



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE *111th* CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 155

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, June 4, 2009

No. 83

House of Representatives

Tiananmen Square Massacre Continues in China Often Out of Sight Behind Closed Doors

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, the brave and tenacious heroes of Tiananmen Square will never be forgotten nor will their huge sacrifice—for some torture and for others even death—be in vain.

Future generations of Chinese—and other advocates of democracy worldwide—will forever honor their courage, vision and dream of democracy. The Chinese people deserve no less. The Chinese are a great people—and deserve democratic institutions and respect for the rule of law that reflects that greatness.

Twenty years after Tiananmen, pro-democracy advocates remain in concentration camps subjected to torture, myriad forms of humiliation and degrading treatment.

They must be freed, unconditionally.

The Tiananmen Square massacre was a tuning point in China—and not for the better. The hard-liners in Beijing have since unleashed unprecedented

cruelty on labor leaders, political prisoners, religious believers, and have committed massive crimes against women and children through forced abortion.

The ugly spirit of the Tiananmen Square massacre continues today unabated throughout China, with brutality and efficiency only the Nazis could love.

With some notable exceptions including last year's savage crackdown on Tibetans, the Chinese leadership has taken their murder and torture behind closed doors, where the cries, screams, and tears of thousands of dissidents are heard by no one except the torturers themselves.

For its part, the international community has failed to seriously challenge China's massive human rights violations—and that includes the weak and feckless response of the United States of America. That includes the Bush Administration; that includes the Clinton Administration; that includes the

Obama Administration; and that includes Congress.

That must change.

When Secretary of State Hillary Clinton visited China a few months ago to peddle U.S. treasury bonds to finance U.S. debt, she said human rights shouldn't be allowed to "interfere" with that and other issues.

Wittingly or not, that attitude enables the Chinese dictatorship to continue brutalizing its own people.

And while I respect President Obama's outreach to Muslims in Cairo today, that event surely could have been scheduled for any other day but the 20th Anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre.

This solemn remembrance of the victims of mass murder at Tiananmen Square and the crushing of their bodies and hopes by tanks and bayonets, should have been the White House's major event today.

Meanwhile, on this tragic 20th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre, I am afraid that, American technology and know-how is actually enabling the Chinese Government to repress the truth about what happened on that day—about which it is absolutely vital that the Chinese people know the truth. After all, it is the truth about *their* history.

Similarly, while the internet has opened up commercial opportunities and provided access to vast amounts of information for people the world over, the internet has also become a malicious

tool: a cyber sledgehammer of repression of the government of China. As soon as the promise of the Internet began to be fulfilled—when brave Chinese began to email each other and others about human rights issues and corruption by government leaders—the Party cracked down. To date, an estimated 49 cyber-dissidents and 32 journalists have been imprisoned by the PRC for merely posting information on the Internet critical of the regime. And that's likely to be only the tip of the iceberg. Of course, one of the points on which the Chinese Government is most eager to crack down is dissemination of the truth about Tiananmen.

Tragically, history shows us that American companies and their subsidiaries have provided the technology to crush human rights in the past. Edwin Black's book *IBM and the Holocaust* reveals the dark story of IBM's strategic alliance with Nazi Germany. Thanks to IBM's enabling technologies, from programs for identification and cataloging to the use of IBM's punch card technology, Hitler and the Third Reich were able to automate the genocide of the Jews.

U.S. technology companies today are engaged in a similar sickening collaboration, decapitating the voice of the dissidents. In 2005, Yahoo's cooperation with Chinese secret police led to the imprisonment of the cyber-dissident Shi Tao. And this was not the first time. According to Reporters Without Borders, Yahoo also handed over data to Chinese authorities on another of its users, Li Zhi. Li Zhi was sentenced on December 10, 2003, to eight years in prison for "inciting subversion." His "crime" was to

criticize in online discussion groups and articles the well-known corruption of local officials.

Women and men are going to the gulag and being tortured as a direct result of information handed over to Chinese officials. When Yahoo was asked to explain its actions, Yahoo said that it must adhere to local laws in all countries where it operates. But my response to that is: if the secret police a half century ago asked where Anne Frank was hiding, would the correct answer be to hand over the information in order to comply with local laws? These are not victimless crimes. We must stand with the oppressed, not the oppressors.

I believe that two of the most essential pillars that prop up totalitarian regimes are the secret police and propaganda. Yet for the sake of market share and profits, leading U.S. companies like Google, Yahoo, Cisco and Microsoft have compromised both the integrity of their product and their duties as responsible corporate citizens. They have aided and abetted the Chinese regime to prop up both of these pillars, propagating the message of the dictatorship unabated and supporting the secret police in a myriad of ways, including surveillance and invasion of privacy, in order to effectuate the massive crackdown on its citizens.

Through an approach that monitors, filters, and blocks content with the use of technology and human monitors, the Chinese people have little access to uncensored information about any political or human rights topic, unless of course, Big Brother wants them to see it. Google.cn, China's search engine, is

guaranteed to take you to the virtual land of deceit, disinformation and the big lie. As such, the Chinese government utilizes the technology of U.S. IT companies combined with human censors—led by an estimated force of 30,000 cyber police—to control information in China. Websites that provide the Chinese people news about their country and the world, such as AP, UPI, Reuters, and AFP, as well as Voice of America and Radio Free Asia, are regularly blocked in China. In addition, when a user enters a forbidden word, such as “democracy,” “China torture” or “Falun Gong,” the search results are blocked, or you are redirected to a misleading site, and the user's computer can be frozen for unspecified periods of time.

Google censors what are euphemistically called “politically sensitive” terms, such as “Tiananmen,” “democracy,” “China human rights,” “China torture” and the like on its Chinese search site, Google.cn. A search for terms such as “Tiananmen Square” produces two very different results. The one from Google.cn shows a picture of a smiling couple, but the results from Google.com show scores of photos depicting the mayhem and brutality of the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre.

Google claims that some information is better than nothing. But in this case, the limited information displayed amounts to disinformation. A half truth is not the truth—it is a lie. And a lie is worse than nothing. It is hard not to draw the conclusion that Google has seriously compromised its “Don't Be Evil” policy. It has become evil's accomplice.

And that continues. Last summer Frank Wolf and I were in Beijing. We tried to look up “Tiananmen Square” on the tightly-controlled Chinese Internet. Of course, mere mention of the slaughter has been removed from the Chinese Internet. We walked across Tiananmen Square—officials searched us before we entered the square, and squads of police surrounded us while we were on it, terrified we might hold up a simple sign or banner.

Standing for human rights has never been easy or without price, and companies are extremely reluctant to pay that price. That’s why our government also has a major role to play in this critical area, and that a more comprehensive framework is needed to protect and promote human rights.

This is why I have re-introduced The Global Online Freedom Act, H.R. 2271. I believe it can be an important lever to help disseminate the truth—about Tiananmen and so many more things in the history of China—to the Chinese people by means of the Internet.

I’d like to ask you to support this bill, which would prevent U.S. high-tech Internet companies from turning over to the Chinese police information that identifies individual Internet users who express political and religious ideas that the communists are trying to suppress. It would also require companies to disclose how the Chinese version of their search engines censors the Internet.

In the last Congress, the bill passed the Foreign Affairs Committee and was ready for a floor vote, but influential lobbies prevented a vote on the bill.

I also want to mention the exciting firewall-busting technology that a group of dedicated Chinese human rights activists are promoting. They have technology that enables users in China to bypass the Chinese government’s so-called “Golden Shield” censorship effort and surf the Internet freely. With this technology, which has been demonstrated to me in my office, Chinese users can visit the same Internet you and I do, and there is nothing the Chinese government can do about it. I think we should all ask the State Department to financially support this technology—which could produce a human rights and rule of law revolution in China.

Today provides us an important reminder that the fight the Tiananmen protestors took on 20 years ago is still going on, in the streets, the internet café’s and here today. To the brave men and women who continue to fight for the rights of the Chinese people—we say, we stand with you, we remember you, and we will not abandon the fight for your freedoms.