

Women's Rights and Coercive Implementation - My Pregnancy Story

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Congressional-Executive Commission on China

China's New "Two-Child Policy" & the Continuation of Massive Crimes Against Women and Children

December, 3, 2015

Greetings Honorable Chairman Congressman Smith, Co-Chairman Senator Rubio, Members of the CECC, and distinguished guests.

Introduction: I am honored to have this opportunity to share my painful story and grateful for this country, which has provided necessary leadership in promoting human rights throughout the world, including working with the international community to persuade countries like China to adhere to international law and universal values on the protection of human dignity.

Since the beginning of this nation, the United States has had a rich history of leading the way in protecting human rights from the Declaration of Independence, which states "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

President Obama has even spoken on the importance of answering the responsibility of "To speak up for those who cannot speak for themselves." Speaking up for others is one of my family's core values and one of many reasons why my husband and I continually open our hearts and home to the vulnerable and the voiceless.

In America you have a choice; you can choose to speak up for the innocent or to stay silent. In my country, women are told they cannot speak up for their own bodies or for the children in their womb. In China this struggle is not about "pro-life" or "pro-choice", but about enduring torture (a forced or coerced abortion) or enduring strict punishment for disobeying. It is because of this that my phones ring constantly by the very few women that are courageous enough to defy the policy to keep their child. Complete strangers frequently call me and say, "I'm pregnant and have no options...I was told you can help me to keep my child." Of course, I try to help them all.

Unfortunately, I am just as busy now with the Chinese government's newly announced two-child policy as I was with the infamous one-child policy.

Although there is an expert here today that will share in more detail, please allow me to share briefly about the statistics. The Chinese government data reports that 13 million abortions are performed each year, for an average rate of 35,000 abortions per day. I personally believe the number is much higher because these statistics only include hospitals that report their figures and most abortions occur in unauthorized "black clinics" or at home. One reason why we think the number of abortions is considerably higher is because China is a shame-based culture. Chinese families do not want the

attention (or tax liability) of going to an official abortion clinic where they are required to register and show their ID. As a result, most Chinese women who receive abortions choose to do it anonymously at unregistered clinics, known as “black clinics.”

In China people often remark that there are more abortion clinics in China than barber shops. Those that work inside China to prevent coercive abortions, such as myself and my colleagues at the China Life Alliance, believe a conservative estimate to be closer to more than 20 million abortions per year based on a variety of factors.

All that to say, even using the most conservative estimates, experts agree that more abortions take place every five years in China than throughout all of American history combined. Statistically, a Chinese mother’s womb is one of the most dangerous places to be for an unborn child, as many do not get out alive.

Some may ask, “Why would I risk so much to come here today to testify?”

Since the time my husband and I found out I was pregnant with my second child we have had to work extremely hard to keep my baby alive. Instead of arranging the nursery and having a baby shower, I have been in hiding, wondering and waiting if I will get caught for disobeying direct orders. I have actually been worried that government officials will find me and force my abortion. Because of this reality, I have had to risk fleeing to America in order to protect the baby in my womb. My family and I arrived in America just prior to Thanksgiving, and now I am given this chance to share with you today.

My answer for why I am here being simply because I believe it can make a difference in the lives of the thousands of women like me who are pregnant in China today and are crying out because their babies (and bodies) are not protected by our government or its policies. I believe that the people in this room, in this city, and in this country have the courage to stand up for what is right and I believe that you deserve to know the truth.

That being said, I am proud to be Chinese and I love my country, however, I am compelled to speak up and shine a light on the reality of what is happening in China because Chinese lives are important, the protection of women and babies are important.

In my country, China, we have a saying, “a woman’s body is not her own.” In fact, we have been told this all our lives. This way of thinking has penetrated every aspect of our culture and has forced women like me who are pregnant to be required to abort or abandon our babies. Today, I am not just speaking on my own behalf. Over the last few years under the one-child policy I have personally assisted Chinese families with saving and hiding more than 80 babies within my home and in safe houses throughout China.

These are the success stories. For each of those brave mothers that persevered, hid and risked everything to disobey the government’s policy to keep their children, there were others that did not have the courage, or the right circumstances to keep their beloved child in their womb. Chinese mothers, like most around the world, want the choice to keep their child in their womb. In China, they can’t if they do not qualify under the strict restrictions of the one or two-child policy. Therefore, I am speaking today on behalf of all the mothers in China who deserve the right to control their own womb.

First, I want to briefly share my pregnancy story, and how although I am pregnant with my second child, I am not protected under China's so-called two-child policy.

Next, I will share my experiences and observations of the current situation for all pregnant women in China as it relates to the newly announced two-child policy.

Lastly, I would like to leave you with a challenge.

My Pregnancy Story

My husband and I have wanted a second child for many years. So after finding out we were pregnant we were of course very happy. Especially when we heard that the one child policy had been cancelled, and thought our problems had been solved. We even heard in the news that "everyone in China can now have a second child". Although we were skeptical, our immediate reaction was to rejoice as this would mean a lot more babies born to families that wanted to keep them. We thought all our problems were solved until we heard from my husband's employer (the Chinese government) that the abortion would be mandatory if we failed to present proof that I had an IUD installed. Since then, my husband has been threatened and given a deadline to prove that the abortion has been completed successfully; otherwise he will lose his job.

It was at this time that we went into hiding. My husband and I's primary goal was to protect my baby's life, then consider our own well-being. After the baby is born we intend on returning to our life as normal and paying the consequences. The fine may cost close to \$36,000 dollars, though we are still in the middle of this process and cannot say for certain what will happen. All we know is that the two-child policy does not apply to our circumstances. We do not meet the unique criteria necessary, for whatever reason.

My experience and observation

My first observation regarding the newly announced two-child policy is that although it is better than the one-child policy, it is a lie that "every couple is allowed to now conceive two babies." It's not the case for me, or other families that are currently in hiding in China. However, the new two-child policy is not completely bad. A majority, but not all, families will meet the criteria and be allowed to keep their second child. However, clearly China's change to a two-child policy is not enough. Chinese families who attempt to have two children could still be subject to coercive and intrusive forms of contraception and forced abortions – which amount to torture.

My second observation is that families in China are required to have permission before they are allowed to get pregnant. If families do not have a birth permit, they are subject to punishment regardless of the one or two-child policy.

In my third observation, I'd like to point out some common myths surrounding this issue.

First, don't believe the Chinese government's press releases on their family planning policies. Several members of the Chinese government have been saying that "forced abortions do not happen in China." Not true. I can tell you numerous stories and show you pictures that prove otherwise. In fact, we know of jail cells that are located in rural

government offices that exist to hold elderly people hostage until their pregnant relative provides proof of having an abortion. I can take you to these places. China Life Alliance conducted a rescue at one of these locations and has the testimony on video. Although these jail cells were previously under the control of the family planning bureau, they have only recently received a name change, and are under the control of the same officials.

Another common myth is that China's brutal family planning bureau has been dissolved, thus removing all of its corrupt practices and acts of impunity. Not true. It has simply been renamed. Although I don't doubt there may be some positive changes, the truth is that the same party members that worked for the family planning bureau are now employed by the national health and family planning bureau, which maintains a strict quota-based system that drives employees to abuse others in order to protect their jobs.

The fourth observation is that if China cares about its people as much as it does about its economy, why did it not abolish birth restrictions completely? The enforcement of coercive birth restrictions doesn't reflect modern or universally held values, so there must be an anterior motive. Although I do not know the Chinese government's motivation for its family planning policies, I do know that it comes at the expense of its people.

The fifth observation relates to gendercide, and the cultural preference for boys, which is supported by the government as it encourages family planning control measures. The Chinese government continues to turn a blind eye to the murder of baby girls and refuses to press charges against the perpetrators. Thus, we must ask, will coercive implementation continue? Of course it will. The Chinese government will continue to encourage gendercide and support corporate policies that control population growth within both the public and private sector. A similar phenomenon is occurring in Taiwan, which also has one of the highest abortion rates in the world. Why is this? I believe it relates to a Chinese cultural norm that prefers sons over daughters. Clearly, this pattern is destructive and should be addressed by both the Chinese and Taiwanese governments.

My fifth and final observation is regarding "black clinics," which are unregistered abortion clinics that typically have an illegal ultrasound machine that tell expecting parents the gender of the child. These clinics offer a variety of services from gender identification to late-term abortions with all services offered on an anonymous basis.

Last year, I took an American reporter into one of these clinics, who became sick to her stomach as she witnessed a floor stained in blood, and a back room where forced abortions were performed. Unfortunately, these clinics are very busy and exist in almost every city in China. They are not hard to find. I recently began working with China Life Alliance to map all of these clinics so abortion rescue teams could attempt rescues. Unfortunately, we had to cancel the project because there were way too many to count.

Conclusion and Challenge:

Before I conclude my remarks, I would like to leave you with a challenge.

I do believe that things will change, but how many must suffer before that happens? I hope that many years from now, our children's children will remember us as the generation that did something about this great tragedy. As we are the ones who are aware

of what is happening in China, we have an inherent responsibility to act. I will also pray that the day will come where China will no longer coercively control women's wombs.

I believe this could be one of the most tragic events of modern world history. Can you imagine the history books revealing that the Chinese government, through their one and two-child policies having killed more babies and brutalized more women than such events as the plague, or both World Wars combined? These tragedies are happening, and if we don't do something, I ask, who will? If we don't say something, again, who will?

I am convinced that if any other country in the world was committing such terrible crimes against humanity that China is perpetrating, that the world would not endure it. Perhaps even the United States would boldly defend those who are defenseless, especially if these tragedies were occurring in a country with a weaker economy and military power than China. The world remembers the shameful Atlantic Slave Trade, which claimed more than 15 Million lives between the 17th and 19th centuries. Interestingly, it seems absurd that any human would have been silent to the brutal treatment of humans that took place in that era. In a similar way, such brutality is occurring in China today. Millions of women and their baby's each year are being mercilessly told what their fate will be. I imagine in the future people will wonder a similar question, "how was it possible that people knew about this and did not respond?" Clearly, it is time for action.

Perhaps you've heard this famous quote from William Wilberforce, who said, "You may choose to look the other way but you can never say again that you did not know."

To be sure, even after the two-child policy is completely implemented, there will continue to be hundreds, if not thousands of women and families crying out in China each day because they are required to abort their child against their will.

Surely, the international community would agree that no human should be forced to regulate the number of children they can conceive. Thus, if the Chinese government is serious about respecting human rights, and being recognized as a legitimate and trusted government, it should begin by immediately ending all family planning policies and the United States should actively engage the Chinese government on this front.

Thank you.

妇女的权益和强制实施堕胎-我的怀孕故事

莎拉黄，一位中国母亲和人权活动家

国会-行政中国事务委员会 (CECC)

中国“二胎化”新政以及持续针对妇女和儿童的大规模犯罪

2015年十一月三日

尊敬的史密斯议员，鲁比奥参议员，CECC 的先生和女士们，以及各位尊贵的来宾，

简介：我很荣幸地有这次机会分享我本人惨痛的经历，并对这个国家深怀感激，因为美国在全世界倡导推动人权，和国际社会合作，规劝类似中国的国家遵守国际法，尊重普世价值以保护人的尊严。

自建国以来，美国有着丰富的历史经验，引领维护在独立宣言中确立的人权保障，其中宣称“人人被造平等，造物者赋予他们若干不可剥夺的权利，其中包括生命权、自由权和追求幸福的权利。”

奥巴马总统甚至提到有责任“为不能发声的人代言”的重要性。为他人代言是我的核心准则之一，也是为什么我和我的丈夫愿意继续向那些无助的人和不能发声的人敞开我们的心和我们的家。

在美国你可以选择，你可以选择为无辜的人大声疾呼，也可以选择沉默。在我的国家，妇女们被告知，她们不可以为她们的身體或是为子宫的胎儿呼吁。在中国，这场争战不是关于“反对堕胎”或是“堕胎应合法化”；强制性或胁迫性的堕胎是一场持续的折磨，或者说是对不服从者的持续的严厉惩罚。因为这个缘故，我的电话才会响个不停，有那么一些勇敢的妇女为了保住她们的孩子，敢于挑战这个政策。那些和我素不相识的妇女经常打电话找我，说，“我怀孕了，我走投无路。有人告诉我说，你能帮我保住我的孩子。”当然，我总是想方设法帮助她们所有人。

我曾经因为反对臭名昭彰的一胎化政策忙碌于很多的事情，不幸的是，二胎化政策并没有让我轻松。

虽然这里有一位专家今天会提供更多细节，请允许我简单分享一些数据。中国政府的数据报告说每年实施一千三百万的堕胎手术，每天平均有三万五千个堕胎手术。我个人相信实际的数字应该高得多。因为官方数据只包括了医院提供的数字。大部分的堕胎是在未经注册的黑诊所或在家里完成的。我们认为真实的数字高得多的原因之一是根据中国文化基于羞耻心的特点。中国家庭不愿意去官方的诊所堕胎丢人现眼，在那里他们会被要求登记，出具身份证。因此，大多数中国妇女选择去未经注册登记的诊所，所谓的“黑诊所”，不具名地接受流产手术。

在中国人们常常说，堕胎诊所多过理发店。根据国内的一些竭力阻止胁迫性堕胎的人，像我和在中国生命联盟工作的同事根据各种因素的保守估计，每年有接近两千万的堕胎完成。

总而言之，即使用最保守的数据，专家们同意，在中国每五年发生的堕胎高于美国历史上发生的所有堕胎数字的总和。从统计学的角度上来看，中国母亲的子宫成为最危及胎儿安全的地方之一，很多的胎儿没有活着降生。

有人会问，“你为什么冒着这么大的风险到这里来作证？”

自从我丈夫和我发现我怀了第二个孩子之后，我们费劲周折来保全我们的胎儿。我们无法布置婴儿房或是接受送给孩子的礼物，我反而是东躲西藏，担惊受怕会不会因为违反政府的命令我被抓住。事实上我担心政府官员会抓住我，强迫我流产。基于这个现实考虑，我不得不逃到美国以保住我的胎儿。我们全家于感恩节前夕到达美国，我才有今天这个机会来分享我的故事。

所以，我对这个问题的回答是，我相信我的证词会帮助改变中国成千上万像我一样的怀孕妇女的生活处境，因为她们的胎儿得不到中国政府或是政府的政策的保护。我相信在这个房间的人们，这个城市和国家的人民，具备道德勇气来主持正义，我相信你们有权利知道事实真相。

尽管如此，我仍然为是一个中国人骄傲，我爱我的国家，但是，我不得不大声疾呼，揭露发生在中国的事实真相，因为中国人的生命重要，保护妇女和胎儿的生命非常重要。

在我的国家中国，有一句名言说，“妇女的身体不属于她自己。”事实上，我们一生被灌输这样的观念。这样的想法已经深入到我们的文化的方方面面，迫使像我一样的怀孕妇女去堕胎放弃我们的胎儿。今天，我并不是仅仅为我自己代言。过去几年里，中国还在实施一胎化政策的年代，经过我的帮助，在我的家以及遍布中国的安全屋，80多个胎儿的性命得到保全。

这些是成功的故事。这些勇敢的中国母亲历经万难，东躲西藏，冒着风险，不服从政府的命令，从而保住了她们的胎儿。同时，也有其他的中国妇女没有这样的勇气，或是缺乏合适的时机，失去了她们的孩子。中国的母亲，就像世界上的大多数的母亲，渴望有这样的选择权利去保住她们腹中的胎儿。在中国，如果她们不符合一胎化或二胎化政策下严苛的条件的话，她们无法选择。因此，我今天代表所有中国的母亲说，她们应当对她们的子宫有控制权。

首先，我想简略分享我的怀孕经历，以及为什么我虽怀上第二个孩子，却无法得到中国的二胎化政策的保护。

其次，我要分享我的个人经历和对中国的怀孕妇女的现状的观察，特别是涉及到新出台的二胎化政策方面。

最后，我要留给你们一个挑战。

我的怀孕故事

我丈夫和我想要第二个孩子已经很久了。所以发现我怀孕后我们自然是非常开心。特别是我们听到一胎化政策被废除，以为我们不会有任何麻烦。我们甚至听到报道说，“在中国所有的人都可以有第二个孩子。”虽然有怀疑，我们还是非常欣喜，因为这意味着想要孩子的家庭可以有更多的孩子。我们以为问题解决了，直到我丈夫的雇主（中国政府）通知他，我们必须出具孕警证，否则我必须堕胎。我丈夫受到威胁，他被要求拿出最后期限证明我已经做了人工流产，否则他会失去工作。

从那时我们开始躲起来。我丈夫和我的首要目标是保住胎儿的性命，至于我们俩的福祉是其次的考虑。待到孩子出生后，我们如果想要我们的生活恢复正常，只有交付罚金。虽然我们正在交涉过程当中，无法确定最后的结果是什么，但是罚金可能高达三万六千美金。我们所知道的就是二胎化政策不适用我们的情况；不知是什么原因，我们不符合二胎化政策下规定的必要条件。

我的经历和观察

首先，关于新出台的二胎化政策，虽然好过一胎化政策，“现在许可每对夫妇有第二个孩子”是一个谎言。它不适用于我的情况，以及不适用那些目前在中国被迫躲藏起来的家庭。但是，二胎化政策并不完全的坏。虽然不是所有的家庭，但是大多数家庭可能符合条件，可以保留他们的第二个孩子。但是，二胎化政策产生的改变明显地不够。那些想要连个孩子的家庭仍然可能会遭受强制性绝育措施或人工流产，等于是肉体折磨。

第二个观察是，我发现在中国的家庭必须取得准生证才能怀孕。如果一个家庭没有准生证，不管是在一胎化还是二胎化政策下，他们会被惩罚。

第三，我想指出有关这个问题的一些错误看法。

其一，不要相信中国政府发布的关于计划生育政策的新闻公告。中国政府的几位官员声称“强制堕胎在中国已不存在。”那不是事实。我可以告诉你许多的故事和出具照片，指出事实正好相反。事实上，我们知道中国农村的政府部门甚至设置拘留所，扣押老年人作为人质，直到他们怀孕的亲戚提供堕胎的证明。我可以带你去看这些地方。中国生命联盟曾经在其中一个地方组织了一场营救，并将受害人的证词录像。虽然那些拘留所以前属于国家计划生育委员会，现在只是换了一个名称而已，它们仍然被同一批官员控制。

另外一个常见的错觉是，国家计划生育委员会已经解体，因此相关的腐败行为以及其不受司法处罚的现象也一并清除。那不是事实。这个机构只是换了个名称而已。我并不否认可能会有一些积极的改变，事实是为其效力的同一批党员干部现在为国家卫生和计划生育委员会工作。这个机构实行严格的堕胎配额制，从而促使计生官员为保住饭碗继续去做伤天害理的事情。

第四，如果中国政府真的是关心人民的福祉如同关心经济发展，为什么不彻底废除计划生育政策呢？执行强制性的计划生育不能体现现代的普世价值，所以一定有其他的动机。虽然我不明了中国政府实施计划生育政策的动机是什么，我确实知道人民付出了高昂代价。

第五个观察涉及到残杀女婴的现象和偏好男婴的文化，实际上得到政府的支持，因为政府鼓励贯彻计划生育的措施。中国政府继续对残杀女婴听之任之，拒绝起诉杀人者。因此，我们必须问，强制性的措施会继续下去吗？当然会。中国政府将继续鼓励残杀女婴，并支持国有和私营企业制定的控制人口增长的公司政策。类似现象也在台湾发生。台湾有世界上排名前列的堕胎率。为什么呢？我相信这跟重男轻女中国文化有关。很明显，对于这种具有毁灭性的现象，中国政府和台湾当局应当妥善处理。

第五也是最后一个的观察是关于“黑诊所”，即未经登记注册的诊所通过操作非法的超生波仪器，鉴定胎儿的性别。这类诊所提供一系列的服务，从性别鉴定到后期堕胎，都不需要客户提供真实的姓名身份。

去年，我曾带一个美国记者进入一个这样的诊所。当看到地板上的斑斑血迹，以及实施堕胎手术的密室，她恶心得要吐。不幸的是，这类诊所生意兴旺，遍布中国的各个城市，要找到这样的诊所并不难。最近我和中国生命联盟合作，帮他们绘制这类诊所的分布图，以便营救小队开展防止堕胎的营救活动。可惜我们不得不取消这项计划，因为这类诊所实在太多了。

结语和挑战

在我结束之前，我要留给你们一个挑战。

我坚信现状可以改变，可是需要多少人受到伤害才能导致改变呢？我希望，许多年之后，我们的后代将记住我们这一代，实实在在地做了一些事情来改变这样的悲剧。因为我们这些人意识到正在中国发生的事情，我们有责任采取行动。我也祈求，那一天将到来，中国妇女的子宫不再受到强制性的控制。

我相信这是现代世界历史上最大的悲剧之一。你能想象，历史书籍揭示，中国政府通过一胎化和二胎化政策所扼杀的胎儿，以及所摧残的妇女人数，超过任何瘟疫，或是两次世界大战的总和所夺走的人口吗？这样的悲剧正在发生。试问，如果我们不行动起来，谁会呢？如果我们不发声，谁会发声呢？

如果世界上其它国家犯下这样可怕的反人类的罪行，如同中国一样，我深信国际社会不会容忍的。如果这样的悲剧发生在一个经济和军事力量不及中国强大的国家，也许美国会挺身保护那些无助的人们。这个世界还记得发生在 17 世纪和 19 世纪期间的可耻的大西洋奴隶贸易。黑奴贸易夺走了一千五百万的人命。如果任何人对发生在那个时代对人的残忍虐待保持沉默，似乎会是不可思议的事情。同样，类似的野蛮行径今天就在中国发生。上百万的中国妇女和她们的胎儿被无情地告知她们

的命运已经注定。我可以想象，将来人们会问一个同样的问题，“怎么可能人们明明知道有这样的事情，却没有反应呢？”显然的，采取行动的时候到了。

也许你们听到过威廉威伯福斯德一句名言，“你可以选择视而不见，但是你无法重复地说，你一无所知。”

可以肯定的是，即使二胎化政策实施到位，在中国每天仍然会有成百上千，如果不是上千上万的妇女和家庭呼号抗议，因为他们被迫将胎儿人工流产。

国际社会肯定同意，任何人都不应该被限制她们可以孕育的孩子的数目。那么，如果中国政府真正地要尊重人权的话，想要被接受为一个合法，可信任的政府的话，他们应该立即终止计划生育的政策，同时美国政府应该在方面督促中国政府。

谢谢。