseller who was detained, who has Swedish citizenship, he was made to go on TV to confess that he stays in China voluntarily and he does not want to return to Sweden, and he denounces his Swedish citizenship. So with Peng Shuai, we have seen this. Of course, the first component in this playbook is censorship. Then there's all manner of different denials—whatever the allegations are. Then there's a public TV confession. An organization called Safeguard Defenders did a lot of in-depth research on that.

Representative WEXTON. Ms. Cao, I'm sorry, I'm going to need to reclaim my time, because I—thank you very much. You gave some very interesting examples of how that playbook has been used against other people in China.

Ms. ILHAM, what happens to the children of these people who get detained? Because, you know, sometimes both parents in a household get detained. What happens to their minor children when they're detained?

Ms. ILHAM. From camp survivors or family members of former detainees I have learned that many of those children whose parents are detained get sent to orphanages or certain types of boarding schools, if they're slightly older. And a lot of——

Representative WEXTON. Is there indoctrination by the CCP taking place at these boarding schools?

Ms. ILHAM. Yes. At those schools they learn Chinese, speak only Chinese, and are not allowed to speak in Uyghur. They eat Chinese food, dress like Chinese, sing Chinese songs, learn Chinese poetry. That's what I learned from the testimony of former detainees and camp survivors.

Representative WEXTON. Thank you very much. I'll yield back with that.

Chair MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Congresswoman.

I believe next up is Congresswoman Steel.

Representative STEEL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and ranking members. It is really unacceptable that the Chinese Communist Party is allowed to host the Winter Olympics. I have repeatedly called on the International Olympic Committee to move the 2022 Winter Olympics out of Beijing and I have pushed corporate sponsors to use their advertising during the Games to shine a light on human rights abuses happening throughout China. The CCP continues to repress the people of Hong Kong, Uyghurs, and Tibetans. They all repeatedly try to intimidate Taiwan and their allies. I've offered an amendment to the America COMPETES Act

that resumes diplomatic relations with Taiwan, but the majority ruled it was not in order.

Recently, Qin Gang, China's ambassador to the United States, issued a warning of military conflict between the two nations over America's continued support of a free and independent Taiwan. This should concern every one of us. Thank you all today for your stories and for standing up to the CCP. To all the witnesses, the United States must stand and fight for the people of Hong Kong and those being oppressed and prosecuted by the CCP for speaking out against human rights abuses.

So my question is—anybody can answer here—how discouraging it is when you see elected officials across Western countries and global corporate companies turn a blind eye to the CCP and Chairman Xi Jinping? So what do you think about that?

Mr. LAW. Yes. Maybe I can jump into answering the congresswoman's question. As I said in my speech, it's really disgusting to see a lot of big corporations and some of the country's leaders literally roll a red carpet out for this Winter Olympics, while they obviously know that there is a genocide ongoing and there are a lot of people suffering. They know that by doing so they are not addressing these problems. So for me it's especially disheartening that it is not just about the Winter Olympics or Chinese human rights violations. It's about how we can retain the integrity and the idea of democratic values, while China is redefining the definition of democracy and trying to say that the authoritarian system triumphs over our democratic system.

So for now, I think we need more values in our actions. We need more values-based diplomacy and we need more alliances and coalitions in which like-minded countries can work and act together. And some of the democratic countries, if they send delegations of high officials to the Winter Olympics, it definitely ruins this collaboration and dedication that we all put into protecting democracy. And let's not forget, we are in the second decade of a democratic backslide. For the last 10 years, 20 years, democracy has been losing ground in the world, and one of the major components is that we were too complacent to the rise of authoritarianism, especially in China. And now we should change that, and the change starts with all democratic countries getting together and at least boycotting events like this.

So American leadership is really important. I am very grateful for all the bipartisan support that we as Hong Kong democratic activists receive, and the support you give to our democratic movement and addressing human rights violations in some other regions in China, including to the Uyghurs, to the Tibetans, and to the Taiwanese.

Representative STEEL. Thank you, Mr. Law. I sent a letter out to 17 Olympic corporate sponsors to give up just a little bit of their advertising money to let the whole world know what kind of human rights violations the CCP's been committing, because it's really important. They have a big platform and this is just perfect timing to do that. I never got a response from any of those corporate sponsors.

So my second question is, what do these CEOs and elected leaders need to do to protect those minority groups and vulnerable pop-

ulations in China? Because we don't see that in the world, and they are not transparent. They've been hiding everything. So unless we hear from witnesses today, we don't know exactly what's going on, except to just sum up the news that we read. So anybody can answer that, and I'd really appreciate it.

Ms. ILHAM. I'd like to take this question, please. Well, thank you for this wonderful question. First of all, I want to connect it to the previous question you raised, that it's absolutely disgusting that the corporations have chosen to turn a blind eye. It is very sad-denying, but also we need to be positive—because with being positive, there's hope, and then there's change. We also need to focus on those brands and companies that have chosen to do the right thing. For instance, Marks & Spencer, ASOS, Reformation, New Look—these brands who have billion-dollar revenues have committed to exiting the Uyghur Region. That means that it is difficult to end ties to the Uyghur Region, but it is feasible.

We need to reward those brands by telling them that they are doing the right thing. We can show a good example to these brands like Anta and HYY who publicly advocate the use of Xinjiang cotton. Brands like Hugo Boss and Uniqlo had refused to sign the call to action that was proposed by our Coalition to End Uyghur Forced Labor, where we asked the brands to exit the Uyghur Region at every level of their supply chain. We have different brands choosing different paths, and the CEOs are fully aware of what is happening. The Coalition to End Uyghur Forced Labor has reached out to hundreds of brands. We have sent letters to hundreds of brands informing them about what is happening, explaining “this is what you can do, this is what you shouldn't be doing, this is how you can do better.”

We have received replies from many brands. I'm not going to name who exactly here. Some of them said yes, we're aware of this. We want to do good, but we can't commit to the call to action that you have proposed. Some of them say they would like to stop sourcing from the Uyghur region, but also some of them would ignore us and stop responding even though we are more than aware that they have received our letters and they know exactly what is happening. So we need to urge those CEOs, those corporate leaders to make them follow the good examples, to do the right thing, to stop their complicity in Uyghur forced labor.

Twenty-two percent of the cotton production might be from the Uyghur Region, but the rest of the 80 percent is from elsewhere. That means there are alternatives—they can source from other sources. There is a better solution, and we need to propose that to those brands. That's why I suggest governments around the world also reach out to those corporate leaders and let them know that this is not an action that we should be encouraging, and what the right thing to do is.

Representative STEEL. Thank you, everyone. I thought this was just perfect timing—they have a big platform to let the world know exactly what's been going on inside China and they can just spend a little bit of money.

But Mr. Chairman, my time is up, and thank you. I yield back.  
Chair MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Congresswoman Steel.

We're going to turn to Congressman McGovern, who courteously yielded his time to Speaker Pelosi earlier. Now I'll yield my time to you.

Co-chair MCGOVERN. Thank you. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Again, thank you for your incredible leadership on all this.

Ms. Lhamo, we want to thank you for your tireless advocacy on behalf of your uncle. Tenzin Delek Rinpoche's case was well known in Congress. I remember the sadness I felt when I was informed of his death in custody. How has your advocacy for your uncle's case affected your family in Tibet? Do you here in the United States receive any pressure from the Chinese government or Party, directly or indirectly, to stop?

Ms. LHAMO. Thank you for this question. Thank you for continuing to mention his story. It's very important for us to continue to mention that story and for the other organizers and involved community. Yes, I got a lot of warnings from the Chinese through my relatives, from my mom. They always told me, if you continue to speak up about the story inside Tibet, they might kill you, because they say they have a lot of spies around the world.

So they'd say, your daughter is in danger because we know every single town and what she is doing there. If she continues like your brother Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, people will just get used to it after a few years and nothing will change. China is going to be a great power in the world, so there is nothing that will change if she keeps talking about these things. It doesn't work. You tell your daughter that they will keep to—

INTERPRETER. Ms. Lhamo says that the authorities always say, Your daughter is advocating. And whatever Nyima does the authorities follow her, and they know exactly everything. And they could easily stop her and endanger her very easily. The warnings are constant.

Ms. LHAMO [continues through interpreter]. We have spies all over the world, watching 24 hours a day. And we know everything that she is doing. The Tibetans inside Tibet look to the outside world to tell their story and to speak about them, and especially they look to the United States as a leader in the world in speaking out against the oppressed. Everything you do to speak out and raise awareness about what is happening inside Tibet helps the Tibetans.

Co-chair MCGOVERN. Thank you. Sophie Luo, we are sorry that you remain separated from your husband, Ding Jiayi. When Chinese security authorities initially took him into custody, along with legal advocate Xu Zhiyong, they placed them under a police measure called Residential Surveillance at a Designated Location, RSDL, for about six months. Can you explain what RSDL is? What should the UN and the U.S. be doing about this practice?

Ms. LUO. Thank you, Congressman McGovern. RSDL is a new term that they added into the Criminal Law in 2012. It's supposed to be a very light criminal procedure to put the detainees at home or some designated location, but the Chinese Communist Party right now systematically uses it as incommunicado detention. Anyone sent into RSDL right away is put into a location which no one knows where it is, and the setup of the location is just a room with

the lights on 24 hours, with a person watching you one on one, and without any communication with the outside world.

The policemen can do anything they like to the person who is detained. Like in this case, Ding Jiayi was put into 10 days of noise harassment, very loud harassment, for 10 days, 24 hours. Everyone can hear around, but no one outside can hear. Chang Weiping was put into the tiger chair continually over 10 days. So they can do whatever they want. And also Li Qiaochu, they threatened her using all kinds of dirty language.

So Safeguard, the NGO, did an investigation on RSDL. Basically, systematically they can use these measures on any people they want to get a coerced confession from, like reporters, like diplomats, anyone—if they want to get a coerced confession, they use this measure. So it's very evil and widely used by the CCP now.

Co-chair MCGOVERN. Thank you. If I could just ask my friend Nathan Law, thank you for the update on Joshua Wong. We continue to keep him in our prayers, and we hope that he can be safe and released soon. But can you provide us an update on the 47—the pro-democracy people charged with subversion in February 2021 over their roles in an unofficial primary election held in 2020?

Mr. LAW. Thank you so much, Congressman, for your question. Well, the 47 case was a case in which these political campaigners were charged under the National Security Law, allegedly under the charge of sedition, because they participated in a primary election. The government says that if you participate in a primary election and you want to get the majority, and by getting a majority you are possibly blocking government bills, you are committing a subversive act. So let's just imagine—every single political party in the West or in democratic countries hosts a primary in order to get the best lineup for elections. If that happens in Hong Kong, it would be a crime that would put you behind bars for years, or even decades. That's how drastic and how draconian the National Security Law is.

For now, most of them have been held behind bars for almost a year without knowing when the trial will officially begin. No one knows when the sentencing will be, so it is a very precarious situation. For them especially, for Joshua Wong, Benny Tai, and Jimmy Lai, the trio has been named by the Chinese government's mouthpiece newspapers multiple times—they will probably receive the harshest sentencing. It may take decades for them to get out of jail. Some of them, well, we doubt whether the government wants them to leave jail alive. So it is a really serious situation. Keeping their names in the headlines, keeping their names on the statements, and continuing to bring up the situation of Hong Kong and what they've encountered, are really important for their own safety.

Co-chair MCGOVERN. Thank you. And let me—I know my time is up—I just want to just say a couple of things here. First of all, I want to thank the staff of the China Commission. They are an incredible group of people who are experts on a whole range of human rights issues and China issues. You don't always see them, but they're behind the scenes and they are responsible for putting together our annual report, which will hopefully come out very soon. Their research is second to none, and so I just want to thank them.

Secondly, as Speaker Pelosi pointed out, this is a commission that is a bipartisan commission. Anybody who's observing Washington, you know that our politics is pretty polarizing. I mean, we have trouble agreeing on what to have for lunch, right? But on this issue, these fundamental human rights issues, we are together with Senator Rubio, and you heard Representative Steel, Representative Smith, and others. I mean, we are deeply concerned about the deteriorating situation on so many levels and we hear from people in China and from their families that are all over the world all the time about how awful the situation is. It has to change. Really, it is in the government of China's interest, I think, to change its approach.

The final thing I'm going to say is—there are not enough bad words in the dictionary to describe my feelings about the International Olympic Committee and their decision to locate the Olympics in China at this particular moment. It's disgusting. It's hard to wrap your head around what they were thinking. When we met with them, they told us, well, we don't deal with politics. They don't deal with this—they have all these rules and regulations. I mean, the idea that you could be holding an Olympics in a country that is engaged in genocide, I mean, boy—I can't believe that that in and of itself wasn't enough for them to take a pass on China. We want China's behavior to change, but at this moment it hasn't.

I think you're hearing from all of us this great sense of outrage over, not only what is going on in China, but the fact that these Games are proceeding. We honor our athletes, athletes all around the world, we honor them. We wish them well. We hope that they are safe. But the fact that this is happening now, it's unconscionable. Again, I hope the media will report the truth about what is going on in China and not merely be a vehicle to promote propaganda that the Chinese government is going to put forward, because the realities in China are very, very harsh. And I hope our companies that have been doing business in a way that has taken advantage of the forced labor situation, I hope it stops now. We passed a law that will force you to stop, but quite frankly, anybody with a conscience should have stopped doing business in a region that uses slave labor a long, long time ago.

With that I yield back to the Chairman.

Chair MERKLEY. Thank you. Do you have additional questions you will want to ask in a second round of questions?

Co-chair MCGOVERN. I have a couple more, but I didn't know if anyone else was wanting to—

Chair MERKLEY. I don't believe we have anyone else in the queue. I do have one or two questions I'd like to ask, but if you'd like—do you want to finish, or do you want to come back to your additional questions?

Co-chair MCGOVERN. If I could finish, I'll finish.

Chair MERKLEY. OK.

Co-chair MCGOVERN. Ms. Cao, I want to thank you for your testimony and dedication on the case of Peng Shuai. I'm concerned that her allegation of sexual assault against the senior Chinese official will not be investigated by the justice system and that she may not receive any needed psychological support as a victim of trauma. Chairman Merkley and I wrote a letter to the IOC noting that it

was inappropriate for an IOC official to claim that she is “doing fine” based on a single remote video call. We worry that the IOC’s focus on optics may make it harder for her to receive justice or support. I guess my first question to you is, do you agree? And how can we help her get these?

Ms. CAO. Well, I predicted two months ago—I made a few predictions in my article after I carefully studied the situation. I predicted that she won’t be allowed to leave the country. She will be completely disappeared from public view. She will be forced to deny the allegations and unfortunately, all of my predictions transpired. I think Peng Shuai will never live free if we don’t apply serious pressure and I don’t think China will do anything about Zhang Gaoli or the investigation.

So it’s interesting to see what will happen next, how the WTA situation will be resolved, or whether WTA will stand up for women, for Peng Shuai. So the playbook we talked about doesn’t really give us an answer at this point, because there’s the WTA decision. It’s not just Peng Shuai. If it’s just Peng Shuai, China will put her anywhere. Look, China doesn’t have to put her in jail—she can live freely and happily in her home, yet not be free at all.

Chair MCGOVERN. President Thomas Bach stated that the IOC does not have any authority to intervene or speak on behalf of human rights in the host country. That’s what we were told when we met with them, and yet he personally intervened with Peng and said that he plans to meet her during the Olympics. Do you think that this shows that perhaps the IOC can indeed step up on a human rights case?

Ms. CAO. I think the most troubling sign about the IOC came on the day of December 2nd. They made a second statement within 24 hours of WTA announcing its suspension of the tournament in China. In that IOC statement, the IOC actually used the Chinese government’s—the CCP’s—language. So I was like, are they actually actively coordinating with the CCP to suppress the Peng Shuai matter? If you have that kind of an idea, if that realization has dawned on you, you know that the IOC is not just glossing over things. The IOC is an active participant in the suppression.

Against that backdrop, what will the IOC do? Well, the IOC will not do anything. Because China can’t use its state media for the propaganda campaign because it has no credibility and no actual effect. So the IOC took the place of CCTV, Xinhua, and Global Times. The IOC will have that dinner with Peng Shuai or not, whatever. It’s all part of the propaganda package to prop up the idea that Peng Shuai is fine. Peng Shuai is not fine, precisely because of their efforts.

Co-chair MCGOVERN. Well, you know, the IOC—those that go along to get along under these circumstances are complicit.

Ms. CAO. Absolutely.

Co-chair MCGOVERN. And I think that needs to be stated for the record.

Just my final question, to Ms. Ilham. Welcome back to the Commission. And as you mentioned, we recently passed the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act. Before that was the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act. We’re going to be dealing with the COMPETES Act, and your testimony reminds us that behind these legislative

initiatives are real human beings with families whose rights and aspirations are being denied by the Chinese government. Can you just speak in a little bit more detail about the experience of the people whose names you mentioned, such as Rahile Dawut?

Ms. ILHAM. Thank you, Congressman McGovern. Rahile Dawut is a renowned anthropologist. She had also participated in a Harvard program in the past. She's a renowned scholar and is well loved and respected not only in the international academic field, but also she's well respected in China as well. And she disappeared in 2017, just like many other Uyghurs and other Kazakhs and Muslim-majority people. Her daughter had also been speaking out, just like me, on behalf of her mother in order to ask for the release of her mother.

She didn't know where her mother was from 2017 until very recently, the summer of 2021. Finally, the Chinese government said, yes, she has been in prison, but did not reveal any information on what kind of crimes she has been charged with, what the alleged crimes are, and where she's being held, how long she's going to be held. Rahile Dawut's daughter, Akida Polat, doesn't know anything. The only information or confirmation she got from the Chinese government is that her mother is in prison. And that goes for so many other Uyghur children and families in the diaspora.

I know someone who has over 70 family members, distant family members, who were sent to either reeducation camps or prisons, or some of them are even in forced labor camps. So we're not talking about one person, two people, or 10 families anymore. We're talking about hundreds of thousands of families that don't know where their family members are. I don't know if my father is alive. The last time I heard of him was in 2017. I knew he was at Urumqi 1st Prison, but since then there have been no family visits. We don't know if he has been transferred to a prison, if he has been transferred to a camp, if he has been killed, if he has died with health issues. We don't know, just like in Rahile Dawut's case.

Co-chair MCGOVERN. Well, thank you for sharing your personal story, but also that of others, because I think that the number of atrocities is so huge—you know, we're constantly being given numbers, and facts, and statistics. I worry that we'll lose our human ability to feel what all that means. There are individuals behind each one of those numbers, and there are families.

Ms. ILHAM. Yes. Thank you for bringing that up. The reason that I specifically put so few names in my speech, in my testimony, was because I want people to stop thinking of what's happening as only an abstract idea. I want to put a face to the names. I want to put a picture in people's heads. And I also want to urge the China Commission to do one thing for me, for the Uyghurs. For as many names as you can remember of those missing Uyghur families, detainees, please try to remember them or write them down.

Whenever you have a chance to meet with Chinese officials, please raise individual cases. I also want the Chinese government to stop thinking of this as just an abstract idea of, oh, it's just one million people out there. No, we need to emphasize to them, you're locking up family members, just like your own family members. They're individual human beings that have fathers, that have

mothers, that have children. Please raise individual cases with their names. Thank you so much.

Co-chair MCGOVERN. Thank you so much. Mr. Chairman, I yield back to you.

Chair MERKLEY Thank you very much. I just want to echo Co-chair McGovern's point about thanking you all for sharing your personal stories and putting faces to the oppression.

I want to close with this question to whoever on the panel would like to address it. I was reading an article by an independent journalist, Melissa Chan. She published it, I think, two days ago. She noted that at the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics, journalists were free to travel the country. I thought about how she described the circumstances then, and a trip that 10 members of the Senate made a couple years later, where we met reporters who were no longer required to live in official housing where they were carefully supervised. They no longer had tenders, or folks who were with them constantly. We met environmental advocates who were issuing reports on companies that were dumping their industrial pollutants directly into rivers, and there was this emerging environment movement. We met folks who told us about a slight improvement in freedom to worship, and others who talked about improvements in the ability to advocate for workers' conditions.

Now we sit here in the year 2022 and all of that is gone. In her article, Chan challenges us with this question: Is the term "an authoritarian state" still adequate to describe what has happened in China under General Secretary Xi Jinping? He became General Secretary in 2012. Here are some of the things that she mentioned: Authorities are locking up activists that they once championed as advocating for the people. We have a cult of personality around the General Secretary. We have amplification of propaganda that puts forth a glorious redacted national history and emphasizes the role of victims of foreign forces. We have massive development of a surveillance state. We have the disconnection from the social media instruments used around the world and replaced by Chinese-controlled social media. We have massive oppression of minority populations to the point of conducting genocide against the Uyghur population. We have a systematic crushing of free speech and free assembly, and we have a very significant military expansion abroad.

And so Chan asks the question: Is this an authoritarian state, or is this now a fascist state, with all of those characteristics? As she asked that question in that article, I was thinking about the comparison to 1936, when the Olympics were hosted by Hitler, and where he used the glitz and glory of Olympic gold to hide his already horrific acts. And then, because the world paid no attention to those acts, he was emboldened to go on a spree of enormous assaults on humanity in the years that followed. I guess our plea to the world is: Let us not repeat or echo 1936, when the world ignored the acts of Hitler. And let's not ignore today the acts of General Secretary Xi Jinping. So I ask you kind of broadly, are we now talking about a fascist state? And should we start thinking of China under the rule of General Secretary Xi Jinping in that context? If anyone who would like to speak to that—

Yes, please go ahead.

Ms. CAO. Yes. I would like to just make a quick comment on the difference between an authoritarian state and a totalitarian state, or fascist state. Of course, I am not a scholar of politics, political science, but if you look at Taiwan back in the '60s, '70s, or look at South Korea around the same time, and many other countries, or South Africa, an authoritarian state still leaves a small part of civil society alive. For example, a small slice of elected congressmembers, and a small portion of a free press. That allows civil society to grow just a little bit. But China is not that place. China has gone far past the state of authoritarianism. Thank you.

Chair MERKLEY. Thank you. And I believe Mr. Law was prepared to speak?

Mr. LAW. Yes. Thank you, Congressman, for the question. I think addressing the PRC under the Chinese Communist Party as a fascist regime is not an overstatement. If you have been keeping up with the situation in mainland China, they have a list of core socialist values back in the days when Xi Jinping had just assumed power. And they list democracy, freedom, and the rule of law as their core values. But in reality, we all know that they are not practicing these things. They are just using the outer shell that these great terms convey with order, legitimacy, and authority, and substitute them into the things that literally undermine these values. A lot of scholars studying fascist regimes claim that this doublespeak is kind of a classic trait characteristic of a fascist regime, that they steal the definition of these terms to fit into their agenda.

To claim that China under the Chinese Communist Party's authoritarian government is fascist is also not an overstatement. And to a certain degree, it's even an understatement, if your own imagination about authoritarian government is an Orwellian-style "1984" government. China has already surpassed that standard. They're much more technologically advanced and sophisticated in terms of using the technology to control people's lives, to impose social control. Just look at the social credit score scheme that is still being practiced in certain cities. Just look at all these surveillance tactics in Xinjiang and in Tibet. These are appalling, and much more draconian than the situation depicted in "1984."

So for me, understanding China is really important. We have been overlooking a lot of developments that really signal its rise as a totalitarian power, and we cannot afford to overlook it and to understate what is happening now.

Chair MERKLEY. Thank you. Did anybody else wish to comment?

We're reaching the conclusion of this hearing. At approximately 6:00 to 7:00 a.m. tomorrow morning, here on East Coast time, the opening ceremonies will begin for the Beijing Winter Olympics. We hope the world will pay attention to the horrific acts occurring in China at the same time as the opening ceremony initiates. I appreciate all of you bringing your knowledge, your experience, your expertise, your organizing, to bear on this conversation. I know that you have all, either individually or within your circle of friends and families, seen much tragedy from the exercise of the power of the Chinese government in the various forms we've addressed today. Your testimony is producing great value in the world.

The record will remain open until the close of business on Friday, February 11th for any items members would like to submit for the record, or for additional questions for our witnesses. I do ask unanimous consent to submit the article that I referred to by Melissa Chan.

Without objection, that article will be included in the record. This hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:16 p.m., the hearing was concluded.]

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## **A P P E N D I X**

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## PREPARED STATEMENTS

### PREPARED STATEMENT OF YAXUE CAO

Chair Merkley, Co-Chair McGovern, Members of the Commission, thank you for holding this important hearing and for asking me to contribute my thoughts and analysis on the case of the Chinese tennis star Peng Shuai. I do not purport to have direct and inside knowledge of Peng Shuai's situation; nobody does except for the Chinese government and its minders around her, and that's precisely why we are here discussing her case and raising our concerns. However, two months ago on December 1, 2021, I wrote and published on China Change an article titled "What Awaits Peng Shuai" to lay out my thoughts on what was happening, and what will likely happen, to Peng Shuai, drawing from my intimate knowledge of what China typically does to suppress dissent and quell unwanted international attention. I appreciate the Commission's interest in Peng Shuai and the letters you have written to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) seeking clarification about Peng Shuai's situation and the role the IOC is playing in assisting the Chinese government's coverup of her true circumstances. Indeed, Peng Shuai has become a special kind of political prisoner in China right now.

It's been three months since the world-renowned 35-year-old Chinese tennis player Peng Shuai alleged that she was preyed upon and forced into a sexual relationship by now 75-year-old Zhang Gaoli, former vice-premier and member of the CCP Politburo Standing Committee. Despite repeated reassurances from the Chinese government and the International Olympic Committee (IOC), questions about her wellbeing remain. Furthermore, the Women's Tennis Association's (WTA) decision to suspend all tournaments in China has raised a moral question that few have been willing to contend with. My testimony today will address these two aspects of the Peng Shuai incident.

Last fall, on November 2, Peng Shuai, 35 years old, published on her verified Weibo account a 1,900-word post, revealing how Zhang Gaoli pressed her for sex more than 10 years ago when she was in her mid-twenties and a rising tennis star, but it wasn't clear from Peng Shuai's account whether he succeeded in having sex with her then. Seven years ago, he forced her to have sex with him, and again approached her 3 years ago, forcing her into a sexual relationship. She wrote about her refusal, her discomfort, her humiliation, her anxiety, her self-loathing, her fear, and her anger throughout the relationship. She was determined to bring the truth to light even if it meant her own self-destruction. And so she did.

To the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Peng Shuai speaking out against one of the highest-ranking Party leaders and subsequently causing a massive international response was a political disaster at the worst possible time that further damages China's image in the run-up to the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics.

What has unfolded so far is eerily familiar to those of us working in the field of human rights because it follows the same playbook that the Chinese government has used over and over again, such as in the cases of human rights lawyer Wang Yu, human rights lawyer Xie Yang, and Hong Kong book publisher Gui Minhai. The common practice of censorship, denial, a concerted propaganda campaign, and a staged TV confession has also run through the Peng Shuai case.

1. **Total censorship.** Peng Shuai's article was deleted within 30 minutes of her posting it, and sometime later, Peng Shuai's entire account evaporated. Searching Weibo users for "Peng Shuai" [Chinese translation appears in the original] you will see a blank page with a message saying "There is no content yet" [Chinese translation appears in the original] Not only has Peng Shuai's account been wiped out, but the WTA's Weibo account cannot be found either. A search for "WTA" on Weibo only yields a handful of mentions in a few other postings related to tournaments and players. Of course there has been no coverage of Peng Shuai's revelation whatsoever on Chinese media.

On China's other very popular social media platform, WeChat, the WTA has an active public account owned by a company called "Beijing WTA Tournament Infor-

mation Lt. Co.” [Chinese translation appears in the original], but it posts only news and photos of tournaments, and a search for “Peng Shuai” [Chinese translation appears in the original] yielded no results. If you patiently go down its timeline, you will find articles on Peng Shuai from 2019 and before.

Users of Chinese social media said that when they commented on Peng Shuai or the WTA’s decision to suspend tournaments in China, it would result in their postings being deleted, and, sometimes, their accounts being suspended.

In short, the Chinese government has completely erased any trace of the Peng Shuai incident.

From my knowledge of how censorship has been carried out in China against dissidents, activists, or anyone the government wants to monitor closely, I assume that Peng Shuai’s communications, phone and email, would have been under total surveillance since November 2, 2021.

**2. Deny the sexual assault allegations, and demand that the WTA stop “hyping” the matter.** For two weeks after her posting, Peng Shuai disappeared from public view. The WTA, as well as world top tennis players, women and men, took to social media expressing their concern about her and seeking answers. Governments issued statements, parliamentarians spoke out, including CECC chairs. Steve Simon, the CEO of the WTA, said he had tried to contact Peng Shuai through the number and email they had previously on file for her but was unable to reach her.

China might have been caught by surprise by such an overwhelming global reaction, and starting Nov. 17, it made a series of moves to try to suppress and then erase the attention.

First of all, CGTN (the U.S. arm of China’s Central TV or CCTV) posted on Twitter an email purportedly from Peng Shuai to the WTA’s Steve Simon, but Simon himself (and so many others) cast doubt on the authenticity of the email. In the email, “Peng Shuai” denied that she had made allegations of sexual assault, and asked that the WTA not talk anymore about her without her consent. The CGTN tweet reads as follows:

Hello everyone this is Peng Shuai.

Regarding the recent news released on the official website of the WTA, the content has not been confirmed or verified by myself and it was released without my consent. The news in that release, including the allegation of sexual assault, is not true. I’m not missing, nor am I unsafe. I’ve just been resting at home and everything is fine. Thank you again for caring about me.

If the WTA publishes any more news about me, please verify it with me, and release it with my consent. As a professional tennis player, I thank you all for your companionship and consideration. I hope to promote Chinese tennis with you all if I have the chance in the future. I hope Chinese tennis will become better and better.

Once again, thank you for your consideration.

Over the next several days, China’s overseas journalists as well as a man who claimed to be a friend of Peng Shuai posted photos of Peng Shuai at home, Peng Shuai eating out with friends, Peng Shuai meeting with young tennis players, and Peng Shuai’s video call with Thomas Bach, president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC).

On December 1, the WTA announced it was immediately suspending all tournaments in China, including Hong Kong.

On December 2, within 24 hours of the WTA announcement, the IOC again issued a statement, claiming that it had spoken to Peng Shuai again on video but released no footage nor a transcript. People cast doubt on whether this meeting actually occurred. But even more troubling than the timing is perhaps the odd language the IOC used in this second statement. It preached a “human and person-centred approach to her situation,” preferring to address concerns over Peng Shuai “directly with Chinese sports organisations” using “quiet diplomacy.”

As Andréa Worden, who has written extensively about the CCP’s warped language of “human rights” in the international arena, pointed out, IOC president “Thomas Bach is now expressly using CCP human rights discourse to defend the IOC’s (non) action re Peng Shuai,” and “Bach’s ‘very human and person-centred approach to her situation’ echoes PRC Foreign Minister Wang Yi’s speech at the UN Human Rights Council in February: ‘A People-centered Approach for Global Human Rights Progress.’” This unlikely unison raises strong suspicions that the IOC was working voluntarily and directly with the CCP to help suppress the concerns over Peng Shuai.

3. **A TV confession in the form of an overseas media interview.** On December 19, Lianhe Zaobao, a pro-Beijing Chinese language newspaper in Singapore, suddenly posted a 6-minute video interview with Peng Shuai where she appeared with three other athletes, including the former NBA player Yao Ming, in Shanghai to watch a ski event. In the interview, Peng Shuai stated that she had never accused anyone of sexually assaulting her; that the earlier email to the WTA published by CGTN reflected her own intention; and that she had no reason to travel overseas for the time being.

Many on social media quickly questioned the identity and credentials of the reporter who interviewed Peng Shuai. This same “reporter” apparently has been working as a propagandist for the Chinese government. Indeed, few people took the interview at face value, and most agreed that it was staged.

So the question is: What’s the purpose of this interview? Why did China stage an interview knowing that no one would believe it?

The most important takeaway from this interview may not be immediately obvious to everyone, and it is this: **the Chinese party-state doesn’t really care whether you see through the falsehood of the Peng Shuai interview. By getting Peng Shuai, who has little choice but to obey, to say what she must say, China establishes “Peng Shuai says” as the new ground for going forward:** Now that Peng Shuai has spoken, all of your concerns are answered and answered by herself, what can you say?

There is nothing new about this practice. Outside of the Peng Shuai incident, on a much larger scale in politics, business, finance, and international relations, the CCP regime in China routinely imposes on its own people and on the international community China’s own “facts,” China’s own “logic,” and China’s own “rules,” and gets away with little or no resistance, if not eager acceptance, because China under the CCP has skillfully weaponized its singular advantage: market.

#### WHAT PENG SHUAI’S SITUATION IS LIKELY TO BE

In “What Awaits Peng Shuai” I made a few predictions about what would happen to Peng Shuai. I predicted that Peng Shuai would be surrounded by minders and surveilled closely so that she would have no opportunities to speak freely to the WTA or other concerned parties, and her access to communications and information would be restricted. I predicted that she would be made to disappear from public view. I predicted that she would not be allowed to travel overseas. I predicted that no Chinese tennis players or other athletes, or sports organizations, would voice support for her. I predicted nothing would happen to Zhang Gaoli. I predicted that, instead of China’s state-owned media outlets, which would not be effective in the propaganda campaign regarding Peng Shuai, the IOC would be used as the CCP’s mouthpiece to disarm and mislead the world.

Sadly, all my predictions have transpired, simply because China’s playbook is very predictable.

#### WHERE THE PENG SHUAI INCIDENT STANDS NOW

The WTA’s decision to pull out of China was a game changer. To be sure, China wants the WTA back in China, because it’s a matter of national pride. The national pride I’m speaking of has two aspects. First, since Chinese player Li Na won the French Open in 2011, interest in women’s tennis skyrocketed in China. So did viewership and the advertising market. By 2019, before the pandemic, the WTA was holding over 20 tournaments a year in China. In 2018, the WTA signed a 10-year contract with China to hold its season finals every October in Shenzhen where a new stadium was built. China had big plans for women’s tennis, and they can’t be achieved without the WTA, and the WTA was poised to expand into the Chinese market and profit big. Both sides were committed. Against this backdrop, the WTA’s December 1st announcement is nothing short of extraordinary.

Second, China has gotten used to foreign businesses, including sports leagues and universities, bowing to its demands, as best demonstrated by the NBA controversy in 2019. In the eyes of the CCP tyrants, the WTA’s decision is an unacceptable offense and must be defeated.

The WTA is not backing down. WTA CEO Steve Simon told the New York Times recently that the WTA continues “with our unwavering call for confirmation of Peng’s safety along with a full, fair and transparent investigation, without censorship, into her allegation of sexual assault. This is an issue that can never fade away.”

The WTA also confirmed that Peng Shuai has so far refused to see WTA personnel “in an environment where we know she is not being really controlled.”

So here is where things stand now: China will not let Peng Shuai free, and will definitely not provide “a full, fair and transparent investigation into her allegation of sexual assault” as the WTA has demanded; the WTA will not back down from the line it has drawn.

After the Winter Olympics, we will see more maneuvers, openly as well as behind the scenes, by the CCP to try to bring the WTA to its knees. I hope that the WTA will stand up for Peng Shuai, and for women.

The Peng Shuai incident has brought to a head a long dilemma in the democracies’ relations with China: profit vs. values. The WTA was founded in 1973 with the vision of “a better future for women’s tennis.” That future will be severely compromised, and mocked, if the WTA, in the end, sacrifices principles for profits. Too many businesses have succumbed, and continue to succumb, to this unfortunate choice.

Nobody is against money, but making money in China is a different story. One thing our businesses, universities, and sports leagues don’t seem to fully understand is that, to eat at the CCP’s trough, you will have to turn into a pig. The CCP regime traps you, corrupts you, and takes away your principles and your dignity. That’s the deal you strike with the Chinese Communist Party. It’s long past due that we have a hard look at our dealings with the CCP regime, and if we don’t, we stand to lose ourselves in the process. It’s happening already.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

In “What Awaits Peng Shuai,” I wrote, “When dealing with China, we are not doing anything if all we do is appeal to the communist regime to do the right thing and move on to the next day; we are only beginning to do something when we start setting benchmarks, exploring the leverage we have and applying it to confront China.”

(1) I wish I had the space to tell more about Peng Shuai’s career as a professional tennis player. We all know her world championship titles, but she was the first woman player in China who, at the end of 2006, expressed her desire to free herself from the Soviet-style, state-managed sport system to become an independent professional player. For this simple desire, she was punished for two years. She was expelled from the national team for a period, and had to “apologize for her wrongs” to be taken back and given the opportunity to take part in the 2008 Olympics. Does IOC President Thomas Bach know anything about this? Peng Shuai is a fighter and a survivor. Now she is in a situation where she has little control over her fate. The CECC, Congress, and the U.S. Government must not lose sight of her, and must continuously seek substantive ways to speak up for her and help free her.

(2) Congress and the U.S. Government should investigate the IOC for its role in working hand in hand with the Chinese government to cover up the Peng Shuai incident.

(3) As far as I’m concerned, the Peng Shuai incident has become a test of our principles. The CECC and Congress should think ahead of the curve, providing necessary support for the WTA.

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#### PREPARED STATEMENT OF NATHAN LAW

Chairman Merkley, Congressman McGovern, and members of the Commission:

On August 17, 2017, I was sitting in the dock of the Court of Appeals in Hong Kong with Joshua Wong and Alex Chow. We were all sentenced to months of imprisonment for “inciting and participating” in an unlawful, yet peaceful, assembly during the Umbrella Movement.

Today, while I am exiled in the U.K., Joshua has been sitting in jail for a year without knowing when his trial under the National Security Law can even begin. The number of high-profile political prisoners has continued to rise, as the government cracks down on professors, reporters, and many other members of civil society.

Americans used to talk about Hong Kong as the “Pearl of the Orient” and one of Asia’s freest enclaves. Now, however, all there is to associate with the city is rising authoritarianism and the decline of freedom. Since the massive 2019 protests, tens of thousands of protesters have been arrested, with more than 2,000 formally charged. And all of this has occurred parallel to government-appointed judges presiding over National Security Law cases.

Joshua was very young when I met him, and we have been fighting alongside each other for eight years. He was my closest ally, and we shared joys and pains. So it is particularly hard that amid the Lunar New Year—traditionally when families and friends gather and celebrate—that he and a lot of my friends are still be-

hind bars, while I am unable to connect with my family because it will endanger them.

The political turmoil in Hong Kong and the growing number of political prisoners show that Chinese leaders have grown very confident about their more technologically advanced and sophisticated Orwellian model of social control. They disregard any commitment to human rights and international obligations.

Last December, to counter President Joe Biden's Summit for Democracy—at which I was privileged to speak as the sole Hong Kong representative—they published a white paper promoting what they call “China's democracy.” They claimed that China's democracy was the one that worked. They tried to redefine “democracy” such that universal suffrage, checks and balances, and the division of power would not be part of it. Instead, they called the totalitarian system in China, in which the people have absolutely no rights to elect their country's leaders, a “democracy.”

This is the level of disinformation and hostility they are imposing on the free world. They are trying to undermine the history of Hong Kong, the culture of Hong Kong, what it means to be a Hongkonger, and, most importantly, the democratic values that we all treasure.

The Chinese government has broken every promise it made to the world ahead of the last Olympic Games it held, in the summer of 2008. Fourteen years later, under General Secretary Xi Jinping, it is more aggressive and arrogant than ever. To see corporations and other countries rolling out the red carpet for it is plainly disgusting. There is nothing to celebrate about the current Winter Olympic Games in Beijing while a genocide is literally happening. That is why an even larger coalition of activists—not just Hongkongers but also our Uyghur, Tibetan, and Taiwanese allies—are standing up now.

The Biden administration is right to diplomatically boycott the event. But there is far more that policymakers in Washington can do. To support Hong Kong, Congress should consider the various bills on everything from sanctions to internet freedom that have been introduced in recent years. Of even more importance are humanitarian pathways for Hongkongers in need, including the Hong Kong Safe Harbor Act, the Hong Kong People's Freedom and Choice Act, and the relevant portions of the America COMPETES Act, which I know the leadership and many members of this Commission support.

The Olympic Games may be a one-off event, but our struggle against China is global, existential, and potentially lifelong. We will all do well to reduce our reliance on China in every way possible and forge better multilateral partnerships with like-minded stakeholders to coordinate an international pushback. We must grasp every opportunity to send a signal and stop the complacency.

Fight for freedom. Stand with Hong Kong. Thank you so much, and I look forward to your questions.

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF JEWHER ILHAM

My name is Jewher Ilham. Thank you, Senator Merkley and Congressman McGovern, for hosting this hearing and inviting me to testify.

In April 2014, I testified before this committee on behalf of my father, Ilham Tohti, an economics professor at Beijing Minzu University who had been detained that year. It has been eight years and my father is still in prison, now serving a life sentence for the alleged crime of separatism. The Chinese government accused my father of being an extremist and advocate of violence. These are nothing more than fabricated charges. He never incited violence or promoted separatism as the Chinese government claims.

My father is a renowned scholar who dedicated his life and work to brokering peaceful dialogue among Uyghur and Han people. He was well loved by his colleagues and many students. That is why his arrest generated such an outcry from not only the international community, but also from many inside of China. On his website, Uyghur Online, he hosted articles that evaluated the disparities in the Uyghur Region and opportunities—or lack thereof—for economic growth and development. He proposed constructive solutions to the Chinese government in efforts to develop the Uyghur Region. My father believed that if you analyzed problems thoroughly, meaningful solutions would follow.

Instead of engaging in constructive dialogue, the Chinese government locked him up. My father was sentenced in September 2014. While in prison, he has been shackled, beaten, and denied food twice—each time for ten days—and those are only the times that we are aware of. He has not seen a lawyer since his second trial in 2014. Our family has not been able to visit him since 2017. Now, my family doesn't know whether he is even alive.

That is also the case for many other Uyghurs who are being held captive by the Chinese government: a number of them were scholars like my father, and some were my father's students.

**Atikem Rozi**, a former student of my father's, was sentenced to four years in prison in 2014 for alleged crimes of separatism and endangering state security. Her association with my father and her contribution to the website Uyghur Online were reasons for those charges. Atikem Rozi's term ended in 2018, but she remains detained.

**Rahile Dawut** is a renowned anthropologist, scholar, and expert in Uyghur folklore and traditions. She has been missing for four years. In the summer of 2021, the Chinese government finally confirmed that she is imprisoned, but shared no details of the charges against her or of her alleged crimes. Rahile Dawut's daughter, like me, lives in the United States without her family, does not know her mother's current status, and is fighting for her release.

**Yalqun Rozi**, a scholar and publisher, was sentenced in 2018 to 15 years of imprisonment for inciting subversion and ethnic hatred. Yalqun Rozi published Uyghur-language textbooks that authorities claim "incorporated ethnic separatism" and "terrorism," even though the Chinese government had permitted use of his language textbooks for years, until PRC officials ramped up their repression of the Uyghurs and their language and culture.

I raise these names as examples, in addition to my father's, because it is important to remember that those imprisoned on fabricated charges, and the over one million Uyghurs and other Turkic and Muslim-majority peoples who have been arbitrarily detained in internment camps, are not just numbers but real people—who have parents, children, and friends.

We need to lift up the names of individuals who are imprisoned in violation of their human rights and draw attention to their individual cases. We need to impress upon people who are unmoved by the Chinese government's pervasive and systematic repression in the Uyghur Region that the detention of over one million people is not an abstract idea. It is a horrifying reality that is destroying the lives of individuals and families, like mine, like Rahile Dawut's, and like Atikem Rozi's.

As I noted, I was last here in front of the Commission eight years ago. Sadly, the only change since then in the Uyghur Region has been for the worse. I am grateful to see the U.S. Government's support for the Uyghur people: once fully implemented and enforced, the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act will counter the regime of state-sponsored forced labor that is taking place on a massive scale. But there is more that can be done to call for an end to the Chinese government's oppression against Uyghurs. This includes raising the names of Uyghurs who have been unjustly imprisoned for being outspoken on human rights and highlighting the human toll of the repressive policies. This can help personalize the large-scale atrocities that are taking place in China, and hopefully the growing indignation and outcry will move governments that so far have remained silent on the repression of Uyghurs to action. Through building more united and concerted international pressure, we will have a greater chance at changing the Chinese government's human rights abuses.

I look forward to working with you to address these tough issues. And I really hope that eight years from now we are not having the same conversation.

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF NYIMA LHAMO

My name is Nyima Lhamo, and I thank you for this opportunity to testify before the Congressional-Executive Commission on China. The opening ceremony of the 2022 Beijing Olympics will take place tomorrow, which makes it quite urgent that we raise our voices today for those who have been silenced by the Chinese Communist Party.

I am the niece of the late Trulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, who rose to prominence in Kham Lithang in eastern Tibet. Tenzin Delek was a highly respected lama in our area, where he was known for his philanthropic works and establishing schools, clinics, orphanages, and old-age homes. Out of respect, we often refer to him as 'rinpoche.'

But the respect he earned among the common people angered Chinese authorities. After harassing him for years, they falsely accused him of serious crimes, and in 2002 they sentenced him to life in prison.

When I heard the news of his arrest, the first thing that came to my mind was he would be released soon since he had not committed any crime. However, I was wrong. He was kept in prison until his sudden death in custody thirteen years later.

After Rinpoche's death the Chinese authorities continued to dishonor his memory. Chinese state media claimed he was a fake lama, a criminal, and that he was a threat to so-called "social stability." My family and local Tibetans were not allowed to offer traditional butter lamps or organize public prayers in memory of Rinpoche, and pictures of Rinpoche were banned in Lithang.

My family was threatened as well, and eventually, despite the difficulties and hardship, I escaped Tibet in order to share the story of my late uncle. This meant leaving my six-year-old daughter behind. Last September the authorities took my mother, age 57, and two brothers in, and questioned them for days. They were kept in different places and asked about how I escaped from Tibet.

My mother was beaten, and they told her that they could easily kill her because as my mother, she was responsible for making me stop my advocacy. They wanted her to say that Trulku Tenzin Delek was a fake lama, and to say that I don't know anything about the situation inside Tibet, and that I'm being used by 'outside forces.'

When my mother became ill she tried to go to the Chengdu hospital, but at first the police didn't allow her to go. Even when they allowed her to go, the police followed her there and went from her hotel to the hospital and watched her the entire time.

I'm very worried about my family's safety, and they told my mom that if I continue to speak up out here, they'll beat, arrest, or even kill members of my family.

When my uncle was teaching Buddhism, the Chinese authorities would tell him not to mention His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and ordered him to stop building monasteries or schools, and warned him that if he didn't stop he would be arrested. Now they're making the same threats, but about my advocacy.

Beijing is putting on a friendly face for the Olympics, but that isn't their real face. The Tibetan people have seen who they really are; we see it when they destroy our temples, when they beat and shoot us, when they make our religious leaders disappear, when they arrest and kill innocent people. Our language and culture are on the edge, facing the crushing weight of Chinese repression.

Tibetans don't have the freedom to speak the truth. The world should stand up for truth and justice, and support those who have the strength to speak the truth. Hearings like this help those who are inside Tibet. These hearings show that there are people around the world who care about them, and who hear their voices. These messages will reach them, and give them heart.

While growing up in Tibet it was common to hear such sad instances of Tibetans dying in Chinese prisons without justice being done for them. I know there are many other Tibetans who continue to face the same fate as my uncle. I want to bring the cases of four political prisoners to your attention.

The first is the Panchen Lama; he was taken away in 1995 at the age of six and has never been seen since. The second is Lhundup Dakpa, a singer who was given a six-year sentence for his songs opposing Chinese rule in Tibet. Third, Bonkho Kyi is a woman who helped arrange a small celebration of the Dalai Lama's birthday, and for that she was sentenced to seven years in prison. Lastly, please remember Lobsang Dhondup, a relative of mine who was arrested alongside Tenzin Delek Rinpoche and executed.

Finally, my mother's health has always been an issue, and I would like to ask if there is any way my mother can be brought out of Tibet for health reasons. My family has already lost so much; anything you can do to help her come here would be greatly appreciated. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak.

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF SOPHIE LUO

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Co-chairman, and distinguished members of the Commission, thank you so much for holding this hearing! Today, I will be telling you about the cases of my husband Ding Jiayi and several other rights defenders who are currently in detention in China in connection with a crackdown after a private gathering in December 2019.

My husband Ding Jiayi is a human rights lawyer and activist. He met leading law scholar Xu Zhiyong in Beijing in late 2011, and the two led together the New Citizens Movement. Their ideas and activities centered on getting Chinese people to take their rights as citizens protected under the Chinese Constitution seriously, practice them in everyday life, and become real citizens of the country. They advocated official transparency, such as the disclosure of government officials' financial assets, and called for equal access to education for the children of migrant workers. They did not try to formally register as an organization—they would not have gotten permission to register in any case. They saw the project as a bigger civil rights

movement. Their peaceful and lawful activities in 2012 and 2013, however, resulted in official prosecution. Xu Zhiyong and Ding Jiayi were sentenced to 4-year and 3.5-year prison terms, respectively, for allegedly “gathering a crowd to disrupt public order.”

After they served their sentences and were released from prison, Xu Zhiyong and Ding Jiayi resumed their activities to promote civil rights. They changed the name of the New Citizens Movement to China Citizen Movement to attract more people to it. They reached out to citizens around the country who shared the same aspirations and continued to promote the growth of civil society. But their activism caught the attention of the authorities again. After a two-day private gathering in Xiamen city in Fujian Province with around 20 lawyers and friends on December 7 and 8, 2019, Chinese police detained Ding Jiayi on December 26, 2019, and Xu Zhiyong on February 15, 2020, and held them under a police measure called “residential surveillance at a designated location” (RSDL). While held in RSDL, both Ding Jiayi and Xu Zhiyong were subjected to torture and ill treatment, including but not limited to prolonged sleep deprivation, loud noise harassment, interrogation while being strapped tightly to an iron “tiger chair,” food and water restrictions, no exposure to sunlight, and no showers. In fact, all the other December 2019 gathering participants were either summoned, detained, threatened, or sent to RSDL and tortured before being released. Some were coerced to testify against Ding Jiayi and Xu Zhiyong. If you have questions about RSDL, I can discuss this in detail later.

In June 2020, both men were formally arrested on suspicion of “inciting subversion of state power” and transferred to the Linshu Detention Center under the jurisdiction of Linyi City, Shandong Province, where they continued to suffer physical and mental abuse. Some of you may remember Linyi city as the home of Chen Guangcheng and the torture and abuse he suffered there. In January 2021, Ding Jiayi and Xu Zhiyong finally were able to meet with their lawyers by video after 13 and 11 months in secret detention.

Their lawyers were forced to sign confidentiality agreements that forbade them from copying case files, discussing case details, interviewing with media, or speaking publicly about the cases.

In August 2021, both men were indicted and charged with “subversion of state power,” a more serious crime. The citizens movement is labeled as an illegal organization; articles Xu Zhiyong wrote, an unfinished documentary about the citizens movement, a website managed by a friend abroad, online seminars on non-violent protest, and the Xiamen gathering all became the so-called evidence against them.

I mentioned that others were detained as part of the 1226 Xiamen Gathering crackdown. I will mention two people who are now in detention, not those already released.

1. Chang Weiping is a human rights lawyer from Shaanxi Province; he was placed under RSDL for 10 days in January 2020 after participating in the Xiamen gathering in December 2019. However, authorities detained him again after he posted a video about the brutal torture he was subjected to. He was sent to RSDL again in October 2020 under the charge of “subversion of state power” and was tortured again and denied access to a lawyer for 11 months. Chang is from a younger generation of rights lawyers. He has represented Falun Gong practitioners, and cases of gender and workplace discrimination against people with HIV/AIDS, among others.

2. Li Qiaochu is a labor and feminist rights advocate. She didn’t attend the December 2019 gathering in Xiamen, but authorities held her in RSDL for 4 months in 2020 simply because she was Xu Zhiyong’s fiancée. When she learned from Xu Zhiyong’s lawyer that officials had tortured him, she posted this on social media. Security authorities detained her again in February 2021 under the charge of “inciting subversion of state power” for exposing Xu Zhiyong’s torture, and for disclosing the mistreatment and corruption of the Linshu Detention Center. She was denied access to lawyers for another 6 months. In the past, Li has publicly discussed her struggle with depression—she reportedly has not received appropriate medical care while in detention and her mother’s requests for her to be released on bail have been refused.

Ding Jiayi, Xu Zhiyong, Chang Weiping, and Li Qiaochu have committed no crime. Why are the Chinese government and Communist Party so afraid when Chinese citizens promote the rule of law, public participation, and the growth of civil society? Why is it considered “subversion” to call for human rights like freedom of expression and freedom of religion?

Senator Merkley, Congressman McGovern, and Members of the Commission, I am an engineer by training and by profession. I would never have imagined that I would be here in Washington, D.C., telling members of Congress about my husband and our friends who are under persecution. This is not something I have ever done before. I want to sincerely thank you for holding this hearing on the eve of the Bei-

jing Olympics and thank the Commission for continuing to advocate for political prisoners like my husband Ding Jiaxi.

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JEFF MERKLEY

Good morning. Today's hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China entitled "The Beijing Olympics and the Faces of Repression" will come to order.

In less than 24 hours, the Beijing Winter Olympic Games will commence and usher in weeks of pageantry designed to showcase a shiny façade, the face that the Chinese government and the Communist Party want the world to see. Beneath this glitz and glamour lies the real story. As the Commission and so many others have documented, the story of Chinese leadership is one of genocide, slave labor, forced sterilization, the desecration of democracy in Hong Kong, Orwellian repression in Xinjiang and Tibet, bullying of critics at home and abroad, and the suppression of freedom of religion, freedom of speech, civil society, and the rule of law across the country.

This Commission, which exists to shine a light on the real human rights situation in China, has sought to prevent these Olympic Games from perverting the Olympic spirit and distracting from the real story. We have held multiple hearings, including one with the top U.S.-based Olympic sponsors. We've engaged with those sponsors, the International Olympic Committee, the U.S. Olympic & Paralympic Committee, broadcasters, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

I hope it has made a difference in the degree to which U.S. companies are willing to lend their prestige to the false display of peace and harmony the Beijing Olympics represent. I hope it will influence the way these Games are covered and the way these Games are perceived by the world. I hope it will provide support to Olympians who fear for their freedom of expression, their data privacy, and their basic rights. But these Olympics are commencing and will show a face the Chinese government and Communist Party don't deserve to show to the world.

In this hearing we will put a spotlight on the faces of repression, the exact faces and stories the organizers of the Beijing Olympics don't want the world thinking about as the torch is lit. For the last 60 days, the Congressional-Executive Commission on China has conducted a daily #OlympicPrisoner social media campaign to tell just a few of these stories. There are so many more in the CECC Political Prisoner Database, which is only a sliver of the untold number of Chinese citizens detained or disappeared merely for exercising their human rights or being a member of a disfavored minority group.

To better document these cases, in recent months we've revamped the database in several ways. In June 2021, we launched a new platform aimed at modernizing the database to address security and sustainability concerns, streamline information, and maintain our ability to record and display a wide variety of data. This upgrade enhanced the database's search functionality, added publication of prior detentions, expanded detention details, and created a permanent archived source link.

The CECC Political Prisoner Database recently began to document cases of political detention and imprisonment in Hong Kong, in recognition of the rapid deterioration in rule of law conditions, including arrests made under the National Security Law, as well as ongoing loss of independence of the judiciary and prosecutor's office. I never thought I would see the day when that would be necessary, but the sad reality is here and it's our mandate to document these cases.

In this hearing, we will hear about some of these cases in Hong Kong as well as others we've highlighted in the #OlympicPrisoner project. We are deeply honored that one of the greatest champions of human rights in China, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi, is here to help frame our discussion of these cases. I am similarly humbled by the panel of witnesses we will hear from, who will share deeply personal accounts of the repression they and their family members have suffered. These witnesses have started organizations dedicated to the causes of human rights, the rule of law, and democracy. They have lost fathers, husbands, uncles, and friends to the Chinese system of arbitrary detention. And they have been locked up themselves.

I can think of nobody better to hear from on the eve of the Beijing Olympics. These and the images behind them are the faces of repression we hope the world remembers as the Olympics get underway.

## PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES P. MCGOVERN

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for convening this hearing on prisoners of conscience on the eve of the Beijing Winter Olympics. Thank you for your leadership on so many human rights issues. I am also honored to be here with my colleague from Virginia, Jennifer Wexton, who has been a leader on so many issues of human rights. And obviously I am thrilled and honored to be here with Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi.

Before I begin, I want to say a few words about the Asian American community. They have experienced a spike in hate crimes, discrimination, and invective directed toward them. This has happened in a climate where public figures have declared or implied that China is to blame for all our ills. Think “China virus.”

This Commission monitors the human rights record of the Chinese government. Our criticism is not directed at the people of China or people of Chinese heritage. I take great care to make this distinction clear. I hope that all my fellow commissioners do as well.

This Commission’s important work is based on international human rights standards. Our message is strongest when grounded in the law and morals. We must strive to keep it that way.

Hundreds of athletes are preparing to compete in this Olympics. They have trained for years. This may be their last, or only, shot at a medal. Ideally, the athletes’ experience should be uncomplicated by the venue or the host. But sadly that is not the case in 2022. When the International Olympic Committee awarded these Games to Beijing in 2015, China already had the worst human rights record of any country on the planet.

It has gotten worse since. The Chinese government has engaged in genocide against the Turkic Muslims, cracked down on civil society, and snuffed out democracy and freedom in Hong Kong.

Many, including members of this bipartisan Commission, asked the IOC to relocate the Games so the athletes wouldn’t have to compete under a cloud of repression. They refused.

We asked the IOC’s U.S.-based corporate sponsors to use their leverage to insist on human rights improvements, so athletes on the medal stand wouldn’t have human rights violations as the backdrop. They refused. They, save one, wouldn’t even admit to the fact that genocide is happening in Xinjiang.

If given a choice, I believe no athlete would want to compete in a country committing genocide and crimes against humanity. But that is what they are forced to do because of the feckless IOC and its corporate partners.

The risks are real. Last month, a Chinese Olympic official said that “any behavior or speech that is against the Olympic spirit, especially against the Chinese laws and regulations, are also subject to certain punishment.”

Reportedly, the app that athletes are required to use in Beijing could result in theft of their personal information. Participants could be exposed to food or clothing made by IOC exclusive suppliers who use forced labor.

Make no mistake about it, I am rooting for the athletes. I hope nothing goes wrong. The athletes shouldn’t be forced to bear this burden created by companies and entities who want to protect their ability to make money no matter the human cost.

I don’t drink Coca-Cola anymore. They operate a bottling plant in Xinjiang. They source sugar from a company implicated in forced labor. Coke will be served at Olympic venues. Every athlete should be aware of the risk.

Sponsor companies told us if they spoke up, they would lose market share in China. And then they don’t speak up. This is wrong. This paradigm must change. These companies are going to need to figure out a way to make money other than reliance on forced labor and abetting crimes against humanity.

The IOC will eagerly inform us as to how many viewers around the world watch the Games, but they won’t tell us who can’t watch the games, those unjustly imprisoned and deprived of their most basic freedoms by the host Chinese government: Ilham Tohti, Ding Jiaxi, Joshua Wong, Zhang Zhan, Bonkho Kyi. These are the faces of repression, and resilience, who are represented by our witnesses today.

We must always remember the human dimension behind our policy work. It is for prisoners of conscience that we speak out. We must never, ever forget them.

One person who has never forgotten this is our first witness, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi. She has been a principled voice for human rights in China and Tibet for decades, and I want to thank her in particular for working with all of us in a bipartisan way to get the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act through Congress and to the President's desk, where he signed it. She has been a champion for so much legislation.

We welcome her and all the witnesses.



## SUBMISSIONS FOR THE RECORD

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CHINA ISN'T "AUTHORITARIAN" ANYMORE. IT'S SCARIER.

[From the Washington Post, January 31, 2022]

By Melissa Chan

In 2009, when I began to more frequently describe China as “authoritarian” as a broadcast correspondent for Al Jazeera English, some editors pushed back, believing it was too much editorializing. We have since become more comfortable with regularly using the designation, in media coverage and beyond. But as journalists and athletes head to Beijing for the Winter Olympics, it may be time to reassess and consider calling the Chinese state what it is fast becoming: a fascist one.

When the facts change, it's time to change our minds—and our language. Ahead of the 2008 Summer Games in Beijing, international media knew China was authoritarian and described it as such when necessary, but entire articles concerning China's political system were written without mentioning it. The government had issued regulations allowing the foreign press corps to travel freely around the country, a departure from years of tight control. And the people we met on these trips, many working as labor campaigners or rights lawyers, pointed the way to a new, transformative Chinese generation.

Authorities then started locking up the activists they once championed. The country decoupled from the world's popular social media platforms, blocking Facebook, Google, Twitter and others. Police began aggressively surveilling news teams, sometimes waiting in cars at the airport before we even landed. My decision to regularly use “authoritarian” reflected that shift.

Now, we should consider nomenclature once again.

Some will argue the country's communist foundation makes it fundamentally incompatible with fascism's right-wing roots. The respected Chinese legal scholar Teng Biao prefers calling the country totalitarian.

But consider the hallmarks of fascism: a surveillance state with a strongman invoking racism, nationalism and traditional family values at home, while building up a military for expansion abroad.

Xi Jinping, a leader who has elevated himself to the level of Mao Zedong, has built a cult of personality around him, complete with portraits in public and private spaces. Propaganda recalls China's glorious history while bewailing its past treatment by Western imperial powers, allowing Beijing to play both the nationalism and victim cards. As a correspondent formerly based in China and now writing from Berlin, I find it difficult to ignore how much China's present echoes Germany's past.

To right perceived wrongs, Xi has a clear revanchist agenda. Taiwan has become his Alsace-Lorraine, the Himalayan border with India his Polish Corridor, and Hong Kong his Sudetenland. With military or strong-arm tactics, he has made clear that moves to control these areas are not off the table. In addition, Beijing has reportedly moved into Bhutanese territory. China also claims most of the South China Sea, where it has built military outposts marked by its own “nine-dash line” that, on a map, protrudes far beyond Chinese land borders in a Lebensraum-like expansion.

21st-century technology has provided the Chinese Communist Party surveillance capabilities that 20th-century fascists could only dream of. Facial recognition cameras work to track 1.4 billion people, invading even public bathrooms to stop toilet paper theft. The state, with coordination from its technology giants, controls and tracks messages and content shared between smartphones.

No entity operates freely from the CCP, including these technology champions. Companies may chase profit margins like other capitalist enterprises, but party officials step in when they see an overriding state interest. Those who fail to fall in line are felled—the most spectacular example being billionaire tech magnate Jack Ma, who disappeared for months after criticizing the country's financial regulators. Together with Beijing's anti-union, anti-labor stance, the Chinese economy today recalls Mussolini's corporatist fascism.

The state has also become fixated on machismo, another fascist obsession. It bans what it considers “effeminate” behavior, which it associates with the LGBTQ community, where activists have also faced increasing government reprisal. It exhorts men and women to procreate, in a sharp reversal of Beijing’s decades-long one-child policy. It has invaded citizens’ most private spheres to do so, even attempting to bolster male virility by clamping down on vasectomies.

Critically, Beijing targets ethnic Han Chinese in this campaign—in its eyes, the “master race.” Against minorities, most troublingly against Muslim Uyghurs, the state has sought to prevent births, including by using extreme measures such as forced sterilization. Its treatment of Uyghurs, not as citizens but rather a problem to be dealt with, has led to the establishment of hundreds of reeducation camps that experts say constitute the largest detention of ethnic and religious minorities since World War II. The legislatures of several democracies have called what’s happening genocide.

Taken together, “authoritarian”—used to also describe declining democratic states such as Hungary and Turkey—hardly feels enough, nor does it feel accurate. That is a disservice to the public. Journalists, politicians and others should consider calling elements of the Chinese state fascist, if they are not entirely comfortable describing the state writ large as fascist.

We may be facing an absence of existing terminology to properly describe contemporary China. But it behooves us to rethink our vocabulary and not dismiss the word out of hand.



**United States House of Representatives  
Congressional-Executive Commission on China**

**"Truth in Testimony" Disclosure Form**

*In accordance with Rule XI, clause 2(g) of the Rules of the House of Representatives, witnesses are asked to disclose the following information. Please complete this form and attach it to your written testimony and it may be made publicly available in electronic format.*

1. Date of Hearing:
  
2. Hearing Title:
  
3. Your Name:
  
4. Organization, organizations, or government entity you are representing:
  
5. Position title:
  
6. Are you an active registrant under the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA)?  
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**False Statement Certification:**

Knowingly providing material false information to this commission, or knowingly concealing material information from this commission, is a crime (18 U.S.C. 1001). This form may be made part of the hearing record.

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**Witness Signature**

**Date**

## *Witness Biographies*

### **Nancy Pelosi, Speaker of the House**

Speaker Nancy Pelosi is the 52nd Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, having made history in 2007 when she was the first woman elected to serve as Speaker of the House. Now in her third term as Speaker, Pelosi made history again in January 2019 when she regained her position, second-in-line to the presidency, the first person to do so in more than 60 years. For 33 years, Speaker Pelosi has represented San Francisco, California's 12th District, in Congress. She has led House Democrats for 16 years and previously served as House Democratic Whip.

### **Yaxue Cao, founder and editor, China Change**

Yaxue Cao is the founder and editor of China Change, a website launched in 2013 to provide information and produce videos about human rights, the rule of law, and civil society in China. Cao grew up in northern China during the Cultural Revolution and attended college at Peking University in Beijing. She came to the United States to study literature in 1991 and stayed. She currently lives in Washington, DC.

### **Nathan Law, human rights activist and nominee for the 2018 Nobel Peace Prize**

Nathan Law is a young Hong Kong activist, currently in exile and based in London. During the Umbrella Movement in 2014, Law was one of the five representatives who took part in the dialogue with the government, debating political reform. Upholding non-violent civic actions, Law, Joshua Wong, and other student leaders founded Demosistō in 2016 and ran in the Legislative Council election. He was elected in the Hong Kong Island constituency and became the youngest Legislative Councilor in history, but his seat was overturned in July 2017 following the Chinese government's constitutional reinterpretation. Law was later jailed for his participation in the Umbrella Movement. The persecution sparked global concern over Beijing's crackdown on human rights and the democratic movement in Hong Kong. In 2018, Law and his fellow student activists Joshua Wong and Alex Chow were nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize by the CECC and British parliamentarians. Due to the risks imposed by the draconian National Security Law, Law left Hong Kong. In 2020, he was listed as one of the 100 most influential people in the world by TIME.

### **Jewher Ilham, advocate for the Uyghur community and daughter of Ilham Tohti, renowned scholar**

Jewher Ilham is an author and advocate for the Uyghur community and her imprisoned father, Ilham Tohti. She now works at the Worker Rights Consortium as a Forced Labor Project Coordinator and is also a spokesperson for the Coalition to End Uyghur Forced Labour. Ilham testified before the CECC in 2014, spoke at the UN General Assembly, and met with President Trump in the Oval Office on the Uyghur issue. She has written several op-eds and a book, "Jewher Ilham: A Uyghur's Fight to Free Her Father." Ilham has received numerous awards worldwide on behalf of her father including the European Parliament's Sakharov Prize and Geneva's Martin Ennals Award. Her second book, "Because I Have To: The Path to Survival, The Uyghur Struggle," will be released in spring 2022.

### **Sophie Luo, engineer and wife of human rights defender Ding Jiayi**

Sophie Luo is the wife of human rights defender Ding Jiayi. A native of Shanggao county, Jiangxi province, she received a master's degree at Beihang University and worked at a research institute there. Since 2004 she has worked for Alstom Transportation in China and, since 2013, in the United States. Luo's husband Ding Jiayi, a lawyer active in human rights advocacy, was detained in April 2013 and sentenced to three years and six months in prison for allegedly "gathering a crowd to disturb public order" while calling for government transparency. Luo wrote articles and advocated for the release of her husband. Ding was released from prison in 2016 and visited the U.S. before returning to China. Chinese officials subsequently refused to allow him to travel to the U.S. to attend his daughter's college graduation in 2018. Ding Jiayi was forcibly disappeared on December 26, 2019, in connection with his participation in a gathering held earlier that month in Xiamen in Fujian province. Luo continues to advocate for the release of her husband.

**Nyima Lhamo, human rights advocate and niece of Trulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche**

Nyima Lhamo is a human rights advocate and the niece of the late Trulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, a highly revered reincarnate lama and one of the most prominent Tibetan political prisoners. He died in a Chinese prison in 2015. As a result of Lhamo publicly questioning the cause of her uncle's death, she was arbitrarily detained by Chinese authorities, along with her mother Dolkar Lhamo. She subsequently fled Tibet, leaving behind her mother and 6-year-old daughter in 2016. Nyima Lhamo has continued to speak out about Tenzin Delek Rinpoche's death in custody, calling on the Chinese government to carry out a thorough investigation into the circumstances of his death. She participated in a side event at the UN Human Rights Council, briefed UN Special Procedures' offices and diplomats and testified before the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission. Her family continues to face harassment by the Chinese authorities.

