

**TIANANMEN 25 YEARS LATER:
LEADERS WHO WERE THERE**

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA, GLOBAL HEALTH,
GLOBAL HUMAN RIGHTS, AND
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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TIANANMEN 25 YEARS LATER: LEADERS WHO WERE THERE

FRIDAY, MAY 30, 2014

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA, GLOBAL HEALTH,
GLOBAL HUMAN RIGHTS, AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:32 a.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Christopher H. Smith (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. SMITH. The hearing will come to order. Good morning to everyone. Twenty-five years ago, the world watched as students from Beijing's Central Academy of Fine Arts unveiled a replica of the Statue of Liberty in Tiananmen Square. It was an amazing site to behold, this enduring symbol of liberty standing face to face with the dictator Mao Zedong's portrait. It was a moment when we all dreamed that the Tiananmen Square demonstrations would become a triumph for freedom and democracy. Unfortunately, China's Communist leaders sought to hang on to power through force. They sent tanks and soldiers into Beijing to "clear the square" on the evening of June 3rd and into June 4th.

The beating, the bayoneting, the torture, and murder of students and the ubiquitous display of tanks turned the dream of freedom into a bloody nightmare. We have with us today five extraordinary witnesses to this tragic scene in world history, not just witnesses, but key players in the push for democracy in the People's Republic of China. These individuals are reminding us today, as they have so tenaciously since their exile, that the events of Tiananmen Square will never fade from memory, and they remind us of the longing for freedom that remains within the Chinese people.

This week and next, we want to remember the extraordinary sacrifice endured by hundreds of thousands of peaceful Chinese democracy activists. Some may prefer, particularly in the business community and some politicians, to look past or to even trivialize the slaughter of innocents by Chinese soldiers, but the memory of the dead and those arrested, those who were tortured and exiled requires us to honor them, respect their noble aspirations for fundamental freedoms, and recommit ourselves to the struggle for freedom and human rights in China.

The Government of China continues to go to astounding lengths to erase the memory of the Tiananmen demonstrations and their violent suppression. The Internet is censored, citizens holding pri-

vate discussions or public commemorations are harassed and detained, and we still have no account by the government of those who died, those arrested, those disappeared or those executed.

It is my promise, and I am joined by many of my distinguished colleagues in the House and Senate, that we will always remember, always, Tiananmen, as long as the Chinese people especially cannot discuss its significance openly without harassment or arrest.

When the tanks rolled down the square on June 4, 1989, all of China suffered. Mothers lost sons, fathers lost daughters, and China lost an idealistic generation of future leaders. China's loss from one point of view could be seen as America's gain. Our witnesses today, exiled refugees from their native land, have contributed mightily to the American fabric. Out of tragedy and disillusionment they have created lives that make America stronger. They are entrepreneurs and pastors, business people and academics, members of the military, and civil society leaders.

The Chinese Government may call them criminals and hooligans, a horrible slander, but one day soon, they will be called heroes. They already are heroes, but the people in China will recognize that they are truly remarkable heroes. The people testifying here today are also extraordinary people of conscience, and are all advocates for freedom and human rights, such as Chen Guangchang, Harry Wu, Wei Jingsheng, and a list of people, it is like a who's who of the best and the greatest and the most courageous the world has ever seen.

There will always be those who want to downplay human rights in relations with China, but the people here today remind us that the people of China suffered for freedom, they bled for liberty and demanded justice, democracy, and an end to widespread corruption. These demands were made 25 years ago, they were made with a great deal of dignity and respect, and they were treated with harshness and murder, and they still, 25 years later, can fire the imagination of the people of China.

More than ever, the U.S. needs a robust human rights diplomacy with China. It has been lacking, sorely lacking. We need policies that actively promote human rights, freedom of speech, Internet freedom, and the rule of law. We must support the advocates for peaceful change and the champions of liberty and clearly signal our support for those seeking rights and freedoms for all of China's citizens, not only for those seeking to pad the economic bottom line. Such leadership is needed now because China is in the midst of a severe crackdown on human rights advocates and freedom of speech. Last year was the worst year since the 1990s for arrests, imprisonment of dissidents. At least 230 people have been detained for their human rights advocacy on top of all the others who are languishing in the laogai and in detention throughout the country.

In the past month, Beijing has detained two more dozen activists for simply seeking to commemorate the Tiananmen anniversary in private, and China remains one of the worst offenders of human rights overall. It remains the torture capital of the world. I will never forget reading Manfred Nowak's, who was U.N.'s Special Rapporteur for torture, report on torture in China's. It was horrific. You are arrested. If you are a dissident, you are a religious believer, you will—not maybe—you will be tortured. Religious free-

dom abuses continue with impunity, and ethnic minority groups face repression when they peacefully seek rights to their culture and language.

Hundreds of millions of women have been forced to abort their precious babies because of a draconian attempt to limit population growth. China's one-child-per-couple policy is a demographic and human rights disaster that has no parallel in human history. The prevalence for having boys has led to gender imbalance and a mass extermination of baby girls. This is not only a massive gender crime, but a security problem as well. Experts are coming to the conclusion that China's gender imbalance will and already is leading to crime, social instability, worker shortages, and there has been a huge spike in human trafficking.

I was the prime sponsor of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, our landmark law here in the United States to combat sex and labor trafficking. Last year, and it should have been done much sooner, China was put on Tier 3, labelled an egregious violator, when it comes to human trafficking, and the major magnet for all of that is the fact of the missing daughters systematically exterminated since 1979, and there are tens of millions of girls, gone, exterminated, killed because of sex-selection abortion, and now because of that men can't find wives, there is a huge gender imbalance, so the traffickers have rolled into China as never before to sell brides and to sell women as commodities, and there also is the possibility, and we have heard testimony here at previous committees I have chaired, where it could even lead to war because of the instability that the one-child-per-couple policy has bred.

Despite the country's stunning economic growth over the past two decades, Beijing's leaders still remain terrified of their own people. China's ruling Communist Party would rather stifle, imprison or even kill its own people than to defer to their demands for freedom and rights. Repression has not dimmed the desires of the Chinese people for freedom and reform. There is an inspiring drive in China to keep fighting for freedom under the very difficult and dangerous situations and conditions.

As our witnesses today will surely attest, the United States must demonstrate clearly and robustly that democratic reforms and human rights are critical to their national interest, to the global interest, and our own. We want to see a more democratic China, one that respects human rights and is governed by the rule of law because a more democratic China will be productive and peaceful rather than a strategic and hostile competitor.

The future also should be in China's interests, this future, because there is a growing evidence that the most prosperous and stable societies are those that protect religious freedom, the freedom of speech, and the rule of law. I believe that some day China will be free. People of China will be able to enjoy all of their God-given human rights, and the nation of free Chinese women and men, will honor, they will applaud, and they will celebrate the heroes of Tiananmen Square and those who sacrificed so much over the years, and the people at this table, the true heroes, will be honored mightily and forever in China because they sacrificed so much.

I would like to yield to Mr. Pittenger for comments he might have.

Mr. PITTENGER. Thank you, Chairman Smith. Thank you for inviting me to participate in this hearing today, and I want to personally thank you for your 30 years of dedication that I have known you for those in their pursuit of freedoms of conscience throughout the world. I would also like to thank the witnesses who are here to testify before us today. Next week will mark the 25th anniversary of Tiananmen Square massacre.

It was June 4, 1989, when the Chinese Army rolled into Tiananmen Square in tanks and began to fire indiscriminately on the peaceful protesters. These protesters were gathered peacefully, seeking a more democratic China, a China that allowed for basic human rights, freedom of speech, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, and to end government corruption. Hundreds, if not thousands, were massacred for peacefully seeking rights which should be afforded to every person around the world.

To this day in many provinces in China, it continues to aggressively suppress the rights of citizens, and I am committed to continue to work with Chairman Smith and this committee and on the Congressional-Executive Commission on China to bring light on to these issues. I have worked for the past 25 years with the underground Christian church. I have been able to see firsthand the impact of what it means to allow Christians to live freely and what they can accomplish. The integrity, the loyalty, and the faithfulness of Christian believers demonstrates the powerful impact that their freedom can have on a culture, and even an economy.

Unfortunately, as Ronald Reagan once said, our Nation, too, has a legacy of evil with which it must deal. Americans dealt with discrimination based on heritage, gender, and political affiliation. However, one of the reasons America was able to eradicate slavery was the free exchange of different political points of view. Through a very robust debate of ideas, our Nation has become stronger, even through a Civil War, where we lost over 600,000 lives.

The concerns I share today are in the spirit of humility as America faces her own problems, those with drugs, with violence, with pornography, still prevailing discrimination, among others. My interest, though, is not to be condescending, but to recognize how both China and the United States can and must improve their cultures. My honesty about China is consistent with my acknowledgment and honesty about our own country. Again, I would like to thank the witnesses for appearing before us today. I look forward to your testimony, and I am again grateful to Chairman Smith for calling this hearing.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Pittenger, thank you so very much. I would like to now yield to my distinguished friend from Texas, vice chairman of the subcommittee, Mr. Weber.

Mr. WEBER. Thank you, Chairman Smith, thank you for calling this hearing. The spirit of courage and freedom will outlast steel tanks and cowardice. There is probably no greater torture than believing you have to maintain control on other human beings by weaponry and by those kinds of cowardly acts we witnessed in Tiananmen Square.

The totalitarian Chinese Government must not be allowed to last. Democracy must prevail and be the order of the day. You can count on us, especially with Chairman Smith at the helm, to be steadfast and to be your friends in the fight for keeping liberty and freedom on the forefront. We count on you for being that example, having that courage, the guts, the fortitude. You all are an inspiration to us.

Democracy will flourish, freedom will survive, because of you and others like you. So I thank you all for being here, thank you for your courage, your willingness to participate, and don't ever give up. Thank you very much. I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Weber, thank you so very much. Yield to my good friend and colleague, Mr. Stockman.

Mr. STOCKMAN. Thank you. I can't believe it has been 25 years, quite frankly. It has gone by rather quick in a way, and I, again, like my colleagues, thank our good friend, the chairman, for being so steadfast in fighting with and fighting for individuals that want freedom. Twenty-five years ago in Tiananmen Square, they built a Statue of Liberty, and many of my friends were excited that the Chinese people would be free, and much to our dismay, the government hired—I believe that this is correct—they couldn't use local military men, so they got people from the countryside to come in, and they even said that they used amphetamines and things to hype them up to come in there.

I think, personally, there has needed to be a distinction between the government and the people. The government has made statements that United States hate the Chinese people, that we don't respect the Chinese people. That is not true. To the contrary, we appreciate the long history of China, we appreciate the warm and gracious people of China. What we don't appreciate is a small collective of people to impose their will by force on others.

I think 25 years ago, to be quite frank with you, and my colleagues, I think we let you down. Our response was wrong. We didn't speak up. And it reminds me about how back in Germany when there was another government taking over and pushing people around, at the end of that day, they said that by the time they came for me, there would be no one left to speak up. I hope these hearings today will demonstrate that we are still willing to speak up.

I heard a very compelling story about the mothers of Tiananmen Square that lost their loved ones, and one of these mothers said after these many years, she still has hope that China will redirect its compassion for its own people. This is really a story about compassion that the government needs to have on its own people. I hope our Nation will not make the same mistakes we made 25 years ago, and that this time we will stand with you, both in spirit and in work, and not just in words or on Twitter with hashtags, but in actual action, and with that I yield back my time. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you so very much, Mr. Stockman. I would like to yield to my friend, Mr. Meadows.

Mr. MEADOWS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank each of you for being here today, and some, as they would report this as it is another hearing, it is another hearing on Tiananmen, it is another

hearing on China. I know in my very brief tenure here, I probably have been in at least six or seven different hearings that talked about human rights violations in China, specifically three or four hearings on this particular anniversary that we are about to recognize here in just a couple of days, and many would say, well, Chairman Smith continues to have hearings over and over again, and what good does it really have? What effect does it have? And yet I would like to remind those of you that are here to testify today to not give up hope because there was a gentleman by the name of William Wilberforce many years ago that, day in and day out, fought to abolish slavery, and some 17 or 18 years he would come and he would petition his government on behalf of a blight on our history that we know today as slavery.

And yet we also know the rest of the story, that William Wilberforce eventually prevailed because day in and day out it was a calling. It is the same with our chairman, it is the same with many of us here in Congress that we will continue to fight until human trafficking, human rights abuses, and really the freedoms that many people not only in China but in our country have died for, and so we have a very good reminder because we just passed Memorial Day where we have a number of our veterans who have fought for freedom, many of them shedding their blood and giving the ultimate sacrifice for a people that they would never meet, for a people that would never be able to say thank you.

And so on behalf of them I am proud to stand with our chairman to continue the fight in this Wilberforce effort to make sure that this doesn't happen again, and as we see this, the greatest way that we can diminish what happened 25 years ago is to allow the future to be a new future where human rights and respect for life are not only encouraged, but lifted up, and I thank you for your boldness to be here and your efforts, and I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you so very much, Mr. Meadows. We are now joined by chairman of the Europe, Eurasia, and Emerging Threats Subcommittee, Chairman Rohrabacher.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much, and I just want to thank you, Mr. Chairman. This man is such a heroic champion of human rights, and he has dedicated his life. There are people all over the world that wouldn't be alive today, and there would be freedom movements all over the world that would have no hope of success if it wasn't for the dynamic energy that you have put into this here in Congress, and I am very pleased to sit with you and actually work with you in providing, and am grateful for your leadership.

Today we are commemorating and we are looking at what happened 25 years ago at something that has had dramatic impact not only to the people of China, but the entire world, and what happened in Tiananmen Square has dramatically impacted on the life that we live today in the United States, and of course, the people of China.

I worked with Reagan in the White House, I was a special assistant to the President, and I was a speech writer for President Reagan for 7 years. Had he been President of the United States

when this happened, this would be a different world and China would be a different place.

It is a disgrace that the United States did not make the leadership of the Communist Party pay for the crime that they committed against the people of China. I believe had the President of the United States at that time, George Herbert Walker Bush, let the leadership of the Communist Party know that if they massacred the people in Tiananmen Square, there would be a major price for them to pay, that massacre wouldn't have taken place, and today there would not only be democracy in China, but the world would be a safer, a more peaceful place, and that—and the fact is, Mr. Chairman, the Communist Party of China and the perpetrators of that crime have still not paid the price.

We still permit China to basically enrich itself, the Chinese leadership enriching themselves in suppressing the people of China, and we, as Americans who love freedom, are not taking a stand and making it real that are making our words real. You know, you can talk about freedom all day long, and there is a saying, "Don't talk about saving the oppressed unless you are willing to take on the oppressor," and we have never been willing to do that. And Mr. Chairman, with your leadership, maybe we can bolster that commitment around the world so that we will take on these tin pot dictators and these monstrous regimes like in China today. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Chairman Rohrabacher, thank you for your comments and for your leadership. For all of us, to have a man who helped write and was a speechwriter for Ronald Reagan, and Reagan had some of the finest and most in-depth speeches of any President that had meaning behind it. It wasn't empty calories or words, and to have one of the men who wrote those speeches here speaking for human rights day in and day out is such a huge honor.

I would like to now introduce our five extraordinary leaders who were there at Tiananmen Square, beginning first with Dr. Yang Jianli, who is the president of Initiatives for China, a grass-roots organization dedicated to promoting democracy in China. A survivor of Tiananmen Square, Dr. Yang returned to China following the completion of his academic studies in 2002. Upon arrival he was promptly arrested and held as a political prisoner for 5 years. Now a U.S. resident, he continues to promote democracy in China through a variety of avenues, including leadership roles in the Chinese Democracy Movement, the Foundation for China in the 21st Century, and the Interethnic-Interfaith Leadership Conference. He has received numerous awards and recognitions for his work.

I would like to note parenthetically that back in 1996, matter of fact, in December 1996, President Clinton unwisely invited the Defense Minister of China, his name was Chi Haotian, to the White House. Chi Haotian was the operational commander of the forces that fired upon, bayoneted, and killed and maimed so many students and democracy activists. I protested it, as did many others. President Clinton gave Chi Haotian a 19-gun salute at the White House. He should have sent him to The Hague for crimes against humanity but gave him all of these honors.

While he was here he went to the Army War College, and a young officer asked about people dying on Tiananmen Square, and Chi Haotian said that nobody died at Tiananmen Square. Two days later, I put together an emergency hearing of my subcommittee. Dr. Yang was there and bore witness, and I will never forget, I have his very words, and without objection I will put his full statement into this record, but he said,

“I saw many people killed on Chang’an Street. At 6 a.m. it was already light. I was on a bike, and walking with me were some students who had retreated from the square and returning to their schools. As we arrived at Chang’an Street we saw four tanks coming from the square were going west at high speed. The two tanks in front were chasing students. They ran over bodies. Everyone was screaming. We counted 11 bodies.”

Then he talked about a third tank that shot tear gas. They had four or five people with machine guns. All of that he bore witness right here. We invited Chi Haotian and the Chinese Embassy to send anybody they would like to explain his egregious lie that he made while here in Washington. We had an empty chair sitting right there.

So Dr. Yang thank you for that, and I will put your full statement in this record because past is prologue, the lies and the deceptions continue to this day.

We will then hear from Major Yan Xiong who is a chaplain in the United States Army. A survivor of the Tiananmen Square massacre, Major Xiong was one of the student leaders who initiated the democratic movement in 1989. Following the massacre he was placed on the Chinese Government’s 21 most wanted students list. He was promptly arrested and imprisoned for 19 months. Major Xiong was granted political asylum in the U.S. in 1992, joined the U.S. Army in 1994, and was commissioned as an Army chaplain in 2003.

He continues his commitment to democracy in China following his arrival, most notably through his 3-year chairmanship of the Party for Freedom and Democracy of China and the Second Party Representative Conference.

We will then hear from Ms. Chai Ling, who now is the head of a group called All Girls Allowed, and I have to say, having known Chai Ling since she was released and remember watching her statements as one of the student leaders, she is a modern day Esther, speaking truth to power, especially Chinese dictatorship.

She, again, is the founder of All Girls Allowed, an organization dedicated to exposing human rights violations caused by China’s one-child policy and the resulting gendercide in order to restore life, value, and dignity to women. A leader of the 1989 Tiananmen Square student movement, she was named one of Chinese Government’s 21 most wanted students following the massacre.

Consequently, she fled from China to Hong Kong, ultimately seeking asylum in the U.S. She has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize two times for her involvement in Tiananmen Square. Ms. Chai is also the founding president of Jenzabar, a higher edu-

cation software company, and its associated humanitarian aid foundation.

We will then hear from Mr. Zhou Fengsuo, who is cofounder of Humanitarian China, an organization that offers humanitarian aid to prisoners of conscience. Another key student leader of the 1989 democratic movement in Tiananmen Square, Mr. Zhou was placed on the 21 most wanted students list and arrested following the massacre. He was imprisoned for a year. After coming to the U.S. in 1995, Mr. Zhou continued to advocate for freedom and democracy in China. In 2000, he was the leading plaintiff in a class action suit against Li Peng, the Premier of China during the massacre, for crimes against humanity. Mr. Zhou also served as the president of the Chinese Democracy Education Foundation.

Then we will hear from Mr. Chen Qinglin, an advocate for democracy in China. A student at the time of the Tiananmen Square massacre, Mr. Chen was imprisoned for 6 years for attempting to form an opposition party following the massacre. Additionally, he was one of the first 303 signatories to that wonderful human rights manifesto known as Charter 08, which was created by over 350 Chinese intellectuals and human rights activists.

In 2010 he led the Program of Psychosocial Support for Domestic Human Rights, a Chinese organization that provides psychological services for Chinese human rights defenders who have been tortured by the government. I point out parenthetically as the sponsor of the Torture Victims Relief Act, the current law that deals with those who have been tortured and the PTSD that they suffer, his initiative to deal with the scars, particularly the emotional scars of those who bear unbelievable torture at the hands of the Chinese dictatorship has helped many, many people get some semblance of normality back to their lives. He lived in China until 2014 when he came to the U.S. to continue his academic pursuits.

Dr. Yang, if you could begin.

STATEMENT OF YANG JIANLI, PH.D., PRESIDENT, INITIATIVES FOR CHINA

Mr. YANG. Mr. Chairman, thank you for this timely hearing. As far as I can remember, this is at least the 15th hearing you have held on human rights issues in China. Thank you very much for your leadership, and your statements, your words, actions, and that of other congressional leaders made clear that we have not been fighting not alone. Thank you very much for your leadership and for your unwavering support.

Today I will not repeat myself, my personal account of the Tiananmen massacre. Instead I will try to provide you, Mr. Chairman and other congressional leaders, a window through which probably will help you understand better the political situation in China and the direction it has taken.

Twenty-five years ago the Chinese students and citizens in Beijing and across China demanded a clean government and freedom of expression and media, but today the accommodations in these areas are much worse than before in many ways. For example, when the new leadership led by Xi Jinping took power in 2013, it issued a secret document which boils down to this. I quote,

“We must not permit the dissemination of opinions that oppose the party’s theory or political line, the publication of views contrary to decisions that represent the central leadership’s views or the spread of political rumors that defame the image of the party or the nation.”

It sounds like something from the dark ages, but it is happening today in China. China has now fallen into its own dark age. Not only has the party state started a systematic mafia-style campaign to silence any dissenting voice by physically removing through democracy and human rights activists through massive arrests, forced disappearances, severe sentences, but most seriously, it has launched an ever larger campaign to control the Chinese people’s minds.

The Chinese party state openly denounces the American and Western values and political system, which we all cherish and vows to eradicate the so-called seven perils that endanger the party state’s perpetual rule of China, including Western constitutional democracy, universal values of human rights, independent press, a civil society, free markets, neoliberalism, and a few others. This campaign to completely reject Western ideas is actually an essential part of Xi Jinping’s Chinese dream. It is much worse and farther reaching than anti-Bourgeois spiritual pollution campaign during the mid-1980s which the students of Tiananmen Square demanded to overturn 25 years ago.

Mr. Chairman, I have to sadly report to you that two activists have been detained and charged with leaking this infamous Document 9. They are Ms. Gao, whom you may already know, and a gentleman, an author of several influential books and the highest ranking official detained in this round of crackdowns.

There was a chance 25 years ago for political reform and a peaceful transition to democracy within the Chinese Communist Party, but with Xi Jinping’s total rejection of universal values and democracy and his denial of free thought, the opportunity is now gone. The key questions that the United States must ask are, can a fascist party state that ruthlessly kills its own people, silences any opposition voices, and bans people’s intellectual freedom rise peacefully? What danger does it pose to the international order and peace? Mr. Chairman, to me the answer is pretty clear. China has already extended its domestic brutality and ruthlessness into the international arena by bullying its neighbors, and without democracy it will not rise peacefully.

Finally, I ask to submit the Document 9 for the record.

[The prepared statement of Yang Jianli follows:]

Written Statement Presented at Subcommittee Hearing on Tragic
Anniversary of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Protests and Massacre

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6128

Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International
Organizations

May 30, 2014

by YANG Jianli

Founder and President of Initiatives for China/Citizen Power for China

Mr. Chairman and other members of the Subcommittee,

Thank you very much for hosting this important hearing on the 25th anniversary of the 1989 Democracy Movement and the Tiananmen Massacre. In this written statement, I review the lessons learned and address the unfinished business of the 1989 Democracy Movement which was violent suppressed by the Chinese government. I also analyze the current political situation, current fights for human rights and prospects of democratization in China.

In Chinese history as well as in the world history, 1989 was an important year, and June 4th of that year an important day. The 1989 pro-democracy movement (hereafter referred to as the 89 Movement) and the massacre that the Chinese Communist regime committed on June 4th (also known as the Tiananmen Massacre) represented two fundamentally different values and the two different paths for China to take. At that time, it was already quite clear which one was on the right side of history.

A quarter century has passed, the June 4 Incident seems to have become remote history. However, the dust is far from settled. The victims who shed their blood are still crying from their tombs for justice. China's rulers are still holding the country hostage, rushing madly down the road they selected after the Tiananmen Massacre. The Chinese government still turns a deaf ear to the legitimate aspirations of the pro-democracy movement, refusing to accept the universal values of democracy and human rights as represented by the 89 Movement. Today, with the ongoing battle between the two paths represented by the 89 Movement and the Tiananmen Massacre, the Chinese government still owes the world an explanation of the incident. The tragedy that happened 25 years ago is a historical wound yet to heal, one that many Chinese still find hard to face without misgivings.

Regarding the June 4 Massacre, people will first think of those Tiananmen heroes who sacrificed their lives. We indeed should never forget them - they chose to "escape decadence more than to escape death" (Socrates' quote). The moral courage they showed has been and will continue to be a source of inspiration in our battle against tyranny and in our effort to build a society based on freedom and justice.

The June 4 Massacre not only costed many lives, but was also a blow to the Chinese people as a whole. It caused widespread fear, which in turn led to indifference. People no longer feel compassion or a sense of righteousness. They are no longer interested in politics or concerned about their country's future. Indifference to social justice provides a breeding ground for corruption of the society as a whole. People pretend to forget in their hurry to "look forward ." However, "looking forward " without collective memory or historical introspection is merely "looking for money". People are desperately making money for decadence, and the so-called "elites" are living their corrupt lives without any political risk. With fear and cynicism come prevalent disasters in morality, human rights and the environment. Had the Chinese Communist Party not opted for the massacre but accepted the demands of the 89 Movement to implement gradual political reforms, these disasters could have been avoided. But the sad thing is that over a period of time, it is possible for an economy to grow at a rapid pace alongside such disasters. China 's ruling clique and their vassals have capitalized on the low costs for the officials and "capitalists" brought about by low human rights to foster the crony capitalism. Today, this "modernized" but uncivilized regime continues to use violence, lies and corruption in exchange for the loyalty of the "elites" to maintain its authoritarian rule. All these have resulted in China's current plight with its moral, human rights and environmental disasters.

The pro-democracy movement of 1989 stood against government corruption and stood for democracy and freedom. It has been one of the greatest sources of inspiration for continued struggle for these goals and even today's grassroots protests against government corruption and unjust government policies.

Over the past 20 some years after the Tiananmen Massacre, the CCP regime has established a two China structure, and one of the two Chinas, which I call China, Inc.

Let's see how the China, Inc. has been formed.

The Tiananmen massacre created a strong sense of fear and dismay of general politics among ordinary people in China. Any room for a public system of checks and balances against governmental abuse of power was taken away.

It also created a sense of fear and crisis within the Communist regime because it had unprecedented public awareness to human rights and democracy. Although the Chinese brought Communist regime cracked down on that movement, life was no longer the same for the rulers. The regime had to face a completely different domestic and international environment and had resort to new tactics to meet its "overwhelming" need for stability.

The subsequent disintegration of The Soviet Union and the Eastern European Bloc cast an even heavier cloud over the heads of Chinese Communist officials. “How long can the red flag continue to fly?” They all started to doubt. Here, the doubt had two layers of implications. The first was, for how long can the communists stay in power and what would happen after they were gone? The second was, what does the ongoing, market-oriented economic reform have to do with communist doctrine?

Shortly after Deng Xiaoping’s famous Southern Inspection Tour 1992, Communist officials at all levels realized three realities: First, the Chinese Communist Party’s stay in power has nothing whatsoever to do with communist ideals. Second, “economic growth means everything,” that is, continued economic growth is the last, best hope to keep the CCP ship afloat. Third, In order to uphold the one-party dictatorship, it had to rely on capitalizing on the dark and evil side of human nature: spoiling the elite in exchange for their loyalty. Therefore the corruption of the powerful elite now became accepted, endorsed, and even demanded.

With the understanding of these three realities, the communist officials developed an undocumented but almost unanimously accepted code of conduct—or rather, code of corruption. So, every piece of governmental power is on sale in the market and every corner of the market is invaded by political power.

Officials in nearly all government agencies spend most of their energy beefing up GDP, engaging in power arbitrage, bribing their superiors, and seeking luxurious personal perks. They are doing this because it is a natural choice for them, probably the only choice. They gain enormous financial and materialistic benefits without taking any political risk. As a result, the Communist Party elite, who used to label themselves “the vanguards of the proletariat class,” have either turned themselves into get-rich-overnight capitalist, or become brokers, patrons, and backers of domestic and foreign capitalists. All this was made possible thanks to the Tiananmen massacre and the political terror that was imposed on the entire country in the years following since, as a result, the entire society had lost the willingness or ability to check and balance the political power.

In such a political environment, political power was dancing a full-swing tango with capital operation. Low human rights standards, low wages, lack of environmental protection regulations and enforcement, and the illegality of collective bargaining all contributed to creating a golden opportunity for domestic and international speculative capitalists. As a result, “money” quickly courted “political power.” Business venture takers go to any length to seek out someone in power to serve as backers so that they can grab market opportunities without fair competition. They also use political connections to shed any and all legal and social responsibility. In a sense, the Chinese Communist Party, which used to be China Inc.’s sole shareholder, has now opened up its equity and offered its shares for capitalists to purchase.

The CCP’s 16th National Congress published a new Party Charter that welcomed capitalists as Party members. As a result, capital has become the greatest advocate of the current system. For the past two decades, the marriage of power and capital in China has been an ongoing soap opera that shows no signs of being cancelled. This marriage is also extended to Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, and the international community writ large. its survival; that is so-called “political stability.” In order to sustain such stability, the CCP regime

While the shares of China, Inc. are open for domestic and foreign capitalists to purchase, they were offered to China's intellectuals as free, performance-related stock options. The regime knows that in addition to economic growth, there is something else that also means everything to its survival; that is so-called "political stability." In order to sustain such stability, the CCP regime offers all kinds of bribery incentives to buy off anyone and everyone of importance and influence in society. The bribery list includes bureaucrats at every level of governmental, military officers, and business leaders, who the regime deems direct relatives. The list also includes: college professors, journalists, publishers, authors, art performers, high-profile athletes, and so on. The government pays all these people off in the form of salaries, bonuses, state-covered expenses, free medical insurance, subsidized housing, free pension plans and so on. Laws and policies more and more favor this group of people in exchange for their recognition and acceptance of the political status quo. Their income and perks add up to wealth that is disproportionately higher than that of ordinary workers, farm workers, clerks, and small business owners. The gap is much larger than that in any other country in the world. Such a policy of co-opting and buying off potential opposition is quite effective in conjunction with the high-pressure purges and persecution after the Tiananmen massacre. The cruelty of political reality created terror in the minds of intellectuals as a psychological deterrent. As time went on, fear turned into the cynicism, becoming increasingly indifferent to what was right and what was wrong. Indifference and hypocrisy rapidly became a new fashion that all the modern Chinese intellect tried to follow. This, coupled with a piece of the action in China Inc., made many intellectuals—who had once been independent and once been considered the conscience of the society—soften up their position against the post-Tiananmen status quo.

In summary, China, Inc. is formed by

1. Red Capitalists, through
2. Marriage between Power and Capital
taking advantage of:
 - low human rights standards
 - low environmental protection
 - low wages
 - banning collective bargaining power
3. China Inc. shares open to domestic and foreign capitalists
4. China Inc. shares free to intellectuals

In today's China, power (political elite), capital (economic elite) and "intellect" (social and cultural elite), are bonded together with corruption as the adhesive to form an alliance that maintains the existing political order. This alliance owns and runs China, Inc., dazzling the entire world with its wealth, might and glory. With China's vast geographic size and population, the

shareholders of China, Inc. have impressed many observers with their prodigious wealth accumulation and astonishing growth rates, making those same observers believe China stands as an alternative model for modernization to democracy. By the same token, these shareholders also control all the channels of the information flow and dominate the public discourse. They can make their voices loud enough so the outside observers believe that they represent China, that they are China—the whole of China.

The truth is, there is another society named China, a society constituted of over a billion Chinese who are virtually laborers working for China, Inc.

There you go, on one side of the coin is the elite Corporate China; and the other side is what we call “the China of shitizens.”

Of course, you cannot find the word “shitizen” in any official language. Here is an illustrative Chinese story: On October 29, 2008, 8:00 pm, a governmental official, Party secretary Lin, violently harassed an 11-year-old girl in front of her parents on a busy street in Shenzhen, one of the most “modernized” cosmopolitan cities in China. When the girl’s parents tried to stop him and passersby protested against him, he shouted “How dare are you get in my way? Do you guys know who I am? I am a representative from the central Ministry of Transportation in Beijing. I ranked as high as your mayor in the government. You guys are as dispensable and worthless as a piece of shit in front of me.” The incident and Secretary Lin’s language quickly circulated on the internet, and since then numerous people have sarcastically begun calling themselves “Chinese shitizens” to show their discontent and despair.

Here is how China, Inc. and the under China diverge:

1. China Inc. possesses all of the political, economic, and social and cultural resources in China.
2. The rules of the games at all levels in China are set by China, Inc. who also officiates the games. The outcome of any conflict between elite society and shitizen’s society involves no suspense. In just two decades, China achieved the polarization of the country with unprecedented speed. Data show that at present, 0.4% of China’s households possess 70% of the national wealth. (Wen Jiabao) The material wellbeing and luxury enjoyed by this 0.4% is second to none in the world. However, the billion shitizens of China benefit very little, if any, from the fruit of this economic growth. Recently, a Chinese scholar named Liu Zhirong did thorough research on world salary levels and on social security safety nets. He found the following: China’s minimum wage is only 15% of the world’s average, ranking 159th globally. The minimum wage’s contribution to GDP also ranked 159th globally, behind end of the spectrum is China’s Tax Misery Index (tax burden minus benefits received). It has ranked 2nd or 3rd for several years in a row. These data do not take any undocumented—but 32 African countries. On the opposite heavy and widespread—fees or uncompensated property takeovers into account.
3. Shitizens are by no means citizens, as they are unable to enjoy basic benefits or constitution-warranted civil rights. In China, discriminations against them are open, legal, institutionalized, and all-inclusive, spreading into the fields of politics, business, culture, and education. For

example, the institutionalization of the so-called HUKOU (local residency restriction) imposes discrimination against migrant workers in the cities. Their children cannot receive normal public education. The Electoral Law expressly states that one ballot cast by a rural farm worker counts as 1/4 of the ballot cast by a city resident. But these are just statutory discriminations. The reality is that the powerless people, whether they live in urban or rural areas, have no say whatever in any local, regional, or national public affairs that may directly affect their interests. With the judiciary system as it is constituted under dictatorship, people have no recourse to have their grievances redressed when their interests are hurt and/or their rights violated.

4. The elite's monopoly over power, capital, and information, and its insularity, makes mobility between the two Chinas nearly stagnant. For many years, right after the founding of the People's Republic of China, people in the grassroots were allowed to move upwards through military service and higher education. Now the elite China relies more and more on blood relations to maintain the stability of the ruling group. The commonly accepted way to gain a position in the government and in the military is purchase it with a large sum of cash. But this is just a transaction between a member of the political elite and a member of the economic elite. The underclass can seldom go anywhere by virtue only of their personal talents and hard work.

5. The two Chinas no longer speak a common political language. The official language continues to use the rigid official political terminology to make clear the government's intent to maintain the existing political order. Under the cover of such rigid language, the unspoken rules of a mafia operating by the codes of the jungle governs all transactions. Because the official language is so false, lofty, and meaningless, so far removed from actual public life, it is almost impossible for the ordinary people to use it to express their opinions. They have to seek another language. Since all the traditional media are tightly controlled by the ruling elite, they resort to cyberspace, creating numerous new concepts and new words in cyberspace that gained the acceptance of the general public. For example, "don't be so CCTV" (don't be so hypocritical), "TG" (initials for Tu Gong meaning "uncivilized or barbarian communists" in Chinese), "river crab" (homophone for the political buzz word "harmony"), "top movie star" (nick name for former premier Wen Jiabao, who likes to weep in front of TV camera from time to time). The isolation of the two languages underlines the existence of the two mutually isolated societies in China.

6. The two Chinas have almost no common political life. Political participation channels for non-elite Chinese nationals are completely blocked. The government tried to use the hollow language and ceremonies of patriotism to bridge the gap with less than satisfactory results. Events like the Olympics, National Day and the World Expo are just pastimes for the elite. During these events, the government shows extreme distrust for its people, who are kept out by means of de facto martial law. The two Chinas are so divided that it is difficult for ordinary people to meet and talk to a government official of as low level as a town manager.

7. Emotional division. While the China, Inc. is disdainful of the under China, the latter grow more and more distrustful of the former. The phenomena of so-called "hatred towards the rich" and "hatred towards officials" clearly demonstrate this mentality. In recent years, China's official media has adopted a new phrase: "conflicts caused by non-stake holders." It refers to the fact that more and more bystanders are participating in public riots.

To maintain the two-China structure, the Chinese government, over 20 some years after the Tiananmen, has built a monstrous "stability sustaining system" which has an operating budget exceeding China's national defense budget established a gigantic stability-preserving system.

Let's see how it has been developed.

Since the Tiananmen massacre, corruption has become one of the CCP's important strategies to survive because no Party officials at any level would be loyal to the regime if they were not given the privilege to corrupt. Such a predatory regime has caused unprecedented infringement of the basic rights of the ordinary people, resulting in increasing frequent protests.

Currently in China, there are about 200,000 public protests with more than 100 participants each year—or once every 3 minutes. The government has no effective way to handle these other than increasing the police force to prevent the protests from becoming trans-regional. Every province has set up branches in Beijing, staffed with police officers and hired thugs and gangsters to intercept petitioners. These branches also run their own private detention centers. For the last years, the manpower, equipment, budget, and salary of policing has grown tremendously. Based on experts' estimates, there are at least 550,000 to 600,000 People's Armed Police and various other forms of police and para-police on the payroll. The Chinese local governments run more and more like mafias. They hire local gangsters to become their hatchet men and informants. In a recent interview with the official Xinhua News agency, the assistant sheriff of Kai-Lu County, Inner Mongolia, disclosed that there are 12,000 informants to help the police maintain stability in this county whose population is only 400,000. Some experts said that in first-tier cities such as Beijing or Shanghai and ethnic minority areas such as Tibet and Xinjiang, the number of spies is even greater. Extrapolating for the Kai-Lu County ration, there are at least 39 million informants nationwide. This coupled with 550,000-600,000 police force forms a heavy net of police over the people.

I must reemphasize that I use the two "Chinas" argument to show China's structural reality: the division between the elite groups and the general public. For some individuals in society, the boundaries of the two "Chinas" are not clearly marked, and not every member of society has a clear awareness of which China they belong to. In addition, the simple-benefit analysis is not enough. For example, some human rights lawyers and other opposition leaders, like Liu Xiaobo, the 2010 Nobel Peace Prize winner, Xu Zhiyong, leader of the New Citizen Movement, and the most recently arrested rights lawyer Pu Zhiqiang, professors Xu Youyu and Haojian, could enjoy "elite Chinese" status, but they cross the border, trying to overcome the barrier that is similar to that between the colonial and the colony. They are trying to construct a reasonable society in line with universal values of public political life.

But the Chinese government is afraid of the possible integration between the two Societies based on justice. Such integration is against the current interest of the stockholders of China, Inc. That is why the CCP regime has always tried to contain and persecute those who (democracy advocates) believe and work for such integration. Some of them have been sent into exile overseas, others were put in jail. Still others were followed, monitored, or put in house arrest. It is a long-term strategy to guard against the democratization of China by eradicating, harassing, eliminating citizen advocates.

Another strategy is to control, compress and eventually block the space for public expression of opinions. Internet is on top of the government's hit list. Any forum of public opinions could serve as a launch pad to start a process of breaking the boundary between the two "Chinas", therefore eventually leads to the collapsing of the elite China. The CCP regime is fully aware its significance, and are making every effort to put a tight grip over the internet.

This is how I use two-China analysis as the framework to summarize the Chinese communists' general strategies of maintaining authoritarian rule and resisting the democratization. On top of the traditional lies and violence, the CCP regime has developed new tactics. It is comprised in the shape of a dragon:

Here you go.

The body: sustaining economic growth at all costs to maintain the regime's ruling legitimacy

Two wings: appeasing the elite with corruption and suppressing the powerless with rogue police

Two claws: purging democracy advocates like Liu Xiaobo and Xu Zhiyong and blocking public opinion.

Nevertheless, it is not enough to just see the severe division of the two societies of China. We need to stand in a more elevated position to envision the emerging of a new, democratic China, the third China. Although this third China did not take shape, there are many signs indicating its coming.

It usually takes four factors to be present at the same time to change a country from an autocracy to a democracy: 1) the robust, general disaffection from people; 2) split in the leadership in the autocratic regime; 3) viable opposition, viable democracy movement; and 4) international support.

Let me look at these factors.

First. CCP' dragon-shaped one-body, two-wing, and two-claw strategy has split China into two exclusive societies. This is what some experts called the rigid stable structure. But rigid human society ever has a sustainable stability. If such a society is stable for the moment, it is only because a crisis is in the cooking and new opportunity is on the horizon.

China's Stability Sustaining System treats every citizen as a potential enemy, and it has successfully made them enemies--dissidents, independent intellectuals, land-lease peasants, victims of forced demolitions and eviction, victims of forced abortion, veterans, migrant workers, Tibetans, Uyghurs, Mongolians, Christians, and Falun Gong practitioners, you name it. The CCP regime does not lack enemies.

Second. Compared to the under China, which is more diversified, the elite China seem to have common and consistent interests. But the consistency is based on bribery and buy-offs of multi-faucet interest groups, with intrinsic flaw in the foundation. Fierce internal power struggles have never ceased since the founding of the communist party. Perhaps the only achievement in China's political system in the past 30 years is the establishment of the "two-term, 10-year, one-generation" term limit system. Many observers predicted that such a system would ensure long-

term stability for the CCP regime, wishfully believing that this system helped the CCP find a way out of the pit of power discontinuity that has plagued all dictatorships in history. The Bo Xilai event, however, mercifully burst that bubble. People within the Party have begun to challenge this power succession system. The cracks are only widening.

Third. The concept of democracy has prevailed in the minds of the general public, thanks to the dozens years of efforts made by the pro-democratic activists both in and outside of China. The most important sign of this is the recent intellectual awakening, evidenced by the return of the democracy debate, which has occupied a central place in the public discourse around China's leadership change. More and more intellectuals, who were generally co-opted by the regime not long after the Tiananmen massacre and acted as its defenders for many years, have come to realize and acknowledge Chinese democracy movement's contributions, ideas, and beliefs, which are embodied in Charter 08. Recognition by intellectuals that the status quo is unsustainable is always the first, and vital, step toward changing it.

In the meantime, the ordinary people are becoming more mature, more skillful, and more aggressive in fighting for their own civil rights. The China, Inc. can sure ignore the grievance of the society, but the people will eventually unite themselves to form organized rebellion if individual petitions yield no results. Among the people, there is a subgroup called the netizens, those who use the internet a lot, nearly 5 hundred and fifty millions of them. Although the Chinese authorities impose strict control over the media, the existence of the Internet paved a way for the people's awakening and networking. In the cyberspace language, the communist regime is rapidly losing all its moral asset while the people are constantly seeking opportunity to group together in a skillful way. The netizens constitute an "information elite" that cannot be all bought off. They will play a leading role in future organized activities. Generally speaking, as the non-governmental forces grow and the civil protests escalate, struggle for power among different factions with the communist regime will become public. Especially, once the external pressure reaches a critical mass, the rivalry factions with the CCP will have to take the citizen force into serious account and seek or use the latter's support. This means a decomposition of China, Inc.

That said, I want to emphasize that we need an overall, viable pro-democracy movement to force the dictatorship to crack open. A long-term resilient movement will reach critical mass when idealists like Liu Xiaobo and Xu Zhiyong join forces with the self-motivated public or the disaffected with the status quo.

A milestone to meet that objective would be the formation of a group of civil leaders able to represent the general public and to at least partially disrupt the current political order -- a group that would catch attention and support of the international community and carry out and to call for effective negotiations with the government. That was most needed but lacking in our 1989 Tiananmen movement. But we are moving, perhaps slowly but surely, toward that goal.

Last but not least, international support.

Many friends in the international community are skeptical about the Chinese people's demand for freedom and democracy. Let me propose the following thought experiment for you to judge for yourselves.

Imagine that you visited China, taking with you a copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Arbitrarily choose any citizens on the street. Show the document, asking them with the language they understand whether they want the rights listed there. What would you expect them to say? Would you for a second believe they would say "No, I do not want these rights"? Of course, you wouldn't. You see, you understand the Chinese people through understanding yourselves: Nobody wants to be a slave. In this regard, the Chinese people are no different than other people in the world. The thirst for freedom and dignity is indeed universal.

The people of China have long ago begun the search for dignity, justice, goodness, fairness, equality, freedom, and brotherhood. They have produced a few major pushes towards these goals in this generation. In the 1989 Tiananmen democracy movement, the Chinese people courageously stood up against government corruption that in the words of Charter08, has "corrupted human intercourse." They stood up for democracy and freedom. The image of a lone man standing in front of a string of tanks has inspired the entire world, and our fallen brothers' spirits have been one of the greatest sources of inspiration for continued struggle for these noble goals today in China.

No one can predict with precision when the moment of dramatic opening for change will come in China. Virtually every one of the sixty some peaceful transitions to democracy in the past few decades have come as a surprise to the US. One reason is that diplomats, academics, and policy makers generally do not pay attention to what is happening with students, workers, farmers---with the street level society and culture of the world's not-free countries.

The people of China are obviously experiencing revolutionary change. Above all else we must maintain our faith in my compatriots that we can and will join the vast majority of the world's peoples who now live in free or at least partly free countries. An opening for change could come in the next few months or it may take a few more years. Of course it will never come without collective efforts, including those from the international community. So we must persevere and keep the faith and be ready.

Mr. SMITH. Without objection, so ordered. We will make that a part of the record, and I thank you so much.

I would like to now yield to Major Yan Xiong.

STATEMENT OF MAJOR YAN XIONG, USA, AUTHOR

Major XIONG. Thank you, sir. Good morning, sir. Thank you for inviting me to join you here today. I would like to take a moment to reiterate that I am here today in my personal capacity, and what I say today does not represent the views of the Army or the Department of Defense, the Pentagon.

Chairman Smith, Ranking Member Bass, members of the subcommittee, thank you for inviting me to testify today in remembrance of the events at Tiananmen Square 25 years ago in June 1989. My own experience of that historic event remains vivid in my memory.

On the evening of June 3, 1989, I was at Beijing University listening to a radio broadcast that described the events taking place. Communist military troops had marched into the Forbidden City and opened fire on citizens and students. Immediately a friend and I rode our bicycles toward Tiananmen Square. After 3 miles, when we passed by the People's University, we saw thousands of people and students holding hands to form a wall, preventing people from passing them. They shouted at people trying to break through, Don't go, don't go, they will kill you.

So eventually, my friend and I forced ourselves past the barrier and continued toward Tiananmen Square. As we went, we found more people had formed human walls and tried to persuade anyone going toward the danger. However, I felt I had to go since I was one of the student leaders who initiated the democratic movement.

So to force our way through the people, we had to abandon our bicycles and make our way forward on foot. As we approached, we saw the People's Liberation Army had tanks, vehicles and troops moving into Tiananmen Square. Soldiers with helmets and AK-47s were randomly shooting at the protesters as they chanted slogans and they tried to hold their ground. So my friend and I crept forward, the sounds of bullets shooting, crying, and the tanks blended together.

As we continued to move forward, we saw horrific scenes of students and citizens who were both wounded and dying. Few knew first aid, and I remember having feelings of helplessness as people cried out for medical assistance. I knew I needed to report the events taking place, so I found a phone booth and called my wife, I asked her to call the Beijing University radio station to tell the truth, that the PLA soldiers had opened fire on students and citizens and that hundreds were killed. I continued to relay new information to the radio station until the early morning, early hours of the morning.

After the protest was broken up, I was put on the list of most wanted student leaders. After my capture, I endured nearly 2 years in a Chinese prison. It was not until after leaving prison that with the help of an underground church member, I became a believer in God and I began my journey in the Christian faith.

I arrived in the United States in 1992, and just 2 weeks later was able to celebrate the Fourth of July. I saw, then, the meaning

of freedom, the freedom of expression, the freedom of religion, and the freedom from fear that all Americans enjoy. So since the time of my baptism as a Christian, I also found the freedom that knowing God provides.

As a commissioned officer in the United States, I serve to protect these freedoms. As an Army chaplain, my job is to assist my commander to ensure that all members of the Army family receive their religious support they need to freely exercise their faith according to the Constitution.

As we mark the 25th year since the Tiananmen massacre, I am very thankful that the United States continues to remember and honor the lives that were lost and continues to promote the struggle for democracy and freedom in our world. It is my prayer that the lives taken at Tiananmen Square will continue to live on in our memory and inspire us to continue working toward a better world free from tyranny and persecution that upholds the rights and the freedoms for all people. Thank you. Thank you all for your hearing.

Mr. SMITH. Chaplain, thank you so very much for your testimony.

Major XIONG. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Major Yan Xiong follows:]

Chaplain (Major) Xiong Yan
The former Tiananmen Square student leader
Author, *From Tiananmen Square to Iraq*

Friday, May 30th, 2014

**Testimony to
The Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights, and International
Organizations
and
the Committee on Foreign Affairs
in the U. S. House of Representative**

I. Statement

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Thank you for hearing my testimony.



Mr. SMITH. I would like to now yield to Chai Ling.

**STATEMENT OF MS. CHAI LING, FOUNDER, ALL GIRLS
ALLOWED**

Ms. CHAI. Thank you. Thank you, Chairman Chris Smith and honorable members of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Thank you all for holding this hearing. Chairman Smith, thank you for your tireless efforts in upholding human rights for all the people in China and in the world. Today, we know Wilberforce has a new name, and that name is Chris Smith.

I want to thank my Lord Jesus Christ and Savior, and declare that it is Him who led me to the truth so that I can be testifying today on the hope we have found in Christ Jesus for a new China. My message is a Chinese dream through Jesus. I want to thank my husband, Bob, our board member Quinn and our staff Elizabeth who have made an effort to be here to commemorate and support me in this special journey on this unique anniversary date.

I will testify to the following three points: What kind of freedom did we want of China 25 years ago at Tiananmen? What is our hope today for freedom? And how can the China dream be achieved?

The dream and freedom we wanted for China 25 years ago was freedom from fear, freedom from injustice, freedom from lies and deceit, and freedom from wrongful imprisonment and false accusations. I want to use three stories of real people's lives to illustrate what it was like without that freedom.

This is a young woman, Liu Jinfeng. She was sexually assaulted by her family members, became homeless, was sold as a bride, and was bullied, beaten, and raped by her abuser. She was beaten to half dead. For self-defense, she killed her abuser, but because of this she was executed at the young age of 20.

Another case is a young woman called Tao Jing. She was 20 years old and accused of carrying drugs for her boyfriend. She was killed at such a young age and became the youngest female in China who was executed in the past 50 years.

The third case is the story of Feng Jianmei. On June 2, 2012, she was dragged into a forced abortion clinic, a poison injection was injected into her tummy, and her baby was killed within her womb. She was devastated.

And so that is not just these three women's stories, these are stories for every Chinese woman, and that struggle still continues to set the people in China free. Even though 25 years later there is still no accountability for the leaders who ordered the killings of 1,000 people on June 4, 1989, even though 25 years later there is no accountability for the Family Planning Committee people who killed over 400 million babies and still continue to do so today, even though 25 years later no accountability for the Communist Party officials or the family members who have enriched themselves at the expense of the hard working Chinese people, be warned: The days of justice are coming soon.

So why do I say so? What is our hope for freedom today? Twenty-five years ago, China's former reformer leader was advocating for three reforms—economical, political, and spiritual. However, Deng

Xiaoping only allowed China to have one, so China today has evolved into an economic dictatorship with no political reform.

However, despite the brutal oppression, forced abortions, and religious persecution, China is going through a powerful and unprecedented spiritual revival. The human heart can't be satisfied by materialism alone. As Jesus said, man does not live on bread alone, but on every word that comes from the mouth of God. Even the President Xi Jinping recognized that China's modernization has left a moral vacuum filled with materialism, corruption, and greed. However, his prescription for these things, the "new China dream," is just more of the same—building a national dream on the basis of sacrificing individual rights.

Communism, despite its beautiful promises for equality and happiness, only delivers death and destruction. That is the painful truth we discovered on the night of June 3rd and on the morning of June 4th. No society built on the belief system of denying God and denying God's precious creations can bring life or hope. Nevertheless, we do rejoice when we hear President Xi talk about the new China dream, a dream about a great revival of the nation of China, a dream like Deng Xiaoping's.

When he first came to power, he instructed his team to study how to transition China into freedom and democracy, but for some reason unknown, he then lost his way. So today, I want to come along to offer President Xi the truth I have discovered after spending 48 years of searching at the great cost of many sacrifices. That truth is that Jesus is the way, the truth, and the life. No one comes to God except through Jesus.

My journey of my search and discovery has been written into my book, "A Heart for Freedom." Anyone here who is interested can have a free copy. The vision we have for a China dream as established by God will look like the following: It will be like one life under God, one family under God, one church, one community under God, one nation under God, one world under God. I do want to make clear, this is not about forcing religion on anybody, but allowing people to freely choose God and exercise their beliefs.

I will explain about the bigger picture in detail later if I have the opportunity, but the cornerstone of this society will be love. It will be loving God, loving ourselves, and loving others as we love ourselves. It is what is in the Ten Commandments.

So how can we achieve the China dream? Today's Chinese leaders have a great opportunity to achieve this God-given China dream. We applaud President Xi's father, Xi Zhongxun for reportedly standing up against the massacre. We applaud President Xi's recent reforms on China's human rights practices, including merging the National Population and Family Planning Committee and the Ministry of Health, which some say is a face-saving way to abolishing the family planning army. We applaud his easing of the one-child policy into a selective two-child policy. We encourage him to continue to remove restrictions to allow a be-fruitful-and-multiply policy. We also applaud him for abolishing labor camp systems. These are great beginnings toward righteousness and justice. In the past 25 years, our hope was mostly misplaced on various leaders' actions, but not anymore.

Let this year mark the new beginnings that our hope is no longer rooted in any leaders or any individuals, but in God alone. If it is God's will to free China, he alone can accomplish that, and indeed, God speaks about the Chinese dream through Isaiah 9:6-7. He said,

“For to us a child is born, to us a son is given, and the government will be on his shoulders, and he will be called Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace. Of the greatness of his government and peace, there will be no end. He will reign on David's throne and over his kingdom, establishing and upholding it with justice and righteousness from that time on and forever. The zeal of the Lord Almighty will accomplish this.”

That child is Jesus. He was born 2,000 years ago. Listen to this: The promise of a just nation does not depend on any free will to choose between good and evil, but on the zeal of the faithful and trustworthy Almighty God. That is what our hope relies on, and God has indeed accomplished it. When Jesus died on the cross for humanity, his last words were, “It is finished.”

So today, the task of bringing freedom to China is finished. It is no longer in the hands of any leader, but in the mind of every Chinese person who hears the good news and chooses for themselves if they want to choose Jesus and be set free. I made that decision to choose Jesus 4½ years ago. My dear friend, Zhou Fengsuo, took me to a prayer meeting event on the June 4th anniversary 20 years ago, and 6 months later I offered my soul for the Lord to take. Six months later God allowed things to happen. On December 4th, exactly 6 months later, He brought me to Him. That was not an easy decision, but I can testify, despite the fact that today I still cannot go back to China, despite the fact that the regime of China has not changed, despite the fact that the future still remains uncertain and unknown, that Jesus has set me free, and I am free indeed, physically, emotionally, and spiritually.

God has no favoritism. The same choice is available to all. Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. So today it is my fervent prayer that the leaders of China will also choose freedom and embrace political and spiritual reform, for there is no force on earth that can stop God's work to bring freedom to His people. The pharaohs could not do that, and neither could the Babylonians. Certainly, the Chinese Communists are no match for the will of the Almighty God. They can continue to choose to do nothing.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. We are going to have to——

Ms. CHAI. Yes, I know, I am sorry.

Mr. SMITH. We do have questions coming up.

Ms. CHAI. Of course. I will finish the rest later. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. I appreciate your testimony.

[The prepared statement of Chai Ling follows:]



By Chai Ling
Founder & President

All Girls Allowed – In Jesus' Name, Simply Love Her, www.allgirlsallowed.org

Mission: To restore life, value, and dignity to girls and mothers, and to reveal the injustice of the One-Child Policy

Author: *A Heart for Freedom*

Testimony to
the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and
International Organizations,
U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Foreign Affairs,
Friday, May 30th, 2014

A Chinese Dream through Jesus

To the Honorable Chairman Chris Smith, and to the Honorable Members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, thank you for holding this hearing. Chairman Smith, thank you for your tireless effort in upholding the human rights of all people in China and in the world! I am deeply honored to be given the opportunity to share about the China Dream we stood for 25 years ago on Tiananmen Square. I am also here to share my hope for a renewed China Dream that will protect vulnerable women and girls in China and advance the fundamental freedoms of religion and speech. I am delighted to testify alongside my partners from Tiananmen, who we share hopes for a new China and a deep appreciation for the United States, the land of freedom.

Summary of contents: I will be testifying on the following three points:

1. What kind of freedom did we want for China 25 years ago at Tiananmen?
2. What is our hope for this freedom today?
3. How can the China Dream be achieved?

What kind of freedom did we want for China 25 years ago at Tiananmen?

Approaching the anniversary, many reporters have asked me what freedoms were we fighting for in China 25 years ago, and what we are asking for today. I tell them that it was for freedom from fear, freedom from injustice, freedom from lies and deceit, freedom from wrongful imprisonment and false accusations. We wanted the leaders of our country to be held accountable and an end to corruption and democratic openness.

Let me use three stories to illustrate the life of the poor and the powerless in China.

Case I:



Liu Jinfeng[†], a woman from the city of Yuncheng in Shanxi province, was only 20 years old when she was executed in 1995. Jinfeng was abused by her father as a child and was driven out of her house when her mother died. She was taken in by families but suffered regular sexual abuse. She was made to be pregnant and had to go through abortion. Jinfeng was later arrested for prostitution and was put in jail for one year. When the prison term was over, she was sent back to her hometown, but her step-father sold her for \$130. She was resold to Hu, a local bully, who constantly beat and abused her. She attempted to escape but was recaptured and beaten even more severely. Hu broke her right leg and thereafter chained her to his bed. When Hu went out of town, his two cousins raped her and caused her to give birth to a boy. After Hu returned home, he hung Jinfeng to a tree and viciously whipped her, even using a knife to stab her thighs and lower body while calling her an “adulterer”. Jinfeng was tortured until she was half dead. When she regained her consciousness, she found her entire body covered in blood, and, even worse, mutilated. The pain was unbearable. Moreover, she discovered that her son had already been strangled to death by Hu. Driven to madness, Jinfeng mustered all of her strength and hacked Hu to death with a sickle in his sleep before setting fire to his house.

Case II:



[†] <http://www.chinasmack.com/2011/pictures/10-beautiful-chinese-women-executed-over-the-past-30-years.html> (English); http://legal.gmw.cn/2011-12/22/content_3226185.htm (Chinese)

Tao Jing[‡], as a result of carrying drugs for her boyfriend, was sentenced to death in 1991 at only 20 years of age, becoming the youngest female to be executed in over 50 years. These images are photos of Tao Jing after being arrested, and she was sent to the execution ground.



Case III



[‡] <http://www.chinasmack.com/2011/pictures/10-beautiful-chinese-women-executed-over-the-past-30-years.html> (English); http://legal.gmw.cn/2011-12/22/content_3226185.htm (Chinese)

Feng Jianmei: On June 2nd, 2012, young mother Feng Jianmei was dragged into a forced abortion clinic. Doctors injected poison into the head of the baby inside her womb. On June 4th, the dead baby came out of her body. She was devastated.

The above stories are every Chinese man and woman's story. This is the kind of fear, injustice, violence, and imprisonment we want China to be set free from in 1989, and that struggle is continuing today.

25 years since the Tiananmen Square Massacre, there is still no accountability for the leaders who ordered the killing of thousands of people on June 3-4, 1989. There is no accountability for the Family Planning Officials who killed 400 million babies and are still continuing to do so today. There is no accountability for the Communist Party officials or their families who have enriched themselves at the expense of the hard-working Chinese people. **But the days of justice is coming soon!**

What is our hope for this freedom today?

25 years ago, we students admired former Communist Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang and went to the Square support his calls for three reforms: economic, political, and spiritual. But Zhao Ziyang wanted two reforms: political and economic reform, and he paid dearly for his belief by spending the rest of his life under house arrest. However, Deng Xiaoping only wanted economic reform.

The past 25 years—after the Tiananmen Massacre--China has developed into an economic dictatorship, with no political reform. However, despite the brutal oppression, forced abortions, and religious persecution, China is going through a powerful spiritual revival. The human heart can't be satisfied by materialism alone. As Jesus said, "Man does not live on bread alone, but on every word that comes from the mouth of God."

Even Xi Jinping recognizes that China's modernization has left a "moral vacuum"—filled with materialism, corruption, and greed. But his prescriptions for these things are really just more of the same. Nonetheless, we do rejoice, a bit, when we hear President Xi talk about a China Dream—a dream about the great revival of the nation of China.

After spending the past 48 years searching for the hope we all aspired to and shared at Tiananmen, I have found truth and comfort in Christ Jesus. Now I can speak with confidence that China will surely be a great nation when it allows for religious freedom, and frees its people to help the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the refugee. **“Jesus is the way, the truth and the life. No one come to God except through Jesus.” (John 14:6)**

“God created everything through him, and nothing was created except through him.” (John 1:3) “He is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation. For by Him all things were created, both in the heavens and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or rulers or authorities-- all things have been created through Him and for Him. He is before all things, and in him all things hold together.” (Colossians 1:15-16) “There is no authority except from God, and those which exist are established by God.” (Romans 13:10)

A free China will be established by God and it will look like the following:

- **One life under God;**
- **One family under God;**
- **One church/community under God;**
- **One nation under God;**
- **One world under God.**

Specifically, it will look like the following:

- One life under God:
 - We will love God with all our hearts, minds, souls and strength, so that our love of God will govern our lives and our principles.
 - We will love others as ourselves: our love and care will not be limited to ourselves, but will extend to our families, our neighbors, our communities, and our people.
- One family under God:
 - Our children will be equally welcomed and protected. The One-Child Policy and gendercide will cease to exist, for Jesus commanded us, “Permit the children to come to Me, and do not hinder them, for the

kingdom of God belongs to such as these. Truly I say to you, whoever does not receive the kingdom of God like a child will not enter it at all.” (Luke 18:16-17)

- Our family will reflect the glory of the Lord: wives will respect husbands, and husbands will sacrificially love their wives, just as Jesus sacrificially loved His church. There will no longer be domestic violence.
- One church/community under God:
 - The church and the community will do what the apostle Paul has urged us to do in Ephesians chapter 4: “Lead a life worthy of our calling, for we have been called by God. Always be humble and gentle. Be patient with each other, making allowance for each other’s faults because of our love. Make every effort to keep ourselves united in the Spirit, binding ourselves together with peace. For there is one body and one Spirit, just as we have been called to one glorious hope for the future. There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God and Father, who is over all and in all and living through all.”
 - The church will act out a religion that is pure and faultless to God: “to look after orphans and widows in their distress and to keep oneself from being polluted by the world.” (James 1:27)
- One nation under God:
 - Our leaders will truly serve the people as Jesus has taught us: “whoever wishes to become great among you shall be your servant.” (Matthew 20:26)
 - Our government will be a just and righteous government.
 - Our people will obey, honor and pray for those in authority.
- One world under God:
 - “God will wipe every tear from their eyes, and there will be no more death or sorrow or crying or pain. All these things are gone forever.” (Revelation 21:4) “All who are victorious will inherit all the blessings, and I will be their God and they will be my children.” (Revelation 21:7) This is our hope for the future.
 - China is destined to become a great nation that follows and honors God! China will become a blessing to the world.

How can we achieve the Chinese Dream?

China's leaders have a great opportunity to achieve this God given China dream today. We applaud President Xi's father, Xi Zhongxun, for reportedly standing up against the massacre. We applaud President Xi's several reforms on China's human rights practices, including the merging of the National Population and Family Planning Commission and the Ministry of Health (which some say is a face-saving way to disband the family planning army), the easing of the One-Child Policy into the "Selective Two-Child Policy", and the abolishment the labor camp system. These are great beginnings towards righteousness and justice.

But our hope is not rooted in any leader or any individual, but in God alone! If it is God's will to free China, He alone can accomplish it. So does God say anything about the Chinese Dream? As a matter of fact, yes, God did speak about the Chinese Dream through Isaiah 9:6-7:

**“For to us a child is born, to us a son is given,
and the government will be on his shoulders.
And he will be called Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God,
Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.
Of the greatness of his government and peace there will be no end.
He will reign on David's throne and over his kingdom,
establishing and upholding it with justice and righteousness
from that time on and forever.
The zeal of the LORD Almighty will accomplish this.”**

This child is Jesus. He was born around 2014 years ago. The passage says from that time on until forever, “of the greatness of his government and peace there will be no end,” and “he will reign on David's throne and over his kingdom, establishing and upholding it, with justice and righteousness.” This effort is not dependent on anyone's free will to choose between right and evil, but on the zeal of the faithful and trustworthy Lord.

Jesus' kingdom includes China. The Gospel of John has the following passages:

“Then the leading priests and Pharisees called the high council together. ‘What are we going to do?’ they asked each other. ‘This man certainly performs many

miraculous signs. If we allow him to go on like this, soon everyone will believe in him. Then the Roman army will come and destroy both our Temple and our nation.’

“Caiaphas, who was high priest at that time, said, ‘You don’t know what you’re talking about! You don’t realize that it’s better for you that one man should die for the people than for the whole nation to be destroyed.’

“He did not say this on his own; as high priest at that time he was led to prophesy that **Jesus would die for the entire nation. And not only for that nation, but to bring together and unite all the children of God scattered around the world.**

“So from that time on, the Jewish leaders began to plot Jesus’ death.” (John 11:47-53)

“On the cross, when He had received the drink, Jesus said, ‘It is finished.’ With that, he bowed his head and gave up his spirit.” (John 19:30)

Indeed, Jesus had died to fulfill God’s purpose of bringing together and uniting all God’s children around the world so they will not be destroyed. And even more, Jesus has risen! The power, victory, revival, and renewal are all held in His hands. He remains humble to offer us the choice to follow him or to continue with our own will. **The freedom to choose Jesus and be set free is in the hands of every Chinese people who have heard the good news.**

It is our prayer that the leaders of China will choose to follow Jesus to bring about the Kingdom Dream in China. If not, what Mordecai said to Queen Esther when the Jewish nation faced the danger of annihilation may become the fate of the leaders of China:

“For if you remain silent at this time, relief and deliverance for the Jews will arise from another place, but you and your father’s family will perish. And who knows but that you have come to your royal position for such a time as this?” (Esther 4:14)

This is also a message to those who visit China to pursue business and other interests at the expense of the poor and the helpless. The task is simple: speak out the truth in love. Be the voice for the voiceless.

“Son of man, I have made you a watchman for the people of Israel; so hear the word I speak and give them warning from me. When I say to a wicked person, ‘You will surely die,’ and you do not warn them or speak out to dissuade them from their evil ways in order to save their life, that wicked person will die for their sin, and I will hold you accountable for their blood. But if you do warn the wicked person and they do not turn from their wickedness or from their evil ways, they will die for their sin; but you will have saved yourself.

“Again, when a righteous person turns from their righteousness and does evil, and I put a stumbling block before them, they will die. Since you did not warn them, they will die for their sin. The righteous things that person did will not be remembered, and I will hold you accountable for their blood.” (Ezekiel 3:17-20)

Many may find it discouraging that no promising change has taken place in China in the past 25 years. But I rejoice in the confidence that God has His timing for all nations to come into deliverance. The Lord allowed the Israelites to suffer in Egypt for 400 years, but once that time was over, He called upon Moses to rescue them from their bondage (Genesis 15:13-14). Likewise, God punished the sinful Israelites by putting them under the oppression of Babylon for 70 years. After this time, God immediately restored His people (Jeremiah 27). **God has a special timer for China as well. We are 25 years closer to the day of restoration. But be warned, when that day comes, it will be like a flood. No earthly power can stop the Spirit and the might of the Almighty God.**

The tanks and troops crushed our movement, but they could not crush our dream of a free China. The tanks and troops can stop demonstrations on the streets, but they can never stop a people’s unceasing prayers for justice and freedom. “Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty!”

At the beginning of the testimony, you have seen the pictures of those young women and a baby who lost lives. I want to share you that by walking humbly with God to act justly and love mercy, many more baby girls and mothers have been rescued from physical death, some of them choose to accept Jesus have been saved into eternal life.

Let me leave you with some of their pictures to remind you the glorious hope and victory we have in God through Jesus.

Case V:



This mother was terminally ill. Her husband died and her brother in law is crippled. Our workers in China came to pray for the brother in law. After they left, he saw three persons came to him and said, "Get off bed and walk." He did and he was healed. This mother was deeply impressed and she gave her life to Jesus as well. Her illness was healed and her baby girl is also rescued. Just look at her radiant smile, we can see God's promise that He will "bestow on them a crown of beauty instead of ashes, the oil of gladness, instead of mourning, and a garment of praise instead of a spirit of despair. (Isaiah 61: 3) That is coming true in this woman's life.

The next picture shows how the love of God has become reality of many of these mothers' lives and their baby girls.



If God can free these mothers and babies. He can certainly free an entire nation!
In Jesus' name we rest our hope and confidence!



Mr. SMITH. I would now ask that Zhou Fengsuo, if you could proceed.

**STATEMENT OF MR. ZHOU FENG SUO, CO-FOUNDER,
HUMANITARIAN CHINA**

Mr. ZHOU. Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, thank you for inviting me to this event. This is a day for remembrance and celebration. I would want to thank this committee for being such a powerful voice for freedom in China, not only today, but for many years in the past, and especially to Mr. Smith.

My name is Zhou Fengsuo. I and my family are grateful for the freedom we enjoy as Americans now. Twenty-five years ago, I was deeply involved in organizing the demonstration on Tiananmen Square. It is the greatest honor of my life that the Communist government, which made up its list of so-called Tiananmen 21, designated me as number 5 on the list after Chai Ling. That was the first time my name showed up in any media. I did not deserve that honor, for there are many others who I know worked harder and fought more bravely, but I will always be proud of my work in helping organizing the Tiananmen protest.

I was responsible for building the networks that provided medical support while millions poured in from all corners of Beijing, there was an ambulance every 5 minutes, and there was no traffic accident ever, and through that network, many people, for the first time in their life, were able to speak of their hope for a better China, their love for freedom and democracy. That was a festival of hope and freedom. That is what I will never forget.

I firmly believe when history books of the 21st century are written, this protest will be seen as a major step in bringing China to freedom and democracy that I know will come, and that is why for many years, for the last 25 years every year there are people in China who risk their lives, their freedom to commemorate the dream and the sacrifice of the Tiananmen protest. China's freedom, which I believe you, the chairman, and the members of the committee will bring about, just as Ronald Reagan did to the Soviet Union, will not only bring freedom to people of China, perhaps even more importantly it will be to the peace and freedom it will bring for the people of the world. The greatest issue that will define the nature of the 21st century will be the question of whether democracy and freedom come to China. If China is free, the 21st century would likely to be defined by competition to see who builds better cars and computers, but if China remains a dictatorship, it could be even more bloody than the 20th century.

So the fight we fight here today is not only a fight for the people of China, it is a fight for the freedom of our children. It is a fight to determine whether our children will live in a world of peace and freedom or in a world of censorship and totalitarian regimes. These are the large questions that we are dealing with. But there are some concrete steps that this Congress can take to help move China closer to freedom and democracy. The first issue is Internet freedom. As the Communist regime realizes, the very life of the Communists ruling depends on the lies promoted by the firewall, the Internet firewall. And that is even more important than the armies and the jails in China. So any measure that we can take to

promote Internet freedom, technologies that help circumvent the firewall, will bring truth to China. Every year I meet young Chinese, and this year, many teenagers, who talk to me. The first thing they did, arriving in the United States, was to look for information about what happened 25 years ago. And they will change because of that. They will see hope and a dream. And there is a lot we can do.

Specifically, I would ask BBG to allocate 10 percent of its funding to the technologies that will circumvent the Internet firewall. Second, globalization was a major cause in the 1989 protests, but Chinese, ordinary Chinese, have been taken as hostages, and trade and the investments have been used as a tool to promote dictatorship and the corrupt universal values. Many Chinese companies are de facto government organizations. And it is through such arrangement they became powerful, profitable monopolies, which Western shareholders may like to invest in. But in doing such, we are allowing commerce to be part of the crime that Communists are committing. There is a lot we can do to promote true free trade and a free market.

Third one, recently there are a lot of rejections of visas for the foreign journalists in China. This will no doubt create censorship and self-censorship for foreign journalists. At the same time, more and more Chinese state-owned media are setting up shops in the United States to broaden the reach of the brainwashing. This issue cannot be left to the media alone.

For example, Bloomberg, which reported on the hidden wealth of the ruling families, admitted that they will never do that again. And the journalist who was trying to publish such a report had to leave. At least U.S. should firmly raise the issue of reciprocity as a strategic option in journalism visa.

Fourth, U.S. should reject entry visas to perpetrators of human rights violations. With the help of the Internet, we are able to gather information on these who actively and willingly participate in persecution of the dissidents, including those who killed protesters in 1989. We are able to name one of the persons who was in the tank that ran over people on the morning of June 4. As we know, daughter of current President could still be in Harvard. And rejecting entry visa will be a powerful way to help these freedom fighters in China. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you so very much, Mr. Zhou.

[The prepared statement of Zhou Fongsuo follows:]

Testimony of Zhou Fengsuo

Tiananmen 25 Years Later: Leaders Who Were There

Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations

May 30, 2014

Dear Chairman and Members of the Committee:

Twenty-five years ago I was fortunate to be part of the great 1989 pro-democracy movement in Beijing and across China. I was inspired by the Declaration of Independence. I believed that we Chinese could enjoy the same freedom and rights articulated in the Declaration of Independence and that the government should be established to protect such rights, not to restrict them like the communists have been doing.

It was the only time in China's history that ordinary Chinese people were able to express themselves freely. There was a sense of joy and liberation when all of a sudden, freedom was so close, almost within reach. I could never forget that so many people came out of their shells to speak for the hope of a freer and better China and they realized that such hope were shared by the vast of the majority. By most accounts, it was the most peaceful demonstration ever in world history. It was a festival of freedom.

Such a display of people's will shocked the hardliners within the Communist ruling families clustered around Deng Xiaoping, they reacted with senseless brutality while the world was watching. We all know the story of the Tank man who stood fearlessly in front of the tank. Lesser known is fact that tanks chased the students after they withdrew from Tiananmen Square, and killed and wounded many. Children as young as nine years old were shot dead. I saw about 30 bodies of young students in the bicycle shed of FuXing Hospital.

The fact that such a regime survived and even thrives today is a challenge to human dignity and universal values. For 25 years, it always uses violence whenever possible against anyone who dares to protest, no matter how peaceful. Over 1 billion Chinese are held as hostages. The economic development and technology advancement only enable the Communist regime to be more entrenched in its paranoia. The benefit of globalization did not bear fruit in the democratization of China. On the contrary, it empowers the Beijing regime to export its model of brainwashing, censorship, prison, pollution and brutality. Sadly, there are willing followers of such a model even in the United States, from global companies who profit from the semi-slavery treatment of workers, to Christian churches eager to evangelize the vast population by cooperating with Beijing. A Harvard professor publishes a flattering biography about Deng, the mastermind of the Tiananmen Massacre, knowing very well that the self-censored Chinese version will be exactly what Beijing needs in its bogus credibility. Wall Street is welcoming Ma Yun, the businessman who hires the ruling family members and praised Deng for the Massacre. Even more troubling, right here in Washington D.C., Charles Freeman, who allegedly justified Tiananmen Massacre, was a top pick to head the National Intelligence Council.

Knowing that international community can pay at best lip service to the issues of human rights just as in 1989, Beijing now openly challenge any mention of its human rights record by punishing/torturing any citizens whom outside world shows supports for. In 2008, Hu Jia was

sentenced to years in prison before Beijing Olympics, of which President Bush was a willing guest. Ms. Cao Shunli was arrested when boarding a flight to a UN conference on human rights. She was sick while in prison, but never given proper medical treatment, while the UN and human rights group continuously called for her release. She died a few days after being released in critical condition in this past March. In another highly publicized case just weeks ago, 73 year old Hong Kong publisher Yao Wentian was sentenced to 10 years to prison for trying to publish a book criticizing Xi Jinping.

But the history of 1989 Democracy Movement cannot be changed. Every year brave people commemorate Tiananmen Massacre in face of relentless repression. So far this year, dozens were arrested all over China. They are human rights activists, professors, lawyers, journalists, Christians, and Buddhist monks, representing the broad social spectrum of the Tiananmen protesters. These are the people who carry on the dreams and ideals of 1989. Zhao Changqing has been imprisoned 4 times since 1989. His latest activity was to call for the disclosure of assets of government officials, the exactly same demand of the Tiananmen protesters 25 years ago.

What can the United States do to help these people?

1) Internet freedom. As Xi Jinping realized, the life of the communist regime depends on controlling the internet and blocking access of Chinese citizens to outside world. I have met many Chinese students in United States, whose first research in the United States were about Tiananmen Massacre. Among Chinese users of Twitter, the Tiananmen Massacre is one of the long lasting topics. By allocating more funds of BBG to developing technologies that circumvent the Great Fire Wall, more users can know the truth and ideals of 1989 Pro-democracy Movement.

2) Reject entry visas to the perpetrators on human rights violations. With the help of the Internet, we are able to gather information on these who actively and willingly participate in the persecution of dissidents, including these who killed protesters in 1989. If U.S. rejects visas to these people, it will directly help the freedom fighters of China.

3) Reciprocity in journalist visa. Beijing is rejecting more and more journalist visas to outspoken foreign journalists. No doubt this creates self-censorship for foreign journalists, who need to make a living too. At the same time, more and more Chinese state-owned media are setting up shops in the United States to broaden the reach of the totalitarian regime. This issue cannot be left to the media; the U.S. should firmly raise the issue of reciprocity as a strategic option.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to now ask Mr. Chen Qinglin.

STATEMENT OF MR. CHEN QINGLIN, ACTIVIST

[The following testimony was delivered through an interpreter.]

Mr. CHEN. Good morning, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee. Thank you for having me to testify before the Congress today. In the early hours of 1989, June 4, I witnessed a girl student and boy student were killed and shot on the Chang'an Avenue in Beijing, and a worker named Zhang Bin legs were crippled by the soldiers. And this bloody tragedy leaves a huge trauma in my heart that has never been healed. And on June 4, 1990, in Peking University, my friend at the university, Li Minai and Peng Rong were arrested for their first anniversary activities on campus. And I was summoned by the police for harboring a suspect in my university dorm.

On June 6, 1992, Mr. Hu Shigen and a few dozens, including me, were arrested and put into prison for 3 years on the charge of political assembly and party establishment. And again, October 1997 I was put behind bars again for 40 days for publishing material relating to the 1989 democracy movement. And in June 1999, I was summoned many times by the police for participating in the 10th anniversary of the 1989 movement, along with Mr. Jiang Qisheng and Meng Yuanxin. And in 2006, a group of the 1989 generation were expelled out of their city Beijing for establishing an environmental NGO called Guardian Spirit. And these victims, including Liang Xiaoyan, Professor Li Oun, Wang Junxiu, and a few others. And in 2008, as one of the first signatories of Charter 08 initiated by Dr. Liu Xiaobo and Zhang Zuhua, and I was summoned by the police. And on February 2, 2014, Ms. Chen Wei and I participated for the 25th anniversary of the massacre of 1989 movement, in memory of those victims, I was summoned twice and threatened with arrest.

And on May 5, 2014, as soon as I landed in this country, on the invitation for the 25th anniversary activities here, I learned of the arrest of my friend, including Mr. Hu Shigen and Yu Shiwen were arrested. And a scholar such as HAO JIAN and various different lawyers were also arrested for the first time. And some of my best friends, like Yang Hai and Chen Tianshi and Peng Rong and Ding Mao and a few others were either under house arrest, or forced to be on the road, or summoned, or being warned with a written promise not to do things during this period.

It has been 25 years since the violent crackdown of the 1989 democracy movement. The Communist regime has continued its crude efforts to repress the generation of 1989. And why? We want to know why. And the reality of the past 25 years have proved that the ruling Communist Party after the June 4th massacre has no respect for God, no responsibility for the masses, and no historic senses for the future generation.

And following the massacre of June 4th, the ruling regimes there has utilized all its resources and tools to crash the Chinese people's dream for democracy and the rule of law. And the government ruled out the possibility of a peaceful democratic transition through peaceful dialogues, and has continued its rule by a strong man, which has dramatically made the Chinese pay huge costs of govern-

ance. And in these years, the activities from all walks of life in China has been arrested, and they include underground house church priests and rights of defense lawyers and college teachers, as well as business people who have never given up their dream for a democracy for which the Chinese people have been fighting over 100 years. And this generation, including the Wang Bingzhang and Gao Zhisheng have been fighting for over 25 years and they never give up the hope. And I hope that the international community and those of justice shall not appease the evildoers while showing their support for the forces of good. God bless the United States, God bless China. Thank you very much.

[Chen Qinglin did not submit a prepared statement.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you so very much. We have an hour-long series of votes coming up at between 11:15 and 11:30. So what I thought might be an idea, maybe we could just take notes, would be to have all of us ask a series of questions. If there is still time, we would go to a second round. But an hour's worth of votes plus will be preclude it after that and reconvening. So I thought I would lay out some questions, ask my distinguished colleagues to do likewise, and if you wouldn't mind answering those questions. Would that be agreeable to the members? I would not want to run out of time so we couldn't get to everybody.

Let me ask first a threshold question about missed opportunities. Frank Wolf and I traveled in 1991, just a couple of years after Tiananmen Square, went to Beijing Prison Number One. There were 40 Tiananmen Square activists there at that terrible gulag inside of Beijing. And they wouldn't let us meet with them. They looked, with their shaved heads, like Auschwitz inmates. It was a terrible, terrible observation that both of us made while we were there about the mistreatment.

Candidate Bill Clinton, when he ran against what became President Bush, made the point that he thought that the first President Bush, was coddling dictatorships. Brent Scowcroft made a quick trip over to Beijing after Tiananmen, assured them in ways that I find totally unseemly and appalling. So I say this as a preface, that I have always, and I know Mr. Wolf and all of us, don't see this as a partisan issue, but if somebody on one party's side or the other enables, wittingly or unwittingly, these horrific abuses, they need to be called to task for it.

Well, when Bill Clinton got into office, we had the votes to take away Most Favored Nation status away from China because of Tiananmen Square and the human rights abuse that was proliferating and getting worse by the day. He said don't vote on that. I will issue an Executive order. And it was a great Executive order that listed all the human rights benchmarks, including significant progress in each of those areas. Halfway through the year of review, I traveled to Beijing, and I was told bluntly by Chinese leaders that they are getting MFN with no conditionality, that this was a bluff. I didn't believe it. And I had a letter signed by 100 Members, including Mr. Wolf, and Nancy Pelosi, 100 Democrats and Republicans, presented that to them, and the Chinese official with whom I was meeting looked at it and laughed. He said the fix is in.

Sure enough, in late May, and as a matter of fact, it was about as cynical as it gets, on a late Friday, President Clinton took his Executive order, ripped it in half, and said it is no longer operative. We lost the ability to pass MFN removal, and the Chinese Government got away with murder. As I said earlier with regards to Dr. Yang, a few years later the butcher of Beijing was at the White House being feted like a potentate with full military honors. Like I said, he should have been sent to The Hague for prosecution for crimes against humanity, and was carried around on a pillow. I say all of this because now we have a situation where just in December we had five daughters sit where you sit, all of their dads were being tortured in China, including Gao Zhisheng. They said our appeal is to Beijing, let our fathers go. Then they turned around and said our appeal is to President Obama. Meet with us. You have two daughters. You will understand. Our dads are being tortured. We love our dads. We want to be with them. We sent over a letter, multiple phone calls, and the word back was President Obama doesn't have the time to meet with the five daughters, which I found to be and continue to find to be appalling.

Meanwhile, when Hu Jintao came to the United States, he met with the President and was asked questions about human rights at their joint press conference. And the Washington Post did a scathing editorial in which they wrote President Obama makes Hu Jintao look good on rights. And as was observed by the Washington Post on January 19, 2011, the most significant statements at the joint news conference of Obama and President Hu Jintao on Wednesday came in response to questions about human rights. They point out that Hu Jintao was more forthright, that it was our President who defended the situation in China. Mr. Obama retreated to the administration's approach to minimize the issue. He says there has been an evolution in China over the last 30 years. Yeah, it has been a deterioration. They have had economic gains, definitely military and security gains, at the expense of fundamental human rights.

And Dr. Yang, you made an excellent point that as far back as 1992 that the three realities of Deng Xiaoping, one of them, the third one you say was to rely on capitalizing on the dark side and evil side of human nature, spoiling the elite in exchange for their loyalty. So give them money, and they are the colonels who take off their uniforms and then run a business on the side, and they make money hand over fist and repress the people. They also point out that the President never mentioned Gao, did not bring up Liu Xiaobo, the Nobel Peace Prize winner. And it is just a scathing editorial. Without objection, I will put it in the record. But missed opportunities.

He wouldn't meet with the five daughters. I don't know what he is going to say. He is the leader of the free world, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, and it seems to me—and again, Mr. Wolf and I, time and again when George Bush had his 8 years in the White House, when he wanted to go to the Olympics, we demanded that he meet with the dissidents before he went to the Olympic Games. We went over and raised human rights with everyone with whom we met. Missed opportunities. We can't enable dictatorship.

Sadly, I think President Obama and even Hillary Clinton, on her first trip to China as Secretary of State, she said I am not going to let human rights interfere with global climate change talks and selling the United States' debt. So, you know, the Post, hardly a conservative newspaper, took the President to task and hope springs eternal, he can change, he can pivot. Our President needs to speak boldly, and he has not done so. And I hope maybe he will. The 25th anniversary certainly is an engraved invitation for him to do so.

I will also just make one other point and then yield to my colleagues. You mentioned, Mr. Zhou, about visas. I wrote a law in 2000 that says we will withhold visas to those who were involved or complicit in any way with the forced abortion policy of the People's Republic of China. We checked with the Congressional Research Service and asked how many visas have been denied? And this is during the 8 years of George W. Bush as well. Less than 30. So again, we have an example now of a law that is not being enforced. And there are people who are abusing women, the likes of which we have never seen, who we can at least deny a visa to, and send a message that we will not tolerate that kind of abuse. I would like to yield to Mr. Pittenger.

Mr. PITTENGER. Thank you very much, Chairman Smith. Major Yan Xiong, thank you for your service.

Major XIONG. Thank you, sir.

Mr. PITTENGER. What an amazing past that you have had. And the dedication and leadership that you gave to your own country is—surviving Tiananmen Square, and being in prison, and then, of course, coming to the United States, and after 2 years here serving in our military, and now a chaplain. What an amazing story. I would like to better understand, of course, you are very much involved in the underground church, of which I have been a part of for many, many years. And I would really like to understand the movement toward democracy and the freedom of religion, and what America can do to better encourage that. I have spoken out extensively, met with some of the Chinese leadership here, even at a dinner last night. And this is very much in my heart. As I said earlier, America has her own problems.

So I don't want to come in the spirit of being condescending. Ronald Reagan said it well, we have our own evil to deal with. But nonetheless, the church has grown exponentially in China under enormous oppression. It hasn't decreased, from what I have observed and known of. But I would really like to know further what we as Americans can do to help those fellow believers in China.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you for that. If you could, just so we don't miss with the vote. Mr. Weber, and if you can take notes and answer the questions if you would. Mr. Weber.

Mr. WEBER. Major, you said in your comments your disclaimer up front was that the views you were about to express were your own, and not the United States Army's. And my question is, how in the world do we get those views to be expressed by the United States Army, and even more deeply held, that kind of commitment to freedom and passion that you hold?

So don't ever apologize for that as long as I am around, because I think you are on to something. So I appreciate that. I think you

said that you spent some time in jail. So my question to you today is how did you feel the first few days when you spent time in jail? Were your efforts in vain? Did you have any way of knowing you would be—did you think or believe you would be here today? How did you feel a month later and then a year later? And are you able to share that back home with people who might be getting discouraged? I am going to let it go at that. We are short on time, Mr. Chairman. I am just going to let it go with that. I am very interested. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Weber, thank you. Mr. Stockman.

Mr. STOCKMAN. You know, I am very interested, Mr. Zhou; you were talking about the Internet, and I was interested in your opinions on the United States giving up control to Russia and China of ICANN. As you are probably aware, or maybe not aware, we decided to abdicate our responsibilities, and we are going to allow China and Russia to help control the Internet. Also, I would like to know which companies in the United States, some of which I think are Cisco and some others, have given routers and systems to track down dissidents in China. I would like you to, if you could, or anybody here on the panel, could describe which of those companies in the United States are helping the PLA suppress individual rights? Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Stockman. Chairman Rohrabacher.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I would just like to express my solidarity with you again. And you should never feel that you are alone. And I send this message to the people of China through you, that we, some of us, I share your Christian faith, but I think you could be atheist, or be Buddhist, or be other faiths as well, because what we are talking about is the basic freedom for people to make those choices, their spiritual choices that really count. And I am embarrassed that some people in my own party put money and profit over those values that our country stands for. But believe me, there are many, many other Americans who are willing to sacrifice even economic profit in order to reach out and stand in solidarity with brothers and sisters who are struggling for liberty and justice in China and elsewhere. So I just would like to express that solidarity to you and to the people of China through you. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Chairman Rohrabacher, thank you very much. I would like to yield to the chairman of the Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Mr. Wolf, who by the way was on the floor until past midnight last night with his appropriations bill after what, 15 hours of debating amendments to that. So grateful that he was able to make it today.

Mr. WOLF. Well, thank you. I don't have a question. I just want to thank you for your tenacity and your bravery and your courage. And I found the testimony fascinating. And really I just want to thank you. I want to thank you. And secondly, I want to—and this really, the idea came from Mr. Rohrabacher. I want to thank Mr. Smith. Dana said Mr. Smith should be nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. And Mr. Smith has done more on these issues than any other Member of Congress that I have ever served with. So I just want to thank Mr. Smith for being tenacious and just staying

there. I think did Dana has a great idea. I think Members ought to circulate a letter nominating Mr. Smith for the Nobel Peace Prize. But again, thank you for your courage.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wolf, thank you very much for that. But frankly, we are here to hear from the five heroes from Tiananmen Square. If you could begin to answer some of those questions. Dr. Yang.

Mr. YANG. Thank you. I totally agree with you, Congressman Frank Wolf, about Congressman Smith, our great leader here. And I want to respond to your comments about the missed opportunities. Truly, there were missed opportunities in the 1990s in the aftermath of the Tiananmen massacre. As we can remember, just not long after the end of the Cold War, China was very weak, was very much in need of almost everything from Western democracies, especially the United States, economically, politically. And China was very isolated because of the massacre. But I think there was a theory prevailing, and even it is prevailing today, that China's economic progress in trade would inevitably result in more political freedom and guarantee the basic human rights. But the experience of what happened in China in the past 25 years certainly has not proved the theory.

The theory does not seem to work in China, at least does not work in the time framework that we want it. There is something missing there. And in 1989, we did have opportunity for an autocratic regime to collapse or to have a major change in the political system. Usually, it takes three conditions to become present at a certain time: Political crisis, viable democracy movement, and international support. Of course, there was political crisis for the regime. And the democracy movement at that time, at least for that 2 months, was very viable. But what we were lacking at that time was strong enough international support.

So international community, of course, all together condemned the massacre, but the international community did not realize that China's people's desires for freedom were really strong and real. And the moment was there. But we missed that moment. And over the past 25 years, the international calculus, not only the Chinese intellectual elite and economic elite, have been co-opted by the Chinese Government. International capitalists have also been co-opted.

And I always tell my friends China now is holding China as hostage, and also at the same time, abduct the international capitalists. And these international capitalists come back to their own countries, for example, the U.S., acting as apologists and lobbyists for China's Government. That is what is happening. So what can we do about it? I think it will never be too late to do the right thing. And yesterday, the congressional highest level bipartisan press conference made it clear that human rights are never partisan issues. So, you know, this is a great sign that two parties, the leaders of two parties come together to get the right message across to China and the rest of the world.

And that we remember what the heroes did in China, and we know that their demands have not been fulfilled in China. So the cause is going on. And we, I mean the U.S. and Americans, should openly and expressly express support for the activists in China. And as my friend Zhou Fengsuo said, the U.S. Congress should pass a bill to have a travel ban on those individual human rights

violators in China. And in the past year, the Congress passed the Magnitsky law, which imposed on the Russian human rights abusers a travel ban and also a freeze of assets. We should have a similar bill about China. China, in many ways, is a much worse human rights abuser. So I think that we have a lot to do together to improve China's human rights situation. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much. I just point out, before going to the other answers, we are working on a bill that would do just that. But secondly, we have called on the Obama administration to enforce the law as it exists today, which bars visas to those who are complicit in the horrific one-child-per-couple forced abortion policy. And they have not enforced the law, sadly. But we will follow up. And I know you know we are working on that. It is a great idea. Thank you.

Mr. YANG. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Major XIONG. Good morning, sir. Thank you so much for your encouragement. And I am very grateful to be here today, and I am very grateful to be a U.S. citizen. I am so proud to serve our country for 20 years. However, by God's grace, and with your help, someday I still have my dream to come back to China and fight for democracy, human rights, and freedom. Of course, we trust in God. To answer your question, the first question I remember, it is what can we do for helping the Chinese house church or other religious groups? We can do a lot of things. When you have a voice, you have authority, and you really have a wonderful influence on China. Even that bad government, they pay attention to you. And when you say one word. Presently in the jails they get a little bit better, the conditions. It is all we can do. Concretely, I have some suggestions for all of you.

You know, in China right now even the Communists can still persecute any religious group. But by God's grace, a lot of people, they know the real Creator is not of the Communist Party, is not of the political party. So more and more people, they turn to God. So U.S. Congress can do first, continue to pay attention to those who are persecuted. And I think maybe you can give a little bit more visas to the ministers, the religious leaders. It will be easier to come to U.S. with a visa to this country and get a formal religious or theological training or study. That is really good.

Of course, we still pay more attention to those who are persecuted right now in jail. That is we can do a lot of things. I can say, well, you say one word here. Oh, that is a lot of influence, good influence on the world. That is the first question.

The second question I remember, you asked me my personal experience. Of course, when I was in jail, the PLA, the enemy, used an AK-47 and hit on my back. At that moment, it seemed the whole world, the U.S., should pay attention to the prisoners, the students in jail. So relatively it is much, much better than if we do not pay attention. I know some cases right now. When we do not pay attention their prison conditions are horrible. Physical abuse, physical torture, unreasonable torture that you can't imagine. So please, please. Can you imagine, I still have too many inmates that are still in jail right now. Of course they are released, then put in jail again, like Mr. Chao Wei, Mr. Chou Chen. They are my inmates. They are still in jail right now. The names, Wo

Ping Chang, Liu Xiaobo, Cho Mi, a long list. So please pay attention to them, and you can save them. And another thing, another question I would like to answer is talk about U.S. Army, oh, I love U.S. Army. I was so proud to serve as an Army chaplain, a major.

Of course as an Army soldier, I can exactly 100 percent follow the Army regulations. But if they still give me the floor, they still encourage me, but the opinion or the view today, I am just representing myself. That is how I am going to answer your question, sir. Personally, I really—I have one personal story. The Communist persecution happens in different ways. Like myself, I haven't been able to see my mother for many, many years.

A couple years ago, every time I want to call my mother, my mother repeated one question. Of course, she speaks Chinese. She says, my son, when are you going to come see me? I said momma, very soon. The spring of next year. But recently, she do not ask that question more when I call her. When I call her, momma, I am Yan Xiong, your second son. She hung up the telephone. My father told me she lost most of her memory and cannot recognize me any more. I preach in the chapel, I will say, you know, when we get into heaven, my mother will recognize me. I say, hey, that is my son. When I get in heaven I will say, hey, that is my mother. That is our hope. But a lot of tragedy. As my best friend, Mr. Chin Chin will say, He experiences, we all listen. When we have a voice here, when you have a voice here, China will be changing. Thank you so much, sir.

Mr. PITTINGER. Thank you.

Major XIONG. Thank you.

Ms. CHAI. I would like to address two questions. Do we have missed opportunities? And the second one, yeah, how can America do more to support? Yes, America indeed missed a great opportunity from the very beginning on the night of June 4th. I was there with my last 5,000 students in Tiananmen Square. My position at the time was commander-in-chief of the Defending Tiananmen Square committee, while my colleague was blocking troops on the streets. We stood on Tiananmen Square until 6 a.m. We were hoping America would come to help us. And America never came.

I was heartbroken, after 10 months in hiding, after spending 105 hours in a cargo box, until I was able to finally come to America. The first thing I did was come to Congressman Chris Smith, and your hearing, and I asked, "Where is America?" I did not get an answer. Later on, when the former Ambassador to China, James Lilley, came back, I went to see him. I said, sir, why? Why did America not come? And he said, off the record, "They do not care." I was heartbroken. But that was the unfortunate truth, because at the time, President George Herbert Walker Bush sent Scowcroft immediately after the massacre. Scowcroft went to visit not the people, not the victims in prison, not the victims' families, but the dictators who ordered the massacre.

I visited Vice President Dan Quayle. I expressed my deep regret and disappointment. He apologized, and said, "We are sorry." But that was not enough to represent who America was supposed to be, which is one Nation under God. What we were supposed to do was act justly and have mercy for the Lord our God. That is the Amer-

ica we knew. That is the America we had hoped for. That has not been the America I've known the past 25 years.

So today is a new day. It is a different day. Starting from yesterday, when Speaker Boehner, and Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi, and Congressman Chris Smith, came together, you came together representing this great, amazing Nation to support those who struggle and fight for freedom but have not given up hope. The most beautiful thing is that even though America did not come, God came to America. God came to each one of us, each of us with our undying, unshaking hope.

Mr. Pittenger, I love what you just said here. Belief. I would encourage you all to speak about your belief to the Chinese and to Americans. I do not understand America's First Amendment to prohibit government to promote a religion, but also to not prohibit any religion. I was in America for 19 years, and never heard God from the schools. I went to Princeton and Harvard. I went to entrepreneurship, Wall Street, and consulting firms. I went to Congress. I read media reports. I rarely heard about God, and rarely heard about Jesus. I had to come to faith through hearing the story of a man, a Chinese house church leader who was persecuted in China over and over again, and because of his faith, God has done amazing miracles. He was sent to prison and he fasted for food and water for 74 days. God did not allow him to die, but restored him to life.

The third time he was in prison, his two legs were broken. He cried out to Jesus saying, "You want me to preach? How can I do that?" He felt Jesus come in and say get up and go. He got up 8 a.m. in the morning. Facing all of the machine guns staring at him, he walked past the guards and through three metal gates. The guards saw him, but did not stop him. He came to the street. A cab driver came to him, saying, "Where do you want to go?" He said, "I was given this address in my dream. Go there." By the time they got to that place, the brothers and sisters said, "Brother, the Lord gave us the news that you would be coming here. We shall prepare a hiding place for you. And let's go there."

Within half an hour, he was escorted from prison into a safe house. When he sat down to eat his breakfast, he realized his legs were healed. That was the moment I realized that this God is the God I have been searching all my life. I was a Buddhist when I was being rescued by those courageous Buddhist people in China who risked their own life to save mine because they believed in saving lives above all other callings. They didn't even want to kill mosquitoes. That is why they risked their lives to save me. They became the first two people that expanded to a 200 people network. But during this 10-month intense search, while there was a great reward out there for my head, none of these families betrayed me.

And so I thought I would witness. Until one day, I was witnessed to by Jesus, and started asking questions, "Is your Jesus similar to or different than my Buddha?" And I was finally given a chance to know this God and walk with God. And I do encourage all American leaders to exercise your freedom of speech and freedom of religion, and to not only share your faith, but also work on your faith with your policies, with your decisions, and with your support. Thank you.

Mr. PITTENGER. God bless you, my sister. I am honored to be called your brother in Christ. And I apologize for how we have gravely disappointed you and many other believers. I hope we can do better.

Ms. CHAI. Thank you so much. I am also a sinner, so I forgive the American leaders, just as I have forgiven the leaders of China and the soldiers who killed us. But with God, I have hope for truth and reconciliation one day.

Mr. PITTENGER. I hear your spirit, and I sense that from Major Xiong, of his spirit of forgiveness and understanding of those who wrongfully hurt him in the past as well. Thank you.

Ms. CHAI. Thank you. Thank you, brother.

Mr. ZHOU. Talking about lost opportunities, I think China joining WTO was a major event. And prior to that, Mr. Bush's secret mission to Deng Xiaoping after a few months after Tiananmen massacre, these two events to me I think basically changed the landscape of a lot of things. I was released during the first debate of Most Favored Nation status here in the United States, the first year after Tiananmen massacre, a week before that. And together with me, many others were released. When China joined WTO, this leverage was lost completely. And for now, I think the international community has not figured out a way to deal with these corrupting force in global trade and investment, where on one side you have this totally terror regime which uses trade and investments as a weapon to promote their values, and you have U.S. policy that is not dealing with it.

For example, you know, Microsoft in their Bing search, they will ban something completely irrelevant just because it is very remotely related to the tank man image in China. This is a U.S. company that is following the dictatorship of Beijing. And you also have brave companies like Google who refuse to do business in China, to stand up for its principles. Talking about lost opportunities, I reflect on this a lot. I think for our protesters, there were a lot of opportunities. The Tiananmen massacre was a tragedy that a small faction of the ruling families clustered around Deng Xiaoping, mastermind of the massacre, without a proper procedure even within the Communist Party. And it overruled even its own, the majority of its own people. Hida Talxian, for example, stayed with the protesters on Tiananmen Square. I don't think the troops will come. And also, even this year I had the honor or pleasure of meeting the daughter of a high ranking official who openly rejected the Tiananmen massacre, objected to it, and lost his position. And what is even more encouraging is that 2, 3 years later, the Chinese Congress, the Ren Da, when they vote they show their support to this guy by rejecting the party-nominated member. And today, I mean this year, I just realized this happened to another province too, where when there was an election, even the party-controlled assembly, they voted down someone who was with the killing and voted for the people who are against it.

So it was a losing opportunity for Chinese. It is a small, tiny portion of the ruling class that overruled the people's will, and even the majority of the Communists. And even today, Tiananmen protests remains one issue that can unify Chinese for a better China. This is where there is majority support from the ordinary people,

and anyone who is sincere about reform in China. I am pretty sure about that. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Let me just ask, we do have the call to the floor for the votes, and then any final comments by my colleagues. About 8 years ago, I chaired a series of hearings, we had Cisco, Microsoft, Yahoo!, and Google, and he swore them all in, because they were infamously censoring practically everything that went on the Internet, and doing other things, particularly Cisco, in helping with the ability for command and control for the secret police, which was a terrible enabling. I showed on the TV, we did a live demonstration using the Google search engine for China, and typed in Tiananmen.

We got nothing but pretty pictures, including the Secretary of Commerce from the United States, happy people. Nothing whatsoever about Tiananmen Square either on the images part or on the actual search engine for news or Web site information. All blocked by U.S. companies. I asked a series of questions. They couldn't give me a reason why they were doing it other than they are following Chinese law. So censorship remains a huge problem.

Dr. Yang, you might want to very briefly speak to the fact that people in China still don't know, particularly the young people who are brought up in a totally propagandized country, where the Internet and the great firewall precludes that information, how do we pierce that wall to get the information?

Secondly, Xi Jinping has said that China suffers "moral decay," and yet the persecutions of the Christians, particularly the underground Christian church, the Uyghurs Muslims, the Falun Gong, and the Buddhists in Tibet, has gotten exponentially worse in the last few years. It was already bad. And yet Frank Wolf, who wrote the International Religious Freedom Act, the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom chairman, Robbie George, testified May 22nd, right here, and said that we have not had a designation of CPC (Country of Particular Concern), egregious violators, since 2011. And that means China, and the enforcement, and in the bill that Mr. Wolf wrote, there are approximately 18 enforcement actions which are very significant are not being applied to China or anywhere else as a direct result of that. We practically begged the administration to get serious about religious persecution globally, including especially in China, but they have not even renewed the designations of the eight countries that were on the list, and the other eight that ought to be on it according to the Commission. Would you speak to that, maybe Dr. Yang? And again, you mentioned the Internet, Mr. Zhou. And anybody else. My colleagues want to make any final comment before we go?

Mr. YANG. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. China, like all autocracies, continues its rule depending on lies and violence and corruption. And so controlling information is the major strategy that helps to continue its rule. So information is power. It is very important. But what I want to say first, before I get to the Internet, is that people do not have to know Tiananmen massacre to know the truth of their government. Because they live this government in everyday life. So they understand the nature of the government. So they demand for dignity and freedom. So they don't have to know the truth about the massacre, the Tiananmen massacre to know the situation in China.

But anyway, information will help them to stand up for their rights. So I heard that the bill going on introduced in the House about helping the Internet freedom in China with a big budget. And we really, at this moment, want to call on all the Congressional Members and the leaders to realize the importance of Internet freedom for the people on the ground in China. And these resources can help the people develop technology needed, necessary for people to get around the firewall, to get information forbidden by the Chinese Government. So thank you for support for that bill. And I want to come back to the topic which you talked about earlier. And unlike my friends Chai Ling, Yan Xiong, and Zhou Fengsuo, I am not naturalized. I am not a U.S. citizen, I am a Chinese citizen still. And I don't think I am in the position to criticize the U.S. Government and American people for not doing enough for us.

So a democracy movement must be homegrown. We must do our own job. But what I want to talk about is not that. Some people believe that the United States cannot press China on human rights issues because the U.S. seeks China's cooperation on economic and national security issues. So we are talking about the national interests of the U.S. When we are talking about national interests of U.S., we all talk about the economic business opportunity for American capitalists in China. So, you know, if Americans do not do business there, if we don't cooperate with the Chinese Government, others will go as well. But I often urge my American friends, here, you are my American friends, and you are in military service, have you ever done a calculation how much American taxpayers' money would be saved if China became democratic?

So remember, China is a dictatorship. With its fast economic growth, military expansion, its recent behavior in Southeast Asia is really disturbing. So I want to ask this question again. Have you done any calculation on how much money would be saved if China became democratic? This is about the national interests of this country, not about Chinese citizens. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wolf, we are out of time regrettably with the votes having begun. I ask unanimous consent that Pastor Bob Fu's statement be made a part of the record.

I have always believed that it takes two essential elements for a dictatorship to prosper, sadly, and those are to control the flow of information, propaganda, and secret police, and when we enable either of those, and we have enabled without any reasonable doubt the propaganda side through our own self-censorship through these corporations, we have done a grave injustice to the Chinese people.

We are out of time I deeply regret, but I want to thank all of you for your extraordinary humanitarian service to your fellow sufferers in China, because I am sure the burden that you carry is very deep and very strong, but also to the rest of the world because China is spreading its bad governance model to much of Africa. I have held hearings on how they are enabling dictatorships like in Sudan with Bashir and many others, so a free and democratic China will be a force for good not just for the Chinese people, but for the rest of the globe, and I think we have to redouble our efforts as never before on the 25th anniversary.

I disagree with President Obama that they have made progress in the last 30 years. They have made significant, significant regression, and it is a race to the bottom with North Korea when it comes to human rights, and it is about time this country spoke out with some boldness to think that Liu Xiaobo, and I was one of the ones, I led the effort in Congress to name him as Nobel Peace Prize winner. We had two others on that, Chang Gaungcheng and Gao Zhisheng, and really all of you should be on that as well as prisoners of conscience and as men and women of great, great character.

Liu Xiaobo is in prison, and the President doesn't raise that effectively, never publicly when he is with Xi Jinping or anybody else. Those days of hiding under the sand have to change, and this is a new appeal to the President, and again meet with those five daughters, and that he should meet with the five of you at the White House to talk about human rights in China, and we will make that request as well. Thank you. The hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:32 a.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

**SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING NOTICE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6128**

**Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International
Organizations
Christopher H. Smith (R-NJ), Chairman**

May 30, 2014

TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to be held by the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations in Room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building (and available live on the Committee website at www.foreignaffairs.house.gov):

DATE: Friday, May 30, 2014

TIME: 9:30 a.m.

SUBJECT: Tiananmen 25 Years Later: Leaders Who Were There

WITNESSES: Ms. Chai Ling
Founder
All Girls Allowed

Yang Jianli, Ph.D.
President
Initiatives for China

Major Yan Xiong, USA
Author

Mr. Zhou Fongsuo
Co-Founder
Humanitarian China

Mr. Chen Qinglin
Activist

By Direction of the Chairman

The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202/225-5621 at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.



COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON *Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations* HEARING

Day Friday Date May 30, 2014 Room 2172 Rayburn HOB

Starting Time 9:31 a.m. Ending Time 11:31 a.m.

Recesses 0 (to) (to) (to) (to) (to) (to)

Presiding Member(s)

Rep. Chris Smith

Check all of the following that apply:

Open Session Electronically Recorded (taped)
Executive (closed) Session Stenographic Record
Televised

TITLE OF HEARING:

Tiananmen 25 Years Later: Leaders Who Were There

SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

Rep. Randy Weber, Rep. Mark Meadows, Rep. Steve Stockman

NON-SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT: (Mark with an * if they are not members of full committee.)

Rep. Robert Pittenger*, Rep. Dana Rohrabacher, Rep. Frank Wolf*

HEARING WITNESSES: Same as meeting notice attached? Yes No
(If "no", please list below and include title, agency, department, or organization.)

STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: (List any statements submitted for the record.)

Statement by Yang Jianli at 1996 hearing, submitted by Rep. Chris Smith
Document 9 Communique, submitted by Dr. Yang Jianli
Washington Post editorial, submitted by Rep. Chris Smith
Statement by Pastor Bob Fu, submitted by Rep. Chris Smith
Statement by Chen Qinglin, submitted by Rep. Chris Smith

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE _____

or
TIME ADJOURNED 11:31 a.m.

Gregory B. Simpkins
Subcommittee Staff Director

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY YANG JIANLI, PH.D., PRESIDENT,
INITIATIVES FOR CHINA

Communiqué on the Current State of the Ideological Sphere

A Notice from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China's General Office

Provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the Party committee, Central ministries and state organs, Party ministries, People's Liberation Army headquarters, major Party committees, and Party leadership groups of civilian organizations: This notice "A Communiqué on the Current State of the Ideological Sphere" has been approved by the central leadership, and is herewith distributed to you. Please thoroughly implement its suggestions.

April 22, 2013

(This document has been sent to local divisional levels)

Introduction

Since the Party's Eighteenth National Congress, under General Secretary Xi Jinping's strong central leadership, the nation triumphantly convened the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Party's and nation's various undertakings have made a good start, and the general mood of the Party and Government has been constantly improving. Cohesion among our nation's people has become stronger and our confidence in our path, our theory, and our system has become more resolute. Mainstream ideology is becoming healthier and more vigorous. The spirit of the Party's Eighteenth National Congress and General Secretary Xi Jinping's series of important speeches have unified the thought of the entire Party, the entire country, and the entire people enormously. The ideological foundation of our united struggle is unceasingly solidifying.

The new session of the central leadership group has: put forth a series of new principles for conduct in political administration, furnished an interpretation of the Chinese dream of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, improved our work-style, maintained close ties with the masses, rigorously enforced diligence and thrift, opposed extravagance and waste, increased vigor in the fight against corruption, and won the widespread endorsement of cadres and the masses. We persist in upholding scientific development as the main theme, accelerating economic transformation as the main thread, and increasing the quality and efficiency of the economy as the core. The outlook for our nation's economic development continues to be favorable, and the people's faith in China's economic prospects has risen. In an effort to improve the people's livelihood, we are putting forth new measures to benefit the people so they may look forward to a better future: disseminating thought on the cultural front as the most important political task; studying, implementing, and advancing the spirit of the Eighteenth Party Congress; rapidly arousing mass fervor, proclaiming that socialism with Chinese characteristics and the Chinese dream are the main theme of our age; expanding and strengthening positive propaganda; strengthening guidance on deep-seated problems; strengthening the management of ideological fronts; promoting unification of thought; concentrating our strength and implementing the development of a positive atmosphere and providing spiritual strength to the party and nation.

Noteworthy Problems Related to the Current State of the Ideological Sphere

While fully approving of the Ideological mainstream, we must also clearly see the ideological situation as a complicated, intense struggle. Currently, the following false ideological trends, positions, and activities all deserve note:

1. Promoting Western Constitutional Democracy: An attempt to undermine the current leadership and the socialism with Chinese characteristics system of governance.

Western Constitutional Democracy has distinct political properties and aims. Among these are the separation of powers, the multi-party system, general elections, independent judiciaries, nationalized armies, and other characteristics. These are the capitalist class' concepts of a nation, political model, and system design. The concept of constitutional democracy originated a long time ago, and recently the idea has been hyped ever more frequently.

This is mainly expressed the following ways: In commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the enactment of the [Chinese] Constitution, [some people] hold up the banners of "defending the constitution" and "rule of law." They attack the Party's leaders for placing themselves above the constitution, saying China "has a constitution but no constitutional government." Some people still use the phrase "constitutional dream" to distort the Chinese dream of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, saying things like "constitutional democracy is the only way out" and "China should catch up with the rest of the world's trend toward constitutional governance." The point of publicly proclaiming Western constitutional democracy's key points is to oppose the party's leadership and implementation of its constitution and laws. Their goal is to use Western constitutional democracy to undermine the Party's leadership, abolish the People's Democracy, negate our country's constitution as well as our established system and principles, and bring about a change of allegiance by bringing Western political systems to China.

2. Promoting "universal values" in an attempt to weaken the theoretical foundations of the Party's leadership.

The goal of espousing "universal values" is to claim that the West's value system defies time and space, transcends nation and class, and applies to all humanity.

This is mainly expressed in the following ways: [The people who espouse universal values] believe Western freedom, democracy, and human rights are universal and eternal. This is evident in their distortion of the Party's own promotion of democracy, freedom, equality, justice, rule of law, and other such values; their claim that the CCP's acceptance of universal values is a victory for universal values," that "the West's values are the prevailing norm for all human civilization," that "only when China accepts Western values will it have a future," and that "Reform and Opening is just a process of gradually accepting universal rights."

Given Western nations' long-term dominance in the realms of economics, military affairs, science, and technology, these arguments can be confusing and deceptive. The goal [of such slogans] is to obscure the essential differences between the West's value system and the value system we advocate, ultimately using the West's value systems to supplant the core values of Socialism.

3. Promoting civil society in an attempt to dismantle the ruling party's social foundation.

Civil society is a socio-political theory that originated in the West. It holds that in the social sphere, individual rights are paramount and ought to be immune to obstruction by the state. For

the past few years, the idea of *civil society* has been adopted by Western anti-China forces and used as a political tool. Additionally, some people with ulterior motives within China have begun to promote these ideas.

This is mainly expressed in the following ways:

Promoting civil society and Western-style theories of governance, they claim that building a civil society in China is a precondition for the protection of individual rights and forms the basis for the realization of constitutional democracy. Viewing civil society as a magic bullet for advancing social management at the local level, they have launched all kinds of so-called citizen's movements.

Advocates of civil society want to squeeze the Party out of leadership of the masses at the local level, even setting the Party against the masses, to the point that their advocacy is becoming a serious form of political opposition.

4. Promoting Neoliberalism, attempting to change China's Basic Economic System.

Neoliberalism advocates unrestrained economic liberalization, complete privatization, and total marketization and it opposes any kind of interference or regulation by the state. Western countries, led by the United States, carry out their Neoliberal agendas under the guise of "globalization," visiting catastrophic consequences upon Latin America, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe, and have also dragged themselves into the international financial crisis from they have yet to recover.

This is mainly expressed in the following ways:

[Neoliberalism's advocates] actively promote the "market omnipotence theory." They claim our country's macroeconomic control is strangling the market's efficiency and vitality and they oppose public ownership, arguing that China's state-owned enterprises are "national monopolies," inefficient, and disruptive of the market economy, and should undergo "comprehensive privatization." These arguments aim to change our country's basic economic infrastructure and weaken the government's control of the national economy.

5. Promoting the West's idea of journalism, challenging China's principle that the media and publishing system should be subject to Party discipline.

Some people, under the pretext of espousing "freedom of the press," promote the West's idea of journalism and undermine our country's principle that the media should be infused with the spirit of the Party.

This is mainly expressed in the following ways:

Defining the media as "society's public instrument" and as the "Fourth Estate," attacking the Marxist view of news and promote the "free flow of information on the Internet," slandering our country's efforts to improve Internet management by calling them a crackdown on the Internet; claiming that the media is not governed by the rule of law but by the arbitrary will of the leadership; and calling for China to promulgate a Media Law based on Western principles. [Some people] also claim that China restricts freedom of the press and bang on about abolishing propaganda departments. The ultimate goal of advocating the West's view of the media is to

hawk the principle of abstract and absolute freedom of press, oppose the Party's leadership in the media, and gouge an opening through which to infiltrate our ideology.

6. Promoting historical nihilism, trying to undermine the history of the CCP and of New China.

The goal of historical nihilism, in the guise of "reassessing history," is to distort Party history and the history of New China.

This is mainly expressed in the following ways:

Rejecting the revolution; claiming that the revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party resulted only in destruction; denying the historical inevitability in China's choice of the Socialist road, calling it the wrong path, and the Party's and new China's history a "continuous series of mistakes"; rejecting the accepted conclusions on historical events and figures, disparaging our Revolutionary precursors, and vilifying the Party's leaders. Recently, some people took advantage of Comrade Mao Zedong's 120th birthday in order to deny the scientific and guiding value of Mao Zedong thought. Some people try to cleave apart the period that preceded Reform and Opening from the period that followed, or even to set these two periods in opposition to one another. By rejecting CCP history and the history of New China, historical nihilism seeks to fundamentally undermine the CCP's historical purpose, which is tantamount to denying the legitimacy of the CCP's long-term political dominance.

7. Questioning Reform and Opening and the socialist nature of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

For the past several years, the discussion of reform has been unceasing, with all kinds of voices joining one after another. Some views clearly deviate from socialism with Chinese characteristics.

This is mainly expressed in the following ways:

Some blame the contradictions and problems of development on Reform and Opening. They say "Reform and opening up has gone too far" and that "we have deviated from our Socialist orientation." They question whether or not what China is doing now still truly is Socialism, or they just call it "Capitalist Socialism," "State Capitalism," or "New Bureaucratic Capitalism." Others say "reform is still distant and hasn't be realized" or that "reform of the political system lags behind and obstructs reform of the economy." They bang on about how we should use Western standards to achieve so-called "thorough reform." Essentially, they oppose the general and specific policies emanating from the road taken at the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress and they oppose socialism with Chinese characteristics.

These mistaken views and ideas exist in great numbers in overseas media and reactionary publications. They penetrate China through the Internet and underground channels and they are disseminated on domestic internet forums, blogs, and microblogs. They also appear in public lectures, seminars, university classrooms, class discussion forums, civilian study groups, and individual publications. If we allow any of these ideas to spread, they will disturb people's existing consensus on important issues like which flag to raise, which road to take, which goals to pursue, etc., and this will disrupt our nation's stable progress on reform and development.

Western anti-China forces and internal "dissidents" are still actively trying to infiltrate China's ideological sphere and challenge our mainstream ideology. Some of their latest major efforts

include: Some people have disseminated open letters and declarations and have organized petition-signings to vocalize requests for political reforms, improvement of human rights, release of "political prisoners," "reversing the verdict on '6/4'[the Tiananmen Massacre]," and other such political demands; they have made a fuss over asset disclosure by officials, fighting corruption with the Internet, media supervision of government, and other sensitive hot-button issues, all of which stoke dissatisfaction with the Party and government. Western embassies, consulates, media operations, and NGOs operating inside China under various covers are spreading Western ideas and values and are cultivating so-called "anti-government forces." Cooking up anti-government publications overseas. Within China's borders, some private organizations are creating reactionary underground publications, and still others are filming documentaries on sensitive subject matter, disseminating political rumors, and defaming the party and the national leadership. Those manipulating and hyping the Tibetan self-immolations, manufacturing the violent terrorist attacks in Xinjiang, and using the ethnic and religious issues to divide and break up [the nation]. Accelerating infiltration of the Internet and illegal gatherings within our borders. "Dissidents" and people identified with "rights protection" are active. Some of them are working together with Western anti-China forces, echoing each other and relying on each other's support. This clearly indicates that the contest between infiltration and anti-infiltration efforts in the ideological sphere is as severe as ever, and so long as we persist in CCP leadership and socialism with Chinese characteristics, the position of Western anti-China forces to pressure for urgent reform won't change, and they'll continue to point the spearhead of Westernizing, splitting, and "Color Revolutions" at China. In the face of these threats, we must not let down our guard or decrease our vigilance.

Pay Close Attention to Work in the Ideological Sphere.

Historical experience has proven that failures in the economic sphere can result in major disorder, and failure in the ideological sphere can result in major disorders as well. Confronting the very real threat of Western anti-China forces and their attempt at carrying out Westernization, splitting, and "Color Revolutions," and facing the severe challenge of today's ideological sphere, all levels of Party and Government, especially key leaders, must pay close attention to their work in the ideological sphere and firmly seize their leadership authority and dominance.

1. Strengthen leadership in the ideological sphere.

Party members and governments of all levels must become fully aware that struggles in the ideological sphere are perpetual, complex, and excruciating; you must strengthen awareness of the current political situation, big picture, responsibility, and risks. Leaders at all levels of government, you must strengthen your sense of responsibility—make work in the ideological sphere a high priority in your daily agenda, routinely analyze and study new developments in the ideological sphere, react swiftly and effectively, and preemptively resolve all problems in the ideological sphere.

2. Guide our party member and leaders to distinguish between true and false theories.

Forcefully resist influential and harmful false tides of thoughts, help people distinguish between truth and falsehood, and solidify their understanding. Party members, especially high-level leaders, must become adept at tackling problems from political, big-picture, strategic, and theoretical perspective. They must clearly recognize the essence of false ideas and viewpoints, both their theoretical falsehood and the practical political harm they can cause. We must have a firm approach and clear-cut stance toward major political principles, issues of right and wrong, what to support and what to oppose. We must uphold strict and clear discipline, maintaining a

high-level unity with the Party Central Committee under the leadership of General Secretary Xi Jinping in thought, political stance, and action. We must not permit the dissemination of opinions that oppose the Party's theory or political line, the publication of views contrary to decisions that represent the central leadership's views, or the spread of political rumors that defame the image of the Party or the nation.

3. Unwavering adherence to the principle of the Party's control of media.

The [principle of the Party's control of media] stems from our political system and the nature of our media. We must maintain the correct political direction. We must firmly hold fast to the principle of the media's Party spirit and social responsibility, and that in political matters it must be of one heart and mind with the Party. We must persist in correct guidance of public opinion, insisting that the correct political orientation suffuse every domain and process in political engagement, form, substance, and technology. We must give high priority to building both the leadership and rank and file in the sphere of media work. We need to strengthen education on the Marxist perspective of media to ensure that the media leadership is always firmly controlled by someone who maintains an identical ideology with the Party's Central Committee, under General Secretary Xi Jinping's leadership.

4. Conscientiously strengthen management of the ideological battlefield.

When facing sensitive events and complex puzzles in the ideological sphere, we should implement the principle that the people in charge assume responsibility and use territorial management.

We must reinforce our management of all types and levels of propaganda on the cultural front, perfect and carry out related administrative systems, and allow absolutely no opportunity or outlets for incorrect thinking or viewpoints to spread. Conscientiously implement the "Decision of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on Strengthening Information Protection on Networks," strengthen guidance of public opinion on the Internet, purify the environment of public opinion on the Internet. Improve and innovate our management strategies and methods to achieve our goals in a legal, scientific, and effective way.

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY THE HONORABLE CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH,
A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY, AND CHAIRMAN,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA, GLOBAL HEALTH, GLOBAL HUMAN RIGHTS, AND INTER-
NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Testimony of Dr. Jian-li Yang
Vice President, The Alliance for a Democratic China
Before The House Subcommittee of Human Rights
On General Chi's Comments on Tiananmen Square
December 18, 1996

My name is Jian-li Yang, a research associate at JFK School of Government at Harvard, vice president of the Alliance for a Democratic China. In 1989, I was a Ph.D. student at U.C. Berkeley and went back Beijing in the middle of the student demonstration to show support.

I am going, first of all, to report once more to the Congress on what I saw near Tiananmen Square on June Fourth, 1989.

The first time I heard the sound of guns was about 12:30 in the morning of June 4th. The sounds came from western Changan Street, the main east-west street in Beijing.

About one o'clock, I saw a truck of soldiers. The soldiers got out and started firing automatic weapons at the people. At the same time, the soldiers fired tear gas at the crowd. Each time they fired weapons, three or four people were hit, and each time the crowd went down on the ground.

We were there for about half an hour. I saw 13 people killed. After that group of soldiers left, I saw lots of trucks and tanks moving toward Tiananmen Square.

There was one time when it was a bit quiet. We moved closer to an army truck. We grabbed onto the truck and tried to persuade the soldiers not to shoot by saying: "You are the people's army, you cannot shoot at the people. Don't be a killing machine."

We sang the Internationale to try to move them. We all cried as we sang. But the soldiers showed no response. We became angry. We shouted, "Down with Fascists, Down with Deng Xiaoping!" One officer drew his gun and shot dead a young man who was standing about nine feet from me.

Another time I saw a Xinjiang student who was walking after a military vehicle. He yelled, "You have already killed one hundred twenty one people in Muxudi. My four best friends have died in my arms. Shoot me too." We saw he was covered in blood.

I saw many people killed on Changan Street. About six in the morning, it was already light. I was on my bike, and walking with me were some students who had retreated from

Tiananmen and were returning to their schools. As we arrived at Changan Street, I saw four tanks coming from the square going west at very high speed. The two tanks in front were chasing students. They ran over the students. Everyone was screaming. We counted eleven bodies.

The soldiers in the third tank threw tear gas towards us. The fourth tank fired at us with machine guns. They hit four or five people. After the tanks had passed, some people collected the bodies. I saw two bodies very close: one male student and one female. I got a good look at them; they were flat. Their bodies were all bloody. Their mouths were pressed into long shapes. Their eyes were flat and big.

General Chi Haotian's comments were blatant and boldfaced lies. We should not be surprised for he is member of China's Dictatorship which has always used lying as a method to protect itself.

We may at this time not be fully aware of what role Chi Haotian played in the Massacre. However, we do know the role that the Chinese military played at that time. And let's keep in mind that General Chi Haotian was visiting the United States as a representative of that same military. Why then, was he given such a warm and cordial reception while representing such an organization that so brutally crushes aspirations for freedom in China.

This leads me to ponder two more questions: 1) How far will the United States' Government tolerate the deterioration of human rights situation in China to go before the current policy is changed? 2) What kind of China do American policymakers really think is in the best long term interests of the United States?

I do not oppose the policy to engage in dialogue with the current Chinese Government. However, I do strongly oppose any and all policies that ignore or have no concern with the situation of human rights in the People's Republic of China.

Certain current American policy makers seem to be guided by the belief that democracies will be automatically established in societies where there exists a high level of economic development together with a broadly educated populace.

However, I believe this thinking to be wrong. As an example, I cite developments in Hong Kong. Although Hong Kong has economic development and an educated populace similar to western standards, China plans to eradicate it's democratically elected legislature after it takes control next year. While CCP, the Chinese Communist Party, seeks to encourage similar economic level of development as Hong Kong's throughout China, it is simultaneously planning to suppress democracy and human

rights to "bring Hong Kong in line" with the rest of China.

The Government of the United States should not be naive; Dictatorship will always oppose democracy. Economic development and a technically educated populace do not necessarily lead to an automatically democratizing society. This is especially true in China where side by side with economic development is continuous suppression of human rights, freedom of the press and the slightest development of democratic minded organization. One only needs to think of Nazi Germany to see that my point is true.

As far as American economic policy is concerned, let me add a few comments on this subject as well. How many American businessmen and corporations are able to conduct business in China in a way that would be normal and standard in say western Europe? Are the arbitrary and increasingly corrupt business practices in vogue in China today good for the long term interests of U.S. business.

Rather I believe U.S. business' long term interest is in a stable relationship built on common understanding, free and open market and democratic system of government. This will never happen while the Leninist-thinking Chinese Communist Party has power.

I close with a reference to history. Earlier this century, our great patriot, the man who also became known as the George Washington of China, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, approached the western democracies seeking support for his fight against the dictatorial government by Chinese war lords. Unfortunately, he was rebuffed by the western democracies because each of them kept a close relationship with a war lord and had a good deal of business interest in it. A great opportunity to build a Chinese-Western democratic partnership was lost.

In frustration, Dr. Sun turned to the Soviet Union. This in turn lead to series of events which resulted in the expansion of the CCP. Thus a disaster was born for both China and the West through the negligence and short sightedness of western policy makers and business communities.

Distinguished Committee members, history has warned us. I strongly urge you to heed those warnings and chart a new course for Chinese-American relations based on the reality that the long term interest of both of our two great countries is in a government in China that is democratic and espouses and implements rule of law.

Thank you for your time.

The Washington Post

President Obama makes Hu Jintao look good on rights

Wednesday, January 19, 2011; 7:25 PM

THE MOST significant statements at the joint news conference of President Obama and Chinese President Hu Jintao on Wednesday came in response to questions about human rights. Asked how China's abuse of its own people affected relations between the two countries, one of the two leaders responded in a perfunctory manner, offered excuses for Beijing and concluded that disagreement on human rights "doesn't prevent us from cooperating in these other critical areas." The other forthrightly stated that "a lot still needs to be done in China in terms of human rights." Disappointingly, that first speaker was Mr. Obama; the relatively honest statement came from Mr. Hu.

The president's remarks were surprising because his administration had indicated before Mr. Hu's state visit that it intended to make human rights a more central part of its China policy. In a speech last week, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton argued forcefully that as long as China represses freedoms, it will be unable to realize its potential. She cited the cases of imprisoned Nobel Peace Prize winner Liu Xiaobo and missing human rights lawyer Gao Zhisheng and said "those who advocate peacefully for reform within the constitution . . . should not be harassed or prosecuted."

But Mr. Obama retreated to the administration's previous approach, which has been to minimize the issue. In his prepared remarks, the president said he had raised human rights with Mr. Hu, but when invited by an Associated Press reporter to expand on the subject, he began with what sounded like an apology for the Chinese regime. "China has a different political system than we do. . . . China is at a different state of development than we are. We come from very different cultures and with very different histories." The president then said that the United States believed in the universality of rights such as freedom of speech, and that he had been "very candid with President Hu about these issues."

Then came more excuses for Beijing's record: "There has been an evolution in China over the last 30 years. My expectation is that 30 years from now we will have seen further evolution." He concluded with the assurance that the United States and China cooperate on many issues, and that the issue of human rights "doesn't prevent" such cooperation. The president made no mention of Mr. Gao, who has not been seen or heard from since last April, or Mr. Liu, who succeeded Mr. Obama as the Nobel Peace Prize winner. Their families could only conclude that China will pay no price for its persecution of the two men in its relations with the United States.

Mr. Hu, by contrast, was more forthcoming. He said "China recognizes and also respects the universality of human rights," before conceding that it had more to do. "We will continue our efforts to promote democracy and the rule of law," he said, adding that China was prepared to reopen a dialogue with the United States on human rights issues. In fact, human rights have regressed under Mr. Hu's administration, so his promises don't have much credibility. Yet Mr. Hu at least formally recognized the need to move toward democracy. Mr. Obama's failure to do the same made him look more tolerant of dictatorship than the president of China.

Statement for the Record of Bob Fu, Founder and President of China Aid
House Foreign Affairs Committee
Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights,
and International Organizations Hearing
“Tiananmen 25 Years Later: Leaders Who Were There”
May 30th, 2014

Mr. Chairman, Honorable Members of the Committee, and witnesses for the hearing, who are my friends and fellow advocates for freedom and human rights in China.

The Tiananmen Square massacre on June 4, 1989 brutally took the lives of innocent students and other Chinese citizens and exposed the marked deterioration of basic human rights and freedoms in China to the world. As China searches for its identity in the 21st century and responds to economic growth, the Chinese government must simultaneously address political reforms and expand social freedom. As a critical step towards this goal, the Chinese government must acknowledge and rectify the injustices that transpired in the June 4th massacre and seek to address and deter all acts of violence and persecution, past, present and future, against its citizens.

The Chinese government’s denial of the atrocities that occurred in the June 4th massacre and recent detentions and arrests of those in China today that refuse to forget the Chinese government’s acts of impunity are unacceptable. The Chinese government must bring those responsible for human rights violations in the June 4th massacre to justice and provide compensation to the victims and their families.

The Chinese government’s position on the Tiananmen massacre is indicative of the ongoing persecution to religious practitioners and violations of freedom of speech, expression, and association. However, despite the possibility of harassment, detention, and physical and psychological abuse, the Chinese people continue to advocate for these and other basic human rights, a just and credible rule of law, an end to government corruption and their desire for a democratic system of government.

To be recognized as a trusted partner by the international community, the Chinese government must prioritize the protection of the rights and freedoms of the Chinese people as enshrined in its own constitution and international treaties and conventions of which it is a signatory. The Chinese government’s refusal to address past and present persecution and violence not only threatens the lives and future of its citizens, but also has serious ramifications for global economic and geopolitical stability.

In addition to the aforementioned recommendations, the Chinese government must also finalize its ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Regarding recommendations for the U.S. government’s engagement with China on

human rights and religious freedom, I fully endorse the recommendations included in the 2014 annual report of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom.

May the Almighty God continue to bless my fellow Chinese citizens and freedom fighters and heal and bring forth the spirit of truth, accountability, and reconciliation to the victims and family members of the Tiananmen massacre.

Our prayers are with them always.

Bob Fu
Founder and President
China Aid

Dear Mr. Chairman, thank you!

Thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen!

At the early morning of June 4, 1989, in Beijing's West Chang'an Avenue, I saw a girl and a boy were shot dead and a worker named Zhang Bin was crippled at his leg. This bloody scene left a permanent scar in my heart. On June 4, 1990, my friends Li Minqi and Peng Rong, of Beijing University, were arrested for their commemorating the first anniversary of Tiananmen at Triangular Place of Beijing University. I was summoned for harboring them, the fugitives, in my dormitory. On June 6, 1992, Hu Shigen and I and a dozen of people were arrested for founding a political party and for commemorating the third anniversary of the Tiananmen, and I was put in jail for close to three years. In October 1997, I was locked in detention facility for printing a Tiananmen-related book in Cangzhou, Hebei, for more than one month. In June 1999, I was summoned by Pre-trial department of Beijing Public Security Bureau for my involvement in the tenth anniversary of Tiananmen, organized by Jiang Qisheng and Meng Yuanxin. In 2006, I was forced to leave Beijing for cooperating with Ms. Liang Xiaoyan, Professor Li Dun, Xue Ye, Wang Junxiu, Zhang Shouli, Xia Lin, members of June 4 generation, to initiate an environmental NGO "Guardian Spirit." In 2008, I was summoned for my signing, among the first group of signers, "08 Charter," initiated by Zhang Zuhua and Liu Xiaobo. For my involvement in the event commemorating the 25th anniversary of June 4, organized by Chen Wei and Yu Shiwen on February 2, 2014, I was summoned and threatened for detention by public security twice.

On May 5, 2014, I came to the U.S. As invited by Dr. Yang Jianli, I attended the event commemorating the 25th anniversary of Tiananmen. Just at the time the plane I was boarding landed, my friends, working with me for many years, such as Hu Shigen, Yu Shiwen, Chen Wei and Liu Di were put in jail for their commemorating the 25th anniversary of June 4 again. Attorneys Pu Zhiqiang, Ji Laisong and Chang Boyang, Scholars Hao Jian and Xu Youyu and others have been put in jail for the first time. My good friends Yang Hai, Chen Tianshi, Li Hai, Peng Rong, Ding Mao, Zhou Duo, Sun Kai, Chen Yunfei and others from June 4 generation were put under house arrest, forced travel, summoned and to write confession letter.

If has been 25 years since June 4. The authorities are still repressing and watching June 4 generation. Why?

What has happened in the last 25 years proves: The interest group that was formed after the Tiananmen Square Massacre has no sense of awe toward God, no sense of responsibility towards society and no sense of history towards future generations. By

the massacre in Tiananmen Square, the authoritarian group shattered the dream of the Chinese people for democracy and rule of law, blocked the path of democratic transformation of Chinese society via dialogue. The elite group, composed of a handful people, to safeguard their monopolized interests, continues to strengthen the rule of man, strives to suppress all forms of civil society and the human rights movement in China at the expense of the whole society. Among the 1989 generation, many were put in jail, including house church Pastor Chen Dongsheng, human rights lawyers Liu Shihui and Pu Zhiqiang, University teacher Liu Yanjun, Entrepreneurs Yang Tao and Cao Tian, the latter of who was forcibly disappeared. This generation of Chinese people will not give up the dream of a democratic republic being pursued for the century.

Many persons in the 1989 generation, including Wang Bingzhang, Peng Ming, Gao Zhisheng, Liu Xiaobo, Zhao Changqing, Hu Shigen, Liu Xianbin, Chen Wei, Chen Xi, Zhu Yufu, Pu Zhiqiang and others, are still in prison. They fought for the people who died and injured in June 4 and for the cause of human rights and democracy in China for 25 years. It is my hope that the international community and the civilized world will not condone the evil and cool-shoulder the good.

Thank you.

Chen Qinglin

2014/5/28