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THEIR DAUGHTERS' APPEAL TO BEIJING: "LET OUR FATHERS GO!"

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA, GLOBAL HEALTH, GLOBAL HUMAN RIGHTS, AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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THEIR DAUGHTERS' APPEAL TO BEIJING: "LET OUR FATHERS GO!"

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5, 2013

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA, GLOBAL HEALTH,
GLOBAL HUMAN RIGHTS, AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 11 o'clock a.m., in room 2172 Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Christopher H. Smith (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. SMITH. The hearing will come to order and good morning to everyone. When China bullies, incarcerates, tortures, and even executes a prisoner of conscience, their entire family and friends suffer an excruciating sense of loss, bewilderment, emotional pain, and agony. Often members of the family are themselves subjected to interrogation, mistreatment, and house arrest in order to amplify the hurt.

In a very real sense, everyone close to a prisoner of conscience goes to jail and lives a seemingly unending nightmare. Every day, family and friends are left to wonder what terrible abuse awaits Dad or Mom or a brother, sister or child. Every day, the tears flow.

The people who rule China today with an iron fist resort to these ugly methods of control in the mistaken assumption that the people, the masses, can't be trusted to govern themselves, practice their faith as they see fit, or create a family. China's barbaric one-child-per-couple policy, for example, in effect since 1979, continues despite some of the hyperbole about reform, unabated to make brothers and sisters illegal and relies on ruinous fines and penalties, forced abortion, and coercive sterilization, crimes against humanity, to achieve its ends. And all "news" content and commentary in cyberspace, on TV, radio or in print media in China today continues to be strictly controlled and manipulated by the Communist Party.

The Chinese Government today is in the business of breaking minds, bodies, and hearts. The repression is systematic, pervasive, unrelenting, and unnecessary. That is because the people of China love their nation and they do deserve better treatment. Even heroic persons like Chen Guangcheng, who is with us today, and his dear wife who is equally brave; Wei Jingsheng, Rebiya Kadeer, Bishop Su of Baoding, Harry Wu and countless others who have demonstrated by their extraordinary perseverance and indomitable will

to advance bedrock human rights principles regardless of cost, carry the indelible scars of unspeakable mistreatment.

The people who rule China today employ these ugly methods of control to prop up their own political power and increase their personal wealth. China, a great nation, deserves better.

Far too many of us who live in freedom often fail to exert ourselves in a meaningful way to assist prisoners of conscience and their loved ones, in China, and frankly, elsewhere. Far too many of us fail to empathize with their plight or to see what is just below the facade of the purported harmonious society.

How can it be that the 2010 Nobel Peace Prize winner Liu Xiaobo remains in prison while his wife, Liu Xia, is forced to endure the extreme isolation of house arrest and is now reportedly experiencing severe depression?

Perhaps we are uninformed or too busy or prefer to look askance. However, with so much preventable suffering being endured by so many prisoners of conscience and their families in China today, the time has surely come for a more serious and sustained defense of these heroic individuals and their noble causes. All of us, including the Chinese Government, have a duty to protect.

Today, we will hear the cries for release and freedom from five remarkable daughters on behalf of their wrongly imprisoned fathers and from a dad on behalf of his unjustly jailed son. This is an appeal directly to Beijing. This is an appeal from five young women on behalf of their fathers who they miss so deeply. We hope that Beijing will be listening.

We will also hear expert testimony from a previously incarcerated Christian pastor who cares deeply for the vulnerable and at risk, and another human rights activist who was who was detained in China after an attempt to visit a dissident. I will provide the introductions as we go to our panels.

I would now like to yield to my good friend and colleague, Mr. Pittenger, for any comments that he might have.

Mr. PITTENGER. Thank you, Chairman Smith, for inviting me and allowing me to make an opening statement. I thank you for the over 30 years, that I have known you, that you have been faithful to the commitment of those who are persecuted for their religious faith, for their freedoms of conscience, and for your commitment to bring liberty to these individuals.

I want to thank you for the leadership that you are bringing to this discussion which is so important today for all Americans to know and to hear, and as well as for Beijing to hear this important message.

I would like to thank these brave witnesses, those who I met earlier today, for appearing before us and I look forward to hearing your testimony.

The issues of human rights, religious liberties, and the rule of law in China have been of great importance to me my entire adult life. These are issues that I have been dedicated to since I graduated from college and with my 10 years of service with Campus Crusade for Christ serving as the president of that organization, Dr. Bill Bright, we spent much time overseas and are aware very much of the plight of the believers in China and various parts of the world.

The United States must remain committed to monitoring the continued violation of the rule of law by the Chinese and stand with those committed to ending the persecution of Chinese citizens for practicing their religious beliefs, for freedoms of conscience, and striving for democracy.

As a Member of Congress, I take an active role on these issues as a commissioner on the Congressional-Executive Commission on China. America must be the unwavering light for religious freedom, freedoms of conscience, and political freedom throughout the world. Our stance on issues relating to these freedoms must be resounding.

As we bring light onto China's appalling record of human rights violations and persecutions of believers of all faiths, we must call on them to release their political and freedoms of conscience prisoners. China signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in 1998, but 15 years later, they have still not ratified the covenant. The time is now for China to take real meaningful steps toward reform.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the privilege of being here and I yield back.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Pittenger, and for your leadership on religious freedom issues and issues related to human rights in China especially.

Mr. PITTENGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to now welcome our very distinguished panel of five daughters to the witness table and I will introduce and if they could come and then make their presentations.

We will begin first with Lisa Peng, a daughter of Peng Ming. Lisa's father, Peng Ming, founder of China Development Federation was framed by the Chinese Communists in 1999 and imprisoned for 1½ years. When he was released from the labor camp, Mr. Peng fled to Thailand and arrived in the United States in 2001. There, he founded China Federal Development Committee. In 2004, Peng was trapped by Chinese special agents and kidnapped to China. In 2005, he was sentenced to life in prison on the false charge of organizing and leading a terrorist organization. Lisa Peng, his 17-year-old daughter, our witness, was born in Beijing and suffered doubly as a second child by being denied official, legal recognition. Her family fled political persecution in 2000 and was accepted by the United States as a U.N. refugee in 2001.

Lisa is currently a senior at Laurel School in Cleveland, Ohio. She is the principal keyboardist of the Cleveland Youth Orchestra, and was a featured high school Lincoln-Douglas Debater at the City Club of Cleveland, Ohio.

Lisa, thank you, and welcome.

We will then hear from Grace Ge Geng, who is the 20-year-old daughter of imprisoned Chinese human rights lawyer, Gao Zhisheng, was convicted of inciting subversion of state power and sentenced to a 3-year prison term. After being arrested and released several times from 2006 to 2010, Gao Zhisheng was accused of violating the terms of his parole and sent back to jail to serve his 3-year term. Many times during this period Gao disappeared. He is currently incarcerated in a prison in far western Xinjiang.

During years of her father's disappearance and torture under Chinese Government persecution, Grace, along with her mom, Geng He, also experienced tremendous harassment, intimidation, and beatings. She was deprived of her educational opportunity as well. Unable to live a normal life anywhere, Grace, her mom, and her little brother, Peter Gao, fled to the United States before Gao's 2009 re-arrest and re-disappearance. Grace now lives in California and is a sophomore in De Anza College in California. Welcome, Grace.

We will then hear from Ti-Anna Wang, daughter of Wang Bingzhang. She was born in 1989 and was named to commemorate the victims of the Tiananmen Square massacre. Soon after her 13th birthday, her father, a veteran democracy activist disappeared. After 6 months of secret custody, the Chinese Government announced Wang Bingzhang's arrest. He was subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment on false charges of espionage and terrorism. Ti-Anna has spent much of her time and energy working for her father's freedom. This journey has taken her around the world in a process of discovery of the ideals that her name embodies and efforts have been fictionalized into a book of young adult fiction titled "Nine Days" by Fred Hiatt, which I encourage people to read. It is a wonderful book. I originally got it from the Library of Congress when it was published and I thank him for bringing light to many of the issues here, but especially to Ti-Anna.

Ti-Anna graduated from McGill University with a degree in East Asian Studies and recently spent a year studying Mandarin in Taipei. Currently, she is advocating full-time for her father's release.

We will then hear from Bridgette Chen. Many of us know that Bridgette's dad, Liu Xianbin, who used the pen name Wan Xianming. He was one of the original signers of Charter 08 and participated in the 1989 Tiananmen Square protest. Liu was first arrested in 1991 and held in Beijing's infamous Qiugcheng Prison. There he served 2½ years for so-called "counter-revolutionary incitement." After being released, Liu was sentenced again to a 13-year prison term for "inciting subversion of state power." After his release, he was detained in June 2010 and then sentenced to a 10-year prison term in March 2011, again for "inciting subversion of state power," whatever that is.

Bridgette's father has been in prison for almost all of her life. In 2011, after the Chinese Government refused to give Bridgette's mother a passport, Bridgette fled China and arrived alone in the United States. Now just 16, Bridgette will speak up for her dad and for her family as a witness.

Next, we will hear from Danielle Wang, on behalf of her father, Wang Zhiwen, a PRC Ministry of Railways engineer who became a Falun Gong practitioner in 1992. On July 20, 1999, Wang was seized from his bed by police and taken away. This was the same day the Chinese Communist Party began its crackdown on the Falun Gong. On December 26, 1999, Wang was sentenced to 16 years in prison. The sentencing trial, in which Wang was one of the four defendants, was nationally broadcast and it was clear to viewers that defendants had been physically abused. The four were convicted of organizing and using a heretical organization that caused death, another big lie, and illegally obtaining state secrets.

Wang Zhiwen's daughter, Danielle, is a U.S. citizen. Since her father's arrest, she has been working tirelessly to call for his release through public events, hunger strikes, sit-ins at Chinese consulates, and speaking out at various events around the world. Danielle has not been able to get back to China since she arrived in the U.S. in 1998. She hasn't been able to speak with her father since July 1999. It is her hope that one day soon she can be reunited with her mom and dad as they rebuild their lives together.

Thank you, ladies, for your bravery, your courage, your extraordinary love which has been ongoing for so many years. Frankly, we are all moved by your loss, which God willing, will be turned into a release. And when you speak today, know that you are speaking right to the Government of China because my hope and prayer is that they will be listening. If we can begin now.

STATEMENT OF MS. LISA PENG, DAUGHTER OF PENG MING

Ms. PENG. I am Lisa Peng, daughter of political dissident Mr. Peng Ming. I would first like to thank you for reaffirming the universal values of freedom, democracy, and justice for my father, and other dissidents like him. I know that my father would be very grateful for your efforts to revive his mission.

My father, Mr. Peng Ming, is an environmentalist, an economist, and a human rights activist. He is the author of The Fourth Landmark, a book on China's economic and political growth that was sponsored by the Ford Foundation. He was also the founder and president of China Development Union, an organization which sponsored think tanks that gave his fellow Chinese citizens the opportunity to discuss highly censored topics like freedom, democracy, and justice. As a result of his political activism, in 1999, my father was sentenced to 18 months of "reeducation through labor" camp. At the time, I was 2 years old. Upon his release, my father was faced with the possibility of a second arrest, and so my family fled from political persecution in China to the United States as U.N. refugees in 2001. But 18 months of labor camp did not stop my father from continuing to stand up for human rights. In 2004, when I was 8 years old, my father went to Thailand to establish a safe haven for persecuted refugees like himself. There, he was lured by eight Chinese secret police to the border of Thailand and Burma, where he was kidnapped at gunpoint and brought back to China, the country that had persecuted him in 1999, the country that now sentenced him to life in prison.

The United Nations Working Group for Arbitrary Detention has determined that deprivation of my father's liberty is arbitrary and is in contravention of articles 19 and 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Furthermore, my father is a U.S.-based dissident with U.N. refugee status who escaped political persecution in China. Therefore, his kidnapping is in violation of the principle of non-refoulment, which forbids the return of a victim of persecution to their persecutor. My father has also been arbitrarily deprived of his right to due process, as he was denied access to a lawyer and to a jury of his peers.

Although my father has been denied the exercise of his right to freedom of expression, he continues to exercise physically and mentally. Despite nearly 10 years in prison suffering heart attacks, ar-

thritis, malnutrition, and kidney stones with no medical care, my father still persists and remains hopeful. It is this hope that my father has instilled in me despite the thousands of miles that have separated him from nearly a decade of my life, a decade during which I have been privileged to receive an American education and learn about freedom, democracy, and justice, but a decade during which my father has remained imprisoned for fighting to secure those very same values.

As an American citizen, I cannot merely stand by and tacitly approve as these fundamental freedoms are undermined. It is Congress' unwavering dedication to upholding those values and unrelenting efforts to free prisoners of conscience that give me hope for the future, for the possibility of telling my father in person how much we have all cared about his health and his dream for China's future. I hope that my father will first and foremost be given proper medical attention and visitation rights, and ultimately I seek his release.

I join with my fellow sisters here today to request that Vice President Biden ask Chinese leaders to release our fathers, and to request an Oval Office meeting with President Obama to share our stories. I know that my dream to be reunited with my father and my father's dream for his country can come true with your support, persistence, and affirmation of the universal and fundamental values of our country: Freedom, democracy, and justice.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Peng follows:]

Witness: Jiayin (Lisa) Peng, daughter of Peng Ming
Hearing: "Their Daughters Appeal to Beijing: 'Let Our Fathers Go!'"
Committee: House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations
Location: Room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building
DATE: Thursday, December 5, 2013
TIME: 11:00 a.m.

Testimony before Subcommittee on Africa, Health and Global Human Rights of the House Foreign Affairs Committee

By Jiayin (Lisa) Peng

Dear Honorable Chairman and distinguished members of Congress:

I am Lisa Peng, daughter of political dissident Mr. Peng Ming. I would like to thank you for reaffirming the universal values of freedom, democracy, and justice for my father, and other political dissidents like him. I know that my father would be very grateful for your efforts to revive his mission.

My father Mr. Peng Ming is an environmentalist, an economist, and a human rights activist. He is the author of *The Fourth Landmark*, a book on China's economic and political growth that was sponsored by the Ford Foundation. He was also the founder and president of China Development Union, an organization which sponsored think tanks that gave his fellow Chinese citizens the opportunity to discuss highly censored topics like freedom, democracy, and justice. As a result of his political activism, in 1999, my father was sentenced to eighteen months of "reeducation through labor" camp. At the time, I was two years old. Upon his release, my father was faced with the possibility of a second arrest, and so my family fled from political persecution in China to the United States as UN refugees in 2001. But eighteen months of labor camp did not stop my father from continuing to stand up for human rights. In 2004, when I was eight years old, my father went to Thailand to establish a safe haven for persecuted refugees. There, he was lured by eight Chinese secret police to the border of Thailand and Burma, where he was kidnapped at gunpoint and brought back to China, the country that had persecuted him in 1999, the country that now sentenced him to life in prison.

The United Nations Working Group for Arbitrary Detention has determined that the

deprivation of my father's liberty is arbitrary and is in contravention of articles 19 and 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Furthermore, my father is a U.S.-based dissident with UN refugee status who escaped political persecution in China. Therefore, his kidnap is in violation of the principle of non-refoulement, which forbids the return of a victim of persecution to their persecutor. My father has also been arbitrary deprived of his right to due process, as he was denied access to a lawyer and to a jury of his peers.

Although my father has been denied the exercise of his right to freedom of expression, he continues to exercise physically and mentally. Despite nearly ten years in prison suffering heart attacks, arthritis, malnutrition, and kidney stones with no medical care, my father still persists and remains hopeful. It is this hope that my father has instilled in me despite the thousands of miles that have separated him from nearly a decade of my life, a decade during which I have been privileged to receive an American education and learn about freedom, democracy, and justice, but a decade during which my father has remained imprisoned for fighting to secure those very same values. As an American citizen, I cannot merely stand by and tacitly approve as these fundamental freedoms are undermined. It is Congress's unwavering dedication to upholding those values and unrelenting efforts to free prisoners of conscience that give me hope for the future, for the possibility of telling my father in person how much we have all cared about his health and his dream for China's future. I hope that my father will first and foremost be given proper medical attention and visitation rights, and ultimately I seek his release. I join with my fellow sisters here today to request Vice President Biden to ask Chinese leaders to release our fathers, and to request an Oval Office meeting with President Obama to share our stories. I know that my dream to be reunited with my father and my father's dream for his country can come true with your support, persistence, and affirmation of the universal and fundamental values of our country: freedom, democracy, and justice.

Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you so very much for your testimony. We have been joined by Congressman Mark Meadows.

Mr. Meadows, and then we will go to Ms. Geng.

Mr. MEADOWS. I would love to hear from you. I will make one brief statement because your testimony right now just spoke to that is that this is a story that needs to continue to be told. The chairman has dedicated his life to making sure that it is heard. I am privileged and honored to be part of the support to do just that. We will not stop until families have been reunited and that truly that this atrocity is taken from the face of not only your country, but many countries this world.

There is William Wilberforce, who fought for many years to end slavery, and today we look out and we see a different kind of slavery that is happening. So let us continue on in the effort of the William Wilberforces of the world and I just applaud you for being here and I thank the chairman for his dedication. I yield.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Meadows, thank you very much for your comments and for your leadership as well. I would like to now go to Ms. Geng.

STATEMENT OF MS. GRACE GE GENG, DAUGHTER OF GAO ZHISHENG

Ms. GENG. Dear honorable friends, I am thankful for you giving me this opportunity at this hearing so I can speak up for my dad, human rights lawyer Gao Zhisheng. I am very grateful for the U.S. Congress for caring about my father's case. I am Attorney Gao's daughter, Grace. I was born in a happy, harmonious family, with Mom and Dad's loving care, and relatives and friends around. I had been happy and never felt lonely. But at the age of 13, my life has turned upside down. On October 15, 2006, policemen kidnapped my father at my aunt's home in Shandong Province, because of my father's taking up and investigating the cases of the persecuted faith groups. On the very same day, a group of policemen forcibly broke into my house at Beijing. Since then, six to seven policemen have been stationed at my house every day. There has been house arrest for me, my mom, and young brother with surveillance 24 hours a day and 7 days a week, including watching over our sleep and even going to our bathroom. In order to monitor us tightly, they didn't allow me and my 3-year-old kindergarten brother to go to school. Under my mom's death protest by turning on the gas on the stove, the policemen finally agreed to our rights of education, but still under the severe surveillance of policemen.

I had to ride in the police car to school every day. There were six or seven policemen accompanying me to school. They always abusively insulted my father in the police car. One day on the way to school, there were two people talking along the roadside and one policeman pointed to them and said, "Aren't they Gao Zhisheng and Hu Jia chatting?" Another policeman followed-up immediately and said that "Yes, they are gay friends," and then they all laughed weirdly. That's how I started my day of school each day. Policemen went in and sat behind me in the classroom in each class, including music course. The severe surveillance was applied to my toileting, too. They went in the restroom with me and did not let me close the door. One of the most annoying things is that my teacher once

said in front of the whole class: "None of you can bring cell phone to school, if Grace uses your cell phone, you will face serious political charges." Also, my computer class in the school was cut off. My spirit and nerves almost collapsed, after my father was taken away from us. I had to endure the pressure in my day-to-day life, suffered discrimination from classmates and teachers, and was forced to experience the loneliness at young age. I lost all my sense of security.

My 3-year-old brother also had to sit in the police car to classes. His kindergarten classroom is the only room with a surveillance camera in the whole nursery.

In September 2008, the policemen did not allow me to go to school. This prompted our determination to leave China to escape this unbearable mistreatment, partly for education. Under friends' help, my mother took me and my brother to flee China, and came to the United States. Coming to this land of free, I did not have a trace of excitement. I missed my father so much. Combined with the accumulated worries about my father, I couldn't take it anymore and experienced a complete nervous breakdown. The first Christmas night in the United States, I was admitted into the hospital.

I have been living in the United States for nearly 5 years now. I couldn't hear my father's voice nor received his letters or word about current situation. I miss him so much. The most recent news was on this past January that my uncle went to the prison to see him. My uncle was not allowed to release any information about my father by the Beijing Authority. It is almost another year since then. For various reasons and regulations, they did not allow my family members to see my father. My grandma, grandpa, three aunts, his brothers, sisters, and all other relatives, all my relatives' names were so-called blacklisted. They were deprived the basic rights of even getting a passport. Eight years passed, the persecution on my father is not only still continuing, but also extends to all of his family members. Living in the freest country with the world it has been sour in my heart. The freedom has not yet been open to me or my family.

My younger brother tearfully said to me once, "I really couldn't remember Daddy's face and figure; I am no longer familiar with his voice."

Today, gathering my courage, I come and speak up of my story and injustice suffered. I want to let you know that my father is still behind the bars, and my mom is in poor health, struggling to support the family. I need to go school to complete my education, and my brother is still small. How individuals or a family can constantly fight with a huge country that has made our family's suffering so long. I hope the U.S. Government and the people can hear our hopeless voice and act right now. I know that only you can help me get back to my normal life, comfort my brother's young heart and feelings, help my father to be released with peace and get my reunited. Thanks.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Geng follows:]

Testimony to

Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations

US House Committee for Foreign Affairs

By

GeGe "Grace" Gao, Daughter of Gao Zhisheng

December 5, 2013

Honorable Chairman Christopher Smith, members of Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations, members of US House Committee for Foreign Affairs, ladies and gentlemen,

Greetings to everyone!

I am very grateful for giving me this opportunity to speak up for my dad -- human rights lawyer Gao Zhisheng at this hearing. I deeply appreciate your caring on my dad's case.

I am Attorney Gao's daughter GeGe. I was born in a happy, harmonious family, with mom and dad's loving care, and relatives and friends around. I had been happy and never felt lonely, until my life went through tremendous changes and was turned upside down at the age of 13.

On August 15, 2006, policemen kidnapped my father at my aunt's home in Shandong Province, because of my father's taking up and investigating the cases of the persecuted faith groups. On the very same day, a group of policemen forcibly broke into my house at Beijing. Then, six to seven policemen stationed at my house every day. In addition, they put me, my mom, and young brother in house arrest with 24/7 surveillance, including watching over our sleep and even going to the restroom. In order to monitor us tightly, they didn't allow me and my 3 -year-old kindergarten brother to go to school at the beginning. Under my mom's suicidal protest by turning on the gas on the stove, the policemen finally agreed to our rights of education, but still put us under close surveillance.

Every day, I was put into a police car and go to school with the escort of six or seven policemen. They always abusively insulted my dad in the police car. For example, one day on the way to school, there were two pedestrians talking along the roadside. One policeman pointed to them and said "aren't they Gao Zhisheng and Hu Jia chatting together"? Another policeman followed-up immediately and said that "yes, they are gay friends", and then they all laughed

weirdly). That's how I started my day of school each day. Policemen went in and sat behind me in the classroom in each class, including music lessons. The close surveillance applied to my using of restrooms too. They went in the restroom with me and did not let me close the door. One of the most annoying things is that my teacher once said in front of the whole class: "None of you can bring cell phone to school, if GeGe uses your cell phone, you'll face with serious punishment." Also, I was forced to cut-off my computer class in the school. My spirit and nerves almost collapsed, after my father was taken away from us. In my everyday life, I had to endure the pressure from the police, suffered the discrimination from classmates and teachers, and was forced to experience the loneliness at young age. I lost all my sense of security.

My 3 -year-old brother was forced to be escorted to the kindergarten in the police car as well. His classroom is the only room with a surveillance camera in the whole kindergarten.

Starting from September 2008, the policemen did not allow me to go to school anymore. This prompted our determination to leave China to escape this unbearable abuse. Under friends' assistance, my mother took me and my brother and fled away from China, and eventually came to the United States. Coming to this land of free, I did not have a trace of excitement. I missed my dad so much. Combined with the accumulated worries about my father, I couldn't take it anymore and experienced a complete nerve breakdown. On the first Christmas night in the United States, I was admitted into the hospital for treatment.

I have been living in the United States for nearly five years now. I couldn't hear the voice of my father; neither could I receive his letters about current situation. I missed him so much. The most recent news was on this past January that my uncle was allowed to see my father in the prison. However, my uncle was not allowed to release any information about my dad by the Beijing Authority. It is almost another year since then. With the excuses of various reasons and regulations, the Beijing authority did not allow my family members to see my dad again. Moreover, all my relatives, such as my grandma, grandpa, three aunts, and his brothers and sisters, were blacklisted. They were deprived the basic rights of even getting a citizen passport. Eight years passed, the persecution on my father is not only still continuing, but also extends to all of our family members.

I'm living in the country with the upmost freedom in the world, but I still feel very sour in my heart because of my dad's situation. The freedom has not yet come to my dad, so it still has not genuinely arrived for me and my whole family.

My young brother once mentioned to me in his tears: "I really couldn't remember dad's face and figure; I am no longer familiar with his voice."

Today, gathering my courage and strength, I come and speak up at this hearing to tell my suffering of injustice treatment in China. I want to let you know that my dad is still behind the bars, and my mom is in poor health, struggling to support the family; I need to go to school to complete the education; and my brother is still very young. How can individuals or a single

family constantly fight with a huge government for such a long time? I hope that the US congressional members and kind people in US can hear our helpless voices and take actions right now. I know that only you can help me get back my happiness and normal life, comfort my brother's young heart and feelings. I know that only you can help my dad be released with peace, and let my family be reunited.

I wish that President Obama and Vice President Biden could mention about my father's name Gao Zhisheng in public occasions and urge the immediate release of my father without conditions.

I wish that staffs from US Embassy in China could go to visit my father in the prison. It has been almost a year now that no family or lawyer visit was allowed to see my father. We could call him and he could not write to us.

It is Christmas season now. I wish that more kind people in the world could write postcards to my father. Although my father could not hear what we say here, but the Chinese communist regime will hear our voice. Your kind concern and care for my father is the greatest protection over him.

In China, when my father came back home after the forced disappearance, he would try to show a lifted spirit and entertain me and my brother with humors. After I arrived in US, I read many reports regarding the horrible tortures that he went through during several times of forced disappearance. Whenever I think about this, I always feel more proud of the greatness of my father. I believe that when we speak out for my father, we are actually present and protect our own freedom and values.

Thank you in advance for all the helps that you can render to our family!

GeGe Gao,

Daughter of Attorney Gao Zhisheng
December 5, 2013

Mr. SMITH. Ms. Geng, thank you so much for your testimony.

Ms. Ti-Anna Wang.

STATEMENT OF MS. TI-ANNA WANG, DAUGHTER OF WANG BINGZHANG

Ms. TI-ANNA WANG. Thank you honorable Members of Congress for giving me the opportunity to testify today. My name is Ti-Anna Wang, and as the world prepares to commemorate International Human Rights Day, I would like to tell you about my father, Wang Bingzhang, a political prisoner currently serving a life sentence in China.

My father, Wang Bingzhang, is a New York-based, permanent U.S. resident and a prisoner of conscience currently serving the 11th year of a life sentence for his pioneering work in pro-democracy activism. He is the founder of the overseas Chinese democracy movement and dedicated his life to promoting rule of law, freedom and human rights in China by starting the dissident magazine, China Spring, and several organizations opposing the Communist government.

In 2002, my father was kidnapped in Vietnam and forced back into China where he was taken into custody by Chinese police. After being held incommunicado for 6 months, he was subjected to a sham trial and found guilty of "espionage" and "terrorism." My father was sentenced to life in prison and has been serving his sentence in solitary confinement ever since.

In a country without meaningful rule of law, my family has no means to legally appeal my father's conviction, despite having secured exonerating evidence for the graver charges against him. The lawyers we have retained on his behalf are routinely intimidated by authorities, obstructed from visiting him, and threatened with disbarment.

My father will be turning 67 in a few weeks. The past decade of confinement has taken an irreversible toll on his physical and mental health. While he languishes in prison, I have spent the past decade campaigning for his release by telling his story on public platforms and lobbying the American and Canadian Governments for assistance. As a result, the Chinese Government apparently decided that I too needed to be punished. Since I began speaking in public, the Chinese Government has refused to issue me a visa. It is now been 5 years since I have been able to visit my father.

I am joined here today by four young women whose circumstances are disturbingly similar to my own. Each of us have had our young lives defined by our father's wrongful imprisonment. So I speak on behalf of the five of us when I urge the United States to intervene more assertively on our behalves.

First, I unabashedly ask the leaders of the U.S. Government, including President Obama, Vice President Biden, Secretary of State Kerry, and Ambassador Power to seize all diplomatic opportunities with China to seek the release of our fathers. I believe high-level diplomacy is our fathers' best chance for freedom, and their releases must be discussed on occasions such as Vice President Biden's recent trip to Beijing. I request the help of all Members of Congress in conveying this message to the administration and compelling them to act on our behalves.

Second, I ask the Obama administration to meet with the five of us and listen to our first hand experiences as witnesses of China's human rights abuse. I want our stories and efforts to be heard, acknowledged, and taken into serious consideration when the U.S. devises its foreign policy with China. And again, I ask Members of Congress to help us secure such a meeting with top U.S. leadership.

I would like to end my statement by reminding everyone that it was the very values espoused by the U.S. Government and other democracies that inspired activists like our fathers. If we cannot ask this government and its leaders to advocate for their release, to whom else can we turn?

[The prepared statement of Ms. Ti-Anna Wang follows:]

Testimony by Ti-Anna Wang
Daughter of Dr. Wang Bingzhang
House Committee on Foreign Affairs
December 5th, 2013 - 11:00AM

Thank you honorable members of Congress for giving me the opportunity to testify today. My name is Ti-Anna Wang, and as the world prepares to commemorate International Human Rights Day, I'd like to tell you about my father, Wang Bingzhang, a political prisoner currently serving a life sentence in China.

My father, Wang Bingzhang, is a New York-based permanent US resident and a prisoner of conscience currently serving the 11th year of a life sentence for his pioneering work in pro-democracy activism. He is the founder of the overseas Chinese democracy movement and dedicated his life to promoting rule of law, freedom and human rights in China by starting the dissident magazine, China Spring, and several opposition organizations.

In 2002, my father was kidnapped in Vietnam and forced back into China where he was taken into custody by Chinese police. After being held incommunicado for 6 months, he was subjected to a sham trial and found guilty of 'espionage' and 'terrorism'. My father was sentenced to life in prison and has been serving his solitary confinement ever since.

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policy with China. And again, I ask members of Congress to help us secure such a meeting with top US leadership.

I'd like to end my statement by reminding everyone that it was the very values espoused by the United States and other democracies that inspired activists like our fathers. If we cannot ask this government and its leaders to advocate for their release, to whom else can we turn?

Mr. SMITH. Thank you for your extraordinary testimony.
Ms. Chen.

STATEMENT OF MS. BRIDGETTE CHEN, DAUGHTER OF LIU XIAN BIN

Ms. CHEN. Dear honorable friends, my name is Bridgette. Today, I want to simply introduce the current situation of my father, Liu Xian Bin, as a daughter and a witness. My father has been in prison three times which totals up to 14 years because of his political views. Like every other parent, my dad has always wanted to take care of me as I grew up, yet he was absent from my childhood until I was 11. When he was released from prison in 2008, it was so hard for him to believe that I had already grown up. However, he was once again taken away from my life by the policemen in June, 2010. Therefore, I came to the U.S., and the distance between my dad and me was lengthened. Moreover, my mom was unable to leave China since the government would not grant her a passport. Because of this, my family was separated in three different places: My father is in an actual prison, and my mom is in an invisible prison. As a daughter, all I want is the reunion of my family, and the completion of my parents' marriage. However this simple wish became unrealistic in China, and my dad was convicted of inciting subversion of state power just because he has told the truth and done what is righteous.

Life in prison must have been really hard for my dad, but fortunately, we can still encourage each other by mailing. In the newest letter from my dad, he wrote,

> "My child, your complaint of your ugly handwriting has made me feel guilty, for if I was with you when you were little, I would have taught you a beautiful cursive. The absence of me has made this family incomplete, and it must has been difficult for both you and your mom when I am not by your side. So I can only express my love through these letters so that you would still feel my love for you even when I am not here with you. Never stop being virtuous and kindhearted, for even though kind people has always been treated unjustly in this chaotic world, they will be blessed and remembered eventually."

At the end of the letter, he writes,

> "Your happiness and confidence in the United States has comforted me. You know what, all a parent want is to see his children live happily, healthily, and peacefully."

Like my dad mentioned in this letter, kind people will be blessed eventually. I hope and believe, one day my dad, and those who have suffered for human rights and justice in the world as the China 18, will eventually receive the freedom they deserve, the freedom of both their bodies and souls. Therefore, I sincerely ask the U.S. Government, Mr. Biden, and President Obama to concern more of the families of prisoners of conscience and help us to free our fathers. And I ask for an Oval Office meeting with President Obama for a more direct and detailed conversation in order to reunite our families. And dear friends, please keep helping us to free

all the prisoners of conscience and to keep truth and justice for every human being. Just like Thomas Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence, everyone deserves the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

There was misery and fear in the past, but there is more hope ahead of us. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Chen follows:]

Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations
2172 Rayburn House Office Building
December 5, 2013 11:00 a.m.
The Daughters Appeal to Beijing: "Let Our Fathers Go!"

Testimony of Bridgette Liu

Dear Honorable friends,

My name is Bridgette, today I want to simply introduce the current situation of my father, Liu Xian Bin, as a daughter and a witness. My father has been in prison three times which totals up to 14 yrs because of his political views. Like every other parent, my dad has always wanted to take care of me as I grew up, yet he was absent from my childhood until I was 11. When he was released from prison in 2008, it was so hard for him to believe that I had already grown up. However, he was once again taken away from my life by the policemen in June, 2010. Therefore, I came to the US, and the distance between my dad & me was lengthened. Moreover, my mom was unable to leave China since the government would not grant her a passport. Because of this, my family was separated in three different places: my father is in an actual prison, and my mom is in an invisible prison. As a daughter, all I want is the reunion of my family, and the completion of my parents' marriage. However this simple wish became unrealistic in China, and my dad was convicted of Subversion of State Power just because he has told the truth and done what is righteous and just.

Life in prison must have been really hard for my dad, but fortunately we can still encourage each other by mailing. In the newest letter from my dad, he wrote," My child, your complaint of your ugly handwriting has made me feel guilty, for if I was with you when you were little , I would have taught you a beautiful cursive. The absence of me has made this family incomplete, and it must has been difficult for both you and your mom when I'm not by your side. So I can only express my love through theses letters so that you would still feel my love for you even when I'm not here with you...never stop being virtuous and kindhearted, for even though kind people has always been treated unjustly in this chaotic world, they will be blessed and remembered eventually..." At the end of the letter, he writes," your happiness and confidence in the United States has comforted me. You know what, all a parent want is to see his children live happily, healthily, and peacefully. Praise The Lord, and may he keep blessing and protecting you!"

Like my dad mentioned in this letter, kind people will be blessed eventually. I hope and believe, one day my dad, and those who have suffered for human rights and justice in the world as china 18, will eventually receive the freedom they deserve, the freedom of both their bodies and souls. Therefore, I sincerely ask the US Government, Mr. Biden, and the President to concern more of the families of prisoners of conscience and help us to free our fathers! And I ask for an Oval office meeting with President Obama for a more direct and detailed conversation in order to reunite our families. And dear friends, please keep helping us to free all the prisoners of conscience and to keep truth and justice for every human being! Just like Thomas Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence, everyone deserves the rights of Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of happiness! Thank you!

Mr. SMITH. Ms. Chen, thank you very much.

Ms. Wang.

STATEMENT OF MS. DANIELLE WANG, DAUGHTER OF WANG ZHIWEN

Ms. DANIELLE WANG. Thank you to the organizers for including my dad's story in this event. In a way, Zhiwen Wang can stand in for millions of Falun Dafa practitioners in China living under persecution by the Chinese regime. All of the victims being honored here and their families have endured many hardships that should have never come about. Yet the fact that we are standing here today with all of you in the audience shows that there will always be people standing up for justice and the greater good in the world.

The holiday season is coming up again. Here in the United States, many families are getting ready to gather for Christmas and New Year's. In China, we would be starting to look forward to Chinese New Year. But this time of year is always bittersweet for me, because of the painful absence in my family since my father's summary arrest and detention in July 1999. He was targeted for no more than his peaceful practice of Falun Dafa, and he has been gone for over 14 years.

My Dad was born in 1949, the same year as the People's Republic of China. He served his country throughout his long career, including as an engineer at the PRC Ministry of Railways. He began practicing Falun Gong in 1992. Over the next 5 years, he became a volunteer contact person for Falun Gong practitioners in Beijing, teaching the exercises, meditation practice, and principles of truth, compassion, and tolerance.

In the early morning of July 20, 1999, according to eyewitness accounts from our neighbors, my father was seized from his bed by police and taken away in waiting police vans. He was subjected to physical abuse. The tortures includes his teeth being pulled out, all his collar bones were smashed. They put bamboo sticks and pierced all his fingers. He suffered numerous beatings. No sleep for 7 days. I have in my hand a wooden stick that I recently obtained from China. Fifteen years, that is the only thing I get from him. That was a polished wood stick that he polished with his hands in jail. It is really smooth, but that is the only thing so far I ever got from him. Being away from my dad, without his guidance is very hard.

I hope that the decisions I have made in my life will make him feel really, really proud.

On my wedding day, we placed a single rose in his chair to symbolize his absence and celebrate his place in my life. I still have that rose, it has been dried and discolored. I really hope that he can be always with me.

Throughout the past decade and a half, I have been working to get my father released. Though I am only one person, with limited abilities, time, and resources, I have always felt obligated to dedicate 100 percent of my effort to raising awareness of my father's unlawful arrest and detention for no more than his spiritual beliefs.

I would like to bring my dad home one day, so here, I want to ask you as Congress to ask the Obama administration to meet with U.S. five daughters to hear our stories and bring him home. I also

want to speak on the phone with my father. I want to channel two-way communication with my father. I want him to be released safely from jail and give him a life here in America.

And finally, last, I want all of the Falun Gong practitioners in prison in China be released. I really hope that happens. It is really hard to go on and I never truly felt that happy ever, ever since my dad was arrested. And all the daughters here, they are so much younger than me. I just hope they don't go through what I go through for 15 years. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Danielle Wang follows:]

Name: Danielle Wang (Legal: Xiaodan Nenarella)

Title and organizational affiliation: N/A

Committee: House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations

Hearing date and title: Their Daughters Appeal to Beijing: "Let Our Fathers Go!" 11:00 a.m, Thursday, December 5, 2013

Written Statement:

Thank you to the organizers for including my father's story in this event. In a way, Zhiwen Wang can stand in for millions of Falun Dafa practitioners in China living under persecution by the Chinese regime. All of the victims being honored here and their families have endured many hardships that should have never come about. Yet the fact that we are standing here today with all of you in the audience shows that there will always be people standing up for justice and the greater good in the world.

The holiday season is coming up again. Here in the United States, many families are getting ready to gather for Christmas and New Year's. In China, we would be starting to look forward to Chinese New Year. But this time of year is always bittersweet for me, because of the painful absence in my family since my father's summary arrest and detention in July of 1999. He was targeted for no more than his peaceful practice of Falun Dafa, and he has been gone for over 14 years.

My Dad was born in 1949, the same year as the People's Republic of China. He served his country throughout his long career, including as an engineer at the P.R.C. Ministry of Railways. He began practicing Falun Gong in 1992. Over the next

five years, he became a volunteer contact person for Falun Gong practitioners in Beijing, teaching the exercises, meditation practice, and principles of truth, compassion, and tolerance.

In the early morning of July 20, 1999, according to eyewitness accounts from our neighbors, my father was seized from his bed by police and taken away in waiting police vans. His summary arrest came on the same day that the Chinese Communist Party began its brutal crackdown on Falun Gong, with thousands of others targeted for similar arbitrary arrest and detention. On December 26, 1999, my father was sentenced by Beijing No.1 Intermediate People's Court to 16 years in jail.

The sentence came after a one day trial, alongside Li Chang, Ji Liewu, and Yao Jie, other peaceful Falun Gong practitioners who happened to have positions in the Party or PRC government ministries. The trial was nationally broadcast on television, and from the pictures it's clear that my father and the other defendants had been subjected to physical abuse.

All four were convicted on unsubstantiated charges of "Organizing and using a heretical organization to undermine implementation of the law", "Organizing and using a heretical organization to cause death", and "Illegally obtaining state secrets". Based on what we and other's watching his case have been able to learn, my father was first detained at The Chinese People's Armed Police Force Academy in Langfang, Hebei Province, and later transferred to Tianjin Prison in the city of Tianjin. It has been impossible to obtain information on his health or wellbeing.

Next July 20th will be 15 years since my Dad, Zhiwen Wang, was thrown into his illegal imprisonment, without due process, without a fair trial, and without justice. A lot happens in 15 years. Being away from Dad and growing up without him has been so hard. I hope that the decisions I've made in my life would make him proud. At my wedding we placed a single rose on his chair to symbolize his presence and celebrate his place in my life. I continue to keep that rose safe and present until the day we meet again and I can hand it to him and tell him the story of how he has always been with me.

Throughout the past decade and a half, I have been working to get my father released. Though I am only one person, with limited abilities, time, and resources, I have always felt obligated to dedicate 100% of my effort to raising awareness of my father's unlawful arrest and detention for no more than his spiritual beliefs. People today are still being subjected to the same treatment. Why do we let it go on?

Mr. SMITH. Ms. Wang, thank you. And your testimonies need to be heard by the President of the United States, the Vice President, Members of the Congress, House, and Senate, members of the U.N. I find it appalling that on November 12, 2013, China was elected to serve as a member in good standing on the U.N. Human Rights Council. It seems to me that your testimonies—and we will send your testimonies to every member on the U.N. Human Rights Council, as well as to every head of delegation at the United Nations and Ban Ki Moon as well—they need to hear the extraordinary agony that you and so many like you suffer as a result of having your dads and other family members in other cases ripped away from you. I can assure you, we will do serious follow up to make sure that the five daughters and your testimonies are heard by a greater number of people.

I respectfully ask that the press amplify not just for today, but in a serious and sustained way the plight of your dads and other people, because you are not exceptions. You are the pattern. You are the norm in China today. And I can assure you that our human rights subcommittee will continue doggedly to try to reach the hearts and minds of our own Government officials so that this is not a talking point on page five, if it is that at all, and that Xi Jinping and others in the leadership take seriously the damage they are doing to the people over which they rule.

I do believe your fathers would be extraordinarily proud of you being here and for your tenacious defense of them for so many years. I mean what love, what compassion, what empathy. Five brave, compassionate young women from China, you do your countrymen and countrywomen a great service. Americans should see this is the pride of China sitting here and I am in awe, frankly, of each of you and I thank you for your testimonies.

As a source of perhaps some hope, immediately behind you sits Chen Guangcheng and Yuan Weijin, his wife, who suffered 5 years of imprisonment and house arrest and as you all know, he made a herculean journey to the U.S. Embassy and thankfully by the grace of God, he now is a free man, but his nephew is not and we will hear from the father of his nephew in our next panel. But there is hope and I can assure you that if we do more and make this the priority, not a distant page five asterisk priority, which it is now in far too many policymakers' minds, it will help effectuate the release of the innocent fathers who are suffering so bravely and so horribly in Chinese Laogai and prisons and detention centers.

Just a very brief question, if all of you could speak directly to Xi Jinping, maybe in a minute or so and to President Obama. I did notice I think at least two of you, maybe more, suggested a White House meeting. I think that would be a tremendous idea. The President needs to hear you, look you in the eyes and hear what you have got to say. When we meet—and I do this as well, when you meet with high government officials, with all the trappings of office, what really happens on the ground, especially with ubiquitous secret police, that are in the employ of the Government of China, is that a whole different story is told as to what really occurs, day in and day out, especially in the prison camps and the Laogai throughout China.

So what would you say to Xi Jinping? What would you say to President Obama? What would you say to Ban Ki Moon? Because certainly those three individuals and others, could have a huge effect on the plights of your fathers.

Ms. Peng.

Ms. PENG. Many people have asked me why have I, as a 17-year-old, sort of given up a part of my life, my childhood, to go to Taiwan, to go to DC to testify on behalf of my father, and what I hope to accomplish. The answer to that question is I was a second child in China, so I wasn't granted official recognition. I had no right to an education. So when we fled political persecution, because of my father's political activism and the fact that I was accepted by the United States and granted citizenship years ago, I feel immensely grateful to have been able to receive such a great American education and to learn about these issues of human rights, democracy, justice, and freedom. And therefore, I feel that it is my moral obligation, not just to my father, not just to the China 18, not just to the thousands of prisoners in China, but to these fundamental values that every single human being on this planet deserves.

So therefore, I think by not speaking out, by not doing anything, by merely watching and looking as these atrocities continue to occur, that I will be sending the wrong message to China, to President Xi Jinping. The message that I don't want to send is that it is okay, is that I will merely watch by and that is a form of tacit consent. So it is my belief that any little step I can do, any time I have the opportunity to share my story, to share my story of the American dream which was inspired by President Obama's American dream as well, I really hope that he will continue to press for the release of my father and the fathers of the young ladies with us today and to make human rights the forefront of our agenda, which I believe is the fundamental foundation on which other conversations of economics can develop.

Mr. SMITH. And that is a hope, making it a forefront of our agenda, that has not been achieved.

Ms. PENG. Right.

Mr. SMITH. Ms. Geng.

Ms. GENG. Yes, I want to say to Xi Jinping to please release our fathers so they can come back with us. I hope that the governors in China can visit my father since the Chinese Government doesn't allow my family to see my father and please give us more information about our father's situation and his condition of health and that's all. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Ms. Ti-Anna Wang?

Ms. TI-ANNA WANG. To President Xi Jinping, I would like to ask him to please release our fathers so that our families can be reunited, that we can finally end this nightmarish chapter of our lives. To President Obama, I would like him to know that his personal intervention is our fathers' best chance for freedom and I would like him to prioritize human rights in high-level diplomacy. And to Mr. Ban Ki Moon, I would like him to defend the universal values of human rights by advocating for our fathers' release publicly. Thank you.

Ms. CHEN. I would like to say to President Xi Jinping to please release our fathers and all the prisoners of conscience in order to

fix the country, to make this country better and stronger. I would like to receive the basic rights of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness and I want my family's reunion and my parents' marriage completion.

And also, I want to say to President Obama, who is the dad of two daughters, please understand our situation and let our voice be heard. And please help us to make this country and this world better. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Ms. Wang.

Ms. DANIELLE WANG. I want to talk to Xi Jinping, you know, I want to explain to him that the principles of Falun Gong which are never wrong which are compassion, truthfulness, and endurance. I want my father to be released because I know he is a father, too. And his daughter actually studied in U.S. not too long ago. I think he understood a daughter really crying for her dad's safety, nothing more than a girl wants her family.

I want to talk to President Obama because he is the leader of this very strong country and I hope he can stand up for the basic human rights and get our dads safely home.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. I noticed Grace, in your testimony, you mentioned how that when your father was home after the forced disappearance, "he would try to show a lifted spirit and entertain me and my brother with humor." That certainly underscores that even though he had suffered so much, his love and devotion to you and your brother was so strong, but he tried to divorce himself. He obviously didn't just unload and tell you all the terrible things he had suffered. That has to make it even more painful, knowing that he was putting you first and now, of course, he has disappeared again. That, I am sure, has been the situation with all of you because you are such devoted daughters, so full of love and devotion, but I caught that as a very important aspect of your testimony.

Also, I noticed, Ms. Lisa Peng, you said you suffered doubly, because you were a second order birth. Most Americans are woefully uninformed, and I would say most people in the world are, about how draconian, the one-child-per-couple policy is and that when a woman is able to, through hiding her pregnancy or perhaps even sometimes a payoff to family planning cadres, have a second child, that second child is grossly discriminated against. If you would briefly speak to that.

Ms. PENG. I think some other people have mentioned, especially Grace, about the isolation that she suffered in China. Because I was a survivor of the one-child forced abortion policy, I of course was considered a non-entity, couldn't go to school. And even when my mom would drive my brother to school and I was in the car, the government would have four secret police tailgate us and bump into us as we were driving to school. And our house was, of course, tapped, not in particular because of me, but mostly because of my father's activism. So there was no future for me in China. And so the fact that I safely escaped and was accepted by the United States and respected in classrooms and my voice is heard in classrooms and I have opportunities, unimaginable opportunities to do whatever I want in the future and to give back to the community that has given me so much, that is really what makes me feel so grateful and hopeful every day.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to yield to Mr. Pittenger and then to Mr. Meadows.

Mr. PITTENGER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank each of you. I am a father of three daughters. I love my daughters. Your fathers love you. One of my daughters' name is Grace. I want you to know how special you are to your dads. You have taken up his cause. You have taken up the cause of liberty, of freedom, of democracy, something that you will never be able to break from. You know the pain and the difficulty it is that your dad is going through and yet you are living for him, you are living for those like him in your country and throughout the world. So I really want to commend you for your life. You are living a very profound, just life, and your fathers are very deeply proud of you as I am proud of my daughters, not necessarily because of what they do. Fathers love their daughters no matter what. And your father's abiding love is always there and I hope that you will sense and you will know that.

And I pray that someday you will united with him. I want you to know that your work will not be in vain. As you live your lives and you should live your lives. Your father wants you to live your lives, but you will also be carrying this banner that it will not be in vain. You play a very important role and as you continue to live and to speak and to be a part of coming here to Congress and going to other places, you will have a major impact upon the whole world. So you are part of a very great cause. You have been chosen for a very important time. This is an important day, an important era that America needs to recognize that human rights, religious liberties, freedoms of conscience are superior. They are preeminent. They are far greater than any economic destiny or hopes that we would have. They supersede all.

So I am grateful for your lives. I am grateful for your testimony. And having said all that, I would just like to ask we as Members of Congress, we are busy people. There are many issues in this country. This will always have a deep impression for us. But if you want to give us a reminder, if you want to give something to the American people, if you want to leave one word to the American people, if you want us to convey one thing, what is that one thing? When you go to bed every night, knowing that you are alone, knowing that your dad can't hug and kiss you goodnight, knowing that thousands and millions of others can't as well, what do you want us—what can we carry back to our Members of Congress, to our colleagues that will do the most to cause us to make sure that this is objective is achieved? Could you just speak a little bit to that?

Ms. PENG. Rather than asking myself when will be my father be released, I instead try to think my father hasn't been released yet. We haven't been reunited yet. He hasn't received medical care and he hasn't received visitation rights yet. So for me the word "yet" really encapsulates my hope and my faith and my father's hope and faith and our hope and faith that one day we will be reunited. But I think hope is necessary, but not sufficient because even though I have immense hope that my father will be released, even though he has immense hope, we have to act on that hope and we have to make that not just a dream, but a reality.

So I think the importance of today's hearing is to try to make that transition as soon as possible by calling for an Oval Office

meeting by asking Vice President Biden to raise the names of these political dissidents. I think that—and high-level diplomacy—is how we can make that effective transition from dream to reality. So that is what I would say. Thank you.

Mr. PITTENGER. Thank you.

Ms. GENG. I want all Americans to remember our fathers and stand up for our fathers. And that is all.

Mr. PITTENGER. Thank you.

Ms. TI-ANNA WANG. To the American people, I would like them to know that it is the values of the United States that inspired my father to take the champion pro-democracy activism in the first place and I ask that he not be forsaken in his time of need. Thank you.

Mr. PITTENGER. Thank you.

Ms. CHEN. The word I want to give to everybody in the United States is love. It is because of my father's love to China, that is why he has done all the things, he has written all these articles, it is not because he hates China, it is because he loves China. And because of his love and because of my love to him, I came here as a witness. And because my mom has loved my dad and my mom has loved me, she didn't divorce my dad. She chose to keep this marriage and keep this family stable. And because all the people's love, they helped me to come out of China and study here and get all those happy lives right now. And because of everyone's love here, we can have this opportunity to be speaking here to fight for what we chose, to fight for justice and rights.

Everybody think of love while you are doing this. It is because of love. Thank you.

Mr. PITTENGER. Thank you.

Ms. DANIELLE WANG. The phrase I choose here is the courage to speak the truth. I think because my dad was withstanding his belief and he is trying to keep truthful to himself in his heart, he is being imprisoned. And I also believe that America was founded on being truthful to beliefs. So I really think there is a deep connection there. And I am here to speak what is true to my heart. So I think it is really meaningful to Congress.

Mr. PITTENGER. Thank you. God bless you all.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Meadows.

Mr. MEADOWS. Thank each one of you. As a father, a daughter has a special place in a father's heart and I want each one of you to hear that and just know that even though miles and time may separate you, there is nothing, nothing that will ever separate you from your father's love. I want to thank each one of you for your testimony and ask for your forgiveness. I was talking to my staff before I came here about the importance of making a difference in people's lives. And as I came to this particular hearing, we have been in a number of hearings, Mr. Chairman, on human rights issues in China and for me I thought well maybe it would just be another hearing. It has profoundly touched me, your testimony. I want to thank each one of you and just say as a father, speaking on behalf of your fathers, I am proud of you. Very proud of you.

I also want to let you know that there are many negotiations and many things we do here in Congress that have lasting impact. But my commitment to each one of you is that as discussions go on

with those in official positions in China, that not a single one of those conversations or negotiations will happen with my staff or me without the faces of each one of you being at the forefront of our mind. And so I want to just say thank you.

Many of you have called on the President and truly on the Vice President to be your advocates. They are dads, too. So I would join with you and say that we need to make sure that this is not something that gets overlooked. You have my commitment to do that. And my friend and colleague, Mr. Pittenger here, had asked if you would each share one word. And so my one word to you would be that we will be unflinching in our dedication to help you in this area, but the one word is that you will see your dad soon. And so soon is where we will be and I just want to thank each one of you for being here today and for giving your touching testimony. I will yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Meadows. And for the record, Mr. Meadows is the congressional delegate to the United States and I know in his contacts and lobbying of heads of delegation, he and I and others will literally carry your testimonies and put it in the hands of these individuals from the very top, from Ban Ki Moon, right on down. Your love and devotion to your dads, your courage, the pain and agony that you carry, as well as the rest of your family, just begs the question, we have to do more and why haven't we? So I thank you so much. Your testimony is landmark. It will have an effect. And I guarantee all of us and not just those that are here, others who are equally dedicated to the cause of human rights will be unceasing as my colleagues said and I associate my remarks to my two very distinguished friends and I thank you, too. As a father of two daughters, one daughter-in-law who is just like our daughter, we love her just as much, you are amazing and I thank you.

I would like to now ask for our second panel if they can make their way. Thank you, ladies.

Our second panel will begin with Pastor Bob Fu who was a leader in the 1989 student democracy movement in Tiananmen Square and later became a house church pastor and founder, along with his wife. In 1996, authorities arrested them and imprisoned them for their work. After their release, they escaped to the U.S. and in 2002 founded ChinaAid Association. ChinaAid monitors and reports on religious freedom in China and provides a forum for discussion among experts on religion, law, and human rights in China. Pastor Fu is frequently interviewed by media outlets around the world and has testified frequently as U.S. congressional hearings. He has also appeared before the European Parliament as well as the United Nations. Pastor Fu holds a double bachelor's degree from People's University and the Institute of Foreign Relations and has taught at the Beijing Communist Party School.

In the United States, he has earned a master's degree from Westminster Theological Seminary and is now working on his Ph.D. And I just say from a very personal point of view, when we were working very hard for the release of the great Chen Guangcheng, it was Bob Fu who on two of those occasions during hearings on Mr. Chen, actually got in touch with him in a hospital room in Beijing and put the microphone, the phone right next to

this microphone here and we heard directly from Mr. Chen who testified in absentia halfway around the world via Bob Fu.

We will then hear from Mr. Chen Guangfu, brother of Chen Guangcheng and father of Chen Kegui, nephew of Chinese activists Chen Guangcheng, who was arrested after defending himself and his family against local government officials who forced their way into Chen's home on the night of April 27, 2010, in Shandong Province. Mr. Chen was charged with "intentionally inflicting harm." All of these people burst into his home with fists and other things raining down upon Mr. Chen. Obviously, any of us would defend ourselves, but he was unfortunately convicted in December 2012 and sentenced to 3 years and 3 months in prison.

Mr. Chen has suffered beatings and a medical emergency and was rejected for consideration for medical parole. Chen Guangfu is the elder brother, as I said, and we will hear from him momentarily.

We will then hear from Dr. Devra Marcus, a graduate of Stanford Medical School and a fellow of the American College of Physicians and for more than 40 years has been a Washington, DC, internist. In addition to her medical practice, Dr. Marcus has long worked to protect and serve Chinese Government targeted leaders and groups. She has traveled to Tumen, China to provide medical services for North Korean refugees and the Government of China seeks to deport to North Korea gulags.

Dr. Marcus played an essential role in the case of Fang Zheng, the Chinese dissent, a Tiananmen demonstration amputee and ensure he received prosthetic limbs and prosthetic training and sent a message to China and elsewhere of American generosity and compassion.

Dr. Marcus recently traveled to Hangju, China to examine and bring public attention to the case of imprisoned dissident Zhu Yufu and to protest the denial to him of adequate medical services. Dr. Marcus is from McLean, Virginia, and her name has long been a place for refuge for pro-democracy dissidents from all over of the world.

Zhu Yufu is the founder of a major pro-democracy publication and China Democracy Party who was detained and sentenced to 7 years in prison in 1999. After his release in 2006, Zhu was arrested in May 2007. He was sentenced, again, two more times.

Pastor Fu, if you could proceed.

STATEMENT OF PASTOR BOB FU, FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT, CHINAAID ASSOCIATION

Mr. FU. Mr. Chairman and honorable Members of Congress, thank you very much for giving this opportunity for those five daughters whose fathers are still suffering in prison, for 15 years, 11 years, 10 years, and on.

This is the third time in this year that I sit here to testify before the U.S. Congress, the international community, and all the people concerned with China's human rights condition about the rapid deterioration of human rights condition in China. Of course, nobody can really stay still and silent after hearing those cries and appeals of these daughters and fathers.

We have been monitoring China's human rights condition for the past 11 years, because we specifically focus on religious persecution, human rights violations, and the promotion of the rule of law in China. We got to know hundreds and thousands of sons, daughters, and family members of prisoners of conscience like Ti-Anna Wang, Lisa Peng, Grace Geng, Bridgette Chen, and Danielle Wang, and of course, Mr. Chen Kegui.

China's worsening human rights violations and its notorious human rights record are surely caused by this totalitarianism and wickedness of the Chinese Communist authorities, but are also a result of the loss of some God-given, self-evident fundamental ideals and principles by some countries like our country, the United States in recent years. Today, the reality that the Chinese Government dares to despite human rights dignity and blatantly violate universal values truly has a correlation with the appeasement policy of so-called "harmony diplomacy" adopted by some Western democratic societies toward totalitarianism.

So I will just briefly use the three perspectives for my testimony today. I request the chairman to allow my written testimony into the record.

Mr. SMITH. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. FU. On June 6th this year, ChinaAid Association and other 30 international human rights organizations jointly launched the "Free China 18 Campaign" calling on the release of 18 Chinese prisoners of conscience. They are Wang Bingzhang, Peng Ming, Gao Zhisheng, Liu Xiaobo, Guo Quan, Zhu Yufu, Liu Xianbin, Yang Tianshui, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, Yang Rongli, Alimujiang Yimiti, Wang Zhiwen, Lobsang Tsering, Li Chang, Gulmira Imin, Chen Kegui, Dhondup Wangchen, and Guo Feixiong. They are only the representatives of tens of thousands of political prisoners of conscience in mainland China. The majority of them expressed their views or protested against tyranny with peaceful methods, and some were imprisoned because of their religious faith. They are ethnically diverse, including Han Chinese, Tibetans, Uyghurs, and other ethnicities.

And I would not be able to list all the sufferings, the tortures, the deprivations of their basic human rights because of the time limit.

Apparently and clearly the condition for human rights in China has continued to worsen in recent years and recent months. It has reached the worst scenario since the Tiananmen massacre on June 4, 1989. Likewise, China is regressing in the rule of law and there is no sign of improvement in the short term.

The Chinese Communist authorities also suppress house churches more harshly, and religious persecution is also worsening.

Mr. Chairman, on this religious persecution front, I wanted to pay attention on several particular cases such as one of the largest independent house churches called Shouwang Church. It was forbidden to worship indoors; it was even forbidden to even enter into their own purchased buildings. They had no choice but to worship outdoors for 2 years. And believers go to different locations every week, and every week in the past 2 years, a number of believers from 10 to 120 were taken to different police stations every Sunday, and it continues. Some were beaten, some women were raped,

some pastors, elders of the church had been under house arrest for more than 2 years without freedom.

Another case, this happened recently to a government-sanctioned church group. Pastor Zhang Shaojie and 23 believers from Nanle County Christian Church, Puyang, Henan Province were taken into police custody secretly, and the majority of them have not received any legal papers so far. This happens to government-sanctioned church and church leaders just because believers of the church fight for their basic rights and social justice and offended some local government officials. Yet, the leaders, these 23, are still in custody.

And of course, the Chinese Government has always spared no effort in its United Front work through religion and overseas propaganda packed with lies. Unfortunately, some U.S.-based NGOs or religious organizations take a different standing than standing united with those persecuted. As understandable as it may be, that Billy Graham Evangelistic Association needed to collaborate with the Chinese Communist Government in its disaster relief efforts, this organization, at the China U.S.A. Protestant Church Leaders Forum held in Shanghai and Beijing on November 19th and 20th of this year, just last month, according to the news released by the Chinese Government authorities, recognized leaders of the Three-Self Patriotic Committee, a puppet created by the government. The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association has collaboration with the Chinese Government-sanctioned church bodies, recognized solely the representatives of the Chinese Government established church, and said nothing, nothing about the religious persecution to their fellow brothers in the house church.

The 2014 General Assembly of the Word Evangelical Alliance will be held October 27 to 31 in 2014 in Seoul, South Korea. According to the Chinese Government, the WEA has already sent an invitation by the senior leaders to the Chinese Christian Council and the Three-Self Patriotic Movement Committee, the government organization, but it is still unknown if it will or has invited the leaders of the house churches who are the representatives, actually the majority of the Chinese church. The majority of the Protestant church leaders as we recall in the history of humanity, the majority of the Protestant church leaders back then in the 1940s, praised Hitler and pledged allegiance to Nazi Germany, the state government. They did not oppose principles of Darwinian evolutionary theory introduced by the Nazis and the notion of so-called pure breed and superior breed derived from it. We know how churches in Germany became an ally, shamefully, of the Nazi regime, betrayed God, and left the mark of shame in human history. Likewise, we want to know: Where do we want to stand? Do we want to stand with the Nazi, the Chinese Government Communists who established the church, as did the Nazis, did the church in Germany in 1940s, or do we want to stand with the confessional church which stands against the dictatorships and warmongers.

So I want to just make five specific recommendations to Congress. I hope the Obama administration will deliver a note to the Chinese Government asking for the immediate and unconditional release of these 18 prisoners of conscience. And I hope President Obama will meet with these five daughters and other representa-

tives of the China 18 as soon as possible so that he can hear directly from these daughters.

Secondly, I hope human rights issues can become an indispensable component in the meetings and the strategic dialogues between Chinese and American top leaders.

Thirdly, I propose to broadcast live the annual Chinese-U.S. Human Rights Dialogue on the Internet, make the dialogue specific in goals and substantial in content. Make evaluations of the China binding. Don't reduce the highest level human rights dialogue between the two countries to a useless show.

Fourthly, I hope the House Committee on Foreign Affairs will make it mandatory that the officials of the U.S. Embassy and consulates in China, especially the visa officers, receive at least 14 days of systematic training on the background of human rights and religious freedom in China. I propose this because at present, many people who can make significant contributions to freedom and rule of law in China, and as well as the communication between China and the U.S., have been denied visas unreasonably, including some even invited by the leaders of Congress, even though they meet the criteria for entry into the U.S.

Finally, and fifthly, as I just flew back from the Taiwan Congress along with Ti-Anna Wang and Lisa Peng after we testified before the Taiwanese Congress, one bit progress was made, that is, in the Taiwan Congress—four Members of the Taiwan Congress, along with the 14 or more Members across party lines, issued a letter to the leaders of the Taiwanese Government, including President Ma Ying-jeou to urge them to clarify whether Dr. Wang Bingzhang is a spy from Taiwan. In the letter it says if Dr. Wang, who was sentenced to life in prison for being accused as a Taiwanese spy and with terrorism, if he is a spy, the Taiwanese authorities have a moral and governmental obligation to fight for his freedom. And if he is not, it makes more sense that the Taiwanese Government should seek clarification for the international community and for the Wang family, including the daughter, Ti-Anna Wang.

So the deadline for the President Ma Ying-jeou to submit that clarification to Taiwanese Congress, and actually it was promised already by President Ma Ying-jeou's representatives during the hearing, is December 10th before the Human Rights Day.

Mr. SMITH. Pastor Fu, we will come back. We are out of time——

Mr. FU. I will finish one sentence, sorry. I ask Mr. Chairman to really do a follow up—formally request President Ma Ying-jeou and Taiwanese Congress and through the American Institute in Taiwan to do a follow up for that request because both Dr. Wang and Mr. Peng Ming are permanent residents of the U.S. as refugees. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Fu follows:]

In the face of rapidly deteriorating status of human rights, it is time to say "No" to oppressors

Hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to be held by the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations in Room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building

DATE: Thursday, December 5, 2013

TIME: 11:00 a.m.

SUBJECT: The Daughters Appeal to Beijing: "Let Our Fathers Go!"

CHAIRMAN: Christopher H. Smith(R-NJ)

Pastor Bob Fu, president of China Aid Association

Honorable Chairman and Vice Chairman of the U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, members of Congressmen, and friends,

This is the third time in this year that I sit here to testify before the U. S. Congress, the international community, and all the people concerned with China's human rights condition about the rapid deterioration of human rights condition in China. Having in front of me the five daughters of imprisoned men in China, who were sentenced to long prison terms simply because they held different views, peacefully expressed their views, or peacefully protested against the tyranny of the Chinese Communist authorities, and Chen Guangfu, brother of the Chinese blind rights defender Chen Guangcheng, whose son is still in prison and denied medical treatment he needs for his illness, I can't express with words the pain and anger in my heart.

China Aid Association has been monitoring China's human rights condition for 11 years, and because we specifically focus on religious persecution, human rights violations, and the promotion of the rule of law in China, we got to know hundreds and thousands of sons, daughters and family members of the prisons of conscience like Ti-Anna Wang, Lisa Jiayin Peng, Grace Ge Geng, Bridgette Qiao Chen and Danielle Xiaodan Wang.

China's worsening human rights violations and its notorious human rights record are surely caused by the totalitarianism and wickedness of the Chinese Communist authorities, but are also a result of the loss of some God's given, self-evident fundamental ideals and principles by some countries like the United States in recent years. These ideals and principles we are so proud of have remained the founding principles of America, a great and free nation, such as the freedom and human dignity we staunchly guard and hold steadfastly. Today, the reality that the Chinese government dares to despise human dignity and

blatantly violate universal values truly has a correlation with the appeasement policy of "harmony diplomacy" adopted by some western democratic societies towards totalitarianism.

Today I will testify about China's human rights condition and petition to the U.S. government from the following three perspectives.

1. The violation of human rights in China has reached the worst scenario since the Tiananmen Square massacre of June 4, 1989:

   On June 6 this year, China Aid Association and other 30 international human rights organizations jointly launched "Free China 18 Campaign," calling on the release of 18 Chinese prisons of conscience. They are Wang Bingzhang, Peng Ming, Gao Zhisheng, Liu Xiaobo, Guo Quan, Zhu Yufu, Liu Xianbin, Yang Tianshui, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche , Yang Rongli, Alimujiang Yimiti, Wang Zhiwen, Lobsang Tsering, Li Chang, Gulmira Imin, Chen Kegui, Dhondup Wangchen, and Guo Feixiong. They are only the representatives of tens of thousands of political prisoners in mainland China. The majority of them expressed their views or protested against tyranny with peaceful methods, and some were imprisoned because of their religious faith. They are ethnically diverse, including Han Chinese, Tibetans, Uyghur, and other ethnicities.

   Wang Bingzhang dedicated himself to promoting democracy in China after he obtained his Ph.D. in Medicine from McGill University, Canada, in 1982. He established China Spring, the first pro-democracy Chinese magazine overseas. He launched the "Union of Chinese Democracy Movement," the first pro-democracy Chinese organization overseas. He is indisputably the Father of the Chinese pro-democracy movement overseas. In June 2002, he abducted by Chinese secret agents in Vietnam and brought back to China. In February 2003, he was sentenced to life in prison on charges of "conducting espionage for Taiwan and organizing and leading terrorist organizations." He is imprisoned in Guanjiang Prison in Shaoguan, Guangdong province. He experienced brutal torture and is detained in long-term solitary confinement. His family, including his daughter Ti-Anna Wang, who is present today, is banned from visiting him. His health condition is very concerning. In addition to depression, he suffered a few strokes in the past few years. His mother passed away last year and the Chinese Communist government did not allow him to go home to attend her funeral.

   Peng Ming is a prominent and remarkable person of conscience. In October 2001, he founded China Development Union, an organization dedicated to pursuing democratic election and ending the one-party rule in China. On May 28, 2004, he was abducted in Burma by Chinese agents and brought back to China. On October 12, he was sentenced to life in prison by the court of Wuhan, Hubei province, on the charge of "organizing and leading terrorist organizations." He is imprisoned in Xianning Prison, Hubei province and his sentence remains the same. He also suffers multiple illnesses.

   The miserable experience of attorney Gao Zhisheng, a prominent rights defense lawyer in mainland China, is a typical illustration of the condition of human rights and the rule of law in mainland China. He handled Christian persecution case and Falun Gong cases and wrote open

letters to government leaders to call for an end to religious persecution. As a result, on Dec. 22, 2006, he was charged with "inciting subversion of state power" and sentenced to three years' imprisonment, with a five-year reprieve, and lost his freedom ever since. During his detention and house arrest, he was subjected to brutal torture many times, including toothpicks inserted in his genitals. The account he wrote, "Dark Night, Dark Hood, and Kidnapping by Dark Mafia" was published by the United Press and aroused global attention. Just as his five-year reprieve was about to end, he was thrown in prison in Shaya county, Xinjiang in December 2011. The U.S. Congress and Department of State made multiple requests to the Chinese government for the release of Gao Zhisheng, but the Chinese government never responded to the requests.

Dr. Guo Quan was an assistant professor at Nanjing Normal University. He dedicated himself to defending the rights of various citizen groups. He posted 347 articles on the internet calling on the Chinese Communist government to carry out a democratic political reform. On Oct. 16, 2009, He was sentenced to 10 years in prison by the court of Jiangsu Province on the charge of "subverting state power." He is currently imprisoned in Pukou Prison, Nanjing.

Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Liu Xiaobo, is a case familiar to you. He was sentenced to 11 years in prison by the Chinese Communist authorities only because he co-authored Charter 08 and called for political reform. He is imprisoned in Jinzhou Prison, Liaoning Province. His wife Liu Xia has been under house arrest to this day simply because she is Liu's wife and Liu is a political prisoner.

Another famous prisoner of conscience, Liu Xianbin, was sentenced to 10 years in prison by the court of Sichuan province on March 25, 2011, on the charge of "inciting the subversion of state power," merely because he had four articles published on media overseas. This is his third prison term.

More ridiculously, Zhu Yufu, a prominent figure of conscience in mainland China, was sentenced to seven years in prison (his third prison term) by the court of Zhejiang province on Feb. 10, 2012, on the charge of "inciting the subversion of state power," simply because he wrote a poem "It's time" during the Arab Spring of the Middle East. He has suffered severe persecution in prison and his health condition is very bad, yet he is denied medical care and basic humane treatment.

Yang Tianshui, a prisoner of conscience of Jiangsu province, was sentenced to 12 years in prison on May 16, 2006, by the court of Jiangsu province for the second time on the charge of "inciting the subversion of state power." He suffers multiple serious illnesses, but the authorities refuse to release him on medical parole.

Simply because he is the nephew of the famous blind activist Chen Guangcheng, Chen Kegui was sentenced to three years and three months in prison by the court of Shandong Province on Dec. 3, 2012, on the charge of "intentionally harming others" as a result of defending himself when local government officials illegally broke into his home and beat up his family members.

Guo Feixiong, another prominent dissenter in mainland China, was secretly seized by the authorities simply because he gave a speech in public to support the Southern Weekly newspaper on the street of Guangzhou. His whereabouts remained unknown for three months until the pressure from the international society continued to build up, especially after ChinaAid held an urgent hearing for him last month. After the pressure, he was allowed to meet with a lawyer approved by the authorities.

The Chinese Communist authorities have implemented a policy of plunder and oppression on minority ethnic groups for over six decades, which has created irreconcilable conflicts between the Han Chinese people and ethnic groups. The authorities have handled minority ethnic issues with blind violence and have embraced policies intended to restrict or eradicate the language and religion of minority ethnic groups, which has caused irreconcilable conflicts between many ethnic groups, such as the Tibetans, Uyghur people, Mongolians, and the Chinese Communist government.

The 18 prisoners of conscience also include Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, a Tibetan monk from Garze Prefecture, Sichuan province, who was sentenced to death on false charges; his sentence was later commuted to life in prison.

Due to despair about the rule of the Chinese Community Party, more than 120 Tibetans immolated themselves in two years, which caught the attention of the whole world. Lobsang Tsering, a 31-year-old Tibetan from Ngaba Prefecture was falsely accused of inciting self-immolation among the Tibetans and sentenced to 11 years in prison. His uncle was sentenced to life in prison on the same charge.

On Dec. 18, 2009, Dhondup Wangchen, a Tibetan filmmaker, was sentenced to six years in prison for filming the documentary "Fear No More" about Tibet.

Gulmira Imin, a woman of Uyghur descent, was falsely accused of involvement in the organization of the July 5, 2009 protests in Ürümqi and sentenced to life in prison. She is currently held in Xinjiang No. 2 Prison.

A few of the China 18 were sentenced to prison terms simply because they were house church ministers or practitioners of Falun Gong. Yang Rongli and her husband were the leaders of Jindengtai (Golden Lampstand) Church in Linfen, Shaanxi province. She and her husband Wang Xiaoguang were sentenced to seven and three years in prison, respectively, on Nov. 25, 2009, by the local court of Shaanxi on false charges.

Alimujiang Yimiti is a Uygur Christian and leader of a house church in Kashgar. On Aug. 6, 2009, he was sentenced to 15 years in prison by Xinjiang Kashgar Court on fabricated charges. He was tried in secret and without a lawyer to defend him. The No. 29 Document issued by the U.N. Working Group on Arbitrary Detention in 2008 declared that Alimujiang's detention was arbitrary.

On Dec. 16, 1999, Falun Gong practitioners Wang Zhiwen and Li Chang were both sentenced to 16 years in prison by the Chinese Communist authorities.

The health condition of many among the China 18 has worsened to a point that requires emergency care. Some of their daughters sitting here with us today have grown into adults while their fathers have been struggling in prison.

The Chinese Communist government made many beautiful promises when it bid for hosting the 2008 Olympic Games and 2010 World Expo, applied for the membership of World Trade Organization, and discussed the "most-favored-nation trade status" with the United States. To attain these goals, the Chinese government released several hundred political prisoners during the administration of Jing Zemin, but during the ten-year administration of Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao, not only was there little improvement in human rights condition, the government also tightened up on the freedom of speech, cracked down on house churches, and the condition of human rights and rule of law both deteriorated. The Chinese Communist authorities did not release any prisoner of conscience, but rather persecuted political prisoners more harshly. The U.S. and other western countries turned a blind eye to it and did nothing substantial to make the Chinese government feel pressured other than occasional diplomatic platitudes. While the Chinese government aggressively flexes its muscles at democratic countries, western countries agree to put aside human rights and focus only on economic cooperation.

In March this year, the Chinese Communist Party ushered in a new leadership headed by Xi Jinping and Li Keqiang. However, what has happened in the ten months under the new leadership tells the world that the authorities will tightened up the control on media, restrict religious freedom, and suppress minority ethnic groups such as the Tibetans and Uyghurs. Politically, it exercised violence and terrorism. The abuse of violence by the authorities in Tibet and Xinjiang has caused the death and injury of several hundred minority ethnic people.

The authorities also cracked down on people fighting for the civil society and rule of law. According to incomplete statistics, the government arrested several hundred people of conscience who advocated for the civil society and demanded officials to make their assets known to the public, including Mr. and Mrs. Zheng Qiuwu, Zhu Chengzhi, He Zuhua, Zhou Li, Gu Yimin, Deng Zhibo, Huan Tiejun, Ding Jiaxi, Zhao Changqing, Sun Hanhui, Wang Yonghong, Qi Yueying, Yuan Dong, Zhang Baocheng, Ma Xinli, Li Wei, Liu Ping, Li Sihua, Wei Zhongping, Zou Guiqin, Su Meisheng, Liu Hui, Yao Baohua, Liu Yuandong, Wei Xianli, Ma Chuanhan, Xie Jian'er, Huang Wen Xun, Yuan Xiaohua, Yuan Fengchu, Huang Yijian, Wang Jian, Chen Wensheng, Lv Cheng, Chen Yulan, Lv Dongli, Zhao Zhenjia, Zhang Fuying, Yang Tingjian, Ren Lacheng, Li Wenxi, Fan Shunhui, Fan Wancheng, Guan Weishuang, Zhang Fuying, Zhao Xiaoshan, Li Yong, Cai Congfu, Yu Quanhong, Fang Bin, Yang Guixiang, Yang Zhiyan, Hu Fuqing, Shi Wei'an, Zheng Bingyuan, Shen Aibin, Wu Ping, Qu Fengsheng, Ding Hongfen, Xu Haifeng, Zhao Aijun, Shen Jun, Zhang Jixin, Zhao Guangjun, Wang Su'e, Bai Yinhong, Chu Dongfang, Yi Lihua, Zhu Pingping, Chen Zaizhong, Li Xiaocheng, Ying Jinxian, Li Guisuo, Yang Guixiang, Huang Dingxiang, Xiao Yulan, Yao Jinlian, Yang Chengxiang, Long Yunxiang, Tang Ying, Zhang Xiangzhong, Li Gang, Li Huanjun, Song Ze, Wei Qin, Wang Kouma, Xu Zhiyong, Shi Genyuan, Zhang Lin, Ma Shengfen, Wu Hongfei, Li Biyun, Wu Jinsheng, Liu Hu,

Liu Jie, Wang Gongquan, Lin Zheng, Dong Liangjie, Yang Xiuqiong, Cao Shunli, Yang Xiuyu, Qin Zhihui, Shao Yunli, etc.

Apparently, the condition of human rights in China has continued to worsen in recent years and has reached the worst scenario since the Tiananmen massacre of June 4, 1989. Likewise, China is regressing in the rule of law and there is no sign of improvement in the short term.

2. The Chinese Communist authorities suppress house churches more harshly; religious persecution is worsening:

The Chinese Communist authorities have persecuted house churches with increasing intensity. House churches in China have grown by leaps and bounds for two decades and the number of Christians in house churches has reached 40-50 million, which strikes great fear into the hearts of the Chinese Communist authorities. We have learned from many sources that the government has made a ten-year action plan to wipe out house churches and has started to take systematic actions of "removal" since last year. As a result, house churches everywhere in mainland China have experienced increasingly intense persecution this year.

The Three-Self churches are completely controlled by the Chinese Communists, accept the leadership of the Communist Party, and pledge their allegiance to the Party and the country. Even Three-Self churches cannot participate in public affairs and only enjoy the freedom of obeying the authority. They are also experiencing more strict control and more intense persecution from the government. This year, more than ten Three-Self churches in Shaanxi province, Henan province, and Shandong province had church properties and assets forcibly seized by the government, which triggered numerous, massive assemblies and protests by believers, such as Anyang Christian Church in Henan province, Taiyuan Christian Church in Shaanxi province, Nanle County Christian Church in Henan province, etc. Buddhism and Daoism have basically become the puppets of the Chinese Communist authorities. Falun Gong, strictly speaking, is not a religion, but rather a practice to nurture physical and spiritual health, and yet the peaceful protests of its practitioners against the evilness of the Communist government invited over a decade of systematic persecution.

Beijing Shouwang Church has had no choice but to worship outdoors for two years. Believers go to different locations every week to attend outdoor worship service, and every week, many of them are seized and taken to police stations by public security agents. A few believers were beaten up and wounded by the police. Pastors and elders of the church are under house arrest on Sundays and banned from preaching and evangelistic activities. Church assets have been frozen by the government. Currently, they are still holding outdoor worship services.

In April of this year, Han Hai and six other Christians from Pingdingshan City of Henan Province were sentenced from three years to seven and a half years of imprisonment by the local court on the crime of being a cult while the real reason is just because they studied the Bible on a Sunday.

On June 17, 2013, Xiaodian District Court of Taiyuan, in the trial of first instance, sentenced Ren Lacheng, a Christian from Enyu Bookstore, to five years in prison and sentenced Li Wenxi to two years in prison on the charge of "illegal business operation."

On Aug. 31, 2013, Liang Zhongxin, a Christian and a Sunday school teacher in a house church in Shaya County, Xinjiang, and three other people were placed under a 15-day administrative detention and were fined 1,000 yuan for giving Bible lessons to some middle school students.

On July 25, 2013, a court in Inner Mongolia sentenced Christian Hu Gong to nine years in prison and sentenced Wen Weihong and Liu Aiying to eight years in prison on the same charge.

According to incomplete statistics, this year, about a hundred house churches in more than 20 provinces in China have suffered persecution. The gatherings at these house churches were raided, church properties were confiscated, religious books and other items were destroyed, believers were illegally detained and threatened, and pastors were detained.

On Nov. 16, 2013, Pastor Zhang Shaojie and 23 believers from Nanle County Christian Church, Puyang, Henan province were taken into police custody, and the majority of them have not received any legal papers. This case fits with the U.N. criteria for arbitrary detention. This church is a Three-Self church sanctioned by the government, but because believers of the church fight for rights and social justice and offended the local government in a land dispute, the church suffered retaliation from the government.

The Chinese Communist government has always spared no effort in its United Front work through religion and overseas propaganda packed with lies, which has caused the business community and political community of some democratic countries, and even some Christian organizations of these countries to deliberately keep quiet about the reality of religious persecution, contend that there is religious freedom in China, dance with the wolves, and recognize the Three-Self Committee, a government-approved religious organization, as the only representative of churches in China.

As understandable as it may be that Bill Graham Evangelistic Association needed to collaborate with the Chinese Communist government in its disaster relief efforts, this organization, at the "China-USA Protestant Church Leaders Forum" held in Shanghai and Beijing on December 19-20, 2012, according to the news released by the Chinese Communist authorities, recognized the leaders of the Three-Self Committee, a puppet created by the government, as the representative of Chinese churches and said nothing about the religious persecution committed by the Chinese Communist authorities.

The 2014 General Assembly of the World Evangelical Alliance (WEA) will be held during October 27-31, 2014 in Seoul, South Korea. WEA has sent an invitation to the China Christian Council and the Three-Self Committee, but it is still unknown if it will invite the leaders of house

churches attended by tens of millions of believers who account for the majority of Christians in China.

The top leaders of the Three-Self Committee prioritize their devotion to the Party and government over their devotion to God. They do not dare to speak up against social injustice, but rather praise the totalitarian government and tell believers to obey those in power blindly. I can't help but think of the religious people in German churches who lost principles and courage during the Nazi era; their transgressions cannot be justified. When the Nazi regime fiercely opposed Communism, churches considered Hitler a trustworthy brother, and at least in private, they rejoiced and considered themselves lucky. When Hitler started to persecute Jews, Catholic churches considered the persecution a revenge on the Jews for crucifying Jesus and did not defend their human rights. When Nazi Germany invaded Poland and other eastern European Catholic countries, the Vatican maintained a harmonious, if not a close, relationship with the Nazi regime of Italy. And it did not take advantage of its status as an ally of the Nazi regime to defend the powerless. More incredibly, the Vatican never thought of using a weapon it so often used in the Middle Ages to punish Hitler who was born a Catholic, i.e. discontinuing his partaking of the Holy Communion. Actually, up to his suicide, Hitler had not been excommunicated by the Vatican.

The majority of the Protestant church leaders back then praised Hitler and pledged allegiance to Nazi Germany. They did not oppose principles of the Darwinian evolutionary theory introduced by the Nazi and the notions of "pure breed" and "superior breed" derived from it. We know how churches in Germany became an ally of the Nazi regime, betrayed God, and left a mark of shame in human history.

Likewise, we can see that these organizations, sanctioned by the Chinese Communist government, are doing what German churches did for the Nazi regime: endorsing dictators, testifying falsely for the so-called "harmonious society", and turning away from the principle God asks us to follow, such as sticking fast to justice. Prominent international Christian organizations, such as Billy Graham Evangelistic Association and WEA, choose to cooperate with the Three-Self Committee sanctioned by the Chinese Communist regime while deliberately keeping silent about the persecutions and torture suffered by believers of house churches, and even believers of Three-Self churches in some areas. These harmonized church organizations ought to seriously consider how their names will show in God's account book (Romans 2) and in the presence of martyrs. Are they allies of persecutors and dictators or the voice of martyrs?

The current U.S. administration's policy on China is a typical appeasement policy compromising human rights. In its dealings with the totalitarian Chinese Communist government, America has lost the principles it should adhere to, i.e. staunch and non-negotiable defense of human freedom, dignity, and world justice. As a leader of the free world, America should particularly prioritize the defense of human dignity and universal values over international trade and other things. The China-U.S. human rights dialogue has failed to bring about any practical change since long ago. To China's worsening record and retrogression in human rights, America only responds with diplomatic rhetoric, which gives the Chinese government the impression that

human rights is not a real concern of America. Due to the lack of adequate pressure from the international community, the Chinese Communist authorities are fearless and blatantly violating human rights, and promoting its value system all over the world.

Looking back, we can see that even under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, a ruthless figure in politics, the Chinese Communist authorities made many concessions due to the enormous pressure from the international society after the Tiananmen Square Massacre. But what has happened in the past 10 years? What has America's harmony diplomacy brought about? Nowadays, the Chinese Communist government can totally ignore the appeal of the international society, not only inflicting more severe persecutions on house churches, Falun Gong practitioners and other faith groups, but also suppressing minority ethnic groups, such as Tibetans and Uyghurs, with excessive violence. In the face of all this, what substantial response has the international society, America in particular, given?

3. It is time for America to do something right away and say "no" to dictators:

In the face of China's continuously deteriorating human rights conditions, America should no longer stay silent. It is time for America to loudly say to the dictatorial government, "Free the China 18 right away, without any condition! And furthermore, free all political prisoners; choose peace, rationality, dialogue, and reconciliation based on the rule of law. American people will no longer believe the lies told by a notorious human rights violator again and again unless the violator stops doing evil and makes quick amends." In the face of rapidly deteriorating human rights condition, it is time to say "no" to the oppressors.

In America, this great and free country, we have before us the shining examples of many great heroes: General George Washington, and, sitting on the other end of the Mall as though watching us, is President Lincoln. There's also African-American civil rights leader Martin Luther King as well as President Reagan, who faced up to the Soviet empire and never gave an inch nor ever considered doing so. The indomitable spirit and the commitment to freedom and human rights that they, and many others who went before us, held firm are like a bright torch shining throughout America's history.

Today, let us, the ordinary American people, the Obama administrative, Congress, nonprofit organizations, and social groups stand up together and speak up as representatives of the free people and the government, saying "no" to an oppressive government and demand the release of Wang Bingzhang, Peng Ming, Gao Zhisheng, Liu Xiaobo, Alimujiang, Dhondup Wangchen, and all the illegally detained people of conscience.

Let me make a few suggestions here:

1. I hope the Obama administration will deliver a note to the Chinese government asking for the immediate and unconditional release of the 18 prisoners of conscience. In the meantime, I hope President Obama will meet with the representative family members of the China 18 as soon as

possible, which will send a clear message to the Chinese government that we will not keep quiet about their evil deeds.

2. I hope human rights issues will become an indispensable component in the meetings and strategic dialogues between Chinese and American top leaders and that cooperation in the field of economy, military, and foreign relations will be made contingent on human rights issues so as to compel the Chinese government to quickly improve the human rights condition across the board and advance the rule of law. Abandon appeasement diplomacy of human rights violations—policies not backed up by principles—so that the American people no longer feel ashamed of a government that does not follow basic principles in foreign relations.

3. Broadcast live the annual China-U.S. human rights dialogue on the Internet. Make the dialogue specific in goals and substantial in content. Make evaluations of China binding; don't reduce this highest-level human rights dialogue between China and the U.S. to a useless show. Set minimum goals each year and implement sanctions if the Chinese government fails to fulfill promises. Otherwise, this dialogue has no value.

4. I hope the House Committee on Foreign Affairs will make it mandatory that the officials of the U.S. Embassy in China, especially the visa officers, receive at least 14 days of systematic training on the background of human rights and religious freedom in China. I propose this because at present, many people who can make significant contributions to freedom and the rule of law in China, as well as the communication between China and the U.S., have been denied visas, including some invited by the leaders of the Congress, even though they meet the criteria for entry into the U.S.

At last, I would like to quote Dr. King's famous saying, "And if America is to be a great nation this must become true."

Mr. SMITH. We will. So thank you for that recommendation. We do have a series of votes and I apologize and we will have to take a very brief recess. But I do encourage, to the best of your abilities, if the press could stay to hear our two next witnesses who have really done enormous work on behalf of human rights. Chen Guangfu is here in the United States, but he is going back and he has bravely come forward on behalf of his son who is imprisoned and I would just hope if you could stay long enough to hear these two fine testimonies. We stand in very brief recess.

[Recess.]

Mr. SMITH. We will resume our seating. We do have a few members that I know who are making their way over from the votes. We have been joined by Congressman Trent Franks from Arizona. Mr. Franks is the chairman of the Religious Freedom Caucus here in the House. He is also chairman of the Judiciary Committee's Constitution Subcommittee and we welcome him to the hearing. Thank you for being here today.

Our next witness will be Chen Guangfu. As previously introduced, he is the brother of Chen Guangcheng and is extraordinarily important as the father of Chen Kegui, who has been arrested. Mr. Chen is here and will be going back so I want to again underscore and salute his bravery in coming forward as he is doing. He is a dad who cares so deeply and loves so deeply his son. And like the panel before us where five daughters spoke out so eloquently on behalf of their dads here is Mr. Chen speaking on behalf of his son.

Mr. Chen.

STATEMENT OF MR. CHEN GUANGFU, BROTHER OF CHEN GUANGCHENG AND FATHER OF CHEN KEGUI

[The following testimony was delivered through an interpreter.]

Mr. CHEN. Honorable Congressman Mr. Smith, members of subcommittee on global human rights of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ladies and gentleman, I am Chen Guangfu, the older brother of Chen Guangcheng, the father of Chen Kegui. Speaking of the long-term persecution of our family, the name of Chen Guangcheng has to be mentioned because this is a continuation of the persecution of Chen Guangcheng. The current imprisonment of Chen Kegui is the punishment for Chen Guangcheng's escape. After Chen Guangcheng risked his life to escape from his home, the officials of local authorities worked themselves into a frenzy of rage and fear.

It was past midnight of April 27, 2012, when I was kidnapped with a black hood on my head by the police of Yinan County. Led by the captain, Xu Kewei, the police officers in plainclothes climbed over the wall and broke into my house without going through any legal procedure. They were in plainclothes. They did not go through any legal procedure. I was taken to the Unit of Economic Affairs Investigation, Yinan County, and put through nonstop 72-hour-long torture, during which I was tied to an interrogation chair with handcuffs and foot chains. They heaped abusive language on me, struck me hard on the face, trampled on my toes, whipped me, deprived me of food, drink, sleep, and denied me the use of the bathroom as well other inhuman treatment.

About 20 minutes after my kidnapping, the head of Shuanghou Township, Zhang Jian, led two dozen personnel, armed with picks into my house, rummaging through every room without any legal justifications. They carried off cash, cell phones, ID cards, documents, and other items. They damaged the TV set, the sewing machine, and furniture. They pried open several locked drawers and took away everything in them.

During the search, they beat up Chen Kegui's mother, while Kegui was beaten with clubs the mob was carrying and left him injuries on the face, neck, arms, and legs. When Kegui's mother was attempting to protect her son with her body, she was grabbed by the hair and savagely beaten. In fear of his life and in order to protect his son—stricken with a fever—whose body temperature reached 104 degrees, Kegui grabbed a knife in self-defense. At the sight of the knife, Zhang Jian yelled, "He has a knife in his hand, kill him." In desperation, Kegui slashed at the attackers with the knife and injured Zhang Jian and two of his men in the chaotic darkness. Afterwards, Kegui dialed 110 for police, but police did not take any action. In fear of his life, Kegui left home and went into hiding.

On April 29th, Kegui turned himself in at the Hong Hua Fu Police Department in Yancheng City.

On the same day, Kegui's mother was arrested, interrogated, and tortured before she was thrown into jail. In prison, she was forced to work a dozen hours every day in spite of her illness, laboring over needlepoint work, which was to be exported for foreign exchange. Because she couldn't fill the data quota, she was penalized by standing in front of everybody. Sometimes she had to stand for 6 hours straight during one night. On May 5th, she was released on bail. She went to the hospital for physical examination. The examination results showed infection, in addition to a kidney stone. She also has periarthritis due to the beating. The medical cost was up to 4800 Chinese yuan.

On the 27th, Kegui's wife, Liu Fang, received a short message from Kegui, "Please hire lawyer for me." Afterwards, two attorneys, Ding Xijui and Si Weijang from Beijing, were retained, but they were never allowed access to the case even though they have been to Yinan five times. The reason given by the authorities was they have only made arrangements by hiring legal aid lawyers.

On November 30, 2012, the case of Chen Kegui was put on trial, but Kegui's family was not notified of the court trial. The witnesses on trial were all perpetrators who were involved in beating, looting, and robbing at my house. The testimony of Kegui's mother was given under the threat that you have to sign whatever we ask you to sign. If you don't sign, you will die here. You don't have any human rights in here.

Kegui was sentenced to 3 years and 3 months in prison, which is in violation of substantive and procedural law. Apparently he is serving time in the prison located in Jining, Shandong province, the same place where Chen Guangcheng served his time before.

Since early March 2013, on my way to sending my grandson to his school, I have been followed many times by men on motorcycles, military jackets and helmets. One afternoon after school hours, Hui Shitai, from the Family Planning Office, went to the school asking

to send for my grandson. They even did not want to leave a small child alone. Beginning from April 18, 2013, they would throw rocks, bricks, and beer bottles at my house around 1 o'clock a.m. every night, damaging the tiles, doors, and windows. They also threw dead chickens and ducks because the bird flu was at its peak at the time. They also posted and passed along a large amount of pamphlets, hurling abuse and insults of Chen Guangcheng, calling Chen Guangfu a traitor and a troublemaker. They also threatened to break our legs and stone the whole family to death. The poplar tree that we planted was pulled out several times, and they did the same to vegetable fields, leaving them withered.

All this persecution was aimed to stop Chen Guangcheng from going to Taiwan. During this time period of harassment, I called for police a dozen times, but it came to nothing. Sometimes they just refused to answer my phone call. Whenever I changed to another phone, immediately the phone call went through, but the police never took any action.

On May 9th, an unidentified person who was driving a car without a plate assaulted me and damaged my motorbike. After I returned home, I tried to post the assault incident online, only to find that my account had been closed.

If throwing dead chickens and dead ducks are some petty crooks' doing, I believe it must have been big crooks behind the account cancellation.

On April 24, Chen Kegui was positively diagnosed with appendicitis, but the prison administration repeatedly denied the family's application for release on parole for medical treatment. The delay in treatment resulted in suppurative appendicitis from which he still hasn't recovered, while at the same time he is ordered to work over 10 hours manual labor.

In May 2012, the Central Government promised that the persecution of Chen Guangcheng and his family by local officials would be thoroughly investigated. However, this promise has not been fulfilled at this point.

Finally, I sincerely hope that in accordance with human rights principles the U.S. Congress and the Obama administration extend their fundamental support to those Chinese citizens who suffer from political persecution. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Chen follows:]

Hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to be held by the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations in Room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building

DATE: Friday, December 5, 2013

TIME: 11:00 a.m.

SUBJECT: The Daughters Appeal to Beijing: "Let Our Fathers Go!"

CHAIRMAN: Christopher H. Smith(R-NJ)

(Translating for Chen Guangfu is Dr. Linda Zhao)

I am Chen Guangfu, the older brother of Chen Guangcheng and father of Chen Kegui. Speaking of the Chen Kegui's case, it is impossible not to mention the Chen Guangcheng case because Chen Kegui's case is the continuation of persecution against Chen Guangcheng. Without Chen Guangcheng's escape, Chen Kegui's case wouldn't exist. The continued imprisonment of Chen Kegui is punishment for Chen Guangcheng's escape.

At the end of April 2012, Chen Guangcheng risked his life to escape from his tightly-guarded house before he entered the U.S. Embassy in Beijing with help of his friends. One week later the authorities found that the object of their surveillance had disappeared. The news hit the authorities like a thunderbolt.

At 9:30 a.m. on April 26, 2012, Ren Zongju, Chen Kegui's mother, heard a stranger making a phone call at the entrance of the village: "Only Yuan Weijing and the old woman are at his house; Chen Guangcheng has disappeared."

Still, that day passed by without much disturbance.

Around midnight on April 27, Chen Fubing, my grandson and the son of Chen Kegui, had a high fever. It took me a while to feed him medicine and sponge his body with alcohol. I was ready to go to bed when I suddenly heard a car screech to a halt in the courtyard outside, immediately followed by a noise of loud banging on the door. I quickly got up to dress, but no sooner had I put on my pants than my head was roughly covered with the shirt I didn't have time to put on, by the people breaking in my house. I was kidnapped with my hands tied behind my back.

Later on I learned that the gangsters who broke into my house were officers from the Economic Affairs Investigation Unit of the Yinan County Police Department led by unit leader Xu Kewei. The officers were not in uniform, nor did they show me legal papers.

It is said that during the trial, the court sustained that the police officers gained entry by climbing over the wall, breaking the lock from inside, and kicking down the door.

A witness, Wang Yunqing testified that the officers came out of the house just one or two minutes later–proof that the perpetrators acted swiftly.

I was taken to the Yinan County Economic Affairs Investigation Unit and put through 72 hours of non-stop torture, during which I was tied to an interrogation chair with handcuffs and foot chains. They showered me with abusive language, struck me hard on the face, trampled on my toes, whipped me, deprived me of food, drink, and sleep, and denied me the use of the restroom, as well as other inhumane treatments.

About twenty minutes after my kidnapping, the head of Shuanghou Township, Zhang Jian, led two dozen personnel, armed with picks, into my house, rummaging through every room without any legal justification. They carried off cash, cell phones, ID cards, documents, and other items. They damaged the television set, sewing machine, and furniture. They pried open several locked drawers and confiscated everything in them.

During the search, they beat up Chen Kegui's mother, while Kegui was chased from outside to inside the house and beaten with clubs the mob was carrying. Kegui was knocked down several time and left with injuries on his the face, neck, arms, and legs. When Kegui's mother was trying to protect her son with her body, she was grabbed by the hair and savagely beaten. In fear for his life and in order to protect his son, who was stricken with fever (his temperature had reached 104 degrees Fahrenheit), Kegui grabbed a knife. At the sight of the knife, Zhang Jian yelled, "He has a knife in his hand; kill him!" In desperation, Kegui slashed at the attackers with the knife, shouting "You won'te let me live, I will die with you!" and injuring Zhang Jian and two of his men in the chaotic darkness. The court confirmed that two of the men were the members of a Public Security Joint Defense Force, while the other two intruders were not identified due to "security reasons." Had Kegui not defended himself with a knife, we would probably have not seen him alive again. Those gangsters, who knew no bottom line, would have beaten him to death.

Afterward, Kegui said to his mother, "I've got to run for my life; otherwise I will not have long to live if they send more people to come after me." Kegui dialed 110 for police. But more than three hours later, police hadn't come. Kegui then went into hiding at a classmate's residence and found a doctor in the village to treat his injuries, which were still bleeding. On April 29, Kegui turned himself in at the Hong Hua Fu Police Department in Yancheng City.

Around 6:00 a.m. on April 27, Ma Liancheng, the commissioner of the Public Security Bureau and chief of the Political and Legislative Committee, taunted me: "Your family produces a whole bunch of bums–Chen Guangcheng is the first one; you are the second. You not only ruined Chen Guangcheng, but also ruined your own family. It is not enough that you yourself committed a crime; you also implicated your son. After you left your house, something big happened." He paused, observing my facial expression. The first person who came to my mind was my grandson, who suffered from a fever. But he said, "Your son Chen Kegui injured Zhang Jian with two chopping knives. Nobody knows what became of Zhang." I asked, "Where did he injure him?" Ma said, "As the commissioner of the Public Security Bureau, I can tell you that he did that in your house." At that remark, I smiled. I said, "I know my son. I just know it; he

wouldn't hack at anyone he sees. The question was, what Zhang Jian was doing at midnight in my house?" I need to remind you, Zhang Jian came into my house in order to conduct an illegal search, beating, smashing, and looting. In the face of an unlawful attack, also in order to protect family and himself, Kegui's self-defense is completely justifiable.

It is said that during the trial, the court justified Zhang Jian and his men's intrusion on grounds of "looking for Zhang Jian's cell phone." In fact, Zhang Jian's cell phone was lost after he was injured by Kegui with his knife. And they would go so far as to reverse the time sequence!

You might remember some evidence in the Cheng Guangcheng case in 2006: the testimony made by Liu Changsheng, a fellow villager. According to the testimony, Liu witnessed Chen Guangjun, my and Chen Guangcheng's other brother, smashing a car in Dongshigu village.

However, at the time referenced by Liu, Chen Guangjun was working in Linyi, a city 37 miles from Dongshigu, and Liu was working in Zibo, a city 186 miles away. But the scene of the car smashing was in Dongshigu. And yet such ludicrous statements made by Liu were officially quoted in a solemn verdict. Zhang Changguo, the head of the Shuanghou county police precinct defended the verdict this way: "If it is quoted in the verdict, it must serve a purpose. As for the truth, who else would know as long as you and I keep it to ourselves?"

The testimonies used in the Chen Kegui case were from people who are interested parties as well as the intruders and perpetrators in this case. Their testimonies are all alike. They should not have legal effect. By contrast, against her will, Ren Zongju, Chen Kegui's mother, (who is illiterate) gave her testimony under coercion. She was told, "You've got to sign whenever you are asked to sign, or you will die here if you refuse. You don't have any human rights here, anyway." She was forced to use an inked thumbprint, just as it happened in that well-known story of Yang Bailao, a poor peasant who sold his only daughter by putting his thumbprint on the contract.

After Kegui fled, a motley crowd consisting of Public Security officers, party and government officials, and hired thugs entered my house for the third time. Kegui's mother was giving medicine to our grandson, whose fever was 104 degrees Fahrenheit. The intruders first knocked over the bowl containing medicine, spilling it all over. Then they dragged her by the hair from the bed and beat her. Kegui's mother screamed, "Help! They're killing me!" The mob continued the beating madly, saying "Don't you dare to call for help!" The neighbors heard both of the noises: her call for help and the mob's answer.

The mob continued the beating until they got tired. Kegui's mother pleaded with them to allow our grandson, sick with a fever, to see a doctor. After our grandson was treated, Kegui's mother was arrested, interrogated, and tortured before she was thrown in jail. She was forced to work a dozen hours in prison every day, laboring over needlepoint work. It is said that needlepoint work is to be exported for foreign exchange. If one cannot fulfill the daily quota, she will be penalized by standing in front of everyone. Sometimes one has to stand for six hours straight during the night.

On May 5, Ma Liancheng, the Public Security Bureau commissioner, notified me to answer a phone call from Chen Guangcheng. I was warned that I could report only good news and shouldn't talk too much. If I cooperated, my wife would be released on bail. "If you don't, we'll let her stay inside. You know, not just you and Chen Guangcheng are on the phone; many other are listening to your phone call, too!" I did what they asked. Soon Kegui's mother was released on bail.

In the verdict, there was a statement made by Kegui: Zhang Jian and his men came empty-handed. Obviously, his statement was given against his will, under huge pressure. The broken handles of picks on the scene were the best proof.

On April 27, Liu Fang, Kegui's wife, received a short message from her husband, asking to have a lawyer hired for his defense. On May 11, Liu Fang retained two defense attorneys: Ding Xikui, from Mo Shaoping Law Firm in Beijing, and Si Weijiang, from Dabang Law Firm in Shanghai. However, they were not allowed to access the case though they went to much trouble to help. The authorities claimed that Kegui had already applied for legal aid service, which obviously was arranged against his will.

Around 10:00 p.m. on Nov. 29, 2012, a friend called me saying that Kegui's case was to be on trial the next day. Initially I was suspicious of the news. I made a phone inquiry to Wang Haijun, whom authorities had appointed as Kegui's lawyer. Wang said, "I haven't received the notification of the court hearing. I am currently in Qingdao."

At 10:30 a.m. on Nov. 30, Wang Haijun called me saying, "Kegui's case will be tried at 2:00 p.m. this afternoon." Only three and half hours were left until the court hearing when I learned of the news.

Kegui's mother and I hurried to the court. Before we reached the entrance of the court, we were surrounded by plainclothes police officers. I told them that I came to attend the trial. The answer was "No entry; wait here." Negotiating didn't work out a solution so we were forced to stay in the cars of State Security Police. We were forbidden from being near the entrance until the court trial was over. We noticed that police officers were stationed at every road leading to the Yinan County courthouse and even miles away on roads leading to the county center. Passers-by were questioned, and vehicles were inspected. The local residents connected to the case were "taken good care of" by the police. Even the human rights activist, Hu Jia, who lives far away in Beijing, was restrained from leaving home until the end of the trial.

It is safe to say that Kegui's trial is one of unfairness and injustice; it is a mockery of laws and a violation of human rights. It exemplifies a regress of rule of law in China.

On April 18, 2013, it was near one year anniversary of Chen Guangcheng's escape. At 7:00 a.m., the Shuanghou county government held a joint meeting for all party members and members of Public Security and Joint Defense Force. This meeting charged Chen Guangcheng three offenses. One offense was that he filed complaints against 40 individuals at the U.S. Congress and they were placed on a black list. Second, he intended to go to Taiwan to support Taiwanese independence. Finally, he also planned to go to Tibet to instigate Tibetan independence. Consequently, they deployed counter-measures lest Cheng Guangcheng's influence grow.

On the afternoon of April 18, four staff members working for the dissident artist Ai Weiwei were taken for Japanese journalists and arrested when they tried to enter the Dongshigu village. Their car tires were pierced with a sharp knife.

Beginning on April 18, officials would throw rocks, bricks, and beer bottles at my house around 1:00 a.m. every night, damaging the tiles, doors, and windows. They also threw dead chickens and ducks because bird flu was at its peak. They also posted and passed along a large amount of pamphlets, which hurled abuse and insults at Cheng Guangcheng and called me a traitor and a troublemaker. They also threatened to break our legs and stone the whole family to death. The poplar tree we planted was pulled out twice, and they did the same to vegetable fields my 80-year-old mother toiled over, leaving them withered.

I had dialed 110 to report the harassment to police almost a dozen times, but the local police didn't take any action. Even worse, they just refused to answer my calls. On May 8, I posted my decision on Sina Weibo (China's version of Twitter): "Reporting to police ten times has come to nothing. I am going to Beijing seeking justice." That was how I embarked on the journey of appealing to the higher authorities and defending my rights. As a direct result of this post, I was assaulted on the road by an unidentified person who was driving a car without a plate on May 9; he also damaged my motor bike. Upon returning home, I tried to post the assault incident online, only to find that my account had been cancelled.

Some internet users joked: "If you tell me that throwing dead chickens and dead ducks are some petty crooks' doing, I believe it. But for the account cancellation, there must have been big crooks behind it."

The aim of this persecution, which has escalated to such frantic levels, is to retaliate against and warn Chen Guangcheng: don't speak too much; don't go to Taiwan.

On April 24, I received a phone call from Chen Kegui, who told me that he was positively diagnosed with appendicitis. The next day, it was time to visit the prison. The prison administration also confirmed Kegui's health problem. I immediately requested to have Kegui treated at a hospital outside the prison, but the request was not granted.

On April 29, Kegui's wife, Liu Fang, and I went to the prison again and submitted a written application for Kegui's release on medical parole or to seek treatment outside the prison. We were notified that he had already developed a suppurative appendicitis, [which meant that Kegui's appendix had perforations and pus could enter his abdominal cavity]. But the administration still rejected our request.

On May 2, the same application was submitted the third time to the Linyi Prison administration, and it was rejected again.

I would like to ask a question: during the time period between the positive diagnosis on April 24, to the occurrence of suppurative appendicitis on April 29, had he been given proper treatment? If the answer is yes, how did he have suppurative appendicitis?

I learned from my prison visit on Oct. 31 that he was forced to write a confession while he was sick. Wasn't that the act of exploitation of other people's vulnerable situations?

Because Kegui didn't receive proper treatment in a timely manner, he still hasn't completely recovered from his appendicitis. He constantly feels pains in the area of his appendix. At the same time, he is made to do long hours of manual labor in spite of his illness.

There was a dialogue between Chen Guangcheng and Zhang Jian, the Head of Shuanghou Township. Guangcheng said, "Just to persecute one individual, you have the audacity to spend 60 million Chinese yuan in tax payers' money!" Zhang Jian derisively said, "Sixty million? You only know that part of the money; there is more which is unknown to you." This is just a good evidence of the government's profligate use of tax payers' hard-earned money.

China always likes to trumpet itself as a country ruled by law. However, government officials at grass root levels repeatedly made it clear to me that the so-called rule-by-law means the Communist Party has unlimited means to sort you out!

In 2012, the Central Government promised that the persecution of Chen Guangcheng and his family by local officials would be investigated thoroughly and fundamental civil rights of Chen Guangcheng's family will be protected. However, this promise has not been fulfilled at this point. Even worse, the government has continued to attack, retaliate, and persecute Chen Guangcheng's family in his hometown in the form of imprisonment, surveillance, slandering, insulting, harassment, and beating.

If the principle of individual conduct is measured by a man who keeps his word, then a country should be held to the same standard much more so!

In a country self-claimed as a nation with rule of law, such appalling incidents in violation of human rights is utterly beyond comprehension.

I sincerely hope that the Council members will be able to side with the Chinese people, show your concerns and lend support for those individuals and families under persecution by a dictatorial regime.

Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Guangfu, thank you very much for your testimony. I do have some questions but I will wait. Now I would invite Dr. Marcus to present her testimony.

STATEMENT OF DEVRA MARCUS, M.D., PHYSICIAN AND ACTIVIST

Dr. MARCUS. Thank you very much for inviting to this event which I have found inexpressibly moving. My own experiences were moving enough, but this has gone beyond anything that I had experienced before.

First of all, I think the chairman articulated what I have learned extremely well and I have nothing to add to that. It was an incredible summary of the condensation of my own experiences in China.

Secondly, I think that the daughters of the men who are imprisoned are a credit to the United States. It is China's loss. These young women are just astonishing and actually are exemplars of what we would hope all of our children would epitomize; their dignity, honor, passion, and commitment to the values that make the United States unique are beyond anything I ever anticipated. I am so proud that we offer them the ability to explore life fully even though it has an inordinate amount of pain associate with it. At least they have the freedom to express their points of view.

I might then segue just a bit to why I got interested in this because there is a sixth daughter whom I will speak for without her authority, but I think she would give it to me and that is Zhu Li who is the daughter of Zhu Yufu. This is the man whom I went to visit and I went because we have something that Bob Fu calls fondly, I think, the Horowitz Hilton. When Chinese come to Washington for one reason or another, we house a number of them and it has enriched our lives enormously. Among the people who came to stay with us were, in fact, two sisters and a brother of Zhu Yufu. Two of them now have sought political asylum and attained it along with their spouses and one child, I believe, each. I think that both of them have left a child behind in China. There was a third sister who has a son by a Japanese man and she has gone back to live in Japan now.

We bonded with one another over knitting. It was quite remarkable. We sat at the kitchen table, neither of us spoke each other's languages, but we spoke the language of knitting. And they are inordinately talented. I had huge admiration for them. In addition, I do brush painting and the brother, Zhu Qiaofu, is a brush painter, so we made friends over art, if you will, without language at all. That got me interested in Zhu Yufu. It also taught me the lesson of the price that is paid by families, including extended families for the nobility of thought of someone that they love.

I happen to see a submission by a lawyer on behalf of Zhu Yufu to the U.N. indicating that he had cardiac problems of a rather potentially severe nature that might cause him either to die suddenly or in fact, to develop an illness that if it were not properly treated would cause him to die. I opined that if it were possible for me to do anything to make life easier for him which is to say to get him adequate medical attention, I would like to do it. And as it happened, it was thought by people who were very active in human rights in China that it might be useful for me to go. So I went. I

went with Kody Kness who had spent time in China and speaks Mandarin. And we went on a date that we knew would be a day when Zhu Yufu's wife would be visiting him in prison. We met her in the prison. We were admitted to the prison. We then had to negotiate with a guard in the prison who wanted to know why I was there. I said I was there because I had read that Zhu Yufu had potentially serious cardiac problems and I wanted to be assured that he was getting adequate medical attention. I had been told that he was seen once a month, that he had his blood pressure checked, he was given an antihypertensive and he was given an herbal medicine for heart failure, but nothing more than that and that his treatment was very perfunctory at best.

There also was some concern that he was despairing, given the fact that he had spent a third, at least, of his adult life in prison. The man, when I reviewed with him what the U.N. report said, "Well, we don't believe in the U.N." Then I said, "Well, what if he dies in prison?" His response was, "There is no if." After a little more skirmishing, it became clear to me that we were not going to be allowed to get in. Finally, I said to him, "Would you tell him that I have come?" because I knew that it would be important to his morale if he knew that a westerner had come to visit him. The man said no and ushered us out.

By that time he was pretty angry, but in control. But he subsequently detained us and confiscated Kody's cell phone and held the phone for a couple of hours and, I am sure, scrubbed it. So we have no idea what happened to the phone. We clearly could not leave the prison at that point because there were two guards here. We were here, the door was there. And there was no way we were going to get out. We got interviewed. The interview was relatively benign. Finally, after about 2 hours, the cell phone was returned and we were allowed to leave.

As a result of our efforts to get in, the Chinese Internet carried this fairly widely and the attention of a rather eminent human rights lawyer was attracted. He came from Nanjing the following day, agreed to take the case, and started the legal proceedings to do so. He has, to date, not been permitted to see Xhu Yufu and in fact, we understand, relatively recently, has been threatened with withdrawal of his license if he continues to pursue the case.

In addition, and we have heard about reprisal, Xhu Yufu has been moved from his prison block to the psychiatric block, which is not viewed as good news. It is, in a way, an effort to gaslight him and also to neutralize him so that he will be sufficiently demeaned, that he will give up his desire perhaps to live, although that isn't at all clear.

What became clear to me with my relationships with his wife, Xhu Yufu's wife and his daughter, is that they are more or less in despair as opposed to the young women who are here. If Zhu Li were here, she would be shocked that anybody would be advocating for her and for her family in this body because her expectation is always to be told no and to back off. When she was doing my interpreting when we were in the office of the prison, every time the guard said no, she backed off and I had to almost pull her forward because no is viewed as no, not as an invitation to the dance or an invitation to negotiating, but no. So the repression of her ability to

think is what was very striking to me, also the fact that her mother is emotionally, I think, really running out of resilience.

So I learned about the long-term profound and extensive, as you have learned here again, repression in a way, indirect torture of family members of people who have a very profound sense of morality.

The Chinese do indeed have laws on their books that would allow for the release of Xhu Yufu. He fulfills all the requirements. However, they are not allowing him to make application for early release, despite that. So the fact is that although the laws are on the books, they are under the control of political authorities and judges do not exercise any authority other than that which I believe is essentially given to them by the State. So it is unclear at this point what will happen to him in terms of his ability to make use of those laws which if he were able to do so, would allow for him to have an early release.

I thank you very much. I am deeply appreciative of being in the company of the people in whose company I am today. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Marcus follows:]

TESTIMONY OF DR. DEVRA C. MARCUS
BEFORE THE HOUSE HUMAN RIGHTS SUBCOMMITTEE
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5, 2013

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

Thank you for inviting me to testify at today's important hearing. It is an honor to join witnesses like those appearing before you today – people who both symbolize and make real the battle for freedom and human dignity in China.

Earlier this year, I met three siblings of one of the China 18, Mr. Zhu Yufu, a man now serving a seven year sentence for.... writing a poem. Based on what I learned from Mr. Zhu's family, and from an important United Nations report of his treatment and condition, I became concerned that Mr. Zhu was suffering from a number of medical conditions, some potentially fatal, while at most receiving inadequate medical care.

I am a doctor who has practiced medicine for more than forty years, and as such I thought it could be helpful to Mr. Zhu, and responsive to the pleas of his family, for me to visit Prison Camp No. 4 in Hangzhou, China where Mr. Zhu is incarcerated. My hope was to be able to examine Mr. Zhu and to persuade Chinese medical authorities to give priority attention to his condition and treatment. I thus traveled to Hangzhou in early October, presented myself to the authorities at Prison Camp No. 4, discussed with them what I knew of Mr. Zhu's medical condition and sought permission to examine him. Always civil and respectful in making my request, it was nonetheless denied. In fact, the process so angered the officials of Prison Camp No. 4 that my colleague Kody Kness and I were detained for a number of hours in the prison complex where we were interrogated by the authorities.

The fuller story of my visit to China is described in a Wall Street Journal Op-Ed article, which I have attached to this testimony.

One of the most important things I learned in my visit is that the focus of today's hearing – the impact of China's human rights policies on the families of the China 18 and others like them – is profoundly right and

proper. My visit to China and my association with family members of imprisoned Chinese human rights and religious activists have taught me of the grave price that non-incarcerated family members pay. Especially for those family members still in China, natural anguish over the fate of their imprisoned loved ones is regularly accompanied by a pariah status that causes lack of employment, loss of friendships, and acute privation and isolation. I believe that China's treatment of these family members reflects a deliberate government policy designed to "teach" imprisoned activists that their conduct imposes crushing burdens not only on themselves but also on the people they love. As a doctor, I have seen clinical depression suffered by the families of incarcerated Chinese human rights activists, and I have also been moved by their courage in continuing to offer support and hope to their imprisoned loved ones. Thank you, again, Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, for today's hearing "Their Daughters Appeal to Beijing: 'Let Our Fathers Go!'"

Appearing before you today, I also want to note reports, as yet not fully confirmed, that Mr. Zhu has been subject to severe reprisals since my visit and since efforts were made to provide him with legal representation. These reports, not yet fully confirmed, indicate the real possibility that efforts are being made to threaten lawyers wishing to represent Mr. Zhu. There are also reports, also not fully confirmed, that Mr. Zhu has been transferred to the psychiatric unit of Prison Camp No. 4 where psychotic and emotionally disturbed prisoners are housed – a transfer that may significantly increase Mr. Zhu's isolation and risk of safety while also limiting the already limited right of Mr. Zhu to receive family visits. As noted, these reports have not been fully confirmed, and I thus hope, Mr. Chairman, that you will patiently bear with me and with Bob Fu as we conclude an ongoing examination of Mr. Zhu's alleged reprisal treatment.

In particular, if the reports of Mr. Zhu's assignment to a psychiatric unit are true, it will reveal Chinese government conduct similar to that of the former Soviet Union when it sought to define political dissidents as emotionally disturbed individuals requiring psychiatric care. That Soviet conduct was condemned the world over, and I hope that if similar conduct is engaged in by China it will be treated with equivalent condemnation.

Based on my experience in China, there is another observation I would like to share with this Committee. I believe that a major potential force for rule of law reform in China is the small but growing number of lawyers willing to represent victims like Mr. Zhu and the China 18 prisoners. Often, these lawyers are valued contributors to China's economy who receive protection from government reprisals from their influential business clients. These lawyers are often able to cite explicit provisions of Chinese law, perhaps enacted for propaganda purposes, that if applied would provide significant and often full relief to their clients. Citation of such laws often makes it difficult for Chinese authorities to exercise arbitrary power because doing so effectively forces them to acknowledge that their legal codes are sham. For these and other reasons, I hope that this Committee will continue to focus on the need to support a potentially growing cohort of Chinese lawyers willing to represent clients like Mr. Zhu.

I have learned that Mr. Zhu has met the three tests established by Chinese law that call for immediate release from prison. Yet, despite being older than 60, despite having served more than one third of his sentence, and despite the fact that he suffers from serious medical problems, Mr. Zhou not only remains in prison but may also be subject to increasingly inhumane treatment – all this while being denied the right to petition for the rights that Chinese law explicitly provides.

I thank this committee for its recognition of the importance of the China 18 cases and for its recognition that the peaceful furtherance of American values both serves America's interests and makes the world a better and safer place.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Marcus, thank you for your testimony and thank you for your advocacy, your willingness to put yourself out, to bring your medical degree and background, 40 years as a medical doctor to at least try to examine Mr. Zhu which would have been, I think, an extremely important contribution to his health. You have adopted, more or less, this brave man as a prisoner of conscience and more people ought to do just that. Find one or two individuals, adopt them and advocate for them the way you are doing and doing it again today. So I certainly thank you for that. It makes a huge difference.

And to the Horowitz Hilton, I know you leave the light on. That is a different hotel chain, of course, and that generosity just goes so far in letting people know that the hospitality and the warmth that you and your husband, Michael, show to dissidents and people who have braved so much, suffered so much, and yet they find a place of refuge in your home. That is truly remarkable. Thank you.

I would like to ask Mr. Chen, if I could just say briefly, your brother, Chen Guangcheng, has relentlessly, and I mean relentlessly in every speech, every venue that I have seen him at, here, right where you sit when he testified last spring, has pressed doggedly for the release of your son and has asked the State Department over and over and over again to advocate for his release and to hold your entire family harmless. That has been his number one priority and the fact that you are here today at his request, I think, further underscores that his concern for your family back in China is unceasing. He does say this to the State Department, "What are you doing in-country?" Has the Ambassador, our U.S. Ambassador, tried to see Chen Kegui? What are they doing to advocate for his release?

You mentioned in your testimony, and it was very telling, if I can find it again, how you spent 72 hours being beaten and tortured and that they also were beating family members until they got tired. They couldn't punch any longer because they were tired. That just underscores the brutality and the cruelty that I think most Americans don't appreciate and this goes on day-in and day-out directed against the best and the bravest and the brightest of the People's Republic of China. So I just want you to know that we will continue to bring your case, that of your son, the entire family, following Chen Guangcheng's tremendous leadership on that to try to get our Government to do far more than we have done.

Guangcheng had asked a series of specific questions of the State Department and got back a totally inadequate answer. He laid it out here. He laid it out elsewhere, too, but from where you sit when he testified and got a nothing answer, which I found appalling, in terms of his own situation and the investigation that you referenced in your testimony as well. So thank you and I would like to yield to my good friend and colleague, Mr. Meadows for any comments or questions that he might have.

Mr. MEADOWS. Thank each of you for your testimony and for being willing to serve and answer a call to truly make a difference, so I just want to say thank each one of you. I guess my question becomes, as I mentioned earlier, we have had a number of hearings where this is a reoccurring theme, where we have human rights abuses that continue to happen in China. My concern, specifically

Mr. Chen with you being here today, is the repercussions that family members may face in China as a result of you being here.

Do you think highlighting this issue is something that we need to continue to do and is it starting to make a difference?

[The following testimony was delivered through an interpreter.]

Mr. CHEN. I believe that we still should continue to expose those inhumane acts by the Chinese Government. There is an old saying in China which is "the heavens are watching over what we are doing here on earth."

The reason why I came here today is not just to appeal for my son because there are hundreds of thousands Chinese citizens who suffer from injustice and persecution under all kinds of excuses made by the Chinese authorities. Even worse, some of them have been deprived life. So I believe that the attention given by the outside world will make a great difference in such situations.

I believe the sufferings our family has endured, thus far, is not that important compared to the larger goal of promoting the human rights movement in mainland China.

Mr. MEADOWS. Thank you. And Dr. Marcus, when you went to visit, obviously you were forwarded at a number of different fronts in terms of continued access. Would you say that this would be indicative of a lower level person trying to implement directions from a higher authority or is it someone at a lower level just implementing their own sense of justice of lack thereof? I guess what I am getting at is do you think it is systemic throughout most of the top officials in the Chinese Government?

Dr. MARCUS. I think that what was interesting to me was that we got waved in, so somebody knew that we were coming. I have no idea. So I think probably both things were occurring. I think that he had probably gotten instructions and I think he was more than happy to comply with those instructions. I think he wanted to get us out of there as fast as he could. And I was fairly persistent. So it didn't work and it made him angry.

Mr. MEADOWS. Thank you. Pastor Fu, good to see you again. Thank you for being a faithful voice for those that do not have a voice.

Mr. FU. Thank you.

Mr. MEADOWS. One of the things that I just heard that this is a plight that many, I guess it was hundreds of thousands, of other Chinese people are experiencing. Would you concur with that? I mean it is very easy to take just a few people and say well, this is only happening in a few isolated situations. It is very different if it is indeed hundreds of thousands of people and I saw a few people nodding in the background that it was hundreds of thousands. So would you characterize that as being accurate?

Mr. FU. Absolutely. These 18 are just the tip of the iceberg, representative of hundreds of thousands. Just this year alone, we have seen several hundred, perhaps even thousands. We don't know their names, but we know some of their names. In my written testimony, I listed more than 130 who were just detained, arrested. Some were already been tried and sentenced for simply making a poster and asking the government officials to be transparent with their property; they posted a picture online and were arrested. And that is this year in the past few months. And already more than

120 Tibetans committed self-immolation, were killed because of the desperation.

And already there are many, many others of the faith community, the Christian pastors, the Catholic bishops, the Uyghurs, and the Falun Gong practitioners. This year already reached the worst as I mentioned, since the massacre of Tiananmen Square in 1989.

So this absolutely not just a local or just some short period of time persecution. It is systematic. It is Central Government orchestrated and it is still going on right now.

Mr. MEADOWS. There is a danger from time to time when you address human rights violations of the nature perhaps that we are talking about today, that some of them may be more horrific, some perhaps less, but there is a danger when we do that, that the people of that particular country may see it as anger or animosity toward a people that are far away and yet would you say that the majority of the people that you know, that you have heard from—I heard it earlier from some of the young ladies that testified, that there is truly a love for their country of China, that this is not a "We hate China" mentality. That there is a love for their country, and what they want is justice within their own country, not to put away their native homelands to go somewhere else. Would you say that is across the board the predominant feeling?

Mr. FU. Absolutely that is the predominant feeling. The way that these hundreds of thousands prisoners of conscience handle their advocacy, their campaign for freedom, for transparency demonstrates itself that they are the true patriots. They are the love of the motherland of China. They are not anti-China or anti-Chinese people at all. They are actually just the opposite. They want to hold those abusers, the corrupted officials accountable which should be echoed, approved by the Chinese Central Government leaders. Yet, they were jailed for loving their country and I think really those are not only heroes for freedom for China, but also they are the campaigning essence for the defining of the 21st century.

If China is free in the 21st century and becomes a democratic country, you essentially remove a threat, not only a regional threat as Chinese Communists have demonstrated to Taiwan, to Japan, to many neighbors of China, but also to the world. I think they are doing something more than for their own country, but also for the world.

Mr. MEADOWS. I will finish up with this one question and I will throw it out to any of you that would care to comment because it may be something that you can't speak to and I guess it is more advice for me and some of my colleagues. How can we communicate most effectively a desire to address the human rights issues, but at the same time a love for the Chinese people and a respect for Chinese sovereignty at the same time? Because sometimes they get crossed.

Dr. Marcus, any idea how to do that?

Dr. MARCUS. It is a toughy.

Mr. MEADOWS. It is a toughy, okay. Well, if you have any thoughts, we will leave it at that. If you have any thoughts on how we can best do that, if you will just provide some written guidelines. I can tell you that perhaps those that are covering this here

today will hear the heart of a father and a Congressman who wants to deal with some of the issues that we have heard, and yet at the same time has a mutual respect and admiration for the Chinese people. I believe in sovereignty. It is one of those things that is foundational to our American way of democracy that may be foreign to many others and so with that, Mr. Chairman, I will yield back.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much to my good friend and colleague. Let me just ask a few final questions and then anything you would like to add before we close.

Dr. Marcus, and again, I appreciate your advocacy on behalf of Mr. Zhu. What is the status of his family? We have heard from Mr. Chen's family, the five daughters, obviously. You might want to speak about how his family and perhaps friends that you may have met are faring under this tremendous pressure.

Secondly, Pastor Fu, you pointed out that the appeasement policy of harmony diplomacy adopted by some western societies toward totalitarianism is enabling the dictatorship to do what it wants because they know that we are very weak and seemingly unconcerned. Will say some of the right words, but what is behind it? If you could speak to that and also whether or not religious freedom is improving, is it the same as it was perhaps a year ago or two, which was awful, or is it getting worse?

I would also ask Mr. Chen, you pointed out in your testimony that, and I think this bears repeating, without Chen Guangcheng's escape, Chen Kegui's case wouldn't exist. The continued imprisonment of Chen Kegui is punishment for Chen Guangcheng's escape. You also point out that "In 2012, the Central Government promised that the persecution of Chen Guangcheng and his family," you, and your loved ones, "by local officials would be investigated thoroughly and fundamental civil rights of Chen Guangcheng's family will be protected. However, this promise has not been fulfilled at this point. Even worse, the government has continued to attack, retaliate, and persecute Chen Guangcheng's family in his hometown in the form of imprisonment, surveillance, slandering, insulting, harassment, and beating." Has Ambassador Locke, Gary Locke, our U.S. Ambassador to China, met with you, talked to you, visited you and your family? Has he raised the issue face-to-face with his interlocutors, with the Foreign Ministry leaders and others in China?

Dr. Marcus, perhaps you can begin.

Dr. MARCUS. Yes. As far as Zhu Yufu's family is concerned, there are a total of six in the family. It is a very large Chinese family. Two of his siblings are lying low. They are staying away from the government's eye. There is a brother and a sister. One sister has gone to Japan. She has a son there. Two have sought political asylum in the United States and have gotten it. His wife is working, has a menial job. She was a pharmacist, but she is no longer working in that capacity and I don't know if she lost the job or not, but she is now working for somebody doing something fairly menial even though she is trained a pharmacist. His daughter has a degree in art history and is credentialed to teach art, but cannot get a job because she is the daughter of a criminal. So she has gone back to school and she is now training in museumology. Their son

has a degree in physics. He was imprisoned for a year because he barred the door to the police when they came after his father during one of the times his father was arrested. So he was imprisoned for a year, so he is now a criminal. So he can work, but not as a physicist.

I would like to respond, I was a little flip to Mr. Meadows. It does occur to me that what I have heard when I have asked people about what seems to make a difference in China, why it is different is always the same answer, the Internet. And what I have also heard is that what the Chinese lack, the people lack is the truth because it is often spun by the government. The one thing that is very difficult to spin is direct social media and I had the opportunity of discussing this with a young woman who got an MBA at Stanford that I met in the Shanghai Airport. She said the major difference she has seen is because of the Internet. So I think the Internet is crucial. I think, if you will forgive me, I don't want to offer an opinion other than that. This is what I have heard. So I would say to you if there is one focus that keeps one away from the issues that you are talking about, it would be the Internet.

And may I, business matter, offer my written testimony for the record.

Mr. SMITH. Without objection, your full testimony and that of all of our witnesses today will be made a part of the record.

Dr. MARCUS. And the only other thing I want to say is that we assume that the reason that Zhu Yufu has been changed to the psychiatry block is that it is in retaliation for the attention he has gotten. We don't know that. Thank you.

Mr. FU. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Before I answer your question I want to say a few words to answer Congressman Meadows' previous question about sovereignty and raising human rights. You know, every time when the State Department of the U.S. issued an annual human rights report or USCIRF, issued the global religious persecution written report, the Chinese Government always issued a sort of angry denouncing statement by saying the standard is always set. This is the interference of the internal affairs.

And the human rights and this fundamental freedom are not internal affairs. And to abuse a fellow human being and their dignity and depriving their basic freedoms is not internal affairs. And the fact that the Chinese Government now starts issuing human rights reports about the U.S. itself demonstrated that the issue of internal affairs is fair game, so they are interfering with the U.S. internal affairs to say the least.

I think China is a signatory country for various international human rights covenants and the Chinese Constitution, for instance, Article 36 says for the citizens, basic freedom of religious belief should be guaranteed and China also signed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I think the fellow Members of Congress, when you expressed the disapproval of the human rights abuses in China, it is not interference of internal affairs, but actually you want to help China to improve its international standing.

So then I think to answer the first question about the appeasement charge, the appeasement diplomacy, I think the danger actually is when the brutal dictators start treating this as internal affairs by arbitrarily putting its citizens into detention center, im-

prisonment, without any due process, and when western democractic countries treat that as internal affairs, and when our own Secretary of State says that as human rights should not interfere with others so-called priority items, the security, the economic items, that sends a very——

Mr. SMITH. On that point, when Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, en route to Beijing, said that she would not allow human rights to interfere with global climate change and selling U.S. debt, is that you were referring to?

Mr. FU. Yes, that is what I refer to. I think that the leaders of democratic countries, when we made that kind of remarks, it is not only hurtful to those human rights campaigners, like those fathers of the five daughters, but also it really emboldens the dictators and the persecutors, and they take that as a green light to continue and increasing the persecution. It sends the wrong signal to the persecutors, that the democratic countries will not care as long as the trade continues, as long as the economic relationship is strengthened.

In terms of religious freedom issues, certainly they have been worsening. I remembered it took more than a year for the current administration to even nominate the Ambassador-at-Large for the International Religious Freedom Office in the State Department. And unfortunately, after the current Ambassador-at-Large, Ambassador Suzan Johnson Cook resigned the office, the position is still not filled up until today. So I think President Clinton would not do that, and President Jimmy Carter would not do that. Certainly President Bush, the two Bushes would not do that. I think this is very unfortunate. This is certainly sending the wrong signal at this critical time when the Chinese human rights and religious freedom reached its worst in 20 some years.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chen.

[The following testimony was delivered through an interpreter.]

Mr. CHEN. Mr. Smith, regarding the question you just raised before with whether Ambassador Gary Locke raised the issue to local authorities, the answer is no. Regarding whether he has raised the issue of persecution of our family to local authorities, I am not aware of that.

Mr. SMITH. We will reiterate our request that he do so. We will write him today and write the Secretary of State, John Kerry, as well, asking them and conveying to them, not only your testimony, but all the testimonies. In my opinion, based on what occurred during the Chen Guangcheng process, when he was in-country still and then when he came here, those promises have gone unfulfilled. And so we will follow up on that, I can assure you.

Pastor Fu?

Mr. FU. Yes, related to that, I have one final comment, actually. I remember last August, Mr. Chairman, yourself and Congressman Wolf and several other committee chairmen, as well as Speaker Boehner and Minority Leader Pelosi issued a joint letter to the Chinese President, Hu Jintao, then President, and the Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao, to ask them to follow through what they promised to Mr. Chen Guangcheng and you actually also wrote a letter, along with Speaker Boehner and Leader Pelosi, to President Obama or Secretary John Kerry this year, to ask them to meet

with Mr. Chen Guangcheng and other family members of those human rights campaigners in China such as Gao Zhisheng.

I don't know. So far as far as I know, there is no positive response and even I think the leader of Freedon Now, Attorney Jared Genser, made a direct appeal to both the White House and through Washington Post opinion piece just last month to make that point that the quiet, so-called under the table diplomacy has failed, and failed miserably. And so it is time for the leader of our country, the President himself, to speak up to show that he is personally engaging by meeting, listening, and hearing directly from these daughters and the family members.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. Is there anything else any of you would like to say before we conclude? Again, I want to thank you for your testimony, for your leadership. It is extraordinary and since the five daughters are still here, thank them again profusely for the love and devotion they have shown toward their fathers, their families, and for being willing to come here and share that with us on this subcommittee. The hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 2:24 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

Material Submitted for the Record

SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING NOTICE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6128

Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations
Christopher H. Smith (R-NJ), Chairman

December 4, 2013

TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to be held by the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations in Room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building (and available live on the Committee website at www.foreignaffairs.house.gov):

DATE: Thursday, December 5, 2013

TIME: 11:00 a.m.

SUBJECT: Their Daughters' Appeal to Beijing: "Let Our Fathers Go!"

WITNESSES:

Panel I
Ms. Lisa Peng
Daughter of Peng Ming

Ms. Grace Ge Geng
Daughter of Gao Zhisheng

Ms. Ti-Anna Wang
Daughter of Wang Bingzhang

Ms. Bridgette Chen
Daughter of Liu Xian Bin

Ms. Danielle Wang
Daughter of Wang Zhiwen

Panel II
Pastor Bob Fu
Founder and President
ChinaAid Association

Mr. Chen Guangfu
Brother of Chen Guangcheng and father of Chen Kegui

Devra Marcus, M.D.
Physician and Activist

By Direction of the Chairman

The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202/225-5021 at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON *Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations* HEARING

Day *Thursday* **Date** *December 5, 2013* **Room** *2172 Rayburn HOB*

Starting Time *11:00 a.m.* **Ending Time** *2:24 p.m.*

Recesses [*1*] (*12:37* to *1:22*) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____)

Presiding Member(s)

Rep. Chris Smith

Check all of the following that apply:

Open Session [✓]
Executive (closed) Session [ ]
Televised [✓]

Electronically Recorded (taped) [✓]
Stenographic Record [✓]

TITLE OF HEARING:

Their Daughters' Appeal to Beijing: "Let Our Fathers Go!"

SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

Rep. Meadows

NON-SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT: *(Mark with an * if they are not members of full committee.)*

Rep. Pittenger, Rep. Franks**

HEARING WITNESSES: Same as meeting notice attached? Yes [✓] **No** [ ]
(If "no", please list below and include title, agency, department, or organization.)

STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: *(List any statements submitted for the record.)*

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE _____
or
TIME ADJOURNED *2:24 p.m.*

Gregory B. Simpkins
Subcommittee Staff Director