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# GENDERCIDE: CHINA'S MISSING GIRLS

## HEARING

BEFORE THE

## CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

ONE HUNDRED FOURTEENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

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# GENDERCIDE: CHINA'S MISSING GIRLS

**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 2016**

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

The hearing was convened, pursuant to notice, at 2:32 p.m., in Room 2255, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Christopher Smith, Chairman, presiding.

Also Present: Representatives Pittenger, Franks, and Walz.

## OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER SMITH, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM NEW JERSEY; CHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

Chairman SMITH. The Commission will come to order. Good afternoon to everybody. Thanks for being here.

There are tens of millions of missing girls in China today. It is a predictable consequence of Beijing's cruel and barbaric child limitation policies and cultural preference for boys.

In her book, "Unnatural Selection: Choosing Boys Over Girls, and the Consequences of a World Full of Men," Mara Hvistendahl, one of our witnesses today, writes that "there are over 160 million females 'missing' from Asia's population. That is more than the entire female population of the United States. And gender imbalance—which is mainly the result of sex selective abortion—is no longer strictly an Asian problem."

In Azerbaijan and Armenia, in Eastern Europe, and even among some groups in the United States, couples are making sure that at least one of their children is a son. So many parents now select for boys—so many do so—that they have skewed the sex ratio at birth [SRB] of the entire world.

The global crisis of missing girls constitutes a gross human rights abuse—which is aptly described as gendercide—the extermination of the girl child in society simply because she happens to be a girl.

For most of us, the statement "it's a girl" is cause for enormous joy, happiness, and celebration. But in many countries, and even in some parts of the United States—it can be a death sentence. In China and India alone, an estimated three girls are aborted every minute simply because she is a girl.

Gendercide is not only a predictable tragedy of lost potential, but also a demographic timebomb, particularly in China, with social, political, and potentially even security implications.

China faces some of the world's most sever gender imbalances—according to official estimates, there are currently 34 million more

males than females in China. Demographic experts, such as Valerie Hudson and Nicholas Eberstadt, who have testified before this Commission previously, have warned that China's large number of "surplus males" could lead to societal instability, higher crime rates and sexual violence, and has already increased trafficking of women and girls.

Trafficking, in particular, is a predictable consequence. As the author of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000—America's landmark law to combat sex and labor trafficking—I am deeply concerned that China has become the human sex trafficking magnet of the world.

We have seen a marked increase of women trafficked from neighboring Southeast Asian countries such as Vietnam, Myanmar, and Cambodia being trafficked into China as brides and for sexual exploitation. North Korean women who escape into China also remain at risk for human trafficking for forced marriages and forced labor. And of course, inside of China there is great deal of trafficking going on in the country from one province to the next.

China's gender imbalances are significantly exacerbated by government policy—particularly its draconian population control policies. Chinese law currently bans the use of ultrasound scanning technologies to determine the gender of unborn babies, but because couples are limited to one or two children, millions have easily circumvented the law to abort female unborn babies to ensure that their "government-approved child" will be a son.

China's recently announced "Two-Child Policy" will not address China's demographic imbalances. Data has shown that sex ratios are often more skewed after the birth of a first child. In many parts of China, the largest sex-ratio imbalances are found in townships or villages where many residents were already allowed to have a second child.

We are holding this hearing today not only to better understand the magnitude of the problem, but to find better ways to help rescue the next generation of potentially missing girls from violence and death.

We are asking: Are there models from other places with past or present gender imbalances—such as South Korea and India—that might be used in China and elsewhere? As Valerie Hudson has testified before this Commission previously, South Korea addressed skewed sex ratios in part by elevating the status and value of women and daughters, specifically in terms of encouraging female access to education, as well as equal inheritance, marriage, and property rights.

Given that the Obama administration, the United Nations, and especially the UN Population Fund [UNFPA] have failed to adequately address the scandal of gendercide, what needs to be done to end these massive crimes against women?

I would note parenthetically that my first amendment in my second term—controversial at the time, but it wasn't so much as time went on—was on the forced abortion issue in China to deny any funds to any organization that supports or co-manages a coercive population control program. And UNFPA was found to be one of those that did so.

Then, what can Congress do to help U.S.-based companies, such as General Electric, to prevent ultrasound equipment which should be used to promote wellness of unborn children from being employed as a gender crime search and destroy mission?

As we know, at 5 months—usually—gestation, that is when the sex of the baby can be determined and that is when, unfortunately, many of these little girl children are killed.

What role can the President, including the State Department, and Congress play to encourage durable reforms of Chinese policies? Are we raising it? I have asked repeatedly in Chinese human rights dialogues, how robustly do we raise it? Or is it just one of the talking points that quickly is glided over to get to the next issue. And then, by the time it is over, nothing except what was in that room goes on to become policy.

What U.S. laws need to be reformed or enforced? I would note that in 2000, I authored a visa ban law—wrote that law—for those complicit in coercive abortion and involuntary sterilization. Not only has the Administration failed to enforce the ban, but has not responded to our December 9 letter asking why. That is not the first letter that I and others have sent asking for an explanation.

Just enforce the law. Make those who are treating women in such a horrific manner ineligible to come to the United States. It is not rocket science. We have done it with the Magnitsky law, vis-á-vis Russia. We have done it with the Belarus Democracy Act which I wrote in 2004—for the Lukashenko regime, a terrible dictatorship in Belarus—and you hold individuals responsible and, again, deny them a visa.

Congress passed and the President signed into law the Girls Count Act this past year—championed by our Cochair, Senator Rubio, and Congressman Steve Chabot. This law makes protecting children, especially the girl child, a priority for U.S. foreign policy. How should this law be implemented and directed?

I believe—and I do believe I share the views of my colleagues—that by shining a light on what is happening in China with its missing daughters, we hope to move toward a world where every woman is valued and deeply respected because of her intrinsic dignity, and where every child is welcomed regardless of his or her gender.

I would like to now yield to my good friend and colleague, Ranking Member Tim Walz.

## STATEMENT OF HON. TIMOTHY WALZ, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM MINNESOTA

Representative WALZ. Well, thank you, Mr. Smith and thank you to our witnesses for being here helping to share some of your knowledge on this issue.

I also thank the Chairman and I think it is important to—as this Commission, maybe one of the last bastions in the Congress of trying to stand on human rights as a whole and talk about the importance of our policies. As I think many of us know, this Commission came out of the decision to decouple the idea of human rights with economic trade. I think this issue goes across the board of how the United States approaches our relationships, approaches our respon-

sibilities and approaches those both unilateral and multilateral relationships.

In November, I had the opportunity to travel and be in Hong Kong, and Beijing, and Tibet and had dinner with the Ambassador of China at his residence. I can assure you, Mr. Smith, we are raising this, we are talking about these issues.

I cannot tell you that I feel like it is necessarily any better on the rule of law on human rights, stretching from religious freedoms to reproductive freedoms to many of the other issues that we have discussed in here. I can tell you that it feels to me like there is a candor that has not been there before and I think it is instrumental and maybe can be attributed to the work that you have done and this Commission has done by continuing to put this issues in the forefront, to refuse to allow them to not be brought up, to not be discussed.

I think in it lies an opportunity to strengthen a relationship that is going to be critically important while this issue extends beyond the People's Republic of China to India and others as we have talked about, this is an area that we are going to have to come to some agreements with. We are going to have to see some movements and I think in this Congress—once again, we have had this conversation at the Foreign Affairs Committee where you and I testified—how far the American people are willing to go to ensure that these values and these basic human rights are adhered to as we deal with trade deals.

So I would love to hear your data, your perceptions on this. And rest assured that this is the Commission that is keeping that on the forefront and the Chairman has—as he stated—for many years continued to do that.

I think, as I said, while I would not tell you—and I know you are experts in this field, the people in this room, I would not tell you the human rights situation is better in China, but I can tell you that it is being brought up, it is being discussed and there is a candor and a willingness to talk. I never thought I would sit in the Forbidden City with the Premier of China and hear him mention the Dalai Lama and clearly try to articulate—that is something new. And again, I think it is because folks come here.

I asked this question when I was in Tibet. I have heard the Chairman ask it. We have asked all of you and activists, and whoever. I always say, "Does it help that this Commission continues to ask these questions or does it put you in danger?" And they said, "Continue to ask, continue to bring it up, continue to explore, continue to try to find solutions, because if you do not, no one else is going to."

So I appreciate you all being here and look forward to your testimony. Thank you, Chairman.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you, Ranking Member Walz. I would like to now ask Trent Franks—Trent is not only the Chairman of the Judiciary Constitution Subcommittee, but also Chair of the Religious Freedom Caucus that works very hard on religious freedom issues around the world, including and especially China.

Mr. Franks?

**STATEMENT OF HON. TRENT FRANKS, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM ARIZONA**

Representative FRANKS. Well thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank all of you for being here. I, quite honestly, do not have a prepared statement. I came from another gathering, but if I could start by saying that I am in violent agreement with everything that Chairman Smith said. I do not know how I could possibly construct a more compelling commentary.

He is not only a friend, but this man is a friend to humanity. He is committed to try to see every last one of God's children made whole on the miracle of life and grow up in freedom and pursue their dreams. It is not a new idea, but he articulates and pursues it in such a wonderful way.

I continue to be extremely grateful to this man. He has been a hero to me forever. I will stop there.

I wanted just to—from my own perspective—say that some of us have worked on this gendercide issue within our own country. Even in America now, sex selection abortion has begun to grow and Mara is here today, some of the work that she has done has been the basis of work that we have tried to pursue to protect children in this country.

There is sort of a dialogue going on in the country about "what war on women?" I don't know of anything that is a more overt war on women than killing them simply because they are female, because they are a little tiny woman.

I do not know how it gets more dramatic than that. When there is no other purpose but to say, "No, this is a woman or this is a little girl, and that is not what we wanted."

It is especially difficult for me because I have a little girl. I am reminded when she was three-years-old, we used to watch videos together and we clicked on one that was sort of an accident and it was a little boy playing a piano with his feet because he had no arms. It was extremely moving.

I thought, well, this is a teaching moment. And I said, "Look at that baby. He is playing without any arms. Is that not amazing?" She said, "But Daddy, he does not have any arms." And she was wet-eyed and broken. She saw something much more real than I did.

I saw a little fellow that had overcome the odds, and that was a victory all by itself. She saw another little human being that did not have any arms. And she said, "Daddy, we have just got to help him. We have got to get some arms and give them to him."

I said, "Well baby, there is not any extras that will fit on him." And she said "Would one of mine fit on him." And I said "You want to give him one of yours?" And she said, "Yes, Daddy, because he does not have any arms." In other words, each one of us would have one.

So the teaching moment was for me because my little girl saw another little human being that did not have any arms and she was willing to give him one of hers. When we have that kind of moral impulse in our souls and hearts, that is when we will finally achieve what this miracle of human life and living on this Earth is all about.

I know that that is the goal—at least moving toward that goal with this hearing today—and of the many people that have gathered here today. I am—for whatever reason that is a strange thing to say—but I am so proud of all of you; you know, that you would have the courage to come here and take the time out to speak on something of this magnitude, where we are killing little girls by the millions simply because they are little girls.

If that is not wrong, nothing on Earth is wrong. God help us to hold to that reality. I would only say to you in closing, I think some day—as has been said in different ways before—there will come a time when our children will ask us, "Well, where were you? Where were you when they were killing little girls just because they were little girls?" My little girl may be asking me that someday, Chris, Mr. Chairman, and if she does, thank God because of the work that is being done here today, I will have an answer.

So thank all of you very, very much. Let us not quit until we win. It is not over until we win. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Commissioner Franks, thank you very much for that very eloquent statement and for all of your work on human rights, especially trying to rescue the girl child.

I would like to now yield to Commissioner Pittenger who has also a lifetime of commitment to defending religious freedom and promoting the Gospel, having worked with Bill Bright for so many years—a man that I greatly respected and do as well as for Bob Pittenger.

## STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT PITTENGER, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM NORTH CAROLINA

Representative PITTENGER. Mr. Chairman, I would carry your briefcase anywhere you want to go. You are my hero.

Last week Charlotte hosted the Ambassador from China to celebrate Chinese New Year. The Governor was there, the Mayor was there, I was there, we spoke.

My comments at that meeting which was basically a trade meeting between the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and our efforts to introduce greater trade with China, related to the imperfections of our country and an honest dialogue with China. I spoke freely about the concerns that I had with human rights, religious liberties, freedoms of conscience that are pervasive throughout China.

As I spoke in honesty about our own country—and as you look at our TV and you see the violence, and the drugs, and the racial issues, and on and on—we are not a perfect country. That does not keep us from having an honest dialogue with something that is very critical. To that end, I would like to offer these formal remarks.

The Chinese Government has shown a blatant disregard for the basic human rights of women. This egregious attitude has magnified the underlying preferences of the traditional patriarchal Chinese society through birth control policies and propaganda resulting in a society set against women and responsible for the systemic killings of millions of baby girls annually through abortion and infanticide.

China's two-child policy does little more than their previous one-child policy in combating this detrimental mass prejudice against daughters.

Previously, under the one-child policy a family having a daughter as their first and only child may have felt strong pressure to take immediate drastic measures to avoid having or keeping the baby girl. Under today's policy, a family may have two children, but societal pressure to have all or at least one son is no less great.

While a family may feel less pressure to kill or abandon their first born daughter they would have under the one-child policy, many families under the new policy may still resort to infanticidal practices in an effort to have sons, particularly when a family has already had one daughter.

China has officially banned the sharing of a baby's sex to expectant parents by doctors and caregivers. However, there is a vibrant underground market of illicit clinics which readily provide this information to those worried that they may be carrying an unborn little baby girl.

The long-term demographic, humanitarian, and economic consequences on China's population control policies are complex and they are widespread. Today, men outnumber women by nearly 34 million in China. Evidence from China's neighbors, Vietnam and Korea, clearly show that the long-term effects of population control policies are far-reaching and costly to the state.

This imbalance is already fueling human trafficking in Southeast Asia as women and young girls from Cambodia, Myanmar, Vietnam, and other countries are increasingly trafficked into China for forced marriage and commercial sexual exploitation.

With a rapidly aging population, shrinking workforce, and a large cohort of young men who will be unable to establish families, China's continued adherence to its population control policy not only violates international human rights standards, but goes against China's own interest.

I look forward to hearing from our witnesses today to hear their own stories and what actions they are taking to bring to an end this horrific atrocity, to what we can do as a Congress and a nation to address it. Thank you and God bless you for your work.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Pittenger, for your excellent remarks.

Let me now go to our distinguished witnesses, beginning first with Chai Ling who is founder of All Girls Allowed, a nonprofit organization which seeks to expose the injustices of China's one-child policy with a particular emphasis on gendercide and to rescue girls and mothers from that terrible, terrible crime against women.

A leader in the 1989 Tiananmen Square student movement and two-time Nobel Peace Prize nominee, Chai Ling escaped from China and received her MPA from Princeton and MBA from Harvard.

I would say I remember when she first came to Capitol Hill and received a hero's welcome. She was one of the most wanted student activist in all of China. The government, the police wanted her in one place and that was in jail. Thank God she was able to escape and tell the story.

I remember in this building across the way in 2172—the Foreign Affairs Committee downstairs—you could have heard a pin drop when she spoke about what the students were trying to achieve and also simultaneously the brutality that she and fellow students suffered as a result of that dictatorship's horrible, horrible misdeeds those days and into the following weeks.

She is the founder of Jenzabar, a company that provides higher education software management solutions, and a cofounder of the Jenzabar Foundation which supports the humanitarian efforts of student leaders. Chai Ling is also the author of "A Heart for Freedom," a memoir detailing her journey from a fishing village in rural China to Tiananmen Square and then, thankfully, here to America. She has never ceased in telling the story and her organization, as we will hear, has literally rescued the girl child from what would have been death because she was a girl.

We will then hear from Mara Hvistendahl, a journalist and author of "And the City Swallowed Them" and "Unnatural Selection: Choosing Boys Over Girls and the Consequences of a World Full of Men," a book that I have read. I thank her for that. It was very heavily documented and provided extraordinary insights.

She is a contributing correspondent at Science and a founding member of the writers' cooperative Deca. She also writes for the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, the Atlantic, Popular Science, and other publications.

Her 2011 book, "Unnatural Selection: Choosing Boys Over Girls," on prenatal sex selection and the gender imbalance it has produced in Asia was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize and the Los Angeles Times Book Prize. For eight years, she covered science, politics, and other issues in China. She now lives in Minneapolis.

We will then hear from Julie Ford Brenning who is the Director of Research for Give Her Life, a nonprofit organization seeking to end gendercide via social enterprise in Asia.

At Give Her Life, she has created the largest database in the world solely devoted to the sex ratio at birth in Asia. Julie graduated from Brigham Young University with a degree in political science and received her Master's Degree in Asian studies from the University of Utah where she studied the sex ratio at birth in China.

She has lived in Beijing as well as Taipei and resides with her husband and son in Logan, Utah.

So Ling, if you could begin.

## STATEMENT OF CHAI LING, FOUNDER, ALL GIRLS ALLOWED—IN JESUS' NAME SIMPLY LOVE HER

Ms. CHAI. Yes. Chairman Smith, thank you again for hosting numerous hearings like this to shine light on the most important human rights issue on Earth today. Thank you, Congressman Pittenger, and Congressman Walz, and Congressman Franks. Your unity and presence gives hope and encourages continuing to carry out the work the Lord has set forth for us.

I want to share with you how your important voice has made a difference through a few testimonies and that we have experienced during your hearings alone. Then I would move on to talk about what needs to happen next.

As many of you may remember, on April 30, 2015, all of you here at Congress—Chairman Smith's hearing on China's one-child policy—during that hearing, I testified that ending the one-child policy is not up to the Chinese Government, but up to God. We all ended that hearing with a prayer.

Five months later, on October 29, 2015, China indeed declared the ending of the most brutal one-child policy. It is something that has been ongoing for 35 years and killed over 400 million babies. Nobody even thought it was possible that it could come to an end, but God brought it to an end. I believe today God will do something even more greater, that is ending gendercide.

You may also remember in May 2012, when Mr. Chen Guangcheng was pushed out of the American Embassy in Beijing. His life was in grave danger. Chairman Smith, you hosted the second urgent hearing—we prayed and declared his freedom. Four days later he was released from China and landed in the United States in New York City. I will show the pictures of him.

You may also remember in December 2011, when a woman was put into China's "black jail" with her nursing child and her 70-year-old mother. We prayed for her safety and freedom. We learned later on—12 hours later—she was released from prison on a dark night and was dumped into a crossroad somewhere 2 hours away from Beijing.

Little did we know, she was still determined to petition for justice. She went right back to Tiananmen Square to petition again in the morning and she was thrown into prison again. However, the prayers and fasting were continuing in the United States until she was released again.

So what I want to say here is, before I came to know the invisible God, each hearing was a drag and was a struggle for me. We would be reporting these awful human rights violations—each time triggering our own memories and PTSDs [post-traumatic stress disorders]—and walking away seeing very little got done.

However, when I came to know God through Jesus Christ after your November 2009 hearing, each hearing has become a new and different experience. My eyes were opened and I now experience this is not just another hearing about facts, about hopes, and about asks. It is also a place of congregating with saints both here and also the many that are watching right now through the webcasting, at our church—our elders prayed this morning.

It is a place to make a declaration. It is a place to make a prayer. It is a place to make a transaction with God. When we pray together and agree in unity and we believe, we will see powerful transformations.

That is why I believe God and the holy angels and hosts are listening intensely and watching along with all of the staff and even the Chinese Government's staff. I believe He will honor us as we testify according to His will and we will be given what we are asking for. When we seek, we will find. When we knock, the door will be opened. These are the Scriptures He has promised in so many areas in the Holy Bible.

Today I am asking boldly in faith for the leaders in America, the leaders in China, and the Almighty God to bring a swift end to gendercide, to save every little precious girl, simply because they

are girls. And to make China have an all-children-allowed policy, and an all-girls-allowed policy right away.

These statistics on gendercide in China show the picture—referring to slide 9—five baby girls born for every six baby boys born. As many of you have mentioned, China indeed has a massive gendercide going on, coincided with the brutal enforcement of the one-child policy. The most obvious thing is for every sixth girl that was supposed to be born, number six would be killed. The number six boys were growing up without wives to marry.

So China today has, reportedly, 37 million men that will not have wives to marry. There are massive consequences for these kinds of gendercide issues. There are links to increased sex trafficking, rape, prostitution, and overall crimes. China alone conducts 60 percent of the worldwide sex trafficking.

Historically, a surplus of young men has led to unrest and potentially global wars. There is data stating World War II era Japan and modern day Afghanistan and Pakistan also experienced a bachelor boom and unrest.

So this is not just the war against young baby girls. It is a war against humanity. It is a war against world peace. So it is that important. That is why we are here and asking for change and asking for an end to these brutal crimes.

In China, gendercide has two causes. The government's population control policy and the people's bias and actions both contribute to conducting gendercide. So, therefore, gendercide needs to be taken down on both fronts. A new way of life and gender equality harmony needs to be planted and built up in every level of society at the same time.

As the Scripture guides us today, "See, today I appoint you over nations and kingdoms to uproot and tear down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant." Jeremiah 1:10

So the taking down and the building up needs to take place at the same time. These two cannot be separated. So because of that, our recommendation for the policy would be the two-child policy needs to be replaced by the all-children-allowed policy immediately. That will end the killing of the deemed illegal children. But an all-girls-allowed policy and culture then needs to be put in place and promoted nationwide as soon as possible. This will help build up a culture that welcomes girls and cherishes women.

I want to say that the data has shown there is a steady rise of the gender imbalance along with China's implementation of the one-child policy. So in 1979, right at the beginning of the one-child policy, the ratio between boys and girls is 106 to 100. By 1988, it rose to 111 boys born to every 100 girls. By 2001, it reached up to 117 boys versus 100 girls. By 2010—I think 2012, it reached up to 119 to 100.

So there is direct correlation between the continued growing gender imbalance gap, versus enforcement of the population control. That means even though we are celebrating the amazing, awesome victory God has done through ending the one-child policy, the two-children policy will be just a continued perpetuation of—will continue to enlarge these kinds of gender gaps and will be continuing to hurt the girls and the mothers.

Other data also showed that along China's maps, in the area that the one-child policy has been most strictly enforced, the ratio between boys and girls is rising to be 130 boys born for every 100 girls born. The other more lighter blue area where there is less strictly enforced—again the gender balance, a much more normal, close to normal ratio. So there is another confirmation that the population control policy is a direct cause for China's gendercide and therefore, needs to be abolished altogether.

Most recently we celebrated another great victory from God who blessed China to allow the *hukou* residence status reform. This would allow 13 million "extra" children who did not have resident status, did not have *hukou,* who could not go to school, who could not have ID, who could not travel, the privilege to have passports now will be legal. So this impacts 90 million to 100-plus million family members. This is another great, wonderful thing that God has done, and we just hope—my hope and prayer for this one is it will not become a corrupted and punitive process toward families who are in the process of getting *hukou.* And will not make them so unaffordable to pay and to get their "extra" children legal.

So I have one more argument against the two-children policy. That is this policy achieved very little for China's population control objectives. As we see from other neighboring countries through the World Factbook that the replacement rate around South Korea is 1.25, in Japan it is 1.4, in Singapore it is at .01, and Taiwan is 1.12. That means for the family who is married in China that even the two-child policy is equivalent to the all-children-allowed policy already because they—without much encouragement—they most likely will not exceed that cap.

However, for those women and young teenage girls who today—every year over 4 million of them have to go through abortions because they do not have a legal birth permit. They can only obtain it through a marriage status or certificate. The two-child-policy still remains to be a death sentence against their unborn children. It is still an order of gendercide against their bodies. That is every year, 4 million young teenage girls and mothers that need to be rescued and helped. Therefore, the two-child policy has to be abolished altogether, immediately, and replaced with the all-children-allowed policy.

As of China now—not too many babies are being born, but too few babies are being born, especially too few baby girls are being born. A recent Wall Street Journal, in December 2012, had done a very good analysis and said, "The previous generation fears a population explosion, but for today's global economy, the problem is just the opposite. Falling fertility rates and aging workforces will plague the developing world. The race is on for innovative solutions on the world factory floor. China will soon confront a serious labor shortage, forcing scores of western branches to remake their operations."

So China will see—reap its own consequences of the policy if they do not do something quickly and immediately. So all of this data points to the all-children-allowed policy needing to be started right away. But even when they start that, this alone will not end gendercide.

By ending gendercide, the all-girls-allowed policy needs to be put into place and be implemented right away. So we recommend to implement that in four areas.

One is to end gendercide during a baby girl's birth. Another one is ending gendercide during a girl's childhood. A third one is ending gendercide in marriages. The forth one is ending gendercide in sex education and purity before marriage teaching. Again, we believe with God all things are possible.

I am going to move on to talk about some of the experiences our workers in China—we have piloted this baby-shower program. We have found amazing, remarkable results that can indeed end gendercide.

The baby-shower program was modeled after the American tradition to basically show fellowship and gifting and welcome to expecting mothers. In this situation our church—believers went around to the rural areas to find mothers who were expecting baby girls and under oppression from their family and environment to welcome them.

This picture—they took when she was pregnant with her girls. There was an accident after—even though she already had a forced sterilization operation, her whole family was upset, her husband wanted her to abort, but when we shared God's word with her, she decided to keep the baby girl. Later on the baby girl did indeed come to life and the whole family rejoiced and came to faith.

So in the past two years we were finally able to get some decent data. So each year over thousands of—almost 4 to 5 thousand times all of these families are being visited by our local workers. We have 870 families being reached. So in 2014, more than 200 families and babies are being served, and 37 baby girls are being rescued from forced and coerced abortions. In 2015, similar results have been shown. In this situation, 50 babies were rescued.

What we found is among all of the babies rescued from forced and coerced abortions, there is an alarming ratio of 2 to 1. That means for every two baby girls we rescued, there was only one baby boy rescued. So basically, people are aborting their baby girls at twice the rate of aborting their baby boys.

This is a very random sample of the families we visited. There is not a whole agenda thing—only pick girls or only pick boys, and they end up helping both boys and girls. We realized when we offer this baby-shower program to meet the expectant mother when they are pregnant and at high risk of aborting the babies, we can help reduce the gender ratio. In 2014, for every 100 baby girls being born, the boy's ratio becomes 109. So that is below the 119 boys to 100 girls' ratio. If we do not rescue those 37 babies, the ratio would jump to 124:100. That is 2014 data.

In 2015, the ratio becomes 118:100. But if we had not rescued those baby girls and baby boys, the ratio would jump back to 126:100. That means for every 126 baby boys born, only 100 baby girls will be born, 26 baby girls would have been aborted.

So this gendercide practice is very pervasive in China. This program to really intercept the families when they are about to make those critical decisions can, indeed, help to save lives and end gendercide.

The second area of gendercide took place during China's massive industrialization. Over 270 million workers are moving off of the farm and going to various cities. By doing so, they left their wives and their children behind. Today China has 61 million "left-behind" children. These kids tend to suffer very low self-esteem and many girls suffer physical, emotional, and sexual abuse, potentially.

As we are speaking right now, China is getting ready for its Chinese New Year and China is having the largest migration on Earth. This is a good time to really talk about the family, what family should be, for the government to make policies to encourage the farmers to bring their families to cities. So the reason *hukou* reform is a very good one—we encourage them to continue to create educational opportunities for these children to be brought back, brought over together with the family—when they move, they move together as a family and the husband will take their wives with them.

Our work, again, is to try to combat this massive problem out there and we see when we visit these "left-behind" children to show them God's love and words and give them fellowships, we see great transformation. So, again, this program is to offer family visits, offer summer jobs, offer gathering field trips. That, again, can make a difference in lives and souls saved and their dignity being restored.

And the third gendercide takes place in marriages. This is another example of—a lot of times these marriage issues are intensified when a birth issue, especially a baby girl birth is coming on the horizon. This Mrs. Gui Xiu is an example. She was expecting her fourth child. It came out to be a girl.

The husband was so mad he not only forced her to try to abort, but didn't succeed. Then when the baby was born, for four or five days he would not even look at the baby. He was forcing the mother to give away the baby. The mother was crying. The whole family was in distress.

Again, our worker took a whole day bus ride to come and visit this family, share the word of the Lord and the husband just listened. Finally, he broke down. He said, "Do you know I had a boy and he died when he was 12. The whole family took on such debt. That is why we try to have more children so I can hope to have another boy to replace my lost son. That is why I thought I could not afford to have the fourth girl."

When he realized God made girls and boys in his image and they all are equally important and valued, he burst into smile and said, "What would you name my daughter?" The worker just said "Rebecca." That was the name in the Bible of Isaac's wife.

So this family, again, was reunited in the Lord. He came to the Lord. Now they are living happily. I want to say happily ever after, but they are trying to go for another pregnancy, go for another boy. So their work is not quite ended, it continues. [Laughter.]

A fourth area of gendercide is really endangering youth. China tends to have a really conservative sexual view toward sex and purity. With the reform and the openness, the Western culture came in. Now this whole generation is very confused and there is very little protection and education.

We are going to try to pilot the program in 2016 and we will report back. But that is contributing to the 4 million abortions every year, and so many broken hearts and broken souls, and broken lives.

So I want to conclude my presentation here on this thing and invite you to pray with me that God will end—will hear our prayers and call the Chinese Government to end the two-child policy with the all-children-allowed policy immediately, to install an all-girls-allowed policy immediately, and to stop oppressing the churches in China because we need the church workers like our workers. We had a team of 35 of them may be able to visit and save thousands, or a couple thousand families, children and families through God, but we need 35 million people to help us end gendercide through the Lord.

Currently China's government has regulations that will not allow NGOs [non-governmental organizations] to register with religious affiliation. We want that regulation to be changed. It is not the law. It is just a regulation. So we can work and serve legally. Some of our workers were so harassed by the police that they quit. So our 2015 work suffered greatly.

Again, I would like to ask the U.S. leaders to help us to voice and to talk so we can work and serve with dignity and with peace. Again, the last word to leaders of China and also America—as wise King Solomon said, "By justice a king gives a country stability . . ."

I know there is no greater thing China wanted, to have stability. Now we are showing them, by ancient wisdom, how they can get it by administering justice.

So having said that, in Jesus' name I pray and declare and trust His will to be done. Amen.

Chairman SMITH. Chai Ling, thank you very much for that very comprehensive and moving testimony. Like you, I would not be here doing what I do if I did not believe in the power of prayer, God's mercy and His abiding love. I do think prayer and works, ultimately, are the only two elements that are necessary to bring horrific crimes to an end. So I join you in that prayer to end this terrible——

Ms. CHAI. Thank you. I also want to acknowledge my husband who has been an amazing support for my ministry, for my work, and has been my inspiration here also. He is sitting here, so I would acknowledge him.

Chairman SMITH. Okay.

Ms. CHAI. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. I would like to now recognize Mara Hvistendahl.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Chai appears in the appendix.]

**STATEMENT OF MARA HVISTENDAHL, CONTRIBUTING CORRESPONDENT FOR SCIENCE MAGAZINE AND AUTHOR OF "AND THE CITY SWALLOWED THEM" AND "UNNATURAL SELECTION: CHOOSING BOYS OVER GIRLS, AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF A WORLD FULL OF MEN"**

Ms. HVISTENDAHL. Thank you, Chairman Smith, for providing me with the opportunity to share my thoughts on China's imbal-

anced population and on the horrible effects of sex selection over the past 35 years.

We are all here because we care about the world's women. I appear before you as well as a journalist who spent nearly a decade in China reporting on various issues. I spent three years of that time investigating the disappearance of nearly 100 million women from the global population.

As I detailed in my book, "Unnatural Selection," sex-selective abortion and other forms of sex selection have spread beyond China and India and into countries as varied as Albania, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, South Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam, as well as to some groups in the United States and Canada. China is the world leader when it comes to sex selection, but it has some factors in common with these other countries, and I will explain what those are.

Sex-ratio distortion is now a massive international issue, on the scale of the HIV epidemic in terms of the number of lives it has affected. Yet despite the scope of this problem, there has been very little international response. I appreciate the work that Congress is doing, but globally, the response has been disappointing. That is in part because it is assumed that China and India alone bear responsibility for what is happening. That is not true.

Currently, there are 118 boys born for every 100 girls in China. That sex ratio at birth becomes painfully apparent in visiting elementary schools in many parts of China. Go to a classroom in many second- and third-tier cities, and you will see that there are many more boys than girls.

While China's population policies have definitely contributed to that gap, even as population targets have been relaxed and grown a little more lenient, the sex ratio at birth has continued to rise. Sex selection is not likely to go away under the current two-child policy. In fact, if you look back at the past few decades, the sex ratio at birth has steadily increased.

When I began researching my book, I traveled to a county called Suining in northern Jiangsu province, an area that was once agricultural and is now rapidly industrializing. At the time I visited, Suining had a sex ratio at birth of 153 boys per 100 girls—an enormous gap that was readily apparent everywhere I went. Everybody talked about what was going on; they could see the sex-ratio imbalance taking shape on the streets and in their neighborhoods.

Yet Suining wasn't the county in China with the worst sex ratio at birth at the time. I simply chose it because I was working with a photographer named Ariana Lindquist, who knew people there.

Ariana and I spent a lot of time with the woman whom I call Liao Li in my book. She was a strong and independent woman. She managed the finances in her family and in many ways called the shots. She kept the family cell phone when her husband was away on construction jobs.

Liao Li and her husband sometimes struggled to make ends meet, but they were not the poorest family in their neighborhood. In some ways they were relatively typical of the stage of urbanization that China is in right now. All of those factors made me think that Liao Li would be a good guide to understanding the sex-selective abortions that were going on around her.

Now over the several days that I spent with her, Liao Li was quite critical about the epidemic that had hit Suining. She said things like, "It is stupid to abort a girl when you are yourself, after all, a woman."

And yet, shortly before we returned to Shanghai, she had Ariana and me over for dinner, and we drank some warm beer, and partway through the dinner Liao Li stood up and said, "I aborted two girls." That threw me for a loop, but as my reporting took me to other parts of China and to places like Albania and India and Vietnam, I realized that her situation was not, in fact, all that atypical.

Around the world, it is not the poorest people in villages who are perpetrating these horrible crimes against women. It is the relatively well-off or somewhat educated people who are moving to cities. Sex selection starts in wealthy or middle-class areas and then trickles down from there. After several decades of rampant sex selection, China is at a relatively late stage of this process, which is why sex-selective abortions are now occurring in second- and third-tier cities. In India, sex selection started among the elite in Delhi. I will talk a bit about how exactly it began there.

Unfortunately in 2016, sexism is far from dead. A preference for boys still exists in many parts of the world. Combine that with economic development, which means that just as people are moving to cities, new technologies like ultrasound emerge to give them access to sex determination. Ultrasound is what is used most commonly now, but it is not the future of sex selection, as I will explain.

The third factor is that many of the countries where sex selection is common have a history of coercive population policies and of abortion being used by women—in some cases forcibly—as birth control. This is the case in China with the one-child policy, most obviously, but also in Vietnam, with its two-child policy, and in several other countries. India, in particular, had a very horrible dark period of population control.

When all of these factors are combined—access to new technologies, pressure on birth rates, and coercive population policies—people end up taking measures to ensure that they have a son by whatever means possible.

So sex selection is therefore a modern problem, but it is also a problem for which Western nations, including the United States, bear responsibility.

If you were in Washington debating policy 40 years ago, there is a good chance that you would have been asked to consider the issue of population growth, which was front and center at the time.

Books like "The Population Bomb," which warned of an eminent population explosion, were very popular. Western intellectuals were obsessed with solving the population problem by focusing on the developing world, where birthrates were highest.

That is where we went wrong. To some extent population growth was a legitimate concern, but this kind of single-handed and imperialistic focus on the developing world was a supreme error.

Scholars were enlisted in the quest to lower the birthrates. It soon became clear that women in many parts of the world continued to have children until they had a son. So the idea emerged to guarantee them a son on the first try and avoid all of those extra births. Never mind that the extra births were girls.

As a science journalist, I am embarrassed to note that many of the world's top science magazines featured gushing articles on possible sex selection methods at the time.

Now, what is particularly shocking is that America's advocates of sex selection actually considered the horrible effects of a world where men seriously outnumbered women. They knew that women's rights would suffer, that women would be coveted as wives and mothers and traded as chattel, and yet they continued to promote sex selection as a population control method.

In the mid-1960s, Sheldon Segal, the medical director of the Population Counsel, helped train doctors in Delhi at the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences in an early sex determination method. A few years later, the institute became a site of shocking medical experiments in which doctors brought in poor pregnant women and offered them the opportunity to determine sex—which in 1975 was revolutionary—and then tracked whether or not they aborted based on sex. The doctors wrote up the results in a medical journal.

The same year, the Chinese Medical Journal—which is one of China's top journals—published a paper by a group of doctors in Liaoning province describing a very similar experiment.

Not long after that, sex selection took off in both countries. And, of course, the one-child policy was introduced in China in 1980, which didn't help. I believe that sex-selective abortion's usefulness as a population control method is one reason why the Chinese Government has had little incentive to eradicate it.

Today China is seeing a sharp rise in bride-buying and trafficking of women, both for marriage and for sex. So-called "marriage agencies" have cropped up across China to help men buy wives. Women are typically trafficked from poor western provinces to eastern China. I met several women in reporting my book who were brought from rural Yunnan province to Jiangsu province to marry men who spoke a different dialect and belonged to a different culture. The men might just as well have been foreign, so different are these two areas.

Increasingly, women are also trafficked internationally from countries like Vietnam and North Korea to provide Chinese men with wives. The U.S. State Department now lists China's sex-ratio imbalance as a major cause of trafficking in the region.

Meanwhile, as technology moves forward, we are entering a new era of sex selection. Although abortion and ultrasound still account for the majority of missing girls, this is about to change.

So-called fetal DNA tests, or blood tests a woman can take as early as seven weeks of pregnancy to determine the sex of the fetus, recently came on the market. That is really a game-changer. In the United States these are now widely available, and when I had my first child in Shanghai in 2013 they were becoming available there as well. I assume that the Chinese Government will not allow these tests to be used for sex determination, which is technically illegal in China, but much like ultrasound, I assume that they will be used for that purpose.

Sex selection is also practiced during in-vitro fertilization [IVF] using a technique called preimplantation genetic diagnosis. That is something that the United States excels in. Assisted reproductive technology is heavily regulated in Western Europe and in Aus-

tralia, but America is really the Wild West. Couples from China and India now travel to California just to choose the sex of their baby using IVF. We need to ensure that these technologies are properly used.

Sex selection is a major international issue, and it demands an international response. As a nation concerned with humanitarian causes and as the birthplace of the technologies that are now so brutally affecting populations in Asia, the United States should play a leading role in combating sex selection.

Congress should urge the United Nations to devote more attention to publicizing the impact of sex selection worldwide and to pursuing meaningful action to prevent it. Legislators should outlaw the use of IVF for social sex selection, or sex selection not connected to sex-linked diseases. This is a regulation that is already on the books in much of the Western world.

Congress should further regulate the use of fetal DNA tests and limit their use to genetic disease or sex-linked disease, while also ensuring that they are administered in clinics with oversight from a genetic counselor. Last time I checked, you could order a kit that supposedly tests for fetal sex online.

I want to add that the solution to sex-ratio imbalance is not to further infringe on the rights of women by limiting access to fair family planning—and I mean family planning not in the way the Chinese Government uses the term, but services that women actually seek out themselves. If we were to ban abortion outright, women would suffer, and sex selection would not stop. That also does nothing to prevent couples from turning to IVF to get a son.

I believe the solution is to eradicate the population control policies, including China's current two-child policy, that encourage people to abort girls; to introduce incentive schemes tailored to the urban residents who actually practice sex selection; and to better regulate new reproductive technologies, both in the United States and abroad.

Thank you very much.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you so very much for your testimony, your insights, and recommendations. It gives us a lot to follow up on, so I do thank you again and I do have some questions when we get to the Q and A part.

Ms. HVISTENDAHL. Sure.

Chairman SMITH. Now, Ms. Brenning, please proceed.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Hvistendahl appears in the appendix.]

## STATEMENT OF JULIE FORD BRENNING, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH AND CHINA OUTREACH, GIVE HER LIFE

Ms. BRENNING. Thank you. I am grateful for the opportunity to present today to the China Commission. I just want to dedicate this speech to my daughter, my 10-month-old daughter. I hope that she can grow up in a world without gendercide.

The Chinese "Book of Songs" states, "When a son is born, let him sleep on the bed, Clothe him with fine clothes . . . When a daughter is born, Let her sleep on the ground, Wrap her in common wrappings and give broken tiles to play . . ."

We know that gendercide is bigger than just the two-child policy. The root cause of the sex-ratio imbalance in China is the patriarchal kinship system.

Now let us talk about this. The branches of this root include patrilocality or virilocal marriage. For those who do not know what that is, that is when a women marries and moves in with her new husband's family—the roots also include continuation of patrilineal lines, ancestry worship, Confucianism's devaluation of girls, expectation of sons to provide for the elderly, discrimination in society against women and girls, particularly in land rights, and a low fertility rate—as we have discussed—caused by the two-child policy.

Now the Care for Girls Campaign is the policy in China to curb the sex ratio at birth, but does not fully address these root causes whatsoever. The sex ratio at birth in 2000, when the policy began, was 119 to 100 and has since digressed to 121 to 100 in 2010. A decade of this policy in China has done little to stop the practice of selective abortion.

Now, according to my research, I want to share some best strategies that governments can take. We all know that the consequences of the skewed sex ratio are well-documented. It is now vital to address the policy implications and how to implement successful government initiatives that will get to the roots of the sex-ratio imbalance.

So from my research, particularly in India, I want to present four basic strategies or best practices that governments ought to undertake to balance the sex ratio.

Number one is strict enforcement. So part of the problem with these policies is not even that there is a law or the wording of the law, but rather its lack of implementation altogether. One legislator in India asserted that the poor sex ratio, ". . . is all God's desire. There is nothing we can do about it."

Unfortunately, I would estimate that most government officials do not act upon the laws to lower the SRB because they do not believe in the laws, or they simply do not believe in the value of women. I suggest that higher-up government officials hold local officials accountable for not implementing these laws. These officials also ought to be required to attend intensive training about the consequences of high sex ratio and be educated on the value and empowerment of women.

Now I want to share an example. In Punjab, India, an intensive naming, blaming, and shaming campaign occurred in 2005. It was headed up by one local official. Because of his commitments to the campaigns, the sex ratio was improved to above 900 girls to 1,000 boys in 77 villages. Strict enforcement is essential.

Number two, multi-pronged approach. There are campaigns going on all throughout Asia—both government and nonprofit—to combat this problem. But they are sporadic. They are non-uniform and they are happening in isolation from one another.

So I suggest the "three U's" of a multi-pronged approach. It is really essential. The first one is unity. Areas with a unified effort that include NGOs, government funding and force, and community involvement show the greatest potential for lowering the SRB—which is the sex ratio at birth.

Number two is an umbrella of methods. As these three entities work together, they ought to include an umbrella of different methods, such as shaming and rewarding economic themes, encouraging better marriage practices, et cetera.

Number three is uniform. So once these entities begin working together, they need to share their best practices and come together in a uniformed policy that actually works.

Now I will share an example. In 2013, in Jaipur, India, government officials actually teamed up with civil society groups to take action. The campaign involved pregnant women volunteers and a police station dedicated solely to reporting violations of the law.

The head of the state intervention unit team—referring to the pregnant women and these NGOs—said, ". . . it is their courage that helped our team apprehend medical practitioners. They play a pivotal role in our strength." These entities must work together for things to start happening.

So the third best practice is effective assessment. In most of the government campaigns there is no assessment occurring whatsoever. They may keep track of the number of arrests of doctors or maybe the number of sonography ultrasound machines that are actually sealed within a certain amount of time, but there is actually no records keeping track of the sex ratio at birth and these intensive campaign areas.

Now, the Girls Count Act—which you have talked about—is an essential part of making sure that every baby girl is registered in the China *hukou* registration system which we have talked about, and that Chai Ling talked about. This will provide necessary data for effective assessment of the sex ratio at birth in these campaign areas.

Now the fourth practice I want to talk about which I think is probably the most important is women involvement and empowerment. According to my research—which I have done extensively of the China census data at the country level—a high sex ratio at birth is strongly correlated in counties where women lag behind men in social status, particularly in education, meaning—do not get me wrong here—low education for women is not necessarily the factor related to the sex ratio at birth as many truly believe. It is not. It is actually the gap between men and women.

So I propose that the areas where there is this gap in socioeconomic status, there needs to be the target geographic areas for policy intervention, not just where women have low education. It is how they are treated, vis-á-vis men, that makes all of the difference for sex-selective abortion. I also know from research that women must be involved in the decisionmaking bodies and in the progress of the policy itself, and the implementation in order for peace to occur.

So the ideal threshold—according to research—is at least 33 percent of women involvement. I find little evidence in China that suggests women even come close to the 33-percent threshold of the creation and implementation of policies to end gendercide. This is a major problem.

In China, there are many mothers protesting the *hukou* registration system—as Chai Ling brought up—demanding for more reform than even what has occurred. Now, when implementing the Girls

Count Act, I suggest including native women in the policy formation and implementation of the Girls Count Act.

I would like to share an example of why this is so important. In Haryana, an all-women panchayat—or a village-level administration group—banned sex-selective abortions, making sure that anyone who participated in illegal practices of gendercide are socially boycotted by the entire community. They used government monies for intensive campaigns which included education for women and banning extravagant marriages to minimize dowry expenses.

These women—all in power—had remarkable success. The sex ratio improved from a dismal 569 per 1000 in 2012 to 890 in 2014. It is only by recognizing the importance of the empowerment of women as an end in itself and as a key to improving the quality of life for everyone, both men and women, that China will achieve a more lasting and effective means of achieving this balanced sex ratio.

I propose that these four best practices be taken into consideration: strict enforcement, multi-pronged approach, effective assessment, and women-involvement and empowerment. These strategies are key to creating and implementing policy that will end gendercide.

I call upon all governments to take action, not just the United States, as Mara stated. It is now time for governments across China to take part in lifting that little baby girl spoken of in the "Book of Songs" playing on the ground with broken tiles from off of the dirty floor. Clothe her in empowerment and give her her rightful place in Chinese society.

Thank you. [Applause.]

[The prepared statement of Ms. Brenning appears in the appendix.]

Chairman SMITH. That was excellent and again, very specific recommendations which helps our Commission and I believe by extension helps the Congress.

Let me throw out a few opening questions and whoever would like to answer, maybe all of you, all of them, whatever.

On the issue of empowerment—if I could start off with that one—and I couldn't agree more. I have been traveling to China—I have been in Congress 36 years, and I have been there many times on human rights trips. I often meet with women in very, very high positions. Often they travel here.

Downstairs in the Foreign Affairs Committee room, we had a bilateral meeting with members of the People's Congress and Madam Fu, who heads up the foreign affairs effort for that chamber—it was a very friendly conversation at first. Then I raised the issue with her that according to the CDC—and this is the Beijing Chinese Centers for Disease Control—about—I did not say that right away, but I said there is an estimation of upward of 600 women per day who commit suicide in China every single day.

It is absolutely the reverse of suicides of male/female like nowhere else in the world. I do believe some of it, maybe much of it, maybe an overwhelming number of it is attributable to these coercive policies. I asked her what her view was on that, how does she explain that? Not only did she say I wasn't telling the truth, she demanded documentation which my staff ran upstairs and got the

State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices. I flipped to the page and I said, "It is right out of your own CDC. As a woman and as a leader, where is the empathy for those women who are broken?"

On another trip I traveled and met with Peng Peiyun, the woman who ran the family planning program for years—the coercive one—who was celebrated at the Cairo Population Conference as a great leader, even though the oppression that she has unleashed upon women is without precedent—I believe—anywhere in the world. I asked her about the women who are dying, the clinical depression.

On another trip I met a woman in the state family planning counsel about the New York Times story that detailed a woman who was clinically depressed and she said, "Oh, it's just lies put out by the New York Times."

Peng Peiyun said that the UNFPA is here, and they find no coercion. They give us a clean bill of health. By the way, who are you to even raise this issue in Beijing? It is a matter of sovereignty, which is what all dictatorships do when you raise human rights questions, going back to the Soviet Union and every other one I have ever visited.

So I agree with you that women need to be empowered. But how in a Chinese dictatorship—the likes of which we have now—when women and even more men are a part of the repressive apparatus do you break through that? Even when I went with the head of the Three Self Church in China, who happened to be a woman at the time—I asked her about this and I was quoting Scripture which is full—Old and New Testament—with the concern for the disenfranchised. She almost just like, with talking points, went through why the one-child-per-couple policy was so important and disagreed that there was any disproportionality of males and females. This was about 20 years ago on that one—that there is no gender imbalance.

Let me also ask, if I could, Mara, your book—who reads it? I have read it. Many people who care about Chinese human rights have read it.

But we have large numbers of universities that have Confucius Institutes here. It seems that they are very selective of human rights books, magazines, articles and the like. They will never read this hearing in a Confucius Institute setting.

In China many of those foreign campuses, including NYU—I mean, is your book even allowed to be read, discussed by students and is it banned in Beijing? Then, again, there are so many Chinese students here that if they were to read your book, read Chai Ling's book, which I have been amazed how many people that I visit with that are students, especially those who come from China on delegations that the State Department puts together, have no idea what Tiananmen Square was.

Of course, Google enabled that big time. I have the Global Online Freedom Act which I have been unable to get passed into law, but when I did the first hearing on that in 2006, we had Google, Microsoft, Cisco, and Yahoo all testifying. I pulled up Google, the Chinese version. You put in Tiananmen Square. There was not one hit of what happened with the tanks, with tank man and all that. It

was all about happy faces, taking photographs, and just being tourists.

So they are fed a whole big lie. Does your book get read by the students who are here visiting? Do local colleges say, here—here is something in universities? Does NYU have copies of your books on hand? And then also the empowerment issue——

Ms. HVISTENDAHL. It is certainly assigned in the United States. I have not heard of it being assigned in China. It has been translated into Japanese and Korean, so there was interest in other countries in the region.

I do not know. If you want to go out and promote my book, I will not stop you. I can tell you that. [Laughter.]

Chairman SMITH. Thank you.

Ms. BRENNING. To get to the empowerment of women issue. That is a tricky one. I would say my answer would be they need to start with dismantling the patriarchal kinship system. It is not even in their priorities at all. I will give very explicit suggestions—how they need to begin doing that.

Then, second, I think that there needs to be government training of these officials, intensive government training.

Then also, as far as empowerment, the Care for Girls Campaign is currently sporadically giving money to girls for education kind of randomly. They need to give it—resources and money based on their social status, vis-á-vis men, and not just sporadically giving out money. They need to do it in a way that is research based, and they are not right now.

I have several suggestions for dismantling the kinship system. You know, as far as the Care for Girls Campaign needs some reformation. Right now they have a lot of slogans posted all over. "Girls are awesome." They need to get rid of those, really, and get serious about this problem and as I said, do intensive training of government officials starting with the very top.

I believe that they—government officials—need to be the example. I would estimate that some of them have participated in sex-selective abortion themselves.

Also, I think that they need to give tax breaks or rewards to couples and families not living in patrilocality and virilocal marriage. That is not happening right now.

They need to give equal portions of land to women and inheritance rights to women. That is essential. You know this is not going to happen overnight, but they need to be serious about dismantling it. And obviously, they need to get rid of the two-child policy altogether.

So those are a few of my suggestions as far as where to begin. They need to really be serious about the kinship system, which they are not.

Chairman SMITH. I was in Baku twice in the last three years, Mara, and I mentioned your book to Aliyev who was the president, because Azerbaijan has a very serious sex selection disparity because of sex-selective abortion. He listened, has done nothing. But I want you to know, I do not know if he ever heard anybody talk about it—I didn't have a copy to give him, but I certainly mentioned it to him and quoted from it.

I quoted from your book on the Floor a few times. I think it is worth repeating, and this would be the context of the question—I have found—and you know it better than me, all three of you—China is so hypersensitive about outside influence, U.S. especially; U.K., European in general; Japanese, of course. Yet, as a matter of fact, if you look at their draft law on overseas NGO management, they are throwing the book at NGOs' capability to do anything, especially if there is a link with an overseas organization.

They do it with faith, the severance of anything dealing with the Vatican and other outside Christian organizations, which they see as "invaders." This hypersensitivity does not seem to carry over into the whole population control mantra which they swallowed like the Kool-aid—we all remember that terrible scene when all those young people died. They swallowed it hook, line, and sinker.

You made an excellent point in your book when you said, "By August of 1969"—this is your book, Mara—". . . when the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development and the Population Counsel convened another workshop on population control, sex selection had become a pet scheme. Sex selection, moreover, had the added advantage of reducing the number of potential mothers for reliable sex determination technology could be made available to a mass market. There was a rough consensus that sex-selection abortion would be an effective, uncontroversial, and ethical way of reducing global population."

Now, that came from this city, from Washington, DC, the U.S. Government. As you know, the Indian Government picked up on it, big time, as did the Chinese Government, even though they have not even a speed bump law to stop sex selection—ultrasounds from determining the child's gender.

Why is it that they do not see this as having come from America, since they again are hypersensitive about that? Yet, they have embraced it to the absolute detriment of the girl child, women, the family, and even their society now because the trend line is awful economically and in every other way for China.

Ms. HVISTENDAHL. The issue of how this notion became ethical in the first place—well, part of it was because so many atrocious methods were being tried at the time. There were 6 million forced vasectomies in India. So in comparison, the attitude of many population control proponents toward voluntary sex-selective abortion was, "Well, at least we do not have to force it on people."

But I believe that one of the reasons that idea was even acceptable at the time gets back to that notion of empowerment. Not that many women were involved in those discussions, and certainly not any women from the countries that were actually affected by what happened.

There are women in many positions of power in China, but they are not the ones that are really calling the shots. So if you look at the Central Committee of the CCP, for example: China rates abysmally for national leadership in terms of the number of women there. Taiwan, of course, just elected its first female president. That is a great thing. That can help make a difference.

Julie's suggestion that pressure be put on local leaders is a good one, but that order has to really come from the top. China has what is called the *yipiao foujue* system of accountability on certain

key issues, which essentially means for local officials that it's one strike and you are out. That was one of the reasons that the one-child policy became such a priority. Local leaders were evaluated based on whether or not they performed on birth targets.

If having a balanced sex ratio could become one of those targets as well, that would maybe help. One of the reasons there has been some progress on environmental issues is that it was recently made a top governmental priority. So that is a good suggestion.

Ms. CHAI. I am in awe and also honored to testify along with these wonderful—Mara and Julie, thank you. Your presence makes us feel that we are not alone, we are together, and thank you for your support.

As I am listening to what it takes to really cause the leadership in China to change, the mindset to empower women and give women authority, to really care for the balance of gender ratio, I can't help but think this is ultimately a spiritual issue. The reason—how we can be so blinded to the point that we are deliberately and systematically not only killing a baby girl, we are killing a mother, we are killing a wife, we are killing a family and generation after generation—at the end of the day—the root of humanity.

Yet, we do not think twice about it. We think this is normal. This is something we should do. This is something we ought to do. So many people are so blindsided. They are gung-ho to move forward to execute that. That caused me to think of what it really takes to change. It led me to the Bible in Chapter 3 in Genesis when humanity fell, when we betrayed God, and there were three curses put on humanity.

The first one is the battle between the serpent and the woman—the enmity between the evil serpent and woman. The second curse was the curse on woman—she will suffer during childbirth. A lot of people thought there was just normal childbirth, but I think it is much more related to all reproductive love, romance, relationship sufferings. The third one is the relationship battle between man and woman. She will desire him. He will rule over her.

That is—unfortunately, the world was set in motion into the fallen world, so gendercide becomes one of the manifestations of those curses. But we also know the good news is Jesus had come 2,000 years ago, and He went on the cross for us, redeemed us, and broke that curse. He, Himself—became a curse, therefore, we can have equality for women; for men and women. That is our hope, that gendercide can and should and will come to an end.

When the Chinese people are starting their minds to be renewed by the truth in God and how He views man and woman—He created each life fearfully, wonderfully in His image and He made them equal. He made man and woman's ultimate purpose to find each other to become one, to—full glory of God and how in His definition woman is not some subordinate girl that needs to be put on the floor, play with tiles. Rather woman is the ultimate helper of the man, the future husband.

He—God—said, commanded, whoever loves his wife, loves himself. What that means to say for those men who killed the baby girls, the future wives and mothers, they are saying when they are killing her, do they really love themselves? Who are they really killing? They are killing themselves.

So these are the truths that need to be shared. I do agree all of those budgets—as Julie said—going into the care for girls should really be promoting the biblical view and truth about the equality and harmony of man and woman. When that happens, I do believe that will be an ultimately profound change, and that change is happening as our workers are seeing on the ground as we continue to pray. God also said, when he opens our eyes, what is with us is much more than what is with the other side. So it is only one-third of the angels fallen. So there are two-thirds still with us. So we are in the majority. [Laughter.]

Do not give up hope.

Chairman SMITH. Never. Let me just ask if I could, then I will yield to Mr. Pittenger. I mentioned earlier that I am the author of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act. I have worked on that issue for over 20 years, worked on Chinese human rights issues since I got elected.

I mention that because I have been raising with the TIP Office—the Trafficking in Persons Office, about 55-person large—for years they need to look at sex-selection abortion as a driver for sex trafficking. When Mark Lagon was the Ambassador at Large, he did a thorough look at that, along with his staff and came down with very strong language in the TIP report. Ultimately, China was classified as a Tier-3 country, an egregious violator.

It was an automatic downgrade because they had been on the watch list for four years, but they should have been downgraded. They got waivers from the Obama Administration, which they should not have gotten, and then as soon as the year was over, they were upgraded.

Now Reuters did a—they should get the Pulitzer for it or any great prize for investigative journalism that is out there—did a series of investigations about the TIP office making recommendations for grades. Remember, if you get a Tier-3 in trafficking—there are four grades, three plus watch list—you can be sanctioned, and the sanctions are significant.

Well, they looked at what the TIP experts were recommending at State, versus what the bureaucrats, the assistant secretaries, right up to the Secretary of State, himself, did in terms of those designations. They found 14 instances—there were 17 disputes—14 instances where the experts on trafficking said, this is a Tier-3 country. Oman, India, Malaysia, Uzbekistan, Cuba all should have been—and others—Tier-3 countries, and China, but were artificially upgraded—and Cuba—because of some other issue.

As the author of the bill that created all of this, I held hearings on it and tried to hold the Administration to account. I am going to do three more before their next report comes out. We are planning it right now, including one specifically on China. But Reuters got people to talk anonymously within the TIP Office to say, this is not what it should be.

Your thoughts on this horrible, wrongful classification of China, not as a Tier-3 country—I believe and would really appreciate your views on this—that the trafficking will only get worse. The bride sellers, the pimps bringing women in from adjacent countries, but even further beyond that, and of course women inside the country itself who they will sell as commodities is only getting worse. And

it is not even part of the dialogue except as an ancillary issue because they are not a Tier-3 country.

Now the TIP personnel, wonderful foreign service officers, people who really pour themselves into this work, their recommendations were rejected for some political chicanery on the part of the higher-ups. It cannot happen again this year.

This new book, the TIP report will come out sometime in June. They were late last year. It came out in July, late July. Hopefully, they do not repeat this. Reuters nailed it.

So your thoughts on that because it can—when you side with the government so you will have a little more trade, a little more nice cooperation on this, that, or the other thing, you sell out the victims. Now who? I am talking about the Administration. I found that appalling. That is the consequence. It is a predictable consequence. Your thoughts?

Ms. BRENNING. Yes, I have done lots of research. Actually, there is a connection between sex-selective abortion and sex trafficking. It is a significant linkage.

In particular, I think something that you might want to focus on is the borders. So Vietnam, in particular, and all of those other countries, there is significant bride trafficking occurring at the borders of Southeast Asian countries and China.

Maybe instead of focusing specifically on domestic trafficking, you can look at the borders as there is so much evidence of over-the-border sex trafficking and bride trafficking that is occurring, as well as obviously domestic trafficking. But, yes.

You said there is a Tier-4. I am wondering if China should be in that Tier.

Chairman SMITH. A Tier-3——

Ms. BRENNING. Absolutely be in Tier-3 according to my research. I have done extensive research on this connection. There is a connection between the demand for women and the lack of women in China. There is a lot happening.

There was a recent case where China actually did catch a few traffickers and they were executed, but I am glad they got two of them. There are many more.

I think looking at the borders could be one policy angle that could maybe put a little more pressure on those countries, showing the evidence that it is occurring.

Chairman SMITH. I would just add to your answer, Thailand remained on Tier-3—which is where it belongs—and they had 135 convictions. China, at one point, 2 billion people, whatever the number is, had 35 convictions. Talk about a lack of prosecutorial discretion that goes after these people. It doesn't exist.

Ms. HVISTENDAHL. Yes, the International Labor Organization in Hanoi is doing work on trafficking out of Vietnam. It could have changed in the past few years, but when I went there they were looking at China as a destination country. China is the main driver for trafficking from countries around the region.

There is trafficking of women into other countries with skewed sex ratios as well. And in countries like Taiwan and South Korea, which now have generations in which men seriously outnumber woman, there is a massive trade in men going to Vietnam to buy brides. The women are often sold by their parents. The women

might say that they go willingly, but they are under significant pressure to go.

When I looked into this, there was one woman in the Taiwanese Embassy in Ho Chi Minh City who had made stopping this trade her passion. Aside from her and a Catholic ministry in Taiwan that was doing very good work on this issue, though, there was very little political will toward addressing the problem.

Then with China, the other issue to consider is the trafficking of children under the one-child policy. That is a major problem.

Ms. CHAI. Yes, I agree with Mara and Julie that in the early part of 2010 to 2011 we did a lot of work on ending sex trafficking, reuniting trafficked children with their families. We helped reunite children as young as two-and-a-half years old to older child brides, now 30, to be able to reunite with her family.

In one city alone, in Putian in Fujian province, they have a population of 3 million people. Six hundred thousand people are as a result of child bride trafficking. It is a city where they tend to abort baby girls, but for some reason then they use some money to buy other peoples' baby girls and make them to be child brides, make sure their sons who have grown up have wives to marry.

So yes, and the 60 percent worldwide trafficking is a result of China's gender imbalance. That is a UN statistic. So I am shocked that China is not—I do not know whether Tier-1 sex trafficking state——

Chairman SMITH. Three is the worst.

Ms. CHAI. Yes. I am shocked China is not listed on that. If a country that alone contributes 60 percent worldwide sex trafficking is not on that list, then what does it say about the rest of the list and the legitimacy of that list. Therefore, that really remains to be known, then be adjusted, and a certain action needs to be taken.

I do agree, continue to talk and advocate—for every trade talk, make sure to talk about the sex trafficking issue, about gendercide issues, and they will listen. I believe they will listen.

Chairman SMITH. Mr. Pittenger?

Representative PITTENGER. I will be very quick. Considering the relaxation of the one-child policy, have you seen a drop or increase in terms of the number of women seeking to abort females?

Ms. CHAI. We have not seen that yet. Again, this change ending the one-child policy is such a new concept. I think people are still trying to figure it out right now.

Representative PITTENGER. How often did you try to assist women who were not married in their own challenges that they face if they are pregnant?

Ms. CHAI. The statistics show 30 to 50 percent of abortions taking place in China are for teenage girls and women who are under 25 who are not married. So that is a serious issue. Currently, we are helping several women who are pregnant but unmarried.

One is a result of rape. So our workers are working with her, supporting her to go through to keep the girl.

Another one is a girl—again, she was unmarried. She was ashamed to even tell her mother and her congregation. So our worker came along to help her.

So we do believe the baby-shower program—when the church, when a believer truly acts where God wants us to act, he can save

lives and help them. That is something we would like to see the Chinese Government give us permission, the believer workers to go into abortion clinics. For every single abortion clinic, we would like to have our workers visit those women and to show them the truth and to also help them along the way if they choose to keep that baby girl.

It is not a journey one person can take alone, but with the community, we can help.

Representative PITTENGER. Billy Graham has nothing on you. You give a great presentation. I think I——

Ms. CHAI. Well, thank you.

Representative PITTENGER. I wish I could stay longer. I would say that South Korea has adopted a series of policies—women's rights. If that was adopted in China, would that have an impact? Would you recommend something similar to that?

Ms. BRENNING. Some of the elements, I would. As I said, one of their biggest policies was dismantling this kinship system, this patriarchal kinship system of patrilineal lineage. China is the same in giving elderly support, but there are some issues with China with that. It is challenging providing that amount of money to that many elderly would, I think, would be impossible.

That is why I think there needs to be a cultural-social change occurring, not just money handouts, but giving land rights to women. I do think some of it can cross over to China, but as I said, the scope is quite different. China is much bigger, many more people.

I could keep going, if——

Representative PITTENGER. They have called votes, so I—Thank you very much. I really appreciate your commitment and your leadership. We listened and everything we can do, we will support you and support this great need.

Thank you. God bless you.

Ms. CHAI. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Pittenger. We do have to run for votes. They shut it down right at zero. So no more grace period any more.

I thank you so much. You really have given the Commission a tremendous amount of input, guidance, and inspiration. I thank you so much for it.

Ms. BRENNING. Thank you so much.

Ms. HVISTENDAHL. Thank you.

Ms. CHAI. With your permission, could I just end it with a quick prayer?

Chairman SMITH. Sure.

Ms. CHAI. Okay. Dear Heavenly Father, Lord Jesus,—whoever believes and want to join, you are welcome to do that.

Dear Father, Lord Jesus, Holy Spirit, we thank you for this wonderful opportunity, and thank you for the unity of a heart and passion. I give you thanks for Mara, for Julie, for Congressman Christopher Smith, with other Ranking Congressmen who are here, and for many people who are listening for the staff, for President Obama's Administration, also for the leaders in China, Oh, Lord.

We just pray you open their hearts and minds. I pray for unity. We pray for swift action to end this massive evil, gendercide in China and around the world.

In Jesus' name we pray and believe and trust. Amen.
Chairman SMITH. Thank you. Hearing is adjourned.
[Whereupon the hearing was concluded at 4:15 p.m.]

# A P P E N D I X

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Ling Chai
Founder & President
All Girls Allowed – In Jesus' Name, Simply Love Her
Mission of All Girls Allowed: To restore life, value and dignity to girls and mothers, to reveal the injustice of the One Child Policy.
Author: A Heart for Freedom

## End Gendercide now, rescuing China's missing girls in Jesus' name!

**Feb 3rd, 2016**

Testimony to

The Congressional Executive Commission on China
Chairman Congressman Chris Smith
Co-chairman Senator Marco Rubio

Chairman Smith and other ranking Congressman and leaders, thank you for your leadership and commitment on shining light on this most important human right issue in China, your voice has made a difference! Let me share a few real life stories to remind all of us what a difference that has made. And then let me share what I believe needs to happen next.

### Stories and testimonies

You may remember in April 30th, 2015, you hosted a hearing on China's One Child Policy. During that hearing, I said, ending One Child Policy is not up to the Chinese government, but up to God. And we prayed for the end to come. 5 months later, in Oct 29th, 2015, China declared its ending of the brutal One Child Policy;

You may also remember, in May 2012, when Mr. Chen Guang Cheng was pushed out the American Embassy and his life was in grave danger, Chairman Smith you hosted a 2nd urgent hearing, in that, we prayed and declared his freedom: 4 days later, he was released from China and landed in New York City;

You may also remember, in Dec 6th 2011, when a woman who was put in China's black prison with her nursing child and her 70 year old mother, we prayed for her safety and freedom, 12 hours later she was released from prison in a dark night and was dumped into a cross road somewhere two hours away from Beijing. Little did we knew she was so determined to petition for justice she went

straight back to Tiananmen Square to protest and she was thrown in prison again. However, the pray and fasting was still going on here in the US for her and she was released again.

So what I want to say is that before I came to know the invisible God, each hearing was a struggle. We would be reporting these awful human rights violations, each time triggering our own memories and PTSDs, and walking away seeing very little get done. However, when I came to know God through Jesus after a Nov. 2009 hearing, this has become a new and different experience. My eyes were opened and I now experience this is not just another hearing about facts, hopes and asks, it is also a declaration, it is a prayer. When we say that in faith and trust in the God all mighty who is also listening and watching, along with the staffs and people in the audience, along with the Chinese government staffs watching either here or on the screen somewhere in DC or in beijing, I know when we testify and ask according to His will, we will be given, when we seek we will find, when we knock, the door will be opened, as it was promised in many places in the scriptures. (Matthew 7:7-8, Matthew 21:22, Matthew 18:19, Isaiah 30:19, psalm 34:4, psalm 37:4, etc.)

So today my ask for the leaders in America, leaders in China and God, is to end Gendercide, and begin the All Children Allowed and All Girls Allowed policies in China right away!

## Definition of Gendercide

Gendercide, defined as "the systematic extermination of a particular gender," through sex selective abortions, devaluing and violent treatment of a person that robs their well-being and dignity due to a person's gender, which leads to loss of life, value and dignity. Under the brutal One Child Policy, coupled with China's thousands of years of culture that favors and values men over women, Gendercide is a wide spread everyday daily practice against girls and women in China. The following statistics tells a story of a severe situation that calls for urgent action to end this injustice of Gendercide:

- At least 37 MILLION more men than women live in China, thanks to gendercide.
- Up to 120 boys are born for every 100 girls. This means 1 OUT OF EVERY 6 girls is lost to gendercide.
- 30 MILLION Chinese men will be unable to find spouses by 2020, threatening a dangerous bachelor boom.
- 1 MILLION infants are abandoned in China each year, and most of these are healthy girls.
- At least 70,000 and up to 600,000 Chinese children are trafficked each year. Most are girls.
- 35,000 forced and coerced abortions are performed each day in China under the One-Child Policy.
- 500 women commit suicide every day in China. It is the only nation where more women than men kill themselves.
- 485 MILLION people in China live on less than $2 per day.

See more data from our research: http://www.allgirlsallowed.org/gendercide-china-statistics

## Severe Human Rights and Global Security implications

- Higher sex ratios are linked with increases in trafficking, rape, prostitution, and overall crime. (China's crime rate has nearly doubled in the last 20 years.)
- China alone conducts 60% of world-wide sex trafficking;
- The most abnormal sex ratios are seen where the One-Child Policy is most pervasive.
- Historically, a surplus of young men has led to unrest or expansionist foreign policy. (World War II-era Japan and modern-day Afghanistan and Pakistan both experienced a bachelor boom and unrest.)

## Solutions and Recommendations:

In China, Gendercide has two causes: the government's population control policy and the people gender bias and actions of conducing Gendercide. Therefore, Gendercide needs to be taken down and a new way of life and gender equality and harmony need to be plant and build up in every level of the society at the same time. As the scripture guides us: "Today I appoint you over nations and kingdoms to uproot and tear down, to destroy and overthrow, to build and to plant." Jeremiah 1:10. The taking down and building up needs to take place at the same time. The two can't be separated.

- **Two-child policy need to be replaced by an All Children Allowed Policy immediately**
- **An All Girls Allowed Policy and culture need to be put in place and promoted nationwide ASAP**

We celebrated greatly the fact that God has caused the Chinese government to declare an end of the One Child Policy, and we hope and pray the new Chinese leaders will have courage to publically and officially ended the One Child Policy after 35+ years of brutal enforcement as they have announced. However, to replace it with a two-child policy is not the right solution, it will continue the perpetuation of the brutal Gendercide rather than ending it. Historical data shows how the cruel Gendercide trend rose under the One Child Policy:

Sex Ratios at birth over time in China:

106:100 in 1979 (106 boys for every 100 girls, the normal rate is 105:100)

111:100 in 1988

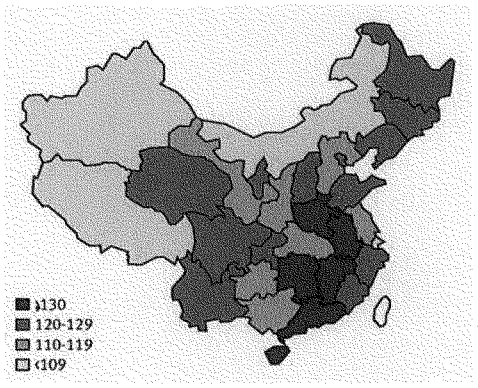
117:100 in 2001

118:100 in 2010 (China's 2010 Census report)

119:100 in 2012 (China's 2012 Census report)

This is a painful picture.

The exceptions are only in two provinces, Tibet and Xinjiang, which had sex ratios within normal limits across the age range. These two provinces are largely inhabited by minority ethnic groups and have more lenient family planning laws.
(http://www.bmj.com/content/338/bmj.b1211.full )




**The answer is painfully simple: where there is family planning policy there is Gendercide; where there is no family planning policy, there is no or less Gendercide. Therefore to end the two-child policy as soon as possible is urgent and necessary.**

**The recent decision by the Chinese government on December 31st, 2015 to offer Hukou to all including the 13 million children born without residence statues was in fact a great step towards making it towards All Children Allowed policy. It is an in fact all born children allowed!** (http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2016-01/14/content_10595.htm) . **This is just as a big victory as ending the One Child Policy!** We rejoice with the 13 million extra quota children and their courageous families which may add up to be 90 plus million people realizing the improvement of their quality of their lives. God has done it again. The Girls Count Act showed China and the world the right way to go. Leaders like Senator Rubio, Congressman Smith and other members of Congress who initiated, promoted the Girls Count Act, the Congressmen and women who voted to pass the Bill, President Obama who signed the Bill into the law, my dear husband Bob who supported with great effort had done another powerful work on behalf of humanity and on behalf of this population of 90+ million people in China, and hundreds of millions beyond China. **Again our hope and prayers will be this registration process will not be corruptive and punitive financially against these families who will receive Hukou for their extra quota children.**

Now we need to move ahead to make the rest of the unborn children all allowed.

**One more argument against the Two-child Policy is that this policy achieves little or if any China's population control objectives and should be completely eliminated in order to achieve China's goal to have more baby girls to balance the growing gender gap.** Look at the World Factbook: China's neighboring countries' natural replacement rate is as follows without any population control policy constrains: (https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2127.html ):

*Taiwan: 1.12 per children born/woman (2015 est.)*

*Singapore: 0.81 per children born/woman (2015 est.)*

*Japan: 1.4 per children born/woman (2015 est.)*

*South Korea: 1.25 per children born/woman (2015 est.)*

**That means without encouragement, most married Chinese families will not have more than 2 children. No cap needed to control the population.**

**However, for the teenage girls and young women who get pregnant without marriage certificates and birth permits, the two-child policy is still a death sentence to the babies, an order of Gendercide against the teen girls and the mothers by not allowing an option to give birth to these babies, in addition to the shame and humiliation these women will face in society.** According to the Chinese Government's report, each year 30% of the 13 million abortions are from these teen and unmarried women. (http://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2015/01/28/china-performs-13-million-abortions-per-year-state-media-says/; http://www.allgirlsallowed.org/forced-abortion-statistics )

**China's population problem is not too many babies are being born, but TOO FEW babies being born, especially TOO FEW BABY GIRLS ARE BEING BORN.**

**There is a severe cost for low birth rate.** Research from analysis of data for 40 countries done by Lee et al. shows that "when fertility well above replacement and population growth would typically be most beneficial for government budgets...low fertility will indeed challenge government programs and very low fertility undermines living standards". (http://ntaccounts.org/web/nta/show/Science )

**China is already feeling the pain of low birth.** According to the Wall Street Journey, (http://graphics.wsj.com/2050-demographic-destiny/ ) "On the world's factory floor, China will soon confront a serious labor shortage, forcing scores of Western brands to remake their operations. The changes will mark a new chapter in the history of globalization, where automation is king and nearness to market is crucial." According to the Wall Street Journal,

**China's crisis is not over population but not enough people and labor force now! Time to know the truth!**

**All the facts and data point to the clear conclusion that the brual counter productive and unwise Two-child Policy needs to come to an end and be replaced by an All Children Allowed policy as soon as possible, for the sake of China, the people, the Chinese government and the country!**

**But by changing the Two-child Policy into an All Children Allowed policy ALONE will not end gendercide.** An active policy that welcomes and encourages the birth of baby girls, value girls and mothers, and protects women's dignity at work, in the market place and at home in marriage are needed to end a culture and practice of Gendercide.

## Gendercide can end with God all things are possible

**At All Girls Allowed—In Jesus' name simply love her, we believe Gendercide can end when life, value and dignity are restored to girls and mother through the love of God.** In the past 5 years, especially the last three years, we have a small team of committed believers in the Lord, who has focused on three key stages birth, girlhood and motherhood to bring God's love to girls and mothers. What we have found is that love expressed in truth and in hard work can indeed save lives and change a culture of Gendercide and help people to live lives abundantly. Let me use a few real life stories to help explain this. Our team is motivated by God's love to us through offering His son Jesus to die on the cross for us to redeem us, but if you don't believe this, the following model can still work to help end Gendercide throughout the life cycle of a woman.

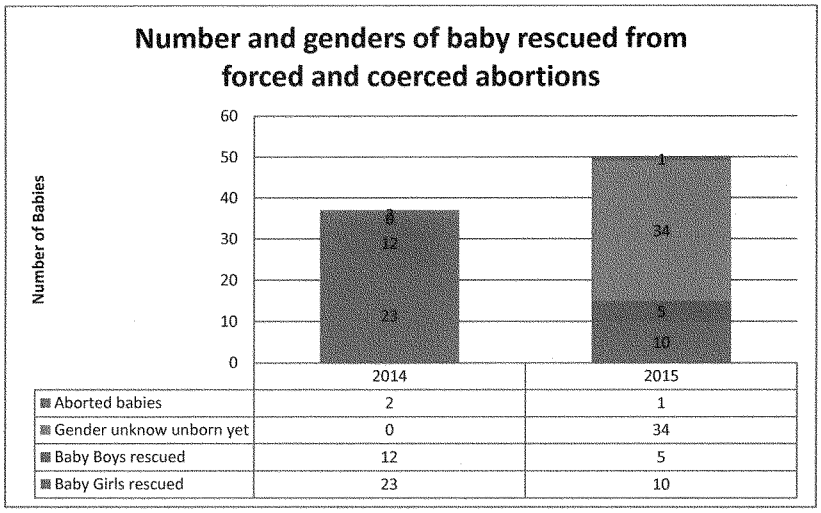
**Ending Gendercide at birth through our baby shower program by giving a cash stipend, encouraging words from the Lord, and loving fellowship to expecting mothers can help save babies, and bring well-being to mothers**

Ms. Li Xia found out she was accidentally pregnant despite the fact she already had a sterilization surgery. Under great pressure from the local family planning committee, she was considering aborting her child. After our field workers spent time to care for and encourage her, Li Xia decided to keep the child. On March 11th, Li Xia gave birth to a healthy baby girl. After the girl's birth, Li Xia's family, who was originally not willing to take care of the child, changed their minds and now they are very willing to raise

the child with her. Also, through the Baby Shower Program—borrowed from an American tradition—to encourage expecting mothers about the birth of the child, Li Xia had the opportunity to come to know Jesus Christ and got baptized. Recently, Li Xia's mother and sisters opened their hearts to Jesus Christ as well.

This is an example and testimony of God's love, carried out by faithful believers, in timely intervention, family visits, sharing the truth about life and creating a loving and supportive community to walk with the pregnant mother, in addition to save a baby girl' life, what great blessing and happiness can happen. We pray more will join us to bring this kind of baby shower program to many babies and mothers in need.

The Chinese government's law forbids families to know the gender of the unborn babies and officially outlaws sex selective abortions. Most the time our staff would not know the Gender of the babies until they are born. But one stunning facts we discovered that among all the babies rescued from abortions, there is a 2:1 ratio of baby girls rescued vs baby boys rescued. **That means among all the abortions, baby girls were being killed at twice the rate of baby boys. This trend must be stopped! And with hard work, dedication and God's love, it can be stopped**




In addition to the rescue work via the baby Shower program, our team also serves those families who are in deep poverty and risk of unable to raise their new born children with care or abandoning them. Our team serves in Northeast and South of China's poor areas. Our data continue to show three findings: Gendercide exists, boys are more than girls born; the baby shower rescue effort makes a difference to correct gender imbalance; however, if without these labor intensive rescue effort, the boy/girl ratios would be much worse.

**In 2014 our small team of dedicated workers make the following visits and achieved these results:**

- 4549 times family visits
- 871 families reached
- 109 baby girls and their families were served
- 119 baby boys and their families were served
- **Boy/Girl ratio is 109:100, better than 119:100 nation-wide average with help of the rescue baby shower program**
- 37 babies were being rescued
    - 23 baby girls were rescued from abortions

    - 12 baby boys were rescued from abortions
    - 2 failed rescues, families still went through abortions, we continue to support them
- **Boy/Girl ratio would have been 124:100 worse than the 119:100 nation-wide average without the baby shower rescue program**
- 122 people came to Jesus
- Men in the family started to change to join the work of ending Gendercide

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    - 5 baby boys were rescued from abortions
    - 34 families were persuaded for not going through abortions, but baby's gender unknown because they have not been born yet;
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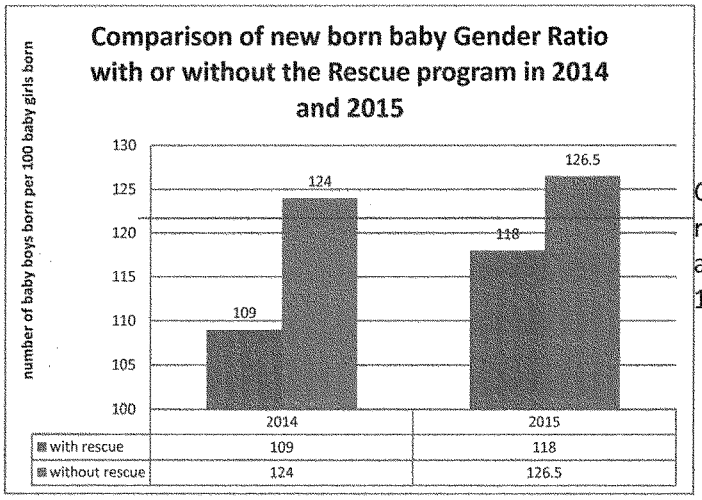
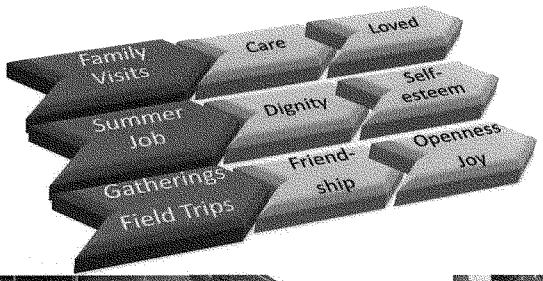



China's ratio is around 119:100

**As a small ministry, we can do that, we encourage the Chinese government to do more! We applaud the "care for girls" and "girl protection" programs. They should continue! An investment to save millions of girls via a baby shower program by the Government of China would payback economically and socially. I believe there are many American people are eager to help and fund the work of rescues of these baby girls.**

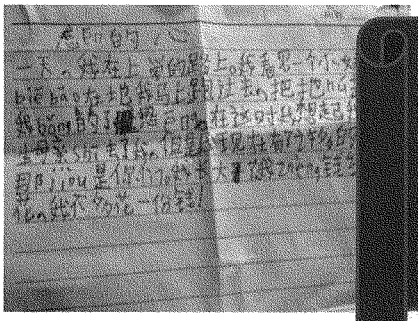
**End Gendercide during Childhood:**

In addition to devaluing girls by abandoning them and not give them opportunity for education, etc. China today is facing another form of Gendercide in the form of leaving millions of girls and wives behind. Chinese people have strong work ethic. With many farmers' lands are taken away and modernization, each year 270+ million people migrate to cities to work, leaving the young children and wives behind. This has a devastating impact on a reported 61 million "left behind children" in China, especially "left behind girls". They tend to suffer depression, low self-esteem and are sometimes abused emotionally and sexually. Again our workers formed a ministry to care for some of these left behind children.



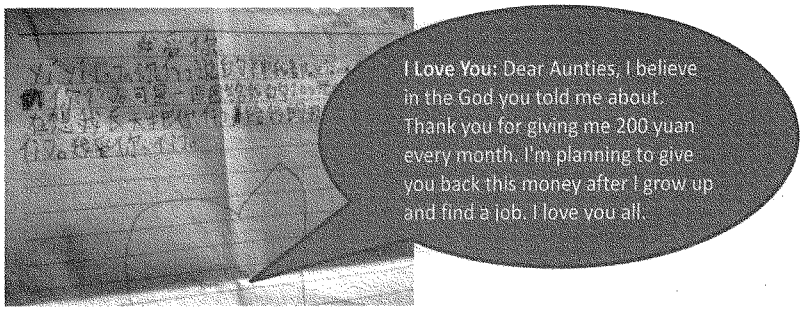
As we are speaking here, this massive migration of 270+ million people is taking place because the workers will go home for Chinese new year. This is an important time for the Chinese Government, the local communities and the churches to help the 61 million "left behind children" and their parents, to help them to stay in a loving family to learn love and to give love.

The followings are two notes sent back to us when our faith workers formed a ministry to care for these left behind children through care and visits, offering summer interns and organize them for field trips. These children can be raised up with thankful hearts and form healthy attachments. Gendercide can end in each of these families.



**Thankful heart**

One day, on the way to school, I saw a little girl who had fallen down on the road, and I went over and helped her get up. I learned to have a grateful heart. Now I remember my own mom, who lost me (I lost her). But I have so many moms now because of you. After I grow up, I will work and earn money to return to you. I will not waste even one penny!




But this is not enough, with the new Hukou system reform, more policies are needed to provide affordable housing, education and safety to encourage families to stay together, for the children and especially girls and mothers to be cared for while China is going through this most massive industrialization on earth.

**Ending Gendercide in Marriage**

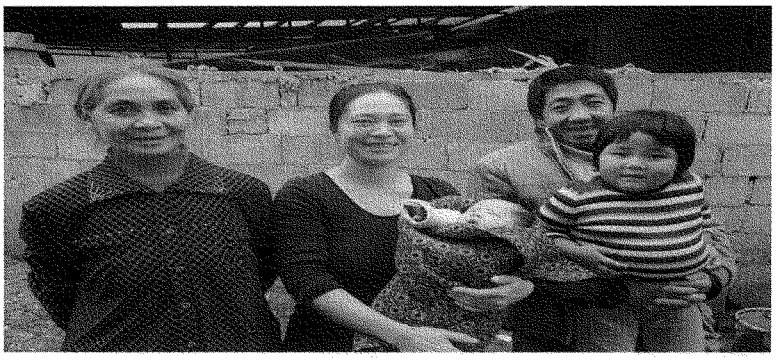
There is no place more lonely for a woman than a marriage that was filled with abuse and neglect and violence. Often, a birth of an unwelcomed child can cause tension within a marriage to intensify.

Ms. Gui Xiu was caught in this kind of tension. She was pregnant with a 4th child who again would be a girl. Her husband had it and did not want to her to keep the baby. She was a Christian after speaking with our workers who visited her, she became more determined not to abort the child. There was great tension in the family. The husband even threatened to walk out on her and the other children. With the support and comfort of our field workers, Gui Xiu patiently and courageously endured the difficult pregnancy and the 4th child was finally born. The husband was very upset and he did not even want to look at the new born child. He was trying to force the mom to give the baby away. There were so much tears and sorrows in the family. They were in crisis.

The leaders of our workers took a bus for a whole day to come into this poor and isolated mountain side to visit this family. Our leader's sacrificial devotion moved the husband, he at first allowed himself to listen to our leader. Our leader talked, listened and asked more questions. The husband listened, nodded his head and finally he opened up. It turned out they had an older son, who passed away at age 12. Trying to save this boy from illness the family took on a huge debt but the boy still died. To coop with grief, the husband was determined to have another boy born to replace the lost one. However, he was given 4 daughters instead.

After being reminded that God created man and woman in His image, boys and girls are equal. A turning of heart started taking place in this father's heart. He got up from his seat, picked up the 4th baby girl, looked at her first time after she came to the world, and asked our leader, "What shall we call her?" the leader immediately come up with a name: Rebecca; the name of Issca's wife in the Bible. That was the moment this unnamed baby girl became baby Rebecca and was allowed and welcomed into this family.

A girl was born, a daughter welcomed, a marriage was restored, a father came to faith, a family received both salvation, joy and harmony. This is hard work, but necessary to do! When our leader went back on the bus to take on another whole day journey to home, we all rejoiced with them and with this precious family in China and in America, that day Gendercide ended in another family!



**Ending Gendercide in Sex education and purity before marriage teaching**

China's culture used to have a very conservative view towards sex and purity. However, with reform and influence from the west, unprotected sex and pregnancies became another form of Gendercide against teen girls and unmarried women. Great work needs to be done on this front to restore a culture of purity with sex and the meaning of dating, romance and marriage education at the appropriate age. In 2016, our ministry will start piloting some program on this front. Will report back on progress.

## Our Ask

Ending Gendercide is a complex, extremely urgent and a God size task. It needs a cooperation from Chinese Government and the civil society especially church community to work together to bring it to an end. With God's help through prayer, our work to end Gendercide has proven effective. However, we are greatly challenged by the Chinese governmental constrains. The current policy forbids NGOs to register with names that indicate religion afflictions (http://jmz.cq.gov.cn/main/mzj/flfg/mjzz/zcwj/1_1078/default.shtml ). Our faith forbids us to deny God and Jesus in name and in actions (revelation 3:8). We encourage the Chinese government to remove this constrain so more church believers can form NGOs to join the movement to end Gendercide in China and around the world.

Our workers have been serving under fear of persecution and some left the ministry in 2015 due to constant police harassment. We need not only permission, but protection and help in expanding this work of ending Gendercide.

So in summary, we urge the Chinese government to do following:

- **To replace the Two-child Policy with an All Child Allowed policy immediately;**
- **To install and implement an All Girls Allowed Policy Immediately;**
- **To stop oppressing the churches in China, rather to remove restrains of NGO registration in faith, to invite and encourage faith communities to support the government's policy to end Gendercide. As the wise King Salomon said: "By justice a king gives a country stability" (proverb 19:4). China's stability can't be built upon injustice! We need to act justly, love mercy and walk humbly with the Lord our God. This is a commandment for all people.**

Same logic, the world stability can only come from ministering human rights and justice. Gendercide is the largest injustice on earth today. Therefore we also urge the US leaders, Congressional leaders, President Obama, business, education, women's rights and faith community leaders, presidential hopefuls and all to help us end this evil and restore peace!

In Jesus' name we pray, and believe it will be done, amen!

IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER
All Girls Allowed

# Gendercide: China's missing girls

Ling Chai's testimony

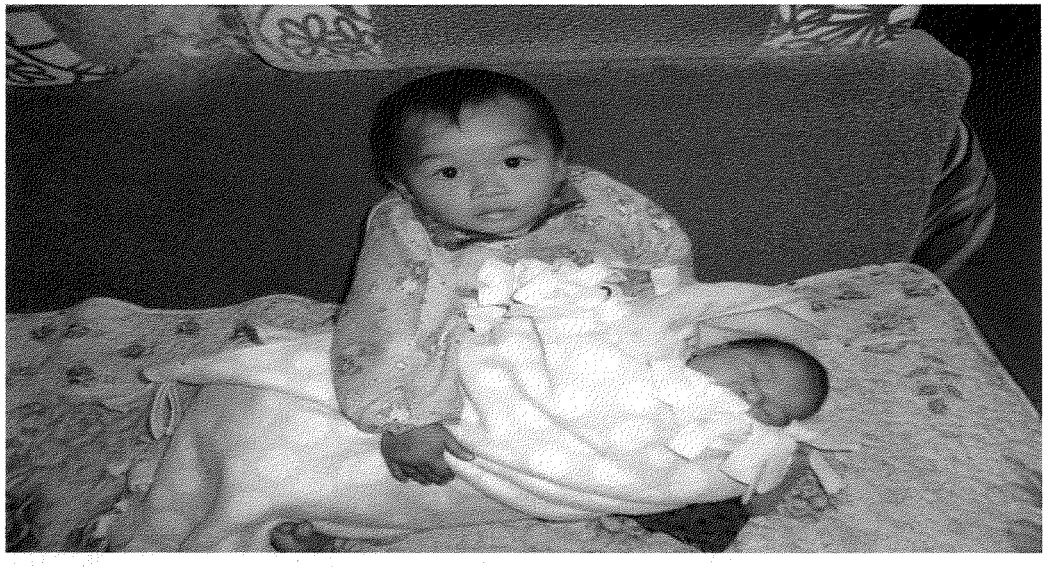
Feb 3rd, 2016

IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER
All Girls Allowed

# The testimonies

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

All Girls Allowed



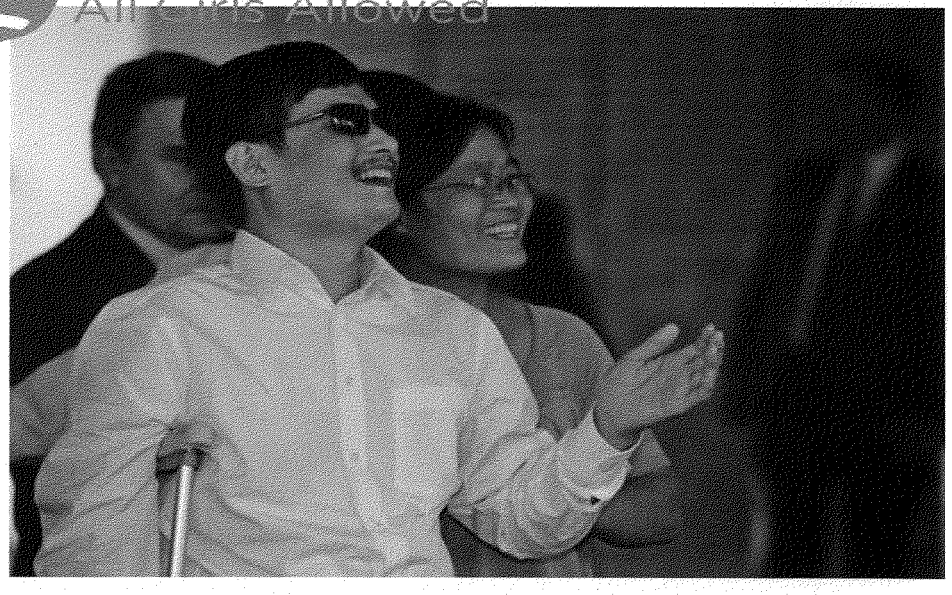
Oct 29th, 2015, China announced its ending of their brutal One Child Policy!

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

## All Girls Allowed

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

All Girls Allowed



Our God delivered Chen to freedom in NYC
4 days later on Saturday, May 2012

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

All Girls Allowed

Nie Lina arrested in 2011

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

All Girls Allowed

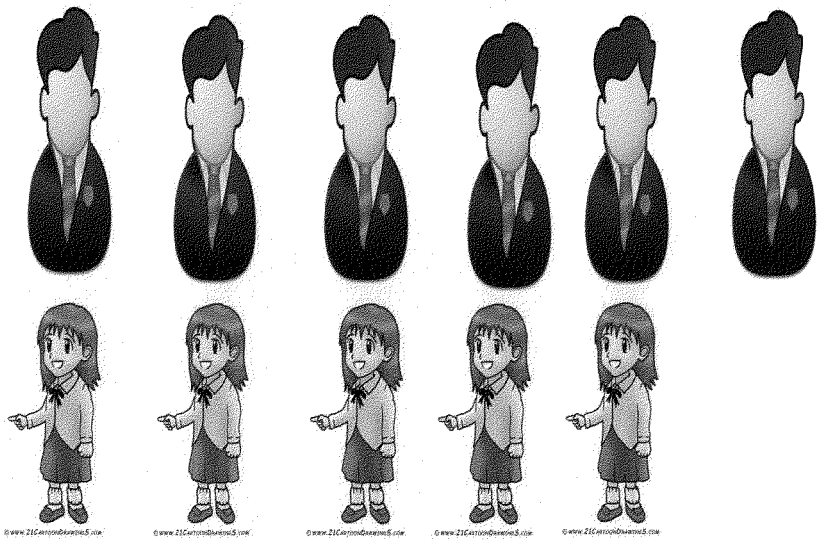
God hear our prayers, and she was released to freedom within 12 hours; she was rearrested again and then again was released shortly

IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER
All Girls Allowed

# Gendercide in China

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

## All Girls Allowed



**One out of the 6 girls will not be born! One out of the 6th will become "bare branches"**

http://www.allgirlsallowed.org/videos/37-seconds

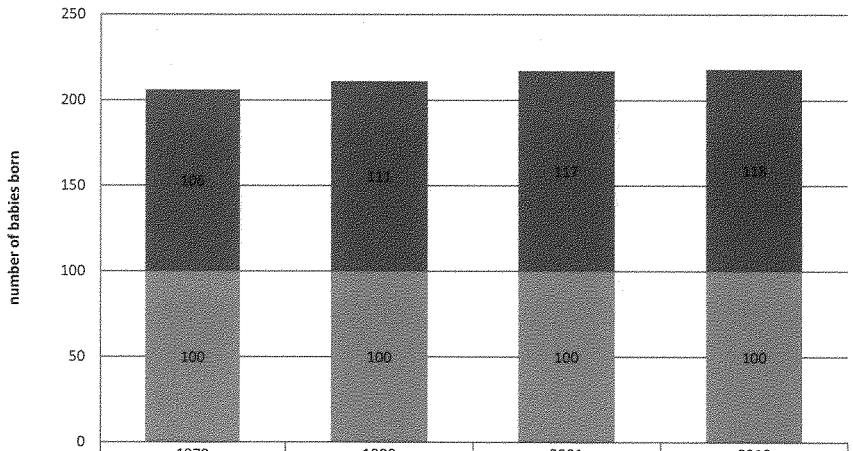
# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER
## All Girls Allowed

- Solutions and Recommendations
  - Ending One Child Policy is a great victory!
  - Giving extra quota children Kukou are excellent progress! Thanks to the positive influence of Girls count act, Sen. Rubio, chairman Smith, many congressmen and women, president Obama
  - But end Gendercide needs more
    - Two-child Policy need to replaced by All Children Allowed Policy right away
    - An All Girls Allowed Policy need to put in place and implanted right away to end Gendercide

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

## All Girls Allowed

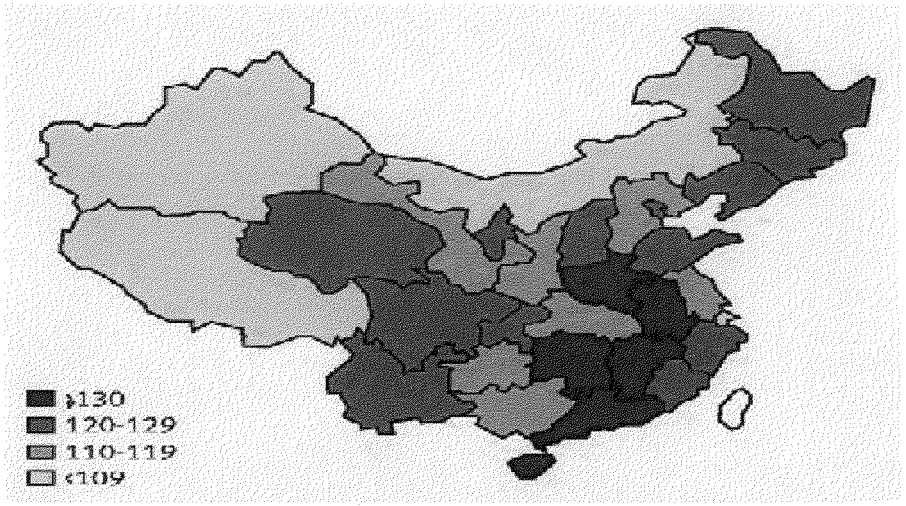
**The rise of Gendercide along side with the enforcement of the One Child population control Policy**




| | 1979 | 1988 | 2001 | 2010 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Boys Born | 106 | 111 | 117 | 118 |
| Girls Born | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

## All Girls Allowed

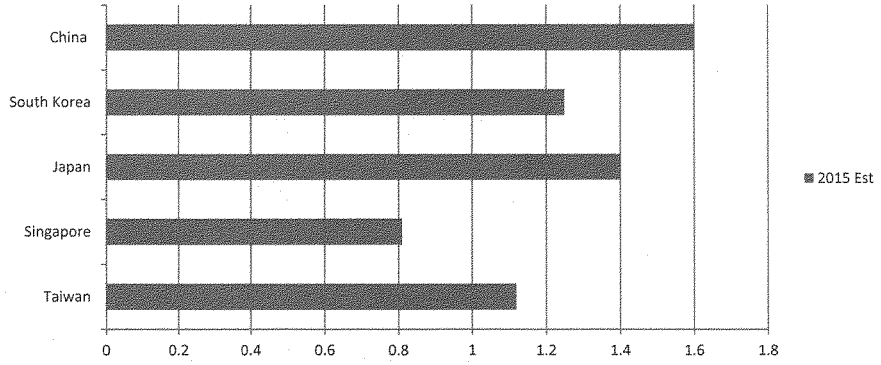



Where One Child Policy is more strictly enforced, there is more Gendercide;
Where One Child Policy is less strictly enforced, there is less Gendercide
two-child policy is another form of population control, it will continue this pattern

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER
All Girls Allowed

**Two-child Policy accomplish little to save baby girls**

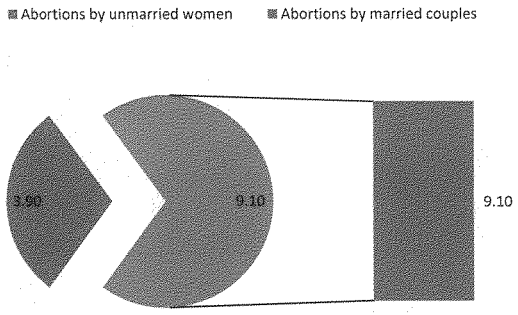
**2015 Estimate number of children born/woman by China and its neighboring countries**




For married families, China's replacement rate is already below the two-child per family quota

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER
## All Girls Allowed

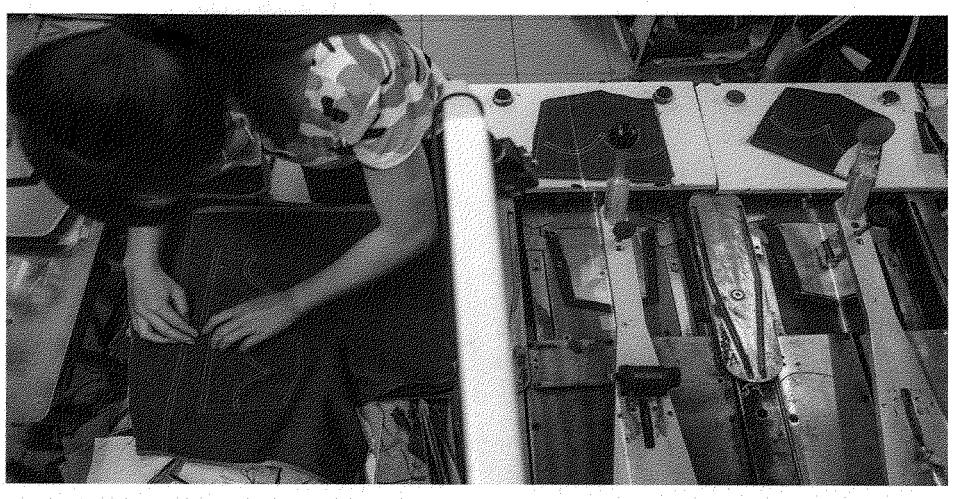
**China's 13 million annual forced and coerced abortion by married and unmarried women**




**But for almost 4 million unmarried teenagers and women, the two-child Policy is still a death sentence against their babies and Gendercide against their bodies.**

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

## All Girls Allowed



(WSJ 2015 states)Previous generations feared a population explosion. But for today's global economy, the problem is just the opposite. Falling fertility rates and aging work forces will plague the developed world. The race is on for innovative solutions.

On the world's factory floor, China will soon confront a serious labor shortage, forcing scores of Western brands to remake their operations.

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER
## All Girls Allowed

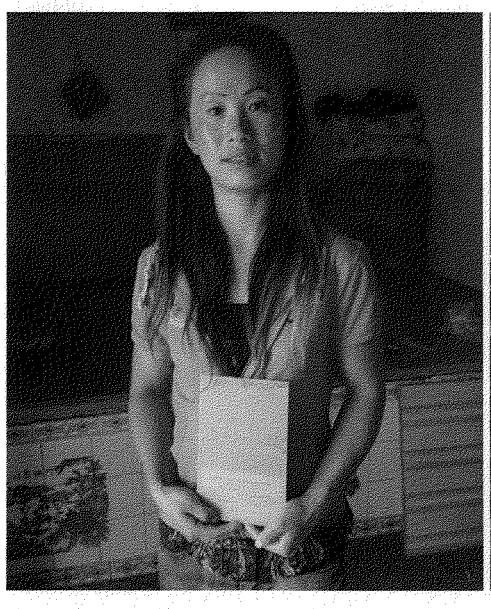
- All data points to this: **China's population problem is not too many babies are being born, but TOO FEW babies being born, especially TOO FEW BABY GIRLS ARE BEING BORN.**
- **All Children Allowed Policy must start**
- But alone it will not end Gendercide!

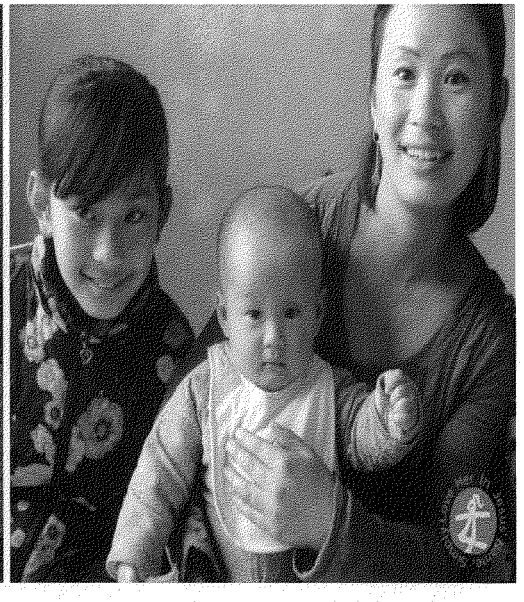
# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER
## All Girls Allowed

- An All Girls Allowed Policy must be put in place and implented ASAP!
  - To End Gendercide during baby girls' birth
  - To End Gendercide during a girl's childhood
  - To End Gendercide in marriage
  - To End Gendercide in sex education and purity before marriage teaching
- With God all things are possible

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

## All Girls Allowed





Ms. Li Xia's baby girl was rescued through our Baby shower program---visit pregnant mothers in their distress, offering cash stipend, God's words of encouragements and fellowship of love.

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

## All Girls Allowed

### 2014 Baby Shower Program results

- 4549 times family visits
- 871 families reached
- 109 baby girls were served
- 119 baby boys were served
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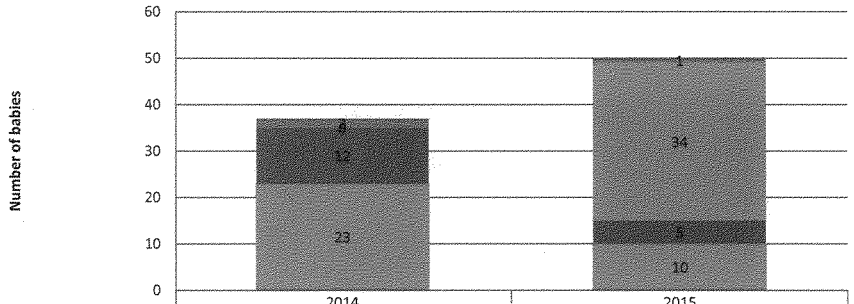
- 79 people came to Jesus

**God is love. Love is hard work!**

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

All Girls Allowed

## Number and Genders of baby rescued from forced and coerced abortions

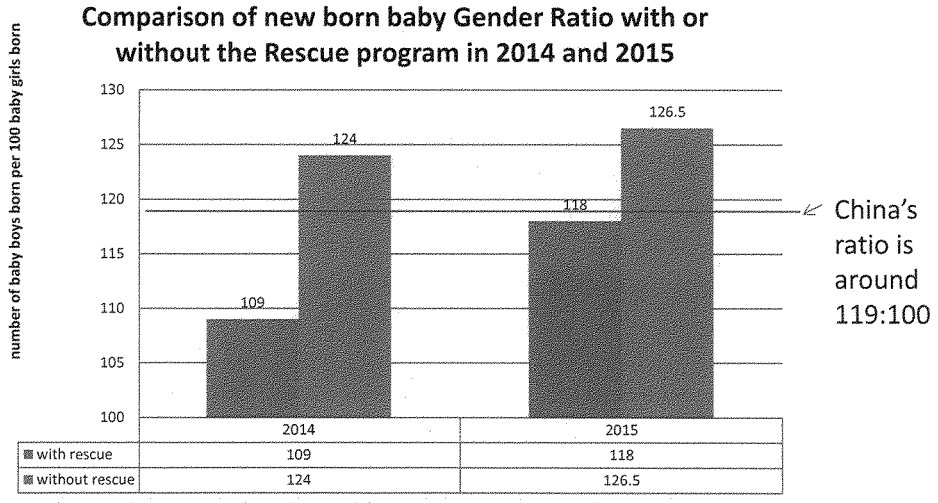



| | 2014 | 2015 |
|---|---|---|
| Failed Rescues | 2 | 1 |
| Gender Unknown yet | 0 | 34 |
| Baby Boys rescued | 12 | 5 |
| Baby Girls Rescued | 23 | 10 |

For every baby boy that was rescued from abortions, two baby girls were rescued

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

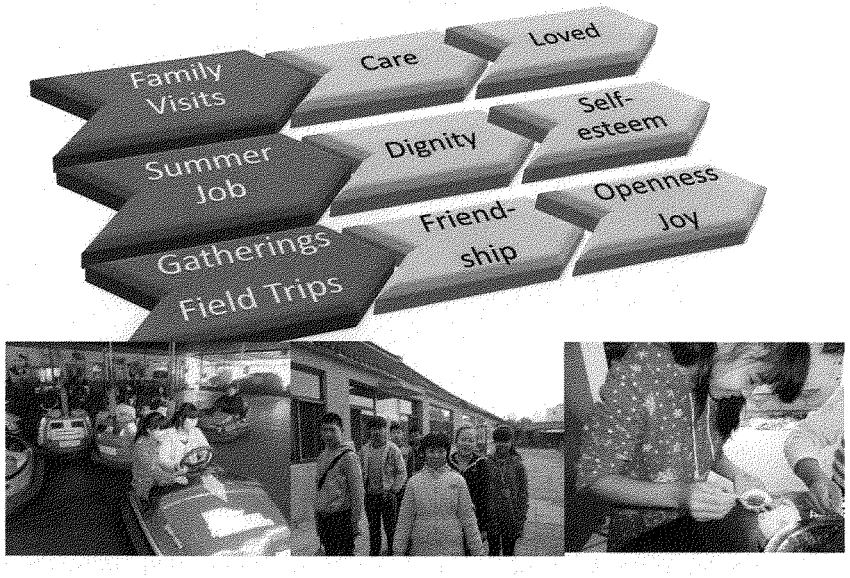
## All Girls Allowed




**Baby shower program done with the love from God can end Gendercide at birth!**

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

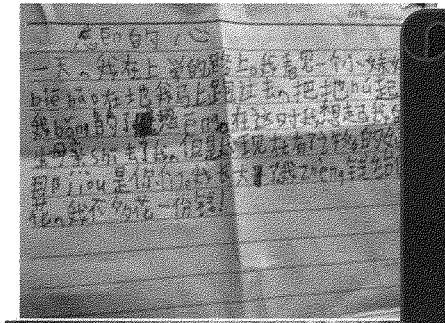
## All Girls Allowed




**Gendercide can end during Childhood, 61 million left behind children are crying out for care and help**

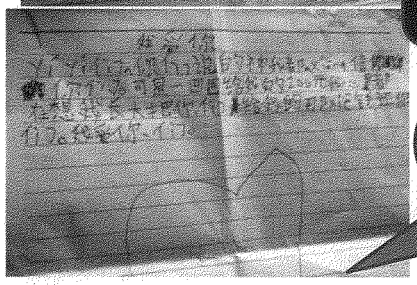
# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

## All Girls Allowed



**Thankful heart**

One day, on the way to school, I saw a little girl who had fallen down on the road, and I went over and helped her get up. I learned to have a grateful heart. Now I remember my own mom, who lost me (I lost her). But I have so many moms now because of you. After I grow up, I will work and earn money to return to you. I will not waste even one penny!

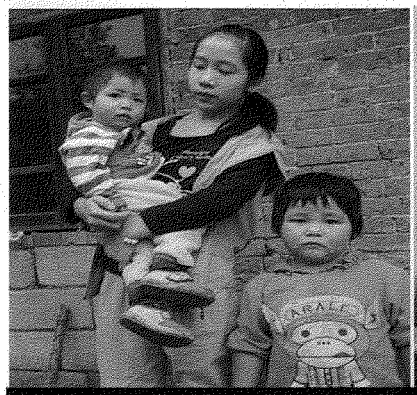


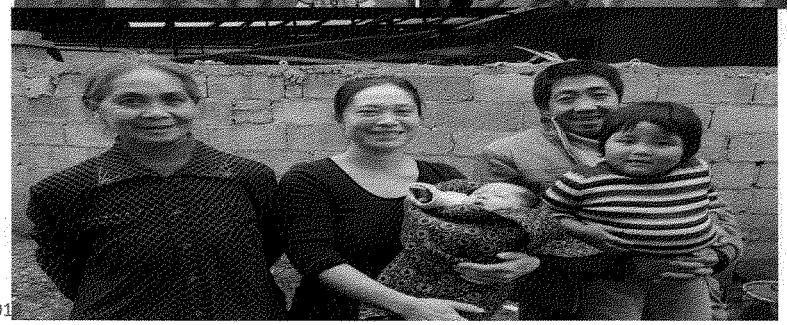
**I Love You:** Dear Aunties, I believe in the God you told me about. Thank you for giving me 200 yuan every month. I'm planning to give you back this money after I grow up and find a job. I love you all.

**To the 270 million migrating workers, it's time to make no children especially girls left behind!**

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

## All Girls Allowed





**Gendercide ended in Ms. Gui Xiu's family through welcoming their 4th daughter Gendercide can end in marriages**

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

All Girls Allowed

- Gendercide needs to end in dating and youth
- Through sex ed. and purity teaching
- Plan to pilot programs in 2016

IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER
All Girls Allowed

# Our Ask

# IN JESUS' NAME, SIMPLY LOVE HER

## All Girls Allowed

- To replace the two-child Policy with an All Child Allowed policy immediately;
- To install and implement an All Girls Allowed Policy Immediately;
- To stop oppressing the churches in China, rather to remove restrains of NGO registration in faith, to invite and encourage faith communities to support the government's policy to end Gendercide.
- As the wise King Salomon said: "By justice a king gives a country stability" (proverb 19:4). China's stability can't be built upon injustice! We need to act justly, love mercy and walk humbly with the Lord our God. This is a commandment for all people.
- We urge the US leaders to help end Gendercide and bring peace and stability to the world
- Ending Gendercide is a God size task. In Jesus' name we trust and believe it will be done! Amen!

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARA HVISTENDAHL

FEBRUARY 3, 2016

Thank you, Chairmen Rubio and Smith, for providing me with the opportunity to share my thoughts on China's imbalanced population.

We are all here because we care about the world's women. I appear before you as a journalist who lived in China for nearly a decade and spent three years investigating sex selection and its effects. As I detailed in my book *Unnatural Selection,* sex selection— mainly through ultrasound examinations followed by abortion—has led to the disappearance of over 100 million females from the global population. This problem has spread beyond China and India, to countries as varied as Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, South Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam, and even to some groups in the United States and Canada.

After continuing unabated for over three decades, sex-ratio distortion is now a massive international issue. In terms of lives affected, it surpasses the HIV epidemic. And yet, despite the scope of this problem, there has been little international response. That is in part because responsibility is often assumed to lie solely with countries like China and India. As I will explain, that assumption is wrong.

The 2010 census, the last year it was taken, found a sex ratio at birth of 118 boys per 100 girls in China. The skewed sex ratio is painfully obvious if you visit an elementary school in a second- or third-tier city in China. Look at any classroom and you will see many more boys than girls.

China's population control policies have undoubtedly contributed to this gap. But even as the government's population targets have become more lenient and less relevant, sex selection has increased. China's sex ratio at birth, in fact, has steadily risen since 1990. It will no doubt persist under a two-child policy.

When I began researching this issue in 2008, I traveled to a county called Suining in northern Jiangsu province, once an agricultural area that is now industrializing. At the time I visited, Suining's sex ratio at birth was estimated at 153 boys per 100 girls. And yet, that hardly made it the county in China with the most extreme sex ratio. Photographer Ariana Lindquist and I simply went there because she knew people from the area, and we figured that those contacts would help us delve deeper into the issue.

We spent a lot of time with a woman whom I call Liao Li. She was a strong, independent woman—a mother of two girls and one boy who in many ways called the shots in her family. She managed the finances, made a lot of the major decisions, and kept the family cell phone when her husband was off working construction jobs. While she and her husband sometimes struggled to make ends meet, they weren't the poorest family in their town. For all of these reasons, she struck me as a great guide to the area.

Over the several days I spent with Liao Li, she was quite critical about the epidemic of sex selection that had hit Suining. A few times she said things like, "Girls are very good. They take care of you when you're older." Sex selection, she told me, is "stupid thinking, when you are, after all, yourself a woman." But then shortly before we returned to Shanghai, she invited Ariana and me over for dinner. We drank some warm beer, and I talked a little about my research. As the dinner progressed, Liao Li stood up and said, "I aborted two girls."

That threw me for a loop. As my reporting took me to countries as varied as India, Albania, South Korea, and Vietnam, however, I learned that Liao Li's situation is in fact fairly typical. The perpetrators of sex selection are not, as is commonly portrayed, primarily poor people in villages. Throughout South and East Asia, the Caucasus region, and the Balkans, sex selection starts in urban areas, among wealthy or middle-class and well-educated couples, and trickles down from there.

Unfortunately, in 2016 sexism is far from dead, and a preference for boys still persists in most parts of the world. Second, economic development means that just as people move to cities and start having fewer children, a new technology—ultrasound—becomes available. The third factor is that many of the countries where sex selection is practiced have a history of coercive population policies and of abortion being forced on women as birth control. When all of these factors—son preference, access to new technology, and pressure on birth rates—are combined, people take measures to ensure that they have a son.

Sex selection is therefore a very modern problem. But it's also a problem for which Western nations, including the United States, bear responsibility.

If you were shaping policy in Washington, D.C. forty years ago, there is a good chance that you would have been asked to consider the issue of population growth, which was front and center at the time. Best-selling books like the *Population Bomb*

warned of a population explosion. Population growth was a problem at the time, for a number of reasons. But Western intellectuals became obsessed with solving the problem by intervening in the developing world, where birth rates were highest. And that is where we went wrong.

Sociologists, anthropologists, and biologists were enlisted in the quest to lower birth rates. The legendary Margaret Mead reportedly contributed her expertise, and studies were done exploring why families were so large. It soon became clear that women in many parts of the world continued having children until they had a son. The idea emerged to guarantee them a son on the first try and avoid all those extra births—never mind that the extra births were girls.

The notion of sex selection had been around since the time of Aristotle. But by the 1960s, with recent breakthroughs in genetics and in our understanding of reproduction, it was finally becoming a reality. As a science journalist, I am embarrassed to note that the world's top science magazines featured gushing articles on possible sex selection methods. Everyone took for granted that these new methods would be used to select for boys.

What's particularly shocking today is that America's advocates of sex selection actually considered the horrid effects of a world with many more men than women. They knew that women's rights would suffer, that women would be coveted as wives and mothers and traded as chattel. In 1973, British microbiologist John Postgate wrote a cover story for the *New Scientist* on the prospect of widespread sex selection in which he wrote, "It is probable that a form of purdah would become necessary. Women's right to work, even to travel freely, would probably be forgotten transiently." And yet, Postgate and others continued to promote sex selection as a population control method.

Another vocal proponent of sex selection at the time was the medical director of the Population Council, Sheldon Segal. In the mid-1960s, Segal was posted to Delhi, where he started the department of reproductive medicine at the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. While there, he trained doctors to perform an early method of sex determination. A few years later, in 1975, AIIMS became the site of shocking medical experiments. Doctors offered poor pregnant women in Delhi sex determination and then tracked whether they aborted—and wrote up the results in a medical journal. Of course women tended to abort if they were carrying girls. That was how sex selection was introduced to India.

That same year, the *Chinese Medical Journal*—now one of China's top journals—published a paper by a group of doctors in Liaoning province on a very similar experiment at Tietung Hospital Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology. Sex selection's usefulness as a population control method is one reason why the Chinese government now has little incentive to eradicate it.

Today, many of John Postgate's predictions have come true. China has seen a pernicious rise in bride-buying and trafficking of women, both for marriage and for sex. So-called "marriage agencies" have cropped up across China to help men buy wives. Women are typically trafficked from poorer western provinces to eastern China; while reporting my book I met several women who had been brought to Jiangsu province from rural Yunnan. Increasingly women are also brought in from neighboring countries like Vietnam and North Korea. The U.S. State Department rightly lists China's gender imbalance as a major cause of trafficking in the region.

What's more, we have historical amnesia. Western institutions played a critical role in bring sex selection to Asia. And yet, I can't tell you how many reports I've read that blame sex selection squarely on traditional values.

Meanwhile, the nature of sex selection is changing as technology marches forward. Already it is no longer just about abortion and ultrasound. Instead it involves so-called fetal DNA tests, or blood tests a woman can take as early as seven weeks of pregnancy to determine fetal sex. In the United States these are already widely available, and when I had my first child in China in 2013, they were becoming available in Shanghai as well. Sex selection is also practiced during in-vitro fertilization, using a technique called preimplantation genetic diagnosis. We need to ensure that such technologies are properly used. America is the Wild West for assisted reproductive technology, which is heavily regulated in Western Europe and Australia. Because of a lack of regulatory oversight here, couples from China and India now fly to California to choose the sex of their babies using IVF.

As a major international issue, affecting South Asia and Eastern Europe as well as China, sex selection demands an international response. Moreover, as the entity responsible for the population control policies that contribute to the preponderance of boys being born, the Chinese government cannot be expected to solve its sex-ratio problem without international pressure. As a nation concerned with humanitarian causes, and as the birthplace of the technologies that are now so brutally affecting

populations in Asia, the United States should play a leading role in combating sex selection.

Congress should urge the United Nations to devote more attention to publicizing the pernicious after-effects of sex selection worldwide, and to pursuing meaningful action to prevent it. Legislators should outlaw the use of IVF for social sex selection, or sex selection not connected to sex-linked diseases. Congress should further regulate the use of fetal DNA tests and limit their use to genetic disease, while also ensuring that they are administered in clinics with oversight from a genetic counselor.

I want to add that the solution to sex-ratio imbalance is not to further infringe on the rights of women by limiting access to family planning. If we were to ban abortion outright, women would suffer, and sex selection would not stop. (China and India already outlaw sex-selective abortions, to little effect.) Limiting access to abortion also does nothing to prevent couples from turning to IVF to get a son. The solution is instead to eradicate the population control policies—including China's current two-child policy—that encourage people to abort girls; to introduce incentive schemes tailored to the urban residents who actually practice sex selection; and to better regulate new reproductive technologies, both in the United States and beyond.

China Commission – Paper Submission

Testimony of Julie Ford Brenning

Hearing on February 3rd, 2:30pm

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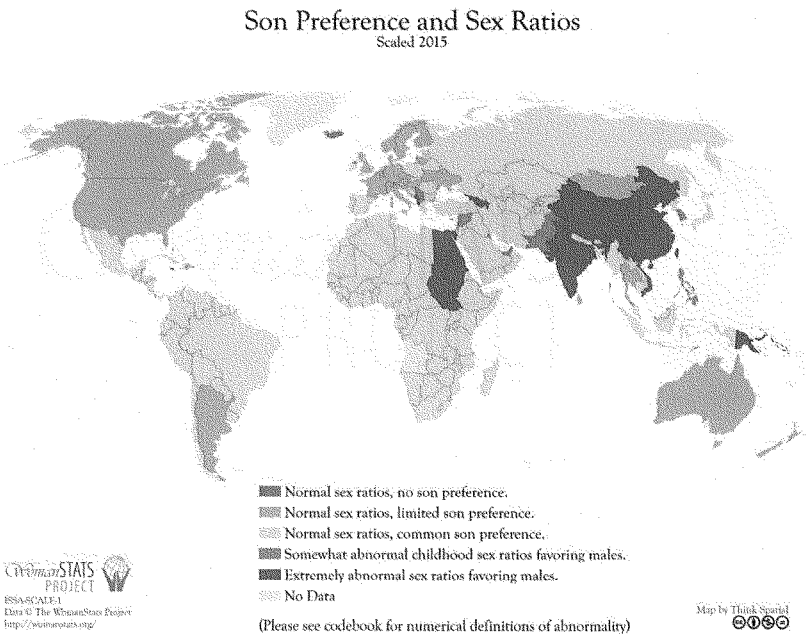
**Summary of Give Her Life**

I am the Director of Research and China outreach at Give Her Life (www.giveherlife.org), a non-profit organization dedicated to eradicating gendercide in Asia. At GHL, we conduct research-based interventions that will build into social enterprise for women in areas with poor sex ratios at birth. The first country of these interventions is India. I have built the largest database in the world solely devoted to the sex ratio at birth. This database includes the countries of China, India, the Caucuses, Vietnam, Pakistan, S. Korea, Taiwan and others. The data, which has over 450 sources, includes statistics on the sex ratio at birth, scholarly publications, policy reports, etc. This database is accessible for free online at www.giveherlife.org.

**Cross-Comparative Analysis of the Sex Ratio at Birth in Asia**

There are more females missing in Asia than the total female population of the United States, equating to approximately 163 million missing women. In China and India alone, there are 1.7 million sex selective abortions per year. On average, within these two countries, a girl is aborted because she is a girl every 19 seconds. China, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, Vietnam, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Albania, and Montenegro all boast an imbalance in the sex ratio at birth. Each country has differing severity and differing motivations for son preference. See Map 1 for a geographic mapping of the sex ratio at birth, scaled by the WomanStats project in 2015.

**Map 1:**



Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea and Vietnam – Confucianism, virilocal marriage, care of elderly and ancestral lineage all play a role in creating deep-held preferences for sons. In South Asia – in countries such as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal – marriage practices such as dowry, age of marriage, and matchmaking, religious rituals, and devaluation of women in society are some of the factors involved in son preference. In West Asia – in countries such as Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia – post-independence political conflicts, family lineage, and traditional male domination – all contribute to a low sex ratio in the Caucuses. In Southeast Europe – in countries such as Albania and Montenegro – boys are expected to support parents financially and provide for their security and protect honor.

**Root Causes of the Sex Ratio Imbalance in China**

In China's patriarchal society, the decision to abort a baby daughter is indeed influenced by institutions upheld by patriarchy. By looking at socio-demographic indicators, such as rural areas that propagate traditions (Confucianism, for example) averse to women's progress, we will be able to clearly see the association to the sex ratio at birth. Although the birth-sex ratios reflect patriarchy in China, they also help to sustain patriarchy. My analyses test theories which maintain that women's status, indicated by variables such as the gender gap in education, has an impact on the aggressiveness of son preference, and therefore the decision to abort a daughter.

Evidence based on both empirical and theoretical data point to the patriarchal system as the root cause. Spatial analysis shows that the high SRB is not random, but forms clusters, or a "neighborhood phenomenon". These clusters hold constant GDP and other socioeconomic variables. From this data, we understand that sex-selection is not a random

occurrence, but driven by social and cultural factors in neighborhoods across China.

The root cause of the Sex Ratio Imbalance – driven by social pressures within neighborhoods - is the patriarchal kinship system. The branches of this root include patrilocality (virilocal marriage), continuation of patrilineal lines, ancestry worship, Confucianism devaluation of girls, expectation of sons to provide for elderly, discrimination in society against women and girls (land rights), and low fertility rate caused by the now Two Child Policy.

**The Care for Girls Campaign**

In 2000 the Chinese government began seriously combating the skewed SRB by pursuing a national Care for Girls Campaign (CGC), which is also under the umbrella of the Family Planning Commission. The CGC hopes to take a deep, comprehensive approach to decreasing the SRB with goals extending as far as 2020 and beyond. The plan began in 2000 with an experimental program in one county, then expanded to 24 counties in a CGC pilot program, and by 2009 every province at the national level had implemented the CGC. Because of the extensive, long-term nature of the CGC, the base causes for the skewed SRB will need to be addressed by the Chinese government if the campaign has hopes of reaching its goal of achieving a natural birth sex ratio.

The Care for Girls Campaign addresses the following root-causes of SRB: Expectation of sons to provide for elderly (by giving stipend to daughter-only families, built a few elderly rest homes), changing Confucian ideals (through slogans and a few training lectures), and discrimination in society against women and girls (by promoting girls and women survival environment). Because of these efforts, the SRB has been dropping since

2009, to around 114 girls to 100 boys. But, even within these domains, the CGC has a long way to go to becoming more effective. The root causes the CGC does **not** address are as follows: patriarchal kinship system, continuation of patrilineal lines, ancestry worship, patrilocality (virilocal marriage), and low fertility rate caused by the Two Child Policy. Aside from not reaching the all of the roots of the problem, one of the biggest critiques is that the CGC provides stipends to girls, which some claim reinforces the idea that girls are not as valuable as boys.

**Government Best Practices: Strategies of Success**

*The following is an excerpt from a piece that will be submitted for publication later this year entitled, "A Comprehensive Survey of Efforts to Normalize the Sex Ratio at Birth in India: Government and Civil Society Interventions" (author Julie Ford Brenning, co-author Dr. Valerie Hudson).*

The *Give Her Life* Database has collected over 200 sources and over 120 data points related to the sex ratio and intervention methods in India, culminating in the largest database in the world devoted solely to sex selection. This database, which is available for public use online (www.giveherlife.org), includes the most up to date information from news, journals and reports taken from academics, authors and government publications specializing in the research of the sex ratio in India. Extrapolating from these campaigns and reports (examples shown above), this paper has created the government and civil societies of India "Best Practices" list. These "best practices" present four basic strategies that have proven the most effective and efficient ways the government and NGO's have lowered the SRB within India. The intent of this report is to provide a comprehensive

survey of interventions for government and civil society groups to analyze. The objective is to then improve methods and campaigns that fight sex selective abortion throughout India.

Government Best Practices:

1. **Strict Enforcement**

The first strategy is strict, serious government enforcement of PNDT and campaigns. In Ambala, the Deputy Commissioner reported that their scheme of shaming and rewarding showed improvement in the SRB due to "strict" implementation of PNDT. In another case of shaming and rewarding in Punjab, ratios began to normalize "but regressed once a new set of authorities with a new set of priorities came on the scene". Apparently, throwing money at the problem does little unless there is firm government commitment to cracking down on illegal use of ultrasound equipment and implementing effective campaigns.

Government also ought to provide incentives for change. Here are a list of suggestions:

-Cash prizes to cities making significant progress in lowering SRB

-Intensive training of local government officials

-Withholding funds for government officials in cities that are not improving

-Significant tax breaks for marriages NOT practicing patrilocality/virilocal marriage

-In areas where women have large gaps in education, vis a vis men, government ought to provide funds to these women to increase education

2. **Multi-Pronged Approach**

The second strategy is a multi-pronged approach that combines a variety of methods while working with different groups and organizations. An effective campaign includes enforcement of PNDT, shaming and rewarding, economic schemes and involves local government and NGO's. The state of Rajasthan presents a prime example displaying creative and effective implementation using several methods and groups to enforce PNDT. In 2013 Jaipur, the capital of Rajasthan, became the first district in India to take action against companies selling ultrasound machines. They have set up one police station in the state specifically designated to handle cases and pursue violations of PNDT. Working with local civil society groups, they have established a scheme that rewards a pregnant woman who pretends to request a sex-selective abortion after receiving an ultrasound. They then report their findings to the local station. Kishanaram Easharwal, the head of the state intervention unit, stated, referring to the pregnant women, "It is their courage that helped our team to apprehend medical practitioners. They play a pivotal role and are our strength".

3. **Assessment**

The third strategy is quality assessment, which includes adequate measures, reports and research on government campaigns. In India there is no national plan, little research to track trends and effectiveness of schemes, sparse and inconsistent before and after measures of the SRB in areas of intensive campaigning, and some states lack any evidence of trying to lower the SRB. With this lack of data, creating an effective national plan (or any efficient plan at all) seems virtually impossible. In 2013, the Supreme Court of India even admitted there is a lack of cohesive

organization. They stated that in government efforts there is a "lack of proper supervision" and major challenges in record-keeping. They called for new methods, including creating a map of all registered and unregistered ultrasound machines. The government response has yet to be seen.

4. **Women Involvement**

The fourth strategy is involving women in the leadership, implementation and policy-making of government schemes. For example, in Bibipur, Haryana an all-women Panchayat (village-level administrative group) is making a huge impact on the lives of women and lowering the sex ratio. Once in power, they completely banned sex selective abortions, which goes many steps farther than the simple fines given by the implementation of PNDT. The women then distributed government monies by investing in intensive campaigns with the aim of tackling issues like dowry and gender bias. Many women were given assistance in pursuing education, empowering them to become more independent. They have also banned DJs and other celebrations at marriages to minimize dowry expenses. Violators of the ban are socially boycotted. According to the leaders of the all-women Panchayat, the sex ratio has improved from 569 in 2012 to 890 in 2014. The village has received a government award of Rs 1.5 (est. $245,580 USD) for their dedication and effective campaigns.

**The Girls Count Act**

Because of the 2-Child Policy, there are hundreds of parents now protesting to register their "invisible" second children, many of whom are girls. The Chinese government

has not found a solution to this problem, which presents an opportunity for the U.S. to influence the current situation. The Girls Count Act, which states that all children and babies have a right to government registration, is essential in China. There are literally millions of girls not registered in the Chinese Hukou System, thereby denying these girls access to healthcare, welfare, education and other essential human rights. This registration would allow a more accurate count of the Sex Ratio at Birth, important in policy assessment, and also increase the quality of life for girls.

According to my research in Asia, it is important the U.S. work with the Chinese government to find a quick legal solution that allows all children and babies registration in the Hukou System. This best practice strategy, **strict enforcement**, is essential and must be pushed by the U.S. in any way possible. Second, as the U.S. begins encouraging and monitoring registration, it is important to keep accurate **assessment** and records so that every child is counted in the Hukou System. Third, the U.S. needs to take a **multi-pronged approach**. Important in this process is to make sure that the U.S. works with several entities – community members protesting the Hukou system, the government as they seek legal changes, and non-profits who are specifically trying to register baby girls in China. They also need to approach the issue with several different methods – including legal routes, on the ground management, and financial aid to community and non-profit volunteers. As the U.S. assesses their efforts, methods that are most successful should be unified into one policy. Fourth, the most important best practice, is the **involvement of women** in the policy formation and implementation. I would suggest that tapping into the vast talented and passionate Mothers in China who are fighting for hukou registration of

their daughters would be a good starting point. These Mothers have the experience and drive to make a difference and ought to be taking a big role in this Act's implementation.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM NEW JERSEY; CHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

FEBRUARY 3, 2016

There are tens of millions of missing girls in China today—a predictable consequence of Beijing's cruel and barbaric child limitation policies and a cultural preference for boys.

In her book, *Unnatural Selection: Choosing Boys Over Girls, and the Consequences of a World Full of Men,* Mara Hvistendahl, one of our witnesses today, writes that "there are over 160 million females 'missing' from Asia's population. That is more than the entire female population of the United States. And gender imbalance—which is mainly the result of sex selective abortion—is no longer strictly an Asian problem."

In Azerbaijan and Armenia, in Eastern Europe, and even among some groups in the United States, couples are making sure at least one of their children is a son. So many parents now select for boys that they have skewed the sex ratio at birth of the entire world.

The global crisis of missing girls constitutes a gross human rights abuse—which is aptly described as gendercide—the extermination of the girl child in society simply because she happens to be a girl.

For most of us, the statement "it's a girl" is cause for enormous joy, happiness and celebration. But in many countries, and even in some parts of the U.S.—it can be a death sentence. In China and India alone, an estimated three girls are aborted every minute because she is a girl.

Gendercide is not only a predictable tragedy of lost potential, but also a demographic time bomb, particularly in China, with social, political, and potentially even security implications.

China faces some of the world's most severe gender imbalances—according to official estimates, there are currently 34 million more males than females in China.

Demographic experts, such as Valerie Hudson and Nicholas Eberstadt, who have testified before this commission previously, have warned that China's large number of "surplus males" could lead to societal instability, higher crime rates and sexual violence, and has already increased trafficking of women and girls.

Trafficking, in particular, is a predictable consequence. As the author of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000—America's landmark law to combat sex and labor trafficking—I am deeply concerned that China has become the human sex trafficking magnet of the world.

We have seen a marked increase of women trafficked from neighboring Southeast Asian countries such as Vietnam, Myanmar, and Cambodia being trafficked into China as brides and for sexual exploitation. North Korean women who escape into China also remain at risk for human trafficking for forced marriages and forced labor.

China's gender imbalances are significantly exacerbated by government policy—particularly its draconian population control policies. Chinese law bans the use of ultrasound scanning technologies to determine the gender of unborn babies, but because couples are limited to one or two children, millions have circumvented the law to abort female unborn babies to ensure their "government approved child" will be a son.

China's recently announced "Two-Child Policy" will not address China's demographic imbalances. Data has shown that sex ratios are often more skewed after the birth of the first child. In many parts of China, the largest sex ratio imbalances are found in townships or villages, where many residents were already allowed to have a second child.

We are holding this hearing today not only to better understand the magnitude of the problem, but to find better ways to help rescue the next generation of potentially missing girls from violence and death.

(1) Are there models from other places with past or present gender imbalances—such as South Korea and India—that can be used in China and elsewhere? As Valerie Hudson has testified before this commission previously, South Korea addressed skewed sex ratios in part by elevating the status and value of women and daughters, specifically in terms of encouraging female access to education, as well as equal inheritance, marriage, and property rights.

(2) Given that the Obama Administration, the UN, and especially the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) have failed to adequately address the scandal of gendercide, what needs to be done to end these massive crimes against women?

(3) What can the Congress do to help U.S.-based companies, such as General Electric, prevent ultrasound equipment which should be used to promote the wellness

of unborn children from being employed on a gender crime search and destroy mission.

(4) What role can the President, including the State Department and Congress play to encourage durable reforms of Chinese policies?

(5) What U.S. laws need to be reformed or enforced? In 2000, I authored a visa ban law for those complicit in coercive abortion. Not only has the Administration failed to enforce the ban, but has not responded to our December 9th letter asking why.

(6) Congress passed and the President signed into law the Girls Count Act this past year—championed by Senator Rubio and Congressman Steve Chabot. This law makes protecting children, especially the girl child, a priority of U.S. foreign policy. How should this law be implemented and directed?

By shining a light on what is happening in China with its missing girls, we hope to move toward a world where every woman is valued and deeply respected because of her intrinsic dignity, and where every child is welcomed regardless of his or her sex.

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. MARCO RUBIO, A U.S. SENATOR FROM FLORIDA; COCHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

FEBRUARY 3, 2016

For over three decades, China's barbaric One-Child Policy has condemned millions of unwanted or "surplus" Chinese girls to abortion, infanticide, abandonment and human trafficking. This shameful policy, coupled with the cultural preference for boys and access to cheap ultrasound technology, has resulted in what some demographers and human rights advocates have rightly termed gendercide—the wholesale extermination of millions of unborn baby girls.

China is now faced with one of the world's most severe gender imbalances with roughly 34 million more males than females. Estimates suggest that there will be a surplus of 40–50 million bachelors in China through the mid-to late 21st century. The implications of this imbalance are not fully known or understood, but they are without question significant and troubling.

Some analysts have argued that China's skewed gender ratio, in addition to representing a grievous human rights abuse, poses a serious security risk as well. Between 2030 and 2045 at least 20 percent of men in China will likely be unable to marry. These "bare branches" as they are known will almost certainly impact China's stability and development. There is already statistical evidence indicating that the areas of China with the highest sex ration imbalance also have higher incidences of crime to include human trafficking.

In fact, according to reports from regional governments and civil society organizations, trafficking from Southeast Asia into China for forced marriage already appears to be increasing. Additionally, already vulnerable North Korean refugees who escape into China are at grave risk for human trafficking for forced marriages.

It is worth noting that serious questions persist about the extent to which the recently announced Two-Child Policy will address this crisis, even in the long term, as data has shown that sex ratios are in fact more skewed after the birth of the first child.

Nearly two months ago I joined with CECC Chairman, Representative Chris Smith in urging Secretary of State John Kerry to provide an update on the administration's implementation of the "Girls Count Act," which was signed into law on June 12, 2015. As this law's chief sponsor in the Senate, I was motivated by the fact that every year approximately 51 million children under the age of five are not registered at birth, most of whom are girls, leaving them susceptible to marginalization and exploitation.

This law directs current U.S. foreign assistance programming to support the rights of women and girls in developing countries by working to establish birth registries in their countries. The legislation also prioritizes a variety of rule of law programs intended to raise the legal and financial status of girls in order to help address the cultural and financial rationale for sex-selective abortions. Both components have particular relevance to China.

To date, the Administration has failed to respond to our letter. Given the enormity of this problem and the bipartisan nature of the solution proposed, the seeming lack of priority nearly eight months after the president signed the legislation into law is troubling.

It is worth noting that South Korea, which in the 1990s had a sex ratio almost as skewed as China's, has effectively normalized the ratio in recent years primarily

through elevating the status and value of women and daughters—precisely the aim of the Girls Count legislation.

As a father of four, to include two daughters, I believe it is vital that the U.S. continues advocating for the complete elimination of government-forced population planning as well as the fundamental rights of all Chinese citizens to live up to their God-given potential.

## SUBMISSIONS FOR THE RECORD

[Reprinted from Foreign Policy, June 27, 2011]

### WHERE HAVE ALL THE GIRLS GONE?

It's true: Western money and advice really did help fuel the explosion of sex selection in Asia.

(By Mara Hvistendahl)

How did more than 160 million women go missing from Asia? The simple answer is sex selection—typically, an ultrasound scan followed by an abortion if the fetus turns out to be female—but beyond that, the reasons for a gap half the size of the U.S. population are not widely understood. And when I started researching a book on the topic, I didn't understand them myself.

I thought I would focus on how gender discrimination has persisted as countries develop. The reasons couples gave for wanting boys varies: Sons stayed in the family and took care of their parents in old age, or they performed ancestor and funeral rites important in some cultures. Or it was that daughters were a burden, made expensive by skyrocketing dowries.

But that didn't account for why sex selection was spreading across cultural and religious lines. Once found only in East and South Asia, imbalanced sex ratios at birth have recently reached countries as varied as Vietnam, Albania, and Azerbaijan. The problem has fanned out across these countries, moreover, at a time when women are driving many developing economies. In India, where women have achieved political firsts still not reached in the United States, sex selection has become so intense that by 2020 an estimated 15 to 20 percent of men in northwest India will lack female counterparts. I could only explain that epidemic as the cruel sum of technological advances and lingering sexism. I did not think the story of sex selection's spread would lead, in part, to the United States.

Then I looked into it, and discovered that what I thought were right-wing conspiracy theories about the nexus of Western feminism and population control actually had some, if very distant and entirely historical, basis in truth. As it turns out, Western advisors and researchers, and Western money, were among the forces that contributed to a serious reduction in the number of women and girls in the developing world. And today feminist and reproductive-rights groups are still reeling from that legacy.

The story begins in the mid-20th century, when several factors converged to make Western demographers worried about global population growth. Thanks to advances in public health, people were living longer than ever before. Projections released by the U.N. Population Division in 1951 suggested what the sum of all those extra years of life could be: Rapid population growth was on the horizon, particularly in the developing world. As pundits forecast a global "population explosion," anxiety mounted in policy circles, and the population control movement that coalesced brought together everyone from environmentalists to McCarthyites. viewed through a 1960s Beltway lens, mounting numbers of people meant higher rates of poverty, which in turn made countries more vulnerable to communism.

The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the World Bank, and the Rockefeller Foundation were among the organizations that poured money into stanching the birth rate abroad, while the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) and the Population Council helped coordinate efforts on the ground. As these organizations backed research into barriers to couples accepting contraception, one of the obstacles quickly identified was that in most parts of the world, but particularly in fast-growing Asia, people continued to have children until they got a boy. As demographer S.N. Agarwala explained in a paper on India he presented at a 1963 IPPF conference in Singapore: "[S]ome religious rites, especially those connected with the death of the parents, can be performed only by the male child. . . . [T]hose who have only daughters try their best to have at least one male child." Even in the United States, surveys suggested a preference for sons.

That raised the question: What if couples could be guaranteed a son from the start? Elsewhere, scientists were working to perfect fetal sex determination tests for women carrying sex-linked disorders like hemophilia, which only manifests itself in males. (The first sex-selective abortions, performed in 1955 by Danish doctors in Copenhagen, were actually done on women carrying male fetuses.) But the technology was still incipient and required a late-term abortion. Proponents of population control began talking about nudging sex selection along. In 1967, for example, when

Planned Parenthood Federation of America President Alan Guttmacher received a proposal from an Indian scientist interested in finding a way to "control SEX in human reproduction," he scrawled a note across the top in hasty red pencil, asking the organization's medical director to consider whether the research was in fact "worth encouraging."

Planned Parenthood didn't fund the research in the end, but on the technicality that the U.S. government had recently cut funding for fellowships to foreigners. Six months later Steven Polgar, the organization's head of research, went public with the notion that sex selection was an effective population control method. Taking the podium before an audience of scholars and policymakers at a conference sponsored by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD), Polgar "urged," according to the meeting's minutes, "that sociologists stimulate biologists to find a method of sex determination, since some parents have additional children in order to get one of specified sex."

At first the language was gender-neutral. But before long the descriptions grew more blunt, and some proponents talked frankly about selecting for sons. In the years that followed, Population Council President Bernard Berelson endorsed sex selection in the pages of *Science,* while Paul Ehrlich advocated giving couples the sons they desired in his blockbuster *The Population Bomb.* "[I]f a simple method could be found to guarantee that first-born children were males," he wrote, "then population control problems in many areas would be somewhat eased." In many countries, he wrote, "couples with only female children 'keep trying' in hope of a son." A wide range of population control strategies were on the table at the time, but by the end of the decade, when the NICHD held another workshop on reducing birth rates, sex selection had emerged as an approach that participants deemed "particularly desirable."

Other spokesmen—for they were mostly men—included Arno G. Motulsky, a geneticist at the University of Washington-Seattle, William D. McElroy, then head of the biology department at Johns Hopkins University, and British microbiologist John Postgate. Postgate was particularly resolute. He extolled sex selection in an article for the *New Scientist,* explaining that population growth was so great a threat that the drawbacks of a skewed sex ratio would have to be tolerated, grim as they were. "A form of *purdah*" might be necessary, he predicted, while "Women's right to work, even to travel alone freely, would probably be forgotten transiently." A handful of women got on board as well. In 1978, former ambassador and former U.S. Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce wrote an article for the *Washington Star* in which she clamored for the development of a "manchild pill"—a drug a woman could take before sex to ensure any children that resulted would be male.

Before long, sex selection emerged as a favored solution. In the context of '60s and '70s population politics, it had the appeal of being a voluntary strategy that played to individual behavior. In his paper for *Science,* Berelson ranked sex selection's ethical value as "high." Postgate pointed out, "Countless millions of people would leap at the opportunity to breed male." And other strategies being tried in Asia at the time entailed coercion, not choice.

In South Korea, Western money enabled the creation of a fleet of mobile clinics—reconditioned U.S. Army ambulances donated by USAID and staffed by poorly trained workers and volunteers. Fieldworkers employed by the health ministry's Bureau of Public Health were paid based on how many people they brought in for sterilizations and intrauterine device insertions, and some allege Korea's mobile clinics later became the site of abortions as well. By the 1970s, recalls gynecologist Cho Young-youl, who was a medical student at the time, "there were agents going around the countryside to small towns and bringing women into the [mobile] clinics. That counted toward their pay. They brought the women regardless of whether they were pregnant." Non-pregnant women were sterilized. A pregnant woman met a worse fate, Cho says: "The agent would have her abort and then undergo tubal ligation." As Korea's abortion rate skyrocketed, Sung-bong Hong and Christopher Tietze detailed its rise in the Population Council journal *Studies in Family Planning.* By 1977, they determined, doctors in Seoul were performing 2.75 abortions for every birth—the highest documented abortion rate in human history. Were it not for this history, Korean sociologist Heeran Chun recently told me, "I don't think sex-selective abortion would have become so popular."

In India, meanwhile, advisors from the World Bank and other organizations pressured the government into adopting a paradigm, as public-health activist Sabu George put it to me, "where the entire problem was population." The Rockefeller Foundation granted $1.5 million to the All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS), the country's top medical school, and the Ford Foundation chipped in $63,563 for "research into reproductive biology." And sometime in the mid-1960s, Population Council medical director Sheldon Segal showed the institute's doctors

how to test human cells for the sex chromatins that indicated a person was female—a method that was the precursor to fetal sex determination.

Soon after, the technology matured, and second-trimester fetal sex determination became possible using amniocentesis. In 1975, AIIMS doctors inaugurated sex-selective abortion trials at a government hospital, offering amniocentesis to poor women free of charge and then helping them, should they so choose, to abort on the basis of sex. An estimated 1,000 women carrying female fetuses underwent abortions. The doctors touted the study as a population control experiment, and sex-selective abortion spread throughout India. In his autobiography, Segal professed to being shocked to learn that doctors at AIIMS were using a variation on his instructions to perform sex-selective abortions. But he neglected to mention that shortly after his stay in India he stood before an audience at the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development and described sex selection as a method of population control. (The minutes from the meeting describe "sex determination at conception"—now finally available today through advances in assisted reproductive technology—but in-utero sex determination was the form of sex selection furthest along at that point.)

Sex selection hit China the same year the AIIMS experiments began. The country accepted Western aid belatedly, in 1979. But after years of being kept out of the Middle Kingdom, the U.N. Population Fund (UNFPA) and IPPF jumped at the opportunity to play a role in the world's most populous country, with UNFPA chipping in $50 million for computers, training, and publicity on the eve of the one-child policy's unveiling. Publicly, officers at both UNFPA and IPPF claimed China's new policy relied on the Chinese people's exceptional knack for communalism. But, according to Columbia University historian Matthew Connelly's account of the population control movement, *Fatal Misconception,* in January 1980 IPPF information officer Penny Kane privately fretted about local officials' evident interest in meeting the new birth quotas through forced abortions. Accounts of those eventually leaked out, as did reports of sex-selective abortions. In 1982, Associated Press correspondent Victoria Graham warned that those augured a spreading trend. "These are not isolated cases," she wrote, adding: "Demographers are warning that if the balance between the sexes is altered by abortion and infanticide, it could have dire consequences."

Today, some of those dire consequences have become alarmingly apparent. Part of that is the extent to which organizations like UNFPA have found themselves unable to perform legitimate services in the developing world because of their historic connection to population control. For it was news of sex-selective and forced abortions that helped fuel a budding anti-abortion movement in the United States. Protesters showed up at the 1984 World Population Conference in Mexico City, wielding evidence of abuses in China. The next year, President Ronald Reagan unveiled what would become known as the "global gag rule," cutting off $46 million in funds to UNFPA—money that might have gone toward maternal and child health as well as population control. The struggle to fund reproductive health continued over the next two decades, with subsequent U.S. presidents withdrawing or reinstating the gag rule along partisan lines.

Nowadays, of course, UNFPA and Planned Parenthood are led by a new wave of feminist bureaucrats who are keen on ensuring reproductive rights, and they no longer finance global population control. Thanks to a thriving anti-abortion movement, Planned Parenthood can barely make contraceptives and safe abortion available to the American women who actually want them. But contentious American politics has these and other groups on the left stuck in what Joseph Chamie, former head of the U.N. Population Division, calls "the abortion bind." The United Nations issued an interagency statement condemning sex selection and outlining recommendations for action last week, and UNFPA was among the agencies that helped draft it. The organization has also funded research on sex selection and sex ratio imbalance at the local level. But its legacy in the developing world continues to haunt its leaders, to the detriment of women worldwide. Lingering anxiety over taking on issues involving abortion, activists and demographers have told me, now has UNFPA reluctant to address sex selection head-on at the international level—a reluctance that has left the organization's enemies to twist the issue to fit their own agenda. (Anti-abortion groups and pundits have proven all too eager to take on the issue, though they seem far more interested in driving home restrictions on abortion than they do in increasing the number of women in the world and protecting the rights of women at risk.)

Meanwhile, as American politicians argue over whether to cut Planned Parenthood's U.S. funding and the Christian right drives through bans on sex-selective abortion at the state level, the effects of three decades of sex selection elsewhere in the world are becoming alarmingly apparent. In China, India, Korea, and Tai-

wan, the first generation shaped by sex selection has grown up, and men are scrambling to find women, yielding the ugly sideblows of increased sex trafficking and bride buying. In a Chinese boomtown, I watched soap operas with a slight, defeated woman from the poor mountains of the west who had been brought east by a trafficker and sold into marriage. (Her favorite show: *Women Don't Cry.*) In the Mekong Delta, I visited an island commune where local women are hawked by their parents for a few thousand dollars to "surplus" Taiwanese men. While the purdah forecasted by John Postgate has not yet come to pass, feminists in Asia worry that as women become scarce, they will be pressured into taking on domestic roles and becoming housewives and mothers rather than scientists and entrepreneurs.

But what happens to women is only part of the story. Demographically speaking, women matter less and less. By 2013, an estimated one in 10 men in China will lack a female counterpart. By the late 2020s, that figure could jump to one in five. There are many possible scenarios for how these men will cope without women—and not all, of course, want women—but several of them involve rising rates of unrest. Already Columbia University economist Lena Edlund and colleagues at Chinese University of Hong Kong have found a link between a large share of males in the young adult population and an increase in crime in China. Doomsday analysts need look no further than America's history: Murder rates soared in the male-dominated Wild West.

Four decades ago, Western advocacy of sex selection yielded tragic results. But if we continue to ignore that legacy and remain paralyzed by heated U.S. abortion politics, we're compounding that mistake. Indian public health activist George, indeed, says waiting to act is no longer an option: If the world does "not see ten years ahead to where we're headed, we're lost."

**Update:** Since this article was posted, UNFPA has added a prominent page on sex selection to its website.

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## "GENDERCIDE: CHINA'S MISSING GIRLS"

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 2016

*Witnesses*

**Chai Ling, Founder of All Girls Allowed**

**Chai Ling** is Founder of All Girls Allowed ("In Jesus' Name, Simply Love Her"), a nonprofit organization which seeks to expose the injustices of China's one-child policy and rescue girls and mothers from gendercide. A leader in the 1989 Tiananmen Square student movement and two-time Nobel Peace Prize nominee, Ms. Chai escaped from China and received her MPA from Princeton and MBA from Harvard. She is the founder of Jenzabar, a company that provides higher education software management solutions, and co-founder of the Jenzabar Foundation, which supports the humanitarian efforts of student leaders. Ms. Chai is also author of A Heart for Freedom, a memoir detailing her journey from a fishing village in rural China to Tiananmen Square and then America.

**Mara Hvistendahl, Journalist and Author of "And the City Swallowed Them" and "Unnatural Selection: Choosing Boys over Girls"**

**Mara Hvistendahl** is a contributing correspondent at Science and a founding member of the writers' cooperative Deca. She also writes for The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Atlantic, Popular Science, and other publications. Her 2011 book Unnatural Selection, on prenatal sex selection and the whopping gender imbalance it has produced in Asia, was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize and the Los Angeles Times Book Prize. For eight years, she covered science, politics, and other issues from China. She now lives in Minneapolis.

**Julie Ford Brenning, Director of Research & China Outreach, Give Her Life**

**Julie Ford Brenning** is the Director of Research for Give Her Life, a non-profit organization seeking to end gendercide via social enterprise in Asia. At Give Her Life, she has created the largest database in the world solely devoted to the sex ratio at birth in Asia. Julie graduated from Brigham Young University with a degree in Political Science and received her Master's degree in Asian Studies from the University of Utah where she studied the sex ratio at birth in China. She has lived in Beijing, China and Taipei, Taiwan. She resides with her husband, son and daughter in Logan, Utah.