

**RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND HISTORY OF THE
CHEN GUANGCHENG CASE**

HEARING
BEFORE THE
**CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE
COMMISSION ON CHINA**
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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND HISTORY OF THE CHEN GUANGCHENG CASE

THURSDAY, MAY 3, 2012

CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE
COMMISSION ON CHINA,
Washington, DC.

The hearing was convened, pursuant to notice, at 2:03 p.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Representative Christopher Smith, Chairman, presiding.

Also present: Representative Frank Wolf.

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

Chairman SMITH. The Commission will come to order. Good afternoon.

The daring escape of Chinese legal advocate Chen Guangcheng from illegal home confinement was nothing short of a miracle, and it has taken the world, not to mention the Chinese officials and Chen's guards themselves, by complete surprise.

It was a great relief that I, and millions around the world, learned of his escape and his reaching safety at the American Embassy in Beijing on Friday morning. Yet, it is with equally great concern that I convene this hearing of the China Commission today.

Having been handed over to the Chinese officials by American diplomats yesterday, Chen, his wife Yuan, and the rest of his family and friends appear to be in significant danger. Notwithstanding vague and potentially empty safety assurances from the Chinese side, Chen has, since leaving the American Embassy in Beijing, expressed an earnest desire to gain asylum for himself and for his family.

Questions indeed arise as to whether or not Chen was pressured to leave the U.S. compound.

A CNN interview, reported by the Atlantic, says, "Chen's comments portray the United States as manipulating him, cutting him off from outside communication, and encouraging him to leave the Embassy rather than seek asylum. He says he was denied his request to call friends. He said he felt the Embassy officials had lied to him," says the report.

"The Embassy kept lobbying me," it goes on to say, "to leave and promised to have people stay with me in the hospital. But this afternoon, as soon as I checked into the hospital room, I noticed

they were all gone. I'm very disappointed at the U.S. Government. I don't think U.S. officials protected human rights in this case.'"

"When asked why he had left the Embassy rather than staying and perhaps seeking asylum," the article goes on, "Chen seems to blame the Embassy officials. 'At the time I didn't have a lot of information. I wasn't allowed to call my friends from inside the Embassy. I couldn't keep up with the news so I didn't know a lot of things that were happening.'"

"Chen agreed when Jiang,"—the CNN reporter—"asked him, 'If you stay in China, is there no future?' He also said that he had tried calling two U.S. Embassy officials 'numerous times' but that no one had answered." "I told the Embassy I would like to talk to Representative Chris Smith, but they somehow never managed to arrange it. I felt, and feel, a little puzzled.'"

For the record, I placed a call to Chen on May 1 at 9 p.m. Eastern Standard time, after being informed by one of Chen's American friends that he wanted to speak with me. I waited all night, until 4 a.m., for a call back from the high U.S. official I was told could arrange that and the call never came.

There are many questions, and there are even more concerns. How will the United States-China agreement on Chen and his family's safety be enforced? What happens if Chen, or any member of his family, suffers retaliation? Where is Chen's nephew, Chen Kegui? What happens now to He Peirong, the courageous young woman who drove Chen to safety? Like I said, there are many questions.

Next week, I hope to convene another hearing of this Commission on Chen in order to take testimony from the Obama administration witnesses and to get some answers.

Our purpose today is to examine his case and discern the likelihood that his family, and Chen, and supporters have any opportunity of true freedom and safety going forward and whether asylum remains a viable option.

The story of Chen Guangcheng has been extraordinary and inspirational from the beginning. Blinded by a childhood illness, Chen pushed past profound barriers to school himself in Chinese law and became an advocate for the rights of the vulnerable, including disabled persons and rural farmers.

Years later when local villagers told him of their stories of forced abortions and forced sterilizations, Chen and his wife Yuan Weixing documented these stories, later building briefs for a class action lawsuit against the officials involved.

Their efforts gained international news media attention in 2005, and their challenge to China's draconian population control policies spurred harsh and extended official retaliation, including torture and beatings.

The Commission and other committees of the Congress have examined China's population control policies many times. As a matter of fact, from this podium itself I have heard from victims and had victims give testimony about that brutal one-child-per-couple policy.

We even heard from a woman who ran the program, Mrs. Gao from Fujian Province, who said, self-described, "By day I was a monster, by night a wife and mother," and told how the full weight

of the dictatorship was behind her efforts to ensure that children were not born.

China sometimes paints a false picture for gullible foreigners that the policy is somehow being eased or mitigated, but the few exceptions they permit do not fundamentally modify its rough, harsh, brutal, and ugly character. Chen Guangcheng and his wife knew it, and they faced huge retaliation for speaking out against it.

For the record, family planning officials down to the village and local level maintain extreme vigilance on out-of-plan children. The English phrase they use is “family planning,” but the plan is not the family’s plan, but the State’s. They use the word “measures” to mask what they do. What they do is forced abortions and involuntarily sterilizations.

When an out-of-plan birth does take place, they impose crushing fines on the couple. All unwed mothers are compelled by the State to abort. Among China’s many coercions and tyrannies, this is the one that touches virtually every Chinese, especially women and children, and we now know that there are missing girls by the tens of millions, the lost daughters of China.

It was Chen Guangcheng who challenged these horrific violations of women’s rights, and that is when the hammer fell. Chen Guangcheng has faced enormous government opposition for his efforts, but he has refused to back down. He and his family have paid a dear price. Chen, his wife, mother, and children, have separately and repeatedly been harassed and denied their basic freedoms now for seven years.

After serving more than four years in prison on trumped up charges, Chen was released in 2010, only to be locked up with his family in their home under 24-hour surveillance, with all forms of communications with the outside world severed. On more than one occasion, Chen and his wife were severely beaten and then denied medical treatment for their injuries.

Their six-year-old daughter, Chen Kesi, was prevented from attending school. This was in violation of the child’s right to an education and more payback for her parents’ actions. In the past few months, this little girl has been permitted to attend school, but only with three guards with her everywhere she goes.

In all of this and more, Chen Guangcheng and his family have endured this as so-called “free citizens” under Chinese law. It is no wonder then that when Chen felt it worth risking his life to escape this hellish condition, last week he sought our help, the U.S. Government. His three demands to Premier Wen laid out in an online video he posted are incredibly cogent, and urged the Chinese Government to address them fully and immediately.

In a background briefing, a senior U.S. official in Beijing explained that Chen consistently expressed his wish that he and his family stay in China, and that they be ensured the lives of normal citizens. It is unclear whether the path to political asylum was discussed seriously, or whether it was done so in a hurry, or whether he was pressured in any way and at any time in the process to remain in China, especially with the Summit that began today.

He is now away from the Embassy in a local hospital, asking for the right to leave. He said, “I think we’d like to rest in a place out-

side of China. Help my family and I leave safely,” he told the Associated Press. The eyes of the world are watching to see that his wishes are honored by the Chinese Government.

I, and everyone on our Commission and in Congress, are gravely concerned for the safety, well-being, and whereabouts of Chen’s supporters, including He Peirong, who drove him from his village to Beijing on the night of his escape, and now remains incommunicado. We are also concerned about the other members of the family, and that is why we are convening this important hearing today.

I would like to now yield to my good friend and colleague, the Chairman of the Lantos Human Rights Commission, Congressman Frank Wolf.

STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK WOLF, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM VIRGINIA; MEMBER, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

Representative WOLF. Thank you, Chris.

I want to begin by thanking the Chair, Congressman Chris Smith, who has championed Chen’s case in Congress. Today’s hearing is just the latest chapter in what is a long history of Congressman Smith’s dogged human rights advocacy.

It is fitting that Chen reportedly requested to speak to Congressman Smith when he was at the U.S. Embassy, although one of the many questions surrounding Chen’s case is why that phone call was never facilitated. As the news cycle unfolded yesterday, what began as a purported diplomatic triumph evolved into a diplomatic fiasco, and now the fate of this man and his family hangs in the balance.

While details are still emerging, it appears that the most generous read of the administration’s handling of this case is that it was naive in accepting assurances from a government that has a well-known and documented history of brutally repressing its own people.

Consider some of the following, and if you think about these things: in the last year alone more than 30 Tibetan monks and nuns, including several who were very young, have set themselves aflame in desperation at the abuses endured by their people. Every one of the approximately 25 underground Catholic bishops is either in jail or under house arrest, under strict surveillance, or in hiding.

Protestant house church leaders are routinely imprisoned and harassed. The lawyers that defend them are often given the same fate. In fact, when I traveled to China with Congressman Smith in 2008 before the Beijing Olympics, every single one of the dissidents and lawyers that we were to have dinner with one night were either detained or warned not to attend, with one exception. That person who made it was subsequently placed under house arrest.

China presently spends more on public security in an attempt to control its population than it does on its own defense. Our own State Department’s Annual Human Rights Report found that China is “an authoritarian state” where the government continues to muzzle freedom of speech and press and reign in civil society.

This February, the Chinese Government went so far as to deny a visa to Suzan Johnson Cook, the U.S. Ambassador for International Religious Freedom. At the very time the Vice President of

China was meeting with the President of the United States, President Obama, the President's Ambassador for Religious Freedom, Suzan Johnson Cook, couldn't even get a visa to go to China. Of course, China has the barbaric practice of forced abortions and sterilization and it was this very abuse, which Chen has sought to shine a bright light on.

The list goes on. In short, Chen's case is not an anomaly, but symptomatic of pervasive human rights abuses committed by the Chinese Government against its own people.

As recently as today, the Washington Post reported that China "continues its crackdown on people who are believed to have helped Chen." Chen's heroism in escaping house arrest has been matched only by that of the brave individuals who, at great personal risk to themselves, assisted him in breaking free from the captors who had tormented, isolated, and mistreated him for more than 18 months. Several have subsequently been detained, arrested, or placed under house arrest.

In light of the realities and the newly emerging accounts of how Chen's wife was treated in the days following his escape, notably that Chinese officials detained her, and threatened to beat her to death if Chen did not leave the U.S. Embassy, it is hard to comprehend why the administration would accept at face value assurances that Chen would be safe upon exiting U.S. protection.

You wonder if there were other forces at work. Had word come down from on high to resolve the Chen situation no matter what prior to the arrivals of Secretaries Clinton and Geithner who were headed to Beijing this week for high-level economic and foreign policy talks?

Was there even a hint of coercion? Was there any coercion, subtle coercion, forced coercion, or pressure involved? What were the internal State Department and White House deliberations? When the dust settles, I intend to formally request to review all cable traffic, classified or otherwise, that surrounded these negotiations.

Further, the administration has an obligation to release the details of the deal that was struck with the Chinese Government, especially given how quickly it appears to have unraveled. It has been reported that Chen was told that a U.S. Government official would stay with him at the hospital, and yet, according to one news account, Chen said, "Many Americans were with me while I checked into the hospital and doctors examined me, lots of them, but when I was brought to the hospital room they all left. I don't know where they went." Was Chen deceived? Was that part of the arrangement? If not, why not? If so, why did Chen find himself alone, isolated and fearful, just hours after he left U.S. protection?

There are more questions than answers at this juncture. I hope today's witnesses will shed some light on the matter, especially Bob Fu, Chen's friend and a man who is personally connected to some of China's most courageous dissidents and advocates.

Even though there is much we do not know, this much is certain: The administration, the Obama administration, has a high moral obligation to protect Chen and his family. To do anything less would be scandalous. President Ronald Reagan famously said that "the U.S. Constitution is a covenant that we have made not only with ourselves, but with all of mankind."

Some in Washington may forget that the document forged in those hot Philadelphia summer days of 1787 transcends history, but dissidents and freedom-loving people the world over know this intuitively to be true.

There is a reason the student protesters in Tiananmen Square read Chinese translations of the American Declaration of Independence and carried papier mache models of what looked to be the Statute of Liberty.

America missed an opportunity. When history looks at it, America missed an opportunity in Tiananmen. Will this administration, too, fail to seize a historic moment? The reverberations of such a failure are nearly impossible to calculate. The world is watching, both dictators and dissidents. The administration must be bold. The administration must ensure Chen's safety and that of his family. If news reports are to be believed about Chen's wishes, the administration must—must—grant him and his family asylum and refuse—refuse, refuse—to apologize, despite a Chinese Government demand.

Throughout history, America's embassies have been islands of freedom. Recall the group of Pentecostals known as the Siberian Seven, who, seeking religious freedom and the right to emigrate, lived in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow for five years beginning 1978. No one in the Carter administration, no one in the Reagan administration said they had to leave. No one negotiated and said, go out and be on your own in Moscow. They allowed them to stay five years.

Or consider Joseph Cardinal Mozinski, a stalwart opponent of Communism and defender of religious freedom who took refuge in a U.S. Embassy in Budapest for 15 years. Chen initially found safety in the Embassy and now that guarantee is jeopardized.

I am confident there will come a day when the Communist Party's brutal reign will end, when the Chinese people will experience a new birth of freedom. Men like Chen and women like fellow dissident Pearl who helped facilitate Chen's escape represent China's future. Their oppressors and the One Party structure that sustained them will be on the trash heap of history. The same way that President Reagan said "tear down the wall and the evil empire, and they will fall," the same thing will happen to the Chinese Government. Until that day comes, America should always stand with the Chens of the world.

Again, I thank the Chairman for having this hearing and yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you very much, Chairman Wolf.

I'd like to now introduce our very distinguished—we have six outstanding human rights advocates who are testifying today, and I will begin, first, with Pastor Bob Fu, who was a leader in the 1989 student democracy movement in Tiananmen Square, and later became a house church pastor and founder, along with his wife.

In 1996, authorities arrested and imprisoned them for their work. After their release, they escaped to the United States in 2002 and founded ChinaAid Association. ChinaAid monitors and reports on religious freedom in China and provides a forum for discussion among experts on religion, law, and human rights in China.

Pastor Fu is frequently interviewed by media outlets around the world and has testified at U.S. congressional hearings. I will note parenthetically that when Chairman Wolf and I were in China on one of our many trips we contacted Bob Fu, who helped arrange for us to meet with house church leaders.

We, in a very kidding way, said that we were heading to Tiananmen Square to unfurl a banner that said “Human Rights,” and within an hour, our Embassy—because I’m sure Bob Fu’s phone is tapped—was contacted to say Wolf and Smith will be deported immediately if that happens. So here’s a man who is being watched, and yet speaks out and has incredible contacts inside of China.

Dr. Sophie Richardson is the China Director at Human Rights Watch. A graduate of the University of Virginia, the Johns Hopkins Nanjing Program, and Oberlin College, Dr. Richardson is the author of numerous articles on domestic Chinese political reform, democratization, and human rights in Cambodia, China, Hong Kong, and the Philippines.

She has testified before the European Parliament and the U.S. Senate and the House. She has provided commentary with the BBC, CNN, Far Eastern Economic Review, Foreign Policy National Public Radio, the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, and the Washington Post.

Dr. Richardson authored “China and Cambodia: Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence” in December 2009, an in-depth examination of China’s foreign policy since 1954’s Geneva Conference, including rare interviews with policymakers.

We will then hear from T. Kumar, who is Amnesty International’s Director for International Advocacy. He has testified before our Subcommittee on Human Rights—my subcommittee—many times, and before other House and Senate forums.

He has served as a human rights monitor in many Asian countries, as well as in Bosnia, Afghanistan, Guatemala, Sudan, and South Africa. He has also served as director of several refugee ships and camps.

Kumar holds an advanced degree in law from the University of Pennsylvania Law School, and taught at American University’s Academy on Human Rights and Humanitarian Law.

Mr. Kumar was himself a political prisoner for over five years in Sri Lanka for his peaceful human rights activities. Amnesty International adopted him as a prisoner of conscience. He started his legal studies in prison and eventually became an attorney and devoted his entire practice to defending political prisoners, which is what he does now with Amnesty.

We will then hear from Wang Xuezheng, who is a human rights advocate and purchasing agent for a furniture business from Shandong Province who recently fled to the U.S. to escape constant monitoring and harassment from Chinese authorities following her ongoing advocacy on behalf of Chen Guangcheng.

Along with other human rights advocates including He Peirong, Wang attempted to visit Chen Guangcheng on several occasions during his 19-month home confinement and participated in numerous advocacy activities to free Chen. Authorities’ treatment of Wang includes beatings, constant monitoring, and detentions. Au-

thorities detained her and her husband for two weeks in December 2011 as they were preparing to travel to Jinyin City to participate in a Free Chen Guangcheng activity.

We will then hear from Cao Yaxue, who is an independent writer, translator, and blogger about China. She grew up in China, attended Peking University and studied literature in the United States. Her writings and translations explore aspects of China's past and present, with a heavy emphasis on human rights and the rule of law, including multiple pieces on Chen Guangcheng.

Her posts have been frequently quoted at length by mainstream media outlets such as the New York Times. She had phone contact with at least one member of Chen's extended family after Chen's escape and has been reporting on the family's situation.

We will then hear from Michael Horowitz, senior fellow at the Hudson Institute in Washington. He is also director of the Hudson Institute's Project for Civil Justice Reform and Project for International Religious Liberty. He served as general counsel for the Office of Management and Budget under the Reagan administration and taught law at the University of Mississippi and Georgetown.

He has also practiced private law as a partner at national law firms. He has written frequently on Internet issues and human rights topics and he holds a B.A. from City College of New York and got his LL.B from Yale Law School.

I would also note parenthetically that Michael Horowitz, as my good friend and colleague Mr. Wolf will attest, has been the genius behind many human rights initiatives that have found their way into law in the United States on religious freedom, the North Korea Human Rights Act, and other initiatives.

We will then hear from Reggie Littlejohn, who is President of Women's Rights Without Frontiers, a nonpartisan international coalition to oppose forced abortion and sexual slavery in China, as well as an expert on China's one-child policy. She has testified before the European and British Parliaments and the U.S. Congress.

She has also briefed officials at the White House, the U.S. Department of State, and the Vatican. She has also been interviewed on dozens of TV and radio programs and has spoken at Harvard Law School, Stanford Law School, George Washington University, and The Heritage Foundation.

She has issued several incisive reports that are included in the congressional record. A graduate of Yale Law School, Ms. Littlejohn has represented Chinese refugees and their political asylum cases in the United States.

I would like to now ask Pastor Fu if you would proceed.

**STATEMENT OF BOB FU, FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT,
CHINA AID ASSOCIATION**

Mr. FU. Thank you, Chairman Smith and Congressman Wolf, other Members of Congress, and your excellent staff at the CECC.

I want to maybe just ask to submit my written version.

Chairman SMITH. Sure. Without objection, your full statement, and any items you would like to affix to it, will be made a part of the record.

Mr. FU. As the President of ChinaAid Association, I am familiar with the details of Chen Guangcheng's escape and was in contact

with the team of people who helped Chen flee to Beijing. I actually learned Chen left his house on April 23.

After Chen left the U.S. Embassy, I stayed in close contact with both the relevant U.S. Government officials and people who are intimates of Chen who have been in telephone communication with him. From them all, I have amassed a great deal of first-hand information on the developments that have led to the current situation, which is rather shocking, regrettable, heart-rending, and disappointing.

There are some important episodes that are confusing and I think need immediate clarification. First, according to the U.S. State Department and the U.S. Embassy in Beijing and the official Chinese announcement, Chen Guangcheng left the Embassy of his own volition.

However, according to my conversation last night with Mr. Chen and several media reports, including the Associate Press, and the first-hand information from Chen's friend and fellow lawyer, Teng Biao and from Zeng Jinyan, the wife of dissident Hu Jia, the U.S. officials relayed to Chen the threat made by the Chinese side to threaten his wife, Yuan Weijing. It was after learning of this threat that Chen was left with no choice but to reluctantly leave the U.S. Embassy.

Much of the dispute between the accounts of the State Department and the U.S. negotiators and Chen's recount with the media, I think, was around how to characterize that conversation on May 2 before Chen walked out of the U.S. Embassy, relayed by the U.S. official.

The message seems to suggest—well, let me put it this way. Chen was talked to by a U.S. Government official before he stepped out of the Embassy and he was told it was a Chinese Government message, that the Chinese Government wanted to convey that message through the U.S. Government official, that if he chose not to walk out of the Embassy on May 2 he would not be able to see his wife and his children again. His wife and children will be returned to the Dongshigu village, the Shuanghou town, Linyi city, which has been hell for this family.

According to my conversation last night as I tried to verify the nature of that conversation, what really happened, Chen said after hearing that message from the Chinese Government, conveyed by a U.S. official, his heart was heavy and he felt he had no other choice but to walk out of the U.S. Embassy.

It sounded to him like it was a one-way street, either/or. Either he stays in the U.S. Embassy but faces the reality that his wife and children would be gone, maybe for their whole life, and he would not be able to see his wife and two children. Of course he did not know at the time how his wife had already been treated after April 27 when the Chinese guards found Chen was missing.

Chen's wife was immediately taken to "*xingjingdui shenxunshi*," a criminal interrogation center, where she was tied and beaten and was threatened with her life. Basically, the interrogator told her that if her husband did not walk out of the U.S. Embassy, they would kill her. Chen, of course, learned about that after he had a reunion with his wife in Chaoyang Hospital. That was the second phase.

I think that was clear to anyone with reasonable logic that that should constitute a threat. If that conversation occurred anywhere here, I think that would demand a 911 call. What happened to his wife and to their children? His eight-year-old son was not even able to be seen by this couple for two years. What happened to them in the past seven years with this enormous torture and harassment and constant threat to this family.

Their six-year-old daughter, as Chen recounted at the interview—his 80-year-old mother was beaten up, wounded, and the government would not even allow her, on her birthday, to receive medical treatment, in front of this six-year-old girl. I don't know if that is a threat or not, but to me, after hearing what Chen has told me yesterday, I verified over the phone and I actually videotaped my conversation with him.

I think I have a few questions I want to ask the U.S. chief negotiator, or whoever led that: Who is the one that relayed that information to Chen? What exactly was the wording from the Chinese Government? What was the U.S. response initially to that message by the Chinese Government? Why does he have to walk, on May 2? Why that date? Why was there no other option on the table offered to Chen?

For instance, why would the U.S. Embassy not tell Chen that you have a choice, you can stay and we can continue to negotiate with the Chinese Government to allow your wife and two children to come to the U.S. Embassy so that you can have a safe environment to discuss your future? Why does that have to be a one-way street?

I think these questions need to be answered. I certainly appreciate Ambassador Gary Locke and the administration officials who made the right decision on April 26 to allow Chen at least to have the six days without pressures and time of freedom for the first time in seven years. But I do want to ask these questions.

I certainly think that some conversations I had yesterday about Chen, how Chen felt he was treated, or at least how much pressure he has received, I think I would reserve a later time to share. But the bottom line is, Chen told me yesterday, "Both my wife and I feel endangered. We are left alone. We do not have anybody present with us. Even as late as 9 o'clock, our six-year-old baby girl was crying for food." They were suffering starvation the first night after their so-called guaranteed freedom.

After somebody called the U.S. Embassy apparently and the somebody intervened with the hospital, and they were given some food. You can read that account and a very detailed description written by Dr. Teng Biao, one of Chen's close friends, from his conversation over the phone about what had really happened during that night about their starvation.

Second, I want to emphasize that Chen told me last night very clearly that he does not feel safe over there. He wants the United States to help him and his family to come out of China. Of course he did not use the exact words, but in Chinese it's called seeking asylum or something like that in that nature.

Remember, he is still in China and his wife was not even allowed to walk out of the hospital. None of Chen's friends, human rights lawyers, human rights defenders, have been allowed so far to visit

Chen. Some of them even showed up at the hospital and they were not even allowed to come close. So the hospital room that Chen and his family members were staying in became essentially another Dongshigu village, just in a different forum this time, in the capital city of China.

So I would call upon the U.S. Government, especially, I think, Chen specifically requested me again—you talk about his request to have a phone conversation with you. Last night, he specifically requested again and said he wanted to talk with Congressman Chris Smith. Unfortunately, this morning, a moment ago when we tried, the phone was powered off. So we don't know what happened. He at least promised me he would keep it on if possible for a conversation with you today.

I think, Secretary Clinton, this is the moment, I think, to deliver what you have promised, what you have repeatedly said in the past two years. She wants to see Chen and his family with freedom and safety. As you are visiting and dialoguing with your counterparts in China, this is the moment to deliver. I think Chen specifically made that appeal to Secretary Clinton to help negotiate, I think to reengage with the Chinese Government, to allow them to have a safe existence. So that's his appeal.

I want to leave the rest of the time for questions. Thank you very much.

Chairman SMITH. Pastor Fu, thank you very much for that incredibly enlightening and passionate testimony.

I'd like to now ask Dr. Richardson for her comments.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Fu appears in the appendix.]

**STATEMENT OF SOPHIE RICHARDSON, CHINA DIRECTOR,
HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH**

Ms. RICHARDSON. Mr. Smith, Mr. Wolf, thank you very much for having this hearing this afternoon and for your extraordinary, tenacious leadership on these issues. I think it's not an accident that Chen wanted to speak to you in particular.

I want to start with one premise, which is that if the Chinese Government was really serious about its commitments to human rights and the rule of law we wouldn't be having these conversations again, and again, and again, which is not to suggest that we aren't all happy to have this discussion with you.

But I think the fact that 30 years into reform and opening up and 20 years after Tiananmen, that we are still discussing these issues, is a powerful statement about the choices the Chinese leadership has made with respect to political reform and the rule of law.

Just to paint a broad picture, year in and year out we continue to document gross abuses: Use of the death penalty, forced disappearances, abuses of ethnic minorities, restrictions on the freedoms of religion, association, and assembly.

I think Chen's case, in particular, highlights some of the worst abuses that we have seen in recent years. Those include a naked disregard for the law, both with respect to Chen's efforts to challenge illegal practices and to hold people to account, but also with respect to the treatment of him.

There certainly are gross problems with respect to arbitrary detention, which, as we've discussed, often extends to family members, including very young children. I find this aspect of the story in particular outrageous, that children should be subject to this kind of treatment.

Torture and mistreatment in detention. We have heard credible evidence of physical violence against Chen, his wife, other family members, other associates, and restrictions on the freedom of expression, ranging from his ability to communicate with other people, people's ability to go and see him or report on what's happening to him.

And let's bear in mind that all of this has been in retaliation for work and activities that were entirely consistent with domestic and international law. I think that's a very important point to remember, that Chen had done nothing illegal. I think the bottom line is that all activists in China, regardless of the issue that they're working on, remain at extraordinary risks at all times.

With respect to Chen in particular, I think obviously much depends on clarity about what he and his family want. If indeed they do want to leave, which seems to be the view now, I think it is incumbent on the U.S. Government to insist on access to him. We are very disturbed by the reports in the Washington Post today that U.S. officials have not been able to have any access to him for about 24 hours now.

I don't see any particular reason why Secretary Clinton, Secretary Geithner, Ambassador Locke, and other senior U.S. Government officials who are in Beijing at the moment can't get in the car and go to the hospital and insist on access to him.

If he does opt to stay, I think there is an obligation on the U.S. Government to mount a monitoring effort with respect to Chen's treatment and his family members' treatment of a kind that they've never imagined before. There will have to be a new Chen Guangcheng detail at the U.S. Embassy.

But in the broader picture with respect to other activists and activism in general in China, I think there is an enormous responsibility on the U.S. Government, on activists, on other like-minded governments to watch incredibly closely—not just over the next few days but over weeks and months and years—to monitor what happens to other activists who will suffer from further retribution by virtue of this incident in particular.

We know that the machine has already swung into action to place restrictions on people, some who are involved in this case, some who have nothing to do with this case. I think it would be a tremendous tragedy if the heightened awareness of human rights abuses in China were to fade when the spotlight shifts elsewhere after Secretary Clinton leaves town. That is, I think, all of our collective responsibility in the near and the longer term future.

Thanks.

Chairman SMITH. Dr. Richardson, thank you very much.

I would like to now call on Mr. Kumar.

**STATEMENT OF T. KUMAR, DIRECTOR FOR INTERNATIONAL
ADVOCACY, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL USA**

Mr. KUMAR. Thank you very much, Chairman Smith and Congressman Wolf. Amnesty International is pleased to testify at this important and timely hearing. We also want to recognize both your leadership in promoting and protecting human rights not only in China, but around the world. Thank you for your job, for both of you.

Today, what is happening in China is not about this particular individual, Chen Guangcheng. This is about a system in China which is geared toward abusing its own citizens with total impunity.

We started working on Chen's case when he was initially arrested years ago for documenting abuses in the context of the one-child policy. We adopted him as a prisoner of conscience. The reason was because our research showed that he did not use violence or advocate violence, he was just documenting abuses and trying to publicize these abuses.

So he was imprisoned for more than four years. During this time he was tortured and abused. When he was released, everyone thought that the saga was going to come to an end. But that is not the case. Like many other cases in China he was illegally detained in his house and also again abused, not only him but his family as well.

So what happened about two weeks ago, less than two weeks ago, was that he escaped from the illegal detention and he ended up coming to the U.S. Embassy. Now the situation is not clear, but one thing we know from the U.S. administration officials who made public statements is that China gave certain commitments and there was an agreement between China and the United States about the treatment of Mr. Chen.

I don't know the full context of that agreement. It is time that the U.S. administration make it public, whether there were any signatures involved by the Chinese authorities; the real official document should be brought in. I urge the Commission to request that official agreement between the U.S. Government and China on Chen's treatment.

In the context of the strength of the agreement, Chen agreed, even though there were reports that there were some other issues involved which Amnesty International had difficulty confirming, and then he went to the hospital for treatment.

Suddenly, what we are hearing is that the same agreement that the United States and China agreed upon has been violated. Now he is asking, at least according to the media reports, that he wants asylum for him, as well as his family, to the United States.

The opportunity that is there for his case is rare for political prisoners. Secretary Clinton is there. Senior government officials, U.S. Government officials, are there. So if senior U.S. Government officials cannot solve this issue, the United States is having a direct relevance because of the agreement that was signed.

We have to ask the question, what leverage can the United States exert or what interest can they do to get improvement in human rights issues in China. That brought up a bigger question about human rights in China and the U.S. engagement in policing.

Amnesty International is concerned that even though there are some meaningful improvements that were taken by different administrations, the current dialogue that is taking place, that is Security and Economic Dialogue, is not taking human rights as a serious and equal partner to the dialogue.

Even the basic things, like renaming the Security and Economic Dialogue into Security, Economic, and Human Rights Dialogue, there is resistance. We don't know where the resistance comes from, the administration here or from the Chinese.

So if they can't even rename the Security and Economic Dialogue as the Security, Economic, and Human Rights Dialogue, there are serious questions.

If there is an agreement to bring him to asylum, what steps? Our fear is that when Secretary Clinton leaves, the interest will wane down, which we were told by the senior administration officials that that's not the case.

But to make it clear, let Secretary Clinton take a firm stand and make a statement about this case. Not only is this a human rights case, but this case is also directly involving the United States in a political case where we had an agreement.

So let the United States stand up. Let Secretary Clinton, while she's in China, stand up and make a clear statement. This will set the tone for future U.S.-China agreements, or even China policy on promoting and protecting human rights in China.

Thank you again for inviting Amnesty International.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Kumar.

I would like to now, if I could go from left to right—your right to left—Reggie Littlejohn.

STATEMENT OF REGGIE LITTLEJOHN, PRESIDENT, WOMEN'S RIGHTS WITHOUT FRONTIERS

Ms. LITTLEJOHN. Thank you so much, Congressman Smith, Congressman Wolf, for inviting me to this. I have been asked to testify as to two things. One, is what is the underlying issue that got Chen Guangcheng detained, and the other one is, what about those who helped him, in particular Pearl, also known as He Peirong.

Something that has been left out of the discussion in a lot of mainstream media is, why is it that Chen Guangcheng has been the subject of such intense persecution? What is it that set off the Chinese Communist Party against him? It's the fact that he was the one person in China who dared to stand up against the one-child policy.

He and his wife exposed the fact that there were an estimated 130,000 forced abortions and forced sterilizations in Linyi City in one year, in 2005, and it was that act that got him detained. He spent four years and three months in jail, during which time he was tortured, denied medical treatment, and now has been under house arrest.

So Women's Rights Without Frontiers obtained the field notes of Chen Guangcheng. We have the cases that he was working on when he was detained in 2006. We released those at a congressional hearing right here on December 6, 2011. It is called the Chen Guangcheng Report. It is 35 pages of case after case of the most horrific human rights abuses that you can imagine.

For example, a woman who was forcibly aborted and sterilized at seven months, villagers that sleep in fields to evade family planning officials, family planning officials who broke a broom—three brooms—over the head of a man whose children were suspected of having violated family planning law.

Family planning officials forced a grandmother and her brother to beat each other because someone in their family had violated the family planning birth limit, and then finally the use of quota systems and the practice of implication, the detention of family members, in which if one person in a family is suspected of having violated the one-child policy either by being pregnant or missing their cervical check-up—women are required to have cervical check-ups between every two and every six months, depending on where they live in China—their entire family can get dragged in.

There is one account in the Chen Guangcheng Report of a person's extended family—their parents, their grandparents, their aunts, their uncles, their cousins—all being dragged in and tortured and fined 100 yuan a day for what they call family planning learning class tuition.

So it's clear from the Chen Guangcheng Report that the spirit of the Red Guard is living on in the family planning police today, and this is the issue for which he gave his life to China. He gave his life to protect the women of China from forced abortion, forced sterilization, and infanticide.

And then the other implications that come out of the one-child policy are gendercide, the sex selective abortion of baby girls. Because of this, there's an estimated 37 million more men than women living in China today, and that in turn is driving human trafficking and sexual slavery not only within China, but the surrounding countries as well.

Then, in addition, China has the highest female suicide rate of any country in the world. Approximately 500 women a day kill themselves in China. There is untold suffering in China because of the one-child policy, and this is the issue that Chen had the courage to confront. This is also, I think, the central policy of the Chinese Communist Party, which is why they have targeted him so fiercely.

Now, some people might ask whether Chen Guangcheng's report on Linyi in 2005—whether these things are still happening, and they are still happening. Just about three weeks ago there was a report, a photograph that came across on Weibo, the Chinese equivalent of Twitter, where a woman in Linyi had been forcibly aborted of a baby at the ninth month.

The baby was born alive, was crying, and the family planning officials took that baby and dumped it in a bucket and drowned it. There was a picture of the drowned baby in a bucket and that was circulated on Weibo and created outrage.

I would also like to say, something that people don't realize is that the coercive birth limit is not only violent against women, but men as well. There are many instances in the Chen Guangcheng Report where men were also detained and tortured. In one instance there was a farmer who had committed suicide because of the intense oppression.

In another report that I have submitted in Congress there's this man named Xin Liu, who in 2008, his wife did have a second child. So the family planning police came to get the fine from them. He said, please, just take the fine, don't be violent about it, be peaceful about it. They refused to do that. They instead started a fight and they broke a bottle over his head. So here's a picture of him with his temple that was crushed when the bottle was broken over his head, and he is now permanently disabled.

The second issue I was asked to address was the persecution of He Peirong, whose pen name is Pearl. She reached out to me about six months ago. She was running a Free Chen Guangcheng campaign, a sunglasses campaign, and wanted me to do it outside of China. She was doing it inside of China. She and I started emailing each other. We felt sort of that we were sisters in this cause of freeing Chen Guangcheng.

She is the one who, when Chen Guangcheng made his great escape, drove him from Dongshigu village to Beijing.

So the plan for his escape worked so well that he was not discovered to have been missing for four days. Then on the day that he was discovered missing, she and I Skyped on and off all night long. She was alone, she was afraid. She was afraid for Chen, she was afraid for his family. She was also afraid for herself. Then at around 5 o'clock in the morning when I tried to Skype her one last time, there was silence. She didn't answer. I found out later that she had been detained.

I am very concerned about Pearl. I am concerned that she may be tortured because she was the head of this whole network that was to free Chen. We know many instances in which key activists have been tortured in order for the Chinese Communist Party to try to extract from them who the other people were in their network.

So I would urge that, in these discussions about Chen Guangcheng, that they include Pearl at all times. I really appreciate the way that Congressman Smith and Congressman Wolf have been including her in the discussions, and so Chen Guangcheng, I'm sure, will not feel free until his main supporter from the outside, He Peirong, is also free.

Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Ms. Littlejohn, thank you so very much for that testimony and for bringing attention to the underlying cause of why the full weight of the Chinese Government came down upon Chen and his wife, and that is the forced abortion issue, and for reminding the world about He Peirong and the concern that we have to have for her well-being.

I'd like to now yield to Mr. Horowitz.

**STATEMENT OF MICHAEL HOROWITZ, SENIOR FELLOW,
HUDSON INSTITUTE**

Mr. HOROWITZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Last month I was arrested in a respectful, non-disruptive demonstration on behalf of what Bob Fu and I called the "China Six," and of course Chen Guangcheng was one of them. When the first news came out I sent an email to Bob and said, "We're down to the

China Five.” He then sent back an email to me saying, “Soon we’ll be at the China Zero.”

Mr. Chairman, we’re back at the China Six, and worse than we were a few days ago. Part of it was the failure, as Mr. Wolf indicated at the hearing of the Commission when the incoming President of China was here, to send a clear signal that the rights of these heroic dissidents represent priority interests of American human rights and American foreign policy. So part of what we’re witnessing are the fruits of the Xi visit to the United States.

The real question is, how could this have happened? I have often thought and said to you, Mr. Chairman, that one of the great things we could do in the pursuit of American interests would be to replace the State Department with the AFL–CIO because there is an issue here of bargaining skill. Anybody at the Teamsters Union would understand, would have flunked every one of these people who were bargaining for the life and freedom of world hero Chen Guangcheng.

Let me just give, very quickly, three indications of what I mean. The first thing a skilled bargainer would do is welcome this man to the Embassy and tell him he can stay as long as he wants, and would do so to take care of one’s client, but much more importantly to send a signal to China that time is on our side.

Mr. Chairman, when I was bargaining for the Fire Officers Union of New York City I always understood one thing: If the other guy needed to sign the deal before I did he was in my pocket, and the Chinese understood that as clearly as possible. We seemed rushed to close a deal and the Chinese took advantage of that. So, an “F” in Bargaining 101 for the State Department on that score.

Second, you don’t accept verbal promises. You get some action, some good-faith action, before you close a deal and turn over your house or whatever it is you are bargaining about, or cut the deal. So the first principle that anybody, any union leader would say to the Chinese would be: “Okay, you want to do a deal? The first thing is, bring Chen’s wife and child here to the Embassy. We don’t even talk until she is there with him.” That could have been done.

Then the final and I think the most critical thing, Mr. Chairman, was not only to understand the risks that you and your client run, but to put yourself in the mind of the other side to understand the risks that they run. Anybody from any labor union would have said to the Chinese: “Listen, we’ve got all the time in the world. The world is watching what’s going on. Chen Guangcheng has become the face of China to the people of the United States and the rest of the world. You spend all this money building goodwill in the West and building goodwill in the United States. Every minute that this man, his family, and the people who rescued him are at risk is destroying whatever it is that you’ve built. The leverage you have from the American business community will be trumped if you continue to let this case fester. So, hey, as long as it takes, it takes, but he’s here, he’s comfortable.”

That’s what happened with the Pentecostals in the U.S. Embassy during the Reagan administration. Instead, the Chen negotiators were so focused on our needs, our risks, rather than the needs and risks and problems of the Chinese, that they just rushed the negotiation.

Mr. Chairman, even if I didn't care one iota for human rights in China or for Chen, and all I cared about was the agenda that Secretary Geithner was to pursue during his visit, I would be emphasizing the Chen Guangcheng case because it put China and not the United States on the defensive. It's not our weakness, it's their weakness that the Chen case created.

Ronald Reagan understood that when he dealt with the Pentecostals in the U.S. Embassy. As George Schultz had said, every time the Russians wanted to negotiate nuclear weapons policies Reagan would say, well, what are you doing about this dissident and that dissident, and when are they getting out?

They began to understand that these dissidents were not in the way of American foreign policy but that they were America's foreign policy. Guess what? Ronald Reagan was able to negotiate a better deal on weapons, on ruble-dollar relations, and so forth—and able to ensure the freedom of Jewish refuseniks and Pentecostal victims of the former Soviet Union.

Again, if you focus on your weaknesses and don't understand the vulnerability of the other side—you'd get fired in your first week at the Teamsters Union. Yet such people who had been negotiating hold the life and the safety and the security of heroes like Chen in their hands. How sad it makes me at the sheer, utter incompetence of the people at the State Department who purported to bargain on Chen's behalf.

Now, what do we do to protect him now? Mr. Chairman, you have that chart up there, and it's an extraordinary chart. As soon as Chen's escape happened, the Chinese created blocks on the Internet, the great highway of freedom; the Chinese Government understands the importance of Internet freedom and I wish we did much better than we do.

Today, if you type in the word "Chen" on an Internet search in China, it gets blocked. If you type in the word "blind man" in China, you get blocked. The problem with the stories about this matter, and this was in yesterday's Wall Street Journal that listed the words blocked on the Internet in China, is that they convey a premise and a take-away message to the American people that China has the capacity to control what people in China get to see on the Internet.

Mr. Chairman, as you know and as Mr. Wolf more than perhaps any Member of Congress knows, that is true only because of our horrible, misguided policies—because the State Department has failed to honor congressional intent in giving appropriated funds to groups with a field-tested capacity to bypass the Internet firewall systems of China, of Iran, of all the world's dictatorships.

There is \$30 million now sitting in State Department accounts that was appropriated years ago to tear down Internet firewalls that they haven't spent. There's a Board of Broadcasting Governors that's sitting there with \$700, \$800 million that has not sought to reprogram, as they easily could and should have done, just 10 percent of their appropriation for R&D into firewall circumvention and for giving money to successful, field-tested programs so that they don't crash when 2 million users a day access their system, and so they could allow 50 million users a day to access the system.

We have it in our capacity, Mr. Chairman, to allow 50 million Chinese at any given second to search the word “blind man” anytime they want no matter what China’s Internet Golden Shield bureaucracy says, and we haven’t done it. We haven’t done it in violation of clear congressional intent and we haven’t done it because we have not pushed the bureaucracy at the State Department, pushed the Board of Broadcasting Governors, to do it.

There is one possible clue for this. When asked why one of the most successful Internet firewall circumvention programs has not received significant support by the Washington Post, the response, Mr. Chairman—and Mr. Wolf knows this—the reason given to the Post was because if we did so China would “go ballistic.” So said a senior administration official to the Washington Post.

So, Mr. Chairman, the way to achieve the protection of Chen Guangcheng and all of the others, is sunlight, information. All the verbal promises in the world given by China are meaningless as long as Chen and others like him can be isolated so that nobody knows what happens to him. As long as nobody knows, as long as the word “Chen” and “blind man” can’t be searched by people in China, he and others like him will be persecuted as he had before. He will be isolated. His spirit will be taken.

But let’s create a world in which one microsecond after Chen Guangcheng’s wife is beaten up, the word goes out on the Internet and everybody in China knows it. We can make this happen, Mr. Chairman, with appropriated funds sitting in State Department accounts and we can make this happen in two to three months.

So I hope that Internet freedom in China will be one of the things that comes out of this case, and if it does I think Chen will regard what he’s going through as worth every second and every pain he endures. Let’s have come out of his case a determination on the part of Congress to get this administration to tear down the Internet firewalls which are the real source of power and protection of the regime and the real sources of the regime’s ability to isolate, control, and persecute its people.

I close by saying what Hu Jintao said, and I think we ought to take a clue from him. He said the stability of the Socialist State is dependent on our ability to “purify the Internet.” We have it within our means, so that this cannot be done by the Chinese Government. We have it within our ability so that YouTube can broadcast to 50 million people in China and the rest of the world within 10 minutes of the time persecution happens, with the information received in China and elsewhere on cell phones as well as computers. We can make the Internet “impute” by making it a source of immediate information when further torture or isolation of Chen Guangcheng or others like him takes place.

So, let’s honor this man and protect this man by tearing down the Internet firewalls with priority determination. If we do that, all of his suffering will not have been in vain no matter how his case turns out. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman SMITH. Mr. Horowitz, thank you very much for your testimony and your work. It is extraordinary.

I’d like to now introduce our next panelist, Cao Yaxue. If you could proceed. Thank you again for being here.

**STATEMENT OF CAO YAXUE, HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATE;
BLOGGER**

Ms. CAO. Thank you, Representative Smith, and thank you Representative Wolf, for having this hearing and for giving me this opportunity to speak on what I know about Chen Guangcheng's case.

I am the person, on last Friday afternoon around 1:30, who was on Twitter and I had been following—I've been active on Twitter because I work at home. I saw a Tweet. Somebody Tweeted from China. Somebody Tweeted something they found on the Chinese Weibo, the Chinese microblog, that Chen Guangcheng's nephew slashed local officials and thugs with two knives, and now he's on the run in the field. That Tweet had a number with it.

So without hesitation, I grabbed the phone and I called. When I did that, I really didn't expect to reach him because I thought, well, I have lived here long enough, I thought, well, the police would have taken him already by now or he won't answer without knowing the source of the caller.

But I found him. I found an agitated, scared young man. Well, he's in his early 30s, a young father. So I talked to him. He told me what happened on that day. In China time, that was the night of the day when the guards and the local authorities found Chen Guangcheng missing, last Thursday.

So he told me everything. I said, hold on. Let me get my recorder. I want you to speak on record and I want to get your words, with your permission, as quickly as possible online and that's what I did. I did just that. I recorded his message. He told me the entire story, what he knew about that day. Within hours, I put it on the Web site called the Free Chen Guangcheng Web site, which I maintain with a group of friends, volunteers. We are all doing this on our own.

I put the recording there. Within 15 hours, I put a Chinese and English transcription of the conversation and I forwarded it to all the media outlets I could find. So that's why the nephew's story is so quickly on the pages of the international news, otherwise it would still be hearsay.

That said, I want to tell the hearing what happened after the conversation. Now, after the conversation, the next day, also from Twitter, I found out that the lawyer, through his wife, was able to find him. He was still on the run. That night when I talked to him he was already—he called immediately two police bureaus and no police were coming. He was surrendering himself but no authorities came to take him. Then he was still at large.

So through his wife, his lawyer—six lawyers quickly formed a team. One of the lawyers in the province contacted him and was able to speak to him. He said, "I was scared." At the time he was away from the immediate area. At this point he was on the run. So right now we don't have any words from the Chinese authorities as to where this young man is, what happened to him, is he in police custody?

Isn't it the government's responsibility to know that, to find him? For crying out loud, he surrendered himself. He's innocent, but he did call. So what happened to this young man? He feared for his life. He told his lawyer, a black car has been following him all around. He said he is less fearful to be in police custody than being

caught by a bunch of thugs, because he witnessed how his uncle and his uncle's family were beaten before. Also, from the Chinese authorities there is a statement, there is a response.

The second day after Chen Guangcheng disappeared, the Yinan county, that is one of the nine counties of Linyi city, the Yinan county's Web site—official Web site—posted a statement, two sentences, two or three sentences, saying that Chen Kegui, so and so, Chen Kegui, slashed our officials with knives and is on the run for fearing his crimes. That's the entirety of the statement, and we are trying to apprehend him.

Now, that statement made no mention of Chen Guangcheng and it made no mention of why this man, a good man so far, innocent man so far, slashed a whole bunch of authorities, Party cadets. No. That's the Chinese Government. That's the statement.

So from a reliable source that I think is based in the United States, the father—oh—the young man told me that his father, who is the eldest brother of Chen Guangcheng, the thugs took him away that night. The knife slashing happened after his father—in other words, the brother of Chen Guangcheng—was taken away.

So, so far what we know is at least Chen Guangcheng's eldest brother, Chen Guangcheng's sister-in-law, Chen Guangcheng's cousin, and the son of this cousin are in the hands of the authorities. Okay. That is, so far, what we know.

Now, I want to quickly talk about the state that I found this young man was in. Eleven times—I personally counted—he mentioned the word “law.” In turn, he was appealing to the law to defend him. Another moment, he was desperate. He was sobbing, he was shaking, that he did not for a moment believe the law would defend him. That was the thing.

The conversation is long. If anybody is interested, they can go to my Web site, which is www.seeingredinchina.com, to read the complete transcription. But there is one point I want to emphasize. He said, “I love my motherland, but look at what she gives me.” He also said, at the very end of our conversation, “At the bottom of the society, all is so tragic.”

Now, I also want to quickly give you my impression, because after I talked to him for several days I couldn't shake off his image and the conversation we had. Now, on the one hand he's just a villager. He is what the Chinese official propaganda would like to call “low quality people, not suitable for democracy.” But I find this young man to be reasonable, good-hearted, and absolutely intelligent, speaking coherently under such a difficult situation.

In other words, he represented the goodness of China just like his uncle. So on the one hand you have these good people as represented by Chen Guangcheng, by the nephew. On the other hand, you have the thuggish government. Where are we? I am an American. When I say “we,” I mean the United States. Where are we? Who are we standing with?

Now, if you allow me, I am not listed to speak about this, but I want to pick up on what Dr. Richardson and Mr. Horowitz said, because I have been following Twitter's Chinese community. These are people who are living in China but have the technical savvy to climb the wall and are very active on Twitter.

I want to give the hearing a little bit of an idea—I want you to know because it's of the utmost importance to know what the reactions are after Chen Guangcheng left the Embassy: Overwhelming disbelief at how this could have happened; overwhelming anger, and a sense of betrayal.

Now, for six days, "*mei guo da shi guan*," five characters in Chinese meaning U.S. Embassy. Those five characters, for six days, were magic words for many Chinese. China is a big country and there is one island, one safe haven called the U.S. Embassy, we are so overjoyed that he got there, it was a miracle, miraculous. Yet, we dropped the ball so terribly. We allowed this to happen. I'm not going to comment on how it happened because others already spoke very eloquently.

Now, we also have to remember and have to understand that what Chen Guangcheng represents for so many Chinese, strangers, Chinese netizens who went to the village, got beaten, got robbed, lost their jobs, lost their houses afterward, braving such harsh punishment for doing nothing wrong. Why? Because they love Chen Guangcheng. Why do they love Chen Guangcheng? Because Chen Guangcheng, as a blind man, is a source of light.

There are no poetic words, but literally, he is a source of light. He represents the goodness and the bravery that are both in short supply in China. He lives in the poorest village. He didn't go to school until he was 18. He is blind. Where on earth did you find such a man? Where? Tell me. And he is this symbol.

Now we must understand the larger picture. Now, I am an ordinary citizen. My larger picture might not be the same as the larger picture of our State Department officials. But the one piece I saw in this larger picture may very well be the most significant piece, which is that China's pro-democracy citizens, whether they are outspoken or not, look upon the United States for support.

If we failed Chen Guangcheng, it deals a horrible blow for this population that is braving persecution for change in China for the better, and that we will suffer the pain for years and years to come. We will lose all credibility.

I mean, may I read a few quotes I took from Twitter? Number one, very straightforward: "The U.S. betrayed us." Number two: "Obama has no teeth." Number three: "This is so recklessly cynical." Number four: "Now that we can't even trust the U.S. Embassy, I can't tell you how angry I am." Number five: "In 2012, the entire human race is unable to rescue a blind man." Number six: "After I read the report by CNN that the whole world is talking about this man, only the Chinese themselves don't know what's going on. I am so saddened by this fact."

The last quote is by the very well-known Canadian activist Sheng Xue. You might know the name. She said, "The Chen Guangcheng case is a challenge to the U.S. ideals, also a test of American strength. If the United States gives up on protecting Chen Guangcheng, it amounts to giving up its leadership role in the world. Down the road, in the face of terrorism and a dictatorship, the U.S. will never be able to stand straight up again." This is by Sheng Xue. She is based in Canada. She is an activist and also a journalist.

That's what I'm here to say and I'm happy to have said it. Thank you very much for this opportunity. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Ms. Cao, thank you very much for your testimony. It is almost numbing to hear you say what other Chinese individuals are saying online. So, that should be a wake-up call in and of itself to the U.S. Government, and especially to this administration.

I'd like to now yield, to such time as she will consume, Wang Xuezheng.

STATEMENT OF WANG XUEZHEN, HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATE

Ms. WANG. I'm very sorry, but I can't speak English so I'll be speaking Chinese through an interpreter.

Ladies and gentlemen, good afternoon. I myself am here as a supporter of Chen Guangcheng and I hope I have helped him and his family, and I hope through telling you all a little bit about what has happened to me myself in the process you will be able to get a real feeling for what he has been through in the past, as well as an accurate as possible a picture of what's in store for him in the future.

On August 26, 2011, I went to Linyi to help Chen Guangcheng's daughter, Chen Kesi, be able to attend the school that she should have been attending. I went with some other people. This trip was very much in goodwill and we wanted to show the local government that we were coming in peace and goodwill.

For that reason we decided to stay at a local spa which was open and not secret, and also it was far from Yinan county so they could see us. They were even able to watch us while we were sleeping. We wanted them to be very clear that the only reason we were there this time, the sole goal and purpose of our mission, was to let Chen Kesi, his daughter, be able to attend this school.

We didn't really get any good results. The only thing that happened is, even while we were asleep, there were seven to eight big, strong guys that were watching us all the time, and there were several cars parked outside watching us all the time. We didn't make any progress in getting her to attend the school that she was supposed to be attending. As a matter of fact, when we went to try to visit the family we were met with violence and they pulled us out of the car.

That same year, September 19, I went with an Israeli journalist to complain. We were going to Jinan, the provincial capital, to complain about the brutal treatment that we'd received in Yinan. Actually, also, the night before that there were two women who also tried to go and visit and they were robbed and beaten, their heads were bagged, they were thrown in cars, taken to another place outside of that city, thrown in the woods. Other than the government giving a warning regarding this, there was no explanation at all for what they did.

On September 20, we went to the house of the fourth son in Chen Guangcheng's family, so the brother that was just older than him in the pecking order. We went there to ask whether or not Chen Guangcheng's daughter had successfully been able to go to the school that she was supposed to be attending.

As soon as we arrived, six people rushed in. We were not able to carry out the conversation at all. Instead, what we had to do was leave the school supplies, which we were bringing there. We left and we were followed by their car.

On September 21, we decided that one person should remain in the motel that we were staying at and the rest of us would go to the school to see if there was any progress, but our car was stopped. There were three men on motorcycles who were waiting for us, so we left. We didn't go into the school. We hadn't left for very long.

We had just left the school when we were pulled out of our car. As we were beaten the reporter that was with us was with us was ordered away and escorted away, but the rest of us were taken to an old empty house on the outskirts of the village. We were bagged, we were body searched in a very insulting and terrible way. We were beaten and we were taken to an old abandoned house.

Then at night we were taken to the police station and interrogated for stealing a cow. I refused to sign the statement that they prepared for me and I was sent back to Laiyang. At 2 a.m., I was in the Laiyang police station being interrogated, and at 5 a.m. I was home. Then on the 21st as well, the person who had remained at the motel was also ordered away, taken back to that person's home. The political police stole a lot of stuff, a lot of possessions from us. I myself went to Linyi to report these crimes and I was there by about noon that day. I called some reporters. As soon as I pulled out the phone to call the reporters there were eight political police that appeared and sent me home to Laiyang.

On October 20, a McClatchy journalist asked me to come there for an interview. I went to complain about the treatment that I'd received previously when I'd been beaten and harassed. When I told them all about it, the only thing was, they handed me a form and told me to fill out a form.

But the whole time there were seven or eight big, strong guys watching me, listening to everything I was saying. Then after we got in the car and we hadn't even stopped—the car was still moving, it hadn't even stopped—in Dongshigu village, the reporter's assistant, the journalist's assistant, was almost pulled out of the car before the car had even stopped.

On October 26, I myself and several volunteers, along with a British Telegraph reporter, were heading to Yinan county to bring the school supplies—once again, more school supplies. We were going to bring them to Chen Guangcheng's brother's house. We were followed the entire way from start to finish. Then the Linyi county government answered our request. They said, yes, you can go see him.

So since they said we could go see him we were trying to get police protection and an escort for us to go, to go with us. They said we couldn't take our cameras and they also said that they wouldn't escort, and that we were crazy, and then they slapped me very hard in the face.

Of course, there was no protection to speak of. We were kicked out of the police station. The next day, we met a Japanese reporter. The political police appeared once again and jailed us, took our

clothes off, took our shoes off. They gave us full body searches after we were completely naked.

I was working with a Finnish TV station, helping them to try to cover the situation, on November 5. That was the smoothest time I had ever had, trying to go and see Chen Guangcheng. I didn't encounter too many problems, most likely because we were staying in the big city of Qingdao, which is very far from Linyi. Also, we had taken out our cell phone batteries. We had taken precautions. Even though we did that, the Qingdao police worked through the Laiyang police to investigate and interrogate me.

Then on December 2, I had arranged, with several other volunteers, to give out gift bags and balloons with Chen Guangcheng's picture on them in several major cities in the province of Shandong. We were in contact with each other to arrange this.

Our contact itself wasn't detected, but as soon as we began printing the materials we were detected by technical means, by the technology of the police, and there was no due process accorded to us. They searched my house, they beat my husband. He and I were both detained illegally for 14 days.

For about 10 of those days, we were in our hometown, Laiyang's 6-10 office, which is part of the Party Cadre School of the Provincial Party Commission, which is often used to put away Falun Gong political prisoners, and it was very dirty.

There were four volunteers, though, who kept their activities up as we had planned, even after my husband and I had been arrested. They were also detained illegally just because they insisted on the balloons and the gift bags and doing it. Their detention also was not one that was done with any warrant, it was completely illegal.

There were hundreds and hundreds of people who have been to see Chen Guangcheng and to show their concern for him. I myself should be considered one of the lucky ones. Everything that I've encountered is not nearly as violent I'm sure as what a lot of other people have encountered. What they've encountered is much more violent than what I've encountered. They've been beaten terribly, brutally. Their bones have been broken, their skulls have been broken.

I've even heard the story of a 16-year-old high school kid who was beaten in his genitals. I myself really just have a lot of contact with reporters, and I am also a Catholic, so I maybe am not considered quite as egregious so I'm not subject to quite as terrible treatment as some of the others.

So you see what happens here when you have a brutal, rogue regime, these brutal powers that they have and they have no respect for the law and they're basically stomping on people's rights and stomping on the laws themselves. Chen Guangcheng and his family, he and his wife, have suffered much, much, much more than I have. He himself is known all over the world for doing what he did, standing up to protect other people's human rights. Here is this father of two, right now here today, who is now trying very hard to protect his family. The question is, what should be done? How should we treat him? What should we do? We need to show him concrete actions.

Thank you.

Representative WOLF [presiding]. Well, I want to thank the panel. Congressman Smith just got a call and he'll be back in. But I want to thank the panel. I wish every Member of Congress could have been here to hear it.

I have a number of questions, which I will wait to see if Mr. Smith comes back in. But I have a number of observations that I wanted to make based on the testimony. One, I personally want to thank the media. It's very easy, in a political business, to criticize the media. But if it were not for the media covering this story, and as the young witness was just referencing, every time she attempted to visit Chen there was somebody from the media from some country that was with her. I just want to thank the media.

Also, I want to make it clear that we appreciate very much the bravery of the Chinese people. I would hope that they would know, particularly as a result of this hearing, that the representatives of the State Department in Beijing do not represent the viewpoint of the American people. There is a distinct difference.

The third question I wrote down here: Is there a representative of the State Department here today? Is there a representative here? You do not have to identify yourselves. Will you be getting this information to Secretary Clinton as soon as you go back? I understand she's in China today and also tomorrow, is that correct? You will be doing it right after? Well, I appreciate that very much.

The other thing I would say, as I was sitting there listening, when I think of the words of Ronald Reagan where he said the words in the Constitution were a covenant with the entire world, Congressman Smith and I were in Beijing Prison #1 where a number of the Tiananmen Square demonstrators were. I think if President Reagan were the President now, what a difference that would be. I mean, can you imagine what would be said by President Reagan versus this administration?

Last, then I will have some questions if Mr. Smith doesn't come back in, I have been here since 1981. I see a direct parallel with what is taking place today in China and the unraveling of the Romanian Government, the activities of the Chinese Government are literally parallel with Ceausescu.

It is like they found Ceausescu's playbook, and they didn't realize what happened to Ceausescu and they're following his playbook. It's somewhat similar to what took place with regard to Russia before it fell.

I wanted to ask Bob Fu the question, or if anyone here can sort of explain it, can anyone explain the difference between the comment that I heard on the news yesterday that Chen wanted to kiss Secretary Clinton if he could versus what he said in reality? Yes, ma'am. Would you—was that a translation problem or was that a—

Ms. CAO. I was on Twitter, and Chen Guangcheng had a phone conversation with one of his closest friends. Her name is Zeng Jinyan. She is the wife of Hu Jia. Hu Jia is one of the most prominent dissidents living in Beijing. So, Chen Guangcheng and the wife of Hu Jia had a conversation, had a call.

Over the phone call, when Zeng Jinyan told Chen Guangcheng that, "Oh, we heard in the news that you said you wanted to kiss Secretary Clinton," Chen Guangcheng said, "No, that's not what I said. I said I want to meet her." So now, in light of the past

event—at the time I just thought, oh, how funny, how convenient, to make this mistake. I just thought, it's not something significant.

Now, I also don't want to over-interpret things, but over the last two days this has run over in my head: kiss and see, how close the pronunciation is. Did they pretend not to hear it? I mean, I'm just asking. The Congress can ask the same question, but Chen Guangcheng told his friend that he didn't say he wants to kiss Clinton, he wanted to meet Clinton. So that's what she, this friend, Tweeted on Twitter.

Representative WOLF. Now, was that comment then put out by Chen or was it put out by the State Department?

Ms. CAO. No. It's—no.

Representative WOLF. The first comment about, he would like to kiss the Secretary, was that put out by Chen or was that put out by the State Department?

Ms. CAO. No, that's put out by the State Department and the media.

Representative WOLF. By the State Department?

Ms. CAO. Yes.

Representative WOLF. Okay.

Ms. CAO. And the Tweets. I can send you the very Tweet that clarified this confusion.

Representative WOLF. Now, Assistant Secretary Posner called me yesterday morning and gave me a briefing which sounded so upbeat and positive and said that he was going to meet with—that he had gone to the hospital with Chen and he was going to be with Chen on Thursday and on Friday. Today is Thursday. Does anyone know if he was with him today? Have you spoken?

Ms. CAO. Who? Who?

Representative WOLF. Assistant Secretary Posner.

Ms. CAO. Oh, Assistant? I have no idea.

Representative WOLF. He said I was with him. Went to the hospital with him and I would be with him on Thursday and with him on Friday. Nobody knows?

Ms. CAO. No.

Representative WOLF. Can you help me? Do you think the environment changed? Apparently I've heard some very positive things about Ambassador Locke. I was one who opposed Ambassador Locke's confirmation to the Ambassadorship, and I told him so and he knew it. But he came up to me later and said, "I think you'll be proud of my activity." I've heard very positive things about Ambassador Locke.

Do you think this went south after people came from Washington, that Ambassador Locke was basically trying to do the right thing and then when Campbell, who is a member of this Commission, interestingly enough, and others came out from Washington it began to go south and go bad?

Does anyone have any feeling about it? Was Locke trying to do—and Bob Fu might have a better idea. But was Locke trying to do basically the right thing, and when Washington intervened it went poorly? Does anybody have any comment about that? Mr. Horowitz?

Mr. HOROWITZ. I think that it was just written in the cards to end the way it did. I want to come back to at least my judgment,

Congressman Wolf, that this end was predictable based on the sacrifice of bargaining leverage and the absolutely, inexcusably poor bargaining that took place on Chen Guangcheng's alleged behalf.

If it turned out that some of the people in the State Department were pleased at the seeming outcome of their bargaining efforts—Michael Posner, Ambassador Locke, others—when at the end of the bargaining all we got was a verbal agreement and if we indicated to China that we needed to get the deal wrapped up quickly and sent every signal we did have such a need, so much more is the pity, so much more must be the criticism.

There may be cables that indicate whether there was goodwill, malice, or whatnot on their part, but I come back to the notion that anybody skilled in serious bargaining could have predicted the terrible outcome of a negotiation that took place in the way that it did.

Representative WOLF. Ms. Richardson, you mentioned, and I thought it was a very positive idea—could you go into a little more detail about, since Secretaries Clinton and Geithner—although personally I don't think Geithner is that interested in human rights and religious freedom—but can you talk about the merit of both Secretary Clinton and Secretary Geithner going directly and involving themselves personally, and even going to the hospital to visit Chen? Can you tell us why you think that would be important and how that would be helpful? I think it would be very helpful.

Dr. RICHARDSON. I think it's mostly the immediate circumstances and the longer term game, so to speak, in the sense that I think with every hour that goes by when American officials don't have access to Chen the stakes go up. On your earlier question, the Washington Post has been reporting for several hours that American officials haven't had access to him since they left the hospital.

So I think it's a moment that requires some fairly dramatic action on the part of the United States to demonstrate the gravity of the situation and the lengths to which it's willing to go to try to rectify it.

We and many others have made the point for a long time that unless and until a much broader spectrum of U.S. Government officials, even if they don't necessarily ostensibly have a stake in the human rights fight—and in my world that's a very short list of people or agencies—that the United States looks stronger and more coordinated if the broader the group of diplomats raised these issues. So I think in this particular moment, when a very visible gesture is likely necessary to get things back on the rails so to speak, that to have not just Secretary Clinton and not just Ambassador Locke, who obviously have been deeply involved in all of this, but to have a broader cross-section of U.S. Government officials to demonstrate the depth and the breadth of concern about human rights issues across the government. It's one way of really making that point.

We've asked for years that all of the agencies that participate in the Strategic and Economic Dialogue [S&ED] be tasked with at least one human rights talking point, partly because you never know who's sitting on the other side of the table and might be slightly more receptive to that issue.

But I also think that kind of coordination across the United States really registers with the Chinese side. It was not my sense

going into this S&ED before the Chen incident arose—it was once again my sense, I should say, that going into the fourth S&ED that the United States was any more poised to demonstrate a broader commitment to human rights than it has been in the past. So I think this is a great moment to set a new precedent and have kind of a broader cross-section of diplomats turn up.

Representative WOLF. So this is a real test for the Obama administration.

Dr. RICHARDSON. Well, I think a lot depends on what happens in the next 48 hours or so.

Representative WOLF. I have written every official in the Obama administration—the State Department—the Trade Representative comes before and is funded by my subcommittee. I have asked them to go visit—not to worship, but to visit—a house church, an underground church, a Catholic church, a Protestant church, with the Buddhist monks, to visit.

Not one person in the administration, not one person, has responded and agreed. Ambassador Kirk, who we fund in my committee, has refused—has refused—to go to any house church or to visit.

Now, in all fairness, the Bush administration did not visit either. I wrote all the officials in the Bush administration and they did not visit. But this administration has failed and we will furnish for the record the letter that we have sent.

When I get back to my office, we will call the State Department and ask for Secretary Clinton to go and try to see Chen directly.

Has the President or the Vice President of the United States, President Obama or Vice President Biden, who I believe is trying to develop a special relationship with the Chinese, have they spoken out? Would it be helpful to have the President go to the Rose Garden and go to the press office and speak out forcefully with regard to this issue within the next several hours? Could anyone tell me? Mr. Horowitz?

[The letter appears in the appendix.]

Mr. HOROWITZ. I think talk is not going to work anymore. Yes, I think it would be marginally useful, but I think the Chinese would interpret that being as for domestic political consumption only. I think action is very important. I think there are two things in that regard. One, what Yaxue said about the Tweets coming out of China saying that our handling of the Chen case created a sign of U.S. weakness, sent a signal that the U.S. Embassy was no longer a bastion of hope, a symbol of resistance.

The ironic part is, and I think you've made the point Congressman, that that will translate negatively in the negotiations that Secretary Geithner wants to do. It's all seamless, as Sophie Richardson has just made clear. If we project weakness and surrender on human rights, China will exploit that in every matter with which they deal with us. So I think that's the problem.

I think the only response—I come back to what I said and it's something you have labored on, Mr. Wolf, more than any Member of Congress, but action counts. I think that there may be other actions, but one that I think is very clear and very directly related to the protection of all of the people caught up in this tragedy, is for the United States to openly and robustly mount a commitment

to tear down China's Internet firewalls so that the kind of censorship that now takes place where not more than a handful of Chinese, can even type in and search the word "Chen."

Let 20 million, 30 million Chinese type in the word "Chen" and get it on their cell phones, and let's make this happen as we now can do it in a matter of two to three months. As you well know, Mr. Wolf, that's the response we should make to the Chen case. It will protect Chen Guangcheng and his family but it will also send a signal to China that we are not a weak country and we are not a surrendering country. Just a speech by the Vice President, that's politics. The Chinese will understand that and it will not affect them, in my judgment, at all.

Representative WOLF. In the interest of Mr. Smith, I think what I'm going to do is to recess the hearing briefly so he can come back in. Let's just recess for five minutes, if we can.

[Whereupon, at 4:01 p.m.the hearing was briefly recessed.]

AFTER RECESS [4:06 P.M.]

Chairman SMITH [presiding]. The Commission will resume its sitting.

I just want to apprise everyone that Bob Fu has made contact with Chen Guangcheng in his hospital room. We just had an interesting and, I think, enlightening conversation. But we're going to put him on the speaker.

[Whereupon, Chen Guangcheng joined the hearing via teleconference and translation was provided by Bob Fu.]

Mr. CHEN. I want to make the request to have my freedom of travel guaranteed. I want to come to the United States for some time of rest. I have not had any rest in the past 10 years already. I want to meet with Secretary Clinton and I hope I can get more help from her. I also want to thank her face to face.

I really fear for my other family members' lives and they have installed seven video cameras and even an electric fence. Those security officers in my house basically said they want to see what else Chen Guangcheng can do. So the thing that I am most concerned with right now is the safety of my mother, my brothers, and I really want to know what's going on with them. Thank you very much.

Chairman SMITH. Chen, thank you very much. As I indicated a moment ago, you have a panel of people who have just testified on your behalf, all of whom deeply care about you, your family, as well as those who helped you, including He Peirong, who are all desperately concerned about her whereabouts and her well-being, your nephew, and others.

Again, one person who just spoke, Mrs. Wang, spoke about her efforts to see you and how she was mistreated repeatedly, including strip searches. I think the word is getting out, and there are a number of the members of the national and international press here, that your case is the test, the test of the Chinese commitment to protect you, which they've given.

We're very dubious about those assurances, but it's also the test of the United States as to whether or not human rights really do matter. So your plea that the Secretary of State, who did not meet with you in the Embassy, go to your hospital room and meet with

you, and you, your family, and your supporters need to be on a plane coming to the United States for, as you put it, that rest that you so richly deserve.

And Chen, very quickly before you answer, Christian Bale, the great actor, called one hour before this hearing to convey his solidarity and concern for your well-being and that of the rest of your family.

Mr. CHEN. I thank him very much for trying to get to Shandong to try to visit me. I want to also emphasize that after I was found missing from Shandong from my home, immediately my daughter's education opportunity was terminated. She was not allowed to go to school anymore. So, I do thank all the villagers who were helping me but who are also receiving retribution.

I want to thank all of you for your care and for your love.

Chairman SMITH. Chen, we are all praying for you and we will be unceasing in our efforts to secure your freedom.

Mr. CHEN. Thank you. Thank you.

Mr. FU. Do you have any further questions?

Chairman SMITH. No. Thank you.

I want to thank Bob Fu for setting up that phone call. That just absolutely underscores why we're here and why we will be unceasing.

If I could go to some final questions. Mr. Wolf, did you ask your questions?

Representative WOLF. Yes.

Chairman SMITH. Mr. Horowitz, if I could begin with you, I think you made an excellent point about the willingness to negotiate and to be the last person standing, to so speak. Your AFL-CIO, I think, analogy was a great one. I actually met with the Pentecostal Seven in 1982, when they were holed up in the Russian U.S. Embassy to the Soviet Union in Moscow, and we did stand steadfastly by them and time was not the issue. So I thought your point was extraordinarily well taken, if you wanted to elaborate on that.

My hope is, and I know the press have all left, but I think it's very important that the President of the United States—I would appreciate your views on this—speak out from the perch of the White House, obviously as the leader of the free world. You know, it's amazing to me that, when asked about Chen Guangcheng, he said he had no comment.

At the time during the horrible days of apartheid when Lech Walesa and Nelson Mandela, Václav Havel, Aung San Suu Kyi, Natan Sharansky, if any President, Reagan, Bush, were to be asked about those tremendous individuals they would launch into a defense of those brave men—and women, Aung San Suu Kyi—and yet, no comment from the President. Your thoughts on that, if you could.

The concern that we all have about the “hurry up” offense, “time,” as you said, quoting, I think, Mick Jagger, “is on our side.” We could have worked this painstakingly before allowing Chen, whom we just heard from, to leave the Embassy.

Finally, let me just say when Wei Jingsheng was in Moscow, another great political leader, father of the democracy wall of movement in China, I met with him in the early 1990s when the Chinese wanted Olympics 2000, and he was such a high-value political

prisoner they thought if they just gave him up they would get the Olympics. When that didn't happen, they re-arrested him.

But while he was out, I happened to have been in Beijing and had dinner with him. He made a statement that he repeated here when he was finally given freedom under a humanitarian parole scheme that "you Americans don't understand this, that when you are weak, vacillating, and kowtowing, they beat us more in the laogai and in the Gulags. When you are tough, fair, transparent, you say what you mean and mean what you say, they beat us less."

He said right here—he said it to me over dinner in Beijing, and then he went back to further beatings, sadly, but then was finally let out. But right here in this very room he said, "Why don't you get that? Why don't you understand that you need to be tough—not unreasonable, but tough?" He said, "That message gets right down to the jailers' level and they beat us," because he was beaten for 15 years, as T. Kumar knows, having been a political prisoner for over 5 years. They beat for 15 years this man to the point where he almost lost his life just like Chen Guangcheng.

Your thoughts on that, if you would?

Mr. HOROWITZ. Well, if I can take—one, you gave the example of President Bush and President Reagan. I think Mr. Wolf's point at a prior hearing is very well taken. I would add Presidents Carter and Clinton. As Mr. Wolf said when the Xi visit took place, all four of those Presidents would have met with the wives of some of the political prisoners while this President, in the name of "realism," has not done so. I think he doesn't understand the point that Presidents Carter, Reagan, Clinton, and Bush did.

I think the greatest witness who could be here is George Schultz, because he constantly tells the story of how the Russian Ambassador came to him and said, "You know, I can't do business with this Reagan. Every time I try and talk about serious matters he's always talking about Pentecostals and Refuseniks." Schultz then said to the Soviet Ambassador, "Hey, I have the same problem. He really takes this seriously. This is what he thinks he's supposed to be doing as President of the United States."

To make the point I've always thought critical, Ronald Reagan was President of the Screen Actors Guild before he became President. He was President of a union. He really understood the extraordinary power of human rights issues to deliver not only on human rights issues, but on every other issue on the table between the Soviet Union and the United States. I think that's a critical point.

The second thing is, during the break, Mr. Chairman, somebody told me what I had not known about what you've called the so-called "hurry-up offense" that took place during the Chen bargaining. Someone told me that General Counsel, or Solicitor—I forget the formal title now of the chief lawyer at the State Department, Harold Koe—was quoted by the Washington Post when asked, why was this agreement not put in writing before Chen was released. He said, "We didn't have time."

Now, Mr. Chairman, I hope that he will be called as a witness. This is a man who was dean of the Yale Law School, a pretty smart lawyer. That is the shallowest justification and rationalization for throwing Chen to the wolves that I have ever heard, and

it is either malevolent on his part or a sign of incompetence. If this is true, in my judgment a respectful request for his immediate resignation is in order. This man, if this statement is true—and I do not know if it is—but if it is he has forfeited his right to be the chief lawyer of the U.S. State Department. Imagine a lawyer making that excuse when representing an ordinary client. My goodness, he'd get disbarred for not putting agreements in writing for the routine sale of goods and services.

Here, Mr. Koe had the well-being of the United States, the reputation of the United States, and the life and the safety of this great hero, and did he really say “we didn't have time” to reduce the agreement to writing. That is the most rank, if true, act of malpractice in public life—and I've been general counsel of a government agency—I believe I have ever experienced.

So I want to ask you, Mr. Wolf, and you, Mr. Chairman, to find out whether this is true, whether that quote is true. Get the Washington Post reporter to find out if it's true, because if it is, Mr. Koe has, as I say, forfeited his right absolutely to serve as chief lawyer for the U.S. State Department.

Chairman SMITH. Would anybody else like to comment on that?

Ms. LITTLEJOHN. Then the other issue that that raises is, what was this hard time deadline? What was driving this time guillotine if it wasn't Secretary Clinton's talks with the Chinese concerning trade? That raises the further issue of, was Chen a bargaining chip in all of this?

Mr. HOROWITZ. I just have to say again, they did it backward. The fact that the Chinese were on the defensive, acutely, in advance of this high-level meeting is the reason why time was on our side, as any bargainer would know, and throwing away that leverage to “help” the Geithner agenda is itself inexcusably incompetent.

So, I mean, to risk this man's life and future over the issue of a timetable that was actually working for us and against the Chinese is just so hard to live with and understand and accept. Especially when we now hear this man speaking from his hospital room, all alone, not knowing the fate of his wife, and with television monitors all over his room.

Chairman SMITH. You know, one point Mr. Chen made just a moment ago in the earlier conversation before we broadcast it, one of the points he made was that he was so grateful that the U.S. diplomats were working around the clock and without sleep, to which I said that can be seen another way. It can be seen also as, they wanted to get this done, off the table.

As a matter of fact, in her testimony—without objection I would ask it be made a part of the record—Chai Ling, who is the head of a group called All Girls Allowed, a Tiananmen Square hero who was among the most wanted, makes the point that, “last week, I and other advocates of freedom in China watched with joy as Chen Guangcheng made his bid for freedom.”

Then she goes on and says that, “Now do I want to believe that they willfully misled Chen into thinking that this was a possibility,” talking about his freedom? Then she goes on to talk about how “he was a fly to be swatted away before diplomatic talks ensued.” Here is someone who, again, has paid with her freedom and

has endured great risks, being very concerned about this "hurry-up offense," this timetable issue.

Yes, Mr. Horowitz?

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

Mr. HOROWITZ. Can I make one other point, Mr. Chairman, about the treatment of Chen Guangcheng? One of the things you learn as a lawyer dealing with clients—and we're talking about clients here—I've dealt with clients, Mr. Chairman, who were facing a criminal charge. They're vulnerable people. They don't know what's going on. Understanding that is part of your responsibility to your client.

If you're representing somebody you've got to account for the fact that their judgment is impaired, that there is terror here about one's family, about one's self. One doesn't know what's going on. Again, from all appearances, this time factor, this hurry-up business, only contributed to the ill-at-ease, the sense of isolation, the sense of vulnerability of Chen Guangcheng.

So the first thing you do with a client who is out there, just terrified that the world's coming to an end and not knowing what's going on, is tell them, sit down, take it easy, have a cup of coffee, have a good night's sleep, come back, talk to me. That, too, is Representation 101 when you're dealing with someone like Chen and they've gone exactly the opposite, in the wrong direction in dealing with this man.

Chairman SMITH. I understand, Mr. Wolf, you wanted me to yield?

Representative WOLF. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I just wanted to let the Commission know that I just spoke to the Secretary's office. I spoke to a Dan Fogerty and told them that you had been in conversation with Chen, and that he had made an official request that the Secretary visit him in the hospital. I asked Mr. Fogerty, if he would get that word to the Secretary immediately and he said he would.

Chairman SMITH. I thank you, Mr. Wolf.

Let me ask, Ms. Wang, you've only been here in the United States for about a month. I think we need to underscore, you personally—I am not sure how many times, but several times—undertook trips to visit with Chen Guangcheng. You talked about the body searches and the degrading treatment that you endured.

I think the American public and the world, the Western world, frankly, and all people, need to be fully aware of just how vulnerable everybody else is who have aided and assisted Chen, which is all the more reason why, as Reggie Littlejohn underscored with exclamation points, He Peirong, why her particular case is so important. If you could just elaborate on what others might face, because we're very worried about you. Yes? Before you go, Mr. Horowitz.

Mr. HOROWITZ. Just one thing. Somebody just passed this to me, Mr. Chairman, and I feel like I ought to read it. Again, I am told that there is a news story in the Washington Post or in one of the major papers quoting a U.S. official as explaining that U.S. officials "had to leave Chen alone and leave the hospital because hospital officials told them that visiting hours were over."

Now, once again, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Wolf, in your examination of State Department officials, I hope that that, too, will be high up

on the list—and that that official who said it, and any official who justified it, should have to sit here at this witness table and justify conduct of that kind and talk about leaving a man alone and vulnerable, and being certain that that would be the outcome, because some guy tells them the visiting hours are over and you've got to go, and they leave Chen alone in the hands of the security police with all of the TV camera monitors that have been installed.

Excuse me for intervening, but I just got this message. If this is true, it's something that I hope this commission will investigate and just put any official responsible for it, if it is true—on the witness stand.

Chairman SMITH. Well, the concern too, Mr. Horowitz, that the visiting hours, at least now, seem to be permanently over. Chen indicated to us that the Embassy has been unable to get back in to his room to visit with him, to ascertain his well-being. So, the talk of a durable solution is that he would be safe in China, there is no safety for any dissident in China. It just doesn't exist, especially with a man that—

Mr. HOROWITZ. But the point is, they were there. It's a lot harder to get into a room after you've been kicked out of the room, but it's pretty darned hard for the Chinese to forcibly eject an American official who firmly says, this man is my responsibility. We gave the honor and the full faith and credit of the United States to see that he would be and feel protected, and I'm not leaving this room. Why didn't they say that, Mr. Chairman, is the relevant question.

Chairman SMITH. I appreciate that, Mr. Horowitz. You know, hospital or police station, it seems to me it's a distinction without a difference because the hospital is crawling with police.

Ms. Wang, did you want to answer that question? Again, I think it's under-appreciated, perhaps by some, the risks that you personally undertook, coupled with the risks that you carry today.

Ms. WANG. As a supporter of Chen Guangcheng, I can tell you that there are people from all walks of life, from all industries and professions that support him. A lot of people actually have faced greater risks and have faced greater danger in doing this than I have myself, for instance, government workers, people who work for government enterprises or other types of companies. Some of them, as a result, their families have been talked to, their families have been harassed, and also the government comes and checks their books and gets them on economic crimes, financial crimes.

Then you get some teenagers, 16- and 17-year-olds who were curious and went to see Chen Guangcheng for that very reason. As a result, the authorities went and tried to talk a lot to their parents and harassed their parents. The kids were beaten. The parents couldn't understand what was possibly going on, but there was a lot of emotional damage done to the kids as a result of that.

I myself am married, so my personal life hasn't been dealt with in such an exaggerated manner as others. For instance, you mentioned He Peirong. She is not married. If she had boyfriends, let's say, there would be a lot of personal attacks on her personal life. That has also been taking quite an emotional toll on her.

And then there are a lot of supporters who have various types of, let's say, equipment or things that they use in the process of trying to show their support for Chen Guangcheng, like any equip-

ment involved or any money that they spent in their efforts, the authorities basically just confiscate them. They take them. They've taken their assets. I haven't gone to verify, but I do know of cases where, for instance, cameras and other equipment that would have been used to document it have been taken away or confiscated.

A lot of us have tried so hard and put so much effort into all of this, so if what we are looking at today is what it has all come to, I think I am not resigned to this. It's something that I can't accept. I really hope that the media from all over the world will stand up and rise and be tough in the face of what they're facing.

I think he needs his freedom and we owe him this. We've done so much. If we've done all of this for nothing it would be as if we had done it in vain. What we want to know is that it wasn't in vain, it wasn't for nothing, it was worth it. We want him to be doing much better.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you. Are there any comments that our distinguished witnesses would like to make? Yes, please.

Ms. CAO. One of the good things the supporters have done, the supporters inside China who visited or did something concrete, is that they quickly write accounts of their experiences and post them online, although very quickly, just as quickly, it would be deleted. But still, there have been dedicated groups who pass on the messages as quickly as possible, and then within minutes it will be re-posted thousands of times, that sort of thing.

So from that, I particularly want to point out two occasions that left a deep impression on me, is that of two reporters who were employed by the Chinese state-owned media until they tried to visit Chen Guangcheng, or did something. One of the people's name was Shi Yu. He was a Xinhua News Agency's regional reporter based in Hunan province in the midland of China.

He went to visit Chen Guangcheng as a private person, of course not representing his organization, and he was, just like many others, robbed, his money taken away, his cell phone taken away, he was beaten badly. He had a detailed account of how he was sacked with a black cloth and pulled into a van, and several people beat his head, his body, all over. Then they threw him out in the open and he managed to come back and write this. As soon as he returned, his organization fired him.

There is another reporter. Now it just occurred to me it didn't happen because of Chen Guangcheng, it happened because of Ai Weiwei. Let me just quickly recount it. He is a reporter with the Global Times, English version. His name is Wen Tao, Tommy Wen. He had the guts to run a report in Global Times, a very tough paper, on Ai Weiwei's disappearance and then he, himself, was disappeared. This reporter was disappeared for 80-plus days. Eighty-plus days without his family knowing where he was, those sorts of things.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you.

Would any of you like to conclude with any final comment?

[No response].

Chairman SMITH. Okay. Mr. Wolf?

Representative WOLF. No.

Chairman SMITH. I want to thank you again for sharing your extensive expertise, passion for human rights, and deep concern for

Chen Guangcheng and his wife Yuan, and family at today's hearing.

We will continue this effort. I am going to reapply for another visa, which has been turned down since October. I would love to meet with him and his family, but most importantly to hold the administration to account for what they may or may not have done. I think some of the questions posed by all of you and by Bob Fu need to be answered, and I think we need to take—and I say this to the press—with a grain of salt when he gushes with gratitude for efforts made on his behalf, I believe we have dropped the ball significantly.

I've been in this business of human rights work for 32 years. I broke my eye teeth on the Soviet Jewry issue. My first trip was to Moscow and Leningrad in 1982. As I mentioned earlier to Mr. Horowitz, in response to his mentioning of the Siberian Seven, the Pentecostal Christians, we met with them and we stood firmly, clearly, unambiguously with those who were espousing freedom and democracy and said we are in solidarity with you.

In the case of Soviet Jewry, we risked super-power confrontation by linking most-favored-nation status, the Jackson-Vanik amendment, with the release and freedom of Soviet Jews who were being horribly treated by Moscow. We need that same kind of fire in the belly for human rights at the White House. I still find it appalling that President Obama had no comment when speaking about Chen Guangcheng.

He should have gushed about this brave leader's, and equally his wife's, commitment to combating the most horrific crime on the face of the Earth, forced abortion and forced sterilization, carried out routinely by China. We should stand with Chen and not look to facilitate his loss of freedom, which it appears to be.

Here are good people who have tried within the administration, I am sure, to find a way out, but the time line issue remains a very troubling issue. This should have been the topic—not even a topic, but the topic—at the dialogue.

What's the use of having a dialogue on strategic and economic issues if you're not going to link human rights with it and say, why should we trust you in intellectual property rights, copyright infringement and the like, if you so maltreat your own people? Chen is a hero. This Commission will stay focused on him and we will not rest until he and his family and great friends like He Peirong are free.

The hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon at 4:40 p.m. the hearing was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

SUBMISSIONS FOR THE RECORD

离开美国使馆后，陈光诚表示希望与家人离开中国
——国务卿希拉里仍在北京，国会还能扭转局势

**After Leaving the U.S. Embassy,
Chen Guangcheng Says He Wants to Leave China with His Family**
--- While Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is Still in Beijing,
Congress Can Still Turn the Situation Around

*Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China on
"Recent Developments and History of the Chen Guangcheng Case"*
Thursday, May 3, 2012
2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.
2172 Rayburn House Office Building

中国山东省因致力于反对强制计划生育而长期遭到迫害的盲人维权律师陈光诚，在2012年4月22日星期天奇迹般逃离监狱式的住宅，在一些支持者的帮助下，秘密逃到北京，后来躲进美国驻北京大使馆。经过一个多星期的戏剧般发展，这位世界瞩目并敬佩的人权卫士，于昨天5月2日被美国使馆在北京朝阳医院移交给中国当局。事态发展成这样的结局，令人震惊、遗憾、难过和失望。

On Sunday April 22, 2012, the blind activist and lawyer Chen Guangcheng, who has endured long-term persecution because of his attempts to fight forced family (birth) planning measures (policy), miraculously escaped from his home, which had become his prison, and with the help of supporters, fled in secret to Beijing, then took refuge in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing. After over a week of dramatic developments, this human rights defender who has captured the world's attention and admiration was handed over by U.S. Embassy and government officials to the Chinese authorities yesterday, May 2, in Beijing's Chaoyang Hospital. That the developments resulted in such an outcome was shocking, regrettable, heartrending and disappointing.

作为对华援助协会的负责人傅希秋牧师，我了解陈光诚逃亡的过程，并与帮助陈光诚赶赴北京的团队保持着联系。在陈光诚被送离大使馆之后，我与美国的相关政府官员，几位与陈光诚关系密切且与陈有过电话交流的人士，都保持着直接充分的联系，获得了大量第一手的资料，尽管是不完整的。事态发展到这个地步，有一些重要的几个环节令人难以理解，需要尽快理清。

As the president of China Aid Association, I am familiar with the details of Chen Guangcheng's escape and was in contact with the team of people who helped Chen flee to Beijing. After Chen left the U.S. Embassy, I stayed in close contact with both the relevant U.S. government officials and people who are intimates of Chen and who had been in telephone communication with Chen. From them all, I have amassed a great deal of first-hand—though incomplete—information. In the developments that have resulted in the current situation, there are some important episodes that are hard to understand and need immediate clarification.

1、根据美国国务院、驻北京大使馆和中国官方的宣布，陈光诚是自愿离开使馆

的。然而，根据美联社的报道、陈光诚的好友滕彪和胡佳的妻子曾金燕所提供的
第一手消息，陈光诚是在美方官员传达中方要打死妻子袁伟静的威胁之后，才被
迫无奈离开使馆的。并且，陈光诚在医院里通过电话，清楚地向我、上述两位朋
友和美联社表示，自己希望与妻子孩子们离开中国。最令人惊讶的是，根据美国
CNN 今天早晨的最新报道：记者与陈光诚电话记录，说明陈光诚是在美国大使
馆的不断劝说、施压、误导、甚至对他撒谎的情况下，才作出离开使馆的决定，
因此他对美国政府表示失望。同时，他通过 CNN 向奥巴马总统和国务卿希拉里
呼吁，帮助他全家离开中国。（参看相关报道：

1. According to the U.S. State Department, the U.S. Embassy in Beijing and the
official Chinese announcement, Chen Guangcheng's departure from the embassy was
a voluntary one of his volition. However, according to the Associated Press and the
first-hand information from Chen's friend and fellow lawyer Teng Biao and from
Zeng Jinyan, the wife of dissident Hu Jia, U.S. officials relayed to Chen the threat
made by the Chinese to kill Chen's wife Yuan Weijing threat, and it was after learning
of this threat that Chen was left with no choice but to reluctantly leave the embassy.
Furthermore, Chen Guangcheng clearly said to me by telephone from the hospital, as
well as to the two aforementioned friends and to the Associated Press that he wished
to leave China with his wife and children. Even more surprising, a transcript of an
interview with CNN that was released this morning clearly shows that Chen was
repeatedly urged and pressured to leave the embassy and that U.S. Embassy officials
had misled and even lied to him; it was under these circumstances that Chen
Guangcheng decided to leave the embassy. He expressed disappointment with the
U.S. government, and through CNN, he made an appeal to President Obama and
Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to help his family leave China.

(Please see these reports:

[http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/may/02/chen-guangcheng-left-embassy-threat
s-wife](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/may/02/chen-guangcheng-left-embassy-threat-s-wife)

[http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/may/02/chen-guangcheng-left-embassy-threat
s-wife](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/may/02/chen-guangcheng-left-embassy-threat-s-wife) <http://www.chinaaid.org/2012/05/zeng-jinyan-chen-guangcheng-talked-to.html>

<http://www.chinaaid.org/2012/05/urgent-attention-chen-guangcheng-calls.html>

<http://www.cnn.com/2012/05/02/world/asia/chen-guangcheng-transcript/index.html>

2、无论是在昨天上午本人收到美国助理国务卿波斯纳的电话简报，还是当天下午
白宫官员主持的与部分非政府组织负责人的电话会议上，高级美国官员说他们
不知道陈光诚的家人受到威胁。这是缺乏基本常识的解释，令人遗憾和难以接受。
陈光诚及其家人长期被非法剥夺自由、多次被暴力等方式虐待，是全世界都知道
的事实。陈光诚既然因人身受威胁躲进使馆，然后听到的是妻小被逮到北京成为
人质，怎么可能乐意地离开使馆呢？

2. Both in the telephone briefing I received yesterday morning from U.S. Assistant
Secretary of State Posner, and in the conference call yesterday afternoon hosted by

White House officials for some NGOs, senior U.S. officials said they were unaware of the threats against Chen's family members. This explanation reveals a lack of basic understanding about China, and is both regrettable and unacceptable. Chen Guangcheng and his family have long been deprived of their freedom by Chinese authorities who have abused them many times and often violently—this reality is known to the whole world. Chen Guangcheng sought refuge in the U.S. Embassy due to fear for his personal safety; then he hears that his wife has been taken hostage and brought to Beijing. Under such circumstances, how could Chen Guangcheng's departure from the U.S. Embassy possibly have been voluntary?

3、根据本人接到的美中两国谈判信息，针对陈光诚问题双方达成 5 项协议：1) 双方发表联合公报；2) 美方同意中方安排在朝阳医院让陈光诚一家团聚；3) 中方允许美方可以探访陈光诚；4) 中方中央政府同意让陈光诚一家转移它处，安排他去某个大学学习法律；5) 中国中央政府会倾听陈光诚在他家乡受到的遭遇。这些协议条文中并没有列出怎样确保陈光诚和他一家人的自由和安全问题，更没有谈到他们全家的旅行自由和包括护照等海外旅行证件问题。

3. Based on what I have learned of the negotiations between the U.S. and Chinese governments, the two sides reached an agreement on the following five points:

- i. the two sides would issue a joint communiqué;
- ii. the Americans agreed to allow the Chinese side to arrange a reunion of Chen and his family in Chaoyang Hospital;
- iii. the Chinese would allow the U.S. side to visit Chen Guangcheng;
- iv. the Chinese central government agreed to relocate Chen Guangcheng to another location and to arrange for him to enroll in a university to study law;
- v. the Central Government would listen to Chen Guangcheng's account of what he had suffered in his hometown.

These provisions did not include measures for how to ensure the freedom and safety of Chen and his family, nor did they touch on the subject of the family's freedom to travel and how issues like passports and other questions related to overseas travel would be handled.

4、我完全同意“人权观察”的看法，认为国务卿希拉里既然到了北京，就应当亲自接见陈光诚，准确表达美国政府的意见。目前来看，当事者双方的信息严重冲突，造成了不良的影响，令人有理由质疑美国政府与中国政府之间进行了不光明的交易。

4. I fully agree with the suggestion put forth by Human Rights Watch that, since Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is currently in Beijing, she should personally go to see Chen Guangcheng and accurately explain to him the U.S. government's position (decision). At the moment, there are serious inconsistencies in the information from the two sides, which is having the adverse effect of leading one to wonder if the Chinese and U.S. governments have struck a shameful deal.

5、美国务院宣称，与中国之间达成了保证陈光诚安全的协议。那么，怎么才能

够相信长期非法监禁和暴力虐待陈光诚及其家人的政府会遵守协议呢？此外，这份协议并没有包括保证那些帮助陈光诚逃亡的人士和陈光诚大哥陈光福一家的安全。

U.S. State Department announced that it had reached an agreement with the Chinese side that would guarantee the safety of Chen Guangcheng. But how is it possible to believe that a government responsible for the long-term illegal imprisonment and the violent abuse of Chen Guangcheng and his family will now abide by this agreement? Furthermore, the agreement does not include any measures to the guarantee the safety of Chen's brother Chen Guangfu's family and of those friends who helped Chen Guangcheng to escape.

6、上述的交织的事实真相，只有陈光诚获得自由才能得到核实。如果陈光诚是被出卖了，那么，中美双方的政府都不希望陈光诚有一天会说出真相。因此，我们希望国会能够调查事实真相，让公众明白责任方是谁，挽回美国在国际舞台上的信誉损失。

6. The truth of what happened can only be substantiated by Chen Guangcheng once he is a free man. If Chen Guangcheng has been betrayed, then neither the Chinese nor the U.S. side want the day to come when Chen Guangcheng will be free to reveal the truth. Therefore, we hope Congress will investigate the facts so that the public can know which is the responsible party and to restore U.S. credibility in the international arena.

7、目前，有一点事实是清楚和不可否认的，即，陈光诚在被送到朝阳医院见到妻子和两个孩子之后，通过电话向我本人、他的两位好朋友、美联社和 CNN，明确表达了他和全家人希望离开中国的愿望。因此，美国国务院关于陈光诚自愿留在中国的声明，已经过时，不再生效。

7. At present, there is one fact that is both clear and undeniable: after being taken to Chaoyang Hospital to see his wife and two children, Chen Guangcheng in a telephone call to me clearly expressed his desire to leave China with his family. He has also expressed this wish to his two good friends and to the Associated Press and CNN. Therefore, the U.S. State Department's statement saying that Chen Guangcheng wishes to remain in China is outdated and no longer valid.

陈光诚事件的历史让世人知道，中共政府可以凌驾于法律，肆意虐待一个正直守法的盲人公民。同时，人们也见证了陈光诚令人钦佩的良知、为正义与人权而孤独奋战的勇气和无法被摧毁的希望。陈光诚事件的最新发展还让世人看到，一个专制政体针对一个盲人的良知所进行的持久斗争，已经失败。

The developments in this Chen Guangcheng incident have shown the world that the Chinese Communist government is above the law, wantonly abusing an honest and law-abiding citizen. At the same time, everyone has seen the inestimable conscience of Chen Guangcheng, his courageous fight for justice and human rights and his hope, which nothing can destroy. These events have also shown the world that this authoritarian regime that has engaged in a protracted struggle for the conscience of a blind man has been defeated.

现在，陈光诚已经向全世界表达了希望离开中国的愿望，而国务卿希拉里为首的美国代表团还在北京，因此，局面还很有可能挽回。在这个关键时刻，国会当挺身而出，力挽狂澜，向世界证明：美国仍然是民主的国家，仍然是上帝为那些为义受逼迫者所设立的逃城，并一如既往，捍卫普世人权和自由，在恶势力面前绝不屈服。

Chen Guangcheng has expressed to the world his desire to leave China, but while the U.S. delegation led by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is still in Beijing, there is still a chance to turn the situation around. At this critical juncture, Congress ought to stand up and step forward to turn the tide and prove to the world that the United States is still a democratic country, still the country established by God as the designated city of refuge for those who are persecuted for righteousness sake, and still defends universal human rights and freedom and stands unyielding in the face of evil.

美国要保持一个伟大国家的地位和身份，必须能够证明这一点。
愿上帝赐福美国，赐福陈光诚全家。

To remain a great nation, the United States must demonstrate that this is so.

May God bless the United States and also bless Chen Guangcheng and his whole family.

Thank you.

ChinaAid founder and president Pastor "Bob" Xiqiu Fu

May 3, 2012

FRANK R. WOLF
10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

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CO-CHAIR—TOM LANTOS
HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

January 23, 2012

241 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-4810
(202) 226-6136

13273 PARK CENTER ROAD
SUITE 1300
HERNDON, VA 20171
(703) 709-6800
(800) 945-9653 (IN STATE)

110 NORTH CAMERON STREET
WINCHESTER, VA 22601
(540) 657-0990
(800) 850-9453 (IN STATE)

wolf.house.gov

The Honorable Ron Kirk
U.S. Trade Representative
600 17th St NW
Washington DC 20508

Dear Ambassador Kirk:

Given your position in the administration, you will likely have the opportunity to travel to China in an official U.S. government capacity. During the course of such visits I encourage you to take time to attend a service at one of China's underground house churches.

It is not uncommon for U.S. government officials to attend one of the state-sanctioned Three-Self Patriotic Movement churches. But these same officials rarely, if ever, visit any of China's house churches, which constitute a significant segment of China's faith community and consistently face persecution and repression at the hands of the Chinese government.

The challenges these believers face are well-known and documented. The State Department's recently released *International Religious Freedom Report* found that "The government's level of respect for religious freedom in law and in practice declined during the reporting period." The report continued, "Only religious groups belonging to one of the five state-sanctioned "patriotic religious associations" (Buddhist, Taoist, Muslim, Catholic, and Protestant) are permitted to register and to hold worship services. Religious groups, such as Protestant groups unaffiliated with a patriotic religious association, or Catholics professing loyalty to the Vatican, are not permitted to register as legal entities." Further, the department found that, "Authorities often confiscated Bibles in raids on house churches."

In light of these realities, people of faith in China often live in fear as they seek to worship according to the dictates of their conscience. Perhaps counter-intuitively, many of those in China's house churches welcome visits by high-profile government officials from the U.S. Not only do such visits give decision-makers in the West a clearer sense of the repression that the church in China faces at the hands of their own government, but in some cases they afford protection from future harassment and persecution and lend credibility to the churches themselves.

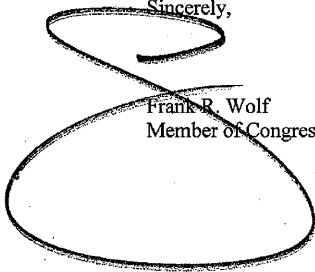
Mr. Bob Fu, who has himself spent time in China's prisons for attempting to practice his faith, now heads the China Aid Association, which was founded to draw international attention to China's persecution of house church Christians. Mr. Fu is a hero and advocate for many house church leaders and lay people alike. He can provide you with reliable information about select house churches which have made it clear that they welcome western dignitaries.

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January 23, 2012
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I strongly encourage you to consider making this a part of your next trip to China. Please contact Mr. Fu at (432) 689-6985 if you are interested in visiting one of these Chinese house churches and he can help coordinate the logistics.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

FRW:jf

THIS IS IMPORTANT
John

WRITTEN STATEMENT OF CHAI LING, PRESIDENT & FOUNDER OF ALL GIRLS ALLOWED

In Jesus' Name, Simply Love Her

MAY 3, 2012

Chairman Smith and Ranking Members of Congress, I thank you for granting me the opportunity to share my written testimony on the subject of Chen Guangcheng's escape to and departure from the US Embassy in Beijing. I also thank Chairman Smith and Paul Protic for bravely trying to go to China to help Chen.

I have long admired Secretary Hilary Clinton as a female world leader. She inspired a whole generation—myself included—at the UN Women's Conference in 1995 when she declared that “women's rights are human rights.” She spoke those oft-quoted words in Beijing years ago, but what happened to Chen Guangcheng under her watch in Beijing yesterday was a betrayal of these very same rights she vowed to uphold.

This is because Chen Guangcheng is not just a “dissident.” In fact, he did not even advocate against the central government. He is a folk hero in China, a defender of women, children, and the poor. Chen has worked tirelessly on behalf of women who face forced abortion and sterilization at the hands of the officials who should be protecting their citizens' rights.

Words simply cannot express Chen's value as a human rights advocate. He is fighting one of the most brutal state-sanctioned human rights abuses in the world.

As a self-taught lawyer, he became troubled at the plight of young women in his province of Shandong. Under the One-Child Policy, women are regularly subjected to invasive “pregnancy checks,” and officials brutalize them if they try to refuse. If they become pregnant, they are forced to undergo abortions, even very late in their terms—and many are sterilized under threat. The numbers are sobering:

- 400 million babies have been forcibly aborted or killed after birth.
- Because of the One-Child Policy and a cultural preference for males, one out of every six girls is aborted, killed, or abandoned.
- There are now nearly 40 million “missing” women.
- Sex trafficking and crime are skyrocketing in China in conjunction with the bachelor boom. Women are increasingly commoditized, with traffickers selling girls to families as child brides.
- These social trends impact women in alarming ways: suicide is the leading cause of death for young women in China, and China is the only country in the world where female suicide rates outstrip those of males. 500 women kill themselves every day—that's one every three seconds.

This is the evil that Chen was fighting. Please pause and think about that for a moment. Pray for this incredibly brave man.

In 2005, Chen investigated the methods of the One-Child Policy enforcers in his region, and he found that 7,000 women had undergone forced abortion in his area alone. He filed a class action lawsuit on behalf of 130,000 women who suffered forced abortions and sterilizations. Retaliation came swiftly: the government imprisoned Chen for four years for “obstructing traffic,” and kept him under lockdown in his own home since his 2010 release. There, a pack of guards continually harassed Chen and his wife along with their six-year-old daughter.

Last week, I and other advocates of freedom in China watched with joy as Chen Guangcheng made his bid for freedom. Truth mirrored art in his escape, which played out like *The Shawshank Redemption*. (Chinese web censors even placed “Shawshank” on their list of banned search terms.) The blind lawyer scaled a wall, crossed a river, and evaded eight rings of vigilant guards to break free. He then traveled on foot through fields for twenty hours before meeting activist He Peirong at a pre-arranged location. She and others risked their lives to take him to the US Embassy in Beijing, where they knew he would find freedom.

But we let them down. Shamefully, US officials encouraged Chen to leave the Embassy and stay in China, in accordance with the Chinese government's request. He left the Embassy yesterday morning under duress after being told that the Chinese authorities were going to take his wife and children back to Shandong and remove the possibility of reunification. The US denied that any coercion took place—but if this is not coercion, then what is? What has become of the American Government? Is it a mere enabler of the Chinese officials' brutal treatment of Chen, plus the millions of women and children he defended?

US Embassy staff assured Chen they would stay with him at the hospital to ensure his safety, but left him without protest after the Chinese told them “visiting hours” had ended. They also failed to get a written version of the agreement they reached with the Chinese negotiators, an elementary error that could have disas-

trous consequences. They should have known better, having been given the authority to represent America. How could anyone not see the necessity of a written statement? And how could they ignore the fate of the activists who helped Chen escape? Many of them have been jailed since Friday.

Now Chen's wife is reporting that the family is in grave danger. He is under surveillance and American officials have reportedly been barred from visiting him.

I do not believe that Secretary Clinton and Ambassador Locke were simply naive, that they thought China would honor its word and allow Chen to live in freedom and safety. Nor do I want to believe that they willfully misled Chen into thinking this was a possibility. Freedom for human rights activists within China is not a reality, and I can only conclude that the current administration viewed Chen Guangcheng as a distraction that needed to be dealt with quickly—he was just a fly to be swatted away before diplomatic talks began. But this “fly” they swatted is a hero to everyone in China who values freedom and admires the United States' commitment to humanity. With sadness, I can tell you that the network of activists that watched this week with baited breath is now demoralized and hopeless.

I will not mince my words: this was an unqualified disaster. It was a disaster for the Obama administration, for the America we love, and for those in China who pray for freedom. If there is any way to turn this around, we must. And I call upon you, Honorable Members of Congress, to try.

I still pray. I have hope. Please join me in praying for Chen, his family, and the courageous people who brought him to the US Embassy. For while I am disappointed with the administration, my hope lies in the faithful and loving God:

*He upholds the cause of the oppressed
and gives food to the hungry.
The LORD sets prisoners free,
the LORD gives sight to the blind,
the LORD lifts up those who bowed down,
the LORD loves the righteous.
The LORD watches over the alien
and sustains the fatherless and the widow.*
—Psalm 146: 7–9 NIV

Please join me in prayer, for I believe God will bring Chen and his friends and family to freedom. And He is patient with all of us. He gives us the chance to be modern Esthers and Mordecais, bravely confronting oppression to join in His glory. Let us not miss this opportunity again!

In Jesus' name, I pray. Amen.

Chai Ling is the founder of All Girls Allowed, a humanitarian organization inspired by the love of Jesus to restore life, value and dignity to girls and mothers in China and to reveal the injustice of the One-Child Policy.

