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The Beijing 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games: Issues for Congress

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SUMMARY

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The capital of the People's Republic of China (PRC or China), Beijing, is scheduled to host the XXIV Olympic Winter Games from February 4 to 20, 2022, and the XIII Paralympic Winter Games from March 4 to 13, 2022. The International Olympic Committee's (IOC's) selection of Beijing as host city for the Games has been controversial in the United States and elsewhere, primarily because of China's poor human rights record.

The Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic has, moreover, posed major challenges for the Games' organizers. China has sought to maintain a "zero-COVID" approach to the pandemic, seeking to contain and stamp out even the smallest outbreaks. To guard against Games participants spreading the virus that causes COVID-19, the organizers say they will operate "closed-loop systems," created "to ensure there is no contact with the general public or anyone outside of the closed loop." Games participants are to enter a loop on dedicated Games transportation carrying them either from the airport, or, if not fully vaccinated on arrival, from the dedicated facility where they will have spent their first 21 days in China in quarantine. The discovery of a domestic case of the highly transmissible Omicron variant of the virus in Beijing three weeks before the opening of the Games has further complicated the challenge of epidemic control and led organizers to halt spectator ticket sales.

Members of the 117th Congress have shown a strong interest in the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics and Paralympics. Some Members have held and testified at hearings on the Games, written Olympics-related letters, and made multiple public statements. Some have also introduced related bills and resolutions, including H.Res. 837, which passed the House on December 8, 2021, by a unanimous vote of 428-0. The resolution states, among other things, that it is the sense of the House that the IOC's role in "legitimizing" PRC claims about the safety of PRC tennis star Peng Shuai, who raised allegations of sexual coercion against a retired senior PRC leader, "raise questions about the organization's ability and willingness to protect the rights of athletes participating in the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic games in Beijing." Some Members have called for the United States to implement a diplomatic boycott or full boycott (including athletes) of the Games, and/or called for moving the Games out of China. Some Members have scrutinized Beijing 2022 corporate sponsors, and some Members have expressed concern for the security and freedom of expression of U.S. athletes at the Games.

On December 6, 2021, White House Press Secretary Jen Psaki told reporters that the Biden Administration "will not send any diplomatic or official representation to the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics and Paralympic Games given the PRC's ongoing genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang and other human rights abuses." Ten other countries have so far signaled their intent to withhold official representation from the Games, for diverse reasons, while still sending athletes. One country, North Korea, has stated that it will send neither officials nor athletes. It cited "the manoeuvers of hostile forces and the world pandemic." The IOC's approach to human rights has been evolving. The host city contract for the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics includes no reference to human rights. In 2017, however, the IOC announced that starting with the 2024 Games, host city contracts will include a provision relating to human rights.

The government of China appears to see Beijing's hosting of the Games for a second time as serving multiple national purposes. They include spurring progress on one of Communist Party of China (CPC) General Secretary Xi Jinping's signature initiatives, the development of a new megacity in north China. They also include boosting national pride, demonstrating to the world the alleged superiority of China's political system, boosting the global profile of Chinese brands, and developing winter sports in China.

Appendices to this report list legislation related to the Beijing 2022 Games, provide information on the PRC bodies leading planning for the Games and corporate sponsors of the Games, and discuss two case studies of historic approaches to human rights and sport: the U.S.-led boycott of the Moscow 1980 Olympics and sporting bans against apartheid-era South Africa.

Contents

Introduction 1
Key Facts 2
Beijing as Host City: Selection and Controversies 2
The IOC's Selection of Beijing as Host City 4
Allegations of Genocide in China's Xinjiang Region 5
Concerns About the Welfare of Chinese Tennis Star Peng Shuai 7
The Human Rights Legacy of the Beijing 2008 Summer Olympics 9
Challenges Related to the COVID-19 Pandemic 10
The U.S. Congress and the 2022 Games 12
Congressional Calls for Diplomatic and Full Boycotts 13
Congressional Calls to Move the Olympics Out of China 14
Congressional Scrutiny of Beijing 2022 Corporate Sponsors 14
Congressional Concerns Related to the Personal Security and Freedom of Expression of U.S. Athletes at the Games 16
U.S. and International Stances on Official Representation at the Games 17
The Biden Administration's Decision 17
China's Reaction to the Biden Administration Decision 18
The IOC's Stance 19
The U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Committee's Stance 19
Select International Stances 20
The International Olympic Committee and Human Rights 25
The IOC's Evolving Approach to Human Rights 25
Rule 50.2 of the Olympic Charter 27
The Government of China's Goals for the Games 29
Catalyzing a New Northern Megacity 30
Boosting National Pride 30
Showcasing the Alleged Superiority of China's Political System 31
Boosting Chinese Brands 31
Promoting Winter Sports, Including in Xinjiang 32
Issues for Congress 33

Figures

Figure 1. Map of China 3

Tables

Table 1. Countries Withholding Official Representation from the Beijing 2022 Games 21

Table A-1. Legislation in the 117th Congress Related to the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics and Paralympics 35

Table B-1. Leadership of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Leading Group for the Work of the 24th Olympic Winter Games 38
Table B-2. Leadership of the Beijing Organising Committee for the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (BOCOG) 38
Table C-1. Participants in the IOC's TOP Programme 41
Table C-2. Beijing 2022 Corporate Sponsors 42

Appendixes

Appendix A. Legislation in the 117th Congress 35
Appendix B. Official PRC Bodies Leading Planning for the Games 38
Appendix C. Corporate Sponsors of the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics and Paralympics 40
Appendix D. Historic Approaches to Sports and Human Rights: Two Case Studies 43

Contacts

Author Information 47

Introduction

Beijing, the capital of the People's Republic of China (PRC or China), is scheduled to host the XXIV Olympic Winter Games and the XIII Paralympic Winter Games (collectively, the Games) starting on February 4, 2022, five months after the closing of the Tokyo 2020 Summer Games, which were postponed by a year due to the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic.[1] China's state media have presented China's leader, Communist Party General Secretary and State President Xi Jinping, as personally guiding China's planning for the Games and they frequently quote Xi's instruction that the Games should be "Simple, Safe, and Splendid."[2]

With the world still in the grips of the pandemic, delivering on "simple" and "safe" has proved challenging both for the Beijing Organising Committee for the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Games (BOCOG, also known as "Beijing 2022") and for the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the International Paralympic Committee (IPC), the independent, nonprofit, international organizations that lead the Olympic Movement and the Paralympic Movement, respectively. Together the three organizations have developed a complex set of protocols intended to guard against the spread of the virus among athletes, officials, staff, media and others at the Olympics.[3] The emergence in late 2021 of the highly transmissible Omicron variant of the virus has raised questions about whether even those extensive protocols will be sufficient to prevent widespread infections.[4] (See "Challenges Related to the COVID-19 Pandemic.")

Complicating China's efforts to portray the Games as "splendid" has been China's human rights record. Members of the 117th Congress have held hearings and introduced more than a dozen pieces of legislation related to the Beijing Winter Games, many arguing against a "business as usual" approach to an Olympics and a Paralympics hosted by a country accused of ongoing genocide against predominantly Muslim groups in its northwest.[5] Some Members have also expressed concern about the welfare of a Chinese tennis star and three-time Olympian who appeared to be silenced after posting on social media about a retired senior Chinese leader having allegedly coerced her into sex.[6] (See "Concerns About the Welfare of Chinese Tennis Star Peng Shuai" and "The U.S. Congress and the 2022 Games.")

On December 6, 2021, White House Press Secretary Jen Psaki announced that the Biden Administration "will not send any diplomatic or official representation to the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics and Paralympic Games." In explaining the decision, she cited, "the PRC's ongoing genocide and crimes against humanity" in China's Xinjiang region "and other human rights abuses."[7] Ten other countries have announced that they will withhold official representation from

[1] The Tokyo 2020 Olympic Summer Games (the Games of the XXXII Olympiad) were held from July 23 to August 8, 2021. The Tokyo Paralympic Summer Games were held from August 24 to September 5, 2021. The XXIV Olympic Winter Games are scheduled to open on February 4, 2022, although competition will begin on February 2, 2022.

[2] "Xi Jinping Calls for Efforts to Ensure Success of Beijing Winter Olympics," CGTN, January 5, 2022; "Vice-Premier Calls for Efforts to Ensure "Simple, Safe, Splendid" Winter Games," Xinhua, December 16, 2021.

[3] International Olympic Committee, "Beijing 2022 Playbooks," December 13, 2021, at https://olympics.com/ioc/beijing-2022-playbooks.

[4] World Health Organization, "Classification of Omicron (B.1.1.529): SARS-CoV-2 Variant of Concern," November 26, 2021, at https://www.who.int/news/item/26-11-2021-classification-of-omicron-(b.1.1.529)-sars-cov-2-variant-of-concern.

[5] See, for example, S. 1169, S. 1260, and H.R. 3524.

[6] See H.Res. 837, which passed the House on December 8, 2021, on a vote of 428-0.

[7] The White House, "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jen Psaki, December 6, 2021," December 6, 2021.

the Games, though fewer than half have cited human rights as the primary reason for doing so. (See "Select International Stances" below.)

Key Facts

- The Beijing 2022 Winter Olympic Games are scheduled to take place from February 4 to 20, 2022 (though competition is scheduled to begin February 2, 2022). The Beijing 2022 Winter Paralympic Games are scheduled for March 4-13, 2022.[8]
- Beijing is the first city in Olympic history to be selected to host both Summer (2008) and Winter Games. Beijing will be reusing two 2008 Olympics and Paralympics venues: the National Indoor Stadium (also known as the "Bird's Nest") and the National Aquatic Center (formerly known as the "Water Cube" and now known as the "Ice Cube.")
- The Games are to be held in three zones: central Beijing (ice sports); Beijing's Yanqing District (alpine skiing, bobsled, luge, and skeleton); and the Chongli district of Zhangjiakou in Hebei Province (skiing and snowboarding).
- Approximately 2,900 Olympic athletes are to compete in 109 events (51 for men, 46 for women, 11 mixed events, and 1 open event), divided into 15 disciplines across 7 sports: biathlon, bobsleigh, curling, ice hockey, luge, skating, and skiing.[9]
- Paralympic athletes are to compete in 78 events in two disciplines across six sports: alpine skiing, cross-country skiing, biathlon, snowboarding, para ice hockey, and wheelchair curling.[10]
- The United States and ten other countries have announced that they will not send officials to represent them at the Olympics, but will send athletes. The other countries are Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Estonia, Japan, Lithuania, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom. (See "Select International Stances.")
- North Korea alone has stated that it will send neither officials nor athletes to Beijing, citing "the manoeuvers of hostile forces and the world pandemic."[11]

Beijing as Host City: Selection and Controversies

Beijing's selection to serve as the host city for the 2022 Winter Games has been controversial in the United States and elsewhere, primarily due to China's authoritarian political system and poor

[8] International Olympic Committee, "Beijing 2022 Olympic Schedule," at https://olympics.com/en/beijing-2022/schedule/. The opening ceremony is scheduled for February 4, 2022, but curling competition is to begin on February 2, 2022, and freestyle skiing and ice hockey on February 3, 2022.

[9] International Olympic Committee, "All You Need to Know About the Winter Olympics," at https://olympics.com/en/news/winter-olympics-first-edition-sports-venue-faq; International Olympic Committee, "Beijing 2022 Facts and Figures," https://olympics.com/ioc/beijing-2022-facts-and-figures.

[10] International Paralympic Committee, "About the Games," at https://olympics.com/en/beijing-2022/paralympics.

[11] "DPRK Olympic Committee, Ministry of Physical Culture and Sports send letter to Chinese counterparts, Beijing Winter Olympics organizing committee," KCNA via *Pyongyang Times*, January 8, 20212, at http://www.pyongyangtimes.com.kp/?bbs=40182.

human rights record.[12] Of particular concern to many critics of Beijing's status as host city are ongoing human rights abuses in the northwest China region of Xinjiang that both the Trump and Biden Administrations have characterized as genocide. Some Members and others have also pointed to Beijing's record of curtailing freedom of expression, an impulse that many critics saw at work in the apparent silencing of Chinese tennis star Peng Shuai after she accused a retired senior Chinese leader of sexual coercion three months before the scheduled opening of the Beijing Games. Pending legislation in the 117th Congress includes six resolutions that cite a worsening of the human rights situation in China following the Beijing 2008 Summer Olympics in calling for either moving the Beijing 2022 Games to another country, or boycotting them.[13]

Figure 1. Map of China

The 2022 Winter Olympic Games are to be held in Beijing and Hebei.

Source: Graphic by CRS.

Note: The Games are to be held in three zones: central Beijing; Beijing's Yanqing District; and the Chongli district of Zhangjiakou in Hebei Province. China's government is leveraging the Games as a way to promote the development of a major new metropolitan area, known as "Jing-jin-ji," consisting of Beijing, Tianjin, and Hebei.

[12] See, for example, Mitt Romney, "The Right Way to Boycott the Beijing Olympics," *New York Times*, March 15, 2020; Kenneth Roth, "Olympic Snow Shouldn't Cover China's Repression," *Newsweek*, February 25, 2021; Sally Jenkins, "China Controls the IOC and Olympic Sponsors the Way it Governs Its Citizens: Through Fear," *The Washington Post*, April 14, 2021; Kurt Streeter, "It's Time to Rethink the Olympics," *New York Times*, April 12, 2021; James Millward, "How to Protest the Beijing Olympics—A Response to Mitt Romney," *Medium*, March 15, 2021; and Michael Mazza, "Move the Games: What to Do About the 2022 Beijing Olympics," American Enterprise Institute (AEI), April 2021.

[13] See H.Res. 160, H.Res. 162, H.Res. 466, H.Res. 812, and S.Res. 13.

The IOC's Selection of Beijing as Host City[14]

The IOC in July 2015 selected Beijing as the host city of 2022's XXIV Olympic Winter Games.[15] Beijing started as one of six cities vying to host the 2022 Games. The others were Almaty, Kazakhstan; Krakow, Poland; Lviv, Ukraine; Oslo, Norway; and Stockholm, Sweden.[16] Each city won endorsement from its respective national Olympic committee (NOC), giving it the status of an "applicant city."[17] Stockholm withdrew prior to submitting an application file to the IOC. After the remaining five cities submitted their application files and prior to the IOC Executive Board selecting candidate cities from among them, Krakow and Lviv dropped out.[18] The board accepted all three remaining cities as candidate cities. When Oslo withdrew prior to the deadline for submitting a candidature file, Almaty and Beijing were left as the final two candidate cities. The IOC's 2022 Evaluation Commission analyzed Almaty's and Beijing's candidature files, visited each city, and issued a report, which it "provided to the IOC Members to assist them in electing the Host City."[19] The Evaluation Commission's report included language on assurances China's government provided related to human rights:

> Written assurances were provided regarding the following matters: human rights, the right to demonstrate, media freedom to report on the Games with no restrictions on the Internet, labour rights, displacement and environmental protection.[20] Taking these into consideration, as well as the open nature of the discussions with Beijing 2022 and government authorities and China's experience from organising the 2008 Olympic Games and the 2014 Youth Olympic Games, the Commission is confident that the Government of

[14] Written by CRS Specialist in American National Government L. Elaine Halchin.

[15] The IOC is an independent, nonprofit, international organization that leads the Olympic Movement. The Olympic Movement is "the concerted, organised, universal and permanent action, carried out under the supreme authority of the IOC, of all individuals and entities who are inspired by the values of Olympism…. In addition to its three main constituents, the Olympic Movement also encompasses the Organising Committees of the Olympic Games ("OCOGs"), the national associations, clubs and persons belonging to the IFs and NOCs, particularly the athletes, whose interests constitute a fundamental element of the Olympic Movement's action, as well as the judges, referees, coaches and the other sports officials and technicians. It also includes other organisations and institutions as recognised by the IOC." International Olympic Movement, "Olympic Movement," at https://olympics.com/ioc/olympic-movement.

[16] See International Olympic Committee, "Olympic Games Candidature Process," at https://www.olympic.org/all-about-the-candidature-process, for an overview of the current host city selection process. Note that the IOC has revised the selection process over the years, so the process for selecting a host city for one Olympics may differ somewhat from the process used for another.

[17] The host city selection process has two phases: application and candidature. In the first phase, NOCs endorse cities, giving them the status of "applicant cities." In the second phase, applicant cities accepted by the IOC executive become "candidate cities." The U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Committee (USOPC) is the NOC for the United States. International Olympic Committee, "Host City Election for the Olympic Winter Games 2022," at https://www.olympic.org/2022-host-city-election.

[18] The Executive Board, which consists of a president, 4 vice presidents, and 10 other members of the IOC, manages the affairs of the IOC. International Olympic Committee, "IOC Executive Board," at https://olympics.com/ioc/executive-board.

[19] International Olympic Committee, "Factsheet, Host City Election 2022," Update March 2018, p. 2, at https://stillmedab.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Factsheets-Reference-Documents/Host-City-Election/Facts-and-Figure/Factsheet-Host-City-Election-for-the-XXIV-Olimpic-Winter-Games-2022.pdf.

[20] The IOC website that contains the Beijing 2022 documents, at https://olympics.com/ioc/documents/olympic-games/beijing-2022-olympic-winter-games, does not include the host city's written assurances regarding human rights and the other matters listed here.

> China would take all necessary measures to ensure the Olympic Charter and Host City Contract would be respected.[21]

On July 31, 2015, IOC members voted by secret ballot, selecting Beijing over Almaty by a vote of 44 to 40.[22] Any IOC member who was a national of either China or Kazakhstan was not permitted to vote.[23]

Allegations of Genocide in China's Xinjiang Region[24]

Between 2017 and 2020, authorities in China's Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) arbitrarily detained an estimated one million-plus Turkic Muslims, mostly ethnic Uyghurs, in "reeducation centers."[25] The government justified the detentions on the basis of detainees' past religious, cultural, scholarly, social, and online activities, which the government subsequently deemed to be manifestations of religious extremism or potentially terrorist in nature, also referred to as "pre-criminal offenses." Detainees were compelled to renounce many of their Islamic beliefs and customs as a condition for their possible release.[26] These detentions were an apparent part of a PRC government effort to systematically transform the thought and behavior of Uyghurs and forcefully assimilate them into Chinese society, an effort which some observers claim is destroying Uyghur culture and identity.[27] Treatment and conditions in the centers reportedly included compulsory factory labor, crowded and unsanitary conditions, food deprivation, psychological pressure, sexual abuse, and medical neglect and torture, sometimes resulting in deaths of detainees while in the camps or soon after their release.[28] Since 2020, the XUAR government appears to have closed or repurposed most reeducation centers; it has released some

[21] Ibid., p. 73.

[22] International Olympic Committee, "The International Olympic Committee (IOC) Today Named Beijing, People's Republic of China, as the Host City of the Olympic Winter Games 2022," July 31, 2015, at https://www.olympic.org/news/beijing-named-host-city-of-olympic-winter-games-2022. Presently, the IOC has 101 members from 75 countries. International Olympic Committee, "Members," at https://olympics.com/ioc/members.

[23] International Olympic Committee, "Factsheet, Host City Election 2022." The three Chinese nationals who were IOC members did not vote; the IOC did not have a member who was a national of Kazakhstan when the vote took place.

[24] Written by CRS Specialist in Asian Affairs Thomas Lum and CRS Analyst in Foreign Affairs Michael A. Weber. For more information, see CRS Report R46750, *Human Rights in China and U.S. Policy: Issues for the 117th Congress*, by Thomas Lum and Michael A. Weber.

[25] According to some estimates, the number of Uyghurs detained in reeducation centers ranged from 1 million to 2 million out of a total population of roughly 12 million. Radio Free Asia, "Trapped in the System: Experiences of Uyghur Detention in Post 2015 Xinjiang," February 2021; Congressional-Executive Commission on China, *2020 Annual Report*, January 12, 2021; Department of State, "2018 Report on International Religious Freedom: China," June 21, 2019; Adrian Zenz, "New Evidence for China's Political Re-education Campaign in Xinjiang," *China Brief (Jamestown Foundation)*, May 15, 2018. For further information on the Uyghurs, see CRS In Focus IF10281, *China Primer: Uyghurs*, by Thomas Lum and Michael A. Weber.

[26] Darren Byler, *In the Camps: China's High-Tech Penal Colony*, New York: Columbia Global Reports, 2021; Radio Free Asia, "Trapped in the System: Experiences of Uyghur Detention in Post 2015 Xinjiang," February 2021; Scilla Alecci, "China Cables," International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, November 24, 2019; "Inside the Camps Where China Tries to Brainwash Muslims Until They Love the Party and Hate Their Own Culture," *South China Morning Post*, May 17, 2018.

[27] Sean R. Roberts, *The War on the Uyghurs*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020.

[28] Congressional-Executive Commission on China, *2020 Annual Report*; Department of State, *2020 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices—China*, March 30, 2021; Department of State, "Report to Congress on Human Rights Abuses in Xinjiang," November 20, 2020.

detainees, sent others to factory labor, and kept many in pre-trial detention facilities or prosecuted them as criminals and imprisoned them in higher security facilities.[29]

Many Uyghurs, including former detainees, reportedly have been assigned to factory employment in Xinjiang and other parts of China under conditions that indicate forced labor.[30] Uyghur detentions, forced labor, and other state policies have led to family separations and contributed to nearly half a million Uyghur children attending state-run boarding schools.[31] In 2017, the government launched a campaign to reduce "illegal births" among Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang, partly through forced contraception, sterilization, and abortion, affecting many minority women with three or more children.[32]

On January 19, 2021, the day before the end of President Donald J. Trump's term in office, the State Department determined that China's actions against Uyghurs and other Muslim groups in Xinjiang constitute crimes against humanity and genocide.[33] With regard to crimes against humanity, the State Department referred to arbitrary imprisonment, forced sterilization, torture, forced labor, and "draconian restrictions" on freedom of religion or belief, freedom of expression, and freedom of movement. Regarding its genocide determination, the department stated that Chinese authorities "are engaged in the forced assimilation and eventual erasure of a vulnerable ethnic and religious minority group."[34] The Biden Administration has indicated concurrence with this determination, and has described genocide in Xinjiang as "ongoing."[35] (For further information about U.S. government actions in response to human rights violations in Xinjiang, see CRS In Focus IF10281, *China Primer: Uyghurs*, by Thomas Lum and Michael A. Weber.)

Under international law, the crime of genocide,[36] unlike crimes against humanity, requires evidence of intent to destroy a particular group. Some legal experts view the intent standard as

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[29] Darren Byler, In the Camps: China's High-Tech Penal Colony; Dake Kang, "Room for 10,000; Inside China's Largest Detention Center," *Los Angeles Times*, August 3, 2021; "AP Looks Inside China's Largest Detention Center in Xinjiang," *Voice of America*, July 22, 2021; Chris Buckley and Austin Ramzy, "Night Images Reveal Many New Detention Centers in Xinjiang Region," *New York Times*, September 24, 2020; Anna Fifield, "China Is Building Vast New Detention Centers for Muslims in Xinjiang," *Washington Post*, September 23, 2020; Nathan Ruser, "Documenting Xinjiang's Detention System," Australian Strategic Policy Institute, September 2020.

[29] Adrian Zenz, "Sterilizations, IUDs, and Mandatory Birth Control: The CCP's Campaign to Suppress Uyghur Birthrates in Xinjiang," Jamestown Foundation, June 2020; "China Cuts Uighur Births with IUDs, Abortion, Sterilization," *Associated Press*, June 29, 2020.

[30] Adrian Zenz, "Coercive Labor and Forced Displacement in Xinjiang's Cross-Regional Labor Transfer Program," Victims of Communism, March 2, 2021; Amy Lehr and Mariefaye Bechrakis, "Connecting the Dots in Xinjiang: Forced Labor, Forced Assimilation, and Western Supply Chains," Center for Strategic and International Studies, October 2019; Adrian Zenz, "Beyond the Camps: Beijing's Grand Scheme of Forced Labor, Poverty Alleviation and Social Control in Xinjiang," *SocArXiv Papers*, July 12, 2019.

[31] Congressional-Executive Commission on China, *2020 Annual Report*; Amy Qin, "In China's Crackdown on Muslims, Children Have Not Been Spared," *New York Times*, July 1, 2020.

[32] Adrian Zenz, "Sterilizations, IUDs, and Mandatory Birth Control: The CCP's Campaign to Suppress Uyghur Birthrates in Xinjiang," Jamestown Foundation, June 2020; "China Cuts Uighur Births with IUDs, Abortion, Sterilization," *Associated Press*, June 29, 2020.

[33] Department of State, "Determination of the Secretary of State on Atrocities in Xinjiang," press statement, January 19, 2021. According to media reports, late in the Trump Administration, State Department lawyers and other department employees disagreed over whether sufficient evidence existed to justify a finding of genocidal intent. See Colum Lynch, "State Department Lawyers Concluded Insufficient Evidence to Provide Genocide in China," *Foreign Policy*, February 19, 2021.

[34] Department of State, "Determination of the Secretary of State on Atrocities in Xinjiang," January 19, 2021.

[35] For example, U.S. Department of State, "The Signing of the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act," December 23, 2021.

[36] The U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide defines genocide as "any of the

challenging to prove. According to media reports, late in the Trump Administration, State Department lawyers and other department employees disagreed over whether sufficient evidence existed to justify a finding of genocidal intent.[37] A March 2021 report produced by a group of independent experts for a non-partisan think tank in Washington, DC, concluded that the government of China committed genocide;[38] conversely, an April 2021 Human Rights Watch report alleged crimes against humanity, while stating, "Human Rights Watch has not documented the existence of the necessary genocidal intent at this time."[39] In December 2021, a United Kingdom-based nongovernmental tribunal found that the PRC government had, "beyond reasonable doubt," committed torture, crimes against humanity, and genocide in Xinjiang, although the language of the tribunal's summary judgement was measured with regard to the genocide finding.[40]

Concerns About the Welfare of Chinese Tennis Star Peng Shuai[41]

Since November 2021, concerns about the welfare of Chinese tennis star Peng Shuai have compounded many critics' reservations about Beijing's role as host city for the Olympics. In a November 2, 2021, social media post, Peng, a former Wimbledon doubles champion and three-time Olympian, alleged that she had been subject to sexual coercion from a former senior Chinese leader, Zhang Gaoli.[42] Zhang served as a member of China's top decisionmaking body, the Political Bureau Standing Committee from 2012 to 2017. Until 2018, Zhang also served as a vice premier in China's government and as head of the Central Leading Group for the Work of the XXIV Olympic Winter Games.[43]

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following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group." See United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect," at https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide.shtml.

[37] Colum Lynch, "State Department Lawyers Concluded Insufficient Evidence to Provide Genocide in China," *Foreign Policy*, February 19, 2021.

[38] The report states that the intent standard does not require explicit statements and can be inferred from a collection of facts, while also arguing that, "in some instances, the Government's intent to destroy the Uyghurs as a group has been explicit." See Newlines Institute for Strategy and Policy, *The Uyghur Genocide: An Examination of China's Breaches of the 1948 Genocide Convention*, March 8, 2021.

[39] The report further states "if such evidence were to emerge, the acts being committed against Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang … could also support a finding of genocide." Human Rights Watch, "'Break Their Lineage, Break Their Roots,'" April 19, 2021.

[40] The tribunal's genocide finding rested on the U.N. Genocide Convention's reference to preventing births within a group. The summary judgement states in part that "The Tribunal recognises that this may be the first public evidence-based determination of a genocide under [such article] of the Convention" and "would, as a whole, prefer not to make such a finding and to allow findings of genocide in law to match more closely the likely general public understanding of the word.... This Judgment, with no evidence of any mass killing, may be thought to diminish the perceived status of genocide as a crime. In one way it may do that, and if so, in one way, not necessarily a bad thing. The use of superlatives—'world's gravest crime' and hyperbole—'crime of crimes'—when attached to tragedy brings public attention, sometimes at a cost to other tragedies able to attract less attention despite being as serious." See the summary judgement of the Uyghur Tribunal at https://uyghurtribunal.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/Uyghur-Tribunal-Summary-Judgment-9th-Dec-21.pdf.

[41] Written by CRS Specialist in Asian Affairs Susan V. Lawrence.

[42] Manya Koetse, "Full Translation of Peng Shuai's Weibo Post and Timeline of Events," What's On Weibo, December 20, 2021, at https://www.whatsonweibo.com/full-translation-of-peng-shuais-weibo-post-and-timeline-of-events/.

[43] "张高丽强调：努力举办一届精彩非凡卓越的奥运盛会" ("Zhang Gaoli Emphasizes: Strive to Hold a Splendid,

Peng's statement disappeared minutes after she posted it, with most commentators attributing its disappearance to China's internet censors. Those searching for Peng's name on the Chinese internet found their searches blocked.[44] Peng herself went silent. Twelve days after Peng's post, on November 14, 2021, the Chairman and CEO of the Women's Tennis Association (WTA), Steve Simon issued a statement declaring, "Peng Shuai, and all women, deserve to be heard, not censored."[45] Three days later, a Chinese state media outlet claimed to have obtained the English translation of an email from Peng to Simon, which it posted on Twitter.[46] Simon demanded "independent and verifiable proof that [Peng] is safe," saying he had "repeatedly tried to reach her via numerous forms of communication, to no avail."[47] Some of the biggest names in women's tennis followed up with expressions of concern for Peng's wellbeing.[48]

State media journalists next posted photos and a video of Peng purporting to show her safe.[49] The propaganda campaign appeared to heighten concerns about Peng's safety among her peers and others outside China. On December 1, 2021, Simon announced that the WTA was suspending all tournaments in China, including Hong Kong, citing "serious doubts that [Peng] is free, safe and not subject to censorship, coercion and intimidation." Simon added that he was "greatly concerned about the risks that all of our players and staff could face if we were to hold events in China in 2022."[50]

The IOC took a different tack. It held video calls with Peng on November 21 and December 1, 2021, reporting after the first call that Peng "explained that she is safe and well, living at her home in Beijing, but would like to have her privacy respected at this time."[51] The IOC said it was relying on "quiet diplomacy" and addressing concerns "directly with Chinese sports organisations."[52] H.Res. 837, passed unanimously on December 8, 2021, by a vote of 428-0, was

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Exceptional, and Extraordinary Olympics"), Xinhua, October 10, 2017, http://www.xinhuanet.com//politics/2017-10/10/c_1121782300.htm.

[44] Manya Koetse, "Full Translation of Peng Shuai's Weibo Post and Timeline of Events," What's On Weibo, December 20, 2021, at https://www.whatsonweibo.com/full-translation-of-peng-shuais-weibo-post-and-timeline-of-events/.

[45] World Tennis Association, "WTA Seeks Full, Fair and Transparent Investigation into Sexual Assault Allegations Against Former Chinese Leader," November 14, 2021, at https://www.wtatennis.com/news/2350641/wta-seeks-full-fair-and-transparent-investigation-into-sexual-assault-allegations-against-former-chinese-leader.

[46] For a screenshot of the since deleted tweet, see Manya Koetse, "Full Translation of Peng Shuai's Weibo Post and Timeline of Events," What's On Weibo, December 20, 2021, at https://www.whatsonweibo.com/full-translation-of-peng-shuais-weibo-post-and-timeline-of-events/.

[47] Women's Tennis Association, "Statement by Steve Simon, WTA Chairman & CEO," November 17, 2021, at https://www.wtatennis.com/news/2356029/statement-by-steve-simon-wta-chairman-ceo.

[48] See, for example, tweet by Naomi Osaka (@naomiosaka), November 16, 2021, https://twitter.com/naomiosaka/status/1460723353174433793 and Tweet by Serena Williams (@serenawilliams), November 18, 2021, https://twitter.com/serenawilliams/status/1461408866697105413.

[49] See tweet by Shen Shiwei (@shen_shiwei), November 19, 2021, https://mobile.twitter.com/shen_shiwei/status/1461715435385020419 and Tweet by Hu Xijin (@HuXijin_GT), November 19, 2021, https://mobile.twitter.com/huxijin_gt/status/1461728848651845632. See also, Matthew Futterman and Christopher Clarey, "Videos Said to Be of Peng Shuai Don't Resolve Questions About Her Safety," *New York Times*, November 22, 2021.

[50] Tweet by the Women's Tennis Association, December 1, 2021, https://twitter.com/WTA/status/1466123626701275140; Women's Tennis Association, "Steve Simon Announces WTA's Decision to Suspend Tournaments in China," December 3, 2021. See also Leta Hong Fincher, "Why Peng Shuai Has China's Leaders Spooked," *New York Times*, December 2, 2021.

[51] International Olympic Committee, "International Olympic Committee, IOC President and IOC Athletes' Commission Chair Hold Video Call with Peng Shuai," November 21, 2021, at https://olympics.com/ioc/news/ioc-president-and-ioc-athletes-commission-chair-hold-video-call-with-peng-shuai.

[52] International Olympic Committee, "IOC Statement on the Situation of Peng Shuai," December 2, 2021, at https://olympics.com/ioc/news/ioc-statement-on-the-situation-of-peng-shuai.

strongly critical of the IOC's role in the affair. Among other concerns, the resolution expressed the sense of the House that, "by acquiescing to the Chinese Communist Party's narrative, the IOC failed to adhere to its own human rights commitments and protect the safety and free speech of Olympic athletes." The resolution also asserted that, "the IOC's conduct has undermined the efforts by the United States Government, human rights organizations, the Women's Tennis Association, and other international bodies and individuals to secure Peng's safety."

On December 19, 2021, in an apparently impromptu video interview with Singapore's *Lianhe Zaobao* on the sidelines of a skiing competition in Shanghai, Peng stated that she had always been "very free." Addressing her social media post, she said, "I have never said or written about anyone sexually assaulting me. That's a very important point." She said the social media post, initially shared with her nearly 600,000 followers on China's Weibo Internet platform, was "my private matter."[53]

The Human Rights Legacy of the Beijing 2008 Summer Olympics[54]

Ahead of the Beijing 2008 Summer Olympic Games, statements by PRC and IOC officials raised the prospect that the Games might lead to improvements in human rights in China.[55] By the time the 2008 Games opened, however, nongovernmental human rights organizations outside China generally contended that China's hosting the Olympics had not led to overall improvements in human rights conditions in China, and may have contributed to PRC government human rights abuses in some areas.[56] PRC authorities reportedly cracked down on China's civil society sector ahead of the Games and subjected human rights activists to detention, home confinement, and/or surveillance in order to stifle criticism of the country's human rights record and prevent protests during the Games.[57] Rights advocates also criticized human rights problems associated with the preparation for the Games in Beijing, including widespread evictions of and land seizures from Beijing residents and the forced removal from the city of migrant workers and others.[58] Amnesty International reported

> Notwithstanding some important legislative and institutional reforms ... on balance the Chinese authorities have so far failed to fulfil their own commitments to improve human rights. In fact, the authorities have used the Olympic Games as pretext to continue, and in some respects, intensify existing policies and practices which have led to serious and widespread violations of human rights.[59]

According to one academic study, the 2008 Games strengthened and accelerated technological development in China's security apparatus and surveillance systems, including internet surveillance and censorship systems. Some of these efforts reportedly benefitted from

[53] "接受《联合早报》独家采访 彭帅：从未说过写过遭任何人性侵" ("Peng Shuai, in an Exclusive Interview with Lianhe Zaobao: Never Said or Wrote About Anyone Sexually Assaulting"), Lianhe Zaobao, December 20, 2021, at https://www.zaobao.com.sg/news/china/story20211220-1224718.

[54] Written by CRS Specialist in Asian Affairs Thomas Lum and CRS Analyst in Foreign Affairs Michael A. Weber.

[55] For example, see "Journalists to Write Whatever They Like If Beijing Holds 2008 Games," *China Daily*, July 12, 2001; Jere Longman, "OLYMPICS; Mixed Messages," *New York Times*, July 12, 2001; Nick Mulvenney, "Interview—Games a Force for Good but No Panacea—Rogge," Reuters, August 6, 2007.

[56] For example, see Human Rights Watch, "China: Olympics Harm Key Human Rights," August 6, 2008.

[57] CECC, "The Human Toll of the Olympics," August 4, 2008.

[58] Human Rights Watch, "China: Olympics Harm Key Human Rights," August 6, 2008; Human Rights Watch, "China: Crackdown Violates Olympic Promises," February 6, 2008.

[59] Amnesty International, "China: The Olympics Countdown—Broken Promises," July 29, 2008.

collaboration with U.S. companies. In addition, Olympic venues were marked by "overt militarization"—including the deployment of soldiers—and the involvement of hundreds of thousands of "voluntary informants." The study concluded that "post-9/11 Olympic security and surveillance have authoritarian effects."[60]

International concern over China's hosting of the 2008 Games focused in particular on two issues. The first was conditions in Tibet following March 2008 unrest in the Tibetan capital, Lhasa, and other Tibetan areas. The second was China's relations with Sudan amidst allegations of genocide in Darfur. Some analysts have argued that international pressure on the latter issue led to a PRC shift in posture toward Sudan's government.[61] Some human rights groups criticized the IOC and world leaders for, in their view, not using the Games as an opportunity to meaningfully press China's government to improve human rights within China.[62] Some congressional hearings and proposed legislation raised concerns over China's human rights practices in the context of the Games and/or sought to restrict U.S. government attendance at the Games.[63] President George W. Bush opted to attend the opening ceremonies in Beijing and utilized a policy speech prior to his arrival at the Games to express "deep concerns" over human rights in China.[64]

With regard to foreign media access, in 2006, the PRC government announced that it would temporarily relax restrictions beginning in January 2007, and allow international journalists to report freely from China during the 2008 Games. The Foreign Correspondents Club of China reported that although the temporary regulations improved overall reporting conditions for foreign journalists, intimidation, harassment, and detention of foreign journalists by state security agents occurred during the lead up to the Games.[65] Furthermore, despite having lifted some media restrictions, PRC authorities reportedly implemented "creative mechanisms" to control the flow of information, including blocking interviews of Chinese dissidents.[66] During March 2008 unrest in Lhasa, Tibet, the government blocked most news about Tibet for most Chinese and restricted foreign access to the region.[67]

Challenges Related to the COVID-19 Pandemic[68]

SARS-CoV2, the virus that causes COVID-19, was first identified in the central Chinese city of Wuhan in late 2019.[69] Chinese authorities brought the subsequent COVID-19 outbreak in Wuhan

[60] Minas Samatas, "Surveillance in Athens 2004 and Beijing 2008: A Comparison of the Olympic Surveillance Modalities and Legacies in Two Different Olympic Host Regimes," *Urban Studies*, vol. 48: no. 15 (November 2011).

[61] Elizabeth Economy and Adam Segal, "China's Olympic Nightmare: What the Games Mean for Beijing's Future," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 87, no. 4 (July–August 2008), pp. 47-56; Adrian Gallagher, "To Name and Shame or Not, and If So, How? A Pragmatic Analysis of Naming and Shaming the Chinese Government over Mass Atrocity Crimes Against the Uyghurs and Other Muslim Minorities in Xinjiang," *Journal of Global Security Studies*, April 2021.

[62] Human Rights Watch, "China: Hosting Olympics a Catalyst for Human Rights Abuses," August 22, 2008.

[63] Congressional-Executive Commission on China, *The Impact of the 2008 Olympic Games on Human Rights and the Rule of Law in China*, hearings, 110th Congress, 2nd sess., February 27, 2008; H.R. 5668 (110th Congress).

[64] Sheryl Gay Stolberg, "Bush to Attend Opening Ceremony in Beijing," *New York Times*, July 4, 2008; CNN, "Bush Chides China over Human Rights," August 7, 2008.

[65] U.S. Department of State, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices—2007*, March 11, 2008.

[66] Briar Smith, "Journalism and the Beijing Olympics: Liminality with Characteristics," in Monroe E. Price and Daniel Dayan, eds. *Owning the Olympics: Narratives of the New China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008).

[67] Mark Sweney, "China Blocks Media Due to Tibet Unrest," *The Guardian*, March 17, 2008.

[68] Written by CRS Specialist in Asian Affairs Susan V. Lawrence and CRS Analyst in Asian Affairs Ricardo Barrios.

[69] See CRS Report R46354, *COVID-19 and China: A Chronology of Events (December 2019-January 2020)*, by Susan

and other parts of China under control in the spring of 2020. Since then, China has maintained a "zero-COVID" approach to the virus, seeking to contain and stamp out even the smallest outbreaks. China appears committed to retaining that approach, even as it prepares to welcome athletes, team officials, and media from across the globe for the Olympics.

To implement its "zero-COVID" policy, China has so far relied on some of the world's strictest pandemic measures, including keeping China's borders largely closed since March 2020; imposing domestic travel restrictions, mandatory quarantines, contact tracing, mass testing, and lock-downs of neighborhoods and even whole cities as soon as cases appear; and promoting widespread vaccination and mask-wearing. On November 26, 2021, a little over two months before the 2022 Games were to open, the World Health Organization identified the highly transmissible Omicron variant of the virus as a "variant of concern."[70] Its spread appears to be responsible for several outbreaks in China that have led Chinese authorities to impose some of the largest-scale lockdowns of the pandemic, including in Xi'an, a city of 13 million, which has been under lockdown since December 22, 2021.[71] Beijing reported its first Omicron variant case of the pandemic on January 15, 2022.[72]

For the Olympics, the IOC, the IPC, and BOCOG have together published two "Beijing 2022 Playbooks," presented as guides "to a safe and successful games." As of mid-January 2022, each Playbook had gone through two editions. One Playbook addresses athletes and team officials.[73] The other addresses "Broadcasters, International Federations, Marketing Partners, Olympic and Paralympic Family, Press, Workforce."[74] Measures related to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic dominate both Playbooks. From the Playbook for athletes and team officials, COVID-19-related measures include

- A mandatory vaccination policy, with a requirement that individuals be fully vaccinated at least 14 days prior to departure for China in order to avoid quarantine on arrival. (The Playbook states that exceptions will be considered "on a case-by-case basis, based on medical reasons.")
- For all participants who are not fully vaccinated, a mandatory 21-day quarantine upon arrival in Beijing in "a dedicated facility."
- "Closed-loop systems," created "to ensure there is no contact with the general public or anyone outside of the closed loop." Games participants enter a loop on dedicated Games transportation carrying them either from the airport, or, if not fully vaccinated on arrival, from the dedicated facility where they will have spent their first 21 days in China in quarantine. Within the loop are the Olympic villages, contracted hotels, training venues, competition venues, and "other

V. Lawrence.

[70] World Health Organization, "Update on Omicron," November 28, 2021, at https://www.who.int/news/item/28-11-2021-update-on-omicron; Natasha Khan, Liyan Qi, and Keith Zhai, "Omicron Puts China's Zero-Covid Strategy to Its Toughest Test," *Wall Street Journal*, January 12, 2021.

[71] "China's Xi'an Imposes Lockdown Amid COVID-19 Resurgence, Xinhua, December 23, 2021. Alexandra Stevenson, "China's Latest Lockdown Shows Stubborn Resolve on Zero-Covid," *New York Times*, January 6, 2021.

[72] "Beijing Reports One New Locally-Transmitted COVID-19 Case," Xinhua, January 15, 2022.

[73] IOC, IPC, and Beijing 2022, "The Playbook: Athletes and Team Officials," Version 2, December 13, 2021, at https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Documents/Olympic-Games/Beijing-2022/Playbooks/The-Playbook-Athletes-and-Team-Officials-December-2021.pdf.

[74] IOC, IPC, and Beijing 2022, "The Playbook: Broadcasters, International Federations, Marketing Partners, Olympic and Paralympic Family, Press, Workforce," Version 2, December 13, 2021, at https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Documents/Olympic-Games/Beijing-2022/Playbooks/The-Playbook-RHBs-IFs-TOP-OF-PF-Press-Workforce-December-2021.pdf.

permitted destinations," with participants moving among those places using dedicated Games transportation. Participants are warned that, "The closed loop system will apply during your entire stay in China."

- Warnings to participants to, "Only carry out the activities relevant for your role at the Games, at places on the list of permitted destinations" and "Avoid shouting, cheering and singing—show support or celebrate by clapping instead."
- A requirement that participants download a BOCOG-developed smartphone application, "MY2022" and report body temperature and "any other COVID-19 symptoms" on the app's "Health Monitoring System" daily. (In a report released on January 18, 2022, the Citizen Lab at the Munk School of Global Affairs & Public Policy at the University of Toronto alleged security flaws in the app. The report identifies "a simple but devastating flaw" in the encryption intended to protect audio and file transfers. It also flags risks from "data transmissions that MY2022 fails to protect with any encryption." The report suggests that the alleged flaws might enable an attacker "to read a victim's sensitive demographic, passport, travel, and medical information sent in a customs health declaration or to send malicious instructions to a victim after completing a form." Citizen Lab says it reported the alleged flaws to BOCOG but as of January 18, 2022, BOCOG had not addressed them.[75])

The Playbook for journalists and others who are not athletes and team officials includes the measures listed above. It also notes

- "Spectator tickets will only be available to residents of Chinese mainland who meet the conditions of COVID-19 control." (On January 17, 2022, after the appearance of the Omnicron variant of the SARS-CoV-2 virus in Beijing, BOCOG announced an update to the spectator policy. It halted ticket sales and said the organizers would "invite groups of spectators to be present on site during the Games," with the expectation that, "these spectators will strictly abide by the COVID-19 countermeasures before, during and after each event.")[76]
- "Photographers are not permitted to access areas outside the closed loop of a venue, including public areas and spectator stands."
- "When leaving a venue, accredited press can only take dedicated Games transport and travel only to places on the list of permitted destinations."
- "Reporters must keep two metres from the athletes at all times."

The U.S. Congress and the 2022 Games[77]

Members of the 117th Congress have expressed a strong interest in the Beijing 2022 Winter Games. Some Members have introduced bills and resolutions related to the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics, held and testified at hearings on the Games, written Olympics-related letters, and made multiple public statements. Citing China's poor human rights record, some Members have

[75] Jeffrey Knockel, "Cross-Country Exposure: Analysis of the MY2022 Olympics App," The Citizen Lab, Munk School of Global Affairs & Public Policy, University of Toronto, January 18, 2022, https://citizenlab.ca/2022/01/cross-country-exposure-analysis-my2022-olympics-app/.

[76] Beijing 2022, "Beijing 2022 Spectator Policy Finalized," January 17, 2022, https://www.beijing2022.cn/wog.htm?cmsid=20220117006291.

[77] Written by CRS Specialist in Asian Affairs Susan V. Lawrence.

proposed diplomatic or full boycotts of the Beijing Games, and/or for the Games to be moved out of China, and have scrutinized the roles of U.S. firms serving as corporate sponsors for the Games. Some Members have also raised concerns about freedom of speech and the safety of U.S. athletes at the Games, given China's authoritarian political environment. Those stances are discussed below. For a table of legislation in the 117th Congress related to the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics, see **Appendix A**.

Congressional Calls for Diplomatic and Full Boycotts

On May 10, 2021, nearly seven months before the Biden Administration's December 6, 2021, announcement that it would not send diplomatic or official representation to the Beijing Winter Olympics, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reported comprehensive China-related legislation that would include support for a "diplomatic boycott" of the Games. The Senate subsequently incorporated the language of those Olympics-related provisions of the Strategic Competition Act of 2021 (S. 1169) into a second comprehensive China-related bill, the United States Innovation and Competition Act of 2021 (USICA) (S. 1260), which passed the Senate on June 8, 2021, by a vote of 68-32. Section 3312 of USICA would

- state that it shall be the policy of the United States "to implement a diplomatic boycott" of the 2022 Winter Games and "to call for an end to the Chinese Communist Party's ongoing human rights abuses, including the Uyghur genocide"; and
- bar the Secretary of State from obligating or expending federal funds "to support or facilitate" any U.S. government employee's attendance at the Games, with exceptions. The exceptions include expenditures "to provide consular services or security to, or otherwise protect the health, safety, and welfare of, United States persons, employees, contractors, and their families."

As reported by the House Foreign Affairs Committee on July 15, 2021, a third comprehensive China-related bill, Ensuring American Global Leadership and Engagement (EAGLE) Act (H.R. 3524), would state that it shall be the policy of the United States:

- "to implement a presidential and cabinet level diplomatic boycott" of the 2022 Winter Games;
- "to encourage other nations, especially democratic partners and allies, to do the same"; and
- "to call for an end to the Chinese Communist party's ongoing human rights abuses, including the Uyghur genocide."

Other legislation related to representation includes

- H.Con.Res. 16 (introduced on February 11, 2021) which would call on the United States Olympic and Paralympic Committee "to support human rights and boycott the 2022 Winter Olympics if held in the People's Republic of China";
- H.Res. 129 (introduced on February 15, 2021) which would urge that "the United States Olympic Committee and the Olympic Committees of other countries should withdraw from the 2022 Winter Olympic Games" if held in China; and
- H.Res. 812 (introduced on November 18, 2021), which would support "a diplomatic boycott of the 25th Olympic Winter Games and 25th Paralympic Winter Games in Beijing," and encourage "the International Olympic Committee

> to develop a framework for reprimanding or disqualifying host countries that are committing mass atrocities."

In testimony before a May 18, 2021, hearing of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission and the Congressional-Executive Commission on China (CECC) titled "China, Genocide and the Olympics," House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, too, backed "a diplomatic boycott." The Speaker described U.S. athletes as "sources of such pride" before stating, "Let's honor them at home. Let's not honor the Chinese government by having heads of state go to China to show their support for their athletes." Having heads of state attend, Pelosi asserted, would "beg[] the question: What moral authority do you have to speak again about human rights any place in the world if you're willing to pay your respects to the Chinese government as they commit genocide?"[78]

Congressional Calls to Move the Olympics Out of China

More than a year before the Beijing 2022 Games were scheduled to open, some Members of the 117th Congress began introducing legislation to urge that the Games be moved out of China. Those items of legislation include

- S.Res. 13 (introduced on January 22, 2021) and H.Con.Res. 16, H.Res. 160, and H.Res. 162 (all introduced in February 2021), which would urge the IOC to rebid the 2022 Games to "a country that recognizes and respects human rights;"
- H.Res. 129 (introduced on February 15, 2021), which would urge the U.S. Olympic Committee to "propose the transfer of the 2022 Winter Olympic Games to a site other than within the People's Republic of China";
- S.Res. 126 (introduced on March 18, 2021), which would urge the IOC "to consider relocating the 2022 Winter Olympics from Beijing to another suitable host city located outside of China, on account of the flagrant violations of human rights committed by the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Communist Party in mainland China, Hong Kong, the Tibet Autonomous Region and other Tibetan areas, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, and elsewhere"; and
- The EAGLE Act (as reported by the House Foreign Affairs Committee on July 15, 2021) and H.Res. 466 (introduced on June 8, 2021) which would call on the IOC to "initiate an emergency search process for suitable replacement facilities for the 2022 Winter Olympics if the Government of the PRC fails to release all arbitrarily held Uyghurs from mass detention centers and prisons."

Congressional Scrutiny of Beijing 2022 Corporate Sponsors

The Beijing Winter Olympics Sponsor Accountability Act (H.R. 3645), introduced on May 28, 2021, would bar executive agencies from contracting for the procurement of goods or services with any person that has business operations with the Beijing Organising Committee for the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games or the International Olympic Committee.

[78] Statement of Nancy Pelosi, Speaker of the House, before the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission and Congressional-Executive Commission on China hearing on China, Genocide and the Olympics, May 18, 2021, at https://humanrightscommission.house.gov/sites/humanrightscommission.house.gov/files/documents/Statement_ChinaOlympics_Pelosi.pdf.

In July 2021, the Congressional-Executive Commission on China (CECC) convened a hearing on "Corporate Sponsorship of the 2022 Beijing Olympics," calling as witnesses representatives of U.S.-based companies that sponsor the Olympics through The Olympic Partner (TOP) Programme of the IOC. (For a full list of TOP Programme sponsors, see **Appendix C**.) Statements at the hearing included the following.

- Senator Jeff Merkley, CECC's chair, suggested that the hearing was "not meant to attack or embarrass individual U.S. companies but rather to explore how key Olympic movement stakeholders, corporate stakeholders, can use their influence to ensure the Olympics live up to its values."[79]
- Addressing the corporate witnesses, Representative James P. McGovern, CECC's co-chair, stated, "We hope you agree that your company's reputational risk ... is not worth the association with an Olympics held in the midst of a genocide."[80]
- Representative Chris Smith, a CECC commissioner, referred to corporate sponsors of the Games as "in effect those who underwrite, and help legitimize the 'Genocide Olympics.'"[81]

Senator Merkeley and Representatives McGovern and Smith followed up in January 2022 with a letter to the IOC raising concerns about possible forced labor in the supply chains of two BOCOG corporate sponsors that reportedly continue to source cotton from Xinjiang.[82] (See "Boosting Chinese Brands" below.)

On January 13, 2022, 25 members of the House Committee on Energy and Commerce wrote to corporations participating in the IOC's TOP Programme, asking each "how you will use your creative and financial investments in the games to shed light on what media coverage and commercials will likely not showcase—China's history of human rights abuses and calculated deception." Among the questions committee Members posed in each letter were, "Are you concerned that your investment and business in China has not resulted in China becoming a force for good in the international community, but instead has given the [Chinese Communist Party] legitimacy even as it engages in horrific human rights abuses and threatens democracies like Taiwan and Hong Kong?"[83]

[79] Statement of Senator Jeff Merkley at Congressional-Executive Commission on China hearing on Corporate Sponsorship of the 2022 Beijing Olympics," July 27, 2021, at https://www.cecc.gov/sites/chinacommission.house.gov/files/documents/Chairman%20Merkley%20Opening%20Statement%20-%20CECC%20Olympic%20Sponsors%20Hearing.pdf.

[80] Statement of Rep. James P. McGovern at Congressional-Executive Commission on China hearing on Corporate Sponsorship of the 2022 Beijing Olympics," July 27, 2021, at https://www.cecc.gov/sites/chinacommission.house.gov/files/documents/JPM%20opening%20statement—Corporate%20Sponsorship%20Hearing.pdf.

[81] "Corporate Sponsorship of the 2022 Beijing Olympics," excerpts of remarks by Rep. Chris Smith (R-NJ), at Congressional-Executive Commission on China hearing on Corporate Sponsorship of the 2022 Beijing Olympics," July 27, 2021, at https://www.cecc.gov/sites/chinacommission.house.gov/files/documents/Rep%20Smith%20remarks%20-%20Coporate%20Sponsorship%20of%202022%20Beijing%20Olympics.pdf.

[82] Congressional-Executive Commission on China, "Chairs Ask IOC President to Justify Contracts with Chinese Companies Using Forced Labor," January 12, 2022, https://www.cecc.gov/media-center/press-releases/chairs-ask-ioc-president-to-justify-contracts-with-chinese-companies.

[83] E&C Republicans, "Leader Rodgers Calls on Companies Sponsoring the Beijing Olympics to Stand up Against China's Human Rights Abuses," January 13, 2022, at https://republicans-energycommerce.house.gov/news/leader-rodgers-calls-on-companies-sponsoring-the-beijing-olympics-to-stand-up-against-chinas-human-rights-abuses/.

Congressional Concerns Related to the Personal Security and Freedom of Expression of U.S. Athletes at the Games

Legislation related to freedom of expression in the context of the Games include the following:

- The EAGLE Act and H.Res. 466, which would call on the IOC to "propose a set of clear, executable actions to be taken by the International Olympic Committee upon infringement of freedom of expression by a host country's government during any Olympics";
- The EAGLE Act, which would call on the IOC to "rescind Rule 50 of the Olympic Charter, which restricts the freedom of expression by athletes when competing during Olympics events, and affirm the rights of athletes to political and other speech during athletic competitions, including speech that is critical of their host countries" (see "Rule 50.2 of the Olympic Charter" below);
- The American Values and Security in International Athletics Act (H.R. 1211), reported by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on February 25, 2021, which would express the sense of Congress "that individuals representing the United States at international athletic competitions in foreign countries should have the opportunity to be informed about human rights and security concerns in such countries and how best to safeguard their personal security and privacy," and would require the Secretary of State to devise and implement a strategy for disseminating such information to U.S. athletes; and
- H.Res. 837, which passed the House on December 8, 2021, by a unanimous vote of 428-0, and states, among other things, that it is the sense of the House that IOC's role in "legitimizing" PRC claims about the safety of PRC tennis star Peng Shuai, "raise[s] questions about the organization's ability and willingness to protect the rights of athletes participating in the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic games in Beijing."

Some Members have raised concerns about China's efforts to promote use of a new digital currency, the Digital Currency Electronic Payment, or "digital yuan," urging the U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Committee to bar U.S. athletes from acquiring or using digital yuan during the Beijing 2022 Games because of fears that it could be used for surveillance purposes.[84] In response to an inquiry from the *Wall Street Journal*, a BOCOG representative stated in January 2022 that, "Athletes and other stakeholders of the Games will not be required to download or use China's digital currency (digital yuan) during Games time."[85]

In a January 13, 2022, letter to the CEO of the U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Committee, Senator Rick Scott raised concern about BOCOG's COVID-19 testing protocols and China's "draconian

[84] Office of Senator Marsha Blackburn, "Blackburn, Wicker, Lummis Urge U.S. Olympic Committee to Prohibit Athletes from Using the Digital Yuan," July 19, 2021, at https://www.blackburn.senate.gov/2021/7/blackburn-wicker-lummis-urge-us-olympic-committee-to-prohibit-athletes-from-using-the-digital-yuan; Office of Rep. Lance Gooden, "Gooden Calls on U.S. Olympic Committee to Prohibit Athletes from Using Chinese Digital Currency," December 16, 2021, at https://gooden.house.gov/press-releases?ID=836316B8-1BF4-41F8-A518-7244C73AC68D; Office of Senator Marco Rubio, "Rubio to President: Protect U.S. Olympic Athletes from Chinese Cybersecurity Threats," January 12, 2022, at https://www.rubio.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/press-releases?id=E4075190-0D23-42BB-86EF-47A882151588.

[85] Rachel Bachman and Louise Radnofsky, "Team USA Advises Athletes Heading to Beijing Olympics to Leave Their Phones at Home," *Wall Street Journal*, January 14, 2022.

technological surveillance," asserting that the Communist Party of China "has a track record of stealing American citizens' biological and personal information."[86] (For discussion of security concerns related to BOCOG's MY2022 smartphone app, see "Challenges Related to the COVID-19 Pandemic" below.)

U.S. and International Stances on Official Representation at the Games[87]

The Biden Administration's Decision

At a December 6, 2021, press briefing, White House Press Secretary Jen Psaki told reporters that the Biden Administration "will not send any diplomatic or official representation to the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics and Paralympic Games given the PRC's ongoing genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang and other human rights abuses."[88] (See textbox for the full text of Psaki's announcement.) Psaki pushed back at a reporter's characterization of the U.S. move as a "diplomatic boycott," however, saying that that term "brings people back to 1980," when the United States barred its athletes from competing at the Summer Olympic Games in Moscow. (For discussion of the U.S. boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics, see **Appendix D**.) For the 2022 Winter Games, Psaki said, the Administration decided that "U.S. athletes—people who have been training, giving up a lot of blood, sweat, and tears preparing for these Olympics—should be able to go and compete." She added that the Administration would "look forward to cheering for them from home." Psaki said that the Biden Administration had informed allies of the U.S. decision and would "leave it to them to make their own decisions" about whether to follow suit.[89]

Text of White House Press Secretary Jen Psaki's Announcement Related to U.S. Participation in the Beijing 2022 Winter Games (December 6, 2021)[90]

"The Biden administration will not send any diplomatic or official representation to the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics and Paralympic Games given the PRC's ongoing genocide and crimes against humanity in Xinjiang and other human rights abuses.

"The athletes on Team USA have our full support. We will be behind them 100 percent as we cheer them on from home. We will not be contributing to the fanfare of the Games.

[86] Office of Senator Rick Scott, "Sen. Rick Scott Demands Answers from Team USA on Protecting American Athletes at the 2022 Beijing Olympics," January 13, 2022, at https://www.rickscott.senate.gov/2022/1/sen-rick-scott-demands-answers-from-team-usa-on-protecting-american-athletes-at-the-2022-beijing-olympics.

[87] Written by CRS Specialist in Asian Affairs Susan V. Lawrence and CRS Analyst in Asian Affairs Ricardo Barrios.

[88] The White House, "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jen Psaki, December 6, 2021," December 6, 2021, at https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/press-briefings/2021/12/06/press-briefing-by-press-secretary-jen-psaki-december-6-2021/. Earlier in the Biden Administration, White House Press Secretary Psaki had appeared to reject the idea. In April 2021, she stated, "We have not discussed and are not discussing any joint boycott with allies and partners." See The White House, "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jen Psaki and Secretary of Commerce Gina Raimondo, April 7, 2021," press briefing, April 7, 2021, at https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/press-briefings/2021/04/07/press-briefing-by-press-secretary-jen-psaki-and-secretary-of-commerce-gina-raimondo-april-7-2021/.

[89] The White House, "Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jen Psaki, December 6, 2021," December 6, 2021, at https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/press-briefings/2021/12/06/press-briefing-by-press-secretary-jen-psaki-december-6-2021/.

[90] Ibid.

> "U.S. diplomatic or official representation would treat these Games as business as usual in the face of the PRC's egregious human rights abuses and atrocities in Xinjiang. And we simply can't do that.
>
> "As the President has told President Xi, standing up for human rights is in the DNA of Americans. We have a fundamental commitment to promoting human rights. And we feel strongly in our position, and we will continue to take actions to advance human rights in China and beyond."

The same day, State Department Spokesperson Ned Price clarified that the United States still intended "to provide consular and Diplomatic Security services to ensure that our athletes, coaches, trainers, staff associated with the U.S. Olympic team, that they are secure, that they have access to American citizen services." He insisted that "this is a separate matter from official diplomatic representation at the Games."[91] On January 19, 2022, the *South China Morning Post* reported that China had approved visas for a U.S. delegation of 46, predominantly from the U.S. Department of State. The paper quoted the U.S. Embassy in Beijing as stating that the visa applications were for "consular and diplomatic security personnel" and that, "those personnel do not constitute official or diplomatic representation at the Games.[92]

Days after the White House announcement that it would be withholding official representation from the Games, Secretary of Commerce Gina Raimondo said the Biden Administration would not be pressuring corporations over their Games sponsorships. "What individual companies do is entirely up to them. We're not going to pressure them one way or another," Raimondo told Bloomberg News. She added, "So if a company decides—as many companies have—that they want to make a statement against human rights abuses, then that would be great. But we're not going to be pushing anyone to make that decision."[93]

China's Reaction to the Biden Administration Decision

Immediately following the U.S. announcement that it would forego diplomatic and official representation at the Games, a spokesperson for China's Foreign Ministry, Zhao Lijian, characterized the decision as an attempt "to interfere with the Beijing Winter Olympics" and predicted that it would cause the United States "greater loss of moral authority and credibility." He also accused the United States of "fabricating the biggest lie of the century about so-called 'genocide' in Xinjiang." Zhao said that China had "lodged stern representations" with the U.S. government. He also said China would respond with unspecified "firm countermeasures" and warned that the U.S. position could "affect bilateral dialogue and cooperation in important areas and international and regional issues."[94]

As some U.S. allies indicated that they, too, would withhold official representation from the Games, a PRC Foreign Ministry spokesperson responded by stating, "political manipulation with

[91] U.S. Department of State, "Department Press Briefing—December 6, 2021," December 6, 2021, at https://www.state.gov/briefings/department-press-briefing-december-6-2021/.

[92] Catherine Wong, "Exclusive: China 'Will Issue Visas' for US Olympic Delegation Despite Diplomatic Boycott," *South China Morning Post*, January 19, 2022.

[93] Jenny Leonard, "U.S. Won't Push Companies to Pull Out of Olympics, Raimondo Says," Bloomberg, December 9, 2021.

[94] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC, "Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Zhao Lijian's Regular Press Conference on December 7, 2021," December 7, 2021, at https://www.mfa.gov.cn/mfa_eng/xwfw_665399/s2510_665401/2511_665403/202112/t20211207_10463627.html.

the Olympic Games by the U.S., Australia, the U.K. and Canada wins no support and isolates the countries themselves. They will pay a price for their erroneous moves."[95]

In a December 30, 2021, interview with Chinese state media, PRC State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi criticized, "The politicization of the Olympics by certain countries," saying it "completely violates and discredits the Olympic spirit." Wang also asserted, however, that the stances of the United States and other countries "will do no harm to a splendid Olympic Games."[96]

The IOC's Stance

In a December 6, 2021, statement responding to the Biden Administration's announcement, the IOC stated, "The presence of government officials and diplomats is a purely political decision for each government, which the IOC in its political neutrality fully respects." The IOC indicated that it interpreted the Administration's announcement, which included support for the participation of U.S. athletes in the Games, as "mak[ing] clear that the Olympic Games and the participation of the athletes are beyond politics," a stance the IOC said it welcomed.[97]

The U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Committee's Stance

Following the Biden Administration's announcement, Sarah Hirshland, CEO of the United States Olympic and Paralympic Committee (USOPC) issued a statement saying, "We greatly appreciate the unwavering support of the President and his administration and we know they will be cheering us on from home this winter. Competing on behalf of the United States is an honor and a privilege, and Team USA is excited and ready to make the nation proud."[98]

In congressional testimony in May 2021, Hirshland stated that Members of Congress who had called for an athletic boycott of the Beijing 2022 Games were "understandably concerned about the conduct of the Chinese, including the oppression of the Uyghur population, which the United States has designated a genocide." Hirshland stated her opposition to an athletic boycott of the Games, however, citing lessons from the U.S. boycott of the Moscow 1980 Olympics. She noted that 461 U.S. athletes who qualified to compete in Moscow that year were barred from doing so. "Many never had another chance to be part of Team USA and to compete at an Olympic Games," Hirshland lamented. She argued that "their sacrifice did not even achieve the government's policy goals" because "the Soviet Union stayed in Afghanistan for nearly another decade."[99] (For discussion of the U.S. boycott of the Moscow 1980 Games, see **Appendix D**.)

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[95] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC, "Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Wang Wenbin's Regular Press Conference on December 9, 2021," December 9, 2021, at https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/xwfw_665399/s2510_665401/2511_665403/202112/t20211209_10465086.html.

[96] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC, "State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi Gives Interview to Xinhua News Agency and China Media Group on International Situation and China's Diplomacy in 2021," December 30, 2021, at https://www.mfa.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/202112/t20211230_10477324.html.

[97] International Olympic Committee, "IOC Statement on Today's Announcement by the U.S. Government," December 6, 2021, at https://olympics.com/ioc/news/ioc-statement-on-today-s-announcement-by-the-us-government.

[98] "Reactions to U.S. Govt Officials' Boycott of Beijing Olympics," Reuters, December 6, 2021.

[99] Statement of Sarah Hirshland, Chief Executive Officer, United States Olympic and Paralympic Committee, before the Congressional-Executive Commission on China and Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission joint hearing, "China, Genocide and the Olympics," May 18, 2021, https://chrissmith.house.gov/uploadedfiles/usopc_statement_for_the_record_-_cecc_and_tlhrc_joint_hearing_5_18_21_.pdf.

In an acknowledgement of risks to athletes' personal information associated with participation in the Beijing 2022 Games, the USOPC reportedly issued an advisory document in September 2021 and a technical bulletin in December 2021 related to use of electronic devices in China. The bulletin warned, "every device, communication, transaction and online activity may be monitored. Your device(s) may also be compromised with malicious software, which could negatively impact future use." USOPC advised athletes to use temporary (also known as "burner") phones while in China. Canada, the Netherlands, and the UK have reportedly issued similar advice to their athletes.[100]

Select International Stances

The Biden Administration has not publicly called on other countries to join the United States in withholding official representation from the Beijing Winter Games. On December 6, 2021, State Department Spokesperson Ned Price stated, "When it comes to representation at the Games, this is a sovereign decision that each country needs to make."[101]

Eleven countries other than the United States have so far indicated that they will not send official representatives to the Games:

- Several countries attributed their decisions primarily to reasons other than human rights (Belgium, Estonia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and North Korea) or did not offer a reason (Lithuania). While not attributing their decisions to human rights, the Netherlands and New Zealand both mentioned human rights in their statements.
- Canada is the sole country to refer to its action as a "diplomatic boycott." British Prime Minister Boris Johnson referred to the U.K.'s action as "effectively a diplomatic boycott."
- China's ally North Korea is the sole country to state that it will send neither officials nor athletes to Beijing. North Korea said it took its action "due to the manoeuvers of hostile forces and the world pandemic," and offered praise for China's policies.[102]
- The decisions of New Zealand and Lithuania preceded the announcement of the U.S. decision.
- Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom are members of the "Five Eyes" (FVEY) intelligence sharing grouping that also includes the United States.
- Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Lithuania, and the Netherlands are among the 30 members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), of which the United States and Canada are also members. The five are also members of the 27-member European Union.
- Japan is one of the United States' five treaty allies in Asia.

[100] Rachel Bachman and Louise Radnofsky, "Team USA Advises Athletes Heading to Beijing Olympics to Leave Their Phones at Home," *Wall Street Journal*, January 14, 2022.

[101] U.S. Department of State, "Department Press Briefing—December 6, 2021," December 6, 2021, at https://www.state.gov/briefings/department-press-briefing-december-6-2021/.

[102] "DPRK Olympic Committee, Ministry of Physical Culture and Sports Send Letter to Chinese Counterparts, Beijing Winter Olympics Organizing Committee," KCNA via *Pyongyang Times*, January 8, 20212, at http://www.pyongyangtimes.com.kp/?bbs=40182.

Details of all 11 countries' statements are provided in **Table 1** below. Countries are listed in the order in which they made their decisions public.

Table 1. Countries Withholding Official Representation from the Beijing 2022 Games

Listed in the order in which they publicly announced their positions

Country	Announcement date	Details
Lithuania	12/2/2021	Following calls from Lithuanian Members of Parliament for Lithuania to boycott the Games over human rights concerns, the Baltic News Service reported that senior officials of the Lithuania's Education, Science and Sport Ministry, including the minister, would not travel to Beijing for the Winter Games, although athletes would compete.[103] The same day, Lithuanian Radio and Television cited representatives of Lithuania's President and Foreign Minister, as saying that neither man would attend the Olympics.[104] The news came as Lithuania, a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), was in the midst of a diplomatic and economic standoff with China over Lithuania's decision to allow Taiwan to open a "Taiwanese Representative Office" in its capital, Vilnius.
New Zealand	12/6/2021	New Zealand Deputy Prime Minister Grant Robertson stated that even before the U.S. announcement, his country had decided "that we won't be represented at a ministerial level" at the Beijing 2022 Winter Games and had communicated that information to Beijing in October 2021. Robertson said the decision was "mostly to do with COVID and the fact the logistics of travel around Covid are not conducive to that kind of trip," adding, "but we've made clear to China on numerous occasions our concerns about human rights issues." A New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade spokesperson elaborated, stating, "We often don't attend Winter Games at ministerial level, and especially in light of the global Covid situation, there are no plans to do so on this occasion." The spokesperson noted, "The New Zealand Olympic Committee has sought accreditation for a small number of Embassy staff, including the Ambassador, to provide consular support to the team, should it be needed, as is standard practice for this kind of event."[105]
Australia	12/7/2021	Noting "human rights abuses in Xinjiang and the many other issues that Australia has consistently raised" with China and the Chinese government's unwillingness to discuss them, Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison stated, "It will come as no surprise that the Australian government will not be sending any official representatives to the forthcoming Winter Games in China." Morrison said Australian athletes would compete, noting, "Australia's a great sporting nation and I very much separate the issues of sport and these other political issues."[106]

[103] Baltic News Service, "Lithuanian Athletes to Go to Beijing Olympics Despite Boycott Calls—Minister," LRT, December 2, 2021, at https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1555433/lithuanian-athletes-to-go-to-beijing-olympics-despite-boycott-calls-minister.

[104] Rokas Suslavičius, "Iš Seimo atskriejęs boikoto siūlymas įaudrino žiemos sportininkus: tai yra tiesiog beprotystė," LRT, December 2, 2021, at https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/sportas/10/1553732/is-seimo-atskriejes-boikoto-siulymas-iaudrino-ziemos-sportininkus-tai-yra-tiesiog-beprotyste.

[105] Thomas Coughlan, "Louisa Wall and Simon O'Connor Call on Government to Boycott Games," *New Zealand Herald*, December 7, 2021; Thomas Manch, "Matthew Brockett, "New Zealand Diplomats Won't Attend Winter Olympics in China," Bloomberg, December 6, 2021.

[106] Prime Minister of Australia, "Press Conference Penshurst, NSW," December 8, 2021, at https://www.pm.gov.au/media/press-conference-penshurst-nsw; "Australia Will Not Send Officials to Beijing Winter Olympics," 9 News

Country	Announcement date	Details
United Kingdom	12/8/2021	Responding to questions from Members of Parliament concerned about China's human rights record, U.K. Prime Minister Boris Johnson announced, "There will be effectively a diplomatic boycott of the winter Olympics in Beijing. No Ministers are expected to attend, and no officials." With regard to athletes' participation, Johnson stated, "I do not think that sporting boycotts are sensible, and that remains the policy of the Government."[107]
Canada	12/8/2021	Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau cited "the repeated human rights violations by the Chinese government" in announcing that Canada "will not be sending any diplomatic representation to the Beijing Olympic and Paralympic Games this winter." He said, "A diplomatic boycott doesn't amount to a full boycott and Canadian athletes will still represent Canada at the 24th Olympic Winter Games."[108] Trudeau added that athletes "will continue to have all of our fullest support."[109]
Estonia	12/12/2021	On December 12, 2021, Estonian President Alar Karis announced that he would not attend the Winter Olympics in Beijing, citing "political factors."[110] A month later, on January 17, 2022, Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Kristina Ots told Estonian Public Broadcasting (ERR), "[t]he Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not know of any Estonian government members planning to participate in the Beijing Olympics." Government Spokesperson Sten Otsmaa confirmed to the broadcaster that neither Prime Minister Kaja Kallas nor any government members were planning to attend the Games.[111]
Belgium	12/14/2021	In response to questions from a Member of Belgium's Chamber of Representatives, Belgian Prime Minister Alexander De Croo stated, "the federal government does not intend to send representation of any sort to the Winter Olympic Games in Beijing." A spokesperson subsequently clarified, "Belgium regardless did not intend to send representation to China for two simple reasons: firstly, no delegation has ever been dispatched to the Winter Olympic Games, because typically only a few athletes participate. Secondly, the health situation does not permit it. No representation was sent to Tokyo this past summer for the same reasons."[112]

Australia, December 7, 2021, at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nclD5CjcZRg.

[107] U.K. Parliament, "Engagements Volume 705: Debated on Wednesday 8 December 2021," *Hansard*, December 8, 2021, at https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2021-12-08/debates/45C3B261-14F7-4DDC-A7D8-EB8A76097CFB/Engagements.

[108] Stephen Maher, "Canada Won't Send Diplomats to the Beijing Olympics," Maclean's, December 9, 2021.

[109] John Paul Tasker, "Trudeau Announces Diplomatic Boycott of Beijing Olympics," CBC News, December 8, 2021.

[110] "President Alar Karis poliitilistel põhjustel Pekingi olümpiamängudele ei lähe" ("President Alar Karis Will Not Go to the Beijing Olympics for Political Reasons"), *Postimees*, December 12, 2021.

[111] "Estonian politicians to join Beijing Olympics boycott," *Estonian Public Broadcasting* (ERR), January 17, 2022.

[112] "La Belgique va-t-elle boycotter diplomatiquement les JO d'hiver de Pékin?" ("Will Belgium Issue a Diplomatic Boycott of the Winter Olympic Games in Beijing?"), *La Libre*, December 14, 2021.

Country	Announcement date	Details
Japan	12/24/2021	Japan announced that it would not send government representatives to the Beijing Winter Olympics, but that several prominent Japanese citizens would attend. Those expected to travel to Beijing for the Games include the head of Japan's Olympic Committee, the head of the country's Paralympic Committee, and a member of the upper house of the Diet, Japan's parliament, who served as the president of the organizing committee for the Tokyo 2020 Summer Games. Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida's statement included a reference to human rights: "Japan believes that it is important that the universal values of freedom, respect for basic human rights and the rule of law be guaranteed in China, and we have been working directly with the Chinese side at various levels to promote this position held by Japan."[113]
North Korea	1/8/2022	North Korea's state media reported that North Korea's Ambassador to China delivered a letter to a senior Chinese sports official stating that North Korea would not attend the Games "due to the manoeuvers of hostile forces and the world pandemic."[114] The "hostile forces" language appears to refer to the IOC's September 2021, decision to suspend North Korea's National Olympic Committee (NOC) until the end of 2022, "as a result of the NOC's unilateral decision not to participate in the Olympic Games Tokyo 2020." The IOC had indicated that it would consider participation by individual North Korean athletes.[115] The North Korean letter lauded China's preparations for the 2022 Winter Games "under the correct leadership of Xi Jinping, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," and denounced "the U.S. and its vassal forces" for "their anti-China smear campaign to block the successful holding of the Olympic Games."[116]
The Netherlands	1/14/2022	A spokesperson for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands confirmed to Dutch news agency ANP that the country would not send an official government delegation to the Beijing 2022 Winter Games. According to ANP, "The Cabinet decided not to send a delegation because no Dutch spectators will be allowed to be present." The spokesperson also told ANP that COVID-19 restrictions meant that it would be difficult for the Netherlands to engage with the government of China on, "major concerns about the human rights situation in a meaningful way."[117]
Denmark	1/14/2022	Noting that, "It is no secret that we from the Danish side are very concerned about the human rights situation in China," Danish Foreign Minister Jeppe Kofod said, "The government has decided that we will not attend the Winter Olympics in China."[118]

[113] Satoshi Sugiyama and Jesse Johnson, "Japan Not Planning to Send Senior Officials to Beijing Olympics, *Japan Times*, December 24, 2021.

[114] "DPRK Olympic Committee, Ministry of Physical Culture and Sports Send Letter to Chinese Counterparts, Beijing Winter Olympics Organizing Committee," KCNA via *Pyongyang Times*, January 8, 20212, at http://www.pyongyangtimes.com.kp/?bbs=40182.

[115] International Olympic Committee, "IOC Executive Board Suspends NOC of Democratic People's Republic of Korea," September 8, 2021, at https://olympics.com/ioc/news/ioc-executive-board-suspends-noc-of-democratic-people-s-republic-of-korea.

[116] "DPRK Olympic Committee, Ministry of Physical Culture and Sports Send Letter to Chinese Counterparts, Beijing Winter Olympics Organizing Committee," KCNA via *Pyongyang Times*, January 8, 20212, at http://www.pyongyangtimes.com.kp/?bbs=40182.

[117] "Netherlands Will Not Send Government Delegation to Beijing Winter Olympics," ANP, January 14, 2022.

[118] "Denmark to Join Diplomatic Boycott of Beijing Olympics Over Human Rights," Reuters, January 14, 2022.

The European Parliament has supported broader participation in efforts to press China on human rights by withholding official representation at the Games. On July 8, 2021, it passed a non-binding resolution urging

> [T]he European Commission, the Council of the European Union, and the Member States to decline invitations for government representatives and diplomats to attend the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics unless the Chinese Government demonstrates a verifiable improvement in the human rights situation in Hong Kong, the Xinjiang Uyghur Region, Tibet, Inner Mongolia and elsewhere in China.[119]

Nonetheless, most European Union governments have not announced plans to withhold official representation from the Games. Explaining why France would not do so, French President Emmanuel Macron stated, "You either have a complete boycott, and not send athletes, or you try to change things with useful actions." Macron stated that he supported "action that has a useful outcome," and said France would be working with the IOC on a charter to protect athletes.[120] (Paris is scheduled to host the 2024 Summer Olympics.)

South Korean President Moon Jae-in said the United States had not requested that his country withhold official representation from the Games and "the Korean government is not considering it."[121] Asked about Moon's statement, State Department Spokesperson Price said that the decision "is theirs to make. It is not for the U.S. or any other government to make" for them.[122] High-profile figures who have committed to attend the opening ceremony for the Beijing Winter Games include U.N. Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, Russian President Vladimir Putin, Polish President Andrzej Duda, and Argentine President Alberto Fernandez.[123] In remarks on January 13, 2022, Guterres stated that the Games are "an event that symbolizes the role of sports in bringing people together and in promoting peace, and it is in this strict context and without any political dimension that I intend to be present in the opening."[124]

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[119] European Parliament, "European Parliament Resolution of 8 July 2021 on Hong Kong, Notably the Case of Apple Daily (2021/2786(RSP))," at https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2021-0356_EN.html, accessed December 9, 2021.

[120] "France Will Not Join 'Insignificant' Boycott of Beijing Olympics, Says Macron," France 24, December 9, 2021.

[121] Shin Ji-hye, "Seoul Not Considering Beijing Olympics Boycott: Moon," *The Korea Herald*, December 13, 2021.

[122] "U.S. Department of State, "Department Press Briefing—January 6, 2022," December 6, 2022, at https://www.state.gov/?post_type=state_briefing&%3Bp=92333/.

[123] Minlu Zhang, "United Nations Chief to Attend Beijing Winter Olympics," *China Daily*, December 11, 2021; "Russia's Putin to Attend 2022 Beijing Olympics—Report," Reuters, September 16, 2021; Deng Xiaoci, "Support from US Allies, Latin America for Beijing Olympics a Slap at Washington's Absurdity," *Global Times*, December 13, 2021; "Poland's President to Attend Beijing Olympics Amidst U.S. Boycott," Reuters, January 18, 2022; "Alberto Fernández viajará a Rusia y a China el mes próximo," ("Alberto Fernández Will Travel to Russia and China Next Month"), Página 12, January 14, 2022.

[124] United Nations, "Secretary-General's Press Encounter," January 13, 2022, https://www.un.org/sg/en/node/261394.

The International Olympic Committee and Human Rights[125]

The IOC's Evolving Approach to Human Rights

Cities accepted by the IOC as candidate cities must complete and submit a candidature questionnaire, which occurs at least seven years prior to the scheduled Olympics. Neither the questionnaire for the 2022 nor the 2024 Olympics included any reference to human rights.[126] The 2026 questionnaire included two passages requiring host governments and cities to protect and respect human rights.[127] Consistent with the absence of human rights from the 2022 candidature questionnaire, the host city contract (HCC) for the 2022 Olympics also does not mention human rights.[128] On February 28, 2017, the IOC announced that henceforth—beginning with the 2024 host city contract—it would include in the HCC, among other items, a provision regarding human rights.[129]

One of the core requirements for the 2024 Olympics, which will be held in Paris, includes protecting and respecting human rights. According to the 2024 Host City Contract-Principles, Paris, the host NOC, and the organizing committee of the Olympic Games (OCOG) (i.e., Paris 2024) shall

> ensure any violation of human rights is remedied in a manner consistent with international agreements, laws and regulations applicable in the Host Country and in a manner consistent with all internationally-recognised human rights standards and principles, including the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, applicable in the Host Country.[130]

On December 1, 2018, the IOC announced it had established an IOC Advisory Committee on Human Rights and that HRH Prince Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein, a former Jordanian diplomat and United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, had agreed to chair the committee.[131] The IOC acknowledged that its decision to create the committee was a "direct result of Olympic Agenda 2020," a set of 40 detailed recommendations "identified and collated through a collaborative and consultative process involving Olympic Movement stakeholders and outside

[125] Written by CRS Specialist in American National Government L. Elaine Halchin.

[126] International Olympic Committee, *2022 Procedure and Candidature Questionnaire*, at https://stillmed.olympic.org/Documents/Host_city_elections/FINAL_2022_Candidature_Procedure_and_Questionnaire-FINAL.pdf; International Olympic Committee, *Candidature Questionnaire Olympic Games 2024*, at https://stillmed.olympic.org/Documents/Host_city_elections/Candidature_Questionnaire_Olympic_Games_2024.pdf.

[127] Ibid., p. 88.

[128] International Olympic Committee, *Host City Contract, XXIV Olympic Winter Games in 2022*, at https://stillmedab.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Host-City-Elections/XXIV-OWG-2022/Host-City-Contract-for-the-XXIV-Olympic-Winter-Games-in-2022.pdf.

[129] International Olympic Committee, "IOC Strengthens Its Stance in Favour of Human Rights and Against Corruption in New Host City Contract," February 28, 2017, at https://www.olympic.org/news/ioc-strengthens-its-stance-in-favour-of-human-rights-and-against-corruption-in-new-host-city-contract.

[130] International Olympic Committee, *Host City Contract-Principles: Games of the XXXIII Olympiad in 2024*, executed on September 13, 2017, p. 16, at https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Host-City-Elections/XXXIII-Olympiad-2024/Host-City-Contract-2024-Principles.pdf.

[131] International Olympic Committee, "IOC Sets Up Advisory Committee on Human Rights Chaired by HRH Prince Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein," December 1, 2018, at https://www.olympic.org/news/ioc-sets-up-advisory-committee-on-human-rights-chaired-by-hrh-prince-zeid-ra-ad-al-hussein.

experts," the overarching goal of which was to safeguard Olympic values and strengthen the role of sport in society.[132] The IOC added that the decision to create an advisory committee "follows the inclusion of human rights standards into the 'Operational Requirements' of the Host City Contract for the Olympic Games 2024 and beyond."[133]

In addition to ensuring that it and the other relevant parties (e.g., Paris and the NOC) commit to "their responsibility to respect human rights," Paris 2024 is responsible for developing and implementing a human rights strategy.[134] Per the Host City Contract-Operational Requirements, which is dated June 2018, this strategy shall

> Include detailed measures to be taken by the OCOG to identify potential human rights risks and avoid causing or contributing to adverse human rights impacts through its own activities relating to the management and delivery of the Games;
>
> Detail the processes and measures that will be implemented to address and remedy such adverse human rights impacts, if and when they occur;
>
> Seek to prevent or mitigate adverse human rights impacts directly linked to the OCOG's operations, products or services through its business relationships with third parties;
>
> Rely on effective consultation with potentially impacted groups, internal and external communications and assessment; and
>
> Ensure transparent and timely reporting on the OCOG's, Host City's, Host NOC's, Host NPC's [National Paralympic Committee's] and Host Country Authorities' efforts to respect human rights with regard to Games-related activities, as well as service providers or other stakeholders assisting them in the Games delivery.[135]

In 2019, the IOC commissioned Prince Zeid and Rachel Davis, Vice President of Shift, a nonprofit center that focuses on business and human rights, to develop a human rights strategy for the IOC.[136] Their report, which was published in March 2020, notes that "the human rights impacts that could be connected to the [2022] Games are severe—as our consultations with expert civil society stakeholders also confirmed—and addressing them remains challenging."[137] One of the recommendations included in the report mentions Beijing:

> The IOC may want to consider that: 1. The Human Rights Strategy commit[s] the IOC to an ongoing process of strengthening human rights due diligence across its operations, including more routinely integrating the perspectives of affected stakeholders, while

[132] Although the IOC referenced its Olympic Agenda 2020 in this statement, the agenda did not mention human rights. International Olympic Committee, "Olympic Agenda 2020," at https://www.olympic.org/olympic-agenda-2020. The agenda is undated, but it was presented at the 127th IOC Session in December 2014.

[133] International Olympic Committee, "IOC Sets up Advisory Committee on Human Rights Chaired by HRH Prince Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein"; International Olympic Committee, "Olympic Agenda 2020," at https://www.olympic.org/olympic-agenda-2020. The *Olympic Agenda 2020 Closing Report* is available at https://stillmedab.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/IOC/What-We-Do/Olympic-agenda/Olympic-Agenda-2020-Closing-report.pdf#_ga=2.140062067.1141578428.1619439871-770950844.1612452820.

[134] International Olympic Committee, *Host City Contract—Operational Requirements*, June 2018, p. 128, at https://stillmed.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/Host-City-Elections/XXXIII-Olympiad-2024/Host-City-Contract-2024-Operational-Requirements.pdf.

[135] Ibid.

[136] International Olympic Committee, "IOC Moves Forward with Its Human Rights Approach," December 2, 2020, at https://www.olympic.org/news/ioc-moves-forward-with-its-human-rights-approach.

[137] Prince Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein and Rachel Davis, *Recommendations for an IOC Human Rights Strategy*, p. 8, at https://stillmedab.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/News/2020/12/Independent_Expert_Report_IOC_HumanRights.pdf.

> focusing on a series of priorities in the first phase. These should include: a. Advancing the agreed strategic approach to engaging with Beijing 2022 on human rights, with support from the top levels of the organization and informed by the IOC's own consultations with expert stakeholders.[138]

During a news conference in July 2020, Thomas Bach, President of the IOC, was asked whether the IOC had discussed with Chinese authorities China's treatment of its Uyghur minority. Apparently referring to the IOC, he reportedly responded that its role is limited to "whatever is related to the Olympic Games rather than society as a whole."[139] In March 2021, Reuters reported that in response to a question "about claims of rights violations in China," Bach said[140]

> We are taking this very seriously…. Human rights and labour rights and others are and will be part of the host city contract. We are working very closely with the organising committee. We are monitoring supply chains, labour rights, freedom of press and many other issues. This is our responsibility…. We are not a super world government where the IOC could solve or even address issues for which not a United Nations security council, no G7, no G20 has a solution…. This is in the remit of politics. We have to live up to our responsibilities in our areas of responsibility.[141]

Neither of the two IOC statements issued in January 2021 and May 2021 about the Beijing Games mentions human rights.[142] Both statements concluded with the following sentence: "Beyond this, the two leaders discussed all other matters which are important to the success of the Olympic Games and the long-term mutual cooperation."[143]

In an interview with the German press agency DPA on December 7, 2021, IOC President Bach described the IOC's "responsibilities related to the Games" as including "no discrimination, freedom of the press, open internet, freedom of expression for the athletes." He said the IOC was "in close contact with the organizing committee," but added, "The IOC does not have the power and the means to change political systems. The political neutrality of the IOC and the Games applies here."[144]

Rule 50.2 of the Olympic Charter

Rule 50.2 of the Olympic Charter—formerly known and sometimes still referred to as "Rule 50"—prohibits athletes and other accredited persons (e.g., coaches and trainers) from engaging in protests or demonstrations in certain Olympic venues.[145] The rule states: "No kind of

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[138] Ibid., p. 32.

[139] "IOC President Thomas Bach Warns of Possible 2022 Olympic Boycotts," Associated Press via ESPN, July 17, 2020.

[140] "IOC Is No 'Super World Government' to Solve China Issues, Says Bach," Reuters, March 12, 2021.

[141] Ibid.

[142] International Olympic Committee, "IOC Statement on the Winter Olympic Games in Beijing 2022," January 25, 2021, at https://olympics.com/ioc/news/ioc-statement-on-the-olympic-winter-games-beijing-2022; International Olympic Committee, "IOC Statement on the Winter Olympic Games in Beijing 2022," May 7, 2021, at https://olympics.com/ioc/news/ioc-statement-on-the-olympic-winter-games-beijing-2022-2021-05-07.

[143] Ibid.

[144] Andreas Schirmer, Christian Hollmann and John Bagratuni, "Bach Says Peng Offered Help 'In All Areas,' Games Cannot Change China," DPA, December 7, 2021.

[145] Although the Olympic Charter was amended earlier in 2021, creating Rule 50.1 and Rule 50.2 (this is the rule that prohibits protests and demonstrations), some publications or documents may still refer to "Rule 50." International Olympic Committee, "IOC Athletes' Commission's Recommendations on Rule 50 and Athlete Expression at the Olympic Games Fully Endorsed by the IOC Executive Board," press release, April 21, 2021, at https://olympics.com/

demonstration or political, religious or racial propaganda is permitted in any Olympic sites, venues or other areas."[146]

In 2019, the IOC's Athletes' Commission began drafting guidelines for Rule 50.[147] The guidelines distinguish between protests and demonstrations, which are not permitted, and expressing one's views, which is acceptable. The commission's guidelines, which were released in January 2020,[148] note that protests and demonstrations are prohibited during the Olympics, lists examples of Olympic venues where such activities are not permitted (e.g., field of play, Olympic Village, Olympic medal ceremonies, and all other official ceremonies), and provides examples of activities that constitute a protest (e.g., displaying a political message, making a gesture that is political in nature, and refusing to comply with Olympic ceremonies protocol). Noting that athletes should respect local laws, the guidelines also state that athletes may express their views in various settings, including press conferences, interviews, team meetings, and through digital or traditional media.[149] Finally, the guidelines advise that if an individual, such as an athlete or other accredited participant, violates Rule 50, "each incident will be evaluated by their National Olympic Committee, International Federation and the IOC, and disciplinary action will be taken on a case-by-case basis as necessary."[150] (For its part, the USOPC has announced that "Team USA athletes will not be sanctioned by the USOPC for peacefully and respectfully demonstrating in support of racial and social justice for all human beings."[151])

Groups of Olympic athletes, as well as a few individual athletes who competed in the 2020 Tokyo Summer Olympics, support the notion that Olympians may protest or demonstrate. On December 10, 2020, the Team USA Council on Racial and Social Justice released a statement regarding Rule 50 of the Olympic Charter. An excerpt reads as follows:

> The Team USA Council on Racial and Social Justice, with support of the United States Olympic & Paralympic Committee and the Athletes' Advisory Council, today released its recommendations related to Rule 50 and Section 2.2 to the International Olympic Committee and International Paralympic Committee, respectively, that requests to end the prohibition of peaceful demonstrations by team members at the Olympic and Paralympic Games. The Council's recommendation is built on the foundation that athletes should have

ioc/news/ioc-athletes-commission-s-recommendations-on-rule-50-and-athlete-expression-at-the-olympic-games; International Olympic Committee, "IOC Extends Opportunities for Athlete Expression During the Olympic Games Tokyo 2020," press release, July 2, 2021, at https://olympics.com/ioc/news/ioc-extends-opportunities-for-athlete-expression-during-the-olympic-games-tokyo-2020.

[146] International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Charter*, p. 90, at https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/General/EN-Olympic-Charter.pdf.

[147] International Olympic Committee, "IOC Athletes' Commission's Recommendations on Rule 50 and Athlete Expression at the Olympic Games Fully Endorsed by the IOC Executive Board." See International Olympic Committee, "Rule 50.2 Guidelines—Olympic Games Tokyo 2020," n.d., at https://olympics.com/athlete365/app/uploads/2021/07/Rule-50.2-Guidelines-Olympic-Games-Tokyo-2020-Final.pdf.

[148] Shannon Morgan, "Rule 50: Protecting the Integrity of the Olympics or Infringing Upon Freedom of Expression?" *Columbia Journal of Law & the Arts*, December 14, 2020, p. at https://journals.library.columbia.edu/index.php/lawandarts/announcement/view/369.

[149] IOC Athletes' Commission, "Rule 50 Guidelines," p. 2, at https://stillmedab.olympic.org/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/News/2020/01/Rule-50-Guidelines-Tokyo-2020.pdf.

[150] Ibid., p. 3.

[151] Sarah Hirshland, Chief Executive Officer, U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Committee, Letter to Team USA Athletes, n.d., at https://pbs.twimg.com/media/Eo411CVVQAEu2CL?format=png&name=medium.

> the right to peacefully protest and demonstrate against racial and social injustices and to promote human dignity through global sport.[152]

Global Athlete, "an international athlete-led movement," also objects to Rule 50. A Global Athlete press release states, in part: "The International Olympic Committee's (IOC) archaic approach to limiting athletes' rights to freedom of expression is another sign of an outdated sport system that continues to suppress athletes' fundamental rights."[153] In July 2020, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that Casey Wasserman, chairperson of the Los Angeles 2028 Organizing Committee of Olympic and Paralympic Games (LA28), had sent a letter to the president of the IOC the previous month, asking that the IOC "allow and encourage athletes to advocate against racism anywhere they can, including on and off the field of play."[154]

Using a gesture and a written symbol, two American athletes may have violated Rule 50.2 during the 2020 Summer Olympics (which were held in 2021 due to the pandemic). Raven Saunders, who won a silver medal in shot-put, crossed her arms over her head while standing on the medal podium.[155] A second Team USA member, American fencer Race Imboden, had a symbol written on the back of his right hand when he appeared besides his teammates on the podium with their bronze medals in men's team foil.[156]

The Government of China's Goals for the Games[157]

The government of China appears to see Beijing's hosting of the Games for a second time as serving multiple national purposes. They include spurring progress on one of Communist Party of China (CPC) General Secretary Xi Jinping's signature initiatives, the development of a new megacity in north China; boosting national pride, to be harnessed in the drive for realization of Xi's "Chinese dream of national rejuvenation";[158] demonstrating to the world the alleged superiority of China's political system; boosting the global profile of Chinese brands; and developing winter sports in China, including in Xinjiang. With the CPC due to convene its 20th National Congress in the last quarter of 2022, Xi is believed to be seeking to ride national pride to reelection at the Congress to an unusual third term as China's top leader.[159] China's goals for the Games are discussed below.

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[152] Team USA Council on Racial and Social Justice, U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Committee, "Team USA Council on Racial and Social Justice Releases First Set of Recommendations, Asks for Rule Change Allowing Athletes to Peacefully Protest and Demonstrate Without Sanctions During Olympic and Paralympic Games," press release, December 10, 2020, at https://www.teamusa.org/Media/News/USOPC/Team-USA-Council-on-Racial-and-Social-Justice-releases-recommendations-on-demonstrations.

[153] Global Athlete, "The International Olympic Committee's Rule Continues to Suppress Athletes' Rights to Freedom of Expression," media release, April 21, 2021, at https://globalathlete.org/our-word/the-iocs-rule-50-continues-to-suppress-athletes-rights-to-freedom-of-expression.

[154] David Wharton, "L.A. Olympic Officials Ask IOC to Allow Athlete Protests," *Los Angeles Times*, July 31, 2020, at https://www.latimes.com/sports/olympics/story/2020-07-31/la-olympic-officials-ask-ioc-allow-athlete-protests.

[155] Matthew Futterman, Talya Minsberg, and David W. Chen, "Shot-Putter's Gesture Renews Controversy Over Podium Protests," *New York Times*, August 1, 2021, at https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/01/sports/olympics/olympics-protests-podium.html.

[156] Gawon Bae, "Race Imboden: What US Olympic Fencer's Black X Symbol on His Hand Means," *CNN*, August 4, 2021.

[157] Written by CRS Specialist in Asian Affairs Susan V. Lawrence.

[158] "Full Text of Xi Jinping's Report at 19th CPC National Congress," Xinhua, November 3, 2017.

[159] For more information on the Communist Party of China's 20th National Congress, see CRS Report R46977, *China's Political System in Charts: A Snapshot Before the 20th Party Congress*, by Susan V. Lawrence and Mari Y. Lee.

Catalyzing a New Northern Megacity

In "important instructions" that Xi issued in November 2015, ahead of the first meeting of the CPC's Central Leading Group for the Work of the 24th Olympic Winter Games, he presented hosting the 2022 Games as "an important measure to implement the strategy for coordinated development of Beijing, Tianjin, and Hebei," the latter being China's capital, a nearby port city, and the province that surrounds them.[160] Xi envisions that "integrated development" yielding a new metropolitan area of 130 million people, to be known as "Jing-jin-ji," that will serve to ease population pressure in the capital.[161] In part to catalyze Xi's vision, China's Olympic planners selected three locations for Olympic venues that are distant from each other: central Beijing; Yanqing, an outlying district of Beijing adjacent to the border with Hebei Province; and Chongli District of Hebei Province's Zhangjiakou, a city 125 miles from Beijing.[162] A new high-speed rail line and a new expressway link them. China's government presents its leveraging of the Games for the development of Jing-jin-ji as consistent with the International Olympic Committee's (IOC's) Olympic Agenda 2020, which supports Olympic projects "that are better aligned with future hosts' long-term development plans."[163]

Boosting National Pride

Xi has frequently spoken of the national morale-boosting power of the Olympics. In 2016, he predicted that having the world's eyes on Beijing for the Games "is bound to greatly stimulate the national spirit and will be conducive to rallying the sons and daughters of China at home and abroad to strive hard in unity for the achievement of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation."[164] The pursuit of "rejuvenation" is a Party rubric for fostering national effort to propel China "closer to center stage" in the world by 2049, the hundredth anniversary of the 1949 founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC).[165] Xi has said that achieving rejuvenation will require sacrifices and hard work.[166] The U.S. Department of Defense characterizes the Chinese Communist Party's quest for rejuvenation as "a determined pursuit of political and social modernity that includes far-ranging efforts to expand China's national power, perfect its governance systems, and revise the international order."[167]

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[160] "习近平对办好北京冬奥会作出重要指示" ("Xi Jinping Issues Important Instructions on Doing a Good Job Holding the Beijing Winter Olympics"), Xinhua, November 24, 2015.

[161] Ian Johnson, "As Beijing Becomes a Supercity, the Rapid Growth Brings Pains," *New York Times*, July 19, 2015. The Jing-jin-ji name derives from the proposed megacity's component parts: Beijing ("Jing"), the port of Tianjin ("Jin"), and Hebei Province, whose traditional name is "Ji."

[162] "Competition Zones," Beijing Organising Committee for the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games, accessed May 7, 2021.

[163] "Xi Focus: President Xi Delivers on Olympic Promises," Xinhua, January 31, 2021; International Olympic Committee, "Olympic Agenda 2020 Closing Report," December 2014.

[164] "习近平听取北京冬奥会冬残奥会筹办工作情况汇报" ("Xi Jinping Listens to Report on Preparatory Work for the Beijing Winter Olympics and Paralympics"), Xinhua, March 18, 2016.

[165] "Xi Focus: Xi Stresses Racing Against Time to Reach Chinese Dream," Xinhua, January 23, 2020.

[166] "Full Text of Xi Jinping's Report at 19th CPC National Congress," Xinhua, November 3, 2017.

[167] U.S. Department of Defense, "Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2020," September 1, 2020.

Showcasing the Alleged Superiority of China's Political System

Xi has sought to present China's Olympic preparations, in the midst of a global pandemic, as demonstrating the superiority of China's political system. Inspecting competition venues in January 2021, Xi suggested that China's speedy construction of Olympic-related infrastructure and rapid training of winter sport athletes "fully reflects the Party's leadership and the nation's system, and the institutional advantages of being able to focus efforts to do big things."[168] China's state news agency amplified Xi's words in a dispatch that declared the "smooth progress" of preparatory work for the Olympics to be "a profound manifestation of the advantages of our country's system."[169]

Boosting Chinese Brands

The Beijing Organising Committee for the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (BOCOG) has presented corporate sponsorship of the Games as an opportunity to "showcase to the world the strength and appeal of Chinese brands," and share "extensive benefits from the Olympic brand, and achieve both economic and social returns."[170] As of January 2022, BOCOG had signed 44 corporate sponsors, almost all of which are based in China.[171]

BOCOG's official partners include iFLYTEK Corporation, exclusive supplier of automated translation software to the Games.[172] The U.S. Department of Commerce's Bureau of Industry and Security added iFLYTEK to its Entities List in 2019, saying the firm was "implicated in human rights violations and abuses in the implementation of China's campaign of repression, mass arbitrary detention, and high-technology surveillance against Uighurs, Kazakhs, and other members of Muslim minority groups" in Xinjiang.[173]

BOCOG corporate partners also include Anta Sports Products, official sportswear uniform supplier to the Tokyo 2020 Olympics and Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics, and Hengyuanxiang (HYX) Group, supplier of formal IOC uniforms at both Olympics.[174] Both companies reportedly continue to use cotton produced in Xinjiang, prompting some Members of Congress to warn of "a worrisome possibility that IOC personnel or others attending the 2022 Olympic Games will be

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[168] "习近平在北京河北考察并主持召开北京 2022 年冬奥会和冬残奥会筹办工作汇报会时强调 坚定信心奋发有为精益求精战胜困难 全力做好北京冬奥会冬残奥会筹办工作 韩正出席汇报会" ("Xi Jinping Conducted an Inspection Tour in Beijing and Hebei and Presided over a Meeting to Hear About the Work of the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics and Paralympic Winter Games Preparations, Emphasizing Strengthening Confidence, Working Hard, Striving for Perfection, Overcoming Difficulties, and Doing Good Preparatory Work for the Beijing Winter Olympics and Paralympics; Han Zheng Attended the Meeting"), Xinhua, January 20, 2021.

[169] "学习网评：制度优势是办好北京冬奥会的最大底气" ("Study Xi Online Commentary: Institutional Superiority Provides the Greatest Confidence of Doing a Good Job of Holding the Beijing Winter Olympics"), Xinhua, January 21, 2021.

[170] Beijing 2022, "China Three Gorges Corporation Announced as Official Partner of Beijing 2022 Games," December 17, 2020.

[171] Beijing 2022, "Official Partners of Beijing 2022," at https://www.beijing2022.cn/en/.

[172] iFLYTEK, "Beijing 2022 Signs iFLYTEK as the Official Automated Translation Software Exclusive Supplier," press release, September 16, 2019, http://www.iflytek.com/en/news/37.html.

[173] Bureau of Industry and Security, U.S. Department of Commerce, "Addition of Certain Entities to the Entity List," October 9, 2019.

[174] International Olympic Committee, "The IOC Announces ANTA As its Official Sportswear Uniform Supplier," October 29, 2019, at https://olympics.com/ioc/news/the-ioc-announces-anta-as-its-official-sportswear-uniform-supplier; International Olympic Committee, "IOC Announces HYX as Formal Uniform Supplier," September 16, 2019, at https://olympics.com/ioc/news/ioc-announces-hyx-as-formal-uniform-supplier.

wearing clothing contaminated by forced labor."[175] (Anta is the owner of several popular Western brands, including Arc'teryx.)[176]

Two Chinese companies, Alibaba Group Holdings Ltd. and China Mengniu Dairy Company Ltd., are among 16 businesses that are worldwide sponsors of the Games through participation in the IOC's TOP Programme. Mengniu's participation is through a joint agreement it inked with the Coca-Cola Company, whose headquarters is in the United States, in 2019.[177] (For a full list of corporate sponsors of the Games, see **Appendix C**.)

Promoting Winter Sports, Including in Xinjiang

Xi has stated that he sees the 2022 Olympics as an opportunity to promote mass participation in winter sports and to develop competitive Chinese talent in snow sports, in which China sees itself as relatively weak. In 2016, Xi presented popularizing winter sports as a way "to strengthen the physique of the people."[178] In January 2021, Xi declared that building China into a "sporting power" was an important part of "comprehensively building a modern socialist country."[179]

Xinjiang has been a focus for the efforts to popularize winter sports because unlike most of China, areas of Xinjiang are endowed with natural snow suited to winter sports. According to *Xinjiang Daily*, Xinjiang's government has been building winter sports facilities to support the Olympics. In 2017, the General Administration of Sport of China designated an ice sports center and two ski resorts in Xinjiang as "national sport training bases." A ski resort in Xinjiang's Altay Prefecture later also received that designation.[180] Altay, located in northern Xinjiang, borders Russia, Kazakhstan, and Mongolia, and has a majority ethnic Kazakh population.[181] In addition to hosting national team athletes, the prefecture has reportedly been training locals to serve as Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics volunteers and offering ski lessons to students.[182]

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[175] Congressional-Executive Commission on China, "Chairs Ask IOC President to Justify Contracts with Chinese Companies Using Forced Labor," January 12, 2022, https://www.cecc.gov/media-center/press-releases/chairs-ask-ioc-president-to-justify-contracts-with-chinese-companies.

[176] Liao Shumin, "China's Anta Sports Gets Green Light to Buy Finland's Amer Sports," Yicai Global, February 27, 2019.

[177] The Coca-Cola Company, "The IOC, The Coca-Cola Company and China Mengniu Dairy Company Ltd Announce Joint Worldwide Olympic Partnership to 2032," press release, June 24, 2019, at https://www.coca-colacompany.com/press-releases/coca-cola-announces-joint-worldwide-olympic-partnership-to-2032.

[178] "习近平听取北京冬奥会冬残奥会筹办工作情况汇报" ("Xi Jinping Listens to Report on Preparatory Work for the Beijing Winter Olympics and Paralympics"), Xinhua, March 18, 2016.

[179] "习近平在北京河北考察并主持召开北京 2022 年冬奥会和冬残奥会筹办工作汇报会.... " ("Xi Jinping Conducted an Inspection Tour in Beijing and Hebei and Presided Over a Meeting to Hear About the Work of the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics and Paralympic Winter Games Preparations,.... "), Xinhua, January 20, 2021.

[180] Shi Liuyun, "助力北京冬奥会 新疆在行动" ("Boosting the Beijing Winter Olympics, Xinjiang in Action"), *Xinjiang Daily*, January 27, 2021.

[181] "阿勒泰概况" ("About Altay"), Xinjiang Altai (Altay) Prefecture Administration, accessed May 12, 2021.

[182] Ren Jiang, "中国雪都" 助力北京冬奥" ("'China's Snow Capital' Boosts the Beijing Winter Olympics"), *Xinjiang Daily*, December 29, 2020.

Issues for Congress[183]

As the Beijing 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Games get underway, Congress may consider such questions as the following:

- Should congressional leadership take a position on Member travel to attend the XXIV Olympic Winter Games and the XIII Paralympic Winter Games in Beijing?
- Has the USOPC done enough to prepare U.S. athletes for potential risks associated with their participation in the Beijing 2022 Games? Such risks may include

  (1) health risks related to the COVID-19 pandemic;

  (2) reputational risks related to engagement with corporate sponsors under U.S. sanctions (iFLYTEK) or dependent on supply chains that may include forced labor;

  (3) personal security risks related to PRC surveillance and PRC authorities' intolerance of expression on topics the PRC government deems sensitive, such as human rights; and

  (4) risks related to disclosure of personal information and health data, such as those associated with COVID-19 testing and with mandatory use of the BOCOG-developed MY2022 smartphone app.
- How can Congress judge whether the Biden Administration decision to withhold official and diplomatic representation from the Beijing 2022 Games has been effective in serving as a rebuke of China over its human rights record? To what extent might any such rebuke be undercut by the presence at the Games opening ceremony of the U.N. Secretary-General and official representatives from close U.S. allies, such as France and South Korea?
- Has scrutiny of the Games' corporate sponsors by some Members of Congress resulted in changes in the practices of those sponsors with regard to China and human rights? Should Congress take other steps to encourage corporations to prioritize human rights with regard to the Games? If so, what should those steps be? To what degree might such efforts undermine the competitiveness of U.S. brands in the PRC marketplace? How important a consideration should U.S. corporate competitiveness be in congressional deliberations?
- In June 2019, the IOC adopted "a flexible new approach to future host elections," and it used this new approach in selecting Brisbane, Australia, to host the 2032 Summer Games and Paralympics.[184] Despite the change in election procedures for host cities, should Congress seek ways to ensure authoritarian countries are not awarded the right to host future Olympics? Given that the IOC is an independent international organization, would such an effort be feasible? Or

[183] Karen M. Sutter, CRS Specialist in Asian Trade and Finance, and Michael D. Sutherland, Analyst in International Trade and Finance, contributed to this section.

[184] International Olympic Committee, *Annual Report 2020: Credibility, Sustainability, Youth*, p. 73, https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Documents/International-Olympic-Committee/Annual-report/IOC-Annual-Report-2020.pdf; International Olympic Committee, "IOC Elects Brisbane 2032 as Olympic and Paralympic Host," July 21, 2021, https://olympics.com/ioc/news/ioc-elects-brisbane-2032-as-olympic-and-paralympic-host.

might Congress consider supporting what some have proposed: establish permanent hosts for the summer and winter Olympics? Such an arrangement would, one commentator argues, "cut costs, environmental damage and displacement" and "end the churn of a bidding process that invites corruption." Alternatively, given the interconnectedness of the world, the same commentator suggests holding "individual events in already built sites across the globe."[185]

- The EAGLE Act (H.R. 3524), and H.Res. 466, would call on the IOC to "propose a set of clear, executable actions to be taken by the International Olympic Committee upon infringement of freedom of expression by a host country's government during any Olympics." What such actions might be most effective?
- The EAGLE Act would also call on the IOC to "rescind Rule 50 of the Olympic Charter, which restricts the freedom of expression by athletes when competing during Olympics events, and affirm the rights of athletes to political and other speech during athletic competitions, including speech that is critical of their host countries." Should Congress engage the IOC further or directly on the subject? (See "Rule 50.2 of the Olympic Charter" above.)
- What actions, if any, might the United States consider taking in the event China seeks to use its domestic laws to "punish" any member of Team USA who speaks out on a sensitive issue?[186]

[185] Kurt Streeter, "It's Time to Rethink the Olympics," *New York Times*, April 21, 2021.

[186] Harvey Kong and Jess Ma, "Winter Olympics: Chinese Official Says Those Who Speak Out on Sensitive Issues May Be Punished as Rights Activists Advise Athletes to 'Stay Silent,'" *South China Morning Post*, January 19, 2022.

Appendix A. Legislation in the 117th Congress

Table A-1. Legislation in the 117th Congress Related to the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics and Paralympics

Arranged by chamber and type of legislation, and chronologically by date introduced

Number and Sponsor	Latest Action	Title
H.R. 1211 (McCaul)	Ordered to be reported by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs 2/25/2021	The American Values and Security in International Athletics Act. (Official title: To direct the Department of State to ensure persons representing the United States in international athletic competitions in certain countries are appropriately informed, and for other purposes.)
H.R. 3524 (Meeks)	Ordered to be reported by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs 7/15/2021	The Ensuring American Global Leadership and Engagement (EAGLE) Act (H.R. 3524) (Section 316(b) would include sense of Congress statements, including that the International Olympic Committee should "initiate an emergency search process for suitable replacement facilities for the 2022 Winter Olympics if the Government of the PRC fails to release all arbitrarily held Uyghurs from mass detention centers and prisons"; "propose a set of clear, executable actions to be taken by the International Olympic Committee upon infringement of freedom of expression by a host country's government during any Olympics"; and "rescind Rule 50 of the Olympic Charter, which restricts the freedom of expression by athletes when competing during Olympics events, and affirm the rights of athletes to political and other speech during athletic competitions, including speech that is critical of their host countries.") (Section 316(c) would state that it shall be the policy of the United States "to implement a presidential and cabinet level diplomatic boycott" of the 2022 Winter Games; "to encourage other nations, especially democratic partners and allies, to do the same"; and "to call for an end to the Chinese Communist party's ongoing human rights abuses, including the Uyghur genocide.")
H.R. 3645 (Waltz)	Introduced 5/28/2021	Beijing Winter Olympics Sponsor Accountability Act (Official title: To prohibit the Federal Government from contracting with persons that have business operations with the Beijing Organising Committee for the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games or the International Olympic Committee, and for other purposes.)
H.R. 6417 (Gallagher)	Introduced 1/18/2022	Free Peng Shuai Act (Official title: To require the imposition of sanctions pursuant to the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act to combat the perpetuation of human rights violations in the People's Republic of China by certain members of the International Olympic Committee, and for other purposes.)
H.R. 6433 (Waltz)	Introduced 1/19/2022	Irresponsible Olympic Collaboration Act (IOC Act) (Official title: To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to eliminate the tax exemption of the International Olympic Committee and similar organizations.)
H.Con.Res. 16 (Reschenthaler)	Introduced 2/11/2021	Urging that the International Olympic Committee rebid the 2022 Olympic Winter Games, and expressing the sense of Congress that the United States Olympic and Paralympic Committee should not participate if the Games are held in the People's Republic of China and that the United States Government should lead an international boycott if the Games are held in the People's Republic of China, and for other purposes.

Number and Sponsor	Latest Action	Title
H.Res. 129 (Waltz)	Introduced 2/15/2021	Urging the United States Olympic Committee, the International Olympic Committee, and the Olympic Committees of other countries to take certain actions with respect to the 2022 Winter Olympic Games.
H.Res. 160 (Perry)	Introduced 2/24/2021; Motion to discharge committee filed 5/11/2021	Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the International Olympic Committee should rebid the 2022 Winter Olympic Games to be hosted by a country that recognizes and respects human rights.
H.Res. 162 (Waltz)	Introduced 2/21/2021	Urging that the International Olympic Committee rebid the 2022 Olympic Winter Games, and expressing the sense of Congress that the United States Olympic and Paralympic Committee should not participate if the Games are held in the People's Republic of China and that the United States Government should lead an international boycott if the Games are held in the People's Republic of China, and for other purposes.
H.Res. 466 (Malinowski)	Introduced 6/8/2021	Urging the International Olympic Committee to take into consideration the mass detention of Uyghurs and consider all options to uphold the fundamental rights of persecuted minorities in China ahead of the 2022 Olympic Games.
H.Res. 812 (Langevin)	Introduced 11/18/2021	Supporting a diplomatic boycott of the XXIV Olympic Winter Games and XIII Paralympic Winter Games in Beijing, and encouraging the International Olympic Committee to develop a framework for reprimanding or disqualifying host countries that are committing mass atrocities.
H.Res. 837 (Wexton)	Passed/ agreed to in House 12/8/2021 on vote of 428-0	Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that Beijing should immediately guarantee the safety and freedom of tennis star Peng Shuai. (Amended title) Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the International Olympic Committee failed to adhere to its own human rights commitments. (Title as introduced.)
S. 1169 (Menendez)	Reported by Senate Committee on Foreign Relations 5/10/2021	Strategic Competition Act of 2021. (Official title as introduced: A bill to address issues involving the People's Republic of China.) (Sec. 312(a) would state that it shall be the policy of the United States "to implement a diplomatic boycott" of the 2022 Winter Games and "call for an end to the Chinese Communist Party's ongoing human rights abuses, including the Uyghur genocide." Section 312(b) would bar the Secretary of State from obligating or expending federal funds "to support or facilitate" any U.S. government employee's attendance at the Games, with exceptions.)
S. 1260 (Schumer)	Passed Senate 6/8/2021 on vote of 68-32	United States Innovation and Competition Act of 2021. (Section 3312(a) would state that it shall be the policy of the United States "to implement a diplomatic boycott" of the 2022 Winter Games and "call for an end to the Chinese Communist Party's ongoing human rights abuses, including the Uyghur genocide." Section 3312(b) would bar the Secretary of State from obligating or expending federal funds "to support or facilitate" any U.S. government employee's attendance at the Games, with exceptions.)
S.Res. 13 (Rick Scott)	Introduced 1/22/2021	A resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that the International Olympic Committee should rebid the 2022 Winter Olympic Games to be hosted by a country that recognizes and respects human rights.

Number and Sponsor	Latest Action	Title
S.Res. 126 (Rubio)	Introduced 3/18/2021	A resolution condemning the crackdown by the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong, including the arrests of pro-democracy activists and repeated violations of the obligations of that Government undertaken in the Sino-British Joint Declaration of 1984 and the Hong Kong Basic Law. (A "resolved" clause would call on the U.S. Government "to urge the International Olympic Committee to consider relocating the 2022 Winter Olympics from Beijing to another suitable host city located outside of China, on account of the flagrant violations of human rights committed by the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Communist Party in mainland China, Hong Kong, the Tibet Autonomous Region and other Tibetan areas, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, and elsewhere.")
S.Res. 474 (Rick Scott)	Introduced 12/8/2021	A resolution demanding that the Communist Party of China prove that Peng Shuai is free from censorship, coercion, and intimidation and fully investigate the sexual assault allegations against former Vice Premier Zhang Gaoli.

Source: Congress.gov

Appendix B. Official PRC Bodies Leading Planning for the Games[187]

A high-level Chinese Communist Party body, the Central Leading Group for the Work of the 24th Olympic Winter Games, is overseeing preparations in China. The Central Leading Group is headed by Han Zheng, China's seventh-most-senior official and a member of the Party's top decisionmaking body, the seven-man Political Bureau (Politburo) Standing Committee. His deputies are both members of the Party's second-most senior decisionmaking body, the 25-member Politburo.

Table B-1. Leadership of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Leading Group for the Work of the 24th Olympic Winter Games

Name	Leading Group Position	Other Positions
Han Zheng	Head	Party Politburo Standing Committee Member; Vice Premier of the State Council
Sun Chunlan	Deputy Head	Party Politburo Member; Vice Premier of the State Council
Cai Qi	Deputy Head	Party Politburo Member; Beijing Party Secretary; President and Party Secretary of the Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (BOCOG)

Sources: Xinhua and the Beijing Government website, http://www.beijing.gov.cn/gongkai/sld/.

Note: Following Chinese convention, family names precede given names.

The international-facing Chinese entity in charge of planning for the Olympics is the Beijing Organising Committee for the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (BOCOG), which answers to the Central Leading Group. In addition to serving as a deputy head of the Party's Central Leading Group for the Games, Beijing Party chief Cai Qi also serves as President and Party Secretary of BOCOG.[188]

Table B-2. Leadership of the Beijing Organising Committee for the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (BOCOG)

Name	BOCOG Position	Other Positions
Cai Qi	President; Party Secretary	Party Politburo Member; Beijing Party Secretary; Deputy Head, Party Central Leading Group for the Work of the 24th Olympic Winter Games
Gou Zhongwen	Executive President	Party Central Committee Member; Minister and Party Secretary, General Administration of Sport of China; President, Chinese Olympic Committee
Chen Jining	Executive President; Deputy Party Secretary	Party Central Committee Member; Beijing Mayor and Deputy Party Secretary
Wang Zhengpu	Executive President; Deputy Party Secretary	Party Central Committee Member; Hebei Province Governor and Deputy Party Secretary

[187] Compiled by CRS Specialist in Asian Affairs Susan V. Lawrence.

[188] "Leadership," Beijing Organising Committee for the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games, accessed January 24, 2022.

Name	BOCOG Position	Other Positions
Zhang Haidi	Executive President	Chairperson of the China Disabled Persons' Federation; Member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC)

Sources: Websites of BOCOG (https://www.beijing2022.cn/en/about_us/leadership.htm), the Beijing Government, General Administration of Sport of China, Hebei Province Government, and the CPPCC.

Note: Following Chinese convention, family names precede given names.

Appendix C. Corporate Sponsors of the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics and Paralympics

The Olympic Partners (TOP) Programme[189]

Established in 1985, the TOP Programme is the IOC's "highest level of Olympic sponsorship, granting category-exclusive marketing rights to the Summer, Winter and Youth Olympic Games to a select group of global partners."[190] This program operates on a four-year term, which coincides with the Olympiad.[191] The duration of the TOP Programme agreements means that a program participant has agreed to provide support for more than one Olympic Games.

TOP Programme partners provide funding, technical services, or products. For example, since 1932, OMEGA has served as the official timekeeper of the Olympic Games on 28 occasions; and the Allianz Group "collaborates with the IOC to provide insurance solutions and services to support the Olympic Movement,[192] including the Organising Committees of the Olympic Games [OCOGs]."[193] The IOC shares revenue generated by the TOP Programme with the OCOGs (e.g., Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games) and the Olympic Movement.[194] TOP Programme marketing rights accounted for 18% of the IOC's revenue during the most recent period (2013-2016) for which data are available; by comparison, broadcast rights accounted for 73% during the same period.[195]

With the exception of Dow Inc. and General Electric Co., all the TOP Programme participants are also Worldwide Paralympic Partners. Ottobuck, a supplier of prosthetics and orthotics, is a Worldwide Paralympic Partner but not a TOP partner.[196]

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[189] Written by CRS Specialist in American National Government L. Elaine Halchin.

[190] International Olympic Committee, "The Olympic Partner Programme," at https://olympics.com/ioc/partners. "The TOP Programme provides each Worldwide Olympic Partner with exclusive global marketing rights and opportunities within a designated product or service category. The global marketing rights include partnerships with the IOC, all active NOCs and their Olympic teams, and the two OCOGs and the Games of each Olympiad. The TOP Partners may exercise these rights worldwide and may activate marketing initiatives with all the members of the Olympic Movement that participate in the Top Programme." International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Marketing Fact File: 2020 Edition*, updated January 2020, p. 15, at https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Document%20Library/OlympicOrg/Documents/IOC-Marketing-and-Broadcasting-General-Files/Olympic-Marketing-Fact-File.pdf?_ga=2.101001987.324240359.1624621069-1177118858.1620232454.

[191] International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Marketing Fact File: 2021 Edition*, updated March 2021, p. 12, at https://stillmed.olympics.com/media/Documents/International-Olympic-Committee/IOC-Marketing-And-Broadcasting/IOC-Marketing-Fact-File-2021.pdf. "An Olympiad is a period of four consecutive calendar years, beginning on 1 January of the first year and ending on 31 December of the fourth year." The first year of the Olympiad is the year a Summer Olympics is scheduled to be held. International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Charter*, p. 21.

[192] See footnote 15 for the description of "Olympic Movement."

[193] International Olympic Committee, "OMEGA," at https://olympics.com/ioc/partners/omega; International Olympic Committee, "Allianz," at https://olympics.com/ioc/partners/allianz.

[194] International Olympic Committee, "What Is the TOP Programme?" at https://olympics.com/ioc/faq/olympic-marketing/what-is-the-top-programme.

[195] International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Marketing Fact File: 2020 Edition*, p. 6.

[196] International Paralympic Committee, "Worldwide Paralympic Partners," at https://www.paralympic.org/beijing-2022/media, accessed January 12, 2022.

Table C-1. Participants in the IOC's TOP Programme

As of the publication of this report

Company or Brand	Location of Headquarters	Notes
Airbnb, Inc.	United States of America	
Alibaba Group Holdings Ltd.	China	
The Allianz Group	Germany	
Atos Origin	France	
The Bridgestone Group	Japan	
The Coca-Cola Company	United States of America	Joint agreement with China Mengniu Dairy Company Ltd.
Dow Inc.	United States of America	
General Electric Co. (GE)	United States of America	
Intel Corp.	United States of America	
China Mengniu Dairy Company Ltd.	China	Joint agreement with The Coca-Cola Company
OMEGA	Switzerland	OMEGA is a brand of the Swatch Group.
Panasonic Corporation	Japan	
The Procter & Gamble Company (P&G)	United States of America	
Samsung Electronics Co., Ltd.	South Korea	
Toyota Motor Corporation	Japan	
Visa International	United States of America	

Sources: International Olympic Committee, "The Olympic Partner Programme," https://olympics.com/ioc/partners; International Olympic Committee, "Coca-Cola and Mengniu," https://olympics.com/ioc/partners/coca-cola-mengniu; Swatch Group, "OMEGA," https://www.swatchgroup.com/en/companies-brands/watches-jewelry/omega.

BOCOG Corporate Sponsors

Table C-2. Beijing 2022 Corporate Sponsors

As of January 12, 2022

Category of Sponsorship	Sponsors
Official Partners (11)	Bank of China, Air China, Yili Group, ANTA Sports Products Ltd., China Unicom, Shougang Group, China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), China Petroleum & Chemical Corporation (Sinopec) Group, State Grid, People's Insurance Company of China (PICC) Group, and China Three Gorges (CTG) Corporation.
Official Sponsors (11)	Tsingtao Beer, Yanjing Beer, Yihai Kerry Jinlongyu (cooking oil), Shunxin Holding Group, Cultural Investment Holdings, Beijing Beiao Group, Hengyuanxiang (HYX) Group, QI-ANXIN Technology Group Inc., Yuanfudao Online Education, Yum China, and Panpan Foods.
Official Exclusive Suppliers (9)	EF Education First, iFLYTEK Corporation, China Post, Hylink Group, Snickers, Hongyuan Group, 3TREES (Sankeshu) Paint, Dongdao Creative Branding Group, and BOSS Zhipin (online recruitment platform).
Official Suppliers (13)	PriceWaterhouseCoopers (PWC) Zhong Tian LLP, Suirui Group, Kingsoft Office, 1rock Technology, Beijing Gehua Cable TV Network (BGCTV), Hebei Radio and Television Information Network Group (HBTN), Anhui BBCA Biochemical, KeesonTechnology Corp., BBMG Tintan Furniture Co., Ltd., Shijiazhuang Banknote Printing Co., Ltd., Shua (fitness equipment), Hangzhou Nabel Ceramics Co., Ltd., and Guangdong Dongpeng Holdings Co., Ltd.

Source: BOCOG website, https://www.beijing2022.cn/en/, and company websites.

Appendix D. Historic Approaches to Sports and Human Rights: Two Case Studies

Russia: 1980 Summer Olympics[197]

In December 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan to bolster a faltering communist regime that had come to power the year before.[198] In response to the invasion, President Jimmy Carter took several measures, including calling on the U.S. NOC, then known as the United States Olympic Committee (USOC), to boycott the 1980 Summer Olympics (officially known as the Games of the XXII Olympiad) in Moscow.[199] Although the USOC supported the President's request, President Carter reportedly was prepared to use emergency power authorities, if necessary, to bar U.S. athletes' travel to the Soviet Union.[200]

The U.S. boycott unfolded in the first months of 1980. On January 20, President Carter wrote the USOC, urging it to propose to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) that the Summer Olympics be cancelled or moved to another country "if Soviet troops do not fully withdraw from Afghanistan within the next month."[201] Shortly after, the House and Senate passed separate versions of a concurrent resolution in support of the boycott by votes of 386-12 and 88-4, respectively (H.Con.Res. 249). In February, the IOC resolved not to transfer, cancel, or postpone the Summer Olympics and the Soviet Union ignored the deadline to withdraw from Afghanistan. As a result, President Carter reiterated the United States' intent to boycott the Moscow Olympics.[202] On April 12, the USOC voted by a 2-to-1 margin in favor of the boycott.[203]

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[197] Written by CRS Specialist in Russian and European Affairs Cory Welt.

[198] Afghan opposition to the Soviet invasion turned into a military resistance movement that ultimately cost the USSR an estimated 15,000 combat casualties and led to its withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989. Although actors from a wide spectrum of Afghan politics opposed the Soviet invasion, Islamist elements (many based in Pakistan) dominated the anti-Soviet opposition due to the support they attracted in terms of money, arms, and manpower from abroad, including the United States. For overviews, see Gregory Feifer, *The Great Gamble: The Soviet War in Afghanistan* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009); and Rodric Braithwaite, *Afgantsy: The Russians in Afghanistan 1979-89* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[199] Jimmy Carter, *State of the Union Address*, January 23, 1980, at https://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/assets/documents/speeches/su80jec.phtml. The USOC changed its name to the U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Committee (USOPC) in June 2019. See at https://www.teamusa.org/News/2019/June/20/US-Olympic-Committee-Changes-Name-To-US-Olympic-Paralympic-Committee.

[200] Barry Lorge and Nancy Scannell, "Carter Tells Athletes Decision on Olympics Is Final," *Washington Post*, March 22, 1980, and Steven R. Weisman, "Sears Agrees to Withhold Olympic Gift," *New York Times*, April 3, 1980.

[201] "Telegram from the Department of State to All Diplomatic Posts, the Embassy in Pakistan, and the Embassy in Libya," January 20, 1980, *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), 1977-1980, Vol. 6, Soviet Union*, at https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1977-80v06/d259. Also see Edward Walsh, "U.S. Olympic Panel Likely to Back a Boycott," *Washington Post*, January 21, 1980; and Jerry Kirshenbaum, "The Olympic Ultimatum," *Sports Illustrated*, January 28, 1980.

[202] "White House Statement on the International Olympic Committee Decision to Hold the Games in Moscow," February 12, 1980, and "White House Statement on U.S. Withdrawal from the Games to Be Held in Moscow," February 20, 1980, in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Jimmy Carter, 1980-81, Book I—January 1 to May 23, 1980* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1981), pp. 305-306, 356-357.

[203] Steven R. Weisman, "U.S. Olympic Group Votes to Boycott the Moscow Games," *New York Times*, April 13, 1980; "Address by Vice President Mondale," April 12, 1980, *FRUS 1977-1980*, at https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1977-80v01/d143; and Kenny Moore, "The Decision: No Go on Moscow," *Sports Illustrated*, April 21, 1980.

The U.S.-led boycott had mixed support internationally. According to the IOC, "67 nations did not participate [in the Games], with 45 to 50 of these nations likely being absent because of the U.S.-led boycott."[204] According to the State Department, the "closest U.S. allies" to join the boycott were Canada, West Germany, and Israel.[205] China also boycotted. Although many European states (and Australia and New Zealand) sent athletes to compete, several of them did not participate in the Opening Ceremony or had their athletes participate under Olympic or NOC flags rather than their national flags.

The boycott also was somewhat controversial domestically. Although the media and public opinion generally supported the boycott, several USOC members and many athletes expressed disapproval or resentment, either at the time or subsequently.[206] In May 1980, 25 athletes sued the USOC for preventing them from competing in the Olympics; a U.S. district court dismissed the case.[207]

In 1984, the Soviet Union reciprocated with its own boycott of the 1984 Summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles. The Soviet leadership denied that their boycott was a direct response to the 1980 boycott and instead cited concerns about the "security" of Soviet participants and the possibility of anti-Soviet protests. Around a dozen countries followed the Soviet Union's lead.[208]

South Africa: Anti-Apartheid-Era Sports Boycott Movement[209]

From 1908 to 1960, South Africa sent only White athletes to participate in the Olympic Games.[210] After 1948, when the South African government began to legally establish apartheid—a system of racial segregation and discrimination-based White minority rule—international support for banning South Africa from international sports competitions grew. Contributing factors included South African anti-apartheid advocacy groups' efforts to oppose apartheid in sports; the growth of African anti-colonial independence efforts and anti-apartheid sports boycott efforts led by independent African governments; African National Congress and aligned global anti-apartheid movement efforts to end apartheid; the rising influence of the African-American-centered U.S. civil rights movement; and Cold War political rivalries. Starting in the mid-1950s, multiple international sports federations expelled South Africa or refused to allow South Africa membership in their associations or participation in these entities' sports competitions.[211]

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[204] International Olympic Committee, "Moscow 1980," at https://olympics.com/en/olympic-games/moscow-1980.

[205] U.S. Department of State, "The Olympic Boycott, 1980," at https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/qfp/104481.htm. Also see Derick L. Hulme, Jr., *The Political Olympics: Moscow, Afghanistan, and the 1980 U.S. Boycott* (Praeger: New York, 1990), pp. 51-73.

[206] On public opinion, see Hulme, Jr., *The Political Olympics*, pp. 36-40. On athletes' responses, see, for example, Barry Lorge and Nancy Scannell, "Carter Tells Athletes Decision on Olympics Is Final," *Washington Post*, March 22, 1980; Ronald Smothers, "Bitterness Lingering over Carter's Boycott," *New York Times*, July 19, 1996; Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, "Jimmy Carter's Disastrous Olympic Boycott," *Politico*, February 9, 2014; and Rick Maese, "Invisible Olympians," *Washington Post*, July 16, 2020.

[207] *DeFrantz et al. v. United States Olympic Committee*, 492 F. Supp. 1181 (D.D.C. 1980).

[208] Dusko Doder, "Soviets Withdraw from Los Angeles Olympics," *Washington Post*, May 9, 1984.

[209] Written by CRS Specialist in African Affairs Nicolas Cook.

[210] Floris J.G. van der Merwe, "Africa's First Encounter with the Olympic Games in ... 1904," Journal of Olympic History (JOH), September 1999.

[211] After initial efforts by the international federations for football and table tennis in the late 1950s—later followed by similar actions by nearly 30 international sports federations—the apartheid government denied passports to black and colored athletes seeking to compete internationally and advocates supporting them. B. Kidd, "The Campaign Against Sport in South Africa," *International Journal* (43:4), 1988; and Muriel Finnigan, Chapter 7, "Case Study—South

After an unsuccessful effort by anti-apartheid sports advocates and some governments to press the IOC to ban South Africa from the 1960 Olympics, pressure grew on the IOC to counter apartheid. The IOC decided not to invite South Africa to participate in the 1964 and 1968 Olympics, and in 1970, it expelled South Africa's NOC from the Olympic Movement. These decisions may not have been made absent substantial international pressure on the IOC.[212] Several key IOC leaders, some historical analyses suggest, viewed apartheid as an internal political South African matter outside the IOC's jurisdiction, and acted to counter apartheid in sports only when forced to do so by direct political pressure and when confronted with evidence suggesting that the apartheid sports system violated the Olympic Charter.[213] After the IOC expelled South Africa in 1970, efforts to expand boycotts of South African athletes and sports bodies continued. The U.N. General Assembly, for instance, adopted resolutions opposing and/or condemning apartheid in sports, and 31 countries boycotted the 1976 Summer Olympics in Montreal, Canada.[214]

How direct a role the Olympic and broader anti-apartheid sports boycott movement played in forcing an end to apartheid is difficult to determine, as its effects cannot be clearly differentiated from those of diverse parallel economic boycotts and economic and political sanctions on South Africa's apartheid government. These sports boycott efforts, however, demonstrably kept that government's persistent and lengthy resistance to integration under intense and enduring international public attention.

Eventually, the boycott movement prompted the apartheid government to permit some multi-racial international sports competitions, and in the late 1970s and 1980s, the government rescinded or amended some of its apartheid sports laws. A range of legal caveats, however, often rendered such reforms largely cosmetic. In the 1980s, anti-apartheid sports campaigners continued to criticize an overall pattern of continued segregation in sports and large racial disparities in access to sports facilities within South Africa.[215] As a result, the IOC further acted to counter apartheid in sports. It adopted a Declaration Against Apartheid in Sport in 1985 and established an Apartheid and Olympism Commission in 1988.[216] After the South African government repealed key apartheid laws in 1991 and complied with several related IOC conditions, South Africa was invited to rejoin the Olympics Movement. The country resumed its participation with the 1992 Games.[217]

Africa: An Olympic Movement Success in International Peace and Security," in *Olympic Singularity—The Rise of a New Breed of Actor in International Peace and Security?*, PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2017.

[212] On the 1960, 1964, and 1968 decisions, see Philani Nongogo, *The Effect of Sport Boycott and Social Change in South Africa: A Historical Perspective* [unpublished study], 1955-2005, 2011; Finnigan, Chapter 7, op. cit.; Kidd, "The Campaign Against…," op. cit.; Tanya Kathleen Jones, *The Struggle for Reconciliation: The United States, Anti-Apartheid Politics, and the Olympic Games*, Master's Thesis, California State University, Fullerton, 2016; and Robin Kelley, "The Role of the International Sports Boycott in the Anti- Apartheid Movement," *Ufahamu* (13:2-3), 1984.

[213] See Finnigan, Chapter 7, op. cit.; Nongogo, *The Effect…*, op. cit.; and Jones, *The Struggle…*, op. cit. Jones documented personal correspondence between key IOC officials and South African NOC officials suggesting that the former "worked behind the scenes to silence anti-apartheid opposition and preserve South Africa's status within the Olympic Movement" and privately were sympathetic to the views of pro-apartheid South African officials.

[214] In addition to passing multiple resolutions addressing apartheid in sports, in 1977 UNGA adopted the International Declaration against Apartheid in Sports (A/RES/32/105) and in 1986 enacted the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports (A/CONF.137/Ref.4).

[215] Kidd, "The Campaign…," op. cit.

[216] The Commission's charge was to monitor instances of apartheid in sport and develop a strategy to address the issue. Finnigan, Chapter 7, op. cit.

[217] Other conditions included the racial integration of sports bodies, the establishment of relations with other African

Olympic bodies, and full compliance with the Olympic Charter. Rone Tempest, "South Africa Readmitted to Olympics Competition Apartheid: Nation Ends 21 Years as a Sports Pariah Because of Racism. It Is Eligible for the 1992 Games," *Los Angeles Times*, July 10, 1991, among others.

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