

## II. Human Rights

### FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

#### *Findings*

- At the UN Human Rights Council's third Universal Periodic Review (UPR) of China's compliance with international human rights norms, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) reported that the Chinese government and Communist Party violated freedom of expression and freedom of the press. The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights apparently removed information submitted by at least seven non-governmental groups, among which were NGOs that advocate for the rights of Tibetans, Uyghurs, and Hong Kong people, from an official summary of UPR submissions. That information from some of the missing submissions was inserted in a supplement prior to the November 2018 session did little to dispel stakeholder concerns about Chinese government influence during the UPR.
- Conditions for journalism in China continued to deteriorate. Some professional Chinese journalists described current conditions for journalism as an "era of total censorship." In addition, the government's ongoing crackdown continued against "citizen journalists" who have founded or are associated with websites that document human rights violations, as seen in the detention of individuals focused on labor conditions, such as Wei Zhili, Yang Zhengjun, and Ke Chengbing. Foreign journalists faced multiple challenges from the government, including surveillance; harassment of Chinese nationals who work as news assistants; limits on the length of work visas or visa denial; and obstruction in the coverage of developments in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) and other ethnic minority or border areas.
- The government and Party continued to link internet security to national security. This past year, authorities detained and prosecuted individuals who criticized government officials and policies online, and censored or distorted a range of news and information that the government deemed "politically sensitive," including the 30th anniversary of the 1989 Tiananmen protests, the protests in Hong Kong against proposed extradition legislation, and trade issues.
- Declining academic freedom in China linked to Party General Secretary and President Xi Jinping's reassertion of ideological control over universities was illustrated by reports of the internment of hundreds of predominantly Uyghur scholars in mass internment camps in the XUAR; the detention of university students who advocated for labor rights; and the dismissal, suspension, and other forms of discipline imposed on faculty who criticized the government and Party.

#### *Recommendations*

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

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- Give greater public expression, including at the highest levels of the U.S. Government, to the issue of press freedom in China, condemning the harassment and detention of both domestic and foreign journalists; the denial, threat of denial, or delay of visas for foreign journalists; and the censoring or blocking of foreign media websites. Consistently link press freedoms to U.S. interests, noting how censorship and restrictions on journalists and media websites prevent the free flow of information on issues of public concern, including public health and environmental crises, food safety problems, and corruption, and act as trade barriers for foreign media and companies attempting to access the Chinese market. Raise these issues with Chinese officials during bilateral dialogues. Assess the extent to which China's treatment of foreign journalists contravenes its World Trade Organization commitments and other obligations.
- Sustain, and where appropriate expand, programs that develop and widely distribute technologies that will assist Chinese human rights advocates and civil society organizations in circumventing internet restrictions, in order to access and share content protected under international human rights standards. Continue to maintain internet freedom programs for China at the U.S. Department of State and the Broadcasting Board of Governors to provide digital security training and capacity-building efforts for bloggers, journalists, civil society organizations, and human rights and internet freedom advocates in China.
- Raise with Chinese officials, during all appropriate bilateral discussions, the cost to U.S.-China relations and to the Chinese public's confidence in government institutions that is incurred when the Chinese government restricts political debate, advocacy for democracy or human rights, and other forms of peaceful political expression. Emphasize that such restrictions violate international standards for free 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. Emphasize that such restrictions erode confidence in media and government institutions.
- Urge Chinese officials to end unlawful detention and official harassment of Chinese rights advocates, lawyers, and journalists subject to reprisal for exercising their right to freedom of expression. Call on officials to release or confirm the release of individuals detained or imprisoned for exercising freedom of expression, such as **Liu Feiyue, Huang Qi, Sun Lin, Zhang Haitao, Tashi Wangchug, Chai Xiaoming, Wei Zhili, Ke Chengbing, Yang Zhengjun, Lu Guang, Yang Hengjun**, and other political prisoners mentioned in this report and documented in the Commission's Political Prisoner Database.

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### *China's Compliance with International Standards on Freedom of Expression*

During the Commission's 2019 reporting year, the Chinese government and Communist Party continued to restrict expression in contravention of international human rights standards,<sup>1</sup> including Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.<sup>2</sup> According to the ICCPR—which China signed in 1998<sup>3</sup> but has not ratified<sup>4</sup>—and as reiterated in 2011 by the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, countries may impose certain restrictions or limitations on freedom of expression, if such restrictions are provided by law and are necessary for the purpose of respecting the “rights or reputations of others” or protecting national security, public order, public health, or morals.<sup>5</sup> An October 2009 UN Human Rights Council resolution specified that restrictions on the “discussion of government policies and political debate,” “peaceful demonstrations or political activities, including for peace or democracy,” and “expression of opinion and dissent” are inconsistent with Article 19(3) of the ICCPR.<sup>6</sup> The UN Human Rights Committee also cautioned that restrictions on freedom of expression noted in Article 19(3) should be interpreted narrowly so that the restrictions “may not put in jeopardy the right itself.”<sup>7</sup>

At the UN Human Rights Council's (HRC) third Universal Periodic Review (UPR) of China's compliance with international human rights norms this past year,<sup>8</sup> international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) reported multiple violations of freedom of expression and press freedom in China in written submissions<sup>9</sup> available in the months prior to China's November 2018 opening session and in oral comments at the March 2019 session to consider the HRC's report.<sup>10</sup> NGO stakeholders also raised concerns about efforts by the Chinese government to silence criticism of its record during the UPR.<sup>11</sup> In one publicly reported incident, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) removed information submitted by at least seven groups, among which were NGOs that advocate for the rights of Tibetans, Uyghurs, and Hong Kong people,<sup>12</sup> from an initial official summary of stakeholder submissions in September 2018,<sup>13</sup> replacing that summary with a revised version in October 2018.<sup>14</sup> That information from some but not all of the missing submissions was inserted in a corrigendum issued a few days before the November session<sup>15</sup> did little to dispel stakeholder concerns about Chinese government influence.<sup>16</sup> A coalition of 40 NGOs subsequently called on HRC States Parties to adopt a resolution to “express collective concern about worsening rights abuse in China and the government's failure to follow through on its obligations and commitments.”<sup>17</sup>

### *30 Years after Tiananmen*

International coverage of the 30th anniversary of the protests for political reform and democratic change in Tiananmen Square, Beijing municipality, and hundreds of other locations in China in the

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spring of 1989,<sup>18</sup> provided new accounts, images,<sup>19</sup> and analysis of the Chinese Communist Party and government's violent suppression of those demonstrations on June 3 and 4, 1989 ("June Fourth" or "Tiananmen"). Among the highlights were a former military journalist's account of opposition among some military leaders to the use of force to quell the protests;<sup>20</sup> a collection of secret documents from a meeting of senior Party leaders from June 19 to 21, 1989;<sup>21</sup> and essays by younger Chinese describing how they learned about June Fourth despite ongoing government censorship.<sup>22</sup> An academic analysis linked Party General Secretary and President Xi Jinping's aggressive policies of ideological conformity and information control, Party discipline, and centralization of his own power to the political legacy of June Fourth.<sup>23</sup>

China's Defense Minister Wei Fenghe spoke publicly about Tiananmen in early June 2019, reiterating the official position that the government's crackdown in 1989 was "correct."<sup>24</sup> Wei's use of "political turmoil" (*zhengzhi dongluan*) in these comments reflected a revival of hardline official rhetoric on Tiananmen, a "regression" from the comparatively mild expressions commonly used in official statements such as "political turbulence" (*zhengzhi fengbo*) and the "turn from spring to summer" (*chunxia zhi jiao*).<sup>25</sup> Likewise, the July 2019 obituary for senior leader Li Peng in the state-run media outlet Xinhua reiterated the harsher language: Xinhua commended Li—the premier who declared martial law in Beijing in May 1989<sup>26</sup>—for his staunch support of the "resolute measures to halt the turmoil [*dongluan*] and quell the counterrevolutionary rebellion [*fan'geming baoluan*]."<sup>27</sup>

The government's tight control of information about the use of violence against protesters as well as the crackdown on protesters has left much unknown about Tiananmen, particularly the total number of dead and wounded. The Tiananmen Mothers<sup>28</sup>—a group in China composed of parents and family members of persons killed on or around June 4—wrote in March 2019 to the National People's Congress, again appealing to the government for truth, accountability, and a reckoning over the victims.<sup>29</sup> Through years of effort, the Tiananmen Mothers have confirmed the deaths of 202 persons, but overall estimates range from the hundreds to the thousands.<sup>30</sup> Referring to persons detained in connection to June Fourth, John Kamm, the executive director of the U.S.-based Dui Hua Foundation, which maintains an extensive database of political prisoners in China,<sup>31</sup> estimated some 15,000 detentions in a 2009 speech, noting, "Whatever the number is, it is staggeringly high."<sup>32</sup>

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### Press Freedom and Tiananmen

During the spring 1989 protests, freedom of expression was a key demand among the student demonstrators,<sup>33</sup> a demand also taken up by Chinese journalists who petitioned the government for dialogue on press freedom.<sup>34</sup> Despite a hardline editorial in the Party mouthpiece People's Daily on April 26, 1989, which condemned the student protests as "counterrevolutionary" and "turmoil,"<sup>35</sup> some official media outlets reported on the demonstrations with a "new openness" and accuracy in May 1989,<sup>36</sup> including front-page coverage of the protests across the country on May 6, 1989.<sup>37</sup> Former People's Daily journalist Liu Binyan<sup>38</sup> reported in 1992 that a "dark age" once more descended over the mass media" after the military crackdown, with increased ideological control over news content.<sup>39</sup> Progress also ended in the efforts to pass national press legislation in spite of robust developments and drafting in the late 1980s.<sup>40</sup>

### *Freedom of the Press*

China fell one place lower in Reporters Without Borders' 2019 press freedom index from its rank in 2018 (176th to 177th), making it the fourth worst country in the world for press freedom.<sup>41</sup> Some professional Chinese journalists described current conditions for journalism as an "era of total censorship."<sup>42</sup> A leading investigative journalist who left the field in 2019<sup>43</sup> emphasized his disenchantment with the practice of journalism in China.<sup>44</sup> Freedom of the press is guaranteed in China's Constitution,<sup>45</sup> yet regulations on news media, some related to the broad restrictions on internet content in the PRC National Security Law and PRC Cybersecurity Law, leave journalists vulnerable to criminal prosecution.<sup>46</sup> The Chinese government's repression of Uyghur and other ethnic minority groups in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) since 2017 has resulted in a significant increase in detained journalists<sup>47</sup> as well as editorial staff from at least one leading newspaper and a publishing house.<sup>48</sup> The November 2018 detention of photojournalist and U.S. resident **Lu Guang** in the XUAR, while he was reportedly in Urumqi municipality to give a photography workshop,<sup>49</sup> and the January 2019 detention of Australian national and political commentator **Yang Hengjun**, while at the Guangdong international airport en route to Shanghai municipality,<sup>50</sup> heightened concerns about freedom of speech and the press, and for the safety of individuals traveling to China for personal or professional activity.<sup>51</sup>

### PARTY CONTROL OF THE MEDIA

In January 2019, Party General Secretary Xi Jinping and members of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee Political Bureau visited People's Daily, the Party's flagship newspaper, to publicize efforts by the news media to keep up with emerging technologies of the digital era.<sup>52</sup> These efforts—officially referred to as "media convergence" (*meiti ronghe*)—envisage a fusion of news media and digital technologies,<sup>53</sup> whereby "Party newspapers, periodicals, broadcast stations, websites and other

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mainstream media must catch up with the times, bravely utilizing new technologies, new mechanisms and new modes, accelerating the pace of convergence and achieving more expansive and optimized propaganda results.’”<sup>54</sup> High-level promotion of “media convergence” this past year occurred in tandem with government entities responsible for news media moving under the Central Propaganda Department’s operations, part of a sweeping reorganization of Party and government institutions in March 2018 that has reinforced Party power more broadly.<sup>55</sup>

Media serving “as government mouthpieces instead of as independent bodies operating in the public interest” are a major challenge to free expression, according to international experts.<sup>56</sup> The Chinese Communist Party historically designated the Chinese news media as its “mouthpiece,”<sup>57</sup> providing the Party’s version of the news and shaping public opinion.<sup>58</sup> Official control included prohibitions on independent reporting or use of foreign media reports, and restricting coverage to “authoritative” content, typically from the state media agency Xinhua and People’s Daily.<sup>59</sup> China Digital Times, a U.S.-based web portal that translates leaked censorship directives from the Central Propaganda Department and other government entities,<sup>60</sup> highlighted directives from the reporting year that restricted coverage of the China-U.S. trade war and of high-ranking Chinese leaders, among other issues authorities deemed “politically sensitive.”<sup>61</sup> In a related development, People’s Daily monetized its expertise in identifying “politically sensitive” content by marketing the services of its in-house censors<sup>62</sup> and in formally training and certifying censors.<sup>63</sup>

Wielding state media to positively portray the Party and government<sup>64</sup> as well as to criticize developments that authorities consider to be security threats<sup>65</sup> continues to be a manifestation of the Party-defined “mouthpiece” role of the news media. This past year, official coverage of Uyghurs and other predominantly Muslim groups in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, at least one million of whom have been detained in mass internment camps for “political reeducation,” reportedly portrayed the region as “happy and stable.”<sup>66</sup> Chinese state media also reportedly manipulated information about the summer 2019 protests in Hong Kong, rather than objectively reporting on protester grievances about the eroding rule of law.<sup>67</sup> State media, moreover, provided negative coverage of the Hong Kong protests in its international outlets, such as CGTN and China Daily, to generate a counter-narrative to international media outlets’ coverage.<sup>68</sup>

### CRIMINAL DETENTION AND PROSECUTION OF CITIZEN JOURNALISTS

This past year, the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) ranked China in second place, after Turkey, for having the highest number of detained journalists in the world,<sup>69</sup> a large number of whom can be classified as “citizen journalists.”<sup>70</sup> Citizen journalists in China cover issues such as the treatment of ethnic minority groups, labor protests, and rights defense activities,<sup>71</sup> topics that the government and Party restrict in official news outlets.<sup>72</sup> Bitter Winter, an online magazine managed in Italy which reports on religious freedom and human rights in China,<sup>73</sup> described its contributors from China as amateurs, noting that “only in a few cases [do]

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our reporters have professional training in journalism . . .”<sup>74</sup> CPJ identified 47 journalists in detention as of December 2018,<sup>75</sup> and Reporters Without Borders counted 111 detained journalists as of April 2019.<sup>76</sup> Government control of court data, media censorship of cases, obstruction by local law enforcement, and official harassment of lawyers representing journalists contribute to the challenge in assessing the total number of detentions.<sup>77</sup>

The ongoing crackdown on citizen journalists who have founded or are associated with websites that document human rights violations continued this past year, particularly in the detention of individuals focused on labor conditions and religious freedom. Authorities detained staff from two websites that monitor worker rights’ protections, including **Shang Kai** in August 2018,<sup>78</sup> **Yang Zhengjun** in January 2019,<sup>79</sup> and **Chai Xiaoming**,<sup>80</sup> **Wei Zhili**, and **Ke Chengbing** in March 2019.<sup>81</sup> Shang and Chai were former editors at Red Reference, a self-described “leftist” website that expressed support for worker efforts in 2018 to organize a union at the Jasic Technology factory in Shenzhen municipality, Guangdong province.<sup>82</sup> Yang, Wei, and Ke worked at the website iLabour (*Xin Shengdai*), highlighting inadequate labor conditions and occupational health hazards such as pneumoconiosis.<sup>83</sup> [For further information on the Jasic crackdown and occupational health hazards in China, see Section II—Worker Rights.] Between August and December 2018, authorities also reportedly detained 45 Chinese contributors to Bitter Winter.<sup>84</sup>

Trials and sentencing proceeded against several citizen journalists detained in 2016<sup>85</sup> and 2017<sup>86</sup> whom authorities prosecuted on the charges “inciting subversion of state power,” “picking quarrels and provoking trouble,” and “illegally procuring state secrets for overseas entities.”<sup>87</sup> According to the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, the incitement and state secrets charges are “vague and broad,” thus restricting the freedoms of expression and association that are protected by international human rights instruments.<sup>88</sup> The Dui Hua Foundation noted similar concerns about the lack of transparency in the charge “illegally procuring state secrets for overseas entities,” and its misuse to prosecute journalists, among others.<sup>89</sup> Some citizen journalists are vulnerable to abuse and maltreatment in detention.<sup>90</sup>

Citizen journalist cases of concern from this past year included the following:

- **Liu Feiyue, Civil Rights & Livelihood Watch (CRLW).** In January 2019, the Suizhou Municipal Intermediate People’s Court in Hubei province sentenced Liu to five years’ imprisonment and three years’ deprivation of political rights for “inciting subversion of state power.”<sup>91</sup> Liu’s indictment specified CRLW’s reporting on human rights violations, its annual report on rights defense and forced psychiatric commitment, and its calls on authorities to release political prisoners.<sup>92</sup>
- **Sun Lin, freelance writer.** In January 2019, the Nanjing Municipal Intermediate People’s Court in Jiangsu province sentenced Sun to four years’ imprisonment for “inciting subversion of state power” in connection to Sun’s social media posts that authorities apparently deemed “politically sensitive.”<sup>93</sup> Authorities previously sentenced Sun, a former journalist for

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Nanjing media outlets, to four years' imprisonment in June 2008, in connection to work he published on an overseas website.<sup>94</sup>

• **Huang Qi, 64 Tianwang.**<sup>95</sup> On July 29, 2019, the Mianyang Municipal Intermediate People's Court in Sichuan province found Huang guilty of "illegally providing state secrets to overseas entities" and "intentionally leaking state secrets," sentencing him to serve 12 years' imprisonment.<sup>96</sup> In an editorial following the sentence, the Washington Post noted, "in actuality, his only offense was speaking out against government wrongdoing."<sup>97</sup> Authorities also continuously harassed and extralegally detained Huang's 85-year-old mother, **Pu Wenqing**,<sup>98</sup> as she sought to raise attention to reports that detention center authorities have denied Huang adequate medical care, tortured him, and refused her applications for his medical parole.<sup>99</sup>

### WORSENING WORKING CONDITIONS FOR FOREIGN JOURNALISTS

Official Chinese efforts to control coverage of China in international news media reportedly intensified this past year, increasing the difficulties for foreign journalists in China. The Foreign Correspondents' Club of China (FCCC) annual survey of working conditions in China described a marked deterioration in 2018.<sup>100</sup> The FCCC documented the Chinese government's "escalation of human and digital" surveillance of foreign journalists;<sup>101</sup> harassment of Chinese nationals who worked as news assistants;<sup>102</sup> threats against and harassment of sources;<sup>103</sup> limits on the length of work visas or denial of work visa renewal altogether to retaliate against unfavorable coverage by specific journalists or their news outlets;<sup>104</sup> and interference in the coverage of developments in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) and other ethnic minority or border areas of China.<sup>105</sup> The Chinese government also continued to block access in China to major international news outlets,<sup>106</sup> such as the New York Times,<sup>107</sup> and additional international news and online information sites were censored by authorities around the Tiananmen anniversary, including the Intercept, the Guardian,<sup>108</sup> and Wikipedia.<sup>109</sup>

Incidents this past year of official control of foreign journalists included the following:

• **Visa non-renewal or threat of withholding a visa.** In August 2018, Chinese authorities refused to renew the work visa of Megha Rajagopalan,<sup>110</sup> a BuzzFeed reporter who described developments in the XUAR as "dystopian."<sup>111</sup> In addition, authorities did not issue a journalist visa to Bethany Allen-Ebrahimian, who submitted an application in late 2018 to join Agence France-Presse in China.<sup>112</sup> The Committee to Protect Journalists called it "an act of retribution for her past reporting on the Chinese government's efforts to spread political power abroad and is a shameful attempt to prevent critical coverage of China . . ."<sup>113</sup> In another incident, Voice of America reported in March 2019 that a Chinese embassy official in Russia threatened to place a journalist from Russia's Sputnik News on a visa "blacklist" in connection to the journalist's alleged "negative" coverage of the Chinese economy.<sup>114</sup> [For in-



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formation on the Hong Kong government’s visa denial to Victor Mallet, Asia editor of the Financial Times, see Section VI—Developments in Hong Kong and Macau.]

- **Interference in the XUAR.** FCCC also reported instances of official harassment, surveillance, and intimidation while foreign reporters were on assignment in the XUAR in 2018.<sup>115</sup> In April 2019, a New York Times correspondent recounted both high-tech (digital) and low-tech (human) surveillance of him and a colleague while on assignment in the XUAR.<sup>116</sup> [For further information on official harassment of foreign journalists in the XUAR, see Section IV—Xinjiang.]

- **Lack of access in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR).** Five respondents to the FCCC’s annual working conditions survey unsuccessfully applied to the Chinese government for a special permit to visit the TAR in 2018.<sup>117</sup> In a March 2019 position paper, the FCCC emphasized that the Chinese government’s restrictions on access to the TAR and Tibetan areas in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan provinces has limited the amount of “accurate information” on the “lives of ethnic Tibetans living in China.”<sup>118</sup>

### *Internet and Social Media*

During the 2019 reporting year, senior officials reiterated the Party’s aim to further secure Party control of digital space and technologies. In September 2018, the newly appointed head of the Cyberspace Administration of China, Zhuang Rongwen, urged Party and government to marshal “netizens” (*wangmin*) as a “force” (*liliang*) in Party control.<sup>119</sup> As mentioned earlier in this section, in January 2019, Party General Secretary and President Xi Jinping called for even greater uniformity on digital platforms through deeper “convergence” with the Party’s ideological priorities.<sup>120</sup> A key premise underlying this aim is “internet sovereignty,” a notion the Chinese government and Party have linked to national security concerns such that each country may manage the internet within its own borders.<sup>121</sup> Internet sovereignty, however, implies that internet and social media use in any individual country is not subject to international standards on freedom of expression, information, and association as they pertain to the internet and social media.<sup>122</sup>

Content control remained a focus in the growing body of internet and social media regulations and censorship technologies.<sup>123</sup> [For information on the role of internet service providers in censorship, data privacy concerns, and surveillance, see Section III—Business and Human Rights.] These regulatory and technological developments, in combination with provisions in the PRC Criminal Law that punish certain political and other speech,<sup>124</sup> severely curtailed freedom of speech online,<sup>125</sup> and included the detention and potential criminal prosecution of individuals engaged in speech<sup>126</sup> and other forms of online expression authorities deem to be “politically sensitive.”<sup>127</sup> The Cyberspace Administration of China issued provisions for internet service providers in November 2018,<sup>128</sup> that one expert claimed will “increase the requirements for self-inspection for services with ‘public opinion properties’ or ‘social mobilization capacity.’”<sup>129</sup> Some experts have found that Chinese government

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ensorship is less motivated by preventing dissemination of sensitive content than by a fear that online speech has the potential to stimulate collective organizing.<sup>130</sup> Other analysis, nevertheless, questioned this interpretation, finding instead that government criticism remains a central target of official censorship within the complex operation of state repression in China.<sup>131</sup> Indeed, as Human Rights Watch researcher Yaqui Wang observed, the nationwide Twitter crackdown this past year appeared “absent any protests or other social events organized via Twitter as a trigger, . . . signal[ing] a new level of suppression of free speech . . .”<sup>132</sup>

- **Tiananmen anniversary.**<sup>133</sup> Official efforts to suppress mention of Tiananmen online were demonstrated by the government’s “simultaneous social media crackdowns” to stem access to information and communication<sup>134</sup> and blocking online access to international media.<sup>135</sup> At least one commentator speculated that the Cybersecurity Association of China’s six-month campaign (January to June 2019) to “clean up online ecology”<sup>136</sup> was linked to the 30th anniversary.<sup>137</sup> According to research conducted by the University of Toronto’s Citizen Lab and the University of Hong Kong’s Weiboscope, June Fourth is the most censored topic on the Chinese internet.<sup>138</sup> During ten years of research, Citizen Lab collected a list of 3,237 Tiananmen-related keywords that apparently trigger censorship in China.<sup>139</sup> Weiboscope identified 1,256 Tiananmen-related posts censored between 2012 and 2018, among which are images of a single lit candle and the annual Tiananmen vigil held in Hong Kong.<sup>140</sup>

- **Twitter crackdown.** Reports began to emerge in November 2018 that Chinese authorities were several months into a coordinated, nationwide effort to silence Twitter users in China.<sup>141</sup> These Twitter users included not only government critics and advocates for greater rights protection but also individuals who apparently were not politically active on- or offline.<sup>142</sup> Public security officials harassed and intimidated targeted individuals, employing interrogation, usually at a police station; administrative or criminal detention; coercion to compel a promise to no longer use Twitter; and deletion of entire Twitter archives.<sup>143</sup> Prior to the 30th anniversary of Tiananmen, the social media company Twitter reportedly suspended the accounts of at least 100 Twitter users, including political commentators and nationalists,<sup>144</sup> which it later claimed was part of routine maintenance and not in response to Chinese authorities.<sup>145</sup>

- **Criminal prosecution—“June Fourth liquor” case.** In April 2019, the Chengdu Municipal Intermediate People’s Court in Sichuan province tried and sentenced four men involved in the “June Fourth liquor” case.<sup>146</sup> Authorities accused them of posting photos online of the self-made labels they placed on bottles of hard liquor in 2016, which memorialized June Fourth by using a product name homophonous with the date “89/6/4,” an image modeled on the well-known “Tank Man” photo, and promotional language that said “Never forget, Never give up.”<sup>147</sup>

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### *Curtailment of Academic Freedom in China*

Domestic and international experts have linked the widespread deterioration of academic freedom in China to Party General Secretary and President Xi Jinping's reassertion of ideological control over universities since he assumed the senior-most Party and government leadership positions in 2012 and 2013, respectively.<sup>148</sup> Around politically sensitive anniversaries this past year, such as the 100th anniversary of the 1919 May Fourth Movement and the 30th anniversary of the 1989 Tiananmen protests, authorities also increased pressure at Chinese universities,<sup>149</sup> such that some Chinese scholars reportedly have asserted that the "current [academic] environment is the most restrictive in their lifetimes."<sup>150</sup> Reports this past year demonstrated a broad range of official repression, including the following:

- Detention or disappearance of 435 prominent Uyghur scholars in mass internment camps by authorities in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) as part of the government and Party's massive crackdown on Uyghur and other ethnic minority groups in the XUAR since 2017, according to a Uyghur rights advocacy organization.<sup>151</sup> Authorities also have detained scholars from other ethnic minority groups in the XUAR;<sup>152</sup>
- Interrogation, forced videotaped confessions, and in some cases detention of 20 student labor rights advocates and participants of on-campus "leftist" study groups by authorities,<sup>153</sup> including Peking University students Qiu Zhanxuan<sup>154</sup> and Yue Xin;<sup>155</sup>
- Intensified promotion of ideological and "patriotic" education in the classroom;<sup>156</sup>
- Book bans,<sup>157</sup> such as leading law scholar Zhang Qianfan's textbook on constitutional law;<sup>158</sup>
- A leadership change at Peking University that apparently emphasized Party and public security credentials over academic qualifications;<sup>159</sup>
- Discipline, suspension, and dismissal of professors who publicly aired critical assessments of the government or Party,<sup>160</sup> notably Tsinghua University law professor Xu Zhangrun;<sup>161</sup>
- Widespread use of surveillance cameras in classrooms to monitor discussion as well as the encouragement of students to report professors or classmates with dissenting views;<sup>162</sup>
- Pressure on domestic academic experts who have been contacted by foreign journalists or scholars for interviews and commentary either to refuse such requests or restrict the "candor" of their comments;<sup>163</sup> and
- Prevention of Chinese academics and others from participating in academic exchange and travel,<sup>164</sup> such as rights lawyer Chen Jiangang's April 2019 travel to the United States to begin a Humphrey Fellowship.<sup>165</sup>

The government and Party's restrictions on academic and intellectual freedom in China also compounded concerns in the United States about international scholarly exchange with China. A report from leading China specialists highlighted the lack of reciprocity and accountability in academic exchange as a factor for the report's

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policy guidance that recommended a shift away from engagement in U.S.-China relations to the more cautious “constructive vigilance.”<sup>166</sup> In October 2018, Cornell University emphasized violations of academic freedom when it suspended two exchange programs with Renmin University (Renda) in Beijing municipality following reports that Renda officials had harassed students advocating for worker rights.<sup>167</sup> The Commission also observed reports of alleged Chinese government harassment taking place outside mainland China involving two foreign specialists (one incident in Hong Kong and multiple incidents in New Zealand) whose work has been critical of the Chinese leadership.<sup>168</sup> The Chinese government also denied a visa to one American expert to attend a conference in Beijing.<sup>169</sup> While known cases of outright visa denial to foreign scholars whose research or publications are deemed by Chinese authorities to be “politically sensitive” remain limited,<sup>170</sup> the threat of visa denial is a longstanding concern of foreign scholars.<sup>171</sup> Foreign scholars also have pointed to difficulties accessing archives and libraries,<sup>172</sup> the culling of digital archives and Chinese government censorship demands on foreign academic publishers,<sup>173</sup> and limitations on conducting field work in China.<sup>174</sup> Accurate data on the frequency and substance of such incidents, nevertheless, are difficult to obtain.<sup>175</sup>

## Notes to Section II—Freedom of Expression

<sup>1</sup>Civil Rights & Livelihood Watch, “Gongmin yanlun ziyou de xianfa quanli burong jianta” [Constitutional right to citizens’ freedom of speech not easily trampled upon], October 3, 2018.

<sup>2</sup>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of December 16, 1966, entry into force March 23, 1976, art. 19; Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by UN General Assembly resolution 217A (III) of December 10, 1948, art. 19.

<sup>3</sup>United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, accessed May 15, 2019. China signed the convention on October 5, 1998.

<sup>4</sup>UN Human Rights Council, Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review—China, A/HRC/40/6, December 26, 2018, recommendations 28.5, 28.6; UN Human Rights Council, Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review China, Addendum, Views on Conclusions and/or Recommendations, Voluntary Commitments and Replies Presented by the State under Review, A/HRC/40/6.Add.1, February 15, 2019, para. 2 (28.5, 28.6). The Chinese government did not accept recommendations to ratify the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights proposed by several countries during the UN Human Rights Council’s third Universal Periodic Review of China’s compliance with international human rights norms, noting that it was “making preparations for ratification, but the specific date of ratification depends on whether relevant conditions in China are in place.”

<sup>5</sup>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of December 16, 1966, entry into force March 23, 1976, art. 19(3); UN Human Rights Council, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Frank La Rue, A/HRC/17/27, May 16, 2011, para. 24.

<sup>6</sup>Promotion and Protection of All Human Rights, Civil, Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Including the Right to Development, adopted by UN Human Rights Council resolution 12/16, A/HRC/RES/12/16, October 12, 2009, para. 5(p)(i).

<sup>7</sup>UN Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 34, Article 19: Freedoms of Opinion and Expression, CCPR/C/GC/34, September 12, 2011, para. 21.

<sup>8</sup>UN Human Rights Council, Universal Periodic Review—China, Third Cycle, accessed July 10, 2019.

<sup>9</sup>See, e.g., Chinese Human Rights Defenders et al., “Collection of Civil Society Reports Submitted to the United Nations for 3rd Universal Periodic Review of People’s Republic of China,” October 2018, paras. 18–28; International Service for Human Rights and Committee to Protect Journalists, “The Situation of Human Rights Defenders in China: UPR Briefing Paper,” March 2018; PEN International, Independent Chinese PEN Centre, PEN America, and PEN Tibet, “Joint Submission for the UPR of the People’s Republic of China,” 2018, paras. 3, 4, 8, 9, 12, 18; Human Rights in China, “Stakeholder Submission by Human Rights in China,” March 2018, paras. 1, 15.

<sup>10</sup>“China, UPR Report Consideration—38th Meeting, 40th Regular Session Human Rights Council,” [Webcast], UN Web TV, March 15, 2019, 38:43, International Service for Human Rights (Joint Statement), Ms. Sarah Brooks; 43:50, Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights, Mr. Kai Mueller; 49:11, Human Rights Watch, Mr. John Fisher; Human Rights Watch, “UN: Unprecedented Joint Call for China to End Xinjiang Abuses,” July 10, 2019.

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<sup>12</sup>Su Xinqi and Joyce Ng, “Demosisto Report Detailing Human Rights Concerns in Hong Kong Removed from UN Review Hearing, Joshua Wong Claims,” *South China Morning Post*, November 7, 2018; “Joint Press Statement: China UPR,” reprinted in Human Rights Watch, November 5, 2018. The signatories to the statement were the Hong Kong rights advocacy group Demosisto Human Rights Watch; International Service for Human Rights; Nonviolent Radical Party, Transnational and Transparency; Southern Mongolian Human Rights Information Center; Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy; Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization; Uyghur Human Rights Project; and World Uyghur Congress. Kris Cheng, “‘Political Censorship’: United Nations Removes Submissions from Int’l Civil Groups at China’s Human Rights Review,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, November 6, 2018; Andréa Worden, “China Deals Another Blow to the International Human Rights Framework at its UN Universal Periodic Review,” *China Change*, November 25, 2018.

<sup>13</sup>UN Human Rights Council, Summary of Stakeholders’ Submissions on China, Report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, A/HRC/WG.6/31/CHN/3, September 3, 2018.

<sup>14</sup>UN Human Rights Council, Summary of Stakeholders’ Submissions on China, Report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, A/HRC/WG.6/31/CHN/3\*, September 3, 2018 (October 10, 2018 version).

<sup>15</sup>UN Human Rights Council, Summary of Stakeholders’ Submissions on China, Report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Corrigendum, A/HRC/WG.6/31/CHN/Corr.1\*, November 5, 2018.

<sup>16</sup>Andréa Worden, “China Deals Another Blow to the International Human Rights Framework at Its UN Universal Periodic Review,” *China Change*, November 25, 2018; International Campaign for Tibet, “China’s Response to UN Rights Review Blatantly Ignores Its Persecution of

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<sup>27</sup> “Zhonggong Zhongyang Quanguo Renda Weiyuanhui Guowuyuan Quanguo Zhengxie fugao Li Peng tongzhi shishi” [Party Central Committee, NPC Standing Committee, State Council, and CPPCC report Comrade Li Peng passed away], *Xinhua*, July 23, 2019.

<sup>28</sup> Elizabeth M. Lynch, “Teng Biao—His Tiananmen Awakening,” *China Law & Policy* (blog), June 2, 2019.

<sup>29</sup> Tiananmen Mothers, “Mourning Our Families and Compatriots Killed in the June Fourth Massacre: A Letter to China’s Leaders,” translated and reprinted in *Human Rights in China*, March 15, 2019.

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<sup>31</sup> Dui Hua Foundation, “Last Known Tiananmen Prisoner to Be Released in October,” May 2, 2016.

<sup>32</sup> John Kamm, Dui Hua Foundation, “How Tiananmen Changed China,” Remarks to the Commonwealth Club of California, June 3, 2009.

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<sup>41</sup>Reporters Without Borders, *World Press Freedom Index 2019*, accessed June 11, 2019.

<sup>42</sup>Jiang Yannan, “Quanmian shencha shidai: Zhongguo meiti ren zheng zai jingli shenme?” [An era of total censorship: What are Chinese journalists experiencing nowadays?], *Initium*, September 9, 2018. For an English translation of this article, see “Journalists in a ‘Total Censorship Era,’” *China Digital Times*, October 8, 2018. “Zhongguo diaocha baodao: guoqu ‘shi’ hengbianye wailai yi pian miming” [Investigative journalism in China: a past strewn with “corpses,” a future vast and hazy], *Radio Free Asia*, May 2, 2019.

<sup>43</sup>Jiang Ziwen and Yue Huairang, “Zang’ao jizhe’, Zhongqingbao shendu diaochabu zhuren Liu Wanyong gaobie meiti” [“Tibetan mastiff journalist” China Youth Daily investigative journalism department head Liu Wanyong says farewell to journalism], *The Paper*, April 25, 2019; David Bandurski, “Liu Wanyong Bids Journalism Farewell,” *China Media Project*, May 6, 2019.

<sup>44</sup>Jane Perlez, “For China’s Leading Investigative Reporter, Enough Is Enough,” *New York Times*, June 7, 2019; David Bandurski, “Liu Wanyong Bids Journalism Farewell,” *China Media Project*, May 6, 2019.

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<sup>46</sup>PEN International, Independent Chinese PEN Centre, PEN America, and PEN Tibet, “Joint Submission for the UPR of the People’s Republic of China,” accessed May 15, 2019, paras. 3, 4, 8, 9, 12, 18; Jiang Yannan, “Quanmian shencha shidai: Zhongguo meiti ren zheng zai jingli shenme?” [An era of total censorship: What are Chinese journalists experiencing nowadays?], *Initium*, September 9, 2018.

<sup>47</sup>Reporters Without Borders, “China: 58 Uyghur Journalists Detained,” June 3, 2019; Elana Beiser, Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), “Hundreds of Journalists Jailed Globally Becomes the New Normal,” December 13, 2018; Committee to Protect Journalists, “47 Journalists Imprisoned in China in 2018,” accessed May 7, 2019. CPJ identified 23 ethnic Uyghurs in its list of 47 detained or imprisoned journalists. Marco Respinti, “The Fate of Bitter Winter’s 45 Arrested Reporters,” *Bitter Winter*, February 7, 2019. Of the 45 detained contributors from *Bitter Winter*, at least 22 reportedly were detained in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.

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<sup>52</sup>“Xi Jinping: Tuidong meiti ronghe xiang zongshen fazhan gonggu quan Dang guanguo renmin gongtong sixiang jichu” [Xi Jinping: Promote deeper development of media convergence, consolidate the entire Party and people’s common ideological foundation], *Xinhua*, January 25, 2019; David Bandurski, “PSC Converges for Media Convergence,” *China Media Project*, January 29, 2019.

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<sup>55</sup>“Zhonggong jiaqiang guankong ‘bi ganzhi’ chuanmei jianguanju chengli” [Central Committee strengthens control over the “writing stick,” news broadcast regulatory department established], *Duowei*, April 10, 2019. See also CECC, *2018 Annual Report*, October 10, 2018, 66–67, 227–28.

<sup>56</sup>UN Human Rights Council, Tenth Anniversary Joint Declaration: Ten Key Challenges to Freedom of Expression in the Next Decade, Addendum to Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, A/HRC/14/23/Add.2, March 25, 2010, para. 1(a). See also UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Representative on Free-

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<sup>62</sup>Xie Yu, “People's Daily Website Becomes Top Stock Pick as It Ratchets Up Censorship to New Level, Fuelling Revenue Expectations,” *South China Morning Post*, March 12, 2019.

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<sup>64</sup>Louisa Lim and Julia Bergin, “Inside China's Audacious Global Propaganda Campaign,” *Guardian*, December 7, 2018; Javier C. Hernández, “We're Almost Extinct: China's Investigative Journalists Are Silenced under Xi,” *New York Times*, July 12, 2019.

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<sup>66</sup>Anna Fifield, “China Celebrates ‘Very Happy Lives’ in Xinjiang, after Detaining 1 Million Uighurs,” *Washington Post*, July 30, 2019.

<sup>67</sup>Emily Feng and Amy Cheng, “China State Media Present Their Own Version of Hong Kong Protests,” *NPR*, August 14, 2019; Lily Kuo, “Beijing's New Weapon to Muffle Hong Kong Protests: Fake News,” *Guardian*, August 11, 2019.

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<sup>69</sup>Elana Beiser, Committee to Protect Journalists, “Hundreds of Journalists Jailed Globally Becomes the New Normal,” December 13, 2018; Committee to Protect Journalists, “47 Journalists Imprisoned in China in 2018,” accessed May 7, 2019.

<sup>70</sup>Ian Johnson, “My Responsibility to History: An Interview with Zhang Shihe,” *NYRB Daily* (blog), *New York Review of Books*, January 30, 2019; Eva Pils, *Human Rights in China* (Medford, MA: Polity Press, 2018), 88–89. Journalist Ian Johnson writes that “citizen journalists” are “a breed of self-taught activists who used the newly emerging digital technologies to record interviews and post them online, thus bypassing—for about a decade starting in the early 2000s—traditional forms of censorship.” Scholar Eva Pils also points to the changes in communication technologies that gave rise to citizen journalism.

<sup>71</sup>Iris Hsu, “How Many Journalists Are Jailed in China? Censorship Means We Don't Know,” *CPJ Blog* (blog), Committee to Protect Journalists, March 12, 2019.

<sup>72</sup>Lin Yijiang, “Dozens of Bitter Winter Reporters Arrested,” *Bitter Winter*, December 27, 2018; Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “China: Release Liu Feiyue and Decriminalize Human Rights Activism,” January 29, 2019; Catherine Lai, “How China's Multi-Pronged Crackdown on Dissent Took Aim at Citizen Journalists and Rights Defence Websites,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, February 16, 2018.

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<sup>76</sup>Reporters Without Borders, “China: 58 Uyghur Journalists Detained,” June 3, 2019.

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<sup>78</sup>“Hongse Cankao bianji bu Beijing bangongshi bei chachao, gongzuo renyuan bei xingju” [Red Reference's editorial department in Beijing subjected to search, staff criminally detained], *Red Reference*, August 12, 2018. For more information on Shang Kai, see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00010.

<sup>79</sup>Rights Defense Network, “Jiya yi ge duo yue hou Guangdong zi meiti ‘Xin Shengdai’ bianji Wei Zhili, Ke Chengbing you zao zhiding jusuo jianshi juzhu Yang Zhengjun de qingkuang bu ming” [After more than one month of detention, “New Generation” editors Wei Zhili and Ke Chengbing placed under residential surveillance at a designated location, Yang Zhengjun's con-



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ditions are unclear], April 23, 2019. For more information on Yang Zhengjun, see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00129.

<sup>80</sup> Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions, "Former Online Media Editor Arrested for 'Inciting Subversion of State Power,'" accessed June 15, 2019; "Zhongguo zuoyi wangzhan bianji bei yi 'dianfu zui' juliu" [Editor of Chinese leftist website detained for "subversion of state power"], *Radio Free Asia*, March 25, 2019. For more information on Chai Xiaoming, see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00126.

<sup>81</sup> "Beijing Ramps Up Crackdown on Labour Activists," *Financial Times*, March 28, 2019. For more information, see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database records 2019-00127 on Wei Zhili and 2019-00128 on Ke Chengbing.

<sup>82</sup> Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions, "Former Online Media Editor Arrested for 'Inciting Subversion of State Power,'" March 21, 2019; "Zhongguo zuoyi wangzhan bianji bei yi 'dianfu zui' juliu" [Editor of Chinese leftist website detained for "subversion of state power"], *Radio Free Asia*, March 25, 2019; "Hongse Cankao bianji bu Beijing bangongshi bei chachao, gongzuo renyuan bei xingju" [Red Reference's editorial department in Beijing subjected to search, staff criminally detained], *Red Reference*, August 12, 2018.

<sup>83</sup> Rights Defense Network, "Shenzhen jingfang zaici kua shi zhuabu, Xin Shengdai bianji Wei Zhili (Xiao Wei) bei bu, Ke Chengbing (Lao Mu) shilian" [Shenzhen police again cross city lines for detentions, New Generation editors Wei Zhili (Xiao Wei) detained, Ke Chengbing (Lao Mu) is disappeared], March 20, 2019; "Chinese Labor Activist Repeatedly Interrogated in Detention," *Radio Free Asia*, April 9, 2019.

<sup>84</sup> Lin Yijiang, "Dozens of Bitter Winter Reporters Arrested," *Bitter Winter*, December 27, 2018; Marco Respinti, "The Fate of Bitter Winter's 45 Arrested Reporters," *Bitter Winter*, February 7, 2019.

<sup>85</sup> Authorities prosecuted the cases of Huang Qi and Liu Feiyue this past year, both of which are described in detail later in this sub-section. The Commission also continued to monitor the cases of several 64 Tianwang "volunteers" detained in 2016. Authorities formally prosecuted some of them and held others in some form of detention during the 2019 reporting year. For more information on those cases, see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database records 2013-00063 on Chen Tianmao, 2016-00464 on Yang Xiuqiong, 2016-00105 on Li Zhaoxiu, and 2018-00314 on Jiang Chengfen.

<sup>86</sup> "Zhen Jianghua xingju 37 tian qiman wei huoshi duo wei weiquan renshi yin Shijiu Da bei weiwen" [Zhen Jianghua not released 37 days after criminal detention, many rights defenders subjected to stability maintenance measures due to 19th Party Congress], *Canyu Net*, October 9, 2017; Chinese Human Rights Defenders, "Chinese Government Puts Human Rights Defenders on Trial during Holiday Season to Hide Rights Abuses," January 8, 2019; Human Rights Watch, "China: Free Anti-Censorship Activist," April 2, 2018; Rights Defense Network, "Guangdong renquan hanweizhe, NGO renshi Zhen Jianghua huoxing 2 nian" [Guangdong human rights defender and NGO worker Zhen Jianghua sentenced to 2 years in prison], December 29, 2018. Zhen is scheduled for release on September 1, 2019. For more information on Zhen Jianghua, see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database record 2017-00360. "Minsheng Guancha bianji Ding Lingjie bei jing daizou jia shu wei shou tongzhi" [Civil Rights & Livelihood Watch editor Ding Lingjie taken away by police, family has not received [detention] notice], *Radio Free Asia*, September 25, 2017; Civil Rights & Livelihood Watch, "Li Xuehui, Ding Lingjie he Li Hui deng duo ren bei yi xunxin zishi zui panxing" [Li Xuehui, Ding Lingjie and Li Hui, among others, sentenced for picking quarrels and provoking trouble], December 28, 2018; Chinese Human Rights Defenders, "Ding Lingjie," accessed May 2, 2019; Rights Defense Network, "Weiquan renshi Ding Lingjie nushi xingman chuyu" [Rights defender Ms. Ding Lingjie completed sentence and is released from prison], May 21, 2019. Authorities reportedly released Ding on May 21, 2019. For more information on Ding Lingjie, see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database record 2017-00328.

<sup>87</sup> Lin Yijiang, "Dozens of Bitter Winter Reporters Arrested," *Bitter Winter*, December 27, 2018; Marco Respinti, "The Fate of Bitter Winter's 45 Arrested Reporters," *Bitter Winter*, February 7, 2019.

<sup>88</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Opinions adopted by the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention at its eighty-first session, April 17–26, 2018, A/HRC/WGAD/2018/22, June 27, 2018, paras. 52–54.

<sup>89</sup> Dui Hua Foundation, "The Arbitrary Classification of State Secrets," *Dui Hua Human Rights Journal*, August 16, 2018.

<sup>90</sup> "China's Jailed Citizen Journalists at Risk of Torture, Death: Press Freedom Group," *Radio Free Asia*, December 19, 2018.

<sup>91</sup> Chinese Human Rights Defenders (CHRD), "China: Release Liu Feiyue and Decriminalize Human Rights Activism," January 29, 2019. According to CHRD, the court also fined Liu approximately US\$150,000, an amount purportedly equivalent to the overseas funding Liu allegedly received to finance the website. For more information on Liu Feiyue, see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database record 2016-00460.

<sup>92</sup> Civil Rights & Livelihood Watch, "Liu Feiyue an' jin kaiting shengyuanzhe zao kouya" ["Liu Feiyue's case" goes to trial today, supporters taken into custody], August 7, 2018.

<sup>93</sup> Chinese Human Rights Defenders, "Chinese Government Puts Human Rights Defenders on Trial during Holiday Season to Hide Rights Abuses," January 8, 2019; "China to Try Outspoken Nanjing Journalist for 'Subversive' Social Media Posts," *Radio Free Asia*, February 8, 2018. For more information on Sun Lin, see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database record 2008-00617.

<sup>94</sup> Reporters Without Borders, "Boxun Journalist in Nanjing Gets Four Years in Prison," June 30, 2008.

<sup>95</sup> Dui Hua Foundation, "The Arbitrary Classification of State Secrets," *Dui Hua Human Rights Journal*, August 16, 2018.

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<sup>96</sup>Mianyang Municipal Intermediate People's Court, "Huang Qi guyi xielou guojia mimi, wei jingwai feifa tigong guojia mimi an yishen gongkai xuanpan" [First instance [trial] publicly announced sentence of Huang Qi for intentionally leaking state secrets and illegally providing state secrets abroad], July 29, 2019. The court sentenced Huang to 3 years' imprisonment on the charge of "intentionally leaking state secrets" and to 11 years' imprisonment on the charge of "illegally providing state secrets to overseas entities"; it ordered him to serve 12 years of the combined 14-year sentence. In addition, the court sentenced him to four years' deprivation of political rights and a fine of 200,000 yuan (US\$28,000). For more information on Huang Qi, see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database record 2004-04053.

<sup>97</sup>"A Chinese Dissident Jailed for Critical Thought Deserves the World's Help," editorial, *Washington Post*, July 31, 2019.

<sup>98</sup>Lily Kuo, "The Last Time I Saw Granny Pu: 85-Year-Old Mother of Chinese Dissident Seized by Police," *Guardian*, December 20, 2018; Rights Defense Network, "Zao ruanjin de Huang Qi muqin Pu Wenqing yao jian Zhongyang xunshizu, dianhua bei pingbi cheng konghao" [Huang Qi's mother Pu Wenqing, currently held in soft detention, asks to see Central investigation team, but phone call filtered into empty number], July 9, 2019. For more information on Pu Wenqing, see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database record 2018-00619.

<sup>99</sup>"Jailed Chinese Activist's Life in 'Immediate' Danger: Rights Groups," *Agence France-Presse*, reprinted in *Straits Times*, November 5, 2018; Yaxue Cao, "85-Year-Old Mother Fights for the Release of Her Son, Renowned Human Rights Defender," *China Change*, October 15, 2018; Human Rights in China, "Mother of Detained Rights Activist Huang Qi Fears Reprisal, Calls for International Attention," November 19, 2018.

<sup>100</sup>Foreign Correspondents' Club of China, *Under Watch: Reporting in China's Surveillance State*, January 2019, 1.

<sup>101</sup>*Ibid.*, 1–2.

<sup>102</sup>Foreign Correspondents' Club of China, *Under Watch: Reporting in China's Surveillance State*, January 2019, 7–8. See also Owen Guo, "Reflections of a Chinese Reporter in Foreign Media," *SupChina*, August 21, 2018.

<sup>103</sup>Foreign Correspondents' Club of China, *Under Watch: Reporting in China's Surveillance State*, January 2019, 8.

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*, 11–12.

<sup>105</sup>Foreign Correspondents' Club of China, *Under Watch: Reporting in China's Surveillance State*, January 2019, 5–7; Foreign Correspondents' Club of China (FCCC), "Foreign Journalist Access to Tibet," FCCC Position Paper, March 2019, 1.

<sup>106</sup>*Chinese Influence and American Interests: Promoting Constructive Vigilance*, Report of the Working Group on Chinese Influence Activities in the United States (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2018), 5, 93.

<sup>107</sup>Gerry Shih, "China Adds Washington Post, Guardian to 'Great Firewall' Blacklist," *Washington Post*, June 8, 2019.

<sup>108</sup>Ryan Gallagher, "China Bans The Intercept and Other News Sites in 'Censorship Black Friday,'" *Intercept*, June 7, 2019; "Western News Sites Blocked as Chill on Chinese Media Continues," *China Digital Times*, June 7, 2019.

<sup>109</sup>Josh Horwitz, "Online Encyclopedia Wikipedia Blocked in China Ahead of Tiananmen Anniversary," *Reuters*, May 15, 2019.

<sup>110</sup>Austin Ramzy and Edward Wong, "China Forces Out BuzzFeed Journalist," *New York Times*, August 23, 2018.

<sup>111</sup>Megha Rajagopalan, "This Is What a 21st-Century Police State Really Looks Like," *BuzzFeed News*, October 17, 2017.

<sup>112</sup>Megha Rajagopalan, "An American Reporter Was Denied a Visa to China. She Said It's Because She Criticized the Communist Party.," *BuzzFeed News*, June 19, 2019.

<sup>113</sup>Committee to Protect Journalists, "China Refuses Visa Application for Critical American Journalist," June 19, 2019.

<sup>114</sup>"Weixie ba jizhe liuru hei mingdan E'meiti zhize Zhongguo ganshe xinwen ziyou" [For threatening to put journalist on blacklist, Russian media accuses China of meddling in freedom of the press], *Voice of America*, March 5, 2019.

<sup>115</sup>Foreign Correspondents' Club of China, *Under Watch: Reporting in China's Surveillance State*, January 2019, 14–15.

<sup>116</sup>Paul Mozur, "Being Tracked while Reporting in China, Where 'There Are No Whys,'" *New York Times*, April 16, 2019.

<sup>117</sup>Foreign Correspondents' Club of China (FCCC), "Foreign Journalist Access to Tibet," FCCC Position Paper, March 2019, 1, 4. The FCCC urged foreign governments to pressure the Chinese government to approve individual reporting trips to the TAR by the end of 2019, rather than offering only highly restricted government-arranged group media access, and to push for the removal of prior approval requirements in 2021, one year in advance of the 2022 Winter Olympics in Beijing municipality.

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>119</sup>Zhuang Rongwen, "Kexue renshi wangluo chuanbo guilu nuli tigao yong wang zhi wang shuiping" [Scientifically understanding the natural laws of online communication, striving to boost the level of internet use and network governance], *Qiushi Journal*, September 16, 2018; Rogier Creemers, Paul Triolo, and Graham Webster, "Translation: China's New Top Internet Official Lays Out Agenda for Party Control Online," *DigiChina* (blog), New America, September 24, 2018. See also Nectar Gan, "Cyberspace Controls Set to Strengthen under China's New Internet Boss," *South China Morning Post*, September 20, 2018.

<sup>120</sup>"Xi Jinping: Tuidong meiti ronghe xiang zongshen fazhan gongguo quan Dang quanguo renmin gongtong sixiang jichu" [Xi Jinping: Promote deeper development of media convergence, consolidate the entire Party and people's common ideological foundation], *Xinhua*, January 25, 2019; David Bandurski, "PSC Converges for Media Convergence," *China Media Project*, January 29, 2019.

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<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 644, 646.

<sup>123</sup> Mingli Shi, “What China’s 2018 Internet Governance Tells Us about What’s Next,” *DigiChina* (blog), New America, January 28, 2019; Adrian Shahbaz, Freedom House, “China,” in *Freedom on the Net 2018: The Rise of Digital Authoritarianism*, October 2018.

<sup>124</sup> Eva Pils, “Human Rights and the Political System” in *Handbook of Human Rights in China*, eds. Sarah Biddulph and Joshua Rosenzweig (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2019), 43n24.

<sup>125</sup> See, e.g., Manya Koetse, “Chinese Blogger Addresses Weibo’s ‘Elephant in the Room,’” *What’s on Weibo* (blog), June 10, 2019.

<sup>126</sup> See, e.g., “Blogger Tried for ‘Defaming’ Chinese Leaders Past and Present,” *Radio Free Asia*, January 31, 2019. For more information on this case, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2016-00380 on Liu Yanli.

<sup>127</sup> See, e.g., “‘Spiritually Japanese’ Artist Held in China’s Anhui over Pig-Head Cartoons,” *Radio Free Asia*, August 1, 2019. For more information on this case, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00303 on Zhang Dongning.

<sup>128</sup> Cyberspace Administration of China, *Ju You Yanlun Shuxing Huo Shehui Dongyuan Nengli de Hulian Wang Xinxi Fuwu Anquan Pinggu Guiding* [Provisions for the Security Assessment of Internet Information Services Having Public Opinion Properties or Social Mobilization Capacity], effective November 30, 2018, art. 17. For an English translation of these provisions, see Rogier Creemers, “New Rules Target Public Opinion and Mobilization Online in China (Translation),” *DigiChina* (blog), New America, November 21, 2018.

<sup>129</sup> Rogier Creemers, “New Rules Target Public Opinion and Mobilization Online in China (Translation),” *DigiChina* (blog), New America, November 21, 2018.

<sup>130</sup> Jessica Baron, “Cyber-Sovereignty and China’s Great Firewall: An Interview with James Griffiths,” *Forbes*, April 8, 2019; Gary King, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts, “How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression,” *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 2 (May 2013).

<sup>131</sup> Blake Miller, “Delegated Dictatorship: Examining the State and Market Forces behind Information Control in China,” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2018), chap. IV.

<sup>132</sup> Yaqiu Wang, Human Rights Watch, “China’s Social Media Crackdown Targets Twitter,” November 21, 2018.

<sup>133</sup> Renee Xia, Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “30-Year Censorship and No Accountability for Tiananmen: Here Lies the Hope,” June 4, 2019.

<sup>134</sup> Threat Lab, Electronic Frontier Foundation, “30 Years Since Tiananmen Square: The State of Chinese Censorship and Digital Surveillance,” June 4, 2019.

<sup>135</sup> Charlotte Gao, “Ahead of Tiananmen Incident Anniversary, China Launches a New Round of Internet Crackdown,” *The Diplomat*, January 4, 2019; “Western News Sites Blocked in China,” *China Digital Times*, June 7, 2019.

<sup>136</sup> David Bandurski, “WeChat Exposes,” *China Media Project*, January 5, 2019.

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<sup>138</sup> Citizen Lab and Weboscope, “China’s Censored Histories: Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of the Tiananmen Square Massacre,” *Global Voices*, April 17, 2019.

<sup>139</sup> Citizen Lab and Weboscope, “China’s Censored Histories: Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of the Tiananmen Square Massacre,” *Global Voices*, April 17, 2019. See also Li Yuan, “Learning China’s Forbidden History So They Can Censor It,” *New York Times*, January 2, 2019.

<sup>140</sup> Holmes Chan, “Archive Reveals Scale of China’s Tiananmen Massacre Blackout as Netizens Fight to Evade Censors,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, April 16, 2019. See also Li Yuan, “Learning China’s Forbidden History So They Can Censor It,” *New York Times*, January 2, 2019.

<sup>141</sup> Eva Xiao, “Stealth Crackdown: Chinese Censorship Extends to Twitter as Activists’ Accounts Disappear,” *Agence France-Presse*, reprinted in *Hong Kong Free Press*, November 18, 2018; Yaqiu Wang, Human Rights Watch, “China’s Social Media Crackdown Targets Twitter,” November 21, 2018; Yaxue Cao, “China Steps Up Nationwide Crackdown to Silence Twitter Users—The Unmediated Story,” *China Change*, December 5, 2018.

<sup>142</sup> Gerry Shih, “Chinese Censors Go Old School to Clamp Down on Twitter: A Knock on the Door,” *Washington Post*, January 4, 2019. See also Christian Shepherd and Yuan Yang, “Chinese Authorities Step Up Crackdown on Twitter Users,” *Financial Times*, April 15, 2019.

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<sup>144</sup> Paul Mozur, “Twitter Takes Down Accounts of China Dissidents Ahead of Tiananmen Anniversary,” *New York Times*, June 1, 2019.

<sup>145</sup> Paul Mozur, “Twitter Takes Down Accounts of China Dissidents Ahead of Tiananmen Anniversary,” *New York Times*, June 1, 2019; Ellen Cranley, “Twitter Apologized for Suspending Accounts of Chinese Government Critics Ahead of Tiananmen Square Anniversary,” *Business Insider*, June 2, 2019.

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<sup>147</sup>Rowena Xiaqing He, “Never Forget. Never Give Up: The Tiananmen Movement, 30 Years Later,” *Globe and Mail*, April 22, 2019; Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “June 4th Wine Bottle Case,” May 30, 2018, accessed May 18, 2019; Didi Kirsten Tatlow, “A High-Proof Tribute to Tiananmen’s Victims Finds a Way Back to China,” *New York Times*, May 30, 2017.

<sup>148</sup>Glenn Tiffert, “30 Years after Tiananmen: Memory in the Era of Xi Jinping,” *Journal of Democracy* 30, no. 2 (April 2019): 42.

<sup>149</sup>On May 4, 1919, students protested in Beijing municipality against the provisions in the Treaty of Versailles that ceded disputed territory to Japan. See Dan Xing Huang, “The Chinese Enlightenment at 100,” *Foreign Affairs*, May 3, 2019; Chris Buckley and Amy Qin, “Why Does a Student Protest Held a Century Ago Still Matter in China?,” *New York Times*, May 3, 2019. On the role of university students during the 100 Flowers Movement in 1957, see Yidi Wu, “Blooming, Contending, and Staying Silent: Student Activism and Campus Politics in China, 1957” (PhD diss., UC Irvine, 2017).

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<sup>151</sup>Uyghur Human Rights Project, “Update—Detained and Disappeared: Intellectuals Under Assault in the Uyghur Homeland,” May 21, 2019; “Uyghur Scholar Arrested Over Politically Sensitive Book,” *Radio Free Asia*, December 10, 2018 (Gheyret Abdurahman, Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences); Chris Buckley and Austin Ramzy, “Star Scholar Disappears as Crackdown Engulfs Western China,” *New York Times*, August 10, 2018 (Rahile Dawut, Xinjiang University); “Xinjiang University President Purged under ‘Two-Faced’ Officials Campaign,” *Radio Free Asia*, February 10, 2018 (Tashpolat Teyip, Xinjiang University).

<sup>152</sup>“Xinjiang Authorities Arrest Leading Kyrgyz Historian for ‘Undecided’ Crime,” *Radio Free Asia*, November 30, 2018 (Askar Yunus, Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences).

<sup>153</sup>Eli Friedman, “It’s Time to Get Loud about Academic Freedom in China,” *Foreign Policy*, November 13, 2018; Yuan Yang, “China Student Speaks of Harassment over Protests,” *Financial Times*, November 4, 2018; Javier C. Hernandez, “China Using Taped Confessions to Intimidate Young Communists, Students Say,” *New York Times*, January 21, 2019; Manfred Elfstrom, “China’s Recent Crackdown on Labour Activists May Have Little to Do with Their Own Actions,” *South China Morning Post*, February 7, 2019.

<sup>154</sup>Gerry Shih, “‘If I Disappear’: Chinese Students Make Farewell Messages amid Crackdowns over Labor Activism,” *Washington Post*, May 25, 2019; Christian Shepherd and Ben Blanchard, “Leading Chinese Marxist Student Taken Away by Police on Mao’s Birthday,” *Reuters*, December 26, 2018.

<sup>155</sup>Guo Rui and Mimi Lau, “Fears for Young Marxist Activist Missing after Police Raid in China,” *South China Morning Post*, October 12, 2018; Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions, “Who Are the Student [sic] Who ‘Go to Shenzhen’? Yue Xin, from Beijing to Shenzhen,” accessed May 31, 2019.

<sup>156</sup>Glenn Tiffert, “30 Years after Tiananmen: Memory in the Era of Xi Jinping,” *Journal of Democracy* 30, no. 2 (April 2019): 42; Sarah Cook, “The Chinese Communist Party’s Latest Propaganda Target: Young Minds,” *The Diplomat*, April 26, 2019.

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<sup>158</sup>Christian Shepherd, “Disappearing Textbook Highlights Debate in China over Academic Freedom,” *Reuters*, February 1, 2019; “Zhang Qianfan on Academic Censorship,” *China Digital Times*, February 8, 2019.

<sup>159</sup>Yojana Sharma, “Beijing Signals Tighter Control over Dissenting Scholars,” *University World News*, November 1, 2018; “China Replaces Head of Peking University with Communist Party Chief,” *Radio Free Asia*, October 25, 2018.

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<sup>169</sup> Edward Wong and Chris Buckley, “U.S. Scholar Who Advises Trump Says China Blocked His Visa Application,” *New York Times*, April 17, 2019.

<sup>170</sup> “Mei dui Hua xuezhè shoujin qianzheng Zhongguo you jin le naxie Meiguo xuezhè?” [U.S. tightens visas for Chinese scholars, which U.S. scholars does China prohibit?], *Radio Free Asia*, April 16, 2019. Radio Free Asia’s examples are Richard Fisher, Andrew Nathan, Xia Ming, and Perry Link. Anastasya Lloyd-Damnjanovic, “A Preliminary Study of PRC Political Influence and Interference Activities in American Higher Education,” Wilson Center, September 6, 2018. The Wilson Center report examples included the “Xinjiang 13,” a group of 13 scholars allegedly placed on a blacklist following the publication of a book of critical essays about conditions in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Sheena Chestnut Greitens and Rory Truex, “Repressive Experience among China Scholars: New Evidence from Survey Data,” Social Science Research Network, August 1, 2018, accessed May 15, 2019: 1, 6–7.

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