

# EXPERIENCES OF HARRY WU AS A POLITICAL PRISONER IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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HEARING  
BEFORE THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS  
OF THE  
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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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# **EXPERIENCES OF HARRY WU AS A POLITICAL PRISONER IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1995**

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND  
HUMAN RIGHTS,  
Washington, DC.**

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:07 a.m. in room 2171, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Christopher Smith (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. SMITH. The subcommittee will come to order.

Let me begin by saying on behalf of Mr. Lantos and myself that it is a privilege and honor for us to convene this hearing, which is really the second part of a hearing that we held last April. Then as now, Mr. Harry Wu was among our witnesses, and then as now, the subject was political and religious repression in China, in particular the vicious system of prison labor camps maintained for political and religious dissidents in China, known as the laogai, a term that means reform through labor.

Between that hearing and today, dramatic events have intervened. On June 19, Mr. Wu, entering China for the purposes of furthering his historic work of documenting human rights abuses there, was detained by the Chinese police. Though is he an American citizen, he was held incommunicado for a matter of weeks, without being allowed to be visited by his country's consul, in violation of international law.

Before formal criminal charges were brought, Mr. Wu was publicly threatened with the charge of espionage, which could have brought the death penalty. In the twisted logic of totalitarianism, human rights monitors are spies.

A worldwide outcry arose demanding Mr. Wu's release, and on August 23 the Chinese Government finally complied, though not without first subjecting Mr. Wu to a rapid fire criminal trial and the issuance of a 15-year sentence and the humiliation of a formal expulsion from China.

This subcommittee is deeply honored that Mr. Wu is able and willing to come before us again. The timing of his release and of Congress' return to Washington were the only factors that determined the scheduling of this hearing. However, I am not at all displeased that this hearing ends up taking place simultaneously with

the Fourth World Conference on Women, which is continuing even as we speak in Beijing.

Many Members of Congress from both sides of the aisle have called attention to the absurdity of holding a human rights conference in the capital of a country that is among the world's leading human rights violators. This absurdity could only be redeemed if the conference were used at least in part as an occasion for the leaders of the free nations to issue China-specific denunciations of the human rights abuses that take place there.

Mrs. Clinton's speech went part of the way toward doing that. She should be particularly commended for her denunciation of forced abortion and forced sterilization.

However, she did stop short of using the crucial word "China" in connection with any of the violations she so rightly denounced.

However, the testimony that Harry Wu and his associates continue to give about conditions in China go far beyond that conference.

Political and religious repression has been the rule in China for almost half a century. While many tyrannical governments in other parts of the world were swept away in 1989 and in the 1980's, the Communist oligarchs of China showed the world via Tiananmen Square that it cares neither for human rights nor for world opinion when its survival is at stake.

Today that oligarchy is still in power, imprisoning nuns, monks and dissidents in forced labor camps, and forcing unwilling women into abortion tents, and men and women into sterilization clinics. All the while, the same oligarchy wants to be seen by the rest of the world as a valuable trading partner and a coequal member of the community of civilized nations. All too often we in the West have been willing to indulge them.

Harry Wu, together with Ching Lee Wu and Jeff Fiedler, provide us with a much needed dose of moral reality. When Harry Wu last testified before our subcommittee last April, his long experience in the Chinese gulag was long behind him. Today he is here again with his most recent brush with that system only a few weeks behind him.

So let me say for myself and for my colleagues, Republicans and Democrats alike, who had "free Harry Wu" posters on their doors and wore the yellow ribbons and spoke out on behalf of resolutions and made 1-minute speeches on the floor and everywhere else we could gain an audience, that we are so pleased and so happy to have this champion of human rights again here in Washington, a free man, to tell his story.

I would like to recognize my very distinguished colleague, Mr. Lantos, for any opening comments he would like to make.

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

Let me first pay tribute to my colleague and neighbor, Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi, Congressman Wolf, and yourself, for leading the fight so effectively on behalf of Harry Wu. This has been a magnificent example of bipartisan cooperation.

As those of us who have been committed to the cause of human rights know, there are no differences between Republicans and Democrats when it comes to fundamental human rights issues. The case of Harry Wu dramatically demonstrated that all of us who feel

so deeply about this man of tremendous integrity and courage and principle worked together. We were together at that hastily called press conference when we discovered that he had just been arrested.

All of our colleagues at that press conference spoke with deep conviction from the heart and we were all hoping that there would be such a happy and glorious conclusion to our efforts. It is rare for those of us who are humble workers in the vineyards of human rights to celebrate victories. And Harry Wu's return in a sense is reminiscent of Anatoli Scharansky's emergence from prison and his walk across that bridge.

And I can't remember how many times my wife and I were at press conferences with Scharansky's wife at a time when he was languishing in the Soviet gulag. And it was so wonderful to see Ching Lee since Harry's return. She has always been a beautiful woman but she now looks 25 years younger since Harry's return.

It rarely happens that a man or a woman committed to human rights puts his own life on the line. The great hero of the holocaust during the Second World War, Raoul Wallenberg, did that. He left behind the comfort and safety and security of neutral Sweden to go to Budapest to save lives and to point to an unspeakable evil. His story did not have a happy ending, as Harry Wu's does.

But there is a parallel, because Harry Wu left behind the comfort and security and safety of the area that Nancy Pelosi and I call home, northern California, and voluntarily returned to Communist-controlled China, taking enormous risks and for a while losing. For a while he become a prisoner in the Chinese prison system.

And it is, I think, an index of his courage and integrity that knowing full well what might be his fate, Harry chose to undertake the continuation of his heroic mission to document the slave labor system in China. And all of us in the Congress across the board salute him and his courageous wife, and Jeff Fiedler who has played such a key role in all of this on behalf of the American labor movement.

I think a special word of thanks is due to the much-maligned American labor movement, because it was the American trade union movement, the AFL-CIO, which stood behind Harry's work. And some of my colleagues who take such delight in bashing the AFL-CIO should at least have the decency to say thank you to the American labor movement for providing the backing, logistical support, the funding, and the basic framework in which Harry's work unfolded.

There is yet another person that I think deserves a special commendation. We had a hearing here not long ago on the then-forthcoming conference in Beijing. And there was some Hillary bashing as part of that hearing.

And I took it upon myself to defend the First Lady and her commitment to women's rights and human rights. I can't tell you, Mr. Chairman, how proud I am of the First Lady's performance at the conference. She did us proud. She spoke for all American women, and indeed she spoke for all Americans in underscoring our unshakeable commitment to human rights and women's rights.

I wish there were be a willingness on the other side, without reservation and without qualification, to applaud Hillary Clinton for

what she did for the cause of human rights at the Beijing conference. No First Lady could have done better. No First Lady could have done a more eloquent, intelligent, effective, and powerful job of presentation than did Hillary Clinton.

Now that Harry is back, our task of course is to continue to focus on the ongoing suppression of human rights and fundamental freedoms in China. There is always a danger when a highly visible symbol of human rights such as Harry Wu is free again. We rejoice.

When Sharansky was freed from the Soviet gulag, there were celebrations across the globe. And when Harry returned to San Francisco International Airport, we were all overjoyed. It was almost like a dream that we never expected to dream, becoming a reality.

But the reality plagues us. The Chinese gulag continues. Forced abortions, forced sterilizations, the suppression of the Tibetan people, the destruction of fundamental women's rights and human rights in China goes on unabated.

And I think it would be the ultimate irresponsibility on the part of all of us who are committed to human rights to blot out the background, because in the background there are untold numbers of men and women whose names are not as well-known as Harry Wu's names, who wake up every morning in a rotten prison, who wake up every morning to look forward to a nightmare of a day and a night and a day and a night and the months and a year and another year of deprivation of freedom and deprivation of human rights.

So as we salute and rejoice with Ching Lee in the return of her husband and our hero, Harry Wu, we must immediately turn to the ongoing task, because China has clearly not changed. This was a cold and calculating move, reached after much deliberation at the highest levels of the Chinese Government. The system could not take one more crisis, the Harry Wu crisis.

The Chinese overreached on the issue of the President of Taiwan. They went ballistic when this distinguished alumnus of a fine American University was allowed to visit his alma mater, and they are still going ballistic over this issue. They went ballistic over the denial of holding the 2,000 Olympics in Beijing.

And they keep pressing their new military prowess by aggressive moves in the waters along the northern coast of Taiwan. So they felt Harry Wu being kept in prison was just too much for the United States-China relationship to absorb.

Let me send a word to our Department of State. We owe the Chinese nothing for allowing this American citizen to regain his freedom. There is no quid pro quo to be had for having released Harry Wu.

If there is a quid pro quo, we are the ones who are demanding something for this outrageous act of arresting an American citizen in China. And those in the business community and elsewhere, whose commitment is only to the bottom line and nothing else, better understand that it is not they who freed Harry Wu, but it is Nancy Pelosi and Chris Smith and Congressman Wolf and myself and those of us who truly believe in human rights and individual dignity who fought for this.

So I think it is important to realize that this little chapter in United States-China relations is yet another black mark on China's record. It is a negative. The fact that Harry is back here is wonderful, but clearly his arrest is an outrage. His release is just a feeble attempt to try to undo the damage.

So, Mr. Chairman, I want to personally express my appreciation to you for what you have done for Harry Wu. Your commitment to this issue has been strong, principled and unwavering. And as one who has worked with you for so many years in the field of human rights, I publicly want to express my thanks to you. And I yield.

Mr. SMITH. I want to thank my good friend, the ranking minority member of the committee, for his statement and his kind remarks. This has been a team effort and you were right in pointing out that Mr. Wolf and Ms. Pelosi have been in the vanguard of the efforts to try to secure the release of Harry Wu and generally in pushing human rights.

I would like to recognize the distinguished chairman of the full committee, Mr. Ben Gilman, and then because he has a time commitment, I would like to ask Mr. Wolf if he—but there will be time for all members to make opening statements if they would like.

Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and we thank you and Mr. Lantos for holding this important hearing at this time. Your efforts on behalf of pro-democracy advocates in China and Tibet have had an enormous impact in the struggle going on there. I commend the gentlelady from California, Ms. Pelosi, and the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Wolf, for their ongoing efforts in trying to bring China to the point where they recognize the importance of human rights in that nation, as well as in other nations.

I also want to commend your devoted spouse, Mr. Wu, Ching Lee, for her diligent efforts on your before. She was pounding the pavement, pounding on our doors throughout your incarceration and to make certain we don't forget you, and we did not forget.

After nearly 2 months of illegal confinement in China, we are elated that you are now with us and able to testify with regard to some of the events and problems in China. Harry Wu's arrest, detention and release is similar to the case of Aung San Suu Kyi, and in both cases totalitarian dictatorships, under pressure from civilized nations for egregious human rights abuses, took a prominent individual hostage, and then expected to be rewarded for their release. This convoluted logic may be acceptable to the inner circles of Rangoon and Beijing, but it is certainly transparent to democratic governments throughout the world.

Regrettably, in both cases, the State Department responded to these actions as if they signify important positive changes in the human rights conditions in both China and Burma. The problem with our relations with Beijing are not very complex.

They are especially not, as some policy wishers would have us believe, caused by our purported insensitiveness to China's culture, beliefs and political system. Congress has a very real empirical and pragmatic reason for being deeply concerned with Beijing's proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, threat of intellectual property rights, export of production made by slave labor, and its aggression and occupation of Tibet.



The rulers in Beijing have apparently violated the Missile Technology Control Regime, the MTCR program, that they agreed to, by sending ballistic missile technology and component parts to Iran, and they know it.

The rulers in Beijing have in the past violated the intellectual property rights agreement they signed, by allowing the manufacture of illegal products. Only continued vigilance will ensure they don't continue these violations.

The rulers in Beijing have violated the memorandum of understanding on slave labor by not allowing our representatives access to the hundreds of prison manufacturing facilities within China, and they recognize that they know that.

Ill-founded accusations that we are attempting to isolate or to confine China belie the administration's failure to monitor and to persuade Beijing to live up to what they have agreed to in the past. This is in sharp contrast with the attempts by the Congress by our committee to systematically and empirically advance America's interests by scrutinizing the bottom line of Beijing's response to the agreements it signed.

We don't need political theorists to understand what the difficulties are between our two nations. We need accountants and we need hard-nosed diplomats. The cries that we need to back off are crocodile tears of those who fail to bring home the bacon on proliferation, on trade, on human rights accords, and other areas of contention between us.

Until these various problems are worked out, China will have difficulty being accepted as a mature partner in the world community.

We welcome you home, Mr. Wu. You are a true American hero to risk your life so that others who peacefully stood up for democracy and human rights, and now languish in China's gulag, may end their suffering.

We look forward to hearing your testimony today.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. I want to thank the chairman of the full committee for his very, very strong and fine remarks. I would like to deviate briefly, again because he has a previous commitment, to ask Mr. Wolf if he would say some words of welcome to our distinguished panel and Harry Wu.

And just let me say, Harry, that you have no better friends anywhere in the world than in Nancy Pelosi and Frank Wolf. We all followed their lead during the course of this trying time. Every day, Frank and Nancy would have a look of concern, and would be saying what do we do now to try to help Harry. And, Frank, I think all of us are indebted to you for your leadership on the Laogai issue as well.

Mr. Wolf.

Mr. WOLF. Thank you, Chris. I will be brief because I have a 10:30 meeting with another Member. This is going to close the issue for me.

We should look forward, as Mr. Lantos said, and not back. But I did want to make these comments and I appreciate you giving me this opportunity.

One, I prayed for Harry every night. Harry's release is really kind of an answer to a prayer.

Second, we all know Harry's 19 years in the gulag, and I think it is not only what Harry has done, but how he has done it. And I think he has been a model of the way he has handled himself, both the first time he came and this time.

Third, I think Mr. Lantos hit a good point. This was an example what Congress can do, working together in a bipartisan manner. When we are united here in the Congress, there is almost nothing that we cannot do in international affairs, and even domestic affairs.

So it is almost a model for that. I also want to pay special tribute to Nancy. Nancy Pelosi actually got me involved in the China issue. Before, I had spent a lot of time on Eastern Europe and places like that.

So Nancy, I would like the record to show, really was the one who pulled me into this.

Fourth, with regard to AFL-CIO, Lane Kirkland should be commended for his stand on human rights. I want to say this publicly, as a Republican who has not been overly involved with organized labor. Jeff Fiedler and AFL-CIO really has done an amazing job. Lech Walesa, I mean they were the backbone of solidarity, Havel, too.

I went to the funeral of the former Ambassador from Poland, Spisowski, who defected to the United States in 1981. And Lane Kirkland was in the back of the church and I wanted to go up to him and tell him, but so many people were around.

But let me just say publicly to pay tribute to Lane Kirkland and Fiedler and the AFL-CIO for their strong record on human rights, quite frankly many times when some very conservative administrations and people who were talking, very conservative anti-Communists, really weren't doing that much about it. So I want to put that on the record.

Also, there was not a story about China that Harry's name was not mentioned. And so while the Chinese did not make Harry Wu, Harry Wu made himself for the courageous activities that he did, they certainly helped to get the word out to the media and the American people. They ought to be thanked for staying with it.

The media never let this issue go and the American people never let it go.

And last, I think Harry's case is really a tribute to America. What other country would get excited about a new immigrant who just became an American citizen 2 years ago? One of the great things when I talk to immigration naturalization groups in my district, I point out that if everybody in the room got in an airplane and got on a 747 and flew to Japan to stay there forever, we would not become Japanese.

But if people from every other country of the world get on a 747, like my grandmom and grandpa, they didn't get on a 747 but on a boat, did and come here, what do you become? You become an American. And when you see how the American people and the media rose up in support of someone who is basically a new citizen, only for 2 years, it is really a tribute to our country.

Harry, we are proud of you. Your wife was very, very faithful as we knew that she would be all the way. And we just are very grateful.

And thank you, Nancy, and to Chris and to Mr. Lantos, Mr. Gilman, and to the entire committee, I appreciate your faithfulness. The Congress was faithful to a person. And those that favored MFN, nobody differed on this issue, and thank you, Chris, for having the hearing.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very, very much, Mr. Wolf. And I would like to ask Mr. Berman if he has any opening comments.

Mr. BERMAN. No, Mr. Chairman, just because I want to hear Nancy and the Wu's, Mr. Fiedler. I hope we can get to the hearing at this particular point. It is just very good to see you here at this time.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Berman.

Mr. Chabot.

Mr. CHABOT. Two sentences. It will take about 15 seconds.

First, Mr. Wu, I would like to tell you how delighted we are to have you here today, to let you know the tremendous respect that you have both in the House and throughout this Nation.

Second, I would just like to say that we must not lose sight of the fact that there are still thousands and thousands of Chinese citizens who are virtually slaves to one of the most oppressive governments on the face of this Earth, and that is still going on this very day as we speak here. We must always keep that in mind.

Thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. I am happy to see Mr. Wu again. I had the privilege of meeting him this morning at the NED meeting, he and Madam Ching, and certainly appreciated the comments you had there and look forward to hearing you again. And I must also say that you have no bigger supporter than Nancy Pelosi and her whole battle against totalitarianism for many, many years; any time she came with a letter I just signed it. I didn't know what it said, but it was from Nancy and it was all right and so it is just a pleasure to see you all here this morning. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Payne.

Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to first say how honored we are that with your presence here today and how happy we are that you are home once again.

As you must know by now, Mr. Wu, your arrest became an instant headline and served to draw considerable attention to your work and to the deplorable practices of the Beijing regime. While you were away, the weekend news stories, the evening talk programs and the opinion pages, focused as never before on slave labor, on the issue of female infanticide, and on the general brutality that some people in China have to face every day.

And this in turn proved a more instructive context for the so-called women's conference. The New York Times and others began to carry feature stories on the growing Chinese military and the threat it poses to its neighbors, as well as its increasing internal power in the ongoing transition.

And hopefully, we will all begin to focus more on the strategic implications of all this for the United States and for world stability.

And this isn't the appropriate time for a hearing to look into these broader issues, but I raise them only to thank you for your sacrifice and your service to human rights and to let you know that there are more and more of us up here who understand that there is more to our relationship with China than trade and more to it than the peculiar etiquette of constructive engagement.

And thank you again, Mr. Wu.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Salmon. And thank you very much, Mr. Royce.

Mr. SALMON. Thank you.

Very quickly, Mr. Wu, I would like to say there is a Chinese saying that goes something like this, true gold is not afraid of the refiner's fire. And I think that you proved that you are true gold.

And I would like to add that what you did for the Chinese cause, and what you did for America, got a lot of people on their knees every night for you, praying to our Father in heaven that you would return safely. And I think that it not only united Congress, but it united the entire country.

As evidenced by many of the editorials and letters that were written in our local newspaper, I just want to say that you did a great thing for the whole world, I believe.

And I would also like to comment that obviously Ms. Pelosi was very, very active and very caring and exhibited that daily. But I think our committee chairman also is very, very humble when he omits himself as he talks about those who were actively engaged in this good cause. Because he is tireless in his defense of human beings across the world.

He recently went to Beijing to attend the women's conference and was in my mind a very, very strong force for good. And I am glad you went. I am glad to serve with you. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Salmon.

I appreciate those very kind remarks. And I would like at this point to ask Nancy Pelosi if she would introduce our very distinguished guests and say some opening words to the subcommittee regarding Harry Wu.

And thanks for your great leadership on this. Everything has been said. Just let me say you have been a tenacious leader along with Frank Wolf in calling for Harry's freedom, and again this shows that when bipartisanship is invoked, when we work together, much can be accomplished.

So I want to yield to you and I thank you.

Ms. PELOSI. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

As you know, being a Member of Congress is a great privilege and we have some exciting experiences that come our way as Members of Congress. I can think of none more thrilling and more of a privilege than to have the opportunity today to introduce to this committee a true American hero.

I join all of you in welcoming back Harry Wu. I also want to pay tribute to you, Mr. Chairman, to the chairman of the full committee, Mr. Gilman and to all the members of the committee for your constant fight to free Harry Wu. I know Mr. Berman personally was an emissary on Mr. Wu's behalf. It is fine for me to speak out for Harry, my friend, a person Mr. Wolf and I have worked closely

with, with you, Mr. Chairman, but it is another thing for you to use the power of your office, as the chair of this subcommittee, which is very important to this cause, on behalf of Harry.

That leverage is what makes the difference, with the bipartisan support of your committee. It is always a pleasure to work with Frank Wolf on any issue, but we all know that Frank Wolf was especially relentless, persistent, prayerful, and courageous in pursuit of Harry's release.

Every day, he said he prayed for Harry on his knees at night. Every morning, he sent out a "Dear Colleague" reminding Members that all was not right with the world until you were free, Harry. He certainly was an inspiration to all of us.

Frank Wolf set a pace that was irresistible. I am honored to be associated with him in any way. Mr. Lantos very appropriately commended I think our First Lady for her strong statement in China on human rights in China. I am one who opposed her going to China. I thought the choice of Beijing for the conference was inappropriate and I thought that this administration would not make such a strong statement on human rights.

I think it is wonderful that the women, Mrs. Clinton and Ambassador Albright, have made the strongest statements on human rights in China to date from this administration. As one who came before this body and said I didn't think Mrs. Clinton should go, I want to say how proud I am of her.

And, I think the administration deserves a great deal of credit for its tenacity on this Harry Wu issue in making sure the Chinese understood that this was a priority for us and there were no other conversations until Harry Wu was released.

Again, Mr. Chairman, thank you for your relentless, relentless, relentless leadership on the Harry Wu issue.

Much has been said this week about the iron man. As a native of Baltimore, MD, I was particularly proud that the Baltimore Orioles had their day in the sun and Cal Ripken, Jr., received the recognition he deserved. And in the course of watching that game I am sure many of you saw in the commentaries other examples that were presented of people who used their tenacity, their discipline, et cetera, to do the job. I think we have our own iron man with us here today.

By dint of his incredible intellect, his unmatched discipline, his complete love for humanity and intolerance for injustice, Harry Wu is our iron man. I might add he is married to an iron woman.

Ching Lee was our inspiration through all of this. Sometimes you just wanted to sit down and cry. Sometimes you just wanted to think things might be hopeless, but Ching Lee's leadership and her strength were an inspiration to all of us. She would never show any weakness, therefore we could not.

So, Harry, I want to commend you and Ching Lee, of course, for the leadership that she provided. They say that the most excruciating form of torture, if you are a political prisoner, is the fact that your jailers will say nobody knows or nobody cares about you.

Harry Wu, as a one-man campaign, made sure that those people in China who were incarcerated for their religious or political beliefs, or for any action but were being abused as human beings,

would not be forgotten. In that respect and in many others, he is a true American hero.

Harry said he was freed because he was an American citizen. Frank Wolf addressed what a great American citizen Harry is. I think in just 2 short years, and of course these last few months, Harry Wu has brought luster to the title "American citizen."

He did that not only by the supreme sacrifice of his personal safety on behalf of those who were arrested because of their beliefs, but also because he taught the Chinese how democracy works. An American citizen was at risk in China, the American people spoke out, the Congress of the United States was relentless on behalf of him, and so therefore also was the Administration.

In a democracy, what the people want, hopefully, if they pursue it long enough, they will achieve. The Chinese found that out, that Harry Wu would not be numbered among the many other silent prisoners in China because he was an American citizen and the American people treasured that in him and his characteristics as one.

I agree with Mr. Lantos, there is no quid pro quo for freeing Harry Wu. If anything, there should be a penalty for arresting him in the first place. But let's not worry about that, let's look forward.

I, too, want to commend Jeff Fiedler, Lane Kirkland, and the AFL-CIO for their participation in this, because I think without that, Harry Wu would not be free. I commend them also for their ongoing work in terms of slave labor throughout the world, and in this particular case, China.

I want to end as I began by saying I can think of no greater privilege bestowed upon me as a Member of Congress than to be able to introduce, to bring forth to this committee, a true American hero. Yesterday he thanked in a very personal way from the bottom of his heart the Members of Congress for all that they did. And in introducing him today, I want to thank him from the bottom of my heart, and I know I speak for all of my constituents, for the fight that he made. A true American hero, our iron man, Harry Wu.

Mr. WU. Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Nancy. And, Nancy, you are welcome to join us here or stay right there if you would like, if you would like to answer any questions. I believe that Ching Lee would like to go first, and then Jeff Fiedler briefly, and then Harry to bat cleanup. So if we could—Ching Lee, if you would begin, and thank you.

#### STATEMENT OF MRS. CHING LEE WU, SECRETARY-TREASURER, LAOGAI RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Mrs. WU. Yes. Mr. Chairman, it is an honor for me Mr. Chairman. It is a honor for me to appear before this subcommittee. In June, you and others joined me in a press conference to protest Harry's arrest. It was a time for worrying with you about how to free him.

Now, it is a time for rejoicing with you. And it is also a time to publicly thank the Government of the United States for the leadership it took in protesting the rights of an American citizen. I will

let Harry speak for himself on this, but I have something to say first.

You know, last June I was forced to step into the public spotlight. I had never done anything like that before, and I was worried. I was worried about whether important people in Washington would listen to me. But you did. Without exception, you were kind, helpful, understanding, and concerned.

You did everything possible to lessen my sadness, to give hope that my husband would be freed, and to support me in a struggle that I took on as Harry's wife, friend, and associate. You opened doors that I never thought would be opened to me.

So in the warmest possible way, I want to thank the Congress of the United States, this House of Representatives, and the Senate. I want to thank the executive branch, the White House and the State Department and the American Foreign Service.

People who attack the Federal Government should go through the experience I did. It was eye-opening. I have no complaints at all. I was kept closely informed day and night about what was going on. I know that the officials involved in the effort to secure Harry's freedom in Washington, in Horgas, in Beijing, and in Wuhan, worked very hard.

At times they must have felt very upset about the many demands and the difficulties Harry's arrest added to their lives. Yet all the officials who talked with me over the phone or face to face dealt with me with great courtesy and a real concern. I admired them for their professionalism. I should say the same thing about the media, American and foreign.

Here is an example of a democratic society in action, where government and the private institutions each in their own way helped to protect the rights of a human being who is dedicating his whole life to protecting the rights of other human beings. This fight was an example, too, of how people, organizations, and the governments of foreign countries joined us in an international rights campaign. Naming all of them would take all morning, at least.

So thank you, all of you who helped. Those of you here and the many more not here, those of you whom I know and am I don't know, thank you. Thank you all.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mrs. Wu, for that very fine statement. And again, Harry, you had no better advocate who had more grace and poise under pressure than your own wife who was tenacious in her efforts to try to secure your release.

I would like to introduce Jeffrey Fiedler next, who is a distinguished leader in the American labor movement and is also in the field of human rights in China. He is secretary-treasurer of the Food and Allied Services Trade Department of the AFL-CIO, and is also a member of the AFL-CIO Standing Committee on Education and Standing Committee on Occupational Safety and Health, and its China Committee. His interest in Asian issues has led him to serve as director of the Asian-American Free Labor Institute, and currently along with his AFL-CIO duties as director of the Laogai Research Institute where he works closely with Harry and Ching Lee.

Mr. Fiedler.

**STATEMENT OF MR. JEFFREY L. FIEDLER, DIRECTOR, LAOGAI RESEARCH FOUNDATION**

Mr. FIEDLER. Mr. Chairman, thank you.

At your request, I will outline for the record some information about the Free Harry Wu campaign.

The account, though, is by no means complete, because in fact we don't have the ability to put together a complete account of this campaign. The past few months have been incredibly intense.

My friend and colleague was in grave danger. We all knew it. The worst times were in the early days when only a few of us knew he was missing. Nancy, among them.

We thought he was dead. I would just divert a second. Harry was never out of touch in the past for 4 days. We knew that he would go to any extreme to get back in touch. Those were the darkest days of this campaign.

We were in fact happy, Ching Lee and I, when—the world was shocked, but we were happy when we found out that he was being held in Horgas. From the beginning we only had three objectives, to save his life, to free him, and to protect his reputation from the propaganda attack we fully expected.

Launching the campaign was relatively easy, actually. Dozens of people dropped everything they were doing and began working night and day. Mobilizing congressional support also required little effort. Staff, Members—staff and Members alike were available night and day, 7 days a week.

Human rights organizations called us before we could call them. The China desk at the State Department was in gear early and never stopped working. First we focused on Washington, Harry's friends in the House, those of you here today, in this room, as a matter of fact.

That press conference that we had with Sue Howell after she returned from Kazakhstan lit the fire that never went out. Their statements, your statements, showed the Chinese the first signs of outrage and determination to free Harry. The State Department spokesman continually issued firm statements.

Then Ching Lee met with the top leadership from both parties in the House and Senate. It was clear to the Chinese and the world that holding Harry would complicate the already complicated and worsening relations between the two countries.

We met with Tony Lake that same week. Among other things, we received assurances that President Clinton was deeply concerned about Harry's fate.

That week in many ways, was the most important of the entire campaign. People in Washington who cannot ordinarily agree on much of anything were saying the same thing, the Chinese must release Harry Wu. Reporters who had not known much about Harry or the Laogai were asking me how politicians of the right and the left could share similar views about Harry. I just smiled. Probably the only time I smiled in weeks.

Ching Lee, under incredible pressure, worked tirelessly and earned instant respect from people all over the country. She is really the true hero of this campaign. Those of us who know her well weren't at all surprised, and Harry, upon his return, certainly wasn't.



He actually said, you know, yes, I expected that. I know her better than anyone. It was also clear early on that if we were able to succeed, we would have to generate international support and pressure. We would have to get other governments talking to their Chinese counterparts.

The message we wanted sent was simple, as friends of China, we think you are making a big mistake. You should find a way to expel Harry Wu and put this behind you. The Australian Government, without any prompting from anyone, made an early official and public representation on Harry's behalf.

And there is no question why that happened, and that is because the Foreign Minister, Garth Evans, is a close personal friend of Harry. While others did not follow suit publicly, we know that officials of many other countries were talking about Harry's fate with Chinese contacts.

This diplomacy was done both by the State Department on its own, and through many private citizens, human rights organizations. Mr. Lantos has left the room, but Mr. Lantos was very important in the European contacts that he has, and I—I don't intend to slight anyone else, but the European parliament, the resolution passed by the European parliament at a critical stage of the campaign, was very important.

And it was Harry's friends in Europe, his friends in the United Kingdom, France, and Germany, who were critical in persuading the Chinese Government that they could not confine this campaign to the United States. These friends organized Ching Lee's very public trip to London and Paris where she met with former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and current Government officials, held press conferences with human rights organizations and Members of Parliament.

In France, similar meetings and events were held. In Germany, German television aired a program that they had been doing with Harry prior to his leaving, during Jiang Zemin's State visit. It was an appropriate welcome for him.

We had contact with grassroots activists all over the world. I am sure that many of them are still pretty annoyed at us for not returning all of their phone calls or providing the information they asked for. We simply could not do everything we were asked. We were reasonably well organized, but terribly chaotic.

I also know something, and it guided me through this whole thing, from my experience in the labor movement. With grassroots activists you are better off letting them do their own thing. We couldn't control them anyway, we didn't intend to, and we couldn't—we didn't try to centralize.

And, Mr. Chairman, there was incredible stuff going on. School-children writing letters, demonstrations, study groups, prayer meetings, or phone calls to you, to others, to the administration, to Embassies. I want to single out one group because they worked very quietly. There was a serious decision that had to be made and they made it themselves. They didn't want to act very publicly—the Tibetan exile groups around this world, who are very, very effective people, who were afraid that their association publicly with the campaign in written statements would harm Harry, who cared enough for him. They should be thanked today.

And I hope that you, Mr. Chairman, and this House, welcome the Dalai Lama when he comes here next week.

The Shanghai mayor's visit, I think we should someday let Nancy tell that story. San Francisco and Shanghai have a sister relationship and they had an 8-day meeting scheduled. They did not have the reception that was expected by the people of San Francisco.

Nancy, Ching Lee, arm-in-arm in front of the stage, I think the mayor of Shanghai was a little angry. He was visibly angry, and I should remind you that the mayor of Shanghai's position is the one that Jiang Zemin shared in his past. So there was a significant political message in that disruptive action.

Many prominent Americans traveling to China made Harry the subject of their meetings with Chinese officials. We cannot thank them publicly, for they prefer to remain anonymous. I am talking dozens of people, members also, but also there were businessmen.

And it never occurred to us, nor did we care, what their motivation was. After Harry's arrest, I did not think about U.S. policy any longer. All we were interested in was his freedom, saving his life, and getting his freedom. About State Department, I really cannot say enough about. You know, we have had a lot of policy differences with them in normal times. We didn't work particularly well together before.

I do think that we developed a relationship of trust during this experience. I don't know that it will transfer at all to our policy differences in the future, but none of us talked about it and they acted admirably.

And actually, there were two other helps that we had. Harry, because we didn't have to worry about his mental well-being. We were worried about his physical well-being, but we did not worry about his mental well-being. We knew that he was more than a match for them.

We knew that he would get himself back into that prisoner state that he unfortunately knows so well, to survive, and that we wouldn't have to think about that.

And then we have to give special thanks for the Chinese Government. They, in fact, helped us more than anyone. First, they violated the consular agreement. Then they put out this incredibly clumsy propaganda tape, this 13-minute confession tape which they tried to sell for \$50,000. That did a great deal for their credibility.

Two days, big splash in the media, then it fell into a hole, a waste of their money. And their constant refrain that this was a criminal case and not a political case was laughable.

Now the Chinese Government has to lick its wounds. But as has been said here before this morning, the Chinese Government still runs the most extensive gulag in the world today.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Fiedler, could I just briefly—to suspend.

Mr. FIEDLER. We are done.

Mr. SMITH. No, I would like to hear the rest of your testimony. We only have 5 minutes for this vote and it is a very important vote on base closings. So we will recess for 5 minutes or so and return, hear the rest of your testimony.

Mr. FIEDLER. I am actually done, sir.

Mr. SMITH. And then go to Harry Wu.

I thank you very much.

The subcommittee is in recess for 5 minutes.

[Recess.]

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

Mr. SMITH. The subcommittee will reconvene. Wu Hongda, better known by his American name of Harry Wu, was a student in Beijing in 1957 when he first experienced government oppression firsthand. During a so-called antiwriters campaign by the government, he was imprisoned for expressing "counterrevolutionary opinions."

This was the beginning of 19 years of imprisonment in 12 different forced labor camps, the Laogai system. Mr. Wu was forced to work in manufacturing, chemicals, mining, coal, constructing, prison buildings, and roads and doing farm work. He was beaten, tortured, and deprived of food numerous times during these years.

He witnessed many deaths of fellow prisoners, through starvation or suicide, and was himself close to death several times.

Mr. Wu came to the United States as a visiting professor and worked at the University of California at Berkeley. Now a U.S. citizen, he is a resident scholar at Stanford University's Hoover Institution, executive director of the Laogai Research Foundation, and author of two books, "Laogai, the Chinese Gulag," and his autobiography, "Bitter Winds." It is a distinct honor and privilege to welcome back to the subcommittee Mr. Harry Wu.

**STATEMENT OF MR. HARRY WU, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,  
LAOGAI RESEARCH FOUNDATION**

Mr. WU. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to thank you for inviting me to testify today about my recent imprisonment in China. And as you know, the last time I appeared before the subcommittee was in April. At that time, you heard from six Laogai survivors. And that was a very special hearing.

Today, I appear before you as a free man again, a free man in the free country with free air to breathe. It feels very good indeed.

When Sue Howell, my traveling companion, was expelled from China, she smuggled out a letter from me to my wife. In that letter, I asked her to contact many Members of the House and Senate who knew me. I asked her to request that they make a lot of noise. Little did I know how much noise was made on my behalf.

Even now, I have not had the time to learn everything that Members of the House and Senate, Democrats and Republicans alike, did to help get me released. But I am convinced that all the noise coming from within these halls of democracy were critical to the Chinese deciding to expel me after their show trial.

So before I say another word, let me say thank you from the bottom of my heart.

It is no secret that over the past 5 years I have had many public disagreements about United States-China policy with the White House and State Department. I still do. But today, as an American citizen, I want to publicly thank the President, thank the Secretary of State, the National Security Advisor to the President, and the many men and women in the State Department who worked constantly to free me. I, of course, must single out Arturo Marcias and Daniel Picutta, who met with me when the Chinese Government

permitted. They are capable and caring men who gave me hope when I needed it most.

Today, I will not go through everything that happened to me during my 66 days as a political prisoner in China. But I would like to make a number of points. This was not a criminal case, as the Chinese Government has said. I was a political prisoner and the charges against me were political. The decision to detain me at the border was political. I was on the political black list. They could have simply denied me entry and sent me back across the border, but they held me until they received instructions from Beijing. They told me this.

I was told I had come to China at a bad time. I asked what this meant. The police officer said that China had withdrawn its ambassador from Washington. I was never held in the regular prison cell like a normal prisoner. I was held in a special public security building outside of Wuhan, overlooking a lake. There were bars on the windows, but you could tell they were not permanent ones. I was never handcuffed for very long. They just did it for the cameras when I was officially arrested.

The food I ate was the same as they provided the guards. It was nothing great, but it was not regular laogai rations. They kept telling me I was the "special of special," and I had caused great trouble for the Chinese Government. Make no mistake about it, they made it clear very often in the beginning that they could execute me for my crimes.

Three guards were inside my 9-by-12 room, 24 hours a day. They were not allowed to talk to me except to give me orders. Dozens of guards were in the building. I was the only prisoner. I was not tortured in the classic sense, but they refused to give me the medicine for my back that my wife provided to the United States Embassy, and which they gave to the Chinese police. They gave it to me when I boarded the plane in Shanghai.

The "state secrets" I was accused of stealing all involved the Laogai camps I visited in 1991 and 1994. They said the photographs of the walls and watchtowers were state secrets. This is so obviously political as to be ridiculous.

The hostile foreign organizations I was accused of passing these state secrets to were the BBC, the CBS, the House of Representatives, and the U.S. Senate. So I guess today, my testimony before you is one criminal speaking to a group of criminals.

The release of the propaganda film on my so-called confession was a political act. It was clumsy and ineffective, but it was the best they could do under the circumstances. It was a crude attempt to discredit the fact that executed prisoners' organs are a source, if not for most, of China's kidney transplants.

Their decision not to include anything about my investigation of organ transplants in the trial was a political decision. They did not want to bring any more attention to this issue. The trial itself was brief, only 4 hours. It was closed, except for the U.S. Embassy official, guards and government video cameras. It was all prearranged, superficial, and clumsy.

For example, they mixed the wrong evidence with a couple of the charges. When I pointed this out, they said it didn't matter. Looking back on it, they were in a hurry to play out the political deci-

sion which had clearly been made to expel me. At the time, I had no idea that I would be expelled, and fully expected to be sentenced to a long term back to the Chinese gulag.

Mr. Chairman, I must point out that my trial was not very different from the many trials that take place every day in China. Remember, the Chinese Communist slogan, "verdict first, trial second." China isn't a nation of laws, but rather a nation ruled by the men who simply want power over others for its own sake.

The timing of my release was political. They wanted to create the appearance of a political deal, exchange me for the First Lady's attendance at the United Nations Women's Conference. There was, of course, no deal, just a superficial appearance of one.

Without exaggerating my importance, I think the Chinese attempted to use me as a sort of political bargaining chip. They used me to demonstrate their anger against the United States for allowing Lee Teng Hui to visit. They used me to satisfy the hard-liners, the people who run the police and national security services and the military.

Of course, I have caused them trouble, and they really hate me. So they also tried to discredit me and frighten me. They wanted to silence me. They really would have liked to keep me in the Laogai or kill me. This is understandable. But they miscalculated the attention my case generated around the world. They had to find out their way out, and did.

All in all, they failed politically. More people around the world know about the Laogai today than on June 19. More people certainly know my name now than they did a few months ago. It seems to me they were stupid.

Many things that happened to me in those 66 days were offensive, but I would like to share something I found very offensive. All the plainclothes security people carried Motorola cellular phones. That American products are helping make China's repressive machine more effective should be a moral concern to every thinking American.

Mr. Chairman, there is no doubt that if I was not an American citizen, I would probably be back in a Laogai coal mine or simply have disappeared. Of course, I am glad to be alive and free. At the same time, I feel sad and somewhat guilty.

There are so many Chinese and Tibetans, brave men and women, workers, students, intellectuals, religious believers, so many who are being tortured and forced to labor in the Chinese Laogai simply because they desired freedom and democracy. Their families suffer like mine did, but they do not have the hope that my wife did. Their suffering is real; their future is dark, their sense of isolation so much greater than was my own.

Think about Chen Zeming, who is ill with cancer, being thrown into the prison again. What about Gao Yu, the journalist sentenced for leaking so-called state secrets? In America, she would have won a prize for economic reporting.

There are so many others, so many others. I learned recently that a number of Members of Congress nominated me for the Nobel Peace Prize. I deeply appreciate this gesture, but urge them to withdraw their efforts and please focus all of their attention and energy on Chinese dissident Wei Jingsheng. He is a giant of a man.

I am nothing beside him. He has the determination and stature unmatched by anyone who has graced the earth in the recent memory. He is a real hero, not me. He is a true symbol of the oppressed in China. He is an international treasure.

Even the Nobel Peace Prize is less than he deserves. What he and so many other prisoners of conscience deserve is more precious than the prize. They deserve their freedom. I have mine again. And I must go back to work because the Laogai still exists. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The statement of Mr. Wu appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Wu, thank you very much for that very eloquent testimony. Your words and more importantly your actions, especially since you were released from captivity during the many years that you have been in the United States and now since your most recent release, are really an alarm for all the world, a beacon, really, for all of us to look up to.

When you talk about Wei Jingsheng, that you are nothing beside him, nothing could be further from the truth. You are both spiritual and moral giants and people of tremendous standing. And I would have to say that when you say he is an international treasure, the phrase equally applies to you.

And I think the Nobel Peace Prize Committee ought to consider both of you to be jointly named for that tremendous prize, as a way of lifting the human rights tragedy in China to the level that it deserves, so that all can see just exactly what is going on in China.

I would like to just ask a couple of questions, then yield to my colleagues for some questions that they might have.

You made a very excellent point, I thought, in your testimony when you said that it seems to be that they were stupid. Many of us had that same impression, that if anything, this brought more scrutiny, more light to the tragedy and the immorality of the Laogai than anything that the Chinese Government could have possibly done. So we are talking about thugs, but not just plain old ordinary thugs, but stupid thugs who are running the system. And if this was done to appease the hardliners, it certainly is a double-edged sword, because I think more scrutiny and more efforts will be made not just by our parliament, by our Congress, but by many others, to try to mitigate and hopefully eventually end the abuses of the Laogai.

I think your comments regarding the use of the Motorola cellular phones likewise ought to be a wake-up call to our business community, which unfortunately very often hides its head in the sand. I will never forget when I met, during one of my human rights trips to China, when I met with the Chamber of Commerce in Beijing. I asked them repeatedly about human rights abuses. This was during the MFN review period when the Executive order was still in place, and I asked them if any of them had ever met a dissident. If they had just—Wei Jingsheng was then free. Only a few weeks later he went back into captivity, but I asked them if they had ever had somebody of his caliber, if they ever had met you, Harry Wu.

And of course, I said why don't you—instead of having me here at your roundtable discussion, invite a dissident and find out the people who are bearing the brunt of the Chinese totalitarian dictatorship, and the kind of evil that the regime routinely spews out.

To the best of my knowledge, they have yet to do that. And perhaps your release—and I am sure there were some businessmen who spoke out probably anonymously on your behalf during the course of your captivity—but it is about time for them to, I think, say if you want to do business, all we are asking for is that you respect the inherent rights of your citizenry. And many of the products that are sold do have a negative application in China, particularly when they are in the hands of the security apparatus in that country.

You also, I think, wisely pointed out that the rule of law is not in place in the PRC. Verdict first, trial second, is still the order of the day. And it is important that while we try to accelerate the day when rule of law is ushered in, we should not be naive. We should be concerned about the fact that once charged, a person is construed to be guilty. It is not innocent until proven guilty, but once charged you are guilty. And the Laogai, the gulag, continues to be a very handy way of dealing with political prisoners.

I would just like to ask you one question and then yield to my colleagues. You mentioned that many people were helpful and the consul was very helpful in securing your release. Maybe I would just ask you, why do you think they arrested you? You know, your arrest came at a time when, obviously, there was hypersensitivity about the visit by President Lee from Taiwan. There has been a general deterioration of U.S.-PRC relations. And yet, this blunder of arresting a human rights champion of your caliber did nothing but exacerbate those tensions.

Why do you think they arrested you? Was it to send a message to other human rights activists?

Mr. WU. Let me quote from some comments, a comment that the police General, made to me. The first point he made was—you are the big troublemaker to our Government in the past few years. There are so many Chinese, overseas Chinese, and so many dissident organizations on the outside, but none of them are like you. You cause big trouble. And we were waiting for you and wanting you for long time. We have all your files.

It is true, they went to all the places to find out my so-called evidence. Even I am very surprised that they found all these taxi drivers, the ones I had hired in different places, different cities. And there was another comment from the police General, he said why you want to link our prison system with the Soviet gulag? That really made them very unhappy. That is why they hate me.

From June 19 until July 8, some 19 days, one of the police generals told me "I don't know what has happened, but I am just following the order from Beijing to take you somewhere. Please understand my job. And even the police joked saying, "Wait, some day if you go back to United States, don't put my name in your memoirs, in your book." The decisions were coming from Beijing, not from the local police.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to yield to Mr. Leach, who has joined us, the distinguished Chairman of the Banking Committee and also a member of our full committee.

Mr. LEACH. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman, but I am honored Mr. Wu is with us and as a citizen. We have all followed your difficult period of time. Thank you.

Mr. WU. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Ms. Pelosi.

Ms. PELOSI. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Wu, for your wonderful statement and your great courage, as well as to Ching Lee and to Jeff Fiedler for all of their leadership in freeing Harry Wu.

I just want to make three very brief points, Mr. Chairman. First of all, I want to pick up on a statement that Mr. Wu made that there was no deal between Mrs. Clinton's visit to China and the freeing of Harry Wu. I agree with you, I take the administration at its word that there was no deal. But it is a typical action, I believe, on the part of the Chinese Government, to make it look as if there is a quid pro quo.

We saw this with the visit of President Li. Following that, you saw actions taken by the Chinese Government. Some of these actions they would have taken anyway, for example, awarding a contract to Mercedes Benz rather than to U.S. automobile makers. But the impression is, "unless you do things our way, we will do these other things." Even the automakers in the United States said that that deal was not political, that it was an economic decision that Mercedes Benz would get the deal. But the way the Chinese timed it, it was to look as if there are consequences to your actions.

The most significant of these, of course, surrounded the sale of the F-16's to Taiwan. Following that, the Chinese sold missile technology to Pakistan, as if that was the quid pro quo. Their message was "All right, you are going to sell airplanes to Taiwan, well, we are going to sell missile technology to Pakistan." They were probably going to do that anyway, but they wanted it to look as if they would punish us if we did certain things.

So this punishment-reward pattern, after this, therefore because of this, is typical of the Chinese Government, and I think a disservice to what happened in terms of your release and Mrs. Clinton's visit. The impression, the perception that the Chinese Government wanted to leave is not an unusual one, to make their timing to send a message to the American people, that "unless you do things our way, there is a price to pay."

I want to make one comment about somebody else who was part of this effort to free Harry Wu who should be acknowledged, and that is Mayor McHugh of Milpitas, Mr. Wu's hometown. I think everyone took great joy in seeing that, not only in the Congress of the United States and the European Community and across, and Australia and across the world, but also in his hometown, Harry's friends and neighbors rallied to his support.

The Milpitas Fourth of July celebration was a yellow ribbon day where they put yellow ribbons on City Hall and all over. Mayor McHugh of that city was relentless in his advocacy for Harry's release. We keep using that word, "relentless," this morning, and I think his work should be acknowledged.

In fact, working with him is when Representative Pete Stark put Mr. Wu's name in for the Nobel Peace Prize. As a representative of the San Francisco Bay area, I wanted to acknowledge that.

Now my main point. Mr. Wu, you and Chairman Smith mentioned the rule of law. We said earlier that the appeal in Congress,



the coalition that came together to free Harry Wu, was bipartisan. Not only was it bipartisan, it was on either side of the MFN debate. Everybody came together. Four hundred members voted to have as a first provision the freeing of Harry Wu. I think that gives us an opportunity to talk about how we can work together in this Congress to promote the rule of law based on individual freedoms in China as a part of our ongoing relationship with them.

It certainly serves the interest of people concerned about individual rights. It should also be of great interest to the business community, because of their interest in respect for contracts and respect for property rights, et cetera. I think that is one area where we can work together here, and take the Chinese up on their expressed interest in mutual exchanges to see if it is genuine. This is the way we would like to proceed.

And not only in terms of the U.S. law. The rule of law exists in other countries throughout the world that they may wish to study. I think this is critically important, because unless we do it, the Chinese will continue to do what Harry Wu said, to have a rule of people, not of law. And that is not people as in a democracy, but individuals.

Sheryl Wu Dunn, in the book she wrote with Nicholas Kristof, "China Wakes", refers to this rule of an individual as a thugocracy; it is a rule of neighborhood bosses, of fiefdoms one on top of each other, leading up to the emperor, who is Deng Xiaopeng. This system in place is very harmful, obviously, to the rights of individuals.

If we are going to do business with the Chinese, I think it is in the business community's interest, as well as in the interest of those who are concerned about human rights, for us to work together to project a rule of law based on individual rights. I look forward to working with our colleagues on both sides of the aisle and both sides of the MFN issue, including those who have not really supported our efforts to promote human rights but who say eventually human rights will come. Promoting the rule of law is one way we can hasten what I like to call the time between the inconceivable and the inevitable, and that is freedom of expression and basic freedoms in China.

Once again, I commend Harry Wu for his greatness. It is an honor to be in the same room with him and his wife, Ching Lee. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Ms. Pelosi.

Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Yes, Mr. Wu, I would ask you what lessons can be learned from the Harry Wu case that might be helpful in the conduct of American foreign policy in the future? And I would also like to ask you for your thoughts on Radio Free Asia.

You know, we passed a bill for Radio Free Asia which would include as a component Radio Free China, in the last session. And the State Department has, to some extent, held up, although we have appropriated the funding, they have held up the implementation up to now. And I understand you might be speaking with the President.

I would just ask for your thoughts on the usefulness of Radio Free Asia, and also whether you would consider bringing this up

with the President in order to try to get the State Department moving on this concept, if you think it worthwhile.

Last, I just ask in general what you think we can do to aid in terms of human rights in the democratic movement in China.

Mr. WU. The first point is about Radio Free Asia. It is a very important tool for people's voices to pass into China. If I have the chance to talk to Mr. Clinton or talk to the State Department, I really want to convey to them to move the issue forward. It is the first one.

The second is from my own case. The Congress held a lot of hearings in the past, and also made a lot of noise about my own case. The Chinese really care about these things.

In the middle of the interrogation, the police general asked me, "would you give me a list of who are your friends in the Congress?" So I gave them a list, one Republican, one Democrat, one Republican, one Democrat. They really care about these things. So the hearings held in this conference room, in this Congress, really can affect China policy. And it really did.

Mr. FIEDLER. I think another lesson we learned, it had nothing to do with foreign policy, is that they have computers at remote border sites now.

Mr. WU. Yes, right away, they checked on the computer to find me. Right away they stopped me over there. And last year there was no computer system at that border.

Mr. ROYCE. Let me yield.

Ms. PELOSI. Would Mr. Royce yield? Thank you. I did not make my comment about rule of law, with respect to individuals in the form of a question. Following up on Mr. Royce's question, do you think that that is a productive path to go down to promote democracy, and democratic freedoms in China, as associated with Mr. Royce's question?

Mr. WU. Oh, yes, I think it is really very important, I do.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Wu.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to recognize a good friend, a former member of our committee before he became the chairman of one of the Armed Services Committees, Mr. Dornan, who has been outspoken on behalf of human rights for many, many years. And I have traveled with Mr. Dornan to Asia in the past and I can say without fear of being contradicted that he cares so deeply about the Laogai, about the people of China, and we are very pleased to have him here this afternoon.

Mr. DORNAN. Sorry for that bad angle.

Mr. WU. Thank you for coming.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. and Mrs. Wu, the amazing thing about what your story did to this country was it unified every political persuasion in America, left, right, just every persuasion. And you have now, it is not a comfortable position. You have moved into the area of historical, myth almost. Because you are like a Solzhenitsyn, the dragon has disgorged you, and that is a term that Solzhenitsyn used. And the dragon applies even more in Asia, because it is part of so much mythology there.

Is your book on these prison camps, the Chinese gulags, is it in paperback yet?

Mr. WU. Yes, both of them are in paperback.

Mr. DORNAN. Have you got a foundation other than the Hoover Institute that can make these books available to every Member's office? Maybe 25 or 30 copies per office, where we could send them not just to the colleges in our districts and the junior colleges, but to the high schools. Could Hoover Institute do that?

Mr. WU. I don't think the Hoover institution can do that, but our Laogai Research Foundation may be available to do that.

Mr. DORNAN. Appealing across the whole broad political spectrum, the Members here can—I will write to the only person I know who has the kind of money that he wouldn't notice a beneficent gift of just spreading the paperback of your book into high schools, that would be Tom Monihan of Domino's Pizza.

He is trying to figure out good things to do with all of his hard-earned money. I just think that this is a story that has to be told from one end of the world to the other.

When I am teaching my grandchildren, and I have a 10th on the way, about the world, I point out three things to them. That the world is mostly water, that it is a water planet with such fragile land areas, and how have we brought so much pain to one another over all the centuries.

Then I point out that no matter what the size of the globe, put a few of your fingers on Europe and move your hand down to Africa and Europe disappears into the Sahara, that Africa is a massive country. And the third thing I teach grade school children is a demographic fact, that the United States is an extremely large country, now bigger than Russia since the breakup of the Soviet Union, but that China is precisely five United States of Americas put together, five times the potential for suffering, five times the potential for prison abuses, for starvation, for human rights suppression, and that there is no way the United States as the only superpower in the world can avoid involving itself deeply on a regular basis with China. That our fates are inexorably woven together, and that is why the story must be told of your 19 years of imprisonment, of man's inhumanity to man.

Not in the street fights that we see where teenagers in this country are shooting subteens and vice versa, but programmatic, government-approved horrible human rights abuses. And I, frankly, did not think you would be released. I thought we would see your release 10 or 20 years from now.

That is why Mrs. Pelosi and Chairman Smith and all of the efforts of people around the world, putting so much pressure on such an intransigent government in Beijing, pulled off what I consider a miracle. You have come back from the other side of the Moon, from certain lost status. I mean the First Lady was having to figure out whether to go or not depending on your case.

And just south of you, in the country named by the Chinese, Viet, the disappeared ones; to the south, Nam, the disappeared ones to the south, two American citizens, just like you, were sent to prison in Saigon 6 days after Warren Christopher was there in front of a bust of Ho Chi Minh. So there are Americans just like you in prison right now, just one country to the south of China. So you have a lot of work to do in the human rights area. But anything I can do to help get your book out "Bitter Winds," is that the followup?

Mr. WU. Yes.

Mr. DORNAN. That book out, to me, is must reading for any undergraduate in our college system or they are not an educated young man or woman. I hope we can start the education process in high schools.

Thank you for what you have done and I guess we should thank God for the fact that you have survived. Because it was an amazing thing to see you come out. Anything I can do to help you, Jeff, please, this is a great issue, a unifying issue on Capitol Hill. You brought us together in a very tough budgetary period.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much.

Mr. WU. Thank you very much. I very, very much appreciate your inspiring talk. And I will keep you in my mind.

Mr. DORNAN. You would certainly agree that the United States and China are wedded together forever. I mean there is just no way we can avoid this fate of the two countries just going down the road of history closely together. There is no way to isolate ourselves from the world and certainly not from China.

Mr. WU. You are right, thank you.

Mr. DORNAN. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Dornan. Just to conclude, this past Sunday when I was at the World Conference for Women in Beijing, in Huairou where the nongovernmental organization parallel conference is occurring, I spoke on religious freedom and the Laogai and other issues, including forced abortion, at a seminar that was arranged by the Institute for Religion and Democracy. And I brought with me your testimony, the testimony of Catherine Ho and Palden Gyatso, the Buddhist monk who testified in this room last spring, and read portions of that testimony to those assembled.

There were some bogus NGO, and I say bogus because they were all government people, Chinese women who were in the audience, who rushed up, as a matter of fact during the course of when I was reading about some of the tortures endured by women and the rapes and the other atrocities committed against women in the Laogai, these agents or government bureaucrats of the Government of China were saying "Lies, lies," and they were saying that I was exaggerating and I was just making all of these up and these people who had testified here, along with yourself, were just fabricating what goes on in the Laogai.

I asked for their cards and got cards from some of them, which had government addresses on, interestingly, because, again, it was a nongovernmental organization meeting. And one of them, when I wasn't looking, grabbed Catherine Ho's and Mr. Gyatso's testimony and ran out of the room, like they had a train to catch. Had it been somebody in-country, I would have feared that they would have had some information that could be used against them in one of their kangaroo trials. But thankfully, they are safely ensconced in the United States.

But let me just say, it was very telling to see how sensitive they are to criticism about the gulag, which is absolutely analogous to the Soviet gulag, and the concentration camps of Nazi Germany. You know, you pointed out in your testimony that I have my duty, again, talking about your freedom, and I must get back to work. If you could briefly, because we do have another vote, tell us what

happens now. The Laogai continues, people are languishing, they are being tortured in that very cruel institution, what does Harry Wu do now?

Mr. WU. Well, first of all, first in front of us there are so many jobs to do. First of all, we have to inform people of the current situation about these human rights abuses in China. It is worse than 1989.

Second, we continue our Laogai Research Foundation's job. We try to identify more Laogai camps and find more information about the situation today in Chinese prison camps. And we continually want to find the source of these products coming to foreign countries, including the United States. And also we would like to do something to try to outline American-China policy for the lawmakers to think about it. This is what our Laogai Research Foundation wants to do in the future.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Fiedler.

Mr. FIEDLER. I would just like you to have your vote and I have to see that Mr. Wu makes a 1 o'clock plane.

Mr. SMITH. I want to thank you, sir, very much for your testimony. It is very inspiring, and the subcommittee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:03 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

# APPENDIX

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Testimony of Ching Lee Wu  
Secretary-Treasurer, Laogai Research Foundation

Before the House Subcommittee On  
International Operations and Human Rights

September 8, 1995

Mr. Chairman, it is an honor for me to appear before this Subcommittee. In June, you and others joined me in a press conference to protest Harry's arrest. It was a time for worrying with you about how to free him. Now is a time for rejoicing with you.

And it is also a time to publicly thank the government of the United States for the leadership it took in protecting the rights of an American citizen. I will let Harry speak for himself on this, but I have something to say first.

You know, last June I was forced to step into the public spotlight. I had never done anything like that before. And I was worried, I was worried about whether important people in Washington would listen to me.

But you did. Without exception, you were kind, helpful, understanding and concerned. You did everything possible to lessen my sadness, to give hope that my husband would be freed, and to support me in the struggle that I took on as Harry's wife, friend, and associate. You opened doors that I never thought would be opened to me.

So in the warmest possible way, I want to thank the Congress of the United States, this House of Representatives, and the Senate. I want to thank the Executive Branch -- the White House and the State Department and the American Foreign Service. People who attack the federal government should go through the experience I did. It was eye opening. I have no complaints at all. I was kept closely informed, day and night, about what was going on. I know that the officials involved in the effort to secure Harry's freedom in Washington, in Horgas, in Beijing, and in Wuhan worked very hard.

At times, they must have felt very upset about the many demands and difficulties Harry's arrest added to their lives. Yet all the officials who talked with me, over the phone or face to face, dealt with me with great courtesy and real concern. I admire them for their professionalism.

I should say the same thing about the media, American and foreign. Here is an example of a democratic society in action -- where government and private institutions, each in their own way, helped to protect the rights of a human being, who is dedicating his whole life to protecting the rights of other human beings. This fight was an example, too, of how people, organizations, and governments of foreign countries joined us in an international rights campaign. Naming all of them would take all morning at least.

So thank you, all of you who helped -- those of you here and the many more not here, those of you whom I know and the many I don't know. Thank you all.

Testimony of Jeffrey L. Fiedler  
Director, Laogai Research Foundation

Before the House Subcommittee On  
International Operations and Human Rights

September 8, 1995

Mr. Chairman, thank you for inviting me to appear before the Subcommittee today.

At your request, I will outline for the record some information about the Free Harry Wu campaign. This account is by no means complete.

The past few months have been incredibly intense. My friend and colleague Harry Wu was in grave danger. We all knew it. The worst times were the early days, when only a few of us knew he was missing. We thought he was dead. So you can understand when the State Department told me he was being detained in Xinjiang we were actually happy.

From the beginning, we had only three objectives: to save his life, to free him, and to protect his reputation from the propaganda attack we expected. Launching the campaign was relatively easy. Dozens of people dropped everything they were doing and began working night and day. Mobilizing Congressional support also required little effort. Staff and members alike were available night and day, seven days a week. Human rights organizations called right away without waiting for us to contact them. The China Desk at the State Department was in gear early and never stopped working.

First we focused on Washington. Harry's friends in the House from both political parties lit the fire soon after Sue Howell, Harry's traveling companion, arrived in Washington. Their statements showed the Chinese the first signs of outrage and determination to free Harry. The State Department spokesman continually issued firm statements.

Then Ching Lee met with the top leadership from both parties in the House and Senate. It was clear to the Chinese and the world that holding Harry would complicate the already complicated and worsening relations between the two countries. We met with Tony Lake that same week. Among other things, we received assurances that President Clinton was deeply concerned about Harry's fate. That week in many ways was the most important of the entire campaign. People in Washington who cannot ordinarily agree on much of anything all were saying the same thing: the Chinese must release Harry Wu. Reporters who had not known much about Harry Wu or the Laogai were asking me how politicians of the right and left could share similar views about Harry. I just smiled.

Ching Lee, under incredible pressure, worked tirelessly and earned instant respect

from people all over the country. She is the true hero of this campaign. Those of us who know her well were not surprised. Harry certainly wasn't.

It was also clear early on that if we were to succeed we would have to generate international support and pressure. We would have to get other governments talking to their Chinese counterparts. The message we wanted sent was simple: "As friends of China, we think you are making a big mistake. You should find a way to expel Harry Wu and put this behind you." The Australian government, without any prompting from anyone, made an early, official, and public representation on Harry's behalf. While others did not follow suit publicly we know that officials of many other countries were talking about Harry's fate with their Chinese contacts. This quiet diplomacy was done both by the State Department on its own, and through many private citizens, and human rights organizations. It continued throughout the campaign.

The resolution passed by the European Parliament on Harry's fate was an early and important accomplishment of Harry's European friends. Activists in the United Kingdom, France and Germany were critical to persuading the Chinese government that they could not confine the outrage at Harry's arrest to the United States. These friends organized Ching Lee's very public trip to London and Paris, where she met with former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and current government officials, held press conferences with human rights organizations and members of Parliament. In France, similar meetings and events were held. A German television network, which had been working on a documentary on forced labor products with Harry before he left for China, aired their film during Jiang Zemin's state visit to Germany.

We had contact with grassroots activists all over the world. I am sure that many are still annoyed with us because of unreturned phone calls and our failure to give them direction and information they asked for. We simply could not do everything we were asked. I also knew something from my years in the labor movement. If you try to centralize things too much you lose. You have to have faith in the capability of others. We let them loose. To this day I don't know much of what went on in great detail. But I know people were writing letters, making phone calls, holding demonstrations, pressuring companies doing business with China, schoolchildren in California were sending letters to Chinese leaders, Chinese-American activists were agitating, the well-organized Tibetan exile community was working quietly but very effectively on Harry's behalf.

The Shanghai Mayor's visit to San Francisco was turned into an embarrassment by Harry's supporters. It was peaceful, but disruptive. The Chinese delegation was visibly angry. We were pleased.

Many prominent Americans traveling to China made Harry the subject of their meetings with Chinese officials. We cannot thank them publicly for they prefer to remain anonymous.



We met frequently and spoke almost daily with officials of the State Department. Despite our policy differences in normal times, we worked well together, and I think developed a relationship of trust.

Harry was a great help. While we worried about his physical well-being constantly, we rarely worried about his mental health. We knew he was more than a match for his interrogators, we knew he had been through worse in his 19 years in the Laogai, and we knew Harry back in prison was a bit like someone getting on a bicycle for the first time in twenty years, a little rusty for a moment, but then smooth riding.

But the Chinese government, the police and the security people, were our biggest help. Everything they did seemed to help. Violating the consular agreement, misleading the U.S. Embassy, producing the clumsy propaganda "confession" tape, the silly refrain that this was a purely legal, not a political case, and on and on, the Chinese government was a constant source of inspiration..

After the Chinese government told the State Department the trial would be held soon, someone said to me, " All the signs are optimistic that Harry will be released." I said, "Yes, if you forget that the people making the decisions are thugs." We always planned for the worse and worked for the best, and we tried never to spend any time reading the proverbial tea leaves.

Now the Chinese government, which has run the world's most extensive gulag for nearly fifty years, has succeeded where Harry Wu had not. Millions of people around the world now know that the Laogai exists and it is a state secret. Millions now know and admire a man named Harry Wu, whose legal name is Peter H. Wu, and whose name at birth was Wu Hongda. It remains for Harry and the Laogai Research Foundation to deepen their understanding of the Laogai system and its role in repressing the Chinese people. That will still take time.

Mr. Chairman, thank you and I sure am glad this fight for Harry's freedom is over.

**TESTIMONY OF HARRY WU  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, LAOGAI RESEARCH FOUNDATION**

**BEFORE THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

September 8, 1995

Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you for inviting me to testify today about my recent imprisonment in China. As you know, the last time I appeared before this Subcommittee was in April. At that time you heard from six Laogai survivors. That was a very special hearing.

Today I appear before you as a free man again. A free man in a free country with free air to breath. It feels very good indeed.

When Sue Howell, my traveling companion, was expelled from China she smuggled out a letter from me to my wife. In that letter I asked her to contact many members of the House and Senate who know me. I asked her to request that they make a lot of "noise." Little did I know how much "noise" was made on my behalf. Even now I have not had the time to learn everything that Members of the House and Senate, Democrats and Republicans alike did to help get me released. But I am convinced that all the "noise" coming from within these halls of democracy were critical to the Chinese deciding to expel me after their show trial.

So, before I say another word, let me say thank you from the bottom of my heart.

It is no secret that over the past five years I have had many public disagreements about U.S. China policy with the White House and State Department. I still do. But, today, as an American citizen I want to publicly thank the President, the Secretary of State, the National Security Advisor to the President and the many men and women in the State Department who worked constantly to free me. I, of course, must single out Auturo Marcias and Daniel Picutta, who met with me when the Chinese government permitted. They are capable and caring men, who gave me hope when I needed it most.

Today, I will not go through everything that happened to me during my 66 days as a political prisoner in China. But I would like to make a number of points.

This was not a criminal case as the Chinese government has said. I was a political prisoner and the charges against me were political. The decision to detain me at the

border was political. I was on a political blacklist. They could have simply denied me entry and sent me back across the border. But they held me until they received instructions from Beijing. They told me this.

I was told I had come to China at a bad time. I asked what this meant. The police official said that China had withdrawn its Ambassador from Washington.

I was never held in a regular prison cell like a normal prisoner. I was held in a special Public Security building outside of Wuhan overlooking a lake. There were bars on the windows, but you could tell they were not permanent ones. I was never handcuffed for very long. They just did it for the cameras when I was officially arrested.

The food I ate was the same as that provided the guards. It was nothing great, but it was not regular Laogai rations.

They kept telling me I was the "special of the special" and I had caused great trouble for the Chinese government. Make no mistake about it, they made it clear very often at the beginning that they could execute me for my "crimes."

Three guards were inside my 9 x 12 room 24 hours a day. They were not allowed to talk to me, except to give me orders. Dozens of guards were in the building. I was the only prisoner.

I was not tortured in the classic sense. But, they refused to give me the medicine for my back that my wife provided to the U.S. Embassy, and which they gave to the Chinese police. They gave it to me when I boarded the plane in Shanghai.

The "state secrets" I was accused of stealing all involved the Laogai camps I visited in 1991 and 1994. They said photographs of walls and watchtowers were "state secrets." This is so obviously political as to be ridiculous.

The hostile foreign organizations I was accused of passing these "state secrets" to were the BBC, CBS, the House of Representatives, and the U.S. Senate. So, I guess today, my testimony before you is one criminal speaking to a group of criminals.

The release of the propaganda film on my so-called "confession" was a political act. It was clumsy and ineffective, but it was the best they could do under the circumstances. It was a crude attempt to discredit the fact that executed prisoners' organs are the source of many, if not most, of China's kidney transplants.

Their decision not to include anything about my investigation of organ transplants

in the trial was a political decision. They did not want to bring any more attention to the issue.

The trial itself was brief -- just four hours. It was closed, except for the U.S. Embassy official, guards, and government video cameras. It was all prearranged, superficial, and clumsy. For example, they mixed the wrong evidence with a couple of the charges. When I pointed this out, they said it didn't matter. Looking back on it, they were in a hurry to play out the political decision which had clearly been made to expel me. At the time, I had no idea that I would be expelled, and fully expected to be sentenced to a long term in the Laogai.

Mr. Chairman, I must point out that my trial was not very different from the many trials that take place every day in China. Remember - the Chinese communist slogan: "Verdict first, trial second." China is not a nation of laws, but rather a nation ruled by men, men who simply want power over others for its own sake.

The timing of my release was political. They wanted to create the appearance of a political deal -- exchanging me for the First Lady's attendance at the UN Women's Conference. There was, of course, no deal, just the superficial appearance of one.

Without exaggerating my importance, I think the Chinese attempted to use me as a sort of political bargaining chip. They used me to demonstrate their anger against the U.S. for allowing Lee Teng Hui to visit. They used me to satisfy the hardliners -- the people who run the police and national security services, and the military.

Of course, I have caused them trouble and they really hate me. So they also tried to discredit me and frighten me. They wanted to silence me. They really would have liked to keep me in the Laogai or kill me. That is understandable. But they miscalculated the attention my case generated around the world. They had to find their way out, and did. All in all, they failed politically. More people around the world know about the Laogai today than on June 19. More people certainly know my name now than they did a few months ago. It seems to me they were stupid.

Many things that happened to me in those 66 days were offensive, but I would like to share with you something I found very offensive. All the plainclothes security people carried Motorola cellular phones. That American products are helping make China's repressive machine more efficient should be a moral concern to every thinking American.

Mr. Chairman, there is no doubt that if I was not an American citizen I would probably be back in a Laogai coal mine, or simply have disappeared. Of course, I am glad to be alive and free. At the same time I feel sad and somewhat guilty. There are so

many Chinese and Tibetans, brave men and women, workers, students, intellectuals, religious believers, so many who are being tortured, and forced to labor in the Laogai simply because of their desire for freedom and democracy. Their families suffer like mine did, but they do not have the hope that my wife did. Their suffering is real, their future is dark, their sense of isolation so much greater than my own was.

Think about Chen Zeming, who is ill with cancer, being thrown into prison again. What about Gao Yu, the journalist sentenced for leaking state secrets. In America, she would have won a prize for economic reporting. There are so many others, so many others.

I learned recently that a number of Members of Congress nominated me for the Nobel Peace Prize. I deeply appreciate this gesture, but urge them to withdraw their efforts and focus all of their attention and energy on Wei Jingsheng. He is a giant of a man. I am nothing beside him. He has a determination and spirit unmatched by anyone who has graced the earth in recent memory. He is a real hero, not me. He is a true symbol of the oppressed in China. He is an international treasure. Even the Nobel Peace Prize is less than he deserves. What he and so many other prisoners of conscience deserve is more precious than a prize, they deserve their freedom. I have mine again, and I must get back to work because the Laogai still exists.

Thank you.