

**TWENTY YEARS AFTER THE CRACKDOWN:
TIANANMEN SQUARE AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHINA**

HEARING

BEFORE THE

TOM LANTOS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED AND ELEVENTH CONGRESS

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CONTENTS

WITNESSES

Fang Zheng, Medalist, All-China Disabled Athletic Games	11
Wang Youcai, Chinese Democracy Party	12
Zhou Fengsuo, Co-Founder, Humanitarian China	15
Xiqiu “Bob” Fu, President, China Aid Association	16

APPENDIX

Hearing Notice	26
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TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 2009

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
TOM LANTOS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C.

The Commission met, pursuant to call, at 3:00 p.m., in Room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. James P. McGovern [chairman of the Commission] presiding.

Mr. McGOVERN. The hearing will come to order.

I want to welcome everyone to this important hearing. And I want to thank Human Rights Commission staff Hans Hogrefe and Elizabeth Hoffman for their incredible work in organizing today's hearing.

Before I begin my remarks, I would just like to say that there is a "dear colleague" with a brief calendar of the some of the events happening this week on Capitol Hill and around the city that commemorate and reflect on Tiananmen Square. I encourage everyone to take advantage of the many opportunities to hear and to learn from eyewitness accounts of these historic events that took place 20 years ago this week.

The Human Rights Commission will be hosting a screening of the Discovery Channel's documentary film "Tank Man" on Thursday at 5:00 p.m. in the Congressional Visitors Center. And I invite everyone to come and see this incredible film that takes a closer look at one of the iconic images of the Chinese Government's brutal crackdown against the demonstrators and the simple courage of the students and other Chinese citizens who simply wanted their voices heard.

Also, on the literature table is a letter from the Speaker of the House, Nancy Pelosi, to Chinese President Hu Jintao regarding prisoners of conscience who should be released from Chinese prison. The Speaker personally hand-delivered this letter to the President while in China last week.

Twenty years ago, I was working as a congressional aide to Congressman Joe Moakley, who represented Boston, Massachusetts. And, like most of the world, we had been watching the reporting from Tiananmen Square as the demonstrations for political and economic reform grew and spread across China. The nonviolent actions by Chinese people from all walks of life caught and held the imagination. Frankly, we could hardly believe what we were seeing. I know that we all hoped it would all lead to an exciting new era in China. But instead, beginning the night of June 3rd and throughout June 4th, we witnessed live the violence of tanks and machine guns against defenseless civilians.

I had intended to give a brief description of some of those events, but instead I would like to devote more time to the introductions of our panelists, because their life stories are so representative of Tiananmen Square and its aftermath.

So, at this point, I would like to yield to my colleagues for opening statements.

The co-chair of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, Congressman Frank Wolf.

Mr. WOLF. Thank you, Jim. I appreciate it very much.

I want to start by thanking the witnesses who have traveled great distances to be here today to share your personal stories. When the Chinese Government collapses, as I believe it will, there should be a wall of heroes in Beijing, perhaps in Tiananmen, and all of your names should be on there, along with Rebiya Kadeer and Harry Wu and Wei and others. But I thank you for your courage. You are really the Natan Sharanskys, if you will, of China.

All of our witnesses were participants in the pro-democracy demonstrations which led up to the June 4 crackdown in Tiananmen Square 20 years ago. I want you all to know that you are true heroes of the movement for freedom and democracy in China. It is important that your stories and struggles are not forgotten. In fact, your names should be on the lips -- when freedom comes to China, as it will, your names should be on the lips of all the schoolchildren. They should be able to talk about you the same way that we in the United States talk about the Revolutionary War heroes of the Adams and the Jeffersons and the Madisons and the Monroes and people who have fought and defended this country at an early time in Concord, Massachusetts, and places like that. So you should be and will be, when that time comes, in that same category.

The Chinese Government has taken painstaking efforts to ensure that the events which took place on the square 20 years ago are erased from history. All references to the Tiananmen protest have been removed from student textbooks, and the topic is off-limits for the state-run media.

I went to China for the first time in 1991 with my good friend, Congressman Chris Smith of New Jersey. It was during this trip that we visited Beijing Prison Number One. You could see these pictures there; Congressman Smith and I are walking through Beijing Prison Number One. They had a sock factory in the middle of there. Those people working on that machinery were Tiananmen Square demonstrators. They were making these socks for export to the United States.

And Chinese authorities informed us that, at that time, 40 Tiananmen Square protestors were in the prison at the time that Congressman Smith and I were there. Our requests to see the demonstrators were denied; however, Chinese authorities gave us a visit, they said, of the prison textile and plastic shoe factory, where we then took these pictures and took these socks and had them tested because they were later for export to the West. I took the socks out and gave them to Senator Moynihan, who raised these socks on the floor of the Senate when the issue of most-favored-nation trading status came up, and unfortunately MFN passed.

Still today, the Chinese people long for freedom from the oppressive rule of the Communist Party. Last winter, a group of Chinese democracy activists published "Charter '08," a document modeled after "Charter '77" issued by dissidents in Czechoslovakia. "Charter '08" calls for the Chinese Government to implement democratic reforms and respect the dignity and the fundamental human rights of all Chinese citizens. The Chinese Government responded by systematically incarcerating and harassing the brave group of individuals who signed the charter.

Twenty years have passed since the crackdown at Tiananmen Square, and the Chinese Government continues to ignore the peaceful protest -- and, I stress, peaceful protest -- of its own citizens for democratic reform. I continue every night to pray for their freedom, that China and the Chinese people will have freedom, the same way that millions of Americans and millions of people in the West prayed for the freedom of people behind the Iron Curtain. We prayed and many people prayed, and the same thing that happened with regard to the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain will happen with regard to China. I strongly believe that in my lifetime we will see the collapse -- we will see the collapse -- of the Chinese Communist Party.

In a Constitution Day speech, President Ronald Reagan described the United States Constitution, and he said the following: "as a covenant we have made not only with ourselves but all of mankind." And we have an obligation -- the Congress, the

administration, the executive branch -- everyone has an obligation, worldwide, to keep that covenant with the people of China and people who live in oppression around the world.

Again, I want to thank our witnesses for being with us here today. I look forward to your testimony. And I would love to have the opportunity sometime to return to Tiananmen with all of you. Thank you for your courage.

Mr. McGOVERN. Thank you very much.

Congressman Pitts from Pennsylvania?

Mr. PITTS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for holding this important hearing on Tiananmen Square and Human Rights in China.

I remember well April 1989, when students in Beijing held peaceful demonstrations in Tiananmen Square calling for freedom, openness, and dialogue. The Chinese Government responded by declaring martial law. And on June 3rd the People's Liberation Army troops were deployed in the square, and no one can forget the terrible massacre that ensued.

The extraordinary image of a man standing unarmed in front of a row of China Type 59 tanks, preventing their advance, has become one of the most famous photos of the 20th century and will be forever ingrained in all of our memories. But that man represents thousands of others. In the wake of the crackdown, hundreds, perhaps thousands, of people were killed or wounded. Thousands more were arrested or detained.

This week, we pause to remember the lives that were tragically lost in the massacre. We commemorate their courage, their stand for freedom. We remember those they left behind: mothers and fathers, husbands, wives, sisters, brothers, and friends. We also remember those who remain in prison because of their involvement in the democratic protest. And we call on the Chinese Government to release these individuals as an act of reconciliation and good faith.

China has made significant progress towards economic reform, but political reform is still needed to ensure the fundamental rights of the people, such as the freedom -- protestors who desire freedom of religion, expression, and assembly. And we look forward to a day when the people of China are truly free.

I would like to extend a special welcome to all of our witnesses. I look forward to hearing your stories, your testimonies of courage and survival. I would also like to thank Bob Fu for his dedicated work to protect and defend the basic freedoms of the Chinese people. Thank you for your leadership, for your courage, and for your willingness to travel a long distance to be with us today. We look forward to hearing from each of you.

And I yield back.

Mr. McGOVERN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Cao of Louisiana, do you have an opening statement?

Mr. CAO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I remember 1989. I was attending college at Baylor University, and I remember turning on the television and saw the courage and the determination of the students at Tiananmen Square. And the images very much inspired me, with respect to the level of determination that the group there conveyed in their faith against an oppressive force. And I was thinking that possibly some of the Vietnamese students in Vietnam could also have the same courage and the same determination to stand up and speak out against the communist Government of Vietnam.

You and I, we share the same heritage, we share the same history. And I believe that the history of Vietnam will very much correspond to the history of China. Congressman Wolf states that he hopes to see the Communist Party of China collapse in his lifetime. I also want to reflect the view of Congressman Wolf, in saying that I hope in my lifetime the communist Government of Vietnam will also collapse. And I believe that, with more people with the same courage and the same determination as every one of you here, we will be able to promote much more quickly democracy and freedom not only in China but also in other parts of the world.

So I look forward to hearing from you, and thank you very much for being here.

Mr. McGOVERN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Smith of New Jersey?

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for calling this very important hearing, you and Co-Chairman Wolf. And I, too, want to welcome our very distinguished panelists to this hearing.

Twenty years ago, as we all know, hundreds of thousands of demonstrators gathered on Tiananmen Square and elsewhere in China to express their desire for peaceful democratic reform. In the face of these massive demonstrations, the Chinese Government hesitated. There were apparently some decent men and women in the party's leadership who had begun to understand what a tragedy communist rule had been for the Chinese people, countless millions whose lives had been destroyed by its famines and cultural revolutions and totalitarian social controls. But we know what happened, obviously. Jiang Zemin pushed the reformers aside, cleared Tiananmen Square with tanks, and shot to death thousands of peaceful demonstrators.

In December of 1996, here in Washington, at the invitation of then-President Bill Clinton, General Chi Haotian, the Defense Minister of the People's Republic of China, the general who was in operational command of the soldiers who slaughtered pro-democracy demonstrators in and around Tiananmen Square in June of 1989, said, and I quote, "Not a single person lost his life in Tiananmen Square." According to General Chi, the Chinese army did nothing more violent than -- and this is his quote -- the "pushing of people." General Chi not only met with Mr. Clinton in the White House but was accorded full military honors, including a 19-gun salute and visits to military bases. Rather than getting the red carpet, General Chi should have been held to account for his crimes against humanity.

To counter this lie, I put together a hearing, and we included eyewitnesses who were there, who saw what happened. We also invited General Chi, who obviously did not show up, nor did anybody from the Embassy, underscoring they can speak well when no one is holding them to account but they don't want to speak when people who are in the know -- and certainly we had witnesses that day who were there and saw the bayoneted bodies.

Twenty years after Tiananmen Square, Mr. Chairman, the Chinese Government perpetuates General Chi's Orwellian fabrication that no one died. In truth, thousands died and approximately 7,000 were wounded. Twenty years after Tiananmen Square, an untold number of democracy activists remain incarcerated for peacefully advocating for human rights. And we all know that to be jailed by the Chinese means torture, humiliation, and severe deprivations. The ugly spirit of Tiananmen Square continues. The brave and noble attorney Gao has been subjected to excruciating torture that continues to this day. We must raise our voices on his behalf and so many others like him.

Mr. Chairman, later on today, the House will take action on a resolution that will again put the Democrats and Republicans of our body on record as deploring what happened 20 years ago, calling for accountability, calling for release of all the political prisoners.

And I do think we need to note that every day Tiananmen Square is happening. It is not overt, it is not visible, but in the prisons throughout the laogai system, people are being mistreated, as they were on the streets, being tortured, inhumanely treated, and cruelly and wantonly despised by their jailers.

So this hearing, I think, is important to get a record, again, what is happening in China today but also looking back 20 years. The terrible massacre that occurred cannot go unforgotten and unremembered.

I thank you, and I yield back.

[The statement of Mr. Smith is unavailable]

Mr. McGOVERN. I want to thank the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Smith, as well as my colleague and co-chair, Frank Wolf from Virginia, for not only their powerful statements but for being so outspoken and strong and forceful on behalf of human rights in China. And they have been true leaders, and I, for one, appreciate that.

Before I introduce the witnesses, I want to acknowledge that Rebiya Kadeer, the president of the Uyghur American Association and the World Uyghur Congress, is in the audience. And we are always very honored to have you here.

And it is now my pleasure to introduce our witnesses. I am going to take just a little bit of time, because I want people who aren't familiar with your backgrounds to know what you have done and what you have been through.

Mr. Fang Zheng was leaving Tiananmen Square in the early morning of June 4, 1989, along with other student protesters in an orderly retreat. He suddenly realized that a military tank was approaching them from behind. Sensing the imminent danger, he used all his strength to push a female student out of the tank's path, and, in doing so, both his legs were crushed by the tank's rolling treads.

Fang Zheng has continued to live in China. He has refused to cooperate with the government in its effort to cover up the truth of his lost legs and of the massacre that took place in Tiananmen Square. For the past 20 years, he has been harassed and closely monitored by police.

Always an excellent athlete, he excelled in sports even after his legs were amputated. He won two gold medals and broke two Chinese national records at the 1992 all-China Disabled Athletic Games. In 1994, the Chinese authorities forbade him to participate in the Far East and South Pacific Region Games, and last year he was banned from competing in the 2008 Special Olympics held in Beijing.

With the help of the Mothers of Tiananmen Square and other brave Chinese citizens who continue to keep alive the memory of Tiananmen Square inside China, Fang Zheng is here today in Washington to remember the 20th anniversary of the 1989 demonstrations.

Even before Tiananmen, Mr. Wang Youcai was active in the Chinese democracy movement. In 1989, he was the Secretary-General of the Beijing Higher Education Students Autonomous Union in the Tiananmen Square protests. A graduate student at Peking University, he was arrested in 1989. In 1991, he was sentenced to 4 years in prison for "counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement." He was paroled in November of 1991, following a visit by then-U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Between the time of his release in 1997, Wang reached out to his fellow citizens and began to form the core of a democracy movement and party. In 1998, he and his colleagues tried to officially register the China Democracy Party, but it was banned by the Chinese Government. In December of 1998, Wang was sentenced to 11 years in prison for subversion. In 2004, he was released and exiled due to U.S. and international pressure.

Since that time, he has lived in the United States, studying at Harvard and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. And he continues to be a member of the Chinese Democracy Party's service platform and is one of the people responsible for their Web site at www.cdtr.org. He firmly believes that the transition to constitutional democracy will occur in China.

Zhou Fengsuo grew up in a peasant family and traveled to Beijing in 1985 to study physics at Tsinghua University. During his 4 years there, he organized the first and only direct election of the Physics Student Union in the history of that university. He was one of the student leaders during the pro-democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square. Zhou set up the first student broadcast station at Tsinghua University, and he did the same thing at Tiananmen Square. It became the operations center for the protesters.

On June 4, 1989, as students were being attacked by army tanks and machine guns, Zhou stayed in Tiananmen Square until the very last moment. He was one of the 21 most wanted students by the Chinese Government and was soon arrested. He spent 1

year in prison without trial before he was released in June 1990. He was sent to internal exile in a remote province, where he and other former dissidents got together in 1993 and published a book that had been banned by the Chinese authorities. The name of the book: "The Truth of the Transition to Democracy in Eastern Europe after 1989."

Since 1995, Mr. Zhou has lived in the United States, and in September 2000 he was the leading plaintiff in a lawsuit brought by the Tiananmen massacre victims and survivors against the Chinese Premier who ordered the crackdown on the demonstrators, charging him with crimes against humanity, the first of many efforts to hold accountable the mass murders of 1989.

Since then, he has been involved in a number of Chinese human rights organizations and initiatives, including providing humanitarian aid and support to individuals and groups inside China, including the Tiananmen Mothers. With his organization, Humanitarian China, he is working on a human rights archive, a database with over 2,000 cases of human rights abuses and prisoners of conscience.

Bob Fu is one of the leading voices in the world for freedom of religion and worship in China. He was born and raised in China and graduated from the School of International Relations at the People's University in Beijing. He later taught English to Communist Party officials at the Beijing Administrative College and the Beijing Party School.

He was pastor of a house church in Beijing until he and his wife were jailed for 2 months in 1996 for "illegal evangelism." Bob and his wife, Heidi, fled to the United States in 1997, where he founded the China Aid Association to draw international attention to China's persecution against house church Christians.

He has provided testimony before the House International Relations Committee, the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, the Congressional Executive Commission on China, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the Foreign Press Association, and many members and entities of the European Union and the European Commission.

Bob is a visiting professor in religion and philosophy at Oklahoma Wesleyan University and a Ph.D. candidate at Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. He is the China analyst for Voices of the Martyrs, editor-in-chief of the Chinese Law and Religion Monitor, and guest editor for Chinese Law and Government, a UCLA journal. And in 2007 he received the John Leland Religious Liberty Award from the Southern Baptist Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission.

There are thousands of stories connected to the 1989 events we now refer to as "Tiananmen Square." And as we begin our hearing, I would like to take a moment to remember the hundreds, perhaps thousands, who were murdered in Tiananmen Square or later imprisoned or sent into exile. I want to remember the families, the friends, and the colleagues of those who died and those who survived.

Our witnesses today are but four of these voices, but we are privileged and we are honored to have them here. And we look forward to their testimony and their reflections on Tiananmen Square 20 years after the crackdown.

Mr. Fang Zheng, we will begin with you. Thank you for being here.

STATEMENTS OF FANG ZHENG, MEDALIST, ALL-CHINA DISABLED ATHLETIC GAMES

[The following testimony and witness replies were delivered through an interpreter.]

Mr. ZHENG. Good afternoon, Honorable Chairman and Congressmen and friends. Thank you for this opportunity to talk with you about my experience at the Tiananmen Square demonstration and the related developments during the next 20 years. I will also share with you my opinions and suggestions for a response by the U.S. Government and Congress to the Tiananmen Square massacre.

I am so glad to be here speaking to the U.S. congressional leaders, but I have to confess to you I have never been very interested in politics 20 years ago as a university student. I actually loved athletics instead, and I had much athletic potential. But when the students movement started in the spring of 1989, I went to join the protest, and I joined with them.

I saw and experienced at the square the passion from the students and citizens who gathered in peaceful demonstration. They came there with many hopes, and I deeply believe the chief hopes of those at the Tiananmen Square was that our government would allow more freedom of speech and freedom of media, that corruption would be dealt with, and that the government would start a dialogue.

Instead, as you all have seen, the Chinese Government started a war and arranged over 200,000 soldiers to kill the students and the citizens at that square. On June 4th, I joined a group of students who were peacefully leaving Tiananmen Square after being forced out by the military. I was with about 4,000 students withdrawing. One of the students who walked with me, a girl from my college, she was scared, so I just told her, "Don't be scared. Just walk with me, along with others."

But when we were walking to Liu Pu Ko, which is about 800 meters away from the center of Tiananmen Square, something totally unexpected happened. And all of a sudden we heard some poison, some explosion exploded behind us. Then a pair of tanks just chased us so quickly and rushed to crush us. The female student next to me, she immediately fell down because of the poison gas she smoked, so I had to push her aside on the side of the street. But without any time to escape myself, the tanks just crushed my two legs, and I lost my legs.

I want to emphasize that many of you have seen the image of that "Tank Man" who was in front of that Chinese military tank, but not all people know that there are so many who were just simply crushed and lost their lives at Liu Pu Ko area. At Liu Pu Ko, I know there were so many. I was fortunate. I at least survived. But I know that so many lost their lives, and so many like me were disabled forever by the Chinese military forces.

Please remember this fact: that we were crushed while we were walking. We were withdrawing from the Tiananmen Square without any preparation. Tanks were just chasing us from the back without any knowledge from us, to our peaceful walkers.

Like many other survivors of the Tiananmen massacre, we have been mistreated and persecuted in the past 20 years after the massacre. Just because of the reason that I was disabled, they disqualified me from attending many sports events. Just because I was disabled because of the military tanks, they restricted me from my freedom of traveling within China.

In the past 20 years, there is no sign at all that the Chinese Government had any willingness even to meet, confess any mistakes for the massacre nor any responsibilities they want to take. That is why, even after 20 years later, I have been always repeatedly asking for the truth to come out.

Many of the family members, sons and daughters, of those who lost their lives

have been mistreated and persecuted in the past 20 years. And many were and have been imprisoned simply because they request the truth about the Tiananmen Square. It was because of that massacre that in result there are still so many incidents of human rights violations in today's China. Many are still being persecuted and jailed, imprisoned, for simply exercising their freedom of expression and freedom of assembly and many other pursuit of freedoms, like Mr. Gao Zhisheng, like Mr. Guo Feixiong, like Mr. Liu Xiaobo, like Mr. Wong Chi. Those are freedom fighters. They are still in prison today.

I believe the Tiananmen June 4th massacre is the darkest day of China's history. And if the Chinese Government seriously wants to improve human rights and implement the human rights record, they must, first of all, face the reality by correcting their mistakes, acknowledging what they did in 1989.

I am one of the survivors of the Tiananmen Square. I am so grateful the U.S. Government received me from China. I have been deeply encouraged by the American people's support for the freedom and democracy. It is so important that I see it is you that you call for more freedom and democracy in China. I love my motherland too, and I want her to be prosperous.

I call upon China to establish a committee for truth to find out who ordered the killing, who ordered the teams of tanks to chase the students who were peacefully leaving the square, that justice can be accomplished. There is no excuse for them to do so.

Because the current government is the successor of the previous government who ordered the killing, they bear the responsibility to be held accountable, bring the truth out. The investigation of truth should continue, and the truth should be revealed one day so that victims can be restored, can be compensated, and one day China can enjoy the true freedom.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Zheng is unavailable]

Mr. McGOVERN. Thank you very much for your testimony, and we all appreciate your being here. We know it is difficult to recount the terrible events of Tiananmen Square, but we admire your courage.

We will now hear from Mr. Wang Youcai of the Chinese Democracy Party.

STATEMENT OF WANG YOUCAI, CHINESE DEMOCRACY PARTY

Mr. YOUCAI. Mr. Chairman, members of Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, thank you for the opportunity to share about my personal experience at Tiananmen Square, my opinion of the movement, and where we can go from here.

When I was a senior in Hangzhou University, I participated in the 1986 pro-democracy student protests, visiting several universities in Hangzhou to encourage the students to join the movement. Two years later, when I was a graduate student at Peking University, I was a co-organizer of an independent student organization named Action Committee, which was later disbanded under pressure from the police and the Peking University authorities.

When Hu Yaobang, former secretary-general of the CCP, died suddenly on April 15, 1989, I joined his memorial activities and later participated in the Student Autonomous Association of Peking University. Later, Cai Jin, vice chairman of the Student Autonomous Association of Peking University, and I were in charge of Peking University's student hunger strike. After the Chinese authorities announced martial law and Zhao Ziyang, then-secretary-general of CCP, lost his power, Student Autonomous Association of Peking University made efforts to withdraw students from Tiananmen Square.

On May 21st, I was designated by the Peking University student organization to Beijing Higher Education Student Autonomous Union, and I was elected as

secretary-general of the organization with 2 days later. I organized and helped to make policy decisions with the nine standing committee members of Beijing Higher Education Student Autonomous Union, including Yao Tao, representative from Peking University; Zhou Fengshou, representative from Tsinghua University; Zheng Xuguang, representative from Beijing College of Aeronautics and Astronautics; Wang Chaohua, representative of the graduate college of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; Zhai Weiming, Beijing College of Economy; Wang Zhenyuan, Beijing Central University for Nationalities; Zhi Yuan, China People University; Liang Er, Beijing Normal University; and Zhang Zhiqing, China University of Politics and Law. We wanted to execute the plan of student withdrawal from Tiananmen Square several times, but our efforts did not succeed.

The government crackdown occurred from about around 10:00 p.m. on June 3rd until June 9th. On June 13th, I was on the most-wanted student list declared by the Chinese authorities. Then I was arrested on August 19, 1989, and sentenced to 4 years in prison for the so-called crime of "counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement." I received parole in November 1991, after then-U.S. Secretary of State James Baker visited Beijing in 1991.

I think the 1989 national demonstration in China broke out primarily to combat corruption and fight for freedom and democracy. There are many reasons why the democratic movement progressed so quickly and became nationwide. I believe that the major reason is the split among top CCP leaders. Because of the fast development of the movement, the Independent Student Union, the independent student organizations, and the independent intellectuals were not really for the movement and the students had not been able to effectively interact with the pro-democracy officials within the CCP. At last, the sympathetic and pro-democracy wing in the CCP failed, and the massacre occurred.

Based on this understanding, I think an established, reasonable, constructive opposition party is very important and valuable for developments, especially when the top leaders of the CCP have different opinions. I think this change will arise after the current generation. The next generation of top CCP leaders, such as Xi Jinping and Li Keqiang, has less authorial influence and obtained their power from different sources. So they will have less control in China, and a split will occur when pressures come from inside the CCP or from the outside, such as the pressure of the Chinese common people.

With the fast economic development in China, people increasingly have more freedom in economic and social areas. And, at the same time, the civil rights and political freedom becomes more rigid. The intrinsic contradiction continues to build up, and the CCP's unlimited power leads to ubiquitous, severe corruption. In the near future, if the economy cannot keep growing very quickly, the uprising of the Chinese people will become inevitable.

In that case, an established popular opposition party will play an important role in garnering support with the sympathetic wing in the CCP. The relationship will make the transformation in China to constitutional democracy a reality. I hope that the Chinese Democracy Party in mainland China will gradually and eventually become legal and play this role.

That is exactly the reason why we tried to register and develop the CDP in 1998 even if we were well aware of the risks of being imprisoned for doing so. Before we went to register the CDP, I already knew the development and unity with CDP are difficult and that it will take time for the CDP to mature. We also understood that the hard core of the CCP would definitely try to undermine the CDP. So it will take time for the CDP to become effective.

On the other hand, there have been village-level elections in China since 27 years ago or earlier. My hope is that elections would graduate to town and county level, and then the CDP can participate in elections, provide our candidates and declare our policy to attract common people to support us to win elections. Although the election level is still low, winning an election could be substantial. This graduation to elections at the

higher levels still does not happen now, but I think that this is also a possible means to make alternative from bottom up.

Obviously, until now, it has not happened in either way, but it will happen in the near future in China. The first way is similar to Poland's mode of transformation, and the second way is similar to Taiwan and South Korea's mode. A third path to transformation is the Soviet Union's mode, but in this case we dissidents can do very little but wait. So we chose to do what we can do.

I do think that China will be transformed into constitutional democratic systems in the coming decades, and the people who participated in the 89 national demonstrations will make special and important contributions to this transformation. That was the reason I developed the CDP and invited many former students to join the CDP in 1998. As the secretary-general of SAABU and Beijing Higher Education Student Union, I built up various relationships with many peaceful student colleagues nationwide when I was in China. We hope that the CDP will provide enough space in the print form for many of their own members to contribute to the transformation to a constitutional democratic system in China.

The current popular leaders of the CCP will not do much to help bring about this change, but many other citizens as well as younger ones in China want democracy. Attention demanding democracy and against democracy becomes severe, and, thus, the controlling media, students, and human rights events become tighter in recent years than ever.

However, we also need to acknowledge that the freedom of economy and the society expands a lot. The development of civilized society and the rule of law in China will provide a live environment to make the coming transformation act more peacefully and successfully. The freedom of religion, developing civil society, and efforts of human rights defended will expand the opportunities and space for this transformation.

Meanwhile, a well-run and standing opposition party, such as the CDP, in mainland China will play a special and important role in the transformation once those new top CDP leaders who received a college education after the policy of open and reform in 1979 come into stages in mainland China. The CDP still needs to work hard and make efforts and more sacrifice for this coming transformations in mainland China.

We will prepare for the CDP national committee in the coming years, and we need to do it more reasonably and carefully. We need to have four elements: a sense of personality of democracy, liberty, wisdom, and sacrifices to develop the CDP. China should be transformed into a party constitutional democracy system. The path to the coming transformation is not clear yet. We need to work harder to figure it out. I make this statement based on the belief that the constitutional democratic system will provide more efficiency to protect the human rights and that we need to make efforts and sacrifices to realize a multi-party constitutional democratic system in China.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Youcai is unavailable:]

Mr. McGOVERN. Thank you very much. I appreciate very much your testimony.

We will now hear from Mr. Zhou Fengsuo. Thank you very much for being here.

STATEMENT OF ZHOU FENGSUO, CO-FOUNDER, HUMANITARIAN CHINA

Mr. FENGSUO. Thank you.

Just a note to Mr. Wang's testimony. CCP is for the Chinese Communist Party, and the CDP for the China Democratic Party that Mr. Wang helped co-found in 1998.

Dear friends, as much as I am honored to be here today, I am humbled just as much. Twenty years ago, I never realized that I was one of the student leaders by the government until I saw my name on the most-wanted list.

I think my experience is very representative of the people who participated. We just believe it is an opportunity to express our desire for a better China, so our dreams were for a China with freedom and justice and control of corruption. Although it was the senseless crackdown on the 4th of June, it is such a tragedy that even today it is harder for those like me who experienced it to recall. The dreams are still alive.

I think we were all surprised by the passion that Chinese people showed during that period. For most of the people, it was a festival of freedom. We see people are smiling everywhere. On Tiananmen Square there are millions of people every day. There is true hope for a society where we can express ourselves just as it is without any censorship. And that is what we remember, and that is what surprised everyone who participated.

Also, we were surprised by the brutality of the senseless crackdown. I was in Tiananmen Square on the night of June 3rd until we were driven out by tanks. All night long, I was hearing gunshots around Tiananmen Square. I saw people bleeding, being carried away. Even as all this was happening, I couldn't believe it. Just as Fang Zheng has testified, the students were leaving Tiananmen Square peacefully when a tank ran from behind and crushed many people who were as young as I was.

But for us, even after 20 years, the fight for truth is still going on. The Chinese Government denied the crackdown and basically would not allow any public discussion, so it takes a lot of effort to keep the memory alive. And as years go on, we began to know more detail about what really happened. As some go through the government's accounts, the books we published, we now know the identifier of each unit of the groups that participated in the massacre. There were between 200,000 to 250,000 troops involved in the whole massacre.

The families of these who were killed have always been under pressure, been persecuted. They cannot speak about, talk about their loved ones. What is even more terrible is that, even after they leave China, such a fear still lives in their heart.

In this April, I got a call from a lady living in the San Francisco Bay area. Her brother, his name is Li Xongshi, was lost in that period. Even after 3 years in the United States, she has been afraid to speak up because she does not want her family in China to get into trouble.

So, for these families, Tiananmen massacre is never a history. The pain and the suffering are still with them every day. So that is why hearings like this today are so valuable for the world to see, to know, to feel what they feel.

One of the goals in 1989 was actually economic freedom, which was eventually carried out by the Communist government. While we were all hoping that globalization would help China, both economically and in terms of its human rights, but in the last 10 years what we have seen is exactly the opposite. The freedom of expression that we saw in Tiananmen Square disappeared quickly; and with the development of the economy and the technology, China now has even more resources to control people's thought.

This battle, every day, is going on the Internet; and it is through the Chinese community all over the world. Every day, each one of us will receive some e-mail from friends of ours, which are so -- which are made so authentic that we couldn't distinguish whether it is true or not. Usually, most of -- many of these e-mails with virus to corrupt our computer. But the level of intimacy that they know us, it is like a shadow for

everyone.

While we cannot hope U.S. multinationals to fight for human rights in China, but we do hope that they will speak to the basic principles of this country. The opposite is exactly happening.

With western technology, China has quickly developed the best firewall in the world. Even more so, they are exporting this censorship to the outside world.

Last year, during the Olympic torch, I was beaten by a group of Chinese supporters. There were tens of thousands of Chinese coming out from all over California, even other parts of the country, in support of the Chinese government.

Why? One reason is that now they have built such a sophisticated network through the Chinese community in the Internet and through the media that alienate and demonize human rights fighters like us.

So whenever there is a voice from Beijing, it will be heard all over the world, and there will be lots of people to carry it out. Unfortunately, it was happening in San Francisco.

So when I asked the police whether this area was reserved by the Chinese supporters, the police said no. We were so overwhelmed in numbers. There were only a handful of us versus tens of thousands of Chinese supporters who were carrying red flags and cursing and pushing us around.

I said, well, then you should protect us. But the police did nothing. And one of my friends was beaten from behind. He suffered such a headache. His head was bleeding. He was 60 years old.

So this fight for freedom, for truth, is everywhere. Even here, 3 weeks ago, when we tried to publish a Christian manifesto in a major Chinese newspaper, a Christian prayer for the victims of the Tiananmen massacre 20 years ago with signatures of over 200 Christians, many pastors, and we got a written notice from the Chinese newspaper that this is political; they will not accept it.

So I do hope that this freedom here, we value so much, will not be taken away like this and of the dreams of those who died 20 years ago are still alive.

Mr. McGOVERN. Thank you very much, Mr. Fengsuo. I appreciate very much your testimony.

When this hearing is over with, there will be votes, and we will -- I think all of us will relay your terrible incident in San Francisco to the Speaker of the House who represents that area. But we appreciate very much your thoughtful testimony.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Fengsuo is unavailable]

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Bob Fu.

STATEMENT OF XIQIU "BOB" FU

Mr. FU. Mr. Chairman, Congressman McGovern, Congressman Pitts, and other honorable congressional leaders in this Commission, thank you for the invitation to join you today.

I was asked to speak up about my experience at Tiananmen Square, the movement itself, and a discussion of this question, "Where do we go from here?"

I know you are all men of action. I will start with this question, where do we go from here?

Once it was my dream to be a democratically elected premier of China. Now it is my dream that there would be one million people on Tiananmen Square worshipping God without repression from the government. This would be such a wonderful indicia of my homeland that my homeland would be strong and flourishing on so many levels.

I remember last year, before the Olympics, when Congressman Wolf and Congressman Smith went to China; and I was on the phone with Congressman Wolf

when he was in the U.S. Embassy car in the street of Beijing.

I was joking with him. I said, how about the Tiananmen Square protest? And a few minutes later, to prove the efficiency of the Chinese government, spy agencies, Congressman Wolf came -- received a phone call telling them they would be arrested if they go to the Tiananmen Square to protest.

I remember I gave them a few addresses of the independent house churches that they want to go to visit and go to a Catholic Church to visit during that Sunday. It was really a sad moment for me when I heard that when Congressmen Wolf and Smith stepped into their worship place, and despite their congregation welcoming them, wanting to embrace them, they had to chose to leave because there is so much fear out there.

Is there any progress 20 years later after the Tiananmen Square in China? Yes, in some areas. You know, economic, financial prosperity. There are more modernized buildings built.

But China now is the country holding the largest -- has the largest prison with the largest number of religious prisoners, house church prisoners, pastors, Catholic bishops, priests who are loyal to the Pope, Uyghur Muslims, Tibetan Buddhists, Falun Gong practitioners. Thousands and thousands are still in the labor camp today. China is the prison holding the largest number of independent journalists, labor activists, petitioners, and on and on.

I think these facts can tell us whether there is any progress.

And there is hope, yes. If you want to ask me, is there any hope? I think hope is found in those men of faith who were incarcerated, who were chained, who were electric shocked, who were tortured.

But when they were released, they went to their torturers. They went to the interrogators. They still tell them, I still love you, because you are created by the image of God.

I think hope is also found in these human rights lawyers like Mr. Gao Zhisheng, like Mr. Li Houpin, that, despite their licenses were cancelled, their wives were beaten, they themselves were kidnapped, they continue to file one case after another, the so-called sensitive cases.

One lawyer lost his license, the other lawyer comes up, because they believe the justice, the equality.

So these are the hope for China.

And what are my recommendations? I think we talk about where do we go from here. I would share that.

Many young people in China today do not even know about the Tiananmen Square massacres. My thought is that consider how America has benefited by publicly facing the shame of our days of division and war over the issue of slavery. Consider how richly diverse our country is now because we have stood with the truth that we were falling far below the requirement for a Nation founded on the truth that all men were created equal and that we had a lesson to learn.

Stand with truth by asking the Chinese government for it. As a Member of Congress, you have the privilege to visit China, to meet with the Chinese officials. And, please, every time when you visit there, do not hesitate to tell the truth about what happened 20 years ago, to tell the Chinese government officials that you want to visit an independent house of worship.

You have the name list, that you want to meet with them because they are your fellow brothers and sisters, not because you are a Member of Congress in the U.S. You want to share the fellowship with them, to give them a big hug.

So where do we go from here? To cling tightly to truth, to promote clear legal definitions of religious freedom, rule of law, and registration of the independent house churches, house churches, religious sites, to call for accountability that demonstrates the provisions of the law are being followed.

I remember before Congressman Wolf and Congressman Smith's departure from the Reagan National Airport to Beijing, one unexpected guest showed up. It was the Chinese Ambassador in Washington, D.C. And he said, I want to come here to say farewell. But, really, the last word was I do hope there won't be any surprise.

So my hope is one day, maybe in the very near future, Congressman McGovern, Congressman Pitts, Congressman Wolf, Congressman Smith, all Members of Congress, all people's faiths will be welcomed, will be embraced to join these one million peaceful worshippers at the Tiananmen Square without any fear of any surprises in Beijing and in China.

Thank you very much.

Mr. McGOVERN. Thank you very much. I share your hope and your dream.
[The prepared statement of Mr. Fu is unavailable]

Mr. McGOVERN. I am going to yield first to Congressman Wolf.

Mr. WOLF. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

We are going over to the floor for the resolution and a meeting.

I want to, one, thank all of the witnesses for your very eloquent testimony; and hopefully this word will get back to the people of China.

Secondly, I want to say, before my other comments, that the people of China are very good people and very decent, very strong, very resilient; and I am confident that they prevail. And any comment made is more directed to the government and not at all to the Chinese people.

Three, when I was listening I thought of the words of President Ronald Reagan where he called the Soviet Union the evil empire in 1983 and was criticized. But we then know in 1989 that evil empire fell.

The Chinese people are yearning for freedom, and I think it is important, and I appreciate you making it clear, that they have a large number of Catholic bishops, some say 30 to 34, in jail today. They have hundreds of Protestant pastors in jail today.

They have plundered Tibet and are literally changing the culture and bulldozing buildings and arresting Buddhist monks and Buddhist nuns.

They have persecuted the Uyghurs; and Rebiya Kadeer, who is sitting in the audience, as the chairman mentioned, was imprisoned for 5 years. And her children are still imprisoned now.

They have killed and imprisoned the Falun Gong and have treated them in just a terrible way.

And I guess there are several comments.

One, I think it is important for the people in the West, particularly the religious community in the West, in the Bible and in the religious teachings, it tells you to speak out and advocate for the poor and those who are persecuted. And yet there is almost complete silence by leaders of all the churches and all the faces in the West, the sound of silence.

Whereas during the 1980s and during the 1970s, during Carter and Reagan, there was more advocacy on the part of the Western church leaders of all denominations. Because of almost every denomination, they have suffered persecution in its history, and I think that all of the religious leaders in this country should advocate for.

The last comment is I believe that China has almost found the playbook of Ceaucescu, who did pretty much what the Chinese government is doing now, and that the Chinese government and that this government in power now will go the same way that the Romanian government will go.

Someday we will hear a sort of radio call, sort of like there was that Christmas of 1989, where something is taking place in China. And all of a sudden, like that, this government will fall and there will be freedom and, Bob, we all can gather together in Tiananmen Square.

So I thank all of you. I will get all of your testimony. We will put it in the

Congressional Record.

We will also speak and advocate and urge the members of this administration and this Congress and both political parties -- and, quite frankly, in some respects, both political parties have been silent -- to advocate for until we see that day of freedom.

And I want to thank all of you for your testimony.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Pitts.

Mr. PITTS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you to the witnesses for your really compelling testimony.

Mr. Fengsuo, you said the dreams are still alive for freedom, that you can express yourselves without any censorship from the government, and the thirst for truth is still going on. That was inspirational. And you talked about the Tiananmen massacre, the pain and the suffering is still with your people.

Could you -- do you have any idea how many individuals remain in detention today for their involvement in the 1989 pro-democracy protest, any estimates?

Mr. FENG SUO. The latest that we know is through the Hua Foundation. It is about 30 all over the country and about 8 in Beijing.

Mr. PITTS. And according to the Chinese government, the official death toll from the crackdown was between 2- to 300. However, other estimates are said to be significantly higher. Do you have any estimates as to how many were killed in the massacre at Tiananmen?

Mr. FENG SUO. Here, I think Mr. Youcai can answer.

Mr. PITTS. Sure, Mr. Youcai.

Mr. YOUCAI. At that time, with juvenile organizations, send lots of volunteer students to lots of hospitals. They, too, have been investigated, and at that time -- I know the information -- about 2,000 at that time.

But, you know, your information is a different situation. So I think we need to, like, call for -- establish a committee to -- an independent committee to do an independent investigation.

Mr. PITTS. Did all of those individuals in prison for their association with the movement actually participate in the protest 20 years ago, or did they arrest others besides protesters?

Mr. FENG SUO. Yes. There were many who just witnessed, because it was such paranoia, after they killed people. So anyone who was suspect of raising a voice.

Recently, there was a book published by a former sociology professor in Illinois. He just talked to us. He said, you know, I am also a soldier. I am very saddened by what happened.

He was beaten up -- he is Gong -- pointing at his hand -- and threatened to death. There were many instances like this all over the country.

Mr. PITTS. He was a soldier there at Tiananmen?

Mr. FENG SUO. Yes, he was a soldier, not of the martial law troops. He was with a different unit in Beijing.

Actually, at that moment, we believe most of the soldiers in Beijing were sympathetic to students. But he was just talking, and then suddenly he was arrested and beaten by the people he believed -- you know, he was familiar with.

Mr. PITTS. Can you expand on that statement that you made, that the dreams are still alive? Do you mean that there is broad public support in China for the freedoms that you were thirsting for and protesting for still today?

Mr. FENG SUO. Yes, I am glad that you asked this question. Because although the government censored everything, but through Internet every year people try to -- they raise their voice through different venues. And whenever there is a protest people will think about the call for truth and justice 20 years ago.

And we know that from most Chinese people, even among the people who are well off today, for instance, within China, there is a strong belief that the government

killed innocent people and is still trying to cover up, which is wrong.

Mr. PITTS. Has there ever been an open investigation by the government into that violent massacre in Tiananmen Square? Have they ever done an official investigation?

Mr. FENG SUO. No. Actually, recently, Mr. Zhao Ziyang, he published -- someone published his talk, taped before his death.

So Zhao Ziyang was removed from office because he objected to the martial law, even when he was legally the head of the Communist party. So he asked this question. You have used all these forces to kill people, to put the people in prison. You concocted this idea that there is a plot to overthrow the government? And after the investigation -- I think that was about 3 years after the massacre -- what is your finding? Is there any proof that what the government declared, the reason for the martial law, was true?

So this is the only investigation, that the government has come back to try to prove that there is a plot to overthrow the government so that they have to use martial law. But, of course, the government wouldn't talk about their findings anymore. So that is the only investigation we know from the government.

Mr. PITTS. So one of the things we in Congress could do would be to ask the Chinese government to have an official investigation into the Tiananmen Square massacre?

Mr. FENG SUO. Yes, exactly.

Actually, just last week, we had a memorial where we talked; and, actually, one of the people who spoke there changed his opinion. He had been here in the United States, but he was an active supporter of the Chinese students. But in 20 years, most people like him, he changed.

But he did present a good idea. Well, maybe for now, because we have our side of the story, we are not afraid of open dialogue with the Chinese government on any issues we raise.

So we still call for our open investigation.

Mr. PITTS. And the Chinese government has never had any kind of commemoration for the victims who were massacred? They have never had any kind of recognition publicly of the loss of life?

Mr. FENG SUO. No, no.

Mr. PITTS. One final question. Bob, you are an eloquent spokesman for religious liberty around the world but especially in China. How many would you estimate in China are members of the unregistered church movement, the house churches? Do you have any estimates as to how many million people participate in that?

Mr. FU. Of course, it is hard to have a, you know, exact accurate number. But according to a respected official scholar who is from the China Academy of Social Science, last year, after 2 or 3 years survey and in-depth research, and his finding is the unregistered Protestant house church members are between 40 -- I think 40 to 60 million.

Mr. PITTS. Unregistered or registered?

Mr. FU. Unregistered. Registered is about 30 million, more than the number of the Chinese Communist party members.

Mr. PITTS. Thank you. I don't want to dominate the questions. I have a lot of others, but I will yield back.

Mr. McGOVERN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Cao.

Mr. CAO. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Fu, I am very much interested in the religious freedom aspects in China. In 1994, I actually went into China as a Jesuit seminarian and visited some of the works of the Society of Jesus in the southern province of Guangxi; and I am curious with respect to the increase in religious persecution as you outlined in China aid report.

The level -- the increase -- what was the reason for the increase in persecution? Is it because they wanted to make China look good for the Beijing Olympics? Therefore,

they wanted to suppress any kind of possible protest?

What is the reason for the increase in persecution? Is it a personal agenda of the President of China?

Mr. FU. Thank you for asking that question.

Yes. I mean, we -- even those peaceful worshippers, when they were raided, when they were arrested, when they were chained, they also asked that question. These are the really law obedient, good citizens, and why the Chinese government has to run them up, when they are worshipping in their own homes.

But one thing, of course, first of all, the persecution, the level of persecution or degree of persecution is different even in different provinces or different times. As you mentioned, the pre-Olympics -- the Chinese government has launched the pre-Olympics cleanup campaign in Beijing. Even those who are usually tolerated, the city or urban house churches, were raided. And so that had a temporary effect.

But, in general, any organization or perceived groups that are independent of the official government-sanctioned groups or independent of any of the total control of the Chinese government is regarded as a threat to the Chinese government; and, thus, they are subject for repression and persecution. And because of the rapid growth of those independent house church members and, of course, other independent Chinese faith groups, the Chinese government took them. Instead of peacemakers or stabilizers, they wrongly put them in a category of destabilizers.

Or some, simply because they have fellowship with like visiting American, you know, Christians, foreigners, and they were labeled as penetrating or collaborating with the foreign, anti-China forces and in a political label.

So that was a clear misunderstanding to the list and, of course, it was determined by the nature of tyranny and that is still, you know, the current -- the nature of the Chinese current government. So, yes, the persecution is still going on, and there are still hundreds of thousands of prisoners.

Actually, 2 days ago, I received a phone call. In Xian Yong, this past Sunday, 12 Christian house church members were jailed in the early morning of May 31.

Mr. CAO. Do you know the exact number of prisoners in the -- I guess, because of religious issues?

Mr. FU. It is hard to, again, give the exact number.

Mr. CAO. You state hundreds of thousands.

Mr. FU. Yes, it should be hundreds of thousands, if not, you know, million.

I know in the Yueyang prison in Hunan Province, and one -- I heard from a prisoner, who was released, he said, one-third of the whole prison camp are the faith related in that faith labor camp.

Mr. CAO. Now, these camps, are they reeducation camps similar to what Vietnam had after the fall of Saigon where people are being brainwashed to not continue with their faith? Or what kinds of camps are these that you are talking about?

Mr. FU. They are called reeducation through labor camp, like gulag camp. We recently received a report, one house church pastor, Pastor Xuan Xiang from Hunan prisons, was sentenced to 1-year reeducation through labor last December, has been -- he is over 70 years old. He has to work 13 hours a day in that labor camp despite of his weak health.

And they are forced to work to fulfill a quota, you know, to make products like, you know, soccer balls for the Olympics, like the carpets for exportation, are making all kinds of products for, basically, free work, free labor.

Mr. CAO. Now, have you seen a decrease in religious persecution since the Olympic games? Or how has the number been?

Mr. FU. The number shows that, actually, there is an increase so far.

Mr. CAO. Since the Olympic games?

Mr. FU. Since the Olympics.

Mr. CAO. I am curious with respect to the Cardinal Kung prisoner list where

there are a number of Catholic bishops and Catholic priests who are imprisoned in the camps and their reasons for imprisonment. Do you know their reasons for imprisonment?

Mr. FU. Their reason -- the mere reason is because they refused to surrender themselves to be under the total control of the so-called government, patriotic Catholic association, a government-sanctioned organization and, instead, they want to follow their faith according to the biblical teaching.

Mr. CAO. That is all the questions I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. McGOVERN. Thank you very much.

I just have a couple of last questions of Mr. Fang Zheng.

What is your current situation? Are you living in the United States or are you living in China?

Mr. ZHENG. Three months ago, I got a visa, a B1/B2 visa, and came to the U.S.

Mr. McGOVERN. Is your family still in China or is your family with you?

Mr. ZHENG. Both my wife and my daughter are here today, actually.

Mr. McGOVERN. That makes me feel better.

Let me ask one kind of final question, and that is, what is the best way for Congress or the U.S. government to support those voices inside China calling for reform and the exercise of basic freedoms, like freedom of expression, association of worship, let alone the freedom to form alternative political parties?

And the reason I ask that question is we come together today to commemorate the horrific events at Tiananmen Square and I think there is absolute unity in the United States Congress and the United States Government that these actions taken by the Chinese government were horrific and are atrocities. And I think where there is debate sometimes in the Congress and in the administration is how best do you encourage change in China?

There are some who say that we need to take a tougher stand, we need to be more vocal, we need to be more in your face. But there are others who say, if you do that, you force the Chinese government to dig in, and you don't get any progress. There are others who say we should be quieter, that you should send signals to the Chinese government that you disapprove of the human rights situation, but you shouldn't be so public about it. And there are others who say that we need to do it somewhere in the middle.

And I think what all of us are interested in on this Commission is promoting human rights. We are not interested in giving speeches, and we are not interested in doing things that don't advance the cause -- the causes that you all have talked about here today. So I guess my question is your advice to us as to how we can best help you in your work and to expand political space and political freedoms in China.

Some of my colleagues -- you had mentioned, Mr. Fu, about going to meet with some people when you go to China. Some of my colleagues have done that, and those people have gotten arrested after the visits. And maybe that -- it calls more attention to what is happening there.

But I want to be with you and help in a way that we can stand here a year from now, 2 years from now, and 3 years from now and say it is progress. So any advice or guidance that you can give us would be very much appreciated. Any and all of you can --

Mr. FENG SUO. Okay. I will just voice my own opinion. I believe Internet freedom is where the U.S. can contribute because of the U.S. superiority now in terms of technology.

As I said, we don't expect these multinationals to be human rights fighters, but we do expect them to stick to the principles of this country. Therefore, if they benefit from their trade with China, there should be some contribution. They can make at least some disclosure on this area.

In the long run, I think this Internet freedom, this is the new battleground where it could be a serious issue for the U.S. and in the world with China's government, its technology, and the economy.

And it is really different. You know, we see this last year. There is one blogger

called Nubor, who just does these tremendous things. So everything you see on that Web site, it is true. You know, this is to inspire more people to go there and all that. But, of course, it was shut down this year.

So I believe U.S. does have a leverage in terms of, for example, the U.S. multinationals, in terms of technology, in terms of this Internet, this wall, technology wall on the Internet. I think it is a new frontier where human rights battles are fought. And there is a lot the U.S. can do to help these people who have no voice. So that is one front.

The other front is to encourage more freedom, exchange of people. And I think now we see some benefits. For example, Bob Fu and his organization has been able to train many human rights lawyers; and that is a tremendous help to people to promote the rule of law in China. Or course, eventually, I think China's transition to democracy would be of unforeseen significance to the world because I think it has to happen. China has to find its own way.

Mr. McGOVERN. Right.

Mr. FENG SUO. And for now the hope is still in the grassroots, and we have seen many green shoots. So I think we can help to identify them and foster their growth.

Mr. McGOVERN. Thank you. That is very helpful.

Mr. Youcai.

Mr. YOUCAI. I know a country -- and U.S. need to talk with Chinese officials, because China and the economy grow up.

But I think, until that time, I think you still need to raise the issue of human rights and use a different method; and the best -- how can I say? Maybe I cannot say best, but it is very good to keep in touch with different, like human rights defenders, when an official or Congressman visits China, also, could talk with them. It would inspire Chinese society.

And the U.S. is still focused on the human rights. I think it is very good for China to become a democracy.

Mr. McGOVERN. Thank you.

Mr. Fu.

Mr. FU. Thank you.

I want to -- I understand, as you said, the worry or the reasoning why, you know, some folks from the U.S. are hesitant to meet with human rights defenders, lawyers or dissidents or independent religious believers. The worries, of course, the ramifications could be applied to them. They could be arrested.

Yes, I mean, there are cases. There have been some cases that, once they met with visiting American diplomats or congressional leaders, they were harassed or even picked up. They were even kidnapped. Like, you know, when before Congressmen Smith and Wolf arrived there, those that arranged to meet with him, about a dozen human rights lawyers were either prevented from meeting with him or under house arrest; and one house church pastor was even kidnapped on the public bus on the way to meet with him.

But the good news is, I think, number one, all of them were released; and they were not only released, actually, after that incident -- that house church pastor even before the Olympics, he was picked up again, but this time he was put in a government summer vacation resort. And for 3 weeks, instead of being imprisoned -- and the reason was because you were on the list of meeting with a Member of Congress from the U.S.

Mr. McGOVERN. Well, that is a powerful case for us to meet with more people.

Mr. FU. Yes. And I would encourage, you know, the administration officials in the U.S. Embassy -- and, currently, I think we have only one or two officials who is working in the human rights section in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing, but in the business section there are, you know, so many. I think there should be, you know, an emphasis.

And, also, I think, the Congress can have the appropriation power to really -- appropriate funding to support the engagement with the civil society violators, the human rights violators, instead of only, you know, with available funding to collaborate with the

Chinese official institutions, which is still a policy right now.

Mr. McGOVERN. Well, I want to thank all of you for being here. This is an incredibly impressive panel, and we share your commitment to human rights not only in China but around the world. We are grateful for your courage and for your inspiration, and we look forward to working with you in the weeks and months and years ahead.

Thank you very much. This concludes the hearing.

[Whereupon, at 4:50 p.m., the Commission was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING RECORD



**Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission (TLHRC)
Hearing Notice**

**Twenty Years after the Crackdown:
Tiananmen Square and Human Rights in China**

Tuesday, June 2

3-4:30 p.m.

Room: 2172 Rayburn HOB

Please join the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission for a hearing commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the crackdown in Tiananmen Square and evaluating where the human rights and democracy movement in China stands today. We will hear first-hand accounts of individuals who were in the Square when the crackdown occurred, and discuss the current status of the Chinese democracy movement.

The State Department's 2008 Human Rights Report found that the Chinese government's human rights record remained poor and worsened in some areas. The Chinese Communist Party remains the ultimate source of power and citizens are unable to change their government. Human rights abuses perpetrated by the government include extrajudicial killings, torture, and forced labor.

To discuss these issues, we will welcome as our witnesses:***

Fang Zheng, medalist, All-China Disabled Athletic Games

Wang Youcai, Chinese Democracy Party

Zhou Fengsuo, co-founder, Humanitarian China

Bob Fu, president, China Aid Association

****Witness list subject to change.*

If you have any questions, please contact Hans Hogrefe (Rep. McGovern) or Elizabeth Hoffman (Rep. Wolf) at 202-225-3599.

Sincerely,

/s/James P. McGovern, M.C.
Co-Chair, TLHRC

/s/Frank R. Wolf, M.C.
Co-Chair, TLHRC

