

Written Statement Presented at CECC Hearing on
China in 1989 and 2015: Tiananmen, Human Rights, and Democracy

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Mr. Representative Smith and Mr. Senator Rubio,

Thank you very much for hosting this important hearing on the 26th anniversary of the 1989 Democracy Movement and the Tiananmen Massacre. In this written statement, I review the lessons learned and address the unfinished business of the 1989 Democracy Movement which was violent suppressed by the Chinese government. I also analyze the current political situation, current fights for human rights and prospects of democratization in China and make policy recommendations to the U.S. Congress and government.

1. China's Human Rights Situation in the Past Year

Since Xi Jinping took office, China, this big bird cage has become even bigger. While its geometrical area is expanded, the height is reduced. The freedom of speech and other freedoms have become more limited. The Chinese government has basically abandoned the one-country-two-systems pledge. Hong Kong has become part of the authoritarian system and thus is no longer a place with basic human freedoms. With China's economic achievements and enhanced state power, the Chinese government has stepped up its manipulation and control of overseas Chinese, especially the overseas Chinese media. It even bribes and intervenes the overseas non-Chinese media. The grim reality now is that this huge cage tends to expand globally. Media in China are all under tight authoritarian control, and there is no sign of any loosening. The public space is strongly also pressed, with the Internet under strict surveillance beyond imagination. Confrontations in all aspects of society are highly intense. It is only when confrontations broke out in full swing and this huge bird cage collapses can the Chinese people regain their freedom.

a. Hong Kong is no longer a free port city

In the past, many Chinese dissidents were able to visit China by getting their visas in Hong Kong if they couldn't get Chinese visas in the countries of their residence. Today, this road has been completely blocked. While some dissidents may still enter Hong Kong, they can no longer enter

mainland China from there. Some dissidents, myself included, are even denied entry into Hong Kong and are not allowed to transit at the Hong Kong airport.

In Hong Kong, the freedom of speech, freedom the press and freedom of the publication are gradually being taken away just like the fate of a slow-boiled frog. It will only get worse if we do not take any action. In October 2013, the Chinese authorities trapped and arrested Mr. Yao Wentian, the 73-year-old chief editor of the Hong Kong Morning Bell Press. In May 2014 he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment on charge of "smuggling". This is a case of serious violation of Hong Kong's human rights and freedom of speech and freedom of the press. It undermines the one-country-two-systems promise. The Chinese government accused Mr. Yao of smuggling forbidden items, but the real reason behind is that the publishing house for many years have been publishing a series of books criticizing the Chinese authorities and leaders, among them are *Great Crab Hu Jintao* by Yu Jie, *Fugitive* by Zhang Boli, *June Four Diary* by Feng Congde, *Head Counting Overriding Head Cutting* by Hu Ping, and the *Independent Chinese PEN Archives Series*, etc. The publishing house is also planning to publish *The Chinese Godfather Xi Jinping* by Yu Jie.

On August 31, 2014, the Standing Committee of National People's Congress, the Chinese government's rubber stamp, announced its resolution regarding the election of Hong Kong's Chief Executive. In an attempt to duplicate the fake election system of mainland China, the Chinese government completely ignores the determination of the Hong Kong people in their demand of a real and open election. This aroused great indignation and strong protests among the Hong Kong people. On September 28 2014, a campaign of disobedience was launched in full swing. This campaign was called "Occupying Central with love and peace ". The use of tear gas by the Hong Kong police to disperse the protestors sparked more public anger and caused the occupation campaign to spread to more areas. This Umbrella Revolution which lasted about 80 days showed the world the determination and power of the Hong Kong people in their pursuit of true universal suffrage and freedom and democracy. It also exposed to the world how the Chinese Communist Party and the Hong Kong Government failed to keep their promises through dirty manipulating the Basic Law. The Umbrella Revolution on one hand won the attention and support of the world's democracies for the democratization of Hong Kong. On the other hand, it reminds us once again that there is a long and arduous way to go for Hong Kong's democracy.

b. The ever-increasingly severe repression of dissidents

The crackdown on dissidents by the Xi Jinping regime is becoming more barbaric and unscrupulous with its blackguardly mentality. In the past three years, freedom of speech has become more limited, censorship of publications and Internet more stringent, customs control tighter, and street protests almost completely banned. Dissidents who used to enjoy some limited personal freedom are now all behind bars, among them are Gao Yu, Xu Zhiyong, Ilham Tohti and others.

Xu Zhiyong is one of the key founders of the New Citizens' Movement. He is also a prominent young jurist, a scholar of theories of constitutionalism and a civil rights leader. He advocates non-violence in rights protection and demands equal access to education and government officials to reveal their personal assets in order to punish corruption severely. On January 26, 2014, he was sentenced to four years' imprisonment on charge of "gathering crowds to disturb public order".

Ms Cao Shunli was an outstanding representative figure of the Chinese human rights movement. Six months after being illegally detained by Chinese police, she was persecuted to death on March 14, 2014. Well-known for her long-term commitment to improving the human rights situation in China, she repeatedly used legal means to help petitioners and other activists. As an ordinary citizen, she was involved in the UN general periodic reviews of China's human rights situation. She submitted to the United Nations Human Rights Council detailed reports of the plights of Chinese petitioners. While her work was fully recognized by the Chinese and international human rights communities, she was on the most-hated list of the CCP.

Any talk of the June 4 Massacre is a taboo in China. Those who dare to commemorate the massacre are watched and receive warnings; they are even arrested and jailed or thrown into psychiatric hospitals. On May 6, 2014, a number of human rights activists were arrested for participating in a low-key private gathering in Beijing to commemorate the Tiananmen Massacre. Among them are the well-known human rights lawyer Pu Zhiqiang, a scholar named Hu Shigen, a researcher named Xu Youyu, a freelance writer Liu Di and a university professor Hao Jian. Ms Gao Yu, a well-known journalist who had been detained for participating the June 4 Movement had planned to go to the gathering but was arrested illegally and secretly on April 24.

In later 2014, the Chinese authorities launched a new round of crackdown on dissidents. A large number of artists and ordinary citizens were arrested for their support of the Hong Kong movement of occupying Central. Many civil society advocates and activists were arrested or forbidden to leave China. They include Guo Yushan, Kou Yanding, and Xue Ye. Although they are moderates who advocate not touching the bottom line of the Chinese authorities, they were still cracked down. In a word, any disobedient person in China is suppressed by the government no matter how mild his stand is.

On April 17, 2015, the 71-year-old Ms. Gao Yu, after being illegally detained for one year, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment on charge of illegally leaking state secrets overseas. She was deprived of political rights for one year. The so-called "state secrets" are actually just the seven taboos proposed by Xi Jinping, i.e., the Western constitutional democracy, universal values, civil society, neo-liberalism, freedom of the press, historical nihilism, and questioning socialism with the Chinese characteristics. The seven taboos are in essence to keep the communist one-party dictatorship and their vested interests and to deceive and enslave the Chinese people. The fact that the Chinese government keeps the seven taboos under the table indicates their fear and the unrepentant nature of the CCP. CCP's so-called rule of law is just a fig leaf for its authoritarian rule.

On March 25, 2015, a dissident in Sichuan Province Chen Yunfei and other 20 people in Xinjin County of the province went to the cemetery to commemorate Xiao Jie and Wu Guofeng, who were student victims in the June 4 1989 Massacre. On their way back, they were stopped by more than a hundred armed police and were detained. On March 26, Chen was sent to be jailed in the Sichuan Xinjin County Detention Center on charges of affray and inciting to subvert state power. Prior to that in 2007, on the 18th anniversary of Tiananmen Massacre, Chen had run an advertisement in the "Chengdu Evening News" to pay tribute to the heroic mothers of the victims of the Massacre, and thus was convicted on charge of suspected inciting to subvert of state power, and he was put under house arrest for six months. He also tried several times to pay homage to Zhao Ziyang in Beijing and was thus watched and warned by the Chengdu police.

Under the so-called rule of law boasted by the Chinese authorities, Chinese dissidents are prosecuted on charges of criminal offenses instead of political ones. This approach aims to avoid being condemned for human rights violations by the international community. It also aims to stigmatize and demonize the dissidents. However, the Chinese government's trick of misleading public opinions has been seen through, and thus is not working well now.

c. Complaints in private are forbidden

On April 6, 2015, a video with the famous CCTV host Bi Jianfu singing at a private dinner party was uploaded to Weibo, a popular Chinese social medium. He was singing an episode from a Peking opera "Taking over the Tiger Mountain by Wise Tactics", which praises the earlier years of the Chinese communists. He sang the episode "We are the army of workers and peasants" with his impromptu lyrics. When commenting on Mao, he commented: "Don't mention that old bitch. He made us suffer so badly." On the communist crackdown on the landlords, he commented "What the hell did the landlords do you any harm?" His satiric comments ridiculed Mao, who was responsible for deaths of 80 million people from either starvation or persecution. CCTV responded quickly by purging Fu and prohibiting him from leaving China. In China, whoever dares to speak honestly will be taken off the stage where people have to lie. In fact, what the bandits in Tiger Mountain did was far less harmful than the wrong-doing by the Chinese communists in Jinggang Mountain, where Mao and his followers rebelled against the Nationalist government. Satan Mao really is the evil culprit of all time, the chieftain of all bandits, the biggest demon of all kinds and the root of all catastrophes. He was more evil than Hitler. He was responsible for a weak China and a poor people. He sold the interests of his country to curry favor of foreign countries. No ridicule about him would be an overstatement.

The Xi Jinping regime purged Bi Fujian for telling the truth in private, which shows that CCP infringes people's privacy arbitrarily. Nothing can be more despicable than depriving people's rights of grumbling in private.

During my visits to China in 2000 and 2002, on numerous occasions I met people who grumbled about all kinds of things or even directly criticized Li Peng, Jiang Zemin and Mao Zedong. I thought that was a huge step forward because people dared to complain about the government in

private. Now, the Xi Jinping regime is taking this limited freedom away. This is a big step backwards.

d. Clinging on to Mao's thought

Xi's father Xi Zhongxun was long purged and suppressed Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping. He was one of very few relatively honest, humane and compassionate Communist high-ranking officials who did not set up and persecute people. Given his family background, it stands to reason that Xi Jinping should have been bitter about Mao and Deng Xiaoping; however, this is not true. Xi Jinping grew up brainwashed by Mao's thought and knows too well about Mao's practice. After he came to power, he further realizes that if not for Mao, who led CCP to snatch the state power, he could not have become the new king of China. Power politics makes it necessary for him to dismiss his family suffering and woo and buy over followers of Mao and Deng in order to use Mao Zedong Thought to deceive and enslave the Chinese people. Therefore, Xi Jinping has been singing the praises of Mao by preaching that the first thirty years of the CCP ruling should not be repudiated by the economic achievements of the second thirty years. This presented a grave bad logic, because it was exactly the abandonment of Mao's practice of class struggle in the first thirty years that made the economic achievement possible in the second thirty years. The very root of a spate of social problems in China lies exactly in clinging on to Mao's evil thought and the one-party dictatorship.

With Xi's connivance and support, not only can China not eliminate Mao's influence but the leftist pro-Maoist forces are growing. The extremist Mao's fans see Satan Mao as a sacred religious worship idol just like Jesus Christ or Mohammed. The anti-Maoists are attacked and even face death threats. If the extremist Maoists come to power, they might establish a Maoist terrorist country, something like the Islamic State where all anti-Maoists will be beheaded. The confrontations between the pro-Maoist leftists and anti-Maoists are growing more and more intense. Their ultimate violent confrontations will lead to extremely dire consequences.

e. The comprehensive thought control

CCP learned one lesson from the fall of the Nationalist government, the crumbling of the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc and the color revolutions - the necessity to strengthen the control of freedom of speech and thinking and to suppress its people. The CCP shifted its strategy from encouraging its people to be involved in the national affairs to keeping them from being involved in politics and encouraging hedonism. In China, autocratic preaching is now omnipresent in primary-school to college textbooks, newspapers, the Internet, literatures, arts, films and television. Even scientific researches are tightly controlled by the Communist Party. But the Internet greatly facilitates the spread of freedoms of speech and press and is a gift from God to the Chinese people to subvert the authoritarian regime. However, the Chinese Communist Party has established an Internet Berlin Wall to block websites that promote democracy. They also hire and train a great number of Internet commenters to delete anti-communist posts and upload

posts that support the dictatorship. They also have put forward a real-name system for Internet users in order to strictly censor the Internet for the interests of autocratic rulers.

CCP has been recruiting paid Internet commenters in colleges in mainland China and even in Hong Kong. Those commenters are trained to be spies, informants and hatchet men for CCP in censoring the Internet and watching the general public. The propaganda and brainwashing of the CCP has made many Chinese (including overseas Chinese) unable to think freely and independently. Some of them are proactive in acting in favor of the CCP. About 60% of college students in China reportedly want to be members of the corrupt CCP, but none is attracted to the communist ideals. Joining the Party is a pragmatic means to gain access to power and thus amass personal fortunes. Some male college students unabashedly claim that their only motive to join the party is to make more money and sleep with more beautiful woman.

Many brainwashed Chinese now tirelessly defend and speak for the CCP. The following are some of what they typically preach.

- The crackdown on Tiananmen Movement by CCP was the last resort by the Chinese government. Without the clearing of Tiananmen Square by the tanks, there wouldn't have been the economic achievements today.
- Without CCP's autocracy, China would fall apart.
- Under the British rule, Hong Kong had no democracy. Hong Kong is now on its way to achieve democracy, and will represent the world's best democratic system.
- China will become a democracy, but not now. There will be chaos otherwise.
- Corruption is universal and unavoidable. There exists corruption in the West, too. The United States was even more corrupt than China.
- The Chinese people must be more patient in terms of cracking down corruption. For the good of China's future, people must tolerate moderate corruption now.
- As long as you do not target the Communist Party, you have enough freedom - the freedom of employment, freedom of making money, freedom of enjoying yourself, and freedom of traveling abroad.
- The China cage is big enough and its size continues to grow. People can live and work happily in the cage and enjoy being prosperous.
- If writers are not willing to write for CCP, they can choose to write for the market. But writing for freedom is not a good idea.
- The Chinese leaders are busy enough with so much to take care of. We should be understanding and not add to the burden of their shoulders.

The Chinese people will forever live in the cage set up by the Chinese government should we have any wishful thinking about the CCP and do not stay alert or discern what is really

happening in China. We should not turn a blind eye to the crackdown of disobedient Chinese thinkers and be complacent with self-deception. We should pursue truth and push the boundary of this cage. Otherwise, the brainwashed would only be thankful to the Party even when being executed.

2. Continued Struggles by the People of China

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

a. Just two weeks ago, eleven Chinese students born in the 1980s or 1990s and studying in the US recently signed an open letter to their counterparts in the mainland. The letter carries their extreme views on the 1989 Tiananmen incident in the tone that used to be adopted by much older pro-democracy activists. It harshly attacked the current Chinese regime, twisting the facts of 26 years ago with narratives of some overseas hostile forces. Generally, even if changes in thought do take place, it's unlikely for mainland students who study in the US to lash out at their homeland in such an insulting way. The open letter claimed that the post-1980s and post-1990s generations in the mainland have been fooled and they couldn't get to know the "truth" of the 1989 Tiananmen incident until they moved abroad to study, where they can get unlimited access to the Internet. However, it's well-known that Internet censorship cannot prevent people acquiring sensitive information from overseas websites // 环球时报：境外势力试图煽动八零后九零后"

The letter, co-authored by Gu Yi, a doctoral candidate in chemistry at the University of Georgia, and his peer Chinese students who are studying here in the United States, indicates the failure on the part of the Chinese Communist Party that has been utilizing censorship to try to stop flow of information about the massacre to cause a collective amnesia among the Chinese people, and intend to stop democratization in China. Democracy and freedom are not a gift for any one generation, but a common inspiration for people of all ages and backgrounds. Democracy and freedom shall triumph over tyranny. Authoritarianism shall be doomed.

I call for all who care for the future of China to stand up in solidarity with the co-authors and all those who fight for freedom and democracy in China. Spread the word and sign on with the following link:

b. We need to stand in a more elevated position to envision the emerging of a new, democratic China although it has not taken shape, there are many signs indicating its coming.

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

Let me look at these factors.

First. CCP has split China into two exclusive societies, China,Inc. and the under China. This is what some experts called the rigid stable structure. But rigid human society ever has a sustainable stability. If such a society is stable for the moment, it is only because a crisis is in the cooking and new opportunity is on the horizon.

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

Second. Compared to the under China, which is more diversified, the elite China seem to have common and consistent interests. But the consistency is based on bribery and buy-offs of multi-facet interest groups, with intrinsic flaw in the foundation. Fierce internal power struggles have never ceased since the founding of the communist party. Perhaps the only achievement in China's political system in the past 30 years is the establishment of the "two-term, 10-year, one-generation" term limit system. Many observers predicted that such a system would ensure long-term stability for the CCP regime, wishfully believing that this system helped the CCP find a way out of the pit of power discontinuity that has plagued all dictatorships in history. The Bo Xilai event, however, mercifully burst that bubble. People within the Party have begun to challenge this power succession system. The cracks are only widening.

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

In the meantime, the ordinary people are becoming more mature, more skillful, and more aggressive in fighting for their own civil rights. The China,Inc. can sure ignore the grievance of the society, but the people will eventually unite themselves to form organized rebellion if individual petitions yield no results. Among the people, there is a subgroup called the netizens, those who use the internet a lot, nearly 5 hundred and fifty millions of them. Although the

Chinese authorities impose strict control over the media, the existence of the Internet paved a way for the people's awakening and networking. In the cyberspace language, the communist regime is rapidly losing all its moral asset while the people are constantly seeking opportunity to group together in a skillful way. The netizens constitute an "information elite" that cannot be all bought off. They will play a leading role in future organized activities. Generally speaking, as the non-governmental forces grow and the civil protests escalate, struggle for power among different factions with the communist regime will become public. Especially, once the external pressure reaches a critical mass, the rivalry factions with the CCP will have to take the citizen force into serious account and seek or use the latter's support. This means a decomposition of China, Inc.

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

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

Last but not least, international support.

3. International Support

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

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

After Tiananmen, Americans of all political persuasions and faiths joined in protest of that slaughter of innocents. Their outrage showed that human rights and civil liberties are not partisan issues. But when Washington considered trade sanctions against China, corporations, columnists and pundits insisted that China's economic progress and trade would inevitably result in more political freedom and guaranteed basic human rights. In order to test that confident prediction, Congress established the Executive-Legislative Commission on China, which you both chair. Under its mandate, the Commission has annually examined just how much China's tremendous economic growth and interaction with the world has led to real civil liberty and political freedom for its citizens. And each year the Commission's clear conclusion has been "not

very much." That finding is consistently echoed in the annual human rights reports of the State Department, U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, and the investigations by the U.N.

Some believe that the United States cannot press China on human rights because it seeks Chinese cooperation on economic and national security issues. But Washington has [negotiated arms-control](#) and [trade agreements](#) with other countries, including the Soviet Union, while [pressing for human rights reform](#).

The lessons are clear. Americans of conscience cannot simply wait for economic growth and revised government structures to end China's barbaric torture, extra-legal killing, and jailing of those who would speak their mind, practice their faith, preserve their ethnic culture, or defend the legal rights of others. Americans of conscience should insist that their Government confront China. They should demand that their Government openly condemn China's violation of basic human rights and demand release its "prisoners of conscience." They should express support for those in China bravely asserting or defending human rights. And they should support concrete action, including sanctions like those that the so-called "Magnitsky Law" now imposes on Russian human rights abusers.

That is how the American people, and the U.S. Government, can truly honor the heroes and victims of Tiananmen Square.

I will make specific policy recommendations at the hearing.

Thank you.