

TIANANMEN AT 30: EXAMINING THE EVOLUTION OF REPRESSION IN CHINA

JOINT HEARING BEFORE THE CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA AND THE TOM LANTOS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION ONE HUNDRED SIXTEENTH CONGRESS

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TIANANMEN AT 30: EXAMINING THE EVOLUTION OF REPRESSION IN CHINA

TUESDAY, JUNE 4, 2019

CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA
AND THE TOM LANTOS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION,
Washington, DC.

The hearing was convened, pursuant to notice, at 10:08 a.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Representative James P. McGovern, Chair, presiding.

Also present: Senators Rubio and Daines, and Representatives Engel, Smith, Suozzi, Mast, Sires, Wagner, Johnson, Perry, Jackson Lee, Yoho, McCaul, Chabot, and Burchett.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES P. MCGOVERN, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM MASSACHUSETTS AND CHAIR, CON- GRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

Good morning and welcome to a joint hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China and the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, hosted by the House Foreign Affairs Committee. I want to thank my cochair, Senator Marco Rubio, of the China Commission, and Congressman Chris Smith, my cochair on the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission. I would also like to thank Chairman Eliot Engel, Ranking Member Michael McCaul, and all the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee for hosting and participating in this important hearing.

The title of today's hearing is "Tiananmen at 30: Examining the Evolution of Repression in China." The hearing will review the events in China in 1989, the aspirations of the Tiananmen Square generation, and the ongoing censorship and lack of accountability for those seeking answers about the victims of the massacre.

For our first panel, we are proud to welcome the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Nancy Pelosi.

In 1989, just two weeks after the Tiananmen Square massacre, Nancy Pelosi—then in her second term in Congress—introduced legislation to protect Chinese students and nationals who feared being deported back to China.

The eventual Chinese Student Protection Act passed into law and ultimately granted legal permanent resident status to approximately 53,000 Chinese nationals, thereby boosting our economy and contributing to the wonderful diversity of our country. Two beneficiaries of this legislation were Yuxian Jin and Li Shen. Yuxian was a researcher in a genetics lab. Li was a student in accounting. Their son, Peter, is now a police officer in Salt Lake City.

And we are proud that their daughter Sophie Jin serves her country on the China Commission staff.

The legislation that welcomed Sophie and her family into our country is the best of what America has to offer. I want to thank Speaker Pelosi for that.

In 1991, in Tiananmen Square, under the glare of the security cameras and in the spotlight of Chinese police, Nancy Pelosi unfurled a banner that read "To those who died for democracy in China." To this day, that act of compassion is often mentioned by Chinese dissidents, some of whom heard about it when they were in prison.

Back in Congress, Pelosi was organizing. She founded and chaired the bipartisan Congressional Working Group on China with Congressman Frank Wolf. She spearheaded the effort to condition China's most-favored-nation trade status on progress on releasing pro-democracy demonstrators. And throughout the 1990s, Nancy Pelosi took on both Republican and Democratic presidents.

When Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR) for China was considered, Pelosi led the opposition, stating that PNTR should only be granted after, not before, the Chinese government implemented its trade commitments. If only the Congress followed her lead on that vote.

Throughout her 30 years of advocacy for the people of China and Tibet, she has fought for the release of countless political prisoners, and any Chinese government official who meets with her, especially Chinese presidents, can expect to receive a letter with political prisoners that should be released.

Pelosi sponsored legislation to award the Congressional Gold Medal to the Dalai Lama. She represented the U.S. at the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony for Chinese democracy leader Liu Xiaobo. She led the way to provide U.S. assistance for Tibetan refugees and pushed back against World Bank projects that harmed the environment and the people of China and Tibet.

I was proud to join the Pelosi-led congressional delegations to India, Hong Kong, China, and Tibet, to support human rights. We're proud to have Speaker Pelosi here today to share her thoughts and expertise on the Tiananmen Square massacre, human rights in China and Tibet, and the role of Congress.

We welcome you, Madam Speaker, and the floor is yours.

[The prepared statement of Representative McGovern appears in the Appendix.]

STATEMENT OF HON. NANCY PELOSI, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. As you know, it is unusual for the Speaker of the House to testify before a committee. This is more than a committee. It is a committee, a commission, so many things.

Thank you for your leadership as chair of the Lantos Commission, as well as your role with the China Commission. And thank you, Cochairman Rubio, for your extraordinary leadership, as well as Chairman Smith, whom I have worked with for decades on this issue. Thank you, Chairman Engel, for your leadership on the Foreign Affairs Committee. And to all of you, thank you for being here

this morning. I accept the kind remarks and overly generous introduction that you gave me. On behalf of our many colleagues, anything you said I did, we did in a bipartisan way, including unfurling that banner in Tiananmen Square. And all of the legislation to protect the Chinese students on issues that related to trade and human rights in China, in a bipartisan way. Right, Mr. Smith? All along the way.

I want to acknowledge that while we were in Tiananmen Square unfurling a banner for which we were chased by the People's Liberation Army—it was just a question of who could run faster—Mr. Levin was actually in Tiananmen Square at the time of the massacre. Thank you for the beautiful testimony and the photos that you have of that occasion—which was an assault on humanity, in my view.

So I thank you all for focusing on this special anniversary. Sitting here with Wu'er Kaixi, when we had our first hearing after Tiananmen Square, our very first hearing, Wu'er Kaixi was our first guest. Remember that? And now here we are 30 years later. It was so courageous all these years, but so courageous then. Thank you, Wu'er, for being here.

Again, as a founding member of the CECC and Speaker of the House and as an American, I'm honored to speak at this hearing, "Tiananmen at 30: Examining the Evolution of Repression in China." Today we remember the brutal massacre that the Chinese government committed against its own people 30 years ago. We remember the courage of the students, workers, and citizens who peacefully defied an oppressive regime to demand the liberties and human rights that they deserved. We all remember that they raised the Goddess of Democracy in the image of our own Statue of Liberty, how they quoted our founders, how the tanks and troops crushed their protest but could not extinguish the flame of freedom burning in their hearts.

Thirty years later one of the enduring images of the 20th century remains seared into our shared conscience, a lone man standing in the street bringing a line of tanks to a grinding halt. I was sad to learn years later—going back to China—that most students in the universities and the rest have no idea of that image. When they're asked what they think it stands for, they say, Was it an ad for something? Is it an ad for a drink, a soda or something like that? The Chinese have totally suppressed what happened at Tiananmen Square as well as the lone man standing before the tank, revered in the whole world, but unknown to young people in China.

Earlier this year, the mothers—God bless them—who lost loved ones in the Tiananmen massacre, wrote to Chinese leaders, and this is what the moms said. They said, "During the Great Famine of the 1950s and 60s in which tens of millions of our compatriots starved to death, the former Chinese President Liu Shaoqi warned Mao Zedong, 'People are eating people—it will be written in the books.'" That's what the moms said in this letter, this current letter. "Considering this," they said, "we can't help but wonder: Wouldn't the People's Liberation Army's mass killing of innocent people in full public view also be recorded in history in the end?"

Today, and on all days, we assure these mothers that we remember and that the heroism of their children will continue to be writ-

ten in the official history of the United States Congress. We must remember because China still tries to deny history. As the writer Lu Xun wrote, "Lies written in ink cannot disguise facts written in blood."

I remember June 4th vividly; the horrors of the massacre and the heroism of the massacred that remain with me, with many of us, until today.

On June 21st, just over two weeks after the Tiananmen Square massacre, in a bipartisan way we introduced the Emergency Chinese Immigration Relief Act of 1989 to help Chinese students facing persecution stay in America, followed by the Chinese Student Protection Act of 1992, again in a bipartisan way. This was important because the Chinese were filming all the demonstrations in the United States so that they would be able to punish the students who participated, not in China, but here in the United States, reaching their hand into deterring free expression in the United States of America.

Two years after the Tiananmen massacre, as you indicated, Democrats and Republicans stood in Tiananmen Square and unfurled a black and white banner reading "To Those Who Died for Democracy in China." And then we got chased by the People's Liberation Army.

What was interesting about it, you might want to know, is that when we were there and the people saw Americans there, and a lot of what looked like tourists were being friendly and smiling and this or that, but when we took out the banner, all those friendly tourists had walkie-talkies and they were calling the police. So they were police themselves, calling the People's Liberation Army. They came out of the building. We could see the troops coming; we took off. And they did manage to assault some of our Members, take the film from photographers and the rest. But nonetheless, the statement was made. And every year since, we have argued, in a bipartisan way, that America and the world cannot afford to promote a morally bankrupt policy toward China. Sadly, 30 years after Tiananmen, we see that China has changed, but its record of repression has not.

From the unabated abuse and repression that the Uyghurs face at the hands of the Chinese government, to the plight of the people of Hong Kong where the Chinese-controlled Council pushes an extradition bill that makes a mockery of the "one country, two systems" pledge and would put 85,000 U.S. citizens at risk, to the decades-long abuse faced by the Tibetan people whose religion, culture, and language the Chinese government is brutally trying to erase, and to prison cells on the mainland where journalists, human rights lawyers, democracy activists, and Christians are denied dignity, justice, and their rights.

If we do not speak out for human rights in China because of economic concerns, we lose all moral authority to talk about human rights in any other place in the world. Human rights and trade are inextricably linked. That is why in 1993 we worked together on the U.S.-China Act to tie any extension of China's trade status to improvements in human rights by the Chinese government. In 1994, we urged our colleagues in Congress to limit most-favored-nation status on products made by the People's Liberation Army, the very

perpetrators of the massacre in Tiananmen Square. In 1999, we warned that the Chinese government had signed agreements on trade, on proliferation, on human rights, but had not honored them. And in 2000, we all worked together to fight efforts to give China a blank check while China gave the U.S. a rubber check by failing to comply with its market commitments under the World Trade Organization. As I said then, the U.S.-China bilateral WTO agreement is seriously deficient in substance, implementation, and enforcement. This issue is too important for our economy to be based on a pattern of broken promises, not proven performance. Today let us recognize that the greatest tribute Congress can make to the fallen freedom fighters of Tiananmen is to use our influence to advance the democratic aspirations of that generation.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman—so many chairmen here—they say that if you’re in prison, one of the most excruciating forms of punishment that can be exacted upon you is to say that nobody remembers you; they don’t remember why you’re here, or that you are here, in prison. And we want to be sure that those prisoners know—and we do believe that the message gets to them—that they are not forgotten; that in the Congress of the United States, important leaders such as all of you gathered here are saying their names, giving letters to the authorities in China, recognizing their sacrifice, which is a sacrifice not just for them personally but a sacrifice for democracy throughout the world.

In 2012, Congress made clear that trade and human rights are firmly linked, passing Chairman McGovern’s Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act as part of the Russia PNTR. In 2017, we built on that progress by making the Magnitsky Act global. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for that, and thank all of you who participated in that.

Last year we passed the bipartisan Tibet Reciprocity Act, also led by Chairman McGovern, to hold China accountable for its repression of the Tibetan people. As we work on trade agreements today, we continue to insist that any policy be tied to human rights. America must demonstrate the moral courage to use our leverage to not only guarantee fair trade for our products in Chinese markets but also to advance human rights in China. Let me repeat: We cannot allow economic interests with China to blind us to the moral injustices committed by China.

I asked on the House floor 20 years ago during the PNTR debate, what does it profit a country if it gains the whole world and suffers the loss of its soul? Just over 10 years ago, Liu Xiaobo, the world’s great champion of human rights, whose death was an affront to the very idea of human dignity—penned Charter 08. In that text he asked, “Where is China headed in the 21st century. Will it continue its modernization under authoritarian rule, or will it embrace universal human rights, join the mainstream of civilized nations, and build a democratic system?”

Mr. Smith and I and others were honored to represent Liu Xiaobo when he received the Nobel Peace Prize in Norway. Of course, the Chinese would not let him out of the country. The prize was given to an empty chair, but we were honored to be part of the delegation to show our support and our concern.

As we examine the evolution of repression today, let us continue to work to achieve Liu Xiaobo's dream and the dream of the Tiananmen protesters, a future of freedom for all.

Thank you all for the opportunity to testify today. I thank each and every one of you for your leadership and your commitment to human rights and to advancing freedom in China. That, of course, includes Tibet and Hong Kong, Beijing, the Uyghurs, and the rest. So much repression is taking place. I think we are going in the opposite direction. It is important for the world to know, 30 years later, that we haven't forgotten what happened then and that we know what is happening now. And that this will have an impact on our relationship with China.

I thank you all for your leadership and for the opportunity to share some thoughts with you today. Thank you so much.

[Applause.]

Chair MCGOVERN. Well, thank you very much, Madam Speaker. On behalf of all of us here, we are grateful to you. I just want to point out to you that, as we are speaking right now, someone just gave me a picture of a candlelight vigil in Victoria Square in Hong Kong where tens of thousands of people are holding a candlelight vigil in honor of those who lost their lives in Tiananmen Square and other uprisings all around China. This is happening as we speak. So thank you very much. I know you have a very busy schedule.

I will yield to Senator Rubio.

Cochair RUBIO. Thank you. And thank you, Madam Speaker, for being here on this important day. Thank you to the Chairman for convening this important commission hearing on the 30th anniversary.

Speaker PELOSI. Let me just thank you for showing that picture of what's happening in Hong Kong because that's the only place in China where people are able to speak out. It's a beautiful sight to behold and I commend the courage of the people there for speaking out, in light of China's actions in Hong Kong these days. And I thank you again, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman.

Chair MCGOVERN. Thank you very much. I am happy to yield to our Cochair, Senator Rubio.

Cochair RUBIO. Thank you again.

**STATEMENT OF HON. MARCO RUBIO, A U.S. SENATOR FROM
FLORIDA AND COCHAIR, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COM-
MISSION ON CHINA**

I want to begin by welcoming our witnesses. I look forward to their testimony, their firsthand recollections of this watershed event of 1989, and the policy recommendations that you have for Congress that we should consider.

I think today's anniversary will remind us that the fundamental human yearning for dignity and human rights and basic rights is not limited to any one region or limited to one country or limited to one culture. These aspirations have transcended geography and culture throughout the history of man.

Today we honor the lives that were irrevocably altered by the events of that day; those who perished, those who were imprisoned

and tortured, those who lost mothers, fathers, sons and daughters and those whose loved ones remain missing and unaccounted for.

Tiananmen must not be viewed exclusively through the lens of history. Rather, today we must also reckon with the ongoing systematic human rights abuses committed by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese government against their own people. And we must reckon with the emerging and new geopolitical competition between tyranny and liberty, between democracy and totalitarianism.

To reflect briefly on the events that led up to that fateful day in the spring of 1989, thousands of students gathered at the center of Beijing to mourn the death of a prominent reformer within the Communist Party who wanted to move China toward a more open and democratic political system. And in the days that followed, thousands would gather in Tiananmen Square to call for greater freedom and political reform and to protest the repressive policies.

Their numbers grew as the days passed, not only in Beijing but also in 400 cities and universities across the nation until more than 1 million people—that included journalists and workers, government employees and police—joined the students and echoed their demands. And then late in the evening of the 3rd of June and into the 4th, China's People's Liberation Army, acting on the orders of the Chinese Communist Party, responded with brute force and lethal violence, opening fire on peaceful demonstrators.

To this day, the precise number of resulting casualties is unknown. There has been no public accounting of the events of that week, and there has been, of course, no justice for the victims. Rather, those that seek to commemorate the event or seek information about those killed, like the Tiananmen Mothers, are harassed. They are detained. They are arrested.

Perhaps the most iconic image associated with the Tiananmen massacre is Tank Man, the small, solitary figure with shopping bags in hand, who stood in the path of an advancing line of tanks. Tank Man remains an enigma. We don't know his fate. Some believe he was imprisoned. Others believe he was executed. There are some who hope that he's still alive today. We don't know.

While the names of many of the Tiananmen protesters are now lost to history and to the Chinese government's Orwellian memory hole, the bravery of protesters in the face of certain danger reminds us that the principles of freedom, democracy, and self-rule are not just American principles. They are human principles that neither tank treads, nor torture, nor terror can erase—not even by the Communist Party of China—principles that I believe still remain the quiet hope and aspiration of many people in that ancient and noble nation.

The U.S., the nations of the free world, should demand that the Chinese government allow open discussion of the events of that day and the enforced amnesia of the Tiananmen Square massacre in China, online, at Confucius Institutes here in the United States that operate on our college campuses, and globally as well; and that they unconditionally release those detained or in prison for attempting to commemorate the anniversary, and reckon publicly with the horrific violence experienced by the Chinese people at the hands of the Party and the military.

And we must continue to use opportunities like this, Mr. Chairman—and I thank you for calling this hearing—because we must use opportunities like this to speak about the true story of the Tiananmen Square massacre. This point is important because Tiananmen revealed to the world the true nature of the Communist Party in China. For decades successive U.S. administrations have tried to pursue constructive engagement. The bipartisan conventional wisdom wrongly assumed that trade, investment, and other engagement would eventually persuade Beijing to embrace and accept liberty and respect for human rights. And that optimism was misplaced. Today we see an increasingly aggressive Chinese Communist government that is more repressive in domestic policy, more mercantilist in trade and economic policy, increasingly dismissive of all international norms, and more assertive in exporting their authoritarian model globally.

While Chinese government-sponsored repression looks much different today than it did 30 years ago, the goal remains exactly the same: to preserve the Communist Party monopoly on domestic political power through state-sponsored indoctrination, through mass surveillance, and through arbitrary detention, torture, and violence.

The Communist Party today in China is using technology to stay in power, whether through the emerging social credit system or the vast digital surveillance state and accompanying internment camps, to transform the religious and ethnic identity of millions of Uyghurs and other Muslim ethnic minorities in Xinjiang. Data-driven surveillance facilitated by iris and body scanners, voice pattern analyzers, DNA sequencers and facial recognition cameras in neighborhoods, on roads, and in train stations—technology, by the way, that they export into other countries. It sounds like science fiction, but it's happening.

In the era of high-tech social control, there is a direct line of repression linking the Tank Man and the internment of over 1 million Uyghurs and other predominantly Muslim minorities in what they call political reeducation camps. And just over the weekend, Twitter, a global company that isn't even allowed to operate in China, suspended the accounts of reportedly more than 100 Chinese language users critical of the government, coincidentally, just ahead of this anniversary. We must also keep American companies accountable for their potential complicity in Chinese government censorship and other abuses.

I hope that the time has come for the U.S. to once again lead, along with the rest of the free world, in holding the Chinese government accountable for its ongoing blatant repression of the Chinese people.

We must stand with the oppressed Tibetan Buddhist monk, the silenced human rights lawyer, the imprisoned Christian pastor, the disappeared Uyghur Muslim, the disillusioned Hong Kong democracy activist, and countless others living under the repressive policies of the Chinese government. To do anything else dishonors the spirit of Tiananmen, it tarnishes the memory of those lost, and it places us on the wrong side of history. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Senator Rubio appears in the Appendix.]

Chair MCGOVERN. Thank you very much, Senator. Thank you for your powerful statement.

You know, it was 30 years ago this week that an estimated 1 million Chinese students, workers, and citizens joined the peaceful protests in Tiananmen Square and in over 400 cities throughout China. The people of China were calling for an open dialogue with government officials about corruption, the acceleration of economic and political reform, and the protection of human rights. We remember with sadness and outrage the crackdown that followed as the People's Liberation Army was unleashed on its own people. Some of you in this room were in Tiananmen Square on that day 30 years ago. We know you took great risks. We know you lost friends. And we know you have sacrificed so much in the years since to advance democracy and support the human rights and dignity of all the people of China. I want to thank you for all of your leadership and for your advocacy.

One of the most inspiring images in history, as Senator Rubio pointed out, was that lone man standing in the street before the line of tanks in Tiananmen Square. We may never know the name of the Tank Man, but his active resistance symbolizes the spirit of Tiananmen that lives on in the hearts and minds of those continuing the struggle in China and abroad.

You know, in China, the Tiananmen Mothers is a group of relatives and friends of those killed in June 1989. At great risk to themselves, they continue to ask for the right to mourn publicly and call for a full, public, and independent accounting of all the victims. Ding Zilin, the 82-year-old founder of the group, lost her 17-year-old son on that day. Chinese authorities have tried to intimidate and silence her in advance of the 30th anniversary. Official surveillance never ends for her, as she is followed by Chinese security officers every single day. The government fears her memory, her devotion, and her moral standing.

In the years since Tiananmen, the human rights situation in China has worsened. Tiananmen was a key turning point as the country moved from the brink of openness and reform to new and evolving methods of repression, including against the Tibetan and Uyghur peoples. Some have described a slow-motion Tiananmen happening in Xinjiang with the ongoing mass internment and surveillance of Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims.

A better path forward was offered by Nobel Peace Prize Laureate and Tiananmen student leader Liu Xiaobo who co-authored Charter 08. Published on December 10, 2008, the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it called for constitutional government and a respect for human rights. Despite official efforts to censor Charter 08, it was eventually signed by more than 10,000 people. Sadly, Liu Xiaobo spent a total of almost 16 years in prison and died in state custody in 2017.

Today in China, the Tiananmen Square massacre is erased from history books and any mention of it is censored. But we know the spirit of Tiananmen is still alive and well. We know because China's leaders demonstrate their fear of it every single day with their security cameras, censorship, detention centers, and obsession with preventing the people of China from learning the truth.

We know the spirit of Tiananmen is alive and well in Hong Kong where hundreds of thousands of people, as I mentioned earlier, have come together in Victoria Park to hold a candlelight vigil for the victims of the Tiananmen Square massacre. In his famous last statement, "I Have No Enemies," Liu Xiaobo said, "No force can block the thirst for freedom that lies within human nature, and someday China, too, will be a nation of laws where human rights are paramount." I look forward to that day.

This afternoon, right after this hearing, the United States House of Representatives will consider a resolution to remember the victims of the violent suppression of the democracy protests in Tiananmen Square and throughout China. The resolution calls on the Chinese government to respect the universally recognized human rights of all people living in China and around the world. I urge all my colleagues in the House to support this resolution.

I now yield to the distinguished chair of the House Foreign Affairs committee, Eliot Engel.

**STATEMENT OF HON. ELIOT ENGEL,
CHAIR, HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE**

Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, Senator Rubio. Welcome to the House Foreign Affairs Committee. It's good to see so many people here. The place is packed because obviously this is a very important anniversary.

Today marks the 30th anniversary of the Chinese government's violent crackdown against peaceful pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square. I remember it well. It was my first year in Congress.

On that dark day, the People's Liberation Army openly fired upon protesters, many of whom were students. We don't know how many lost their lives that day, but we do know that this tragedy derailed the hope that China's economic reforms of the 1980s would be accompanied by political openness.

The events at Tiananmen Square were a watershed moment for China, for the students, activists, and dissidents who hoped for a brighter future for their country, and for the rest of the world. That day made clear that China's Communist Party intended to hang on to power at any cost and to suppress dissent violently if necessary.

In the 30 years that followed, Chinese authorities have tried to erase from history the demonstration in Tiananmen Square and the subsequent bloodshed. You won't find any record of these events on China's internet or in the pages of Chinese textbooks, and when the Chinese Communist Party is pushed for answers about the carnage at Tiananmen, officials justify the actions as a necessary cost of maintaining stability and delivering economic growth. We heard this refrain at the Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore just a few days ago.

Since Tiananmen, the Chinese Communist Party has become even more authoritarian, a trend that has accelerated under President Xi Jinping's rule. Lawyers, civil society leaders, and other champions of human rights, religious freedom, ethnic minority rights, and the rule of law have been jailed, disappeared, or brutally repressed. More than a million Uyghurs and Muslim minorities in Xinjiang have been detained in reeducation camps, which

the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Asia has called concentration camps, in an effort by the Chinese government to erase Uyghur culture and Islamic faith. Tibetans live under intense repression and surveillance, and the Chinese Communist Party continues to violate international religious freedom by insisting that the Party has a role in approving the Dalai Lama's successor. Human rights and freedom are also under siege in Hong Kong, which has traditionally maintained some autonomy under the promise of "one country, two systems."

China has started using immigration policy in its courts as a weapon against Western targets. It's increasing the use of exit bans as a tool of coercion and using politically motivated charges against people like Canadian citizen Michael Kovrig to achieve diplomatic ends.

More and more, the Chinese Communist Party exports its repressive values, whether by spreading surveillance technologies or trying to silence international criticism of its actions through economic coercion or reshaping international institutions to better reflect Beijing's views on issues like Taiwan. But that's not all. We also see China's attempts to rewrite history in other areas, such as its unfounded, illegal territorial claims in the South China Sea, and its peddling of a false narrative of the Chinese occupation of Tibet.

We cannot stand silent in the face of this aggression and abuse of so many people's basic rights and dignity. We must relentlessly put a spotlight on human rights violations, both those in the past and those today, and hold the perpetrators accountable.

Today's hearing is a crucial reminder that China is not a unitary state or actor. Our concern should focus on the Chinese government and the Chinese Communist Party, not the Chinese people or Chinese civilization. That is why we condemn the Chinese government's cruel actions on June 4, 1989. We urge the Communist Party to make a full and public accounting of those killed or missing. We urge the Chinese government to respect human rights and freedom, to release arbitrary detainees, and to overturn counter-productive policies on terrorism, speech, and cyber policy.

We are also reminded today that there are Chinese women and men who, like the late Liu Xiaobo and his wife Liu Xia, continue to speak out against the Chinese government's oppressive policies, and urge reform and respect for universal human rights. These brave men and women know full well they're putting their lives on the line by speaking out this way, but they do so anyway because they refuse to give up on the vision of a brighter future for themselves and their country.

So in conclusion, we celebrate them. We share a common cause with those who have advocated for, and continue to advocate for, a freer and more just Chinese society. We hope that their courage and persistence are not in vain.

Thank you again, Mr. Chairman, and I yield back.

Chair MCGOVERN. Thank you very much. And now I am delighted to yield to a great champion of human rights, the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Smith.

**STATEMENT OF HON. CHRIS SMITH,
A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM NEW JERSEY**

Representative SMITH. Thank you very, very much, Mr. Chairman. Thank you and Senator Rubio for calling this joint hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, on which I serve as ranking member, and the Lantos Human Rights Commission, on which I serve as cochair. I thank our very, very eloquent lead witness, Speaker Pelosi, for her leadership.

The heroes who will soon be testifying underscore the importance that we attach, the profound importance, of remembering the infamous Tiananmen Square massacre, the day and days when the best, the bravest, and the brightest of China were brutally suppressed by dictatorship. Thirty years ago the world watched as over a million Chinese gathered to peacefully demand political reform and fundamental human rights.

The hopes and promises of those heady days of 1989 ended brutally with violence, tears, bloodshed, and detention and exile. But over the past 30 years, those tears have led to a renewed hope and a dream that someday China will be free, and fundamental universally recognized human rights would be respected. Mothers lost sons, fathers lost daughters, and China lost an idealistic generation on June 4th, as the tanks rolled into Tiananmen Square.

We also remember the massacre, here in Congress each year, because of its enduring impact on U.S.-China relations. How do you deal with a country and treat with respect a dictatorship that so brutally disrespects its own people and again, treats them with torture and other hideous and barbaric behavior? We remember it because an unknown number of people died, were arrested, and were exiled for simply seeking human rights. We remember this date each year because it's too important to forget and because it's too dangerous in China to commemorate it.

The legacy of Tiananmen Square was further seared in my memory when I, along with Frank Wolf, visited Beijing Prison No. 1 back in 1991. I will never forget the faces of those gaunt Tiananmen Square prisoners, and there were about 40 of them at that prison camp, their heads shaved, in tattered clothes, bent over machines, working grueling hours on clothing for the United States and other markets.

I'll never forget that day. It inspired my efforts along with many others, including Frank Wolf and Speaker Pelosi, to fight against the fantasy that trade and investment would somehow lead to political liberalization and human rights. Dictatorships do not matriculate to democracies because you give them more money. As a matter of fact, I believe it makes them worse.

As documented so well by the CECC's Annual Report, the domestic screws on dissent have tightened considerably since Xi Jinping assumed the presidency. The scope of Mr. Xi's repression is immense, with more arbitrary detentions, censorship, torture, and social control—as Senator Rubio pointed out a moment ago—like we've never seen—the surveillance state and the police state joined as one.

President Xi and top Communist Party leaders regularly unleash bellicose attacks on universal values, Western ideals, and “revisionism.” They have pushed through new laws that legitimize polit-

ical, religious, and ethnic repression, further curtail civil liberties and civil society, and expand censorship on the internet.

Rights lawyers and labor organizers are tortured and jailed. Hong Kong booksellers and Chinese activists disappear, even from safe havens like Thailand. Citizen journalists and religious leaders are arbitrarily detained. We have a new thing under Xi Jinping—sinicization—the idea that every single religious body from the Falun Gong to Christians to the Uyghurs to the Tibetan Buddhists, all have to comport with Xi Jinping’s master plan of socialism.

Impunity and repression and brutality are the ties that bind the Tiananmen Square massacre and the internment of over a million Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims, in what only can be described as concentration camps. The U.S. cannot be neutral when human rights are trampled with impunity or when crimes against humanity are being committed as we speak. Either you stand with Tank Man or you stand with the tank. There is no middle ground. That is why the CECC has pressed the administration, both past and present, to hold accountable those Chinese officials and businesses complicit in the most egregious human rights violations. Strong rhetoric condemning crimes against humanity occurring in Xinjiang is not enough at this point. Those who abuse universal freedoms with impunity should not prosper from access to the U.S. and other economies, other countries, or political freedom. It is the least that the U.S. can do to show leadership in a world where Chinese cash increasingly buys silence.

We can no longer afford to separate human rights from our other interests. We know that past presidents have done that. Tiananmen Square we thought would be the end of most-favored-nation status—and I joined speaker Pelosi and David Bonior and others in a bipartisan effort to say MFN ought to be linked with human rights. The President linked them. Unfortunately, he then de-linked them in 1994, and that led to, I think, an appraisal of the United States that profits trump human rights. Human rights matter; so does the rule of law.

While the hopes of Tiananmen Square demonstrators have not yet been realized, the demand for universal freedom continues to inspire the Chinese people today. I believe that someday China will be free. Someday the people of China will enjoy all of their God-given, universally recognized human rights, and a nation of free Chinese men and women will honor and celebrate the heroes of Tiananmen Square and all those who have sacrificed so much for so long for freedom.

I yield back.

[The prepared statement of Representative Smith appears in the Appendix.]

Chair MCGOVERN. Well, thank you very much. I know there are a lot of other people on the panel who want to speak. I am going to urge them to work their remarks into their questions. We want to get to the panelists.

Let me just say at the outset here that we have nothing but the highest regard for the people of China. We admire the culture. We admire the history and the traditions of China. We are here today because we are outraged about the human rights abuses that continue to occur, and we believe that for our friendship to grow, we

need to see some change in terms of the government's human rights behavior.

So I am pleased to welcome an outstanding panel of witnesses who will examine how the Tiananmen Square massacre shaped new forms of repression in China and how demands for democracy have persisted in spite of their repression. They will also offer forward-looking recommendations on how U.S. policy can effectively support human rights and the rule of law in China.

That panel includes Wu'er Kaixi, a leader in the 1989 Tiananmen protest and one of the Chinese government's most-wanted student leaders. He's the chairman of the Taiwan Association for Democracy Advancement in China and is a Uyghur national. He is a vocal critic of the Chinese government's human rights abuses in Xinjiang. He traveled all the way from Taiwan to join us this morning. We're grateful that you are here.

We are also proud and happy to welcome Zhou Fengsuo, a 1989 Tiananmen student leader and co-founder and president of Humanitarian China. He set up the first student broadcast center in Tiananmen Square that has become the operation center for the protesters. He was also one of the most-wanted student leaders.

Mi Ling Tsui, communications director at Human Rights in China and head of the "Unforgotten" project, a series of profiles that tell the stories of victims and their families, including the Tiananmen Mothers group.

Carl Minzner, a professor of law at Fordham University, is an expert in Chinese law and governance and author of "End of an Era: How China's Authoritarian Revival Is Undermining Its Rise." We are thrilled to welcome him back to Congress.

Finally, Shanthi Kalathil, senior director of the International Forum for Democratic Studies at the National Endowment for Democracy. She's a leading voice in Washington, D.C. and on the internet on authoritarian regimes. She has authored several seminal reports on the Chinese government and Communist Party censorship, influence operations, and development of sharp power.

I want to thank you all for being here, and we look forward to hearing your testimony and recommendations.

Wu'er Kaixi, we will begin with you.

STATEMENT OF WU'ER KAIXI

Thank you very much. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the committee, Senators and Members of Congress, and through you, the freedom-loving people of the United States of America. I see some old faces here. Mr. Smith, it is good to see you, always.

It's a great honor to return to what I call the "Chapel of Democracy" on Capitol Hill, at the invitation of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China and the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission.

It was the Honorable Mr. Lantos himself—may he rest in peace—who invited me here three decades ago, after the torch of democracy we lit in Tiananmen Square was brutally extinguished and I began my life of exile. "Wu'er Kaixi is here to remind us the struggle for democracy in China is not over," is how Mr. Lantos introduced me at that hearing. Those words still ring true, perhaps truer now than ever before. I said then that the Chinese Com-

unist Party could not be trusted and was an existential threat to freedom and democracy around the world. It gives me no pleasure to say now, “I told you so.”

I was called a “lover of democracy” at that congressional Human Rights Caucus hearing, though many people have asked me since, “What do you know about democracy?” It is true that when we student leaders led the mass democracy movement in Beijing, our knowledge and understanding of democracy was often limited to its face value and textbook doctrines, because we were from a communist, totalitarian regime.

But that is precisely why I am a lover of democracy and longed for it, because I know what it’s like not to have democracy and freedom. It is the most precious of gifts and we must never take it for granted. That is why I have returned to this “Chapel of Democracy,” to warn you once again that democracy is under attack. As the standard bearer and the defender of democracy, it is your solemn duty to protect it. I also have to tell you that the light of democracy in China was snuffed out because we were betrayed. You betrayed us.

It was 30 years ago that we took to the streets of Beijing and earned the world’s sympathy and respect for attempting to plant the seeds of freedom and democracy in Tiananmen Square in China. We humbly asked China’s leadership to fulfill their promises to the people because in those heady days everything seemed possible. Democracy was flowering in Poland and the “new thinking” of Mikhail Gorbachev was creating excitement in the Soviet Union. In China, it was the beginning of opening up under reform, and the people were anxiously waiting for it to expand into the political domain, as we were promised.

Those days, as a 21-year-old student leader marching on the streets of Beijing and occupying Tiananmen Square, we not only had the support of the Chinese people, we had support from all over the world, particularly in the democratic countries. Clearly, you felt we were fighting for the same as you had fought for and live by. It felt like history was on our side, and victory would be ours soon.

But history records that this was not the path for China at that time. On June 4th, 1989, the Chinese Communist Party sent in tanks and troops to massacre the people it claimed to represent. In order to save its own skin, the Communist Party brutally suppressed freedom of expression and crushed all dissent. It has continued to rule since then, at the barrel of a gun, using fear and lies.

After massacre and condemnation, the world’s leaders paraded back to Beijing so they could access China’s market and its billion customers. They argued that change would come later. Trade delegations occasionally raised the issue of blatant human rights abuses because of the pressure back home from the distinguished members of parliament or media or academia, but rarely did they wait for an answer or hold principles to be more important than money.

The support we had didn’t last and we, the Chinese democracy activists, were abandoned to our fate. Mentioning Tiananmen became an inconvenience for the leaders of the world’s democracies. We were betrayed. Naturally, today’s world leaders are not respon-

sible for the mistakes of their predecessors, but if you ignore the lessons of the past and continue to look the other way rather than hold the Communist Party accountable for its crimes, it will be too late to say or do anything about it, and this looks suspiciously like a policy of appeasement.

This policy started in the early 1970s with Mr. Henry Kissinger, the chief architect of this China policy, insisting that it was in the national interest of the United States to form a united front against the number one enemy of the country at the time, the Soviet Union. Certainly, there was no moral foundation for being so accommodating to the totalitarian Chinese regime, but when the Chinese regime massacred its own peaceful, protesting people, would this policy be altered? No, it wouldn't. Not only did it take four days for the late President George H.W. Bush to condemn the atrocity, he secretly went to Beijing not long after. Why the secrecy?

Later that very same year, the Berlin Wall fell, and then soon after, the Soviet Union collapsed. The Cold War, lasting four decades, had ended; the national interest that Mr. Kissinger proudly proclaimed that he was looking after, had expired. Yet the policy remained, and Mr. Kissinger was received as one of Beijing's greatest friends and became fabulously rich by brokering favored access to the Chinese market for American companies.

I have waited a long time for the United States to realize there is something fundamentally wrong with this picture. Perhaps it is only now that a businessman president finally sees it.

I have been lucky enough to live in some of the freest places on Earth and I have had 30 years to absorb the idea of democracy. In that time, I have been labeled as a democracy activist, and it is a badge I wear with immense pride. In my experience, democracy is not a religion or set of standards; it's a practice, a dynamic process constantly refined and improved. It is not perfect, but it always aims for perfection. It makes mistakes, but through voting, allows choices and changes and the opportunity to put right the mistakes of the past. Democracy cautiously trusts the people, and the will of the people is expressed through the democratic process. This is a very powerful and virtuous idea.

As I have made plain today, I feel the democracy movement in China and democracy itself was betrayed, betrayed by you. But I know you will appreciate that this argument is, in fact, based on my strong faith in the righteousness of American democracy. I firmly believe you will, in the end, correct the mistakes of the past to create a better future.

My definition of democracy is not trusting, and constantly exercising democracy until we arrive at the right judgment and choice. This is what I want for the people of China.

I still mourn the loss of friends, fellow activists, and family. As a survivor, I keenly feel the guilt and pain that belongs to the captain who did not go down with his ship. Though it was a great thing that we tried to do, I sometimes wonder whether I would do it all over again. The cost was too great—measured in the blood shed by my fellow countrymen. We made the ultimate sacrifice; we inspired the world in winning one of the most challenging battles of the 20th century, the Cold War. Yet, in China, we are still wait-

ing for that victory to come. I don't want to return to this "Chapel of Democracy" and say "I told you so," or once again remind you of the lessons of the past. With our shared conviction in the power of democracy, I hope that we can at last write a fitting conclusion to the story that started 30 years ago with the Tiananmen Square protest. China deserves democracy too.

I would like to echo Mr. Smith's distinguished statement, "You either stand with the Tank Man, or you stand with the tank." I truly want to believe that world leaders, including those here today, are wise enough not to repeat the mistakes of yesterday. I trust you have the courage to face up to China before it is too strong and it is too late. This would belatedly make our sacrifice worthwhile.

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.

[Applause.]

[The prepared statement of Wu'er Kaixi appears in the Appendix.]

Chair MCGOVERN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Zhou Fengsuo.

STATEMENT OF ZHOU FENG SUO

Mr. ZHOU. Thank you for inviting me to speak today. It is such an honor.

Thirty years ago I was among the last to leave Tiananmen Square. We were driven out by tanks and machine guns. The tanks were within 10 feet of me. Looking back at Tiananmen Square, it was like a war zone.

I vowed to come back. Five years ago, after testifying here at this exact committee, I went back to Tiananmen. I was arrested and sent back. But even the police who arrested me told me that it was the most hopeful and peaceful period in China's history.

Thirty years ago I saw 40 bodies of young students just like me lying on the ground near a bicycle shed outside of Fuxing Hospital. Among them was Zhong Qing. I vowed to remember his name and speak for him as long as I live. At this very moment my heart is with these suffering families, with the citizens of Beijing who risked everything to defend us against the tanks and marching troops and the storm of bullets. They saved us. My thoughts and prayers are with these people who over the last 30 years never stopped fighting for justice and truth. At this moment, I am thinking of Pastor Wang Yi. We were praying together 12 years ago. I still remember his fervent and determined voice. He is now in prison, and so is his wife. We must demand his release immediately.

For the last 30 years, people like Liu Xiaobo have fought to the last breath of their life. Thirty years ago Liu Xiaobo was a visiting scholar at Columbia University before he flew back to China to lay down his life for his country. And he died in prison. He was the second to die in prison while being a Nobel Peace Laureate. The first one was in Hitler's Nazi Germany. We must remember him. The Chinese government wants the world to forget him. Not even his ashes can be found today. When we made a bust sculpture of Liu Xiaobo and then proposed it to Columbia University—the university where he stayed 30 years ago—they rejected it. I ask this committee to offer a place, here on Capitol Hill, for Liu Xiaobo.

This would surely demonstrate a commitment to the democratization of China, and it would warm the hearts of all the Tiananmen generation.

On the policy front, I ask this committee to work on the Magnitsky Act. It could be a powerful tool against the perpetrators of the Tiananmen massacre and human rights violations. On the list we submitted to the State Department, one name stands out. It is Li Xiaolin, the daughter of Li Peng, Butcher of Beijing. After the massacre, Li Peng's family was rewarded with ill-gotten wealth for the blood on their hands. Banning Li Xiaolin and her family from entering, and freezing their family assets in the United States, will be a small but sure step toward justice for those responsible for the Tiananmen massacre.

It was a great mistake for the United States to allow China to enter the WTO with the firewall. The firewall is slavery in digital times. Every trade with the firewall in place strengthens the totalitarian regime. The firewall must be removed. China must open its internet before any trade talks.

For all these years, we tried really hard to reach out to the Chinese students here on United States campuses. I always received strong and positive responses from them as soon as I had the opportunity to talk to them, but we are pretty much banned from colleges in the United States simply because of the strong presence of organized umbrella groups like CSSA, which reports to the Chinese consulate here. We must have a law to deal directly against the organized activities of the Chinese Communist government in the United States.

For 30 years the appeasement policy has produced a monster. I am delighted to see that the United States is awakening now. We must confront this evil empire on all fronts. I am glad I am here with friends today in this fight, and we will win. Thank you.

[Applause.]

[The prepared statement of Mr. Zhou appears in the Appendix.]
Chair MCGOVERN. Thank you.

Mi Ling Tsui, welcome.

STATEMENT OF MI LING TSUI

Chairman McGovern, Cochairman Rubio, Cochairman Smith, and Members of Congress and staff, thank you for this opportunity to testify at this important and timely hearing.

On the 30th anniversary of the bloody June 4th massacre of unarmed civilians in Tiananmen Square and many different locations in Beijing, we are honored to be among this distinguished panel and to be able to give voice to the extraordinary efforts of the Tiananmen Mothers, a group of family members of June 4th victims as well as survivors.

For three decades, they have fought against state-enforced amnesia to engage in systematic efforts to gather evidence for an inevitable accounting of the killing—defying harassment, surveillance, and threats of retaliation. They have collectively identified and documented 202 individuals killed, and through exhaustive interviews with the families and eyewitnesses where possible, accumulated a large body of facts about the crimes committed against the victims.

Since 1999, HRIC has worked to support the Tiananmen Mothers' demands for justice by disseminating their annual open letters and information they have accumulated, to the international community. This year, for the 30th anniversary of June 4th, in addition to publishing their essay, which I attached to my testimony and request permission to be entered into the record, we have focused our advocacy contribution on our "Unforgotten" project.

The project draws on extensive documentation compiled by the Tiananmen Mothers, including interviews, essays, videos, and photographs, to tell the individual stories of some of the victims—about how they lived and how they died, and how their deaths have affected their families. The project seeks to highlight the enormous human cost that resulted from Chinese government brutality, and the group's refusal to accept enforced amnesia about a tragic episode not only for the Chinese people, but also for all of humanity.

They have accomplished this work by the force of their moral outrage, mutual support, and tenacity in their pursuit of justice for their loved ones. The group began with Ding Zilin, the mother of Jiang Jielian, a 17-year-old high school student who was shot dead on the evening of June 3rd. She reached out to Zhang Xianling, another mother whose 19-year-old son, Wang Nan, was killed in the early morning of June 4th. Several months later, a note was left at the grave of Wang Nan by a third woman, You Weijie, who lost her husband, Yang Minghu, in the massacre.

Identifying the dead has not been easy. Often, names of the dead were whispered to the early members of the group or delivered on slips of paper. Sometimes the people who provided information did not even dare to identify themselves, and there were times when families of victims simply refused to be found, perhaps out of a sense of shame.

While some of the families live in Beijing, many others are far from the capital, some in the remote farming hinterland where roads do not reach. Some parents could not read or write, scratching out a living from farming. A heartbreaking fact quickly emerged: a victim from a poor family was almost always the most promising among the children, the only child that the family could afford to send to university in Beijing, whose death dashed prospects for a better economic future for the family.

It is from this material that the world can know about how the victims were killed. They were killed by martial law troops firing indiscriminately into crowds. They were shot in the back by troops who chased them into alleys. They were stabbed with bayonets after being shot. They were crushed by tanks coming from behind them after they had left Tiananmen Square. They were run over by military trucks while standing at the roadside waiting to cross the street. While many died instantly, others who made it to the hospital still breathing were met by doctors ordered to treat soldiers only. Family members who went to hospitals to claim the bodies of their loved ones were told to hurry before the troops came to remove evidence. Bodies were hidden by soldiers in a shallow grave in the front lawn of a high school.

Since 1995, the Tiananmen Mothers have appealed to Chinese leaders for open dialogue with them as a group to respond to their

three basic demands: the truth of what happened; accountability for the killing; and compensation to survivors and families of victims. Never once has the Chinese government responded to the request.

A few days ago we received a message from a group member who managed to see our project website, which gave her a sense of how people outside China remember June 4th. She said, "Seeing the stories about the victims and families made me feel so bad because I imagined that in the outside world there must be all sorts of commemorative activities marking the 30th anniversary of June 4th, but inside China, it is like a stagnant pool. We are being monitored."

How is it that the Chinese government has been able to get away with murder? Not without the complicity of the international community. Too many foreign governments accepted the bargain, post-Tiananmen, to look the other way, to accept what is unacceptable in a civilized world in exchange for entry into China's vast consumer and labor markets. And governments and foreign companies conveniently believed that China's increased integration into the international community would help it democratize and play by international rules. But as we have seen and continue to see, the opposite is true. Impunity for June 4th has emboldened Chinese leaders to perpetuate and refine the crackdown model, to use it to obliterate diverse voices that the government does not want to hear.

Against this stark reality, the courage demonstrated by the Tiananmen Mothers acts as a guiding force for the international community and for all of us to do more to stand up to the authoritarian regime and demand justice. On this anniversary, we are encouraged by the introduction of House Resolution 393 by Chairman McGovern and by the solidarity message sent by this hearing that the U.S. Government will not allow enforced amnesia to silence truth, and that you stand with the Tiananmen Mothers in their struggle to press for truth, accountability, and compensation.

The message that the member of the Tiananmen Mothers sent to us several days ago ended with this note that highlights a force that we should not overlook. She said "I heard that more than 100 people are being forced to leave Beijing. You can see from this how the government is afraid of the power among civil society to lift the lid on the case of the June 4th massacre."

The international community has an important role to play in supporting Chinese civil society actors under assault. One immediate action that everyone can take is to leave a message for the Tiananmen Mothers in the "What You Can Do" section of our "Unforgotten" project site which we will translate and channel to the Tiananmen Mothers. To those trapped inside the prison of authoritarian China, every single message from the outside, either to them as a group, to individual members, or about individual victims, will be a source of strength.

I would just like to end with this note. On October 10, 2010, Liu Xia, wife of Liu Xiaobo, visited him in prison and delivered the news that he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. She later told the press he cried and said that this Nobel Peace Prize belonged to all the lost souls of June 4th.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

[The prepared statement of Ms. Tsui appears in the Appendix.]

Chair MCGOVERN. Thank you.

Mr. Minzner.

STATEMENT OF CARL MINZNER

Thank you so much, Chairman, Members of Congress, and staffers, for organizing this important hearing. It is an honor to be here and with such distinguished panelists.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, Chinese leaders such as Deng Xiaoping steered China out of the stagnation, isolation, and chaos of the Maoist era and into the reform era. Ideologically and economically, China opened up. The ideological fervor of the Maoist era faded; newly pragmatic party policies gave officials and citizens latitude to import concepts and practices from abroad; authorities backed out of people's daily lives; religion came back—churches, mosques, and temples reopened, albeit under state control; and market reform gave citizens control over their croplands and their careers, helping fuel a decades-long boom. Politically, China stabilized.

The 1980s saw Chinese leaders support the emergence of a range of partially institutionalized political norms to address the chaos and instability that they themselves had personally experienced under Mao. These included collective leadership, rather than Maoist single-man rule; development of internal norms regarding the regular promotion, retirement, and succession of top leaders; partial depoliticization of the bureaucracy with Party authorities turning responsibility for managing day-to-day affairs of state over to technocrats within the bureaucracy; and the emergence of bottom-up-input institutions, such as village elections, giving citizens a limited voice into the political process and contributing to state legitimacy.

Then came 1989. Chinese leaders were put to the test. Do you allow the forces that you, yourself, unleashed to begin to fundamentally reshape your political system, or do you revert to Leninist one-party control? Beijing chose the latter. On the streets—repression—and so too, within the Party. Reformers were cashiered, ideological controls reasserted, and the principle that one-party rule should never, ever be called into question was reaffirmed loud and clear in internal political study sessions.

China's reform era did not end in 1989. In the 1990s and early 2000s, economic reform and social change continued to produce a host of private actors, commercial media, and internet outlets airing citizen grievances that Beijing struggled to control. And many within the Party's own bureaucracy continued to experiment with limited governance reform, such as administrative law reforms aimed at addressing corruption and abuse of power within local government.

Back in the early 2000s, one could imagine a world in which, even if real democratic reform was totally off the table, such innovations might allow the hard edges of China's political system to be slowly sanded smooth. That did not happen.

As each of those reforms was instituted, citizens rushed to use them, first to criticize local officials and then to make deeper political claims. At each point, whether with village elections in the late 1990s, legal reforms around 2003, or flourishing online discussions around 2010, Party leaders saw shades of Tiananmen Square. They saw shades of 1989 and moved to pull the rug out from under their own reforms or to reassert their grip over fields such as the internet where they felt their control had slipped.

In Beijing, Party officials like to think of their response to 1989 and subsequent years as a successful antidote—in fact, the *Global Times* had an op-ed from yesterday that compared it to a vaccine saving China from the fate of the Soviet Union—but in reality it has been a destructive virus. Beijing's reflexive desire to reassert Party control has mutated and is spreading through the veins of China's political system, undermining and destroying much of the potential that had been introduced in the early reform era.

Economically, Beijing's push for control has led it to turn away from the market-oriented policies of the reform era. Since the early 2000s, there's been a recommitment to industrial policy, the resurgence of state-owned enterprises and designated national champions. The resulting policies, such as a massive increase in bank lending going to state-owned enterprises, are slowly asphyxiating China's private sector.

Ideologically, what limited space had opened up during China's reform era is steadily contracting. In field after field, whether media, law, higher education, or civil society, controls have been ramped up to the tightest in decades. Draconian new controls have descended upon religious beliefs, particularly those viewed as foreign, and particularly in China's western region of Xinjiang where about 10 percent of the Muslim Uyghur population has been thrown—since 2017—into an extensive network of political reeducation camps aimed at forcibly re-molding their ethnic and religious identity.

Politically, those reform-era norms that the Party itself adopted have steadily been broken one by one. Since Xi Jinping's accession to power in 2012, power has re-concentrated in the hands of a single leader; elite retirement and succession norms have been toppled; China is now swinging back toward single-man authoritarian rule, potentially for decades to come. Technocrats are being sidelined by party cadres, and what space had once existed in China's halls of power for honest discussion among officials themselves over the very real challenges facing China, such as how to address mounting debt, trade conflicts, and rising social tensions, is being choked off as the fear of falling on the wrong side of a rapidly changing political line is leading a stifling blanket of silence and inertia to descend over the bureaucracy.

Naturally, all of this poses deep risks for China. Chinese leaders themselves launched China into the reform era as a response to the political turmoil of the Cultural Revolution and the excesses of the Maoist era. But today you can see many of those practices begin to push themselves, zombie-like, back to the surface again as the reform era steadily unwinds.

And that is yet another tragedy of Tiananmen. Not only did an untold number—hundreds or thousands—die on the evening of

June 3rd or 4th and the days to follow, and not only did 1989 close the door on a route for China's political system to gradually evolve into something better, but Beijing's decision in 1989 continues to reverberate and amplify today, and it is steadily dragging the country backward out of the reform era and increasing the risk that China will experience a re-occurrence of yet more tragic periods in its own history.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Minzner appears in the Appendix.]

Chair MCGOVERN. Thank you.

Ms. Kalathil, welcome.

STATEMENT OF SHANTHI KALATHIL

Thank you. I'd like to thank the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, and the House Foreign Affairs Committee for the opportunity and privilege of presenting testimony here today alongside such distinguished colleagues.

On this day, we grapple with the events of Tiananmen, both the hope and the bloodshed, and their legacy 30 years later. Part of that legacy is an unsettling disconnect. Even as people have grown more connected and our collective access to information has expanded exponentially, there's been a curious muffling surrounding the world's remembrance of June 4th. Over the years, as vigils diminished and stories grew more hushed, a Tiananmen Square-sized gap emerged not only inside China, but outside as well. The excising of Tiananmen not merely from Chinese history, but from the world's collective memory is, in fact, no accident. Through censorship and self-censorship and augmented by technology, Tiananmen, along with a broad swath of topics deemed sensitive, has disappeared down what the scholar Glenn Tiffert calls the Chinese Communist Party's memory hole, with pernicious effects on current events reporting, on self-expression, and even on the entire historical record.

This memory hole constitutes just one aspect of a vast apparatus designed to mold the broader information ecosystem around the world in ways that help solidify the CCP's rule at home as well as reshape the global order to favor this outcome. While it does not always function flawlessly, even within China's borders, this complex machinery is nonetheless likely to reinforce authoritarian norms and institutions and undercut democratic ones on a global basis.

The Chinese party-state is keenly aware of the transformative role of information and has always tried to harness it. Over the years, the term "informatization" gradually became synonymous with a complete rethinking of how information technology would both suffuse and power economic, political, and social development. This indicates a party-state that, rather than simply fearing information, fears even more the implications of not mastering it.

With the advent of new tools, informatization has proved crucial in the implementation of China's modern surveillance state, including but not limited to, the development of public security intelligence that has contributed to the Uyghur human rights crisis.

With the introduction of artificial intelligence, informatization has been joined by the newer “intelligentization,” with its corresponding augmentations and implications. Even when the CCP projects capabilities that might not actually exist yet, this represents the logical development of longstanding CCP thinking on information, surveillance, and social control. As AI evolves and becomes seamlessly integrated into the normal functioning of society, it will become increasingly invisible and potentially open to abuse. Crucial questions about democratic rights and standards are correctly being asked and debated in democracies by policymakers, companies, developers, scholars, and activists. China’s authoritarian system, however, restricts what type of questions are allowed to be asked about technology, who gets to ask those questions, and, ultimately, who decides.

For technologies designed to both disappear into and yet dictate the rhythms of everyday life, the effect may be to imperceptibly manipulate debate and shape individual behaviors in an increasingly targeted way, buttressed by millions of data points enabling previously unimaginable specificity. More than that, it will present those affected with an imperceptible fait accompli that subjects them to the standards of the CCP information ecosystem.

This is not some far-off future, but a phenomenon unfolding in real time, including with the platforms that are widespread within China and now around the world. WeChat, for instance, has become indispensable for Chinese citizens, providing the allure and convenience of deftly integrated communication, services, and amenities, even as this convenience is backed by an equally seamless surveillance and censorship apparatus. With these platforms increasingly being used all over the world, it is imperative that users examine them not solely through the lens of consumer benefits, business models, or economic competition, but through the prism of implications for rights and governance.

At the level of ideas and norms, the Chinese party-state is using rhetoric that mimics, yet undermines, the liberal order, injecting its own vision into the existing global framework of norms, institutions, policy models, and standards governing the internet and information technology. According to 2017’s International Strategy of Cooperation on Cyberspace, the Chinese government “fully respects citizens’ rights and fundamental freedoms in cyberspace and safeguards their rights to be informed, to participate, to express, and to supervise while protecting individual privacy in cyberspace.”

To be clear, there is no private realm in China into which the CCP cannot intrude. This longstanding practice of definitional and substantive warping has manifested itself in numerous related areas as well, including those pertaining to human rights and development. As Samantha Hoffman points out, the ability to shape and repurpose longstanding norms is a fundamental part of the CCP’s conception of discourse power underpinning internet governance, big data, AI, social credit systems, and even the often invisible standard-setting process for the next generation of technological infrastructure.

It should be clear by now that the Chinese party-state’s actions in the global information space are not limited to China exporting hardware and know-how to other ambitious authoritarian states.

Beijing's actions have serious implications for all democracies and democratic actors, and for the web of democratic norms and institutions upon which they rest. Any response will need new policy language, frameworks, and cooperation between democracies.

Civil society will have a key role to play. The leadership of institutions critical to the health of the public sphere—publishers, media and technology executives, university administrators, and so on—must reinvigorate their commitment to democratic standards and free expression through newer innovative mechanisms if necessary. Only through crystallizing understanding of these matters and galvanizing civil society's contribution can democracies address their vulnerabilities, shore up resilience, and reclaim their own discourse power.

Thank you and I look forward to taking your questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Kalathil appears in the Appendix.]

Chair MCGOVERN. Thank you very much. Thank you all for your excellent testimony.

I would now like to yield to Senator Rubio for comments or questions.

Cochair RUBIO. Thank you. I'll be brief in my questions in the interest of time.

I just wanted to ask Mr. Zhou, in January, BuzzFeed reported that the online service LinkedIn blocked your profile in China and then later restored it due to negative publicity. Can you tell us what happened?

Mr. ZHOU. Earlier this year, one day I received an email in my mailbox telling me that I was censored due to their policy. So I tweeted about it on my Twitter and then some reporters covered this, and they asked LinkedIn about what happened, and they quickly changed their policy. I don't really know what happened. When I asked, there was no answer. They blamed technical error, but to me, I believe it was most likely because of my continued posting about my activities as president of Humanitarian China, especially when it relates to human rights and Tiananmen. So it was considered inconvenient for its Chinese market. That's why I was censored.

Cochair RUBIO. I guess my question—LinkedIn is a biographical site. Did you use LinkedIn to speak out politically, or you used your other platforms to speak out politically, but they censored you because of who you were?

Mr. ZHOU. Yes, I use every platform I can find, and I realized even before the censoring that I could reach my Chinese friends in China through LinkedIn. That's why I posted—for me, that's my job. That's part of my profession now as a full-time human rights activist, to talk about what I do.

Cochair RUBIO. Did LinkedIn ever tell you what exact policy it was that they had found you in violation of?

Mr. ZHOU. No. There are no specifics on this.

Cochair RUBIO. Mr. Kaixi, you're an ethnic Uyghur in background and one of the student leaders who initiated one of the largest protests in Chinese history. Could a Uyghur student have such a prominent position now?

Mr. KAIXI. Thank you, Senator. In 1989—I think April 17th was the first time I stepped up and started to give speeches—until June 4th, about 50 days. That 50 days was the time that I experienced being a Uyghur in China without feeling discriminated against in Tiananmen Square by my fellow students. That was an extraordinary time.

I was brought up in China. The discrimination was constant, and it was everywhere. But we were fighting for a greater goal together in democracy and human rights in 1989, and in that setting, discrimination in Tiananmen Square vanished.

Today, not even a prominent political figure who has influence in China—nowadays, other than the Communist Party, nobody can do it; even the dominant Han Chinese are prohibited from becoming influential in China, other than from within the Party. And for Uyghur people, that situation is much, much worse. You don't need to have an opinion to be persecuted.

In the early days, I often said—I am a dissident. I choose this path—well, history kind of put me in this position, but I gladly accepted this path of being a Chinese dissident. So therefore, I understand the ramifications. I understand there are some consequences following from that. But for those who did not do anything, didn't challenge the government, they are being persecuted, being oppressed, simply because they are Uyghur. That is one of the most heartbreaking truths that I have to live with today, including, especially, my ailing parents. They are not getting younger or healthier. Among the student leaders, I think—from back in Tiananmen, I think I am the only one who hasn't been able to see my parents in 30 years because the Chinese government denies them from traveling abroad.

I just appreciate this opportunity to elaborate a little bit on how we need to see, how we need to treat the Chinese regime. They are barbaric. This action of denying my parents' right to travel abroad is primitive. These are the words I use because these are the words we were taught in China growing up; like if somebody totally innocent were being punished because they are a relative or a family member of a criminal, that would be considered as barbaric and primitive. Those are the only words that I can use today to think about this regime. Thank you, sir.

Chair MCGOVERN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Suozzi of New York.

Representative SUOZZI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thanks to all the chairmen and all my colleagues. It is a great honor for me to be on the dais with all of you with so much experience in this area. And a thank you to the witnesses. You are all very moving. You educated me quite a bit today.

Mr. Wu'er Kaixi, I want to thank you. You said you felt betrayed by us. And I think that's understandable, and I can appreciate that, especially what's happening to the Uyghurs today after all this time.

The talk today is, the Chinese are cheating when it comes to global trade. They're cheating by stealing intellectual property. They are cheating with us not having access to their markets. They are cheating the way they subsidize the businesses. That's all true; they are cheating. They're breaking the rules.

But I don't think that the general public, certainly here in the United States of America, has a sense of what you're talking about today. They don't understand the human rights abuses that are so widespread throughout China. They don't know that many Chinese don't know about Tiananmen Square. That's hard to imagine. If you're living in American culture, the idea of seeing the man in front of the tank—many of us have seen that, at least if you are over 30 years old, 25 years old, you've seen that. But the idea that people in China don't know about that is hard to imagine. The idea that the Uyghurs are living in concentration camps and people are being abused—and Mr. Smith and I have a bill that we're working on that we have presented that we hope will get the support of the members of this committee, and we hope that you will be interested in that as well. I don't think people realize that people who are doing the candlelight vigil today, right now as we speak, in Hong Kong, people are going to be detained. People are going to be arrested.

We need to monitor very carefully, Mr. Chairman, what's happening in Hong Kong today with the people who are out there with the candlelight vigil. We need to monitor very closely what's happening with those folks. People don't understand about the journalists that have been detained. People don't understand how they're trying to change the Tibetan language, have it no longer be the language of Tibet, and trying to make everyone speak the same way, and do it prefecture by prefecture. So we have a lot of work to do.

I want to ask you, Mr. Wu'er Kaixi—try and tell us—and I know you do not have a statistical answer to this, but what percentage of Chinese people do you think understand what happened at Tiananmen Square? Is it half the people? Is it less than half?

Mr. KAIXI. Thank you, sir. I think we need to remember that the Chinese regime does its very best to censor the internet—any kind of information flow into China.

Representative SUOZZI. It is not in the textbooks at the schools?

Mr. KAIXI. Nothing.

Representative SUOZZI. Nowhere.

Mr. KAIXI. My name, for instance, is definitely not sought. It cannot be found in any of the search engines in China, and it actually has also been banned from being used to name a newborn among Uyghurs. So the thing the world needs to understand is that the Chinese regime uses their utmost possible extreme to—

Representative SUOZZI. I understand what they're doing. I want you to just give me—I know it is not going to be precise. Would you say half the people know about Tiananmen Square, or less than half?

Mr. KAIXI. I would say less than that. I think maybe 20 percent.

Representative SUOZZI. Mr. Zhou, would you agree with that?

Mr. ZHOU. Yes. I would answer that I think it's definitely less than half. Even for our generation who witnessed it, personally experienced it, most of us only saw a little part of it, never knew the whole story like I do here. And also, the younger generation today has grown up completely under the shadow of the firewall. That means every—

Representative SUOZZI. I just want to try and get across the idea that people—that they are effective in doing this. Americans I don't think can understand this concept that only 20 percent of the Chinese people know about Tiananmen Square.

Mr. ZHOU. Right.

Representative SUOZZI. I don't want to take up any more time because my colleagues want to ask questions as well. But I would like you to come to New York to my district—I have a lot of Chinese Americans in my district—to come and talk about what we talked about today, to educate people as to what's going on with the Uyghurs, what's going on with Tibet, what's going on in Hong Kong, what happened at Tiananmen Square. We need to educate the American people because as you said earlier, this is a dynamic process, and it's constant work we have to do. Part of that work is educating the American people so that they can support you in this effort—because nobody likes the idea that they betrayed you, and we need to work to try and address this. I'm committed to working with you. I want you to come to my district if you're interested and we will try to get it in the New York media market to try and educate people as to what's happening here, because right now it's—you talked about the chapel of democracy here in this room—not enough people know what's going on.

Thank you so much for being here today.

Mr. KAIXI. Thank you, sir.

Mr. ZHOU. Thank you for the offer. I will definitely work with you on that.

Chair MCGOVERN. Thank you.

Mr. Smith.

Representative SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Thank you all. To our witnesses, your testimony was extraordinary, very incisive. And to Mr. Wu'er Kaixi, thank you for warning us once again, as you put it. I think you spoke with such candor when you said to us that, "as a standard bearer and defender of democracy it is your solemn duty to protect," and "I also tell you that the light of democracy in China was snuffed out because you let us down. You betrayed us." There are many of us who feel that that is absolutely true.

While we cannot dictate events in Washington, we were complicit—words used by other witnesses. I was one of those who thought that President Bush—the first Bush—got it wrong, particularly when he sent Brent Scowcroft to China to reassure them—"no problems here." But I think that also became bipartisan complicity that is underrecognized and underappreciated for the impact it had on the democracy movement.

I've chaired 68 congressional hearings on human rights abuses in China over the years. Several of those had to do with the democracy activists. I had one in 1996, December 18th, "Was There a Tiananmen Square Massacre? The Visit of General Chi" Haotian. As you all know, he was the operational commander who sent in the tanks. He also became the defense minister. To his shame, Bill Clinton invited him to the White House and gave him a 19-gun salute. Then Chi went to the National Defense University and said that nobody died at Tiananmen Square.

Now back home in China, it was all carried as if it were truth. Of course, it was disputed here. I put together a hearing two days later, had Tiananmen Square activists who were there and bore truth. We gave a chair and we invited the embassy to come, the Chinese Embassy. They failed to show, as did Chi Haotian. But that kind of bald-faced lie in the face of something that was watched on CNN live was appalling. But that's the kind of disinformation and lying they get away with.

I also had hearings on the WTO. I argued with the Clinton Administration again. How can you accept them into the WTO when they break with impunity human rights standards and norms, universally recognized human rights? That hearing was in 1996 as well, and it was part of a series of hearings.

China was accepted. Again, profits trumped human rights. It has been a bipartisan and, I would respectfully say, colossal failure. Hopefully we've learned from it. Hopefully this administration will turn that page, which previous ones have not done.

I would also say President Obama did the same thing when he had Hu Jintao, the president, at the White House for a joint press conference. One of the reporters, from APS, asked a very good question about human rights; all of a sudden there were problems with hearing the question. And President Obama jumped in and gave a defense of this dictatorship. So bad was it that the Washington Post did an editorial: "Obama Defends Hu on Human Rights." It was a great editorial, underscoring that complicity that was talked about a moment ago.

So let me just ask—lessons learned—do you think we're finally at that point where we have learned them? Secondly, I did an op-ed in the Washington Post and I would ask you to read it if you haven't. You know it because you live it and you have friends who are living it—"The World Must Take a Stand Against China's War on Religion"—the existential threat that is now posed by Xi Jinping to co-opt it. It was mentioned earlier by one of our witnesses.

Carl, you talked about draconian controls. Please speak briefly to that because the world does have to speak out against this. We have the International Religious Freedom Act filled with sanctions that need to be levied against China. We have the Global Magnitsky Act that needs to be used on different human rights abuses. Speak to those issues as well.

Mr. KAIXI. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

I think you would agree that we are friends. I would also like to echo what my friend Zhou Fengsuo just said: We are among friends today. And then yes, I did say quite plainly that you betrayed us, but I also said that we believe in democracy, we have the conviction of democracy, which is a dynamic process from which we will learn from our mistakes.

One of the biggest mistakes is that the United States, the government especially, the presidents—in the past, world leaders have had to follow the United States later—treat China as something it really isn't. The Chinese regime—I am talking about the Chinese Communist Party regime—the world treats—the United States Government treats—the Chinese regime as a big country, a responsible stakeholder. It's supposed to be, but as a matter of fact, we really should know what the Chinese regime is. It's a group of ban-

mits who stole the position of ruling one of the largest countries and took advantage of that position to loot the country. You'd be much better off when forming your China policy by consulting your criminologists instead of international relations experts—to apply the Magnitsky Human Rights Act to every individual—because if you read through the Magnitsky Act itself you find it applies to every member of these 200 families. If you—let me report to you gentlemen here—if you want to come up with a China policy that works, and in the last 30 years haven't we all been a little frustrated with a China policy that just doesn't seem to work? Then let me give you a tip. Start visa sanctions. Start freezing the assets of the 200 so-called elite families. I think within two to three weeks they will send a delegation to come to the United States and talk about democracy, talk about the reform that we have long wanted.

It is time to make condemnations. It is time to express concern. It is time to apply much harder, much stronger actions. We have long passed that. They have put more than a million Uyghurs in concentration camps, more than a million—in the 21st century. The worst human rights abuses since the Holocaust we are talking about.

And then we suggested applying the Magnitsky Act to certain levels. And then the response we get from this administration is, "Okay, yeah, we probably should do that, but not on too high a level." What is too high? What is the arbitrary level that human rights abuses accountability should be set at? That is the question I would like to ask friends today.

I do say that you betrayed us, but within democracy we can right the mistakes of the past. Under this chapel of democracy, I am counting on you, friends of Chinese democracy activists. Thank you.

Mr. MINZNER. I would just respond to Chairman Smith's question with respect to religion. I think you are dead-on to be watching the religious issue. In the beginning of the reform era, the Party took a step back from people's personal lives and underground churches. The revival after decades of Maoist suppression of religious belief was one notable trend in the 80s, 90s, and early 2000s. As the impetus for control comes back, it's hit certain fields first, the more public-facing ones—law, media, things like that. But as it rolls on, it's going to get deeper into private areas, and religion is the key one.

All religions are going to be affected, but some religions are going to be affected more than others precisely because they're regarded as foreign. What you are seeing in Xinjiang is sort of the leading edge. I think you obviously want to watch Christianity because it's large, it's organized, and I think the pressures are coming on. I think the roundups of key religious leaders in multiple different provinces just last fall—I think you can see the waves starting to increase. So I think it's exactly what to be watching.

Ms. TSUI. I would like to add that human rights abuses are no longer contained within the borders of China. As the Chinese government amasses enormous economic and political clout in the international community, it is aggressively trying to export its own models of development and human rights—so-called "human rights with Chinese characteristics." And they are trying to rewrite the

principles of human rights internationally that are based on the lessons that the world learned from the horrors of the Second World War.

Mr. ZHOU. Okay, let me add something. I think since the Tiananmen massacre, the Communist government has declared war on the Chinese people and that is true today. It was reiterated a few days ago by the Defense Minister Wei Fenghe. The United States' press decision was decisively correct. A regime that can invade its own capital with tanks can kill without accountability. There is no limit to what they can do.

I would also echo on the export of threats outside China's border. With the new technology, Communist China can do enormous damage, can bring disaster to human beings without even going outside its own border, be it AI or Big Data. We should also notice on the genetic engineering front, the first genetically engineered pregnancy, and there's also the report about putting human genes in monkeys, for example. These just have disastrous consequences to everyone outside of China. So we must confront this. Thank you.

Representative SMITH. Thank you.

Chair MCGOVERN. Thank you. Mr. Sires.

Representative SIRES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for holding this hearing, and all the other chairmen that are here.

Thank you for being here today and really talking about the degree to which the Communist Party would go to to stay in power. This is something that I hope the rest of the country is listening to—what your statements have been. I am very concerned about what is happening in the Western Hemisphere. You know, this China experiment now is making its way through the Western Hemisphere. I see it in Cuba. I see it now in Venezuela where China is exporting facial recognition to the Maduro government so they can continue to control the populace as they demonstrate.

I'm concerned, and maybe I would like you to say something about this. China goes around giving scholarships to journalists so they can go and study journalism in China. To me, that is the most ridiculous and ironic part of the Chinese Communist government—that you will have journalists studying journalism in a place where you cannot even make an expression of discontent, let alone speak and write about what is going on in the country.

And they are doing that throughout the world, but especially in the Western Hemisphere. I see people from Argentina going. I see people from Chile going to study journalism. Can you talk a little bit about that? Someone? Anyone?

Mr. KAIXI. Mr. Sires, I am an emeritus board member of Reporters Without Borders, also known as Reporters Sans Frontières, based in Paris, a pioneer organization in defending press freedom. We have issued a report about creeping Chinese influence in this particular area. And I thank you very much for bringing that up.

Yes. China is inviting a lot of countries, their closer friends—and then you look closer into it, and you find a few of them are democratic countries. They invite their citizens to go to Beijing to study journalism. Not only that, China is establishing journalism schools in Africa. That's what is happening nowadays. I find it to be a mockery on the face of the world. I mean, that China can now teach people about democracy and about journalism. Not a long

time ago when Xi Jinping visited CCTV—China Central Television—they put a screen behind him and said CCTV's last name is "C." As in Chinese Communist Party. Well, it's kind of lost in translation right there.

[Laughter.]

Mr. KAIXI. But it kind of also worked, and it kind of—both "C" Communist Party.

And then when I was in Beijing and studying, my classmate who was in journalism school told me that the definition of journalism in their textbook is—journalism in China means being the mouth and ears of the Party.

So yes, they have no clue about what journalism is. They only understand one thing, and that is called propaganda. Let me put it in an even more blunt way; they only believe in lies. So to the world, seeing China exporting lies—it is, of course, an existential threat to universal values and then to the practice of democracy we are living in. Thank you very much, sir.

Ms. KALATHIL. Let me just add to that briefly. I think that in two areas, the exporting of authoritarian technology in the Western Hemisphere—the Chinese party-state has been particularly active. You may recall there was a recent New York Times story about a system called ECU 911 in Ecuador. That system is based on facial recognition that was deliberately delivered by the Chinese party-state at the request of the Ecuadorans.

Representative SIRES. I meant to include Ecuador. I apologize.

Ms. KALATHIL. But it is actually in several countries throughout the Western Hemisphere, some version of that. In Venezuela, the fatherland card is based on principles of social credit that, again, stem from the Chinese system.

But I think it's in the journalism exchanges where you have rightly highlighted that there is a significant issue, because frequently in these countries, these exchanges are not perceived to be different from the types of trainings that are provided by democratic actors. And it's partly because the Chinese party-state has been so successful in engaging with the public space of these countries around the world, Western Hemisphere, sub-Saharan Africa, Central Europe, and so on; they are showing up in ways that the democracies are not. So in the absence of robust journalism training, for instance, or exchanges, or the types of engagement that democracies might be providing, the Chinese party-state is there with tremendous resources. So if they're offered, if these budding journalists in these countries throughout the Western Hemisphere are offered a chance to go to China for a week on an all-expenses-paid trip, they will likely jump at it because they see it as an opportunity that they wouldn't normally have. They probably bring to that very little experience with the Chinese system, very little knowledge of the CCP. So that's also a failure on the part of the democracies to really be engaged in this space.

Representative SIRES. Anybody else? Thank you.

Chair MCGOVERN. Thank you very much. I apologize—I'm going to turn this over to Senator Rubio. I have to whip this bill that I mentioned earlier that's coming up on the floor in about 10 minutes.

But I just want to close, for my part, by thanking all of you for being here. As I said in the beginning, China has given so much to the world over so many years. When I visited China with Leader Pelosi a few years back, it was an incredible experience; the history, the culture, but most especially the people that we met. So if anyone asks, all of us up here are on the side of the Chinese people. Our problem is with the Chinese government and their fundamental lack of respect for basic human rights and human dignity. Human rights are supposed to be important because they are important, not only here in the United States, but all around the world. Everybody on this planet deserves to have their fundamental human rights respected. People here in the United States and around the world, I think, were especially horrified with what happened in Tiananmen Square because we saw it. The pictures were there. We mentioned Tank Man, but the students and the average people that we saw and heard about moved us all.

So none of us can erase that from our minds and no matter how much the Chinese government wants to rewrite history and have history books that don't include this chapter, the chapter is included in every other history book in the world. It's etched in our minds and we'll never forget it.

One of the things I think the Chinese government hasn't counted on is that with the advent of technology, news is getting in and out of China. We are learning about what's happening to the Uyghurs. We are learning about what's happening to Tibetans because news is leaking out. Also, what we say here gets back to them, so they can't control everything.

When I was in Tibet with Leader Pelosi, the Chinese government tried to control every step of our visit. But every time we walked down a hallway, somebody would come out and just whisper to us, "Please tell His Holiness the Dalai Lama that we love him and that we respect him." No matter how much they try to erase history, it can't be done.

I think your testimony here today on this occasion is especially powerful because I think it's a signal to the Chinese government that we are not going to forget and that we need to think imaginatively and out of the box in new ways to let them know how much human rights matters to all of us.

And so this is incredibly important. I thank all of you for being here. This has been an excellent panel and I'll now turn this over to Senator Rubio.

Cochair RUBIO [presiding]. Thank you.

Congresswoman Wagner.

Representative WAGNER. Thank you. Thank you, Senator Rubio, and thank you to the Congressional-Executive Commission on China and to the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission for organizing this important hearing today. I commend our panelists for their courage and thank them for being here today.

Since 2011, China has spent more money on controlling its own population than on defending against foreign powers. According to some sources, China's annual spending on domestic "stability maintenance"—as they call it—it's police-state apparatus, frankly—now surpasses defense spending by nearly 17 percent.

Mr. Zhou, does stability maintenance effectively dampen dissent, or has it sparked resentment against the state?

Mr. ZHOU. That's true on both fronts. It creates more enemies, more people who suffer from such measures of so-called stability maintenance, but on the other hand, it also suppresses people's opinions. With the digital technology now, it's really hard to associate even in a small group—so that is a really big challenge for the people on the ground; we have intimate connections with all of them. It's a really dark time for them, especially with the new technology.

Representative WAGNER. You would say that this fosters dissent and resentment and disassociation on all fronts, correct?

Mr. ZHOU. Yes, but on the other hand, it does repress effectively. It's very difficult to organize now.

Representative WAGNER. Thank you.

Since 1997, Hong Kong has fostered respect for the rule of law, for human rights, and personal freedom as an autonomous special administrative region of China. However, China has aggressively sought to erode civil liberties in Hong Kong, including by harassing the operators of a museum commemorating the 1989 massacre.

Professor Minzner, how can the United States support efforts to combat China's bullying tactics in Hong Kong?

Mr. MINZNER. That's an excellent question. And I think, Congresswoman Wagner, you highlighted that Hong Kong is an excellent issue to focus on precisely because as the space that once existed in China erodes, it's directly affecting Hong Kong as well. And it's not just the individual bullying—it's the arrests of the book-sellers, the seizure of people in Hong Kong, bringing them to mainland China. It's the erosion of the norms with respect to electoral practices, this proposed extradition law that's going through. I certainly think congressional concern on this issue is something that at least triggers interest in Hong Kong precisely because of Hong Kong's trade status.

Representative WAGNER. Right.

Mr. MINZNER. The question is, what does that mean for Beijing? Clearly, you are seeing delegations of folks from Hong Kong who are coming to the United States right now focused on this. And I would be expecting, to the extent that some of you are on the Foreign Affairs Committee, that's probably one of the top issues that—

Representative WAGNER. I want Beijing to know that we are watching what they are doing in Hong Kong very closely.

I understand that China's concentration camps in Xinjiang, where an estimated—as we've heard already—1 million Muslim Uyghurs have been detained, are evolving now into a forced labor system.

Mr. Wu'er Kaixi, how can the international community deter the creation of a gulag in Xinjiang?

Mr. KAI XI. Thank you, Representative Wagner.

I think, as I said earlier, there was a time to express concern, there was a time to make condemnations, there was a time for harsher punishment. And there is also a time to know how to hurt the opponent. When they hurt they react a little bit reasonably.

After 30 years living in exile as a political dissident, that's one important lesson we learned—outside pressure works.

But what is the outside pressure that would work today? The Chinese government has grown its ability, like you just mentioned, to suppress the dissent within China with their enormous expenditures and then also the confidence that comes from the international community. When a trade delegation goes to Beijing to negotiate access to a market and investment and at the same time raises the question of human rights—but not waiting for an answer—that sends a very wrong message to the Chinese regime, and also, unfortunately, to the Uyghur people, too.

So what I am saying is that at this time, we have long passed the time for condemnation. We have long passed that. Direct pressure on the people who make those decisions—I'm talking about Xi Jinping; I'm talking about the Party chief of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region—and applying the Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act—seems, at this point, the only resort left for the United States.

You said we are watching. You know what? Yes, I think the Chinese people—

Representative WAGNER. We need to be “doing” is what you are saying.

Mr. KAIXI. Yes.

Representative WAGNER. I thank you.

Mr. KAIXI. Yes, ma'am. Yes.

Representative WAGNER. China has begun implementing a vast social credit system, a dystopian system of punishments and incentives intended to encourage “good behavior.” Ms. Kalathil, how did Tiananmen inform the creation of the social credit system and how is it being implemented?

Ms. KALATHIL. I think in a broad sense what Tiananmen served to illustrate for the CCP was that information was something that could be very powerful if used against them, but if managed properly could be a powerful asset as well. And so in the years following the Tiananmen Square massacre, I think the Party was even more careful to try to put in place, well in advance, mechanisms that would guide the direction of information technology.

When I was a reporter in Hong Kong, I saw this unfolding in the 1990s with the so-called Golden Projects. This pre-dated the Great Firewall as we knew it, and then eventually evolved into it. And now what we're seeing with the social credit system, or systems, because they are still overlapping and not quite formulated yet, you do see a vision for social management that I think has been there from the beginning. But now the tools are gradually falling into place with which to implement it.

I don't think that it's quite there yet. I think that a lot of what has been discussed about this system may not be fully implemented in reality, but simply understanding the intent is useful, I think, because there is really a large possibility of wide-scale harnessing of data to manage society in ways that we just haven't really conceived of yet. We're starting to see the outlines of that now, and I think were it to really be implemented both within China and elsewhere around the world, it would be truly chilling for democracy.

Representative WAGNER. It is chilling. My time has expired. Again, I thank all the witnesses for their courage and due diligence. I yield back.

Mr. KAIXI. Thank you, ma'am.

Cochair RUBIO. Mr. Johnson of Georgia.

Representative JOHNSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank all of the witnesses for your appearance here today, especially Mr. Kaixi and Mr. Zhou. I am honored to have the opportunity to recognize each of you for your lifelong dedication to activism and your ongoing commitment to democracy and the protection of human rights.

To family and friends here today, and watching from abroad, who lost their loved ones on June 4th, 30 years ago today in Tiananmen Square, I want to thank you for your tremendous commitment to advocacy and the courage that you demonstrate by continuing to tell these painful stories. And we mourn with you and will do our part to make sure that our country does not continue to slip into amnesia about what happened 30 years ago, as the Chinese people apparently have been lulled to sleep.

The Center on U.S.-China Relations released a report in February of this year entitled "Course Correction: Toward an Effective and Sustainable China Policy." In that report, it was noted that the human rights situation in China has drastically worsened, and U.S. efforts to protect and advocate for human rights have become less effective.

Mr. Kaixi, you mentioned about wealth concentration in China being among 200 top families. And I'll note that China—12 percent of the world's billionaires are Chinese, and they control about \$6.5 trillion in wealth. So while we've seen human rights get worse in China over the last years, during that same period of time we've also seen wealth being earned and concentrated in the hands of the few. That is also something that's been taking place in other areas of the world, including America. What has been the impact of the concentration of wealth, or do you see a parallel or a connection between the concentration of wealth and the decline of human rights in China? Mr. Kaixi? And I would like to hear from the other witnesses on that question, also.

Mr. KAIXI. Thank you, sir, Mr. Johnson. The general ratio in China, perhaps, is one of the lowest; the division between poor and wealthy is extreme in China. A financial institution from this country, Bloomberg, has calculated the last 30 years of economic growth, often referred to by the world as the China economic miracle that has accumulated much of that wealth, but a good 20 to 30 percent of the wealth of China that has accumulated in the last 3 decades went to 200 families.

So this provides a picture that you can see. A group of people, as I earlier described, stole the position of ruling this country, and took advantage of that position to loot the country. If that is the case, if they are a group of bandits and nothing more than common thieves, they will act like common thieves, which includes suppressing dissent and hammering down everyone who sticks their head up.

I think there is one lesson here. All human beings throughout the cultures of this globe—we all know that there is no end to greediness.

Representative JOHNSON. Do you see amnesia about what happened to China as it was emerging as an economic powerhouse and the suppression of human rights along with the concentration of wealth?

Mr. KAIXI. Yes. Amnesia is a medical term that I kind of feel a little reluctant to use, because amnesia is something you probably cannot really control. But in China, it is the systematic wiping out of all the information, and then a lie—they construct a new so-called “Communist version” of history. The sole purpose of the Communist Party doing that, again, is just to help them ensure their ruling position. So yes, it does have a direct link with, of course, human rights abuses, and they are totally capable of doing that. And they don’t care about the values that we are living by today. Thank you, sir.

Ms. TSUI. I would like to add that the accumulation of wealth gives the Chinese authorities a very convenient narrative to the people. We are strong, you know, we are powerful in the country, and if you do what we say, you will, people, you will, too, become as strong and powerful as we are.

Mr. MINZNER. I will just follow up on that. I think your question is dead-on. I think it’s even deeper than just having a couple billionaires. Money and power flowed together particularly in the 90s and the early 2000s in a very perverse way; essentially money and power became linked together. Of course, some of it is billionaires being in deep relationships with the Party elite. But even more than that, we often think that the rise of a middle class somehow changes things. It doesn’t quite work that way. I think for many people, if you’re an established urban resident in Beijing or Shanghai, your property value has gone up. You work for a state-owned enterprise. You see your livelihood tied up very much with “the system.” And one of the things that you’re worried about is “those migrant workers.” You are worried about those “others” in society taking your stuff. And that’s a very powerful incentive to sort of say, “I am going to work with the system. I am not—you know, why challenge it? Who knows what might happen if the cards got reshuffled?” And that, I think, is an even deeper reason why the situation in China itself, as to how people view reform or political challenges, is very complicated. And one of the main factors is where you sit in terms of your own personal wealth.

Representative JOHNSON. Mr. Zhou.

Mr. KAIXI. Mr. Chairman, can I have a question of order? The Tiananmen students are going to have a reunion in about 10 minutes in the Office of Madam Speaker. So can we—Zhou Fengsuo and I being the student leaders—we would like to excuse ourselves from this hearing.

Senator DAINES [presiding]. Yes, that’s fine.

Mr. KAIXI. Okay, thank you so much, and I think the other experts here can give you great testimony as well. And I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the members of this very important audience. Mr. Yoho, thank you very much for your support on Uyghur issues. Thank you.

Representative JOHNSON. I thank you and I yield back.

Senator DAINES. Okay, thank you.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Representative PERRY. Thanks, Mr. Chairman. I was going to have a question for Mr. Kaixi, but I think I'll probably just go on a rant here instead since you're leaving. I want to preface this by saying that any of my comments, because I sometimes get passionate, I want to make sure that there is no misunderstanding—my comments are about the Communist government and not the Chinese people who are yearning to be free. And what we're talking about is the consequences.

Mr. Kaixi, when you talk about how we abandoned you, I think it's important when we talk about this anniversary, this commemoration of events, the horrific events that happened 30 years ago today, that we go back a little further than that and recognize that we, the United States, abandoned our own principles—John Service, Harry Dexter White, working with FDR, we chose Mao. We chose Mao instead of Chiang. We chose Communism and abandoned freedom. And it's important to recognize that because these things can happen yet again today. The apologists for Communism, of totalitarianism, work right within the halls of this government today, and they have for many, many years. And as I listen to my friends on both sides of the aisle, I feel like we're all in agreement here. While I commend the makers of this legislation and this panel and the recognition of what happened 30 years ago and to keep that memory alive and the efforts for which so much was sacrificed, to keep those things alive, we must not stop at that. And we must recognize where we are.

For every action that China takes in Tibet, there should be an action from the United States. In Taiwan, in Hong Kong, when they dump their products in the United States, when they steal our property, when they threaten their neighbors, when they send their Chinese students over here to spy on us and collect on us, there must be an action from the United States; more of an action than a resolution.

China has been in a trade war, an economic war, a culture war, an information war for decades with the United States, and it is long time overdue that the citizens of the United States wake up to this fact. We must decide at some point whether we're happier with "made in China" all throughout our homes and all throughout our stores, if it's worth keeping that and losing the sovereignty of our nation over time to the Communist Party of China.

With that, I think that Mr. Kaixi talked about some concrete actions that could take place; for me, there are many more. I think we ought to recognize the government of Tibet in exile. I think we ought to establish a consulate in Tibet, in Lhasa. I think that we ought to close off the faucets and access to the financial markets for the Chinese government, who launders dirty North Korean money through Wall Street. I think we could do a whole lot more.

I don't know what we're waiting for, but this is what I do know. From the sounds of it, most of the people up here—Democrat, Republican, left and right, are in agreement about how we feel about the Communist Party of China and what's good for America and what's good policy. What seems to be slowing us down right now

is that we love our country, but we can't get past this President. And I would say to my friends on either side of the aisle, if you have an aversion to this administration—finally, finally an administration who is doing something about the existential threat, the clear and present danger that is China, finally, go on disliking him. Go on hating him if you want to, but love your country. I don't think the administration's doing enough. So I would urge my colleagues on this side of the aisle and on that side of the aisle to (1) support the administration where it's appropriate, when he is being tough with China; and (2) take the lead. Take the lead and say, these are the other things that we could and should be doing. The time is right now. It only gets worse from here. It only gets worse. With that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Senator DAINES. Thank you. The gentleman from Florida.

Representative JACKSON LEE. Excuse me. Do you go back and forth?

Representative YOHO. I will yield.

Representative JACKSON LEE. Thank you for your courtesy.

I am a member of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, so my name is not here. It is Sheila Jackson Lee and I thank the distinguished gentleman from Florida for yielding.

I want to acknowledge the gentleman who had to go on to a meeting with the Speaker, and I also want to acknowledge the Speaker. All of us have been witness to the leadership that she has given to this issue and how appalling it is that she has had to be involved in this issue for so very long. In 2009, she and a delegation were brave enough to go into Tiananmen Square and unfold that banner and honor those that lost their lives.

I hope that we—and I would appreciate all three of you answering in snippets, if you would—that we appreciate that lives were lost during that period of time and that the coverup did not help anyone. I want to say this. We are blessed with a body of Chinese Americans who are here in the United States, brave Americans who have fought in our wars, who are leaders in industry and education, in social services, and immigration work—and are friends of so many of us in our constituencies.

I think this is where we have a severe problem, and that is that we have not—and I heard one of my colleagues say—we have not sufficiently educated the body politic that can help us.

Certainly, there are Chinese Americans who are from Taiwan who have a different perspective. But most times in issues like this, the advocacy of the indigenous population from that country who are now citizens can be very helpful. So I want to put that on the record and say that we have, I think, collectively not done a good job in doing that.

The other is, I've been to Tibet and it is now 2020, and we're still facing the discrimination of that. Falun Gong, many people know, whatever your opinion is, has also suffered religious discrimination. We don't know how many people are political prisoners or religious prisoners.

So here's the question that I want to raise—how do we penetrate and increase advocacy? The very fact that China has moved on an innovative development pathway, for example, the pathway to China—that's not the exact terminology—it's the second largest

economy in the world. We are number one; they are fast approaching. They take pride in that. President Xi takes pride in that, which leads not only to the failures of this administration for a trade agreement, but obviously President Xi has his contributions to that.

The economy plays a heavy role in its image of everyone wanting to be China's friend, and at the same time, people are dying. We have to penetrate that. I'd be interested in your viewpoint on how we pierce that and how we raise the concern of Chinese Americans who are barons of industry here, who are leaders, and who—let me not label everyone, but whose voices are not heard particularly on that issue.

My last point is that what is being done to the continent of Africa is more than sinful. It is disgraceful. To the African presidents, you need to listen—you are doing a disservice to the continent. You are taking resources and none of it is translating to the vast numbers of Africans who are in need of partners. They're not in need of owners. And that is what's happening between China and Africa. Owners are trying to own Africa and not partner with Africa.

I would appreciate you answering those questions, just the two questions about the economy. Thank you.

Mr. MINZNER. I can try. Yes, I thought you made a very good point at the beginning which I sort of heard as a question. I'll respond to it because I think you made the point that relations, clearly, between the United States and China, are getting tenser, and they are going to continue to get more tense and deteriorate over the future.

One of the key questions for folks in power in the United States is, are the tensions between the U.S. and China, or the Chinese Communist Party—are they tensions between the U.S. and China as a country, or are the tensions between the U.S. and the Chinese people? I heard both you, Congresswoman Jackson Lee, and a couple other Members mention as well, underline the point that the dispute right now is not with the Chinese people. There are voices in Washington right now that want to paint this as a civilizational challenge or something like that. I think we clearly have to resist that. That's not the America that we know, and it plays directly into the narrative that an increasingly paranoid Chinese state is attempting to use to mobilize support among its own nationalists, its support among its own people.

So being very clear about exactly what our challenge is, I think that's crucial. And I really appreciate that all of the folks that I heard speak here reiterated specifically what the American Government's dispute is. I'll stop there.

Representative JACKSON LEE. To the other two witnesses, remember what I said about Chinese Americans, how we get them engaged? Thank you.

Ms. KALATHIL. I can say that I really appreciate that question and I would also associate myself with my colleague's remarks that we must clearly distinguish between the CCP and the Chinese people and people of ethnic Chinese descent all around the world. Unfortunately, it is a deliberate policy of the CCP to try to reach into those communities around the world and suppress authentic speech and discussion around CCP policies. And so essentially what we're

facing is a global information environment in which there is preemptive closing of discourse, of free and open discourse and debate, about CCP policies. So that is an incredibly tough environment in which to try to bring a more accurate message or more accurate information.

When I was recently in Ghana for a series of meetings, a few interlocutors said that they had plentiful contacts between the Chinese government and their own societies and that increasingly they saw their own paths as being framed as a divergence between essentially economic development or democracy. And that is in keeping with the China model that is being presented around the world, including in sub-Saharan Africa.

Interestingly enough, those interlocutors, many of whom were active in the democracy and human rights space, said this narrative is completely wrong. As we understand it, the choice is not between development and democracy, but between dictatorship and democracy.

The model that's being presented is essentially a false choice. And we understand this, but unfortunately the narrative that is being presented is so overwhelming and it's being presented quite successfully, including through preempting alternative modes of discourse and alternative pieces of information, that it's very hard to get another message out there to talk about the fact that you are deciding between dictatorship and democracy, not development and democracy.

Just to reiterate a point I made before, I think it's imperative that the democracies who support more free and open discussion of CCP policies really be there, and to be present in that, and to not, essentially, simply through passive inaction allow the CCP to dominate the frames for debate within developing countries all around the world.

Representative JACKSON LEE. Thank you.

Ms. TSUI. I think that the point that you raised about getting Chinese Americans involved in this country is an excellent point. I'm an immigrant. Among Chinese immigrant friends I tend to notice an attitude of "Oh, you know, that is the Chinese government. What can you do about it?" I think that a lot of people have been conditioned, culturally conditioned into the state of "Oh, there's nothing we can do. The Chinese government is like that." And of course that condition is politically exploited by the Chinese government.

I think that one way to address it is that I ask my friends, "We live in this country. We live in a country where we can exercise our fundamental rights to freedom of expression. While you avail yourself of this freedom, why can't we do more for the people in China?"

Representative JACKSON LEE. Thank you very much. Mr. Chairman, let me thank my friend from Florida for your kind yielding, and I look forward to all of us working on these issues together. I think the last witness has shown us another effort in our own communities to work with Chinese Americans. So I thank you.

As I close, let me acknowledge a young lady that is here with me, Mr. Chairman. Nileh Irsan, who is with the Foster Care Program shadowing us today, is sitting behind me, and we are just delighted that these young people are learning about civic government and

democracy, and the great work of Republicans and Democrats. This particular body is showing that we work together on crucial issues because we love our country.

I thank you for giving me the courtesy of yielding at this time. I yield back and I thank the witnesses. And those who were from Tiananmen Square, alum, tragically—if you will—I honor them as well today. Thank you. I yield back.

Senator DAINES. Thank you, Congresswoman Jackson Lee, and welcome. You get a great view from back there as well. Thank you. The gentleman from Florida.

Representative YOHO. Thank you, Senator. I appreciate it. Good to see you again.

I want to start off with a statement and that is, China and Xi Jinping are highly insecure and paranoid as a country and as a leader, and they are paranoid and insecure of free-thinking people. The Communist Party cannot survive via a people that can challenge government. That is why Hong Kong, Tibet, the Uyghurs, and Taiwan are a threat to them, and why they can't be allowed to succeed in China's Communist Party's eyes; because they are free thinking.

For clarification, do people in China believe as we do in this country and other Western democracies, in the innate genetic makeup of people in liberty and freedom, the desire to be self-ruling? Do they believe that in China today?

Ms. TSUI. It is hard to say because as I mentioned earlier, a lot of people have been culturally conditioned and politically exploited.

Representative YOHO. I understand that, but deep down inside—when you talk to people from China, do they believe in the same beliefs we do? Because if you plant an acorn, the way it's designed is the trunk grows up, the roots grow down. That's just the way we are designed. And I think people—if you believe in what we believe in—we have the desire to be free, self-determining, and we are blessed in this country that our Founding Fathers got it right. So that innate ability, when I've talked to people from around the world, I hear the same thing: "Of course we do." Not what they are conditioned to do, but what they truly believe.

Ms. TSUI. I can point to the example of Taiwan. People in Taiwan are Chinese people of Chinese descent and they obviously thrive in a democracy.

Representative YOHO. Right.

Ms. TSUI. So there's no essentialist argument that Chinese people on the mainland do not believe in democracy.

Representative YOHO. Okay. I think it's true around the world. Realizing the mistake of the past administrations, I look at Nixon and Kissinger with opening up China, I look at Clinton with the WTO, hoping China would evolve into a modern, democratic, market-driven society, and it didn't happen.

And so we have to change course today, because China went from being a very bumbling, stumbling adolescent—as they grew in wealth, they didn't know how wealthy they were. And then they came into puberty, and their testosterone kicked in and they don't know how wealthy they are, or how strong they are, and they're flexing that muscle to try to find out their place.

In Tiananmen Square—and I appreciate the people that were here and you guys talking about this. There is a convicted activist, Dong Shengkun, in 1989 given a suspended death sentence on arson charges, and he spent 17 years in prison. A fellow protester in freedom, he said that he would prefer to have his son think he is a regular criminal—at least in the current political climate in China—than be potentially put in danger by learning of his father's political past. "It is for his safety," Dong said. "I worry that I might influence his thought if I start chatting to him about those things."

Other former political prisoners have expressed concerns about talking to their children about the massacre for fear of putting them at risk.

This goes on and says that three decades after the Chinese government declared martial law and unleashed the military on unarmed students and worker protesters, the bloodshed has been largely erased from the nation's collective memory. The Communist Party-led efforts have created a generation who are mostly unaware of the Tiananmen Square massacre. School textbooks don't mention it, and students will not find photos or stories on June 4th on China's heavily censored internet. So they're erasing history just like they are doing with the Tibetans. They are going to do it with the Uyghurs.

I guess one question I have, a direct question is, what is the estimate of the number of Uyghurs held against their will in Xinjiang, or China in total?

Mr. MINZNER. If you are asking about the number of people who have been held in the political reeducation camps that have been established since 2017, the estimates vary. The ones I have seen—about 10 percent of the population, hundreds of thousands to upwards of a million.

Representative YOHO. I have got a paper here that says there may be up to 3 million. We don't know.

Mr. MINZNER. I have heard that statement too. I don't know. It's a very large proportion.

Representative YOHO. If these are reeducation camps, are people free to come and go as they choose?

Mr. MINZNER. No, this is compulsory.

Representative YOHO. It is compulsory.

All right, how often are the armed crematoriums used? Any idea?

Mr. MINZNER. I don't know that.

Representative YOHO. All right. I found it very disturbing that when we read the advertisements for the guards for the armed crematoriums, they must be physically fit and capable of fighting. It doesn't sound like it's a pleasant thing, and so I think we are seeing a repeat of history here.

Moving on, I think what I see that needs to happen as a policy, because we want correction—our trade policies need to change. Our trade policies need to change, and what I propose for this country is to look at how we trade with China. I think we need to look at putting them in a tiered trading system. All of our policies—the best trading systems, they go to tier one. They get the best deals. The ones that are less favorable, number two. The minimal trade deals are at tier three. And I think we need to put in all things—

corruption of government, human rights conditions, and I think we should change that immediately.

The other thing—and I am going to end with this, Mr. Chairman—is that right now, we have all of our manufacturers flocking to China. Fortunately, some of them are waking up. Our proposal that we promoted for the last year and a half is to do the ABC policy, and that is manufacture “Anywhere But China.” I know they have a market of 1.3 billion people, but the last time I counted, I think there are close to 6.7 billion people outside of China. I would focus on that market. And I think if we get China’s economic attention, I think we can help change the way they treat people, and then knock them down on a tiered trading system. Until we do that they’re going to continue to grow, and I fear for what will be down the road.

Mr. Chairman, thank you.

Senator DAINES. Thank you, Congressman Yoho.

I want to thank the witnesses for coming here today before this commission and really helping us reflect on what I think could be called a horrendous moment in history. I want to take a moment to express my sorrow for the men, the women, their families, who lost their lives 30 years ago for standing up for what they believe in and trying to create a better world.

I distinctly remember that day, as those of us who remember watching TV, watching Mike Chinoy there in Beijing with that one feed they had, CNN, and watching the horrors unfold in front of the entire world. As someone who spent over five years living in China, I was working in the private sector, an expat in Guangzhou. In fact, our two youngest children were born in Hong Kong. I’ve led multiple codels to visit China and some of its neighbors over the past four years. I have traveled to places across China, including Xinjiang, in Urumqi, to Tibet, seen the Buddhist monks, to Dandong on the North Korean border. It’s allowed me to see firsthand the human rights abuses, censorship, and the challenge that the Chinese people face, as well as the efforts made to extend their influence beyond their borders. As your testimonies, this commission, the State Department Human Rights Report, and numerous others indicate, the state of basic freedom in much of China is in dire straits.

It is important that we, as a nation founded on freedom and the rule of law, bring our influence to bear to stop the repression of basic human rights in China.

Professor Minzner, we’ve not seen a specific incident similar to Tiananmen in the past 30 years, but the Chinese government’s resolve to repress basic freedom is stronger than ever. How has Beijing changed their repression of basic rights from using traditional armies in 1989 to using advanced technology today?

Mr. MINZNER. I think with respect to that, if you are asking about the evolution of repression, first I will point to some of the points that my co-panelist made with respect to the technological evolution in terms of more savvy control over media and over the internet. That’s one core aspect. I think the other thing to realize is that there’s also been a large co-option. There are large segments of Chinese society that feel that their wealth and their livelihood is tied up with the system—property values, their pensions. And I

think that's another key source of, you know, you don't need to repress people if people feel that the system is giving them benefits and is giving them a better life, and if you worry that the failure, that the collapse of the system would endanger your own livelihood. So I think the combination of those two things is probably the most effective tool that the Party uses to maintain control.

Senator DAINES. Do you want to add to that?

Ms. KALATHIL. No. I would agree with those points and that often those mechanisms of control, while they are connected to technology, can frequently take place within the wider swath of society—that it really relies, essentially, on intimidation and an acceptance of principles, self-censorship, so people do not express themselves. And the red lines that you're not supposed to cross sometimes are internalized. They're not necessarily solely expressed through the Great Firewall, and so on.

Senator DAINES. Professor Minzner, are you aware of any dissent among China's leaders about China's violations of human rights across the country, and more specifically in Xinjiang?

Mr. MINZNER. You ask the question, is there any dissent among Chinese leaders themselves? None. No. I think that it's a black box. We really don't know what is going on at the top, but I cannot imagine—I haven't heard and I can't imagine any serious pushback with respect to those policies.

I mean the principle of Beijing needing to have a firm hand over society is very well established at the top level of the Party. That being said, I do think there are rumblings. I think some of the more recent moves about potential lifetime rule for Xi, the anti-corruption campaign, that's the type of stuff that does generate internal rumblings among top-level authorities because they're worried about their own possible future. But that's a very different question from exercising a heavier military and police presence in Xinjiang. People are on board for that, I think.

Senator DAINES. Ms. Tsui, prior to arriving in Xinjiang in 2016, the Communist Party Secretary Chen Quanguo was Communist Party Secretary of Tibet where he pioneered a grid system of police management over urban areas, including the installation of hundreds of "convenience" police stations. How do Chen's policies in Xinjiang resemble those in Tibet? And how do they differ and why?

Ms. TSUI. I am not an expert on Xinjiang, but my understanding is that he was chosen to go to Xinjiang precisely because of the successes he's had in Tibet. So my understanding is that the surveillance is near total. In the streets of Xinjiang you actually see very few people who are there who are not supposed to be there. And I think that it's very unfortunate that that system has been working so successfully.

Senator DAINES. So Beijing continues to claim that they're offering reeducation centers to Uyghurs in Xinjiang, even going as far as comparing them to universities across the rest of the country. However, we know there's clearly a weak coverup going on here, as they are using them as a tool for repression.

Can any of you share stories, if you had a chance here to share perhaps the most poignant story of what really goes on at these camps, to help enlighten the public about the atrocities going on in the region?

Ms. TSUI. I heard that Dolkun Isa, who is a Uyghur activist in exile—he lives in Germany; last year he found out about his mother's death six months after she had died. She had died in a reeducation camp and she was in her eighties. And the reason why he found out six months later was that nobody in the family even dared contact him, because the act of contacting someone like Dolkun Isa would invite arrest and detention.

Senator DAINES. Other comments?

Ms. KALATHIL. I'm not an expert on this, but I would recommend that people watch the video stream of the event yesterday at the National Endowment for Democracy, which featured Dolkun Isa talking about some of these experiences and also incorporated other experiences of people from Tibet and Xinjiang and other places.

Senator DAINES. Great. Thank you.

Well, I have exhausted my time and it looks like we have exhausted all of the witnesses as well as the Members here. And so, as sitting Chair here, I am now going to gavel out this meeting. Thank you for coming today. Thanks for your courage. And thanks for your articulate testimony.

We're gaveled out.

[Whereupon, at 12:52 p.m., the hearing was concluded.]

A P P E N D I X

PREPARED STATEMENTS

PREPARED STATEMENT OF WU'ER KAIXI

Ladies and gentlemen of the committee, Senators, Members of Congress, and through you, the freedom-loving people of the United States of America, it is a great honor to return to what I call the "Chapel of Democracy" on Capitol Hill, at the invitation of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, and the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission. It was the Honorable Mr. Lantos himself, may he rest in peace, who invited me here three decades ago, after the torch of democracy that we lit in Tiananmen Square was brutally extinguished and I began my life of exile.

"Wu'er Kaixi is here to remind us that the struggle for democracy in China is not over," is how Mr. Lantos introduced me at that hearing. Those words still ring true, perhaps truer now than ever before. I said then that the Chinese Communist Party could not be trusted and was an existential threat to freedom and democracy around the world. It gives me no pleasure to say now that "I told you so."

I was called a "lover of democracy" at that Congressional Human Rights Foundation hearing, though many people have asked me since, "What do you know about democracy?" It's true that when we student leaders led the mass democracy movement in Beijing, our knowledge and understanding of democracy was often limited to its face value and textbook doctrines, because we were from a Communist totalitarian regime. But that is precisely why I am a lover of democracy and longed for it, because I know what it's like not to have democracy and freedom. It is the most precious of gifts and we must never take it for granted.

That's why I have returned to this "Chapel of Democracy," to warn you once again that democracy is under attack. As the standard bearer and defender of democracy, it is your solemn duty to protect it. I also have to tell you that the light of democracy in China was snuffed out because you let us down. . . . You betrayed us.

Instead of supporting the students and people on the streets, who were prepared to die in the cause of a nascent democracy movement in China, your leaders chose instead to engage with the Communist regime. You did so to protect your own interests and for commercial reasons. You led, and the world inevitably followed.

Even so, ultimately, I firmly believe in the spirit of American democracy. I know you will in the end correct the mistakes of the past to create a better future. My definition of democracy is "not trusting," and constantly exercising democracy, until we arrive at the right judgment and choice. This is what I want for the people of China.

I still mourn the loss of friends, fellow activists, and family. As a survivor I keenly feel the guilt and pain that belongs to the captain who didn't go down with his ship. Though it was a great thing that we tried to do, I sometimes wonder whether I would do it all over again. The cost was too great, measured in the blood spilled by my fellow countrymen.

We made the ultimate sacrifice and stood with you to inspire victory in the most challenging battle of the 20th century, against the totalitarian Communists in the Cold War. Yet, in China, we are still waiting to taste the fruit of that victory.

I don't want to return to this "Chapel of Democracy" in the future and say, "I told you so," or once again remind you of the lessons of the past. With our shared conviction in the power of democracy, I hope that we can at last write a fitting conclusion to the story that started 30 years ago with the Tiananmen Square protests. China deserves democracy too.

What are the lessons of Tiananmen Square?

It was 30 years ago that we took to the streets of Beijing and earned the world's sympathy and respect for attempting to plant the seeds of freedom and democracy in Tiananmen Square. We humbly asked China's leadership to fulfill their promises to the people because in those heady days everything seemed possible.

Democracy was flowering in Poland and the "New Thinking" of Mikhail Gorbachev was creating excitement in the Soviet Union. In China, it was the beginning of "Opening up and Reform," and the people were anxiously waiting for it to expand into the political domain, as we were promised.

As a 21-year-old student leader, marching on the streets of Beijing and occupying Tiananmen Square, we not only had the support of the Chinese people, we had support from all over the world, particularly in democratic countries. Clearly we felt we were fighting for the same thing you had fought for and live by. It felt like history was on our side, and victory would be ours too.

But history records that this wasn't the path for China at that time. On June 4, 1989, the Chinese Communist Party sent in tanks and troops to massacre the people it claimed to represent. In order to save its own skin, the Communist Party brutally suppressed freedom of expression and crushed all dissent. It has continued to rule since then, at the barrel of a gun, using fear and lies.

The support we had didn't last, and we, the Chinese democracy activists, were abandoned to our fate. Mentioning Tiananmen became an inconvenience for the leaders of the world's democracies. We were betrayed.

Naturally, today's world leaders are not responsible for the mistakes of their predecessors. But if you ignore the lessons of the past and continue to look the other way rather than hold the Communist Party accountable for its crimes, it will be too late to say or do anything about it—and this looks suspiciously like a policy of appeasement.

Why do you think the Chinese democracy movement was betrayed?

The policy of engagement with China started in the early 1970s, with Henry Kissinger. As the chief architect of this policy, he insisted that it was in the national interest of the United States to form a united front against the number one enemy of the country at the time, the Soviet Union. Certainly, there was no moral foundation for being so accommodating to the one-party Chinese regime.

When the Chinese leadership massacred its own peacefully protesting people, would this policy be altered? No, it wouldn't. Not only did it take four days for the late President George H.W. Bush to condemn the atrocity, he secretly went to Beijing not long after. Later that very same year, the Berlin Wall fell, and soon after, the Soviet Union collapsed.

The Cold War, lasting four decades, had ended. The national interest that Mr. Kissinger proudly proclaimed he was protecting had expired. Yet the policy remained, and Mr. Kissinger was received as one of Beijing's greatest friends and became rich by brokering favored access to the China market for American companies. I have waited a long time for the United States to realize there is something fundamentally wrong with this picture. Perhaps it is only now that a businessman-president finally sees it?

How would you describe the China situation now?

With the accession of Xi Jinping to the Communist Party throne we are stepping back into the past, as it appears he intends to make himself emperor for life. If the policy of engagement with China was just about money, it's a bad strategy. Flush with funds, China is buying influence around the globe through its Belt and Road Initiative and turning countries into tributary states that avoid antagonizing the dragon for fear of its displeasure.

We have discovered that technological progress in the hands of the Communist Party is not a benign influence. China has blocked the free flow of information by building a "Great Firewall." It bans Google and Facebook and any other source of information it cannot totally control. This leaves domestic companies with state ties like Huawei, Tencent and WeChat a competition-free environment. The Party uses companies such as these to build a surveillance state for its own people, like no other before in history.

My family is from Xinjiang and I am ethnically Uyghur, so it's natural for me to feel empathy for this region of China where at least 1 million people have been thrown into what are euphemistically called "reeducation camps." In any other era or country, they would be called what they are, concentration camps. This is the biggest mass incarceration of a group based on their ethnicity or religion since the Holocaust.

The supposedly autonomous state of Tibet has also suffered at the hands of the Communist Party. Its religious freedom has been curbed and tens of thousands of Tibetans have been detained or have fled the country and live in exile, like His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Similar to Xinjiang, it is being sinicized, as the ethnically dominant Han move in and take over these once independent lands.

Freedom is retreating in Hong Kong despite China's promises to safeguard its democracy until at least 2047. A new extradition bill meaning Hong Kong can transfer fugitives to China is just the latest example of how the city is losing its soul and being rapidly assimilated within the mainland. Hong Kong was a city of the world, but it has lost her to the totalitarian Chinese regime because of that policy.

Any individual who sticks his head up is hammered down. People sometimes forget that the Nobel Peace Prize winner, Liu Xiaobo, returned to China to support the Tiananmen protests. His only crime was being a human rights activist, yet he was imprisoned for much of his life, before dying two years ago from cancer. He was

an exceptional individual, a teacher and friend from my student days, but he is only one of millions who have been scourged by the Chinese communists.

There is a tendency in democratic countries for its leaders to give China the benefit of the doubt. I have heard you justify one-party rule by reasoning the country is so massive or unique that “special conditions” should apply. You make excuses or try to minimize the China threat by saying it has not fought a war in more than 30 years and is not an expansionist power. But this ignores the facts.

Just ask the majority of nations that border the South China Sea, which China almost totally claims as its own, despite the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea ruling against it in 2016. China flouts international maritime conventions and illegally occupies islands, turning them into military outposts that threaten Vietnam, the Philippines, and other nations, too.

If you ask the majority of people in Taiwan if they feel threatened by China, or whether it is an expansionist power, you would be met with a resounding answer in the affirmative. China constantly threatens to invade Taiwan and prevents it from joining international organizations, even the World Health Organization, despite the fact it has one of the world’s best public health systems and so much to offer.

By any measure, Taiwan is one of the most freedom loving and democratic countries in the world, a bastion of free speech and an example to others. Yet China intends to possess the country by hook or by crook and promises violence if anyone suggests different, or even calls Taiwan by its real name.

You, the leaders of the free world, acquiesce to this bullying and ignore the inconvenient truth, which is that Taiwan is in fact a successful, independent country, with its own army, currency, government and people. If this is not appeasement, I don’t know what is.

What should be done to put right the mistakes of the past?

Three decades ago, if you had acted on principle and with foresight, you would have demanded that China acknowledge its crimes in Tiananmen Square. You should have insisted on press freedom, capitalism and democracy. If China refused to reform, the whole world would have followed as you blocked it, and it would be a better place now. Not only for a fifth of the population who are Chinese but the rest of the world, too.

This is certainly what the Honorable Mr. Tom Lantos believed and loudly claimed, time and time again, as chair of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, now known, of course, as the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission.

It is because I spoke up for freedom that I became a “public enemy” and have been a “wanted person” most of my life. I haven’t seen my parents for over three decades and they are elderly and becoming frail now. I have tried my utmost to see them and even turned myself in at Macau, Hong Kong, and Chinese embassies in the United States and Japan. Ironically, despite my “wanted” status, the regime would not relent.

On the other hand, I doubt I would be alive today if I had remained in China. After Tiananmen, I was lucky to escape and make it to free Hong Kong, long before it was handed over by the British to China. I then moved to France, the “cradle of democracy,” where I helped organize an international underground movement to assist Chinese dissidents and continue the struggle for democracy. Later, I was fortunate enough to be allowed to study in the United States, the world’s leading democratic nation. Taiwan is now my adopted home and a shining beacon of democracy and human rights, the first country in Asia to allow same-sex marriage.

I have been lucky enough to live in some of the freest places on Earth and have had 30 years to absorb the ideas of democracy. In that time, I have been labeled a democracy activist, and it is a badge I wear with immense pride.

As I have made plain today, I feel the democracy movement in China and democracy itself was betrayed, betrayed by you. But, as I also made clear in my introductory remarks, this argument is based on my strong faith in American democracy. I firmly believe you will in the end correct the mistakes of the past to create a better future.

In my experience, democracy is not a religion or a set of standards, it’s a practice, a dynamic process, constantly refined and improved. It’s not perfect but it always aims for perfection. It makes mistakes, but through voting allows choice and change and the opportunity to put right the mistakes of the past. Democracy cautiously trusts the people, and the will of the people is expressed through the democratic process. This is a very powerful and virtuous idea.

I truly want to believe that the world’s leaders, including those here today, are wise enough not to repeat the mistakes of yesterday. I trust you have the courage

to face up to China before it's too strong and it's too late. This would, at long last, make our bloody sacrifice in Tiananmen 30 years ago worthwhile.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ZHOU FENG SUO

Congressman McGovern, Senator Rubio, Members of Congress, thank you for inviting me to speak in this special moment on the 30th anniversary of the Tiananmen Massacre.

As a participant in the 1989 Democracy Movement and a survivor of the massacre started in the evening of June 3rd, it is both my honor and duty to speak for those who sacrificed their lives for freedom and democracy in China, for the movement that ignited the hope of change that was so close, and for the last 30 years of the indefatigable fight for truth and justice.

I was a physics student at Tsinghua University in 1989. The previous summer of 1988, I organized the first and only free election of the student union of my department. I was amazed and encouraged by the enthusiasm of the students to participate in the process of self-governing. There was a palpable sense of change on the college campuses.

When Hu Yaobang died on April 15, 1989, his death immediately triggered widespread protests at top universities in Beijing. He had been removed from the position of General Secretary of the CCP in 1987 for his sympathy towards the protesting students and for being too open minded. The next day I went to Tiananmen Square to offer a flower wreath with my roommates of Tsinghua University. To my pleasant surprise, my words on the wreath were published the next day by a national official newspaper. We were the first group to go to Tiananmen Square to mourn Hu Yaobang.

More and more students came to Tiananmen Square to mourn Hu Yaobang on April 17th. And the topics quickly changed to broader political issues. On April 18th, a petition of 7 demands was drafted and submitted by Peking University students. Among these 7 demands, the most important ones were freedom of the press and disclosure of the assets of top government officials and their families. The petition quickly gained support from students and people of Beijing and other cities.

On the evening of April 18th, when hundreds of students gathered at the base of the Monument to the Heroes of the People, I gave a speech criticizing the Chinese Constitution as against the Declaration of Independence, which was the true model of a legitimate government. I believed that the Chinese Constitution wasn't legitimate because it lacked the consent of the people. I was pushed down from the impromptu podium by the organizers because my opinion was considered too radical. But I was thrilled because I was able to share my deeply held belief with the public in this special arena of people's opinions.

When thousands of students of Tsinghua University gathered on the evening of April 21st, I volunteered to lead the group to Tiananmen when I realized that there was no one else willing to stand out to be responsible for the protest. From that time on, I became a leader of the independent student organization at my university, eventually representing Tsinghua University at the Federation of Independent Student Unions. For this reason, I was "wanted" by the Communist government after the crackdown; number 5 on the "most wanted" list.

When the demand for direct dialogue with the government wasn't making any progress despite several marches of students joined by citizens of Beijing, hundreds of students went on a hunger strike in Tiananmen Square. I didn't go on a hunger strike but organized the student volunteers to provide for and protect the students. For this process I built the broadcast station "the Voice of the Student Movement," which became the command center of the protesters as well as the public forum for the people in Tiananmen Square. We were able to make sure that while a million people were occupying the Square, medical services and supplies were delivered without a glitch.

For the first time in Communist China, millions were able to speak truly and freely. It was the most peaceful and hopeful time; democracy was so close, almost within reach. The protests brought out the best in people's hearts. The prospect of a democratic China resonated through the world, especially riveting people from Hong Kong and Taiwan.

But the Communist hardliners felt the threat to their absolute power and reacted with brutal power. Deng Xiaoping first mentioned killing the students on April 25. His personal verdict became the April 26 Editorial, which made it clear that they would crack down on the peaceful protesters. On the evening of May 19th, martial law was declared in Beijing. Zhao Ziyang, the nominal leader of the CCP, was ousted without due process because he was against the military crackdown.

When the citizens of Beijing saw the military trucks and armored vehicles, they lay down on the road to block the advancing troops. They pleaded with the soldiers, sometimes with kids on their shoulders to show that Beijing was peaceful. Initially, the troops had to withdraw. For two weeks. The students called for an emergency meeting of the People's Congress to intervene, with enough qualifying signatures of the legislative members collected.

On the morning of June 3rd, while at my dormitory at Tsinghua University, I heard that a truck full of weapons was somehow in the hands of students before the students returned the truck to the police. Realizing that this was a sign of an imminent crackdown, I went to Tiananmen Square and stayed until I was driven out by troops and tanks on the morning of June 4th.

I stayed at Tiananmen Square because it was the center of the protest, and therefore considered the most dangerous place. But it turned out to be the eye of the storm. While CCP's over 200,000 troops invaded Beijing from all directions, the people of Beijing poured into the streets to block the fully armed soldiers with their bodies. We were protected by these courageous citizens.

Beginning from about 10 p.m. until morning, with the news of people injured and killed, I heard gunshots from all directions around Tiananmen Square. Military flares lit up the night sky. It was like a war; Beijing was invaded by CCP's troops with tanks and machine guns, while the other side were students and citizens defending the city and a dream for a democratic China with their bodies and hearts.

I was the last to leave the Monument from the south side when the soldiers began to push us down, beating us with sticks and pointing guns at us. The tanks were about ten feet from me. Daylight was breaking on the Square, which was like a war zone. When I heard the sad cries of the despondent students, I vowed that we would come back in triumph over the brutal force of the CCP. On the way back, I saw more than 40 bodies on the ground in the bicycle shed outside of Fuxing Hospital and was overwhelmed by injuries and death. One of them was Zhong Qing, a student at my university, Tsinghua.

On the evening of June 13th, I saw my name on the most-wanted list of students, broadcast on national TV. I was number 5 among the 21 most-wanted students. I was shocked because I was only acting out of my duty as a student and citizen, at the same time deeply proud of myself because I believed that the 1989 Democracy Movement were the greatest days of China under Communist rule and it was an honor to officially be recognized for my part. I was arrested and spent a year in prison, released on the eve of the U.S. debate on most-favored-nation status for China. For me this was just the beginning of my journey over the next 30 years.

I came to the United States in 1995 after being denied a passport for several years. In 2000, I was the lead plaintiff in a lawsuit against Li Peng for his crimes against humanity in 1989, filed in Manhattan when Li Peng visited. I was an early supporter of 64memo.com, the online archive of the history of the Tiananmen Movement started by Feng Congde. I co-founded Humanitarian China in 2007 with other participants of the 1989 Democracy Movement abroad. Humanitarian China is dedicated to promoting human rights and civil society in China. For more than a decade, Humanitarian China has provided humanitarian aid to hundreds of families of political prisoners and the Tiananmen Mothers, covering rights lawyers, journalists, writers, labor and feminist activists, political protesters, and persecuted house churches. Humanitarian China raised funds for Ilham Tohti, the Uyghur economist, after he was sentenced to life in prison.

Humanitarian China supported the victims of earthquakes in Sichuan and the Yushu Tibetan area through local volunteers. Humanitarian China also supported the work of Wu Renhua, who documented the martial-law troops through careful research.

One of the most important works of Humanitarian China was to bring Fang Zheng and his family to the San Francisco Bay area and assist him until he was able to make a living and support a family of 5 through his own work running an Airbnb and as an Uber driver. Fang Zheng lost his legs to the charging tank on the morning of June 4th while saving a female student from the tank attack.

Now he is President of the Chinese Democracy Education Foundation and a leading witness to the brutal massacre. His smile and character embody the spirit of the Tiananmen Movement.

Through our work at Humanitarian China, we have been intimately connected to every group who shares the memory and legacy of Tiananmen, including the Tiananmen Mothers, the citizens of Beijing who fought the invading troops to protect the students, the protesters in other cities who were persecuted more harshly than students in Beijing, and those who defied the CCP by openly commemorating Tiananmen . . . those Tiananmen protesters who persisted tirelessly for the freedom of China, like Liu Xiaobo.

Thanks to this great country, we have been able to aid them and speak up for them; we can provide a sanctuary for the true heroes of China, like Fang Zheng and Zhao Changqing. We are also leading an effort to build a permanent museum for Tiananmen 1989 at Liberty Sculpture Park.

China took a wrong path 30 years ago. The world allowed the regime that rolled tanks on its own people to exist and strengthened this regime through trade. Especially after China joined WTO while at the same time erecting a firewall to enslave Chinese in cyberspace, it has quickly become an existential threat to the world through globalization and digital totalitarianism. We face the ever-growing shadow of the CCP even in America.

Together with a handful of protesters, I was beaten by supporters of the CCP's Olympic Torch relay on a San Francisco pier while the San Francisco police watched with folded arms, even when I pleaded for protection of our rights. My LinkedIn account was briefly censored because I was inconvenient for LinkedIn's China market. A scheduled press release of Humanitarian China in New York was canceled within an hour after I posted the event. Columbia University rejected our proposal to donate a Liu Xiaobo bust sculpture without consulting me even once. I am shunned in colleges, churches, book clubs, and industry organizations, as long as there is a whiff of Chinese connection. The situation gets worse year by year.

But I believe this committee is in a unique position to push for some real changes that could have profound and persistent impact.

(1) Insisting on the removal of the firewall as the precondition for any trade agreement. The existence of CCP's firewall is the biggest threat to the truth of Tiananmen 1989. The firewall is also the most important trade barrier that forces U.S. companies to kowtow to Beijing.

(2) The Magnitsky Act could be a powerful tool against the perpetrators of the Tiananmen massacre and human rights violations. But so far only one name has been implicated by the State Department, out of dozens of perpetrators we provided them detailed information about. The most notorious one is Li Xiaolin, daughter of Li Peng, Butcher of Beijing. After the massacre, the families of Deng Xiaoping and Li Peng were both rewarded with ill-gotten wealth for the blood on their hands. Banning her from entering and freezing her family's assets will be a welcome step toward justice against the masterminds of the Tiananmen Massacre.

(3) Liu Xiaobo bust sculpture on Capitol Hill. Thirty years ago, Liu Xiaobo flew back to China to participate in the Tiananmen protests, and eventually laid down his life for China. He was the second Nobel Peace Laureate to die under incarceration; the first was during Hitler's Nazi Germany. The world should be alarmed by the similar path of Xi Jinping. The CCP wants the world to forget Liu, even if his ashes could be found. Please help us preserve Liu Xiaobo's legacy by placing a bust sculpture on Capitol Hill. He belongs in the same place as his friend Vaclav Havel, who has a sculpture. A bust sculpture on Capitol Hill would demonstrate a commitment to the democratization of China and warm the hearts of the 1989 generation.

(4) Act against CCP's peripheral organizations in the United States, for example, CSSA, on campus. When I had the opportunity to talk to Chinese students in U.S. universities about Tiananmen, their responses have been strongly positive and sympathetic. But it is extremely difficult for us to get such opportunities; the most important reason is the pervasive presence of CSSAs that monitor and organize the students on behalf of the Chinese Embassy. Targeting active individuals of CSSAs will be very effective. The Australian example of expelling Xiang Xiangmo set a good precedent to deal with such individuals.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MI LING TSUI

Chairman McGovern, Cochairman Rubio, Cochairman Smith, and members of the Commissions:

Thank you for this opportunity to testify at this important and timely hearing.

On the 30th anniversary of the bloody June Fourth military crackdown on unarmed civilians in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, we are honored to be able to give voice to the extraordinary efforts of the Tiananmen Mothers, a group of family members of June Fourth victims as well as survivors themselves. For three decades, they have fought against state-enforced amnesia to engage in systematic efforts to gather evidence for an inevitable accounting of the killing. Defying harassment, surveillance, and threats of retaliation, they have collectively identified and documented 202 individuals killed in the crackdown and, through exhaustive interviews with the families and eyewitnesses where possible, accumulated a large body of facts of the crimes committed against the victims.

Since 1999, HRIC has worked concretely to support the Tiananmen Mothers' demand for justice by disseminating their annual open letters and information they have accumulated to the international community. This year, for the 30th anniversary of June Fourth, in addition to publishing their essay (see Attachment), we have focused our advocacy contribution on our "Unforgotten" project. The project draws on the extensive documentation compiled by the Tiananmen Mothers—including interviews, essays, videos, and photos—to tell the individual stories of some of victims, about how they lived and died, and how their deaths have affected

their families. The project seeks to highlight the enormous human cost that resulted from Chinese government brutality, and the group's refusal to accept the darkness of enforced national amnesia about a tragic episode not only for the Chinese people, but also for all of humanity.

They have accomplished this work by force of their moral outrage, mutual support, and tenacity in their pursuit of justice for their loved ones. The group began with Ding Zilin (丁子霖), the mother of Jiang Jieli (蒋捷连), a 17-year-old high-school student who was shot dead on the evening of June 3rd. She reached out to Zhang Xianling (张先玲), another mother whose 19-year-old son, Wang Nan (王楠), was killed in the early morning of June 4th. Several months later, a note was left at the grave of Wang Nan by a third woman, You Weijie (尤维洁), who lost her husband, Yang Minghu (杨明湖), in the crackdown.

But identifying the dead has not been easy—often names of the dead were whispered to the early members of the group, or delivered on slips of paper, some by university staff members. Sometimes the people who provided information on the victims and their families did not even dare to identify themselves. And there were times when families of victims simply refused to be found—perhaps out of a sense of shame. Even when the group managed to track down families of victims, it could take two or three years before the families felt secure enough to agree to establish contact and speak with the group.

While some families live in Beijing, many others are in other provinces, some in the remote farming hinterland, beyond where roads end. Some parents could not read or write, scratching out a living from farming. A heartbreaking fact quickly emerged: a victim from a poor family was almost always the most promising among the children—the *only* child that the family could afford to send to university, whose death dashed the prospect of a better economic future for the family.

Through their search, the Tiananmen Mothers have built an extensive documentation archive on the killing and those killed. It is from this material that the world can know about how the victims were killed: they were killed by martial law troops firing indiscriminately into crowds;

they were shot in the back by troops who chased them into alleys; they were stabbed with bayonets after being shot; they were crushed by tanks coming from behind them after they had left Tiananmen Square; they were run over by military trucks while standing at the roadside waiting to cross the street. While many died instantly, others who made it to the hospital still breathing were met by doctors ordered to treat soldiers only; family members who went to hospitals to claim the bodies of their loved ones were told to hurry before troops came to remove evidence; and bodies were hidden by soldiers in a shallow grave in the front lawn of a high school—also to remove evidence. Cruelty was inflicted upon even the ashes of the dead: many families were told by the places where they kept the ashes of their loved ones that they couldn't extend the storage period after three years—on order from the local authorities.

Since 1995, the Tiananmen Mothers have appealed to Chinese leaders for open dialogue with them as a group to respond to their three basic demands: the truth of what happened, accountability for the killing, and compensation to survivors and families of victims. Never once has the Chinese government responded to the request. Instead, the authorities have employed tactics such as the lure of compensation to individual families in efforts to splinter the group. They have also treated members of the group as criminal suspects: every year around so called “sensitive” periods, such as the lead up to the anniversary of June Fourth, they are put under surveillance, with their phones tapped; they are followed; they are forced to leave Beijing on “vacation.”

We received a message a few days ago from a group member who managed to see our project website, which gave her a sense of how the people outside China remember June Fourth. She said: “Seeing the stories about the victims and families made me feel so sad—because I imagine that in the outside world there must be all sorts of commemorative activities marking the 30th anniversary of June Fourth. But inside China, it is like a stagnant pool. We are being monitored.” (看了里面的内容，难属的故事，心里真的很难过。想想国外纪念六四惨案三十周年的有各种各样形式的纪念活动，在国内一片死水一般，我们被监控着。)

How is it that the Chinese government has been able to get away with murder? Not without the complicity of the international community. Foreign governments accepted the bargain post-

Tiananmen to look the other way—to accept what is unacceptable in a civilized world—in exchange for entry into China’s vast consumer and labor markets. And governments and foreign companies conveniently believed that China’s increased integration into the international community would help it democratize and play by international rules. But as we have seen and continue to see: the opposite is true.

Impunity for June Fourth has emboldened the Chinese leaders to perpetuate and refine the crackdown model—to use it to obliterate diverse voices that the government doesn’t want to hear. The examples from recent years are all too clear: the destruction of an entire rank of rights defense lawyers and activists by imprisonment, physical and psychological torture, and threats to their families; the imprisonment and tragic death-in-custody of Liu Xiaobo, the reform advocate and Nobel Peace laureate; the outright kidnapping of foreign nationals, even on foreign soil; the silencing of intellectuals; the continued suppression of the culture and religion of the Tibetan people; and the internment of more than one million ethnic Muslims in Xinjiang in a campaign to erase *their* culture and religion. In short, China’s impunity for egregious past human rights violations has enabled and continues to enable the ongoing trampling on rights in China today.

And as it amasses enormous economic and political clout, the Chinese government is aggressively trying to export its own models of development and human rights—so-called human rights with Chinese characteristics—that are at odds with universal values. And indeed, it is stepping up efforts not only to rewrite international human rights principles and norms—born of the lessons the world learned from the horrors of the Second World War—but also to militarize, flout trade decisions made by international authorities that it does not like, and appropriate technology in the service of surveillance and control over cyberspace.

Against this stark reality, the courage demonstrated by the Tiananmen Mothers acts as a guiding force for the international community, and for all of us to do more to stand up to the authoritarian regime and demand justice.

On this anniversary, we are encouraged by the strong international statements of concern, by the solidarity message sent by this hearing—that the U.S. government will not allow enforced

amnesia to silence the truth, and that you stand with the Tiananmen Mothers in their struggle to press for truth, accountability, and compensation.

The message that we received last week from a member of the Tiananmen Mothers ended with this note that highlights a force that we should not overlook. She said “I heard that more than 100 people are being forced to leave Beijing—you can see from this how the government is afraid of the power among civil society to lift the lid on the case of the June Fourth massacre.” (听说北京就有一百多人在此期间必须离开北京，可见政府有多怕民间揭开六四惨案盖子的力量。)

The international community has an important role to play in supporting Chinese civil society actors under assault. One immediate action that everyone can take is to leave a message for the Tiananmen Mothers in the “What You Can Do” section of our “Unforgotten” project site—<https://truth30.hrichina.org>—which we will translate and channel to the Tiananmen Mothers. To those trapped inside the prison of authoritarian China, every single message from the outside, either to them as a group, to individual members, or about individual victims—will be a source of strength.

I’d like to end with this note. On October 10, 2010, Liu Xia, wife of Liu Xiaobo, visited him in prison and delivered the news that he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. She later told the press: He cried, and said that *this* Nobel Peace Prize belonged to all the lost souls of June Fourth.

ATTACHMENT

**Mourning Our Families and Compatriots Killed in the June Fourth Massacre:
A Letter to China's Leaders
By the Tiananmen Mothers**

March 15, 2019



Members of the Tiananmen Mothers with photos of their loved ones killed in June Fourth.

[English Translation by Human Rights in China]

I

We are a group of citizens who lost our loved ones in the June Fourth Massacre.

Thirty years ago, along Chang'an Avenue in front of the Tiananmen Gate in the Chinese capital of Beijing and in the city's central thoroughfare, fully armed martial law troops used machine guns, tanks, and even dum dum bullets—which had been banned by the international community—to massacre unsuspecting and unarmed young students and citizens who were petitioning peacefully. The bloody carnage claimed thousands of vibrant lives and hurled thousands of families into an abyss of despair.

The massacre took place under the glare of the whole world. For years, many streets and alleys of Beijing were riddled with bullet holes and stained with blood. Thirty years later, while the criminal evidence has been covered up by the facade of “prosperity” made up of towering buildings and clustering overpasses, the hard facts of the massacre are etched into history. No one can erase it; no power, however mighty, can alter it; and no words or tongues, however clever, can deny it.

During the Great Famine of the 1950s and 60s, in which tens of millions of our compatriots starved to death, former Chinese President Liu Shaoqi warned Mao Zedong, “People are eating people—it will be written in books.” Considering this, we can't help but wonder: Wouldn't the People's Liberation Army's mass killing of innocent people in full public view also be recorded in history? How can these numerous murderers escape the trial of history in the end?

It has been 30 years since the June Fourth Massacre. While it may be just the blink of an eye in the great river of history, it can be an eternity in a person's life—long enough for a newborn to become a parent himself. For 30 years, dust has risen and fallen, and the moon has waxed and waned, but nothing has soothed our trauma and pain inside. Our suffering is not limited to the massacre on the night of June 3-4, 1989. Over the last 30 years, the Chinese authorities have repeatedly torn open the deep wounds in our hearts and rubbed salt in them. Those in power had initially brashly claimed they would “kill 200,000 people to maintain stability for 20 years,” dispatching hundreds of thousands of field army soldiers to Beijing to kill and burn. But afterwards, the authorities shirked responsibilities and began the despicable and cowardly act of fabricating history. The government first characterized the June Fourth Massacre as “turmoil” and “counterrevolutionary riots,” before relabeling it a “political disturbance” several years later. However, in the 2018 compilation of *The Chronicle of 40 Years of Reform and Opening* prepared by the Institute of Party History and Documentation, the June Fourth Massacre was again relabeled as “turmoil” and the “suppression of counterrevolutionary riots.” Aren't all the confusion, flip-flopping, and backpedaling making the lies even more hideous?

Today, before the slain heroes of June Fourth—our most beloved—we must confide this: our tears are drained, our strength is exhausted, and our hearts are shattered. All our efforts to clear your names have yet to be successful. We are filled with guilt and remorse, and unbearable grief. Heavens, if you look down upon us, please grant us just a bit more strength and a few more tears, and allow us to wipe clean the mud and scum splashed onto the June Fourth martyrs even to this day! Great Earth, if you look up upon us, please grant peace to the departed in their rest and bring the martyrs justice. They were innocents who sacrificed their lives to the cause of opposing official profiteering and corruption, and most definitely not some “turmoil-inciting elements” or “counterrevolutionary insurgents.” Oh, history, if you are sentient, please soothe the wounds of the martyrs with your hands of justice and allow these pure and holy souls to rest in peace as soon as possible.

Oh, our most beloved, the only thing that we can say to comfort you is that even though you left us suddenly, and brought terrible calamity to each of your families, your loved ones have staunchly stood up with resolve and strength from your pools of blood. To honor the dignity of the dead and the living, we suppressed our grief and stood up tall. Under the martial law troops' flashing butcher knives, we broke silence to publicly condemn the June Fourth massacre and the perpetrators of this national catastrophe, and to demand that the truth of your killing be revealed

and the murderers be held accountable. Over the last 30 years, we have never given up, never stopped searching for those who share our fates, and never surrendered to our tragic lot. Through our mutual support and assistance, we built consensus in our difficult journey, and came together to form the Tiananmen Mothers. This unique community of sufferers, whose fates are bonded by June Fourth, has been steadfastly guarding your spirits in the storm.



Thirtieth anniversary commemorative shrine honoring those killed in June Fourth.

II

We are the guardians of the souls of the June Fourth martyrs.

In order to defend the principle of “peace, rationality, and non-violence” that our loved ones had upheld before their death, the Tiananmen Mothers, since 1995, have sent joint open letters to the annual sessions of the Two Congresses—meetings of the National People's Congress and Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference—and the country's leaders. In these letters, we have formally proposed our three demands to justly resolve June Fourth, namely: truth, compensation, and accountability. We have also proposed equal dialogue with the government, suggested dealing with June Fourth through legal procedures, and recommended principles such as tackling the more straightforward issues first before gradually solving the more difficult ones.

The Two Congresses come and go every year, as does the anniversary of June Fourth. Each year, we write our open letter and send it out by registered mail. However, we have never heard a

single word back from the authorities, as if our letters were stones cast into the sea. Throughout the years, the delegates to the Two Congresses and the national leadership have treated our appeals with arrogance: They have pretended not to hear and have never paid any attention. All we have received in return for our goodwill and sincerity is ever harsher control on us family members of the victims by public security, domestic security, and national security agents.

Time is merciless, and the natural laws of life, aging, sickness, and death spare no one. Since 1995, 55 family members of our group who have joined in this long, hard struggle have died without seeing justice. One of the most tragic cases is that of our fellow group member Mr. **Ya Weilin (轧伟林)**, whose son **Ya Aiguo (轧爱国)** was killed in the June Fourth Massacre. In 2012, the esteemed man, then 73, found it unbearable to continue to live after all these excruciating years and chose suicide in protest. He resorted to such a drastic measure in order to search for his beloved son in the other world. However, even this was unable to move the hearts of stone of those in power.

Our group members have passed away one by one, with another five gone in 2018! In our sadness and longing for our June Fourth martyrs, who died with unresolved grievances, we are reminded of the victims of the Second Sino-Japanese War. In recent years, the victims (including families of those killed in the Nanjing Massacre, germ warfare victims, and comfort women) have persisted in their requests for apologies and compensation by the Japanese government, and yet the Japanese courts have repeatedly rejected their just demands. On the one hand, the Japanese government has spared no effort to cover up the truth. On the other, it has engaged in delaying tactics in the hope that victims will age and die out one by one as the matter drags on. Its words and deeds have not only filled the victims with indignation but also compelled some Japanese scholars—as well as perpetrators—of conscience to take action to uncover the truth. The ugly deeds of the Japanese government and right-wing forces present a striking contrast with the conduct of the former Chancellor of West Germany Willy Brandt: In 1970, he knelt before the monument commemorating the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in Poland to express remorse and apology. It was Hitler and the Nazis who were responsible for the Holocaust. And Willy Brandt was the chancellor of the free and democratic Germany many years later. In the normal course of things, there was no longer any relationship between them. But Brandt nevertheless took responsibility for the crimes of Nazi Germany and fell to his knees, apologizing to the slain Jewish people and the whole world. Brandt's kneeling in Warsaw left the international community in awe, elevated the international image of the German nation, and allowed the country to return to the civilized world. For this gesture, Brandt was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize the following year. The kneeling in Warsaw also became an important milestone in the improvement of relations between West Germany and Eastern European countries after the war.



German Chancellor Willy Brandt knelt before the monument to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, Warsaw, December 7, 1970. Source.

In the words of Brandt, “He who forgets or seeks to forget will become sick in his soul.” Elie Wiesel, Holocaust survivor and Nobel Peace laureate, once said, “If we forget, the dead will be killed a second time.” He further noted, “If we forget, we are guilty, we are accomplices. The rejection of memory . . . would doom us to repeat past disasters, past wars.” The juxtaposition of Japan and Germany is sobering: both murdered other nationals or ethnic groups, and were defeated in the Second World War, yet the polar opposite ways in which they dealt with their past atrocities are deeply thought-provoking. As for the successive Chinese governments, those slaughtered 30 years ago at the hands of martial law troops obeying orders were their fellow countrymen of the same race and ethnicity. In the face of such criminality and facts, can the government look the other way forever?

Those in power in China today are at a crossroads between two options. The first option is to do one’s utmost to cover up the crimes while burying one’s head in the sand—like the Japanese government—and to wait until family members of June Fourth victims age and die out, as if their death would obliterate June Fourth: the miscarriage of justice and unresolved questions. What the authorities fail to appreciate is that the covering up of crimes itself is a new offense. We are also convinced that even after all of us group members have passed away, we will have successors, those who will execute the will of history. Moreover, the longer this debt is owed, the higher the cost, and the more numerous the crimes!

The second option is to learn from Willy Brandt and face history head-on by taking the following actions: Express remorse for the government's past crimes; hold sincere dialogue with June Fourth victim groups; resolve June Fourth through legal procedures; publicize the truth and number of casualties of the massacre; provide compensation for the victims; and conduct just trials of those responsible for the killings. Taking these measures will usher in a new era in which the tragedy of June Fourth will not be repeated. We the Tiananmen Mothers, the guardians of the souls of June Fourth, eagerly await the arrival of the new era!



Members of the Tiananmen Mothers reading their essay, "Mourning Our Families and Compatriots Killed in the June Fourth Massacre"

III

We are staunch custodians of hope.

Our most beloved, we know that no matter how much we yearn for you, you will never be able to come home. What we are steadfastly holding out for is simply the long overdue justice. Over the past 30 years, we have looked out for one another in mutual help and support. In our 30 years of guarding the spirits of the deceased and holding on to hope, we have suffered no lack of disappointment and torment. But we will never give up and will continue to persevere! This is

the only way for us to stay true to our conscience and honor the souls of the martyrs who died with unresolved grievances.

As we commemorate the souls of June Fourth victims, we want to ask the Chinese government and leaders the following questions.

You promote Marxism—the philosophical approaches of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, which call for comprehensive, complete, and accurate assessment of historical events and appraisal of historical figures. This makes us wonder: As the nation commemorated the 40th anniversary of Reform and Opening-up, why was there no mention of those who accomplished the extraordinary feats of restoring order from chaos and setting the Reform and Opening-up process in motion in China, namely, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, former General Secretaries of the Communist Party of China, or of the likes of Wan Li and Xi Zhongxun? Instead, the authorities piled all credit for such historical achievements wholesale onto Deng Xiaoping, the executioner of the June Fourth, conferring upon him the exalted title of the “architect of Reform and Opening up”. Is such practice in line with historical materialism?

You fully affirm that “practice is the sole criterion for testing truth.” So, we would like to ask: Thirty years of practice have sufficiently proven that it was justifiable and legitimate for the students and citizens to petition to the government in protest of official profiteering and corruption in Tiananmen Square. What crimes could they have committed in exercising their constitutional rights? Thirty years of practice have sufficiently proven this: It was precisely the indiscriminate killing of innocent civilians and the suppression of the voice of justice against corruption that led the Chinese officialdom on the unobstructed fast track to corruption in the ensuing 30 years, where an expansive, cascading, unbridled, and utterly vicious corruption contest rages on.

Since the CPC's 18th National Congress, an emphasis has been placed on “rule the country by law” and “judicial justice.” In particular, the country's leaders have repeatedly vowed to “allow every citizen to enjoy judicial fairness and justice.” As mentioned above, since 1995, the Tiananmen Mothers have sent jointly signed letters to the annual Two Congresses and the nation's leaders, in which we have formally proposed our three demands for the fair resolution of June Fourth—truth, compensation, and accountability—along with the recommendation to resolve June Fourth through legal procedures. We have also turned our demands on paper into practical action. On May 14 and May 21, 1999, right before the tenth June Fourth anniversary, we filed complaints against Li Peng, one of the perpetrators of the massacre, with the Supreme People's Procuratorate. The two complaints were delivered by family members of the victims, which were accepted by the SPP. Our actions back then were consistent with the current government's judicial reform efforts, but why haven't we received a single response to this day?

You have been promoting the “Chinese Dream.” As Chinese citizens, and your compatriots, we too have dreams. The dream of the Tiananmen Mothers is the “June Fourth Dream.” We dream that one day, the nation can restore the name of the June Fourth martyrs and rectify the reputation of the 1989 patriotic democracy movement. Specifically, we call for the establishment of a national day of mourning on June 4 each year; the erection of June Fourth monuments and cemeteries to provide the slain souls a final resting place; and holding a state funeral for the victims so that the national trauma will not be forgotten and the June Fourth tragedy will not be

repeated! Today, standing before the shrine of our most beloved and all of the June Fourth victims, we muster the greatest courage, unafraid of retaliation and repression, and loudly proclaim everything the June Fourth Dream of the Tiananmen Mothers entails.

We want to ask: When will our June Fourth Dream be realized? Or, when will this be put on your work agenda? When will the government start an equal dialogue with us family members of the victims? (We would like to take the opportunity to remind the current Chinese leaders of a letter written by the former CPC General Secretary Zhao Ziyang to the 16th National Congress while he was under house arrest. He proposed three recommendations for solving June Fourth, namely: “It’s better to resolve it earlier rather than later,” “solve it proactively rather than passively,” and “solve it by ourselves rather than having it solved by others.” Regrettably, his enthusiasm and wisdom were not tolerated by the leaders at the time and, instead, resulted in even more severe restrictions on his detention.)

In recent years, with the manner and air as befit a major power, you have widely promoted the concept of the “community of shared future for mankind” in the international community and the policy of “tilting public resources toward the vulnerable groups” domestically. We wish to know: As a group of Chinese citizens—your compatriots—are we, the Tiananmen Mothers, not a community of tormented destiny? Are we not a vulnerable group? Or does our fate lie outside the community of shared future for mankind? The majority of our group members live in the urban and rural areas in Beijing right among you, struggling for decades with the hardships of losing our loved ones. All of our country’s previous leaders have repeatedly turned a deaf ear to us as if nothing had happened and all was well. Over the last 30 years, has there been a single one of those in power who genuinely cared about or paid attention to us? And how could a government that has trapped us—your compatriots—in pain and suffering without true remorse and efforts to right its wrong be qualified to build a community of shared future for mankind? It would seem that establishing authority across the world would not be as easy as suppressing the people at home.

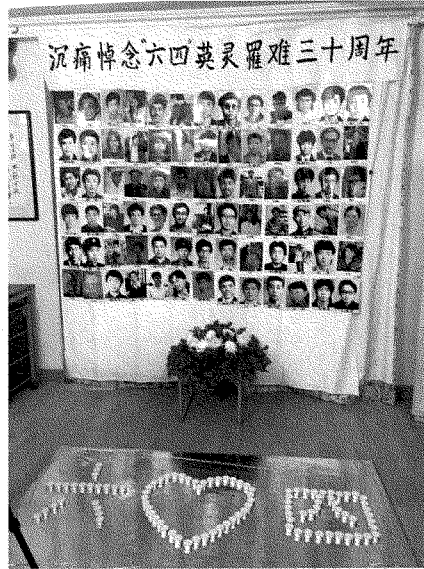
We have also noticed that not long ago, Chinese leaders repeatedly appealed to the Taiwanese compatriots that “people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait are all of one family” and that “family members don’t fight one another.” Actions speak louder than words. Your swift resolution of the horrific case of your killing your fellow countrymen would be more powerful than a dozen proclamations. Otherwise, how could you win the trust of the world? How would you earn the confidence of the international community and your family across the Strait?

Whenever we see government leaders give speeches about initiatives “for the people” on television, vowing to increase the “sense of happiness,” “sense of gain,” and “sense of security” among citizens, profound sadness and misery well up inside of us. We have to ask: where are *our* “three senses”? How can we obtain them?

Here, we wish to inform the Chinese leaders: Ever since our most beloved were brutally murdered by martial law troops 30 years ago, our families have borne the unbearable weight of tragedy, and the sense of happiness has just left us. Knowing that the dead cannot come back to life and that they died with unresolved grievances, how can we dare to speak of the luxury of happiness? As fathers and sons yourselves, you should not find it difficult to understand the pain in our hearts.

We might as well analyze the “sense of gain” a little. Whatever their age when our loved ones were killed, it’s very likely that they left behind a crying baby, loving wife, or aging parents. Thirty years ago, they might have been, or were probably soon to become, the pillars of their families. And today? In the 30 years following the loss of the pillars of our families, all that we have gained is endless hardship and suffering. The economic and psychological loss and damage we families of victims have suffered are impossible to describe with words or quantify with numbers. Even worse, the authorities have deprived some of our group members of various rights, including the right to work—for publicly denouncing the June Fourth Massacre, calling for the prosecution of the perpetrators, and demanding humanitarian relief for the families in need. We do not have a “sense of gain” whatsoever. On the contrary, all we have is a sense of deprivation.

The talk of the “sense of security” is even more ironic. The family members of June Fourth victims have been the most “secured” group in the country since the early 1990s, when we started to publicly condemn the massacre and demand the truth regarding the murderous act. Almost every signer of open letters has been living under the watchful eyes of the government’s political and legal organs. Subjecting us to the principle of “presumption of guilt,” the authorities send carloads of agents to stand guard in front of our homes and forbid us to go out or receive guests freely whenever a politically sensitive period rolls around. Even when they do let us leave our homes, there are police officers (or plainclothes agents) and vehicles on our tail. Our phones are tapped; our computers are hacked. Some of us even have surveillance cameras installed in and outside our homes. And some have been more than once called in by the police, put under residential surveillance and/or criminal detention, and even taken to the detention center in handcuffs. The authorities trample on those living outside Beijing with even greater impunity. Local police officers have gone straight to their doors and warned them outright not to sign the joint letters by the Tiananmen Mothers, or else their piddling subsistence allowance would stop coming.



Thirtieth anniversary commemorative shrine honoring those killed in June Fourth.

IV

We are the guardians of the souls of the deceased and the custodians of hopes. Today we can proudly tell the spirits of the June Fourth martyrs: Our most beloved, we have not crumbled under intense political repression and will not be divided by the lure of individual gains. This is because your indomitable courage has always been with us!

You will also find solace in the fact that, throughout the long years, your families have not stood alone or in isolation—the world has not forgotten June Fourth. The international community of governments, key political leaders, and civil society groups, along with people of conscience at home and abroad, have continued to be concerned about you and the futures of your loved ones. Their concern has made us feel the glory and warmth of humanity.



Nancy Pelosi as U.S. Congresswoman in Tiananmen Square with banner: "To Those Who Died for Democracy in China." September 1991. Source.

As early as 1991, two years following your martyrdom, Nancy Pelosi, then U.S. Congresswoman and now Speaker of the House of Representatives, came to China. Under the glare of armed police standing guard in the streets, Pelosi courageously came to Tiananmen Square—where you had fallen—to unfurl a banner that reads, "To Those Who Died for Democracy in China."

The United Nations has also expressed concern for us. In 1993, defying the Chinese government's obstruction, the U.N. General Assembly extended a formal invitation to the family members of June Fourth victims to attend a human rights conference in Vienna with non-governmental organizations from around the world. But unfortunately, the trip did not come to pass.

In 1995, Hillary Clinton, then the U.S. First Lady and later Secretary of State, led a delegation to China to attend the World Conference on Women. She worked with several NGOs to obtain the release of family members of June Fourth victims being illegally detained by Chinese authorities.

In 1998, during their China visit, U.S. President Bill Clinton and the First Lady asked then-Chinese President Jiang Zemin for a meeting with representatives of the Tiananmen Mothers. Even though the meeting did not happen, it was remarkable that at the ensuing joint press conference, Clinton publicly stated his position on June Fourth from the historical perspective and expressed his hope that Jiang Zemin would be on the right side of history on this matter.

In 2008, when Frank-Walter Steinmeier, then Foreign Minister and now the President of Germany, visited China, his persistence eventually broke through the Chinese government's obstruction and successfully led representatives of German lawmakers from both parties to meet with representatives of the Tiananmen Mothers.



German President Frank-Walter Steinmeier giving a speech at Sichuan University, December 8, 2018. Source.

To our knowledge, Václav Havel, the late former President of the Czech Republic, along with several Nobel Peace laureates and many unnamed others, nominated the Tiananmen Mothers for the Nobel Peace Prize multiple times to encourage us to carry on with our mission. We will not forget the invaluable humanitarian concern we received in our most difficult times from officials in foreign embassies in Beijing as well as journalists of many Western countries such as the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, and Sweden.

Here, we would also like to recognize the fervor of journalists and citizens of Hong Kong. On June 4 every year, the candlelight vigil in Victoria Park always brings tears to our eyes.

And it is precisely due to the generous and politically unconditional humanitarian contributions by civil society human rights groups such as the Independent Federation of Chinese Students and Scholars (全美学自联), Human Rights in China (中国人权), and Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements of China (港支联)—all regarded by the Chinese government as “hostile organizations”—and numerous friends at home and abroad that the hungry June Fourth orphans could grow up, finish school, and start their own families, that families in need were able to receive special care, and that ailing elders could get by year after year.

Such is the embodiment of universal love! We are immensely grateful yet can offer nothing in return. All we can do is forever remember the generosity in our hearts and pray to the Heavens for blessings to all of the kindhearted people in the world.

Our most beloved! Today, we have overcome a multitude of struggles and gathered here to commemorate you in silence. It has been 30 years, but we have yet to obtain justice for you and allow you to rest in peace. For this we feel enormous guilt. What we can do is uphold our three demands as our firm stance, safeguard the dignity of the dead and the living, maintain the independence of the group of family members of the victims, and be steadfast guardians of your souls and staunch custodians of hope.

May the flowers and candlelight bring your heroic souls some warmth and solace! May the dawn arrive soon, and may the Heavens protect the Chinese nation!

In tearful commemoration in advance of the Tomb-Sweeping Day of 2019,
Tiananmen Mothers

Signers (127):

尤维洁 You Weijie	郭丽英 Guo Liying	张彦秋 Zhang Yanqiu
吴丽虹 Wu Lihong	尹 敏 Yin Min	郝义传 Hao Yichuan
祝枝弟 Zhu Zhidi	叶向荣 Ye Xiangrong	丁子霖 Ding Zilin
张先玲 Zhang Xianling	周淑庄 Zhou Shuzhuang	钱普泰 Qian Putai
吴定富 Wu Dingfu	宋秀玲 Song Xiuling	孙承康 Sun Chengkang
于 清 Yu Qing	孙 宁 Sun Ning	黄金平 Huang Jinping
孟淑英 Meng Shuying	袁淑敏 Yuan Shumin	王广明 Wang Guangming
刘梅花 Liu Meihua	谢京花 Xie Jinghua	马雪琴 Ma Xueqin
邝瑞荣 Rui Ruirong	张树森 Zhang Shusen	杨大榕 Yang Dazhao
贺田凤 He Tianfeng	刘秀臣 Liu Xiuchen	沈桂芳 Shen Guifang
谢京荣 Xie Jingrong	金贞玉 Jin Zhenyu	要福荣 Yao Furong
孟淑珍 Meng Shuzhen	邵秋风 Shao Qiufeng	谭汉凤 Tan Hanfeng
王文华 Wang Wenhua	陈 梅 Chen Mei	周 燕 Zhou Yan

李桂英 Li Guiying	徐宝艳 Xu Baoyan	狄孟奇 Di Mengqi
王 连 Wang Lian	管卫东 Guan Weidong	高 婕 Gao Jie
刘淑琴 Liu Shuqin	孙珊萍 Sun Shanping	刘天媛 Liu Tianyuan
黄定英 Huang Dingying	熊 辉 Xiong Hui	张彩凤 Zhang Caifeng
何瑞田 He Ruitian	田维炎 Tian Weiyan	杨志玉 Yang Zhiyu
李显远 Li Xianyuan	王玉芹 Wang Yuqin	曹长先 Cao Changxian
方 政 Fang Zheng	齐志勇 Qi Zhiyong	冯友祥 Feng Youxiang
何兴才 He Xingcai	刘仁安 Liu Ren'an	齐国香 Qi Guoxiang
韩国刚 Han Guogang	庞梅清 Pang Meiqing	黄 宁 Huang Ning
王伯冬 Wang Bodong	张志强 Zhang Zhiqiang	赵金锁 Zhao Jinsuo
孔维真 Kong Weizhen	刘保东 Liu Baodong	陆玉宝 Lu Yubao
齐志英 Qi Zhiying	方桂珍 Fang Guizhen	雷 勇 Lei Yong
葛桂荣 Ge Guirong	郑秀村 Zheng Xiucun	王惠蓉 Wang Huirong
邢承礼 Xing Chengli	桂德兰 Gui Delan	王运启 Wang Yunqi
黄雪芬 Huang Xuefen	郭达显 Guo Daxian	王 琳 Wang Lin
刘 乾 Liu Gan	朱镜蓉 Zhu Jingrong	金亚喜 Jin Yaxi
周国林 Zhou Guolin	穆怀兰 Mu Huailan	王争强 Wang Zhengqiang
宁书平 Ning Shuping	曹云兰 Cao Yunlan	林武云 Lin Wuyun
冯淑兰 Feng Shulan	付媛媛 Fu Yuanyuan	李春山 Li Chunshan
蒋艳琴 Jiang Yanqin	何凤亭 He Fengting	奚永顺 Yan Yongshun
肖宗友 Xiao Zongyou	乔秀兰 Qiao Xiulan	陆燕京 Lu Yanjing
李浩泉 Li Haoquan	赖运迪 Lai Yundi	周小姣 Zhou Xiaojiao

周运姣 Zhou Yunqi	陈永邦 Chen Yongbang	刘永亮 Liu Yongliang
张景利 Zhang Jingli	孙海文 Sun Haiwen	王 海 Wang Hai
陆三宝 Lu Sanbao	姚月英 Yao Yueying	任改莲 Ren Jianlian
倪世殊 Ni Shishu	杨云龙 Yang Yunlong	崔林森 Cui Linsen
吴卫东 Wu Weidong	贾福泉 Jia Fuquan	王德义 Wang Deyi
朱玉仙 Zhu Yuxian	石 晶 Shi Jing	袁 刃 Yuan
包丽梅 Bao Limei	奚贵君 Qi Guijun	钟俊华 Zhong Junhua
轧爱强 Zha Aiqiang		

We are including the names of deceased fellow members in order to honor their wishes (55):

吴学汉 Wu Xuehan	苏冰娴 Su Bingyan	姚瑞生 Yao Ruisheng
杨世钰 Yang Shizhen	袁长录 Yuan Changlu	周淑珍 Zhou Shuzhen
王国先 Wang Guoxian	包玉田 Bao Yutian	林景培 Lin Jingpei
寇玉生 Yan Yusheng	孟金秀 Meng Jinxiu	张俊生 Zhang Junsheng
吴守琴 Wu Shouqin	周治刚 Zhou Zhigang	孙秀芝 Sun Xiuzhi
罗 让 Luo Rang	严光汉 Yan Guanghan	李贞英 Li Yuying
邱涤清 Kuang Tieqing	段宏炳 Duan Hongbing	刘春林 Liu Chunlin
张耀祖 Zhang Yaozu	李淑娟 Li Shujuan	杨银山 Yang Yinshan
王培靖 Wang Peijing	袁可志 Yuan Kezhi	潘木治 Pan Muzhi
萧昌宜 Xiao Changyi	轧伟林 Rolling Weilin	刘建兰 Liu Jianlan
索秀女 Suo Xiunü	杨子明 Yang Ziming	程淑珍 Cheng Shuzhen
杜东旭 Du Dongxu	张桂荣 Zhang Guirong	赵廷杰 Zhao Tingjie

陆马生 Lu Masheng	蒋培坤 Jiang Peikun	任金宝 Ren Jinbao
张淑云 Zhang Shuyun	韩淑香 Han Shuxiang	石 峰 Shi Feng
王桂荣 Wang Guirong	隋立松 Yan Lisong	田淑玲 Tian Shuling
孙淑芳 Sun Shufang	陈永朝 Chen Yongchao	孙恒尧 Sun Hengqi
徐 珏 Xu Jue	王范地 Wang Fandi	李雪文 Li Xuewen
王双兰 Wang Shuanglan	张振霞 Zhang Zhenxia	肖书兰 Xiao Shulan
谭淑琴 Tan Shuqin		

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CARL MINZNER

Members of Congress and staff, thank you very much for organizing this important hearing. It is an honor to be here.

The late 1970s and 1980s saw Chinese leaders such as Deng Xiaoping steer China out of the economic stagnation, ideological isolation, and political chaos of the Maoist era and into the reform era.

Ideologically and economically, China opened up. In Deng's famous words, "It doesn't matter if a cat is black or white, as long as it catches mice, it is a good cat." Within the Chinese state and schools, that pragmatic attitude gave many citizens and officials latitude to import concepts and practices from abroad. The ideological fervor of the Mao era faded. Authorities backed out of people's daily lives. Religion came back. Churches, mosques, and temples reopened. And market reform gave citizens control over both their croplands and careers, helping fuel a decades-long boom.

Politically, China began to stabilize. The 1980s saw Chinese leaders support the emergence of a range of partially institutionalized political norms in large part to address the chaos and instability they had personally experienced under Mao. These included:

- Collective leadership, rather than single-man rule, as was the case under Mao.
- Development of internal norms regarding the regular promotion, retirement, and succession of top Communist Party leaders.
- Partial depoliticization of the bureaucracy, with Party authorities retreating from an effort to manage the day-to-day affairs of state and turning that responsibility over to technocrats within the bureaucracy.
- Emergence of bottom-up input institutions—such as village elections—giving citizens a limited degree of voice into the political process and contributing to state legitimacy.

Then came 1989. China's leaders were put to the test. Do you allow the forces that you yourselves unleashed begin to fundamentally reshape your political system? Or do you revert to Leninist one-party control. They chose the latter. On the streets, repression. So too within the Party. Reformers were cashiered; ideological controls reasserted. And the principle that one-party rule should never—ever—be called into question was reasserted loud and clear in internal political study sessions.

China's reform era did not end in 1989. In the 1990s and early 2000s, economic reform and social change continued to produce a host of private actors—such as commercial media (and later internet) outlets airing citizen grievances—that Beijing struggled to control. And many within the Party's own bureaucracy continued to experiment with governance reforms, such as administrative law reforms aimed at addressing corruption and abuse of power by local officials. Back in the early 2000s, one could imagine a world in which—even if real democratic reform was totally off the table—such innovations might allow the hard edges of China's political system to eventually be slowly sanded smooth.

That did not happen. As each of those reforms was instituted, citizens rushed to use them. First to criticize local officials, and then to make deeper political claims. And at each point—whether village elections in the late 1990s, legal reforms around 2003, or a flourishing online discussion around 2010, Party leaders saw shades of 1989 and moved to pull the rug out from under their own reforms, or reassert their grip over fields (such as the internet and social media) where they felt their control had slipped.

In Beijing, Party officials like to think of their response in 1989 and subsequent years as a successful antidote—saving China from the fate of the Soviet Union. But in reality, it has actually been a destructive virus. Beijing's reflexive desire to reassert Party control has mutated and is now spreading through the veins of China's political system—steadily undermining and destroying the potential that had been introduced in the early reform era.

Economically, Beijing's push for control has led to a turn away from the market-oriented policies of the early reform era. Since the early 2000s, there has been a recommitment to industrial policy, a resurgence of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and designated national champions. And the resulting policies—such as a massive increase in the share of bank lending going to SOEs—are slowly asphyxiating China's private sector.

Ideologically, what limited space had opened up in China's reform era is steadily contracting. In field after field—whether media, law, or in civil society—controls have been ramped up to the tightest in decades. An ideological straitjacket is descending on university campuses, targeting both liberal professors espousing con-

cepts of democracy and wildcat Marxist student groups promoting solidarity with the working class. Repression has also heightened with respect to religion. Draconian new controls have descended upon beliefs viewed as “foreign”—particularly in China’s western region of Xinjiang, where about 10% of the Muslim Uighur population has been thrown (since 2017) into an extensive network of political re-education camps aimed at suppressing and remolding their ethnic and religious identity.

And politically, the reform-era norms that the Party itself adopted have steadily broken one by one. Since Xi Jinping’s accession to power in 2012, power has re-concentrated in the hands of a single leader. Elite retirement and succession norms were toppled in the wake of the 2017 19th Party Congress, and China is swinging back toward an increasingly personalized single-man authoritarian rule, potentially for decades to come. Technocrats are being sidelined as Beijing reasserts the need for absolute Party leadership through state and society alike. And what limited space had once opened up in China’s halls of power for honest discussion among officials themselves over the very real challenges facing China—such as how to address mounting debt, trade conflicts, or rising social tensions—is being choked off as a stifling blanket of silence and inertia, generated by the fear of falling on the wrong side of a rapidly changing political line, descends over China’s bureaucracy.

Naturally, all of this poses deep risks for China. Chinese leaders themselves launched China into the reform era as a response to the political turmoil of the Cultural Revolution and the excesses of the Maoist era. But today, you can see many of those practices beginning to push themselves—zombie-like—back to the surface again as the reform era steadily unwinds.

And that is yet another tragedy of Tiananmen. Not only did hundreds or thousands die on the evening of June 3–4. Not only did 1989 close the door on a route for China’s political system to gradually evolve into something better, but the decision that Party leaders took that year continues to reverberate and amplify to this day, dragging the country backward out of the reform era, and steadily increasing the risk that China will relive some of the worst periods of its own history.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SHANTHI KALATHIL

I would like to thank the Congressional Executive Commission on China, the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, and the House Foreign Affairs Committee for the opportunity and privilege of presenting testimony here today.

On this day, we grapple with the events of Tiananmen – both the hope and the bloodshed – and their legacy thirty years later. Part of that legacy is an unsettling disconnect. Even as people have grown more connected, and our collective access to information has expanded exponentially, there has been a curious muffling surrounding the world’s remembrance of June 4th. Over the years, as vigils diminished and stories grew more hushed, a Tiananmen Square-sized gap emerged not only inside China, but outside as well.

The excising of Tiananmen not merely from Chinese history but from the world’s collective memory is, in fact, no accident. As Reuters recently reported, Chinese internet firms now use machine learning, image and voice recognition to detect and block Tiananmen-related content, with previously unimaginable levels of both accuracy and automation. Tiananmen – alongside a broader swath of topics deemed sensitive to the Chinese Communist Party – has disappeared down what the scholar Glenn Tiffert, borrowing from Orwell, calls the CCP’s memory hole, with pernicious effects on the entire historical record. Tiffert has documented how Chinese academic databases have redacted their holdings and sanitized historical narratives to serve present political purposes. The effect is not limited to the technological realm: two authors who have written about Tiananmen, Louisa Lim and Ilaria Maria Sala, have noted “how successful the party-state has been in pathologizing reporting on Tiananmen, seeding self-regulating, self-censoring mechanisms, even among foreign journalists.”

This memory hole constitutes just one aspect of a vast apparatus designed to shape the broader information ecosystem around the world, in ways that will help solidify the CCP’s rule at home as well as reshape the global order to favor this outcome. This apparatus – which encompasses the party-state’s vision and direction, the firms engaged in developing technology, the application and popularization of that technology, the regulations governing its use, and the setting of future standards – is hardly a flawlessly functioning machine, even within China’s borders. It is not impervious to economic shocks, shifting political winds, or bureaucratic inefficiency and infighting. Yet its cumulative impact both within and outside China’s borders is likely to reinforce authoritarian norms and institutions, and undercut democratic ones, on a global basis.

Informatization and Intelligentization

The Chinese party-state is keenly aware of the transformative, value-laden role of information, and has always viewed the harnessing of information as fundamental to its power. It successfully – and against all expectations at the time – centrally steered the country’s entrance into the modern information age

in the early 2000s, allowing for the gradual, widespread, and innovative spread of the internet while managing the political impact of its use. Initially linked to modernizing economic production, the term “informatization” (信息化) gradually became synonymous with a complete rethinking of how information technology would both penetrate and power economic, political and social development. This indicates a party-state that, rather than simply fearing information, fears even more the implications of not mastering it.

With the advent of new tools, informatization has proved crucial in the implementation of China’s modern surveillance state, with some observing that it is impossible to overstate informatization’s role in the development of public security intelligence over the past twenty years. With the introduction of artificial intelligence (AI), informatization has been joined by the newer “intelligentization”(智能化), with its corresponding augmentations and implications. Even the projection of capabilities that might not actually exist yet represents the logical development of longstanding CCP thinking on information, surveillance and social control, predating the advent of modern apps and social media.

As AI evolves and becomes seamlessly integrated into the normal functioning of society, it will become increasingly invisible – and thus, in societies that are not alert to its ramifications, increasingly open to abuse. Crucial questions about democratic rights and standards are correctly being asked and debated in democracies by policymakers, companies, developers, scholars and activists. China’s authoritarian system, however, restricts what type of questions are allowed to be asked about the praxis and governance of technology, who gets to ask those questions, and, ultimately, who decides. It is cause for concern when “standards for research on the latest technological frontiers are being set by a government that has always prioritized power over ethics,” writes physicist Yangyang Cheng. For technologies designed to both disappear into and dictate the rhythms of everyday life, the effect may be to imperceptibly manipulate debate and shape individual behaviors in an increasingly targeted way, buttressed by millions of data points that enable previously unimagined specificity. More than that, it will present those affected by CCP-guided AI enhancement – including not only Chinese citizens, but millions around the world who may be wittingly or unwittingly participating in Chinese government-affiliated smart city projects – with an imperceptible fait accompli that subjects them to the standards of the CCP information ecosystem.

This is not only of relevance in the far future. To some extent, it is happening already, including with the platforms that are widespread within China and around the world. Existing platforms such as WeChat have become indispensable for Chinese citizens, providing the allure and convenience of deftly integrated communication, services and amenities – even as this convenience is backed by an equally seamless surveillance and censorship apparatus. With these platforms increasingly being used in Australia, Canada, and elsewhere for news, political communication and other purposes, it is imperative that users understand and interrogate these issues, not simply through the lens of consumer benefits, business models or economic competition, but through the prism of implications for rights and governance.

Reframing the debate over norms and standards

This matters not only at the platform level, but in the animating ideas and values shaping the next iteration of the internet. Using rhetoric that mimics yet undermines the liberal order, the Chinese party-state is reshaping or injecting its own vision into the existing global framework of norms, institutions, policy models and standards governing the internet and information technologies. For instance, the

modern internet evolved in a patchwork fashion, and the systems that sprang up to govern it similarly did so in an overlapping, non-centrally directed fashion, relatively elevating non-state actors. This original vision of a globally interconnected, free and open internet represents the opposite of the CCP's idea of "cyber sovereignty," loosely defined as a system in which national governments reign supreme over a fragmented internet, incorporating authoritarian values of expression and privacy. Implicit within the CCP's rubric is a top-down model of social management, predicated on harnessing the rich and ever-growing streams of data emitted by everyday life, including the growing network of interconnected physical objects broadly known as the internet of things (IoT).

And yet, to listen to the Chinese party-state's official rhetoric, it is at times hard to tell the difference between these fundamentally opposed visions. This is because the CCP intentionally uses the rhetoric of shared liberal values to promote its own, illiberal vision. "China supports a free and open Internet," reads the text of China's international strategy for cooperation in cyberspace, released in 2017. The document also notes that the Chinese government "fully respects citizens' rights and fundamental freedoms in cyberspace and safeguards their rights to be informed, to participate, to express and to supervise while protecting individual privacy in cyberspace." This longstanding practice of definitional and substantive warping has manifested itself in numerous related areas as well, including those pertaining to human rights and development. For China, Russia, and other repressive states, categorizing the speech and activity of political dissidents as threats to security, and the attempted enshrinement in the language of the international system, would represent a victory for an authoritarian-tinged future.

Again, this is no accident. The ability to shape and repurpose narratives is a fundamental part of the CCP's conception of "discourse power" (话语权) in international relations, as Samantha Hoffman points out. The concept underlies many aspects of China's ambitions in the broad information space, including internet governance, big data, AI, social credit systems, and even the often-invisible standards-setting process for the next generation of technological infrastructure.

Responding beyond the usual policy templates

It should be clear that the Chinese party-state's actions in the global information space are not limited to China "exporting" hardware and know-how to other ambitious authoritarian states. Beijing's actions have serious implications for all democracies and democratic actors, and for the web of democratic norms and institutions they both support and rely upon.

Any response is thus likely to require new types of policy language, frameworks, and cooperation between democracies, at both the governmental and, importantly, non-governmental levels. Indeed, to address a competition in the ideas space of both robust and vulnerable democracies, civil society will have a key role to play. The leadership of institutions critical to the health of the public sphere, including but not limited to publishers, media and technology executives, university administrators, and so on – will need to reinvigorate their commitment to democratic standards and free expression, even if the mechanisms for doing so are not immediately self-evident or straightforward. Only through crystallizing understanding of these matters, and galvanizing civil society's contribution, can democracies address their vulnerabilities, shore up resilience, and reclaim their own discourse power.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES P. MCGOVERN

Good morning and welcome to a joint hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China and the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, hosted by the House Foreign Affairs Committee. I would like to thank Chairman Eliot Engel, Ranking Member Michael McCaul, and all the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee for hosting and participating in this important hearing.

The title of today's hearing is "Tiananmen at 30: Examining the Evolution of Repression in China."

The hearing will review the events in China in 1989, the aspirations of the "Tiananmen generation," and the ongoing censorship and lack of accountability for those seeking answers about the victims of the massacre.

It was 30 years ago this week that an estimated one million Chinese students, workers, and citizens joined the peaceful protests in Tiananmen Square and in over 400 cities throughout China.

The people of China were calling for an open dialogue with government officials about:

- the elimination of corruption;
- the acceleration of economic and political reform; and
- the protection of human rights, particularly the freedom of expression and assembly.

We remember with sadness the crackdown that followed as the People's Liberation Army was unleashed on its own people. Some of you in this room were in Tiananmen Square on that day 30 years ago. We know you took great risks. We know you lost friends. And we know you have sacrificed so much in the years since to advance democracy and support the human rights and dignity of all people of China.

One of the most inspiring images in history is the lone man standing in the street before the line of tanks on Tiananmen Square. We may never know the name and back story of "The Tank Man," but his act of resistance symbolizes the spirit of Tiananmen that lives on in the hearts and minds of those continuing the struggle in China and abroad.

In China, the Tiananmen Mothers is a group of relatives and friends of those killed in June 1989. At great risk to themselves, they continue to ask for the right to mourn publicly and call for a full, public, and independent accounting of the victims.

Ding Zilin, the 82-year-old founder of the group, lost her 17-year-old son that day. Chinese authorities reportedly have "traveled" Professor Ding outside of her home in Beijing to intimidate and silence her in advance of the 30th anniversary. Official surveillance never ends for her as she is followed by Chinese security officers every day. The government fears her memory, her devotion, and her moral standing. She describes the situation of Tiananmen mothers as "white terror and suffocation."

In the years since Tiananmen, the human rights situation in China has worsened. Tiananmen was a key turning point as the country moved from the brink of openness and reform to new and evolving methods of repression, including against the Tibetan and Uyghur peoples.

Some have described a "slow motion Tiananmen happening in Xinjiang" with the ongoing mass internment and surveillance of ethnic Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims.

A better path forward was offered by Nobel Peace Prize laureate and Tiananmen student leader Liu Xiaobo who co-authored Charter 08. Published on December 10, 2008, the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it called for constitutional government and respect for human rights. Despite official efforts to censor Charter 08, it was eventually signed by more than 10,000 people.

Sadly, Liu Xiaobo spent nearly 16 years in prison and died in state custody in 2017. His eloquence and love for China lives on and inspires others to advocate for a system of government that no longer treats "words as crimes."

Today in China, the Tiananmen Square massacre is erased from history books and any mention of it is censored. Every year in the weeks preceding June 4th, the Chinese government tightens controls to prevent any mention of Tiananmen and heightens surveillance on the survivors, human rights advocates, and their families. But we know the spirit of Tiananmen is still alive and well. We know because China's leaders demonstrate their fear of it every day with their security cameras, censorship, detention centers, and obsession with preventing the people of China from learning the truth.

We know the spirit of Tiananmen is alive and well in Hong Kong where hundreds of thousands of people come together in Victoria Park to hold a candlelight vigil for the victims of the Tiananmen Square Massacre.

In his famous last statement, "I Have No Enemies," Liu Xiaobo said: "No force can block the thirst for freedom that lies within human nature, and some day China, too, will be a nation of laws where human rights are paramount."

I look forward to that day.

This afternoon, shortly after this hearing, the U.S. House of Representatives will consider a resolution to remember the victims of the violent suppression of the democracy protests in Tiananmen Square and throughout China. The resolution calls on the Chinese government to respect the universally recognized human rights of all people living in China and around the world. I urge all of my colleagues in the House to support the resolution.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. MARCO RUBIO

I want to thank Chairman McGovern for convening this important Congressional-Executive Commission on China hearing on the 30th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square Massacre.

I welcome our witnesses here today and look forward to your testimony, your firsthand recollections about the watershed events of 1989, and your policy recommendations for Congress as we consider U.S. relations with China.

Today's anniversary reminds us that the fundamental human yearning for dignity and basic rights is not limited to any one region or country. These aspirations transcend geography and culture.

We must remember Tiananmen—not simply as a historical event but as a present and poignant reminder that when the Chinese people are free to assemble, to act, and to speak, they demand freedom, democracy, and political reform.

Today we honor those whose lives were irrevocably altered by the events of that day. Those who perished, those who were imprisoned and tortured, those who lost mothers, fathers, sons and daughters, and those whose loved ones remain missing and unaccounted for. We remember the noble aspirations of the "Tiananmen generation" and we recommit ourselves to the struggle for freedom and human rights in China.

Tiananmen must not be viewed exclusively through the lens of history. Rather, today we must also reckon with the ongoing systematic human rights abuses committed by the Chinese government and Communist Party against their own people.

I know this has been covered, but I also want to take a brief moment to reflect on the events that led up to that fateful day of June 4, 1989. In spring 1989, thousands of students gathered in the center of Beijing to mourn the death of Communist Party leader Hu Yaobang—a prominent reformer who sought to move China toward a more open and democratic political system.

In the days that followed, thousands would gather in Tiananmen Square to call for greater freedom and political reform and to protest the repressive policies of China's Communist leaders. Their numbers grew as the days passed, not only in Beijing but also in 400 cities and universities across the nation until more than a million people—including journalists, workers, government employees, and police—joined the Tiananmen students and echoed their demands.

Late in the evening of June 3rd and into June 4th, 1989, China's People's Liberation Army, acting on orders from the Chinese Communist Party leadership, responded with brute force and lethal violence, opening fire on peaceful demonstrators—including innocent civilians and students.

To this day, the precise number of resulting casualties is unknown. There has been no public accounting of the events of that week and no justice for the victims. Rather, those seeking to commemorate the event or seek information about those killed, like the Tiananmen Mothers, are harassed, detained, and arrested.

Perhaps the most iconic image associated with the Tiananmen massacre is the so-called "tank man"—the small, solitary figure, with shopping bags in hand, who stood in the path of an advancing line of tanks.

The "tank man" remains an enigma—his fate remains unknown. While some speculate that he was imprisoned, others believe he was executed. There are some who venture that he is alive today and unaware of his fame because of the Orwellian lengths to which the Chinese Communist government goes to censor the Internet and block all discussion of the events surrounding June 4, 1989.

While the names of many of the Tiananmen protesters are now lost to history and to the Chinese government's Orwellian "memory hole," the bravery of protesters in the face of certain danger leaves us in awe and reminds us that the principles of

freedom, democracy, and self-rule are not only American principles. Rather, they are universal principles that neither tank treads, nor torture, nor terror, can ever erase from the face of the Earth. Indeed, the realization someday of these universal principles in China, I believe, still remains the quiet hope and aspiration of many people in that ancient and noble nation.

The United States—and the nations of the free world—should demand that the Chinese government:

- allow open discussion of the events of 1989;
- end the enforced amnesia about the Tiananmen Square massacre—in China, on-line, and at Confucius Institutes that operate on college campuses globally, including in the U.S.;
- unconditionally release those detained or imprisoned for attempting to commemorate the Tiananmen anniversary; and
- reckon publicly with the horrific violence experienced by the Chinese people at the hands of the Party and the military.

We must educate younger Americans about the true story of the Tiananmen Square massacre and the brave Chinese citizens who sacrificed their lives and futures in the hope of seeing a freer and democratic China.

This last point is important because Tiananmen revealed to the world the true nature of the Chinese Communist Party. And yet for decades successive U.S. administrations have tried to pursue “constructive engagement” with China.

U.S. Presidents and policymakers wrongly assumed that trade, investment, and other engagement would eventually persuade Beijing to accept and embrace the international order, including respect for basic human rights. This optimism was misplaced.

And now, under Xi Jinping, we see an increasingly aggressive Chinese Communist government that is more repressive in domestic politics, more mercantilist in trade and economic policy, increasingly dismissive of international norms, and more assertive in exporting their authoritarian model globally.

While Chinese government-sponsored repression looks much different today than it did 30 years ago, the goal remains the same: to preserve the Communist Party’s monopoly on domestic political power through state-sponsored indoctrination, mass surveillance, arbitrary detention, torture, and violence.

The Communist Party is using technology to stay in power—whether via the emerging social credit systems or the vast digital surveillance state and its accompanying internment camps and to transform the religious and ethnic identities of millions of Uyghurs and other Muslim ethnic minorities in Xinjiang.

Data-driven surveillance is facilitated by iris and body scanners, voice-pattern analyzers, and DNA sequencers and facial-recognition cameras in neighborhoods, on roads, and in train stations. This sounds like the stuff of science fiction movies, but it is real and is happening in China today.

In the era of high-tech social control, there is a direct line of repression linking the “tank man” and the internment of over one million Uyghurs and other predominantly Muslim minorities in “political reeducation” camps.

And just over the weekend, Twitter—a global tech company that isn’t even allowed to operate in China—suspended the accounts of reportedly more than 100 Chinese-language users critical of the government just ahead of the Tiananmen anniversary. We must keep American companies accountable for their potential complicity in Chinese-government censorship and other abuses.

It is time that the United States lead the free world’s democracies in holding the Chinese government accountable for its ongoing blatant repression of the Chinese people. We must take all steps to stop the Communist Chinese government’s efforts to export their authoritarian model around the world.

We must stand with the oppressed Tibetan Buddhist monk, the silenced human rights lawyer, the imprisoned Christian pastor, the disappeared Uyghur Muslim, the disillusioned Hong Kong democracy activist, and countless others living under the repressive policies of the Chinese government. To do anything less dishonors the spirit of Tiananmen. It tarnishes the memory of those lost and places us on the wrong side of history.

With that, I look forward to hearing from our witnesses today, specifically about how the U.S. can support the people of China.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. CHRIS SMITH

Thank you, Representative McGovern and Senator Rubio, for convening this joint hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China and the Lantos Human Rights Commission. I have the privilege of serving on both Commissions and cannot think of a more auspicious day on which to hold a joint hearing.

Thirty years ago, the world watched as over a million Chinese gathered to peacefully demand political reform and human rights. The hopes and promises of those heady days of 1989 ended needlessly with violence, tears, bloodshed, detention, and exile.

Tiananmen Square has come to symbolize the persistent and brutal lengths to which the Chinese Communist Party will go to remain in power. Mothers lost sons, fathers lost daughters, and China lost an idealistic generation to the tanks that rolled down Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989.

We remember the Tiananmen massacre here in Congress each year because of its enduring impact on U.S.-China relations. We remember it because an unknown number of people died, were arrested, and/or exiled for simply seeking universally recognized freedoms. We remember this date each year because it is too important to forget and because it is too dangerous to commemorate in China.

The legacy of Tiananmen was seared in my memory after I visited Beijing Prison No. 1 in 1991. I will never forget the faces of those gaunt Tiananmen prisoners, their heads shaved, in tattered clothes, and bent over machines working grueling hours on clothing for the U.S. and other markets.

I will never forget that day. It fired my efforts, along with so many others in Congress—Frank Wolf and Speaker Pelosi among them—to fight against the fantasy that trade and investment would lead to political liberalization and human rights in China. It still fires my efforts to shine a light on repression in Xi Jinping's China.

As documented so well by the CECC's Annual Report, the domestic screws on dissent have tightened considerably since Xi Jinping assumed the presidency. The scope of Mr. Xi's repression is immense, with more arbitrary detentions, censorship, torture, and social control now than at any time since 1989.

President Xi and top Communist Party leaders regularly unleash bellicose attacks on "universal values," "Western ideals," and "revisionism of the Party's history." They have pushed through new laws that legitimize political, religious, and ethnic repression, further curtailing civil liberties and civil society, and expanding censorship of the Internet.

Rights lawyers and labor organizers are tortured and jailed; Hong Kong booksellers and Chinese activists disappear from Thailand; citizen journalists and religious leaders are arbitrarily detained; even the family members of overseas journalists—like the brave members of Radio Free Asia's Uyghur Service—are jailed to silence their critical reporting.

Impunity and repression are the ties that bind the Tiananmen massacre and the internment of over a million Uyghurs and other Turkic Muslims—in what can only be called concentration camps.

The U.S. cannot be neutral when human rights are trampled with impunity or when crimes against humanity are being committed as we speak. Either you stand with the "Tank Man" or you stand with the tank. There is no middle ground. This is why the CECC has pressed the Administration hard to hold accountable those Chinese officials and businesses complicit in the most egregious human rights violations in China.

Strong rhetoric condemning crimes against humanity occurring in Xinjiang is not enough at this point. Those who abuse universal freedoms with impunity should not prosper from access to the United States and our economic or political freedom. It is the least the U.S. can do to show leadership in a world where Chinese cash increasingly buys silence.

In the long run, we must completely rethink how our values and interests coincide when it comes to China. Senator Rubio and I have tried to do this over the last four years as CECC Chairs. I'm sure it will continue under the leadership of Representative McGovern.

We can no longer afford to separate human rights from our other interests. The health of the U.S. economy and environment, the safety of our food and drug supplies, the security of our investments and personal information in cyberspace, and the stability of the Pacific region will depend on China complying with international law, allowing the free flow of news and information, and the development of an independent judiciary and civil society.

In other words, human rights and the rule of law matter. The memory of Tiananmen matters.

While the hopes of the Tiananmen Square demonstrators have not yet been realized, the demands for universal freedom and political reform continue to inspire the Chinese people today.

I believe that someday China will be free. Someday, the people of China will be able to enjoy all their God-given rights. And a nation of free Chinese men and women will honor and celebrate the heroes of Tiananmen Square and all those who sacrificed so much, and so long, for freedom.

SUBMISSIONS FOR THE RECORD

“I HAVE NO ENEMIES: MY FINAL STATEMENT”

[By Liu Xiaobo; Nobel Lecture in Absentia, December 10, 2010]

Submitted by Hon. Chris Smith

In the course of my life, for more than half a century, June 1989 was the major turning point. Up to that point, I was a member of the first class to enter university when college entrance examinations were reinstated following the Cultural Revolution (Class of '77). From BA to MA and on to PhD, my academic career was all smooth sailing. Upon receiving my degrees, I stayed on to teach at Beijing Normal University. As a teacher, I was well received by the students. At the same time, I was a public intellectual, writing articles and books that created quite a stir during the 1980s, frequently receiving invitations to give talks around the country, and going abroad as a visiting scholar upon invitation from Europe and America. What I demanded of myself was this: whether as a person or as a writer, I would lead a life of honesty, responsibility, and dignity. After that, because I had returned from the U.S. to take part in the 1989 Movement, I was thrown into prison for “the crime of counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement.” I also lost my beloved lectern and could no longer publish essays or give talks in China. Merely for publishing different political views and taking part in a peaceful democracy movement, a teacher lost his lectern, a writer lost his right to publish, and a public intellectual lost the opportunity to give talks publicly. This is a tragedy, both for me personally and for a China that has already seen thirty years of Reform and Opening Up.

When I think about it, my most dramatic experiences after June Fourth have been, surprisingly, associated with courts: My two opportunities to address the public have both been provided by trial sessions at the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court, once in January 1991, and again today. Although the crimes I have been charged with on the two occasions are different in name, their real substance is basically the same—both are speech crimes.

Twenty years have passed, but the ghosts of June Fourth have not yet been laid to rest. Upon release from Qincheng Prison in 1991, I, who had been led onto the path of political dissent by the psychological chains of June Fourth, lost the right to speak publicly in my own country and could only speak through the foreign media. Because of this, I was subjected to year-round monitoring, kept under residential surveillance (May 1995 to January 1996) and sent to Reeducation-Through-Labor (October 1996 to October 1999). And now I have been once again shoved into the dock by the enemy mentality of the regime. But I still want to say to this regime, which is depriving me of my freedom, that I stand by the convictions I expressed in my “June Second Hunger Strike Declaration” twenty years ago—I have no enemies and no hatred.

None of the police who monitored, arrested, and interrogated me, none of the prosecutors who indicted me, and none of the judges who judged me are my enemies. Although there is no way I can accept your monitoring, arrests, indictments, and verdicts, I respect your professions and your integrity, including those of the two prosecutors, Zhang Rongge and Pan Xueqing, who are now bringing charges against me on behalf of the prosecution. During interrogation on December 3, I could sense your respect and your good faith.

Hatred can rot away at a person's intelligence and conscience. Enemy mentality will poison the spirit of a nation, incite cruel mortal struggles, destroy a society's tolerance and humanity, and hinder a nation's progress toward freedom and democracy. That is why I hope to be able to transcend my personal experiences as I look upon our nation's development and social change, to counter the regime's hostility with utmost goodwill, and to dispel hatred with love.

Everyone knows that it was Reform and Opening Up that brought about our country's development and social change. In my view, Reform and Opening Up began with the abandonment of the “using class struggle as guiding principle” government policy of the Mao era and, in its place, a commitment to economic development and social harmony. The process of abandoning the “philosophy of struggle” was also a process of gradual weakening of the enemy mentality and elimination of the psychology of hatred, and a process of squeezing out the “wolf's milk” that had seeped into human nature.

It was this process that provided a relaxed climate, at home and abroad, for Reform and Opening Up, gentle and humane grounds for restoring mutual affection among people and peaceful coexistence among those with different interests and values, thereby providing encouragement in keeping with humanity for the bursting

forth of creativity and the restoration of compassion among our countrymen. One could say that relinquishing the “anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist” stance in foreign relations and “class struggle” at home has been the basic premise that has enabled Reform and Opening Up to continue to this very day.

The market trend in the economy, the diversification of culture, and the gradual shift in social order toward the rule of law have all benefitted from the weakening of the “enemy mentality.” Even in the political arena, where progress is slowest, the weakening of the enemy mentality has led to an ever-growing tolerance for social pluralism on the part of the regime and a substantial decrease in the force of persecution of political dissidents, and the official designation of the 1989 Movement has also been changed from “turmoil and riot” to “political disturbance.” The weakening of the enemy mentality has paved the way for the regime to gradually accept the universality of human rights. In [1997 and] 1998 the Chinese government made a commitment to sign two major United Nations international human rights covenants, signaling China’s acceptance of universal human rights standards.

In 2004, the National People’s Congress (NPC) amended the Constitution, writing into the Constitution for the first time that “the state respects and guarantees human rights,” signaling that human rights have already become one of the fundamental principles of China’s rule of law. At the same time, the current regime puts forth the ideas of “putting people first” and “creating a harmonious society,” signaling progress in the CPC’s concept of rule.

I have also been able to feel this progress on the macro level through my own personal experience since my arrest.

Although I continue to maintain that I am innocent and that the charges against me are unconstitutional, during the one plus year since I have lost my freedom, I have been locked up at two different locations and gone through four pretrial police interrogators, three prosecutors, and two judges, but in handling my case, they have not been disrespectful, overstepped time limitations, or tried to force a confession. Their manner has been moderate and reasonable; moreover, they have often shown goodwill. On June 23, I was moved from a location where I was kept under residential surveillance to the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau’s No. 1 Detention Center, known as “Beikan.” During my six months at Beikan, I saw improvements in prison management.

In 1996, I spent time at the old Beikan (located at Banbuqiao). Compared to the old Beikan of more than a decade ago, the present Beikan is a huge improvement, both in terms of the “hardware”—the facilities—and the “software”—the management. In particular, the humane management pioneered by the new Beikan, based on respect for the rights and integrity of detainees, has brought flexible management to bear on every aspect of the behavior of the correctional staff, and has found expression in the “comforting broadcasts,” Repentance magazine, and music before meals, on waking and at bedtime.

This style of management allows detainees to experience a sense of dignity and warmth and stirs their consciousness in maintaining prison order and opposing the bullies among inmates. Not only has it provided a humane living environment for detainees, it has also greatly improved the environment for their litigation to take place and their state of mind. I’ve had close contact with correctional officer Liu Zheng, who has been in charge of me in my cell, and his respect and care for detainees could be seen in every detail of his work, permeating his every word and deed, and giving one a warm feeling. It was perhaps my good fortune to have gotten to know this sincere, honest, conscientious, and kind correctional officer during my time at Beikan.

It is precisely because of such convictions and personal experience that I firmly believe that China’s political progress will not stop, and I, filled with optimism, look forward to the advent of a future free China.

For there is no force that can put an end to the human quest for freedom, and China will in the end become a nation ruled by law, where human rights reign supreme. I also hope that this sort of progress can be reflected in this trial as I await the impartial ruling of the collegial bench—a ruling that will withstand the test of history.

If I may be permitted to say so, the most fortunate experience of these past twenty years has been the selfless love I have received from my wife, Liu Xia. She could not be present as an observer in court today, but I still want to say to you, my dear, that I firmly believe your love for me will remain the same as it has always been. Throughout all these years that I have lived without freedom, our love was full of bitterness imposed by outside circumstances, but as I savor its aftertaste, it remains boundless. I am serving my sentence in a tangible prison, while you wait in the intangible prison of the heart. Your love is the sunlight that leaps over high walls and penetrates the iron bars of my prison window, stroking every inch of my skin,

warming every cell of my body, allowing me to always keep peace, openness, and brightness in my heart, and filling every minute of my time in prison with meaning. My love for you, on the other hand, is so full of remorse and regret that it at times makes me stagger under its weight. I am an insensate stone in the wilderness, whipped by fierce wind and torrential rain, so cold that no one dares touch me. But my love is solid and sharp, capable of piercing through any obstacle. Even if I were crushed into powder, I would still use my ashes to embrace you.

My dear, with your love I can calmly face my impending trial, having no regrets about the choices I've made and optimistically awaiting tomorrow. I look forward to [the day] when my country is a land with freedom of expression, where the speech of every citizen will be treated equally well; where different values, ideas, beliefs, and political views . . . can both compete with each other and peacefully coexist; where both majority and minority views will be equally guaranteed, and where the political views that differ from those currently in power, in particular, will be fully respected and protected; where all political views will spread out under the sun for people to choose from, where every citizen can state political views without fear, and where no one can under any circumstances suffer political persecution for voicing divergent political views. I hope that I will be the last victim of China's endless literary inquisitions and that from now on no one will be incriminated because of speech.

Freedom of expression is the foundation of human rights, the source of humanity, and the mother of truth. To strangle freedom of speech is to trample on human rights, stifle humanity, and suppress truth.

In order to exercise the right to freedom of speech conferred by the Constitution, one should fulfill the social responsibility of a Chinese citizen. There is nothing criminal in anything I have done. [But] if charges are brought against me because of this, I have no complaints.

Thank you, everyone.



**United States House of Representatives
Congressional-Executive Commission on China**

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In accordance with Rule XI, clause 2(g) of the Rules of the House of Representatives, witnesses are asked to disclose the following information. Please complete this form and attach it to your written testimony and it may be made publicly available in electronic format.

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2. Hearing Title: "Tiananmen at 30: Examining the Evolution of Repression in China"
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Witness Biographies

Nancy Pelosi, Speaker of the House

Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi has been one of Congress's strongest champions for democracy and human rights in China and Tibet. Days after the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, Pelosi introduced the Emergency Chinese Immigration Relief Act to help Chinese citizens seeking asylum in the United States. Two years later, while the Chinese government continued its censorship and brutal suppression of the memory of that tragedy, Pelosi joined a bipartisan human rights delegation to Beijing. After eluding their official handlers, Pelosi and other Members of Congress went to Tiananmen Square, where they unfurled a banner that read "To Those Who Died for Democracy in China" and laid silk flowers on the Monument to the People's Heroes in honor of the democracy activists. In 2009, Pelosi hand delivered a letter to Chinese President Hu Jintao calling for the release of political prisoners. When Chinese democracy advocate Liu Xiaobo, a political prisoner, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2010, Pelosi attended the Nobel Peace Prize in-absentia ceremony to celebrate his courage and bring attention to his imprisonment. In 1998, Pelosi, as cochair of the Congressional Working Group on China, opposed the Clinton Administration by leading bipartisan opposition to normal trade relations with China. Pelosi proposed legislation that would connect China's Most-Favored-Nation status with its human rights record and commitment to removing trade barriers that bar U.S. products from its markets. Shortly after becoming a Member of Congress, Pelosi met the Dalai Lama in 1987, beginning a decades-long friendship with the Tibetan spiritual leader. In 2007, Speaker Pelosi presented the Dalai Lama with the Congressional Gold Medal in a ceremony attended by President George W. Bush. The following year, Speaker Pelosi became the highest-ranking U.S. official to meet with the Dalai Lama in Dharamsala. In November 2015, Leader Pelosi led the first U.S. Congressional Delegation to Tibet since the 2008 demonstrations and violence, where the delegation was able to speak with Tibetan university students and meet with key Chinese officials.

Wu'er Kaixi, Tiananmen student leader and Chairman, Taiwan Association for Democracy Advancement in China

Wu'er Kaixi was one of the student leaders who initiated a movement in Beijing asking for democracy and freedom that galvanized the world in April 1989. The series of ensuing protests across the nation was brutally ended by the Chinese government on June 4, 1989, when top Chinese Communist leaders ordered the use of military force to suppress the peaceful protesters. After the massacre, Wu'er Kaixi was listed as one of China's most-wanted student leaders, but he managed to escape to France via Hong Kong with the help of those sympathetic to the student movement. Wu'er Kaixi now lives in Taiwan, where he continues his endeavor of democracy as chairman of the Taiwan Association for Democracy Advancement in China. Through his magazine and newspaper columns and regular television appearances, he has become a prominent political commentator and social activist. As a Uyghur national, Wu'er Kaixi is a vocal critic of the Chinese government's human rights abuses in Xinjiang. He has served as a member of the emeritus board of Reporters Without Borders and as General Secretary of the Taiwan Association of Columnists and Editorialists, and is Senior Research Fellow at the Taiwan Institute for Political Economics and Strategy Studies.

Zhou Fengsuo, Tiananmen student leader and co-founder and President, Humanitarian China

Zhou Fengsuo co-founded Humanitarian China in 2007 to promote the rule of law, human rights, and freedom of expression in China and to provide humanitarian support to political prisoners and their families. In 1989, Zhou was a physics student at Tsinghua University in Beijing. He started the Voice of Student Movement radio station and organized demonstrations that demanded democratic reform. During the protests, Zhou and other students set up a broadcast station on Tiananmen Square and provided support and medical help to students who were on hunger strike. About a week after the massacre, authorities took Zhou into custody at his home in Xi'an municipality, Shaanxi province, and detained him for a year without trial. Zhou came to the United States in 1995 and continued his advocacy work. Although Zhou was wanted by Chinese authorities, he returned to China several times. In 2014, he went to a detention center in Beijing trying to give money to several political prisoners, but authorities denied his request and subsequently returned him to the U.S. after subjecting him to 18 hours of interrogation.

Mi Ling Tsui, Communications Director, Human Rights in China

Mi Ling Tsui is the Communications Director of Human Rights in China (HRIC), a Chinese non-governmental organization founded in March 1989 by overseas Chinese students and scientists. With offices in New York and Hong Kong, HRIC aims at supporting Chinese civil society actors in pressing for the institutional protection of human rights guaranteed under international law. Tsui is the lead on HRIC's "Unforgotten" project—a series of profiles that tell the stories of those killed in the military crackdown on the 1989 Democracy Movement in China. The project is aimed at broadening the international reach of the Tiananmen Mothers' documentation work on June Fourth victims and supporting the group's demand for justice. Before joining HRIC, Tsui was a documentary producer with 20 years of experience in U.S. network and public television. Many of her projects were China- and Asia-related, including "Becoming American: The Chinese Experience," a three-part PBS Bill Moyers series on the history of Chinese in the U.S.

Carl Minzner, Professor of Law, Fordham University

Carl Minzner is an expert in Chinese law and governance. He has written extensively on these topics in both academic journals and the popular press, including op-eds appearing in the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times, and Christian Science Monitor. He is the author of "End of an Era: How China's Authoritarian Revival is Undermining Its Rise" (Oxford University Press, 2018). Prior to joining Fordham, he was an Associate Professor of Law at Washington University in St. Louis. In addition, he has served as Senior Counsel for the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, International Affairs Fellow for the Council on Foreign Relations, and Yale-China Legal Education Fellow at the Northwest Institute of Politics and Law in Xi'an, China.

Shanthi Kalathil, Director, International Forum for Democratic Studies, National Endowment for Democracy

Shanthi Kalathil is Director of the International Forum for Democratic Studies at the National Endowment for Democracy. Previously a Senior Democracy Fellow at the U.S. Agency for International Development and a regular consultant for the World Bank, the Aspen Institute, and others, she has written or edited numerous policy and scholarly publications. She co-authored "Open Networks, Closed Regimes: The Impact of the Internet on Authoritarian Rule," a widely cited work that examined the Internet and authoritarian regimes. She is a former Hong Kong-based staff reporter for the Wall Street Journal Asia. She lectures on international relations in the information age at Georgetown University. She received a B.A. in Communications from the University of California at Berkeley and an M.Sc. in Comparative Politics from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

