

## HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE U.S. AND GLOBALLY

### *Findings*

- During and prior to the Commission’s 2020 reporting year, the Chinese government and Communist Party, as well as entities acting with their encouragement or at their direction, took steps to limit the freedom of expression of American corporations and citizens outside China through the use of targeted economic coercion. These steps were generally taken to discourage—through threatening or inflicting disproportionate economic damage—the expression by American companies, entities, and their employees or customers of political views considered unacceptable by the Chinese Communist Party on a range of issues, including events in Hong Kong, the Tibet Autonomous Region and other Tibetan areas of China, the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR), and Taiwan.
- In one example of such behavior, the National Basketball Association (NBA) saw its business in China severely impacted after an October 2019 tweet sent by Houston Rockets General Manager Daryl Morey in support of pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong. In retaliation, broadcasts of NBA games in China were suspended, other NBA events inside the country were canceled, and NBA products were pulled from Chinese online retailers. The league later estimated the total revenue lost to be in the hundreds of millions of dollars.
- During and immediately prior to this reporting period, many other companies and entities in the United States were subject to—or appeared to take action in response to the threat of—similar forms of punishment through economic coercion. These include Apple, Paramount Pictures, Blizzard Entertainment, Amnesty International, Coach, Calvin Klein, and McDonald’s.
- This form of retaliation seeks to impose collective silence on American companies, entities, and their employees by threatening or inflicting disproportionate economic damage in response to the private speech or actions of individual employees. Such retaliation is meant to encourage self-censorship and deference to Chinese government policy goals among important sectors of American society.
- Both before and during the Commission’s reporting period, the government and Party surveilled and intimidated students from China and Hong Kong studying at universities in the United States, through means such as government-supervised student organizations, social media surveillance and harassment, and state media intimidation of students who publicly express political views objectionable to the Party. This had a documented chilling effect on the willingness of students from these localities to exercise their freedom of expression while studying in the United States.
- Identified agents of the Chinese government intimidated and harassed members of China’s Turkic Muslim minorities residing in the United States, particularly those from the Uyghur community. In many cases, this harassment included threats to family members still in China and was conducted through China-based social media platforms such as WeChat. Uyghurs

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inside the United States who chose to speak out about worsening persecution of their community by the Chinese government reported retaliation against family members and acquaintances still in China.

- Observers noted worsening censorship of individuals in the United States using China-based social media platforms such as WeChat, with some users in the U.S reporting the suspension of their accounts for posting politically sensitive material.
- The growing popularity in the United States of the video-sharing platform TikTok—developed and distributed by Beijing-based software corporation ByteDance—also raised concerns about free expression related to that company’s prior expressions of loyalty to the political and propaganda directives of Chinese President Xi Jinping.
- During this reporting period, the Chinese government and Communist Party continued a longstanding campaign to impede or redirect the work of United Nations human rights bodies and to reshape international consensus around human rights in ways that elevate state power and diminish the power of the individual to seek redress from the state. This included concerted efforts to downplay, or avoid scrutiny of events in the XUAR by accredited UN human rights bodies, and naming a Chinese diplomat to be a member of the five-person Consultative Group that vets and recommends working groups, independent experts, and special rapporteurs for appointment by the UN Human Rights Council president.

### *Recommendations*

Members of the U.S. Congress and Administration officials are encouraged to:

- Call on officials in the Chinese government and Communist Party to abide by internationally accepted norms on freedom of expression—particularly those contained in Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—and to encourage China-domiciled companies to do the same. Emphasize that failure to respect these widely accepted international norms runs counter to China’s long-term interests, since the use of economic power to suppress speech or influence policy abroad can erode trust and reduce the attraction of China as a market for foreign governments and businesses.
- Develop a strategy to protect American citizens’ right to free expression from the coercive use of economic power by the Chinese government. This could involve one or more of the following:
  - Coordination with allies and like-minded partner nations
  - Efforts to reduce China’s leverage over American corporations and organizations by diversifying their global economic footprint
  - A pool of funds to compensate individuals or entities subject to economic coercion by the Chinese government or entities under its direction

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- Legislation granting private citizens the right to seek redress in civil court if retaliated against by their employer for expressing political views related to China.
- Prepare a strategy for countering harassment or surveillance by representatives or agents of the Chinese government within the United States, including harassment or surveillance of members of Turkic Muslim communities. This should include the establishment of a website for the confidential reporting of harassment or surveillance by representatives or agents of the Chinese government within the United States.
- Ensure broad, sustained U.S. engagement in UN bodies with human rights functions, including the General Assembly, the Consultative Group, and the Economic and Social Council's Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations, to ensure that these bodies remain true to their founding principles. This engagement should include putting forth qualified American candidates to serve on these and other UN bodies with human rights functions, as well as encouraging allies and like-minded partner nations to do the same, and building coalitions to support the candidates they put forth.
- Sustain, and where appropriate expand, programs that incentivize the study of the Chinese language, the deep study of China's political system, and the Chinese Communist Party's tools of external influence. The ability to anticipate and understand China's human rights violations within the United States and at the UN—and to generate consensus around timely, effective, culturally appropriate responses—depends on deep fluency in China's language, culture, and political system.

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### *Repression of Freedom of Expression Through Economic Intimidation*

Prior to and during the Commission's 2020 reporting period, the Chinese Communist Party and government used economic intimidation to suppress the internationally recognized right to freedom of expression<sup>1</sup> of American individuals, businesses, organizations, and entities inside and outside China,<sup>2</sup> and encouraged Chinese businesses and entities under their control or influence to do the same. The Party and government did so with the tools used to communicate political priorities to companies doing business in China: a mixture of formal legal and regulatory requirements,<sup>3</sup> as well as a less formal political mobilization system known as the "united front."<sup>4</sup>

These tools give the government and Party a broad range of options to punish unacceptable political speech, including restricting foreign businesses' access to the Chinese market,<sup>5</sup> or indirectly signaling through state media that foreign businesses' actions are politically unacceptable.<sup>6</sup> The threat of such action also encourages businesses to proactively monitor for instances of noncompliance and take corrective action on their own.<sup>7</sup> The opaque, informal, and self-policing aspects of the system mean that violations of freedom of expression can occur without obvious direction by the government or Party, even in instances when they are clearly the result of expressing politically unacceptable points of view.<sup>8</sup> In addition to violating individuals' rights to freedom of expression enshrined in international agreements such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the actions of the Party and government push foreign and Chinese businesses to act in contravention of the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, which state that businesses have a responsibility to respect human rights and should seek to avoid "contributing to adverse human rights impacts . . ."<sup>9</sup>

Within this framework, the Chinese government has limited foreign businesses' access to its domestic market and has done so for many years.<sup>10</sup> As a result, some American businesses that operate in China censor themselves not only within the country but globally. For example, after previous threats by the Chinese government to their ability to access the Chinese market,<sup>11</sup> many American television and film production companies have been reluctant to produce or distribute content that is critical of the Chinese government or Party.<sup>12</sup> The Commission has observed that this longstanding reluctance continued during this reporting period: executives behind Apple's recently launched Apple TV+ streaming service instructed show developers to avoid content that portrayed China unfavorably; in the upcoming film *Top Gun: Maverick* the flags of Taiwan and Japan appear to have been removed from the wardrobe of Tom Cruise's character.<sup>13</sup> In June 2020, the American video conferencing software company Zoom closed the accounts of several U.S.- and Hong Kong-based democracy advocates critical of the Chinese government after they organized video meetings with mainland participants.<sup>14</sup> The company said they closed the accounts at the request of the Chinese government, on the grounds

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that the meetings violated Chinese law, despite the account owners' being physically outside China.<sup>15</sup>

During and immediately before this reporting period, the Commission also observed the suppression of American corporations for political speech by employees undertaken in an individual capacity. On October 4, 2019, Houston Rockets General Manager Daryl Morey retweeted a message expressing support for ongoing pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong.<sup>16</sup> In the ensuing backlash, the Chinese e-commerce platform Alibaba refused to stock Houston Rockets merchandise, all 11 of the National Basketball Association's (NBA's) official commercial partners in China suspended business with the league, and state television refused to broadcast NBA games.<sup>17</sup> The NBA would later estimate total revenue lost to be in the "hundreds of millions" of dollars.<sup>18</sup> Although senior NBA executives backed Morey's right to free expression, the Houston Rockets executive was publicly criticized by senior league figures, including Los Angeles Lakers power forward LeBron James and Joe Tsai, owner of the Brooklyn Nets and executive vice chairman of the Alibaba Group.<sup>19</sup> The Chinese government also reportedly demanded that the league fire Morey.<sup>20</sup> As the controversy unfolded, it prompted self-censorship in at least one major American media organization, when a senior ESPN executive sent a memo directing the network's shows to focus on basketball when discussing the controversy and to avoid its political dimensions.<sup>21</sup>

The incidents described above are part of a growing list, one that demonstrates the chilling effect on freedom of expression caused by the government and Party's use of economic coercion against American individuals and organizations outside China. Other such incidents observed during and immediately preceding this reporting period include the following:

- In January 2019, the American restaurant chain McDonald's apologized after an advertisement it aired in Taiwan showed a two-second clip of a student ID card depicting Taiwan as an independent country.<sup>22</sup>
- In May 2019, a subsidiary of a Chinese state-owned enterprise declined to enter into a planned lease with its prospective tenant Amnesty International for office space located in a lower Manhattan building.<sup>23</sup> Amnesty International is a human rights advocacy organization that has published reports pointing out China's human rights violations.<sup>24</sup> The landlord's representative, without providing any specific reason, made reference to the fact that the company was a Chinese state-owned enterprise, and told Amnesty International it was "not the best tenant."<sup>25</sup>
- In August 2019, the American luxury brand Coach issued a public apology the day it was singled out for criticism by People's Daily, a newspaper overseen by the Party's Central Propaganda Department,<sup>26</sup> for selling an English-language shirt that did not list Hong Kong and Taiwan as part of China.<sup>27</sup>
- In August 2019, the American clothing brand Calvin Klein issued a similar apology after Chinese internet users discovered that the company listed Hong Kong and Taiwan as countries separate from China on its U.S. website.<sup>28</sup>

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- Blizzard Entertainment banned professional video game player Ng Wai Chung from tournament play for six months after Ng spoke in support of pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong during a live Blizzard broadcast in October 2019.<sup>29</sup>

### *Harassment and Intimidation of Uyghurs in the United States*

The Uyghur Human Rights Project, a Uyghur advocacy organization, has reported an increase in state-backed harassment and intimidation of Uyghurs outside China since 2017,<sup>30</sup> when the Chinese government began constructing a network of mass internment camps in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) that have held up to 1.8 million individuals from predominantly Muslim ethnic minority groups, including Uyghurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Hui, and others.<sup>31</sup> Uyghur individuals in the United States have reported threats and intimidation through phone and social media, and threats—both direct and implied—to family members still inside China.<sup>32</sup> This intimidation and harassment has taken place alongside the mass persecution of Uyghurs within China,<sup>33</sup> backed by pervasive electronic and physical surveillance<sup>34</sup> and widespread reported incidents of arbitrary detention and torture.<sup>35</sup> In some cases, the intimidation and harassment of Uyghurs in the United States were conducted by anonymous individuals, while in others, it was performed by identified members of the Chinese government.<sup>36</sup> This harassment and intimidation have had a chilling effect on Uyghurs in the United States who wish to speak about repression in the XUAR,<sup>37</sup> and violates their right to freedom of expression and association.<sup>38</sup>

The Chinese government often harasses Uyghurs in the United States by forcing close family members to convey sensitive personal and financial information.<sup>39</sup> In one mid-2018 case, a Uyghur woman living in the United States was contacted by her mother and asked to provide—in addition to her U.S. phone number—her U.S. bank account number and the license plate number of her car in the United States.<sup>40</sup> Based on the content of the conversation, the woman believed Chinese authorities were coercing her mother.<sup>41</sup> In another similar 2018 incident, Chinese authorities detained the mother of Uyghur-American Ferkat Jawdat in a XUAR mass internment camp, prompting Jawdat to speak out about her plight.<sup>42</sup> He would not hear from his mother again until more than a year later, in a May 2019 phone call, when she said she had been released from the camp, and asked him to cease his advocacy.<sup>43</sup> Her pleas continued in the months afterward, during which a Chinese official contacted Jawdat and tried to convince him to return to the XUAR, telling him that his actions made little difference since “China is a powerful country.”<sup>44</sup>

Internal Chinese government documents known as the “China Cables” obtained by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) provide evidence that the central government and XUAR Party authorities coordinate in gathering information on Uyghurs abroad.<sup>45</sup> A June 2017 classified directive from the XUAR’s Political and Legal Affairs Commission obtained by the ICIJ provides information gathered by Chinese embassies and consulates on several thousand individuals from the XUAR who have obtained foreign citizenship or reside outside China.<sup>46</sup> The docu-

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ment directs “grassroots stability maintenance forces” within the XUAR to apply extra scrutiny when reviewing each of these individuals’ personal identification documents.<sup>47</sup> The document does not make an exception for individuals outside China.<sup>48</sup> [For more information on human rights violations against Uyghurs and other ethnic minority groups in the XUAR, see Section IV—Xinjiang.]

### *Surveillance and Harassment of Students From China and Hong Kong in the United States*

The Chinese government and Communist Party surveil and intimidate students from mainland China and Hong Kong studying at universities in the United States, through government-supervised student organizations, social media surveillance and harassment, and state-controlled media intimidation of students who publicly express political views objectionable to the Party.<sup>49</sup> The earliest use of these tactics predates the Commission’s current reporting period,<sup>50</sup> and the atmosphere of suspicion they create has had a documented chilling effect on the freedom of expression of students from these localities studying in the United States.<sup>51</sup> According to Alex Joske of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, much of this work is likely overseen by the Party’s United Front Work Department.<sup>52</sup>

In one example, in July of 2019, police in Wuhan municipality, Hubei province, detained 19-year-old Chinese national Luo Daiqing while he was in the city during a break from his studies at the University of Minnesota.<sup>53</sup> Court documents state that Luo had used his Twitter account to post “more than 40 comments denigrating a national leader’s image and indecent pictures,” an apparent reference to images posted by Luo that appear to mock Chinese President Xi Jinping.<sup>54</sup> For these posts—made on an American social media platform while Luo was physically outside China—a court in China sentenced him to six months’ imprisonment on the charge of “picking quarrels and provoking trouble.”<sup>55</sup> In another case, individuals claiming to be Yale University students targeted Hong Kong pro-democracy activist Nathan Law for online harassment, including death threats, after he arrived at Yale in the fall of 2019 to pursue a graduate degree.<sup>56</sup> Official media such as the *Global Times* amplified the harassment campaign with articles in Chinese and in English, reporting disparagingly on Law’s decision to attend Yale.<sup>57</sup>

Fear of retaliation can also discourage universities from speaking up in defense of these students’ right to free expression and to physical safety. The Chinese government has demonstrated that it is willing to cut off joint research programs, or even threaten the flow of Chinese students to foreign universities as a means of signaling its displeasure.<sup>58</sup> For many universities, this is a potent threat, since those students are an important source of tuition revenue.<sup>59</sup> In October 2019, students from mainland China attending Emerson University in Boston threatened a student from Hong Kong after she spoke in support of Hong Kong’s pro-democracy protests. Emerson University did not comply with her request to issue a public statement condemning the threats,<sup>60</sup> and when commenting on the incident to the *New York Times*, the university’s president cited the need for universities to have a “global com-

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petency” to avoid retaliation similar to that suffered by the National Basketball Association.<sup>61</sup>

### *Censorship of Individuals in the United States Through China-Based Social Media*

The PRC Cybersecurity Law requires social media platforms run by companies in China to monitor content that their customers create or share, censor content that violates laws and regulations, and report such content to authorities.<sup>62</sup> During this reporting year, the Commission has observed continuing censorship of users in the United States through the popular social media platform WeChat.<sup>63</sup> WeChat is owned and run by Tencent, a China-based tech company.<sup>64</sup> Some WeChat users in the United States have reported that Tencent suspended their accounts for posting politically sensitive material, depriving them of their main channel for communicating with friends and family in China.<sup>65</sup>

Other China-based social media platforms such as TikTok and Zynn have grown their market share in the United States,<sup>66</sup> prompting concern on the part of U.S. officials over the extraterritorial application of Chinese domestic censorship standards.<sup>67</sup> TikTok is run by ByteDance, a company based in Beijing municipality, whose CEO publicly pledged to better implement Xi Jinping’s political agenda in April 2018, following a series of punishments from Chinese regulators unhappy with the company’s inadequate censorship.<sup>68</sup> Following reports in November 2019 that company executives in Beijing were driving decisions on censoring TikTok content viewed by U.S. users, and that the company had suspended the account of a U.S. user attempting to raise awareness of the persecution of Uyghurs inside China, ByteDance pledged to reform its content moderation practices outside China.<sup>69</sup>

### *Impeding UN Human Rights Bodies and Redefining Global Human Rights Norms*

During this reporting period, the Chinese government and the Communist Party continued a longstanding campaign to impede or redirect the work of United Nations human rights bodies and to reshape international consensus around human rights in ways that diminish the power of the individual to seek redress from the state. These are part of the Party’s efforts to build what it calls *guoji huayuquan*, or “international speaking rights,” a term that scholar Nadège Rolland says reflects the Party leadership’s desire “to be listened to, to influence others’ perceptions of China, and eventually to shape the discourse and norms that underpin the international order.”<sup>70</sup>

Human Rights Watch has called the United Nations a “key target” of this kind of work, noting that China’s growing influence in the body has meant that even UN Secretary-General António Guterres has refrained from criticizing the mass persecution and imprisonment of Turkic Muslims in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.<sup>71</sup> The Party’s push to embed its preferred positions on human rights in the UN’s human rights apparatus has been given concrete form through resolutions and amendments at the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC).<sup>72</sup> Among the motions intro-

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duced by the Chinese delegation (and supported by like-minded states like Russia) were proposals that would reduce accountability for countries that fail to cooperate with UNHRC mechanisms, promote state-to-state cooperation and dialogue on human rights at the expense of naming and shaming poor performers, and make human rights synonymous with state-led development rather than an expression of inherent human dignity.<sup>73</sup>

In early 2018, China and Russia also cooperated successfully to defund a team within the office of the UN Secretary-General meant to ensure that UN agencies promote human rights in their day-to-day work.<sup>74</sup> In April 2020, the Chinese government also succeeded in naming Jiang Duan, a Chinese diplomat, to a one-year term as one of the five members of the Consultative Group that will vet and recommend working groups, independent experts, and special rapporteurs for appointment by the UNHRC president.<sup>75</sup> During his term, Jiang—who used his previous diplomatic posting in Geneva to speak in defense of China’s treatment of the Uyghurs and praise the human rights records of Russia and Cuba<sup>76</sup>—will help oversee the appointment of a special rapporteur on human rights in Cambodia, an Asia-Pacific-focused working group on arbitrary detention, and a special rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression.<sup>77</sup> During a UNHRC Universal Periodic Review of China’s human rights record, Chinese diplomats also made direct threats to delegations that were considering critical stances and blocked the accreditation of a Uyghur activist who sought to attend a UN forum on indigenous issues in New York City.<sup>78</sup>

## Notes to Section II—Human Rights Violations in the U.S. and Globally

<sup>1</sup> Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by UN General Assembly resolution 217A (III) of December 10, 1948, art. 19; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of December 16, 1966, entry into force March 23, 1976, art. 19; United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, accessed May 29, 2020. China has signed but not ratified the ICCPR.

<sup>2</sup> Natasha Turak, “China’s Response to NBA Hong Kong Tweet Was a ‘Violation of US Sovereignty,’ Condoleezza Rice Says,” *CNBC*, November 11, 2019; Jesse Johnson, “‘Top Gun’ Sequel, Co-Produced by China’s Tencent, Drops Japanese and Taiwanese Flags,” *Japan Times*, July 20, 2019; Zack Beauchamp, “One of America’s Biggest Gaming Companies Is Acting as China’s Censor,” *Vox*, October 8, 2019.

<sup>3</sup> Richard McGregor, “How the State Runs Business in China,” *Guardian*, July 25, 2019; Ashley Feng, “We Can’t Tell If Chinese Firms Work for the Party,” *Foreign Policy*, February 7, 2019; Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and State Council, *Guanyu Yingzao Qiyejia Jiankang Chengzhang Huanjing Hongyang Youxiu Qiyejia Jingshen Geng Hao Fahui Qiyejia Zuoyong De Yijian* [Opinion on Creating a Healthy Environment for Entrepreneurs’ Growth and Fostering the Better Expression of Excellent Entrepreneurial Spirit], September 25, 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Gerry Groot, “The Rise and Rise of the United Front Work Department under Xi,” *China Brief*, Jamestown Foundation, April 24, 2018; Gerry Groot, “Understanding the Role of Chambers of Commerce and Industry Associations in United Front Work,” *China Brief*, Jamestown Foundation, June 19, 2018; Hong Zhang, “Service for Influence? The Chinese Communist Party’s Negotiated Access to Private Enterprises,” *Made in China Journal* 4, no. 3 (July–September, 2019); Gerry Groot, *Managing Transitions: The Chinese Communist Party, United Front Work, Corporatism and Hegemony* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> Megan Cassella, Chad Bray, and Finbarr Bermingham, “China Is Finding New Ways to Hurt U.S. Businesses,” *Politico* and *South China Morning Post*, December 27, 2018; “Government ‘Very Concerned’ by Reports China Could Stop Buying Australian Coal,” *SBS News*, May 22, 2020; Jen Skerritt, “Huawei Ruling Crushes Hope China May End Canola Feud with Canada,” *Bloomberg*, May 28, 2020.

<sup>6</sup> Catherine Lai, “Hurt Feelings: How Foreign Brands Are Proving to Be a Soft Target as China Wields Its Power,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, February 25, 2018; Zheping Huang, “In the Name of Chinese Nationalism, Make These Foreign Companies Suffer,” *Quartz*, March 3, 2017; Bibek Bhandari, “Foreign Brands Have ‘Princess Syndrome,’ Says People’s Daily,” *Sixth Tone*, January 5, 2018.

<sup>7</sup> Rachel E. Stern and Jonathan Hassid, “Amplifying Silence: Uncertainty and Control Parables in Contemporary China,” *Comparative Political Studies* 45, no. 10 (October 2012): 1230–54; Congressional-Executive Commission on China, “Information Control and Self-Censorship in the PRC and the Spread of SARS,” May 6, 2003, 6–10.

<sup>8</sup> Rosie Perper, “NBA-China Feud: Timeline of Actions over Daryl Morey Tweet,” *Business Insider*, October 22, 2019; Consulate-General of the People’s Republic of China in Houston, “Chinese Consulate General Spokesperson’s Remarks on the Erroneous Comments on Hong Kong by General Manager of the Houston Rockets,” October 6, 2019, reprinted in *Internet Archive*, January 8, 2020.

<sup>9</sup> Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights: Implementing the United Nations “Protect, Respect and Remedy” Framework, HR/PUB/11/04, June 16, 2011, principle 13.

<sup>10</sup> Ryan Gallagher, “New Site Exposes How Apple Censors Apps in China,” *Intercept*, February 1, 2019; Letter from Cynthia Hogan, Vice President for Public Policy, Apple, to Ted Cruz and Patrick Leahy, U.S. Senators, November 21, 2017; Benjamin Haas, “Marriott Apologises to China over Tibet and Taiwan Error,” *Guardian*, January 12, 2018; Maggie Farley and Robert Welkos, “Insulted by Films, Beijing Orders Halt to Studio Deals,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 31, 1997.

<sup>11</sup> Cain Nunns, “Hollywood Bows to China Soft Power,” *The Diplomat*, February 16, 2012; Robert Welkos and Maggie Farley, “Insulted by Films, Beijing Orders Halt to Studio Deals,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 31, 1997.

<sup>12</sup> Ben Fritz and John Horn, “Reel China: Hollywood Tries to Stay on China’s Good Side,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 16, 2011; Matt Schrader, *Friends and Enemies: A Framework for Understanding Chinese Political Interference in Democratic Countries*, Alliance for Securing Democracy, German Marshall Fund, April 22, 2020.

<sup>13</sup> Shelby Rose and Jessie Yeung, “Tencent-Backed ‘Top Gun’ Cuts Taiwan Flag from Tom Cruise’s Jacket,” *CNN*, July 22, 2019; Alex Kantrowitz and John Paczkowski, “Apple Told Some Apple TV+ Show Developers Not to Anger China,” *BuzzFeed News*, October 11, 2019.

<sup>14</sup> Gerry Shih, “Zoom Censors Video Talks on Hong Kong and Tiananmen, Drawing Criticism,” *Washington Post*, June 11, 2020.

<sup>15</sup> Bethany Allen-Ebrahimian, “Zoom Closed Account of U.S.-Based Chinese Activist ‘To Comply with Local Law,’” *Axios*, June 10, 2020; Gerry Shih, “Zoom Censors Video Talks on Hong Kong and Tiananmen, Drawing Criticism,” *Washington Post*, June 11, 2020.

<sup>16</sup> Dan Woike, “Could a Tweet Sink the NBA’s Business Relationships in China? It’s Complicated,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 8, 2019.

<sup>17</sup> Arjun Kharpal, “Alibaba Shopping Sites Appear to Have De-Listed Houston Rockets Products in China,” *CNBC*, October 8, 2019; Laura He and Michelle Toh, “All of the NBA’s Official Chinese Partners Have Suspended Ties with the League,” *CNN*, October 9, 2019.

<sup>18</sup> Ben Cohen, “China Standoff Cost the NBA ‘Hundreds of Millions,’” *Wall Street Journal*, February 16, 2020.

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<sup>19</sup> Alaa Abdeldaiem, “LeBron: Daryl Morey ‘Misinformed’ When He Spoke on China,” *Sports Illustrated*, October 14, 2019; Sopan Deb and Li Yuan, “Nets Owner Joe Tsai Didn’t Seem Political. Until Now.,” *New York Times*, October 7, 2019.

<sup>20</sup> Sopan Deb, “N.B.A. Commissioner: China Asked Us to Fire Daryl Morey,” *New York Times*, October 17, 2019.

<sup>21</sup> Laura Wagner, “Internal Memo: ESPN Forbids Discussion of Chinese Politics When Discussing Daryl Morey’s Tweet about Chinese Politics,” *Deadspin* (blog), October 8, 2019.

<sup>22</sup> Laurie Chen, “McDonald’s Apologises for Advert Showing Taiwan as a Country Draws Criticism,” *South China Morning Post*, January 23, 2019.

<sup>23</sup> Matthew Haag and Michael Forsythe, “Amnesty International Is Denied Lease at New York Tower Owned by China, Group Says,” *New York Times*, May 13, 2019.

<sup>24</sup> See, e.g., Amnesty International, “Uyghurs Tell of China-Led Intimidation Campaign Abroad,” February 2020; Amnesty International, “Hong Kong: Missing Truth, Missing Justice,” March 5, 2020.

<sup>25</sup> Matthew Haag and Michael Forsythe, “Amnesty International Is Denied Lease at New York Tower Owned by China, Group Says,” *New York Times*, May 13, 2019.

<sup>26</sup> “Zhonggong Zhongyang Xuanchuanbu zhuyao zhineng” [CCP Central Committee Propaganda Department main functions], *Chinese Communist Party Net*, May 11, 2019.

<sup>27</sup> Rosie Perper, “Coach and Versace Sparked Fury in China by Selling T-Shirts That Listed Hong Kong as a Separate Country,” *Business Insider*, August 12, 2019; “Guoji pinpai lie Gang Tai wei gujia re zhengyi Zhongguo yingxing fen jieyue biaotai” [International Brands list Hong Kong and Taiwan as countries, generating controversy, many Chinese celebrities take a stand by terminating contracts], *Lianhe Zaobao*, August 14, 2019.

<sup>28</sup> Alexandra Ma, “Dior Groveled to China after It Used a Map That Didn’t Show Taiwan as Part of the Country. Here Are Other Times Western Brands Caved after Offending the Communist Party,” *Business Insider*, October 17, 2019.

<sup>29</sup> Jon Porter, “Hearthstone Player Banned for Supporting Hong Kong Protesters During Live Stream,” *Verge*, October 8, 2019; Nick Statt, “Blizzard Says ‘We Failed in Our Purpose’ after Hearthstone Hong Kong Controversy,” *Verge*, November 1, 2019.

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