

CONTINUING RELIGIOUS REPRESSION IN CHINA

June 1993

Asia Watch

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Asia Watch

Asia Watch is an independent organization created in 1985 to monitor and promote internationally recognized human rights in Asia. The Chair is Jack Greenberg, the Vice Chair is Orville Schell, the Executive Director is Sidney Jones and the Washington Representative is Mike Jendrzeczyk.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Two announcements by the Chinese government, in February and March 1993, heralded the releases of some eighteen Catholic prisoners prior to the expiration of their terms. Then in May, the Chinese reported the release on parole of Bishop Casimir Wang Milu, the "black bishop of Tianshui," after ten years in prison. The implication, that the actions signified the relaxation of strictures on religious practice, seriously misrepresents the state of religious freedom in China. First, the announcements were inaccurate -- Asia Watch received information in May 1993 indicating that two of those said to be released in fact remained in detention, and none of those who had received administrative sentences had returned home. And second, the Chinese government has steadily tightened and expanded its control over all religious activity, out of concern with the seemingly explosive growth of Christianity within its borders, especially among its youth.¹ At the same time, perhaps in response to international pressure, it appears to have changed its tactics in dealing with those who violate official religious policy: short-term detention, harassment and intimidation are increasingly taking the place of long-term imprisonment.

This report chronicles the escalation of repression against Chinese Catholics and Protestants since the publication by Asia Watch of the report, *Freedom of Religion in China* in January 1992. As examples, it examines ten cases in detail. It looks at the detention of 120 people in connection with a Bible study class in Henan Province in September 1992; the mid-July detention and interrogation of Hongkong visitors to a church in Yunnan Province; the long prison sentences handed down to a group of Protestants in Shandong Province; and the death from a beating in connection with a religious meeting in Taoyuan Village, Shaanxi Province. It also examines the interference with mourners at the funeral of Catholic Bishop Fan Xueyan in April 1992 and the death in detention of Bishop Liu Difen in November 1992. It further reports on the continued silence about the fate of Bishop Chen Jianzhang, missing since December 13 1990, the disappearance of Father Shi Wandu and the inability of Bishop Liu Shuhe to obtain medical relief, and it analyzes the February 1993 "release" of Father Zhu Hongsheng.

The report also discusses other cases of restriction and harassment of Christians. Official documents detailing local methods of control are appended, as is a list of some 92 clergy and lay people imprisoned or restricted in their movements because of their religious practice. It should be noted that while the report focuses on Catholics and Protestants, in part because of the availability of data, all religions, including Tibetan Buddhism and Islam, have been the target of repression. And the abuses against Christian groups documented here may only hint at the extent of the government crackdown, since fear of reprisals and the isolation of many villages with active Catholic and Protestant practitioners inhibit full reporting.

Information in this report comes from interviews conducted by Asia Watch in early 1993, supplemented by information published in newsletters and journals about religion in the region.

¹ According to a June 1992 State Statistics Bureau report, not yet released, there are 63 million Protestants and 12 million Catholics in China. Religious believers total 200 million or 18 percent of the population; half are Buddhists. There are several problems with the numbers. Chinese statistics are notoriously inaccurate and there appear to be no precise definitions for identifying religious believers, particularly Protestants. The Catholic church counts only those who have been baptized, studied catechism, and have godmothers and fathers.

II. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT POLICY

All the restrictions on religious activity in China documented by Asia Watch in its 1992 report remain in place. Despite the guarantee of religious freedom in Article 36 of the Chinese constitution, each of the five officially recognized religions – Buddhism, Daoism, Islam, Catholicism and Christianity, (Protestantism) – is controlled and monitored through a "patriotic association" accountable to the government through the Religious Affairs Bureau (RAB). The congregations meeting under the aegis of the relevant association, such as the Catholic Patriotic Association (CPA) or the Protestant Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM), are known as "open" or "official" or "affiliated" churches. The CPA does not recognize the authority of the Vatican; Catholic priests or congregations which look to Rome operate illegally. The TSPM supervises a "post-denominational Protestantism," reflecting the government move to consolidate all Protestant denominations into one, ignoring differences in doctrine and liturgy. Underground Protestant groups are often known as "house churches" since they meet in private homes. Aware of the role of the church in the demise of long-entrenched communist governments in eastern Europe, the new stirrings of Islam in Central Asia and the linkage of religion and nationalism in Tibet, the Chinese government appears more determined than ever to ensure that so-called counter-revolutionaries do not operate in China under the guise of religion.

Since early 1992, Chinese authorities in Beijing have sought to narrow the range of permissible religious activity and to curb all unregulated practice. In his 1992 annual report to the National People's Congress, China's top prosecutor, Chief Procurator Liu Fuzhi, emphasized that religion is increasingly used to "create disturbances."² Tao Siju, Public Security Minister, in a report to a nationwide public security conference, called for a full campaign against six "antagonistic forces" of which religion was one. Deng Xiaoping, China's paramount leader, made clear the intent to take "measures more serious than martial law" to eliminate opposition to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). "If the troublesome elements reappear in the future," he said, "we will not hesitate to use all methods to eliminate them as quickly as possible."³ Chinese Premier Li Peng called unofficial Chinese churches "troublesome elements" during a May 1992 visit to Zhejiang Province. And the new 1993 Security Law for a crackdown on any threat to implementation of the market reforms, including, by implication, religion.

Other evidence of central Party directives on religion comes from internal criticism voiced by top official religious leaders meeting on September 3-4, 1992 at the invitation of the Religious Affairs Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Congress. They complained about local cadres' "leftist" thoughts and interference with legally permitted religious activities.⁴ Another meeting in February 1993 of the heads of all provincial-level Religious Affairs Bureaus called for political indoctrination of religious leaders.

Particularly telling and perhaps as a warning to others who question government policies, Bishop Ding Guangxun, the leader of China's official Protestant church, was not elected as a delegate to the Eighth National People's Congress (NPC) in early 1993. He had been a NPC delegate since 1964, and since 1983 had seats on both the Standing Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee. Bishop Ding's removal is probably related to his July 1992 call at an NPC meeting for an end to what he called the "wind of suppression," against unregistered Protestant churches which had resulted in indiscriminate closings, and to his earlier criticisms of religious policy implementation.⁵ In his July speech,

² *Asian Wall Street Journal*, April 6, 1992.

³ *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily), April 27, 1992.

⁴ Accusations included exhorting money from successful churches and organizing activities for the express purpose of disrupting religious services (*China Daily*, September 8, 1992).

⁵ See Appendix I for text of Bishop Ding's remarks. He himself rejects the idea that he failed to get a seat in the NPC because of his

Bishop Ding, to the embarrassment of the government, reported that in some places suppression was brutal:

They mobilize cadres, Public Security Bureau officials and People's Militia to use electric batons, tear up religious pictures, confiscate Bibles and religious publications, imprison the believers, fine them, cut off their electricity, water and social security grain supplies, demolish house and other such activities.

Bishop Ding has not stopped his protests. At the Chinese People's Political Consultative Congress in early 1993, he spoke out against government officials choosing church leaders without consulting local believers. He noted that given their political mandate, they often are of "low spiritual quality and sometimes non-believers." And he discussed the practice of using urban development as an excuse to seize church lands and destroy church buildings.⁶

III. LOCAL INITIATIVES

To comply with central directives, more and more provincial and local governments have issued new stringent regulations to bring all religious activities under their control and to severely punish non-compliance. These documents refer to central Party guidelines and model their language on central party directives.⁷ The *Governing Regulations of Religious Activities in Zhejiang Province*, enacted by the provincial government on April 16, 1992, called for strengthened controls on religious activities. Among its 38 articles, some require triplicate approval for the establishment of a religious "venue," that is, a place where religion is practiced. The government of the village or town where the venue is to be located, the city or county Religious Affairs Bureau and the city or county people's government must authorize the new arrangements. Other articles stipulate that the RAB must approve all training programs and must receive yearly reports of all church activity, and that all persons staying overnight in a religious venue must register with the proper authorities.

Bureaucratic roadblocks, although troublesome, are less ominous than other methods of impeding the growth of religion and gaining control over adherents. Study materials issued by the Hebei Province RAB in February 1992 urged stringent action, special committees, and a long-term "aggressive attitude" against the underground church including the arrests of all unauthorized clergy. One of the documents, entitled *Completely Destroying the Organizations and Systems of the Underground Religious Force*, said clerics and core members should be kept continuously off balance through persistent arrests. Underground leaders were accused, among other things, of setting up convents and children's choirs.

In practice, an "aggressive attitude" has resulted in a change of tactics which uses the combined forces of the United Front Work Department, the Religious Affairs Bureau, and the Public Security Bureau (the police). With some notable exceptions, lengthy prison terms for those violating religious regulations are no longer the norm. Instead, some of the techniques now regularly employed against religious believers include raids on churches, often coupled with violence, and short periods of detention combined with psychological and physical intimidation of those detained. For example, during Easter 1992, more than ten young priests studying at Xi'an Normal University in Shaanxi Province were detained by the police. They were forced to undergo political indoctrination for four consecutive nights before they were released.

criticism.

⁶ *China News and Church Report*, April 2, 1993 (CNCR is a publication of the Chinese Church Research Center in Hong Kong.)

⁷ See *Document No.6: On Some Problems Concerning Further Improving Work on Religion* in Asia Watch, *Freedom of Religion in China*, (New York, 1992, pp. 30-35)

Other techniques include constant surveillance of former religious prisoners, outside visitors to church compounds, and clergy going about their routine work; forced relocations of influential clergy; disruptions by local Public Security Bureaus of religious services and meetings; prohibitive fines and charges for "room and board" before jailed believers may return home; arbitrary church closings; destruction of some church buildings; confiscation of property of believers, including everything from animals and tools to Bibles and hymnals; forced attendance at "political study" classes; and general harassment. Officials, however, continue to deny that anyone is persecuted for his or her beliefs.⁸

In addition to this more aggressive stance, local documents continue to emphasize existing requirements that have been in place at least since 1989. According to those earlier directives, all places of religious activity must "submit to the control of the local government" and all believers must be registered. Religion remains subordinate to the Party. More specifically, evangelism and unapproved training of preachers and itinerant preachers is "resolutely" prohibited. The documents call for "coercive measures," including confiscation of religious materials and properties, to close down long-standing and newly opened unregistered meeting places and churches. At the same time, the documents indicate the government is working toward a strengthened team of patriotic religious personnel; the "re-education" and political indoctrination of all those involved in both authorized and unauthorized religious activities including clergy, laypersons and Religious Affairs Bureau cadres; and an effort to stop the "unruly growth" in conversions.⁹

As a result, a policy known as the "three-fixes" has been more widely implemented, particularly against unofficial Protestant congregations called "house churches." All church leaders must be approved by government and party officials (fixed personnel), their association must be with a government church (fixed meeting point) and they cannot leave a designated geographic area to preach (fixed sphere).¹⁰ By thus insisting that religious personnel be professionals trained by official government agencies, contrary to the traditional practice of having laypersons preach and proselytize, and by prohibiting evangelism, traditionally used to establish new churches, the Chinese authorities are doing their best to impede growth.

In addition, official churches must keep membership rolls, with the result that any official religious believer is automatically publicly identified, and baptisms, communions, confessions and attendance figures must be reported

⁸ On February 7, 1992 at a UN Human Rights Commission meeting, a Chinese representative explicitly stated, "yes, there were a very small number of religious followers in China who have received punishment for committing criminal and administrative offenses. ...But this is not a question concerning religion or religious belief. Their punishment is a judicial question but absolutely not a persecution against dissent. Their offenses included activities that jeopardized national security, fraud, rape and activities that damaged the physical and psychological health of people" (*South China Morning Post*, February 10, 1992).

⁹ See as examples: *Public Notice Concerning the Strengthening of Christian Activities in the Whole County* (Appendix IV) issued by the People's Government of Daishan County (Zhejiang Province) on July 5, 1991; the May 1992 *Opinions on the Resolution of Several Obvious Problems in Protestant Church Activities in Our District*, written by the District Nationalities and Religious Affairs Bureau of the People's Government of Guandu, one of Kunming City's four districts (*Bridge*, September-October 1992, pp. 4-6); and Provisional Regulations for the Registration and Management of Places of Religious Activity in Fujian Province (Appendix V), issued by the Fujian RAB in October 1992.

¹⁰ For example, in early 1992, Pinghu City, Zhejiang Province, adopted new local regulations. All church workers must be approved by local government and Party officials; all evangelists must obtain a certificate from the local TSPM, "places of worship can only be set up with permission of the Municipal People's Government, and no church organization or individual can establish meeting points themselves without authority, nor change their location or sphere of ministry."

weekly.¹¹

Freedom of Expression and Control of Religious Literature

There is renewed emphasis on controlling the distribution of Bibles and other religious literature. Not only do local authorities decide which books and tracts are acceptable, but they control distribution by limiting supplies to approved churches. No religious books appear in public book stores. In addition, the output of government-approved religious presses is hedged with regulations.

– Two Protestant churches, one in Xi'an and the other in Tianjin, requested they be permitted to start their own publications. Both were notified in February 1993 that they must await approval from higher authorities. The local Tianjin government said that more research was needed as the issue was complicated. Such a response appears to qualify the already limited invitation given by propaganda chief Ding Guangen to potential publishers when he said in a speech at a religious conference that if projected magazines and newspapers planned to serve and entertain the people and benefit reform, then their sponsors should request permission to publish.¹²

– In Guangzhou, 3,000 Bibles were seized by 30 security police during a raid on an apartment in early April 1992. The missionary at the site was interrogated for four hours and released.¹³

– Qibao Press, the printing house of the Shanghai diocese, is limited in its ability to publish its own translation of the complete New Testament by regulations imposed on printing plants not recognized by the government. Restrictions, such as paying more for paper, impose financial burdens which limit press runs and distribution networks.¹⁴

Control of Religious Training

Seminary curricula have been tightened throughout China and must include ever larger doses of political indoctrination. For example, in October 1992, the director of Shanghai's Religious Affairs Bureau called for "firm leadership" to direct Sheshan Regional Seminary's ideological work, asking for better training and teaching materials in the area of political education and patriotism. He stressed that for an educational institute to achieve prominence and high standards, it must succeed in permeating all curriculum with ideology.¹⁵

Theological training is further weakened by the lack of qualified teachers and texts and by a movement to reduce the number of years of seminary training of Catholic priests from the normal five-to-six year program to two years or less. (The ostensible reason for the change is to have a shorter program to compensate for the severe shortage of priests. However, Catholic clergy believe the projected cut is a deliberate attempt to dilute seminarians' theological knowledge, particularly as the cut will be coupled with increases in political courses.)

¹¹ *Associated Press*, March 15, 1992.

¹² *China News and Church Report*, March 5, 1993

¹³ *Reuters*, April 20, 1992.

¹⁴ *UCANews*, November 16, 1992. *UCANews* is a Catholic news service.

¹⁵ *UCANews*, October 26, 1992.

In late 1991, the first batch of students entering Guangzhou diocese minor seminary were being taught to "support and accept the leadership of the Communist Party of China and socialism," according to a newsletter of the Catholic Church Administrative Commission and the Catholic Patriotic Association of Guangzhou.¹⁶ In a session that ran from March to June 1992, some 40 young priests and laypersons from southern China attended study sessions in Marxism, socialism and religious policy at the Central Socialist Academy, an institute under the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC).¹⁷

Prohibitions against ties to outside religious organizations continue. Foreign contributions to Chinese churches is one form of overseas investment the Chinese government does not encourage. A typical example of these prohibitions is an August 21, 1991 Fujian document which bans bringing in equipment from outside for the propagating of religion or gathering believers together to listen to broadcasts or watch videos from overseas religious organizations.¹⁸ The fact that this document says that "normal" religious activities are protected means little, as "normal" is never defined. According to one Chinese intellectual specializing in religious studies, "normal" is simply what local cadres say it is.

IV. CASE STUDIES OF ABUSE OF PROTESTANTS

Henan Province

On September 8, 1992, Protestants from all over Henan Province assembled for a training seminar in a rural farmhouse in Guofa Village, Wuyang County, southern Henan. A few foreign visitors were also present. Forty Public Security Bureau officers broke up the meeting and arrested 170 participants. According to an eyewitness account by a visiting Chinese-American:

After a few songs and prayers and a few minutes in Bible sharing, there was a big commotion...I was told by a girl to remove my spectacles and go to the back part of the room where the rest of the men were...A few minutes later, about 20 PSB people came into the room and ordered everybody to get down to the floor. Very soon after that they left the room leaving only two people guarding the two doors to the room. Twice, the local people stood up and tried to escape...a few people did manage to escape when the guards were not vigilant...

Sometime later more PSB people came into the room and one of them went to the front and delivered a long brainwashing speech. Then he started to single people out...everyone who was selected was scolded and roughly handled. Finally he laid eyes on me...He ordered me to be tied up. The PSB people searched the whole house for ropes and electrical wires to tie people up. One PSB person dragged me to a small room and ordered me to kneel down. He used a rope to tie both my arms behind my back so tightly that the blood in my arms had trouble flowing...Later the same PSB officer came in to the room and asked me more questions. I still mumbled. He then used his walkie-talkie's antenna to hit my head and face and he threatened to beat me more later...

¹⁶ *UCANews*, January 31, 1992. The newsletter was dated December 1991.

¹⁷ *UCANews*, April 23, 1992.

¹⁸ In Guangdong, the secretary of the Guangdong Political and Law Commission called on the police to take action against foreign religious groups which have "established underground religious bodies" (*South China Morning Post*, March 5, 1992.)

While I was waiting in the room, I heard one lady in the courtyard resist being taken away. A handful of PSB people were yelling and scolding her. She was screaming. From what I could hear, she was terribly beaten.

After waiting for a long time with my arms tied up, the PSB people came into the room and ordered us to go outside to a small police van. They squeezed many of us in and took us to the local Wuyang PSB office. Later a PSB official came to the door to take down everyone's particulars.

Some 10 participants managed to escape during the raid. Two women, one from Singapore, the other from Malaysia were released after six days. The author of the above account was held 16 days.¹⁹ Forty villagers, most of them elderly, who were observers rather than participants, were released almost immediately. Twelve others, released later after paying for their prison room and board, about Rmb 66 apiece (\$12), returned home to find that everything of value, including farm animals and equipment, had been taken.

The remaining detainees, many of whom reportedly had been repeatedly interrogated and beaten and deprived of food and sleep, were dispersed among detention centers in four provinces. In most cases, family members were prevented from delivering warm clothing and food. In some cases, local authorities demanded payment of Rmb 200 for the privilege of delivering packages. As of January 15, 1993, the last eight were released. Fines for some ranged up to Rmb 1,000 (\$180). Ma Shuishan's family, which had hosted the meeting, had their house stripped of personal belongings including furniture, clothes, blankets, and eating and cooking utensils. All Bibles and religious literature were destroyed. Handmade prayer mats and stools were burned. Ma reportedly was re-arrested around the first of the year. His whereabouts and current status are unknown.

Yunnan Province

Three Hongkong Chinese Protestants,²⁰ all of whom held documents permitting them to travel to and from China (*hui xiang zheng*), were interrogated on July 12-13, 1992 by the Wuding Public Security Bureau's Foreign Affairs Section and forced to write "confessions." Their ordeal began after they visited a government-approved Bible study class for minorities and joined a Sunday church service in Fenshuiling Village, Yunnan Province. Interrupting the service, a Public Security Bureau officer ordered them to his office and questioned them for an hour. He finally suggested they return to the village church for the conclusion of the service, then travel by bus to Wuding to write up "certain formalities."

Four police officers in uniform greeted the bus in Wuding; three other officials, including the head and deputy head of the local Religious Affairs Bureau, later joined the group. At that point, the police escorted the men to a hotel to "help investigate a case."

At the hotel, every item in the men's luggage was opened, examined, filmed and recorded. Religious literature, personal Bibles, cassette tapes and notes and letters from Fenshuiling villagers requesting more religious literature were confiscated. The next morning brought a second round of interrogations; in the afternoon the visitors, still under surveillance, were permitted to go sightseeing. On the third morning, the police informed the men that they had reported correctly. From this, the visitors surmised that the police officers had cross-examined leaders of the Fenshuiling Protestant community.

¹⁹ It should be noted that for Chinese officials, the presence of individual foreigners signals the possible presence of a base for subversion.

²⁰ The following is a summation of a first person account which appeared in *Bridge*, September-October, 1992.

At that point, the police asked the three men to stay and help further the case. The visitors responded by demanding they be legally arrested or permitted to leave by afternoon. At noon, the police officers returned to announce the three were guilty on two counts. They had stayed overnight in a church without reporting to the police and had illegally participated in religious activities -- in this case, a training course. Furthermore, the three were informed they had violated local regulations (passed by the 25th meeting of the 6th People's Congress of the Chuxiong Autonomous Prefecture on February 26, 1991) which require overseas Christians to receive an official recommendation before visiting churches. The visitors accepted the validity of the first charge, but rejected the second on the grounds that an official of the Protestant organization, the Three-Self Patriotic Movement, had escorted them to the training class.

The men were further informed that without express permission from the provincial Religious Affairs Bureau, bringing a single Bible from outside for personal use violated religious regulations, as did contact with local Protestants, even those affiliated with Three-self churches. Before they left China, they were required to hand over all film taken in Wuding. The police did not return items they had confiscated on the grounds that the men had engaged in illegal activities.

Shandong Province

In June 1992, shortly after the announced releases of three Catholics, (Bishop Liu Guandong and Fathers Wang Yijun and Jin Dechen), the Chinese government moved against a growing Protestant sect in Duoyigou, Shandong Province, destroying its church building and handing down stiff prison sentences to its leaders. The sect, the Jesus Family, an indigenous Chinese Christian movement proscribing private property and advocating communal living, originated in China in the 1920s. The flourishing community maintains no foreign ties.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Jesus Family all but disappeared. At the end of the 1970s, shortly after the Cultural Revolution had run its course, the sect began to slowly revive. Its branch in Duoyigou did not begin its own regeneration until the mid-1980s. By 1992, it boasted some 3000 members, 60 of whom lived communally. Once a month, the entire congregation gathered for worship at two large open courtyards. The site could not hold all who wished to participate; the overflow waited in surrounding streets.

Alarmed by the size of the congregation, in June 1992, a Public Security Bureau force broke up the monthly meeting and arrested more than 30 leaders. The church itself was razed, and furniture, cobblers' tools, and long-haired rabbits raised by the group were confiscated. Chinese officials have admitted the bulldozing, but have denied confiscating personal property, animals and tools.

Zheng Yunsu, the group leader, imprisoned during the Cultural Revolution for his religious beliefs, was sentenced to twelve years in prison. He reportedly is serving his sentence in Jinan, the regional capital. Three of his four sons, names unknown, received nine, eight and seven-year sentences. They are imprisoned in the Duoyigou region. Other leaders received terms ranging from three to five years on charges of holding illegal religious gatherings, leading a "collective life," disturbing the social order, resisting arrest and beating up police. The latter charge probably refers to the crowd's attempt to prevent the destruction of their church. In addition to the sentences, members of the Jesus family have been ordered not to participate in communal meals, even within a single household.

Zheng, in his sixties, was not at the June monthly gathering. When he heard news of the arrests, he traveled to Jinan to see a cousin of the Jesus Family's founder. It is traditional within the sect to welcome everyone. When Zheng arrived, in September 1992, he was invited in, along with two police officers who had trailed him, but of whom he was unaware. The officers declined the hospitality, saying they would first take Zheng to the Public Security Bureau office, after which he would return for lunch. He never came back.

Shaanxi Province

Another incident took place in late March 1993 in Taoyuan Village, Lijia Township, Xunyang County, Shaanxi Province when five Protestants, all from Shaanxi, were persecuted and tortured. As a result one of them, 22-year-old **Lai Manping**, died. According to a firsthand account by one of the victims, **Xu Fang**, a 21-year-old woman from Ankang County, the police attacked a group of worshippers at a religious meeting on March 27. This account was made available to Asia Watch by Protestant church sources. Eight or nine Public Security Bureau officers broke into the gathering and "without a word of explanation began to beat us with rods and put handcuffs on the five who came from Ankang," three men and two women. These five were singled out because authorities suspected them of connections with foreigners.

They stripped three brethren naked from the waist and forced the women to stand with them. Not only did these authorities beat them, moreover they forced each of the 26 other local people to beat each one 100 times with bamboo rods. If they refused they would in turn be beaten by the authorities. The three were beaten until they were totally covered with blood, gaping wounds and injuries all over their bodies. As if such violent beating wasn't enough, they then hanged them up and with the rods began to hit them on their backs. They did this until they were unconscious and barely breathing. We could only hear the sound of the beating and the cursing of the officers.

The two women from Ankang were also violently beaten. They passed out, and when they awoke they found that:

Two of us sisters had been placed on the stove and a large millstone of over 100 catties (130 pounds) was placed on our backs while they continued to beat us with rods. They also...ripped open our pants...using the most cruel methods to beat our private parts.

The following morning, the victims were sent to the Taoyuan police station and then taken to the Public Security Bureau in Lijia. But the officers there refused to accept them and sent them back to Taoyuan where they remained for eight days under the most primitive conditions. After the officers realized the extent of Lai's injuries, a doctor was called to provide minimal medical treatment.

The guards realized he was about to die and made him leave the room. He struggled, walking some and crawling some for 10 kilometers...He just collapsed. The local people found him and carried him to small house, but after one day and night he died.

After members of his family, hearing he had been released, found his body by the roadside, they began to make inquiries at the Xunyang PSB. According to a police autopsy, Lai died of an illness.

Xu Fang went on to report that police were rounding up Christians in the area in an attempt to cover up the incident and she estimated that as of early May 1993, over 100 men and women had been detained. Although Asia Watch has not been able to confirm the account independently, the allegations are serious enough to warrant a full and impartial investigation.

V. CASE STUDIES OF ABUSE OF CATHOLICS

The Funeral of Bishop Fan Xuoyan

Bishop Fan Xueyan, perhaps the most influential of China's underground Catholic bishops, died in police custody on April 13, 1992, the day before his ten-year sentence would have been completed. Ordained by Pope Pius XII on June 24, 1951, Bishop Fan had ordained many of the Chinese bishops loyal to the Vatican. The Chinese government attempted to weaken his authority throughout his career, and this effort continued at his wake and funeral in his home village of Wangting, Dingxing County, Hebei Province.

Bishop Fan was 85 years old at the time of his death and had retired in 1990 from his duties as (clandestine) bishop of Baoding diocese. His body was released to his family on April 16. Color photographs taken on April 16 or 17 showed large marks on his forehead and on one cheek. Both legs appeared to be dislocated below the knee. No definitive analysis about the cause of death could be made from the photos, but the marks were consistent with violence suffered shortly before death. Government cadres keeping watch at the funeral, when asked, attributed Bishop Fan's bruises to his own carelessness, suggesting, among other stories, that he was weak from diarrhea and tripped over a threshold or that he fell out of bed. There are unconfirmed reports that Bishop Fan died from a pneumonia which went untreated. He was buried on April 24.

An eyewitness account of the events surrounding Bishop Fan's wake and burial gave details of Public Security Bureau surveillance and interference with religious rites and mourning rituals. To begin with, local Public Security Bureau imposed martial law on all the villages in four Catholic dioceses in Hebei Province: Yixian, Anguo, Zhengding as well as Baoding. Police officers prevented Catholics from leaving their home villages and ordered the local bus company not to sell tickets on part of the Baoding-Anxin route, forcing anyone who could manage the journey to walk the last four miles to the funeral site. A few taxis got through. Soldiers, stationed at every important crossroads, examined travelers; every Catholic village in Dingxing was surrounded by PLA troops; all civil defense forces in the vicinity of Baoding were placed on alert. Outside Wangting, there was a sentry or guardpost every few feet and all those entering or leaving the village were interrogated. Plainclothesmen with walkie-talkies or video cameras were stationed on all rooftops overlooking the funeral tent.

By the evening before the funeral, some 10,000 Catholics had already arrived in Wangting. Several hundred official vehicles ringed the village and mounted loudspeakers announced that if Catholics in the village had overnight visitors, they would be fined.

Many Catholics who persisted in their attempts to reach the funeral site on tractors, tricycles and motorcycles had their vehicles confiscated and were forced to pay fines as high as Rmb 1,600 (\$280). Harassment of Catholics in attendance was ongoing. The day before the funeral, for example, local authorities dragged a Catholic youth from Biyangcheng village into the government compound and beat him. Some of those who attempted to assist the youth were also beaten. Several persons were arrested in connection with their attendance at the funeral.

In an obvious attempt to hasten Bishop Fan's burial and thus avoid what was rapidly becoming a rallying point for the Catholics of Hebei, for some four days prior to the funeral, food supplies and ice needed to preserve the body were prevented from entering the village. During the two days immediately preceding the services, children were enlisted to help smuggle in food. No attention was paid to the Catholic request that Bishop Chen Jianzhang be permitted to conduct the rites. (Bishop Chen disappeared in 1990, but in the view of local Catholics is still the bishop of Baoding diocese)

Fan Xueyan was born on February 11, 1907 in Xiaowangting Village, Qingyuan County, Hebei. He studied for the priesthood in Beijing and Rome. In 1934, he was ordained a priest and went to serve in Wanxian diocese in Sichuan Province. During the war against Japan, Father Fan, by then in Baoding, contributed medical and material services to the Eighth Route Army (the Communist army) in Hebei.

He was arrested for the first time in 1958 and sentenced to 15 years at hard labor for his opposition to the

"Chinese Church's anti-imperialist, self-governing policy" and for "stubbornly refusing to accept" the Catholic Patriotic Association. He served his sentence in Laishui, Huanghua and Anxin. At the end of 1969, Bishop Fan returned to his home village still subject to supervision. Arrested again on April 15, 1978, he was held without charge in a local county jail before his release on January 14, 1980. During the early 1980s, Bishop Fan secretly ordained three bishops and several priests. Arrested again on April 13, 1982 for "colluding with foreign forces to jeopardize the sovereignty and security of the motherland," Bishop Fan was sentenced to a ten-year term and jailed at Hebei's No.2 Prison in Shijiazhuang, the provincial capital. Released on parole in 1987, he remained under house arrest in a church compound in Baoding. On feast days, to prevent him from meeting with his followers, Bishop Fan was taken on tours outside his area of influence. When the clandestine Chinese bishops formed their own Episcopal Conference on November 21, 1989, he was elected, in absentia, honorary president.

According to Liu Bainian, lay member of the Standing Committee of the Catholic Patriotic Association, Bishop Fan's arrest after 1979 was "for political, not religious" reasons. No one has been jailed for religious reasons since the Cultural Revolution, according to Liu.²¹

Since November 3, 1990, when Bishop Fan again disappeared from Baoding, until his death almost a year and a half later, his whereabouts were often unknown as he was moved from place to place by Chinese authorities. During the early part of his confinement, relatives reportedly could visit him in the presence of security police. In 1991, a statement put out by the government said Bishop Fan would stay at a pleasant location and did not wish to be disturbed by anyone.²² His enforced separation from family and friends and mandatory withdrawal from Catholic affairs parallel those of Bishop Liu Difen, now deceased, and Bishop Chen Jianzhang.

Deaths and Disappearances of Bishops and Priests

Bishop Liu Difen, a Catholic bishop from Anguo Diocese, Hebei Province disappeared in December 1990. At the time, he was 78 years old. For almost two years, there was no news of him. Then, on November 15, 1992, his corpse was delivered to his family. They were told he had died on November 14, 1992 at 1:10 p.m. from high blood pressure and a brain embolism. Although rumors of the Bishop's death had been circulating for some time, it took almost five months for the reports to be confirmed.

Bishop Liu had a long history of difference with the official Chinese Catholic Church. He was first arrested for refusing to take part in the three-self movement. Upon release, he worked in the hospital of the 85th Commune of Anguo until his persecution during the Cultural Revolution. From 1980 until his retirement in 1984, he worked there again, after which he turned his full attention to church matters.

The circumstances of Bishop Liu's death, which come from a firsthand account dated November 1992 and delivered to Asia Watch on April 6, 1993, show striking similarities to those surrounding the deaths of Bishop Fan Xueyan and Bishop Shi Chunjie.²³ Taken together, the reports suggest there are places of extra-judicial detention,

²¹ On February 19, 1993, Liu Bainian reiterated his statement. He told *UCANews* (February 22, 1993) that "some people - including those secretly ordained - have violated the law and are subject to disciplinary actions of judicial departments." He went on to say that "the government will deal with matters according to the state law and the Church cannot intervene."

²² *UCANews*, April 29, 1992.

²³ Bishop Shi, the auxiliary bishop of Baoding, died of a heart attack in November 1991. At the time, he was in an "old-age home." According to Chinese authorities, the bishop was well-cared for and comfortable. According to family and friends, he was being forcibly detained and denied access to outsiders. There were reports that during his confinement, the bishop had been denied medication for the diabetes which had almost destroyed his sight. To prevent large crowds from gathering, local authorities ordered

euphemistically called "old-age homes," and run by the Religious Affairs Bureau in conjunction with the Catholic Patriotic Association, to which elderly clergy are forcibly removed. Friends and relatives are denied access, and it appears as if medical care in the "homes" is at best rudimentary.

On November 2, less than two weeks before Bishop Liu's death, a delegation including the head of the local Religious Affairs Bureau visited the bishop's relatives in Biandukou Village, Renqiu District, Hebei. They told his nephew, "Your uncle is sick; his legs cannot walk; he has high blood pressure, his mind is not very clear. He would like to come home to rest. Will you receive him?" Bishop Liu's relatives readily agreed and suggested they immediately send a car to fetch him. The official replied, "There is no need to go and fetch him," indicating that others, unspecified, would do so.

There was no further news until November 11, when the official returned to tell the bishop's relatives that he would be brought home that very day at 5:00 p.m. But that same afternoon, they were told that the bishop was very ill, and that some of his relatives were being given permission to go to the hospital of Kuancheng District, a mountainous area in the extreme northern part of Hebei Province. The distance between the hospital and Biandukou Village where the family lived was 500 kilometers.

Three of the bishop's nephews hurried to the hospital, traveling through the night. When they arrived, Bishop Liu was already unconscious and unable to breathe without supplementary oxygen. But his nephews could not take him home as they did not have the money to pay the high price the hospital was demanding to supply oxygen. A request from the bishop's doctor to the Secretary of the hospital to lower the price was unsuccessful. According to the firsthand account, the charge for oxygen was dictated by the authorities in a deliberate attempt to prevent Bishop Liu's relatives from removing him.

A nephew "rushed the 500 kilometers home," rented a car and returned to the hospital with a doctor and an oxygen tank, but the bishop had already died. His nephews asked what crime he had committed. They were informed, "He has committed no violation, no crime. He was brought up here to rest."

Bishop Liu's relatives were forbidden to remove the corpse without permission from the Religious Affairs Bureau. When they did get permission and the body was dressed, relatives found what they considered evidence of numerous injuries. Among other marks, they discovered two wounds in the middle of his back that had not yet healed. His left shoulder bore scars; there were two holes under his left armpit. They are convinced he died from serious ill treatment. As confirmation, they quote the head of the Kuancheng Religious Affairs Bureau who told them that when the bishop arrived at Kuancheng, he had no shoes. When the bureau head tried to give him a pair, the bishop refused them saying "You have reduced me to this state and now you give me a pair of shoes." The bureau head told the bishop he was not responsible for his ill-treatment.

Government officials, in an attempt to keep control of Bishop Liu's funeral, suggested eliminating participation by underground bishops, priests and laypersons and including "affiliated" priests from Xianxian (Hebei Province).²⁴ The bishop's relatives disagreed and succeeded in rallying one underground bishop, 14 priests and more than 3000 lay Catholics.

The death of Bishop Liu reinforces concerns about Bishop Chen Jianzhang who disappeared from his residence in Xiefangying, Xushui County on December 13, 1990 and has not been seen since. The bishop, in his mid-70s,

that Bishop Shi's funeral be held within two days of his death.

²⁴ There had been similar attempts to discourage participation at the funerals of Bishop Fan Xueyan and Bishop Shi Chunjie.

was first held in a "study camp," then moved to an old age home approximately a year later. The home may be one run by the Catholic Patriotic Association, a government body. An official Chinese response to requests for information by the U.S. State Department, November 1991, listed Bishop Chen as "not suspected." The term, neither a technical nor a legal one, is more appropriately translated as "those against whom no accusations have been made" and does not preclude detention or restrictions on movement. Despite government assurances that Bishop Chen was never accused of wrongdoing and is free, as of January 1993, family and friends had been unable to contact him.

A severe diabetic, Bishop Chen is completely paralyzed on his right side as a result of a cerebral hemorrhage and is unable to care for himself. It is possible that he is being held in an "old age home" under "strict residential surveillance," a form of control used for "those who do not seriously endanger society and should not be put under arrest."²⁵

There is also grave concern about Father Shi Wandu, a priest from Baoding who attended the November 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference in Shaanxi Province which was the focus of a major crackdown in 1990-91. He reportedly was arrested on December 9, 1989 in Xushui County about 43 miles southwest of Beijing. According to the official Chinese response to inquiries by the U.S. State Department (November 1991), Father Shi is also listed as "not suspected." Other than the Chinese report, there is no further information about Father Shi's whereabouts and there is apprehension that he is held against his will.

Bishop Paul Liu Shuhe, the 69-year-old second bishop of Yixian, Hebei Province, is extremely ill from kidney disease. He is in hiding and cannot get medical attention without risking arrest or severe restrictions on his movements. An earlier report, said to have originated with Chinese authorities, that he had been transferred from a "re-education through labor facility" to government care in an "old-age home," implying that he was free, misstated his status. At that time, neither his friends nor family had succeeded in contacting him.

In October 1988, Bishop Liu, was accused of possession of two scripts for "illegal" sermons and a typewriter, and sentenced administratively to three years "re-education through labor." Other charges reportedly stemmed from his meeting a visiting cleric from the Philippines. That he was sentenced was confirmed by the official Chinese response to requests for information by the U.S. State Department (November 1991). A year later, in June 1989, ill with severe cirrhosis of the liver, Bishop Liu was permitted to return home for medical treatment, but was kept under house arrest. In mid-December 1990, with his term of "re-education" still incomplete, he was again detained, probably in a re-education facility. The security officers who came to his home said they wanted to take him to Baoding for a discussion; they promised to bring him back once matters were settled. He never returned.

In mid-December 1991, after Bishop Liu's original term had been completed, family members repeatedly asked the Public Security Bureau for his release. Finally they were told, "He is kept and provided for by the country. Do not ask any more where he is now." Requests to visit were denied. During Easter week 1992, Bishop Liu managed to flee the facility in which he was being held and go into hiding.

²⁵ "Reflections on Residential Surveillance," *Hunan Sifa* (*Hunan Judicial Affairs*), No.6, 1990, pp.33-35. The journal has restricted circulation (*neibu*). A reading of this article and several articles of China's Criminal Procedure Law, (Articles 38, 40 and 44) suggest such surveillance may be a common technique used for particularly categories of suspects. Article 38 lists surveillance as one of several coercive pre-trial measures. It requires the defendant not to leave a "designated area." Article 40 stipulates that "in the case of a defendant who should be arrested but who is suffering from a grave illness...the measure(s) of allowing the person...to live at home under surveillance may be adopted." Article 44 specifies that a person "whom it is necessary to arrest but against whom there is not yet sufficient evidence may be allowed...to live at home under surveillance." The article in *Hunan Sifa* makes clear that venues for surveillance may be other than the suspect's home. See Appendix II.

The "Counterrevolutionary Clique" of Father Zhu Hongsheng

On February 17, 1993, *Xinhua*, the official Chinese news agency, headlined the release of Jesuit Father Zhu Hongsheng, arrested on November 19, 1981 and sentenced on March 22, 1983 to a 15-year prison term and five years' subsequent deprivation of political rights, a sentence which was later reduced to twelve years in prison followed by loss of political rights. What the article and official television coverage neglected to mention was that 79-year-old Father Zhu had been released from prison on medical parole on February 6, 1988. The misleading announcement referred only to the fact that the Shanghai Intermediate Court had canceled the remaining months of his sentence and restored his civil rights. In other words, Father Zhu is officially no longer under surveillance and is free to vote, to travel around China and apply for a passport.

At the time of his so-called release, the official Chinese press made no mention of the reasons for Father Zhu's extended sentence. Asia Watch has obtained a 1984 account by the Department of Pre-Trial Investigation of the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau²⁶ about the arrest and interrogation of Father Zhu and at least eight of his co-defendants, all of whom had previously been part of the "Gong Pinmei counterrevolutionary and treasonous clique" (Appendix III.)²⁷ In the document, the Public Security Bureau attempted to analyze the characteristics of counterrevolutionary cases which used religion as a cover for sabotage and to examine how best to go about obtaining confessions from the perpetrators of so-called counterrevolutionary religious plots. What the account reveals instead is, first of all, that religious persecution did not end with the Cultural Revolution as the Chinese government contends but that a Public Security Ministry document "Circular on Fighting the Counterrevolutionary Elements Who Act under the Cloak of the Catholic Church" was still in circulation at the time of Father Zhu's arrest; and that in his case, "facts" were interpreted to support a pre-determined politically motivated verdict.

The document describes the methods used by the Public Security Bureau to prove the existence of a clique and acknowledges that most of the so-called evidence obtained during interrogation of Father Zhu's "co-conspirators" was "not suitable for public use" during the actual trials. Nowhere was the question of the meaning of "freedom of religious belief" addressed, and nowhere was there any recognition that a Chinese citizen could be completely loyal to the Chinese state and still acknowledge the spiritual authority of the Pope.

Among alleged acts of counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement committed by the "clique", punishable under Article 102 of the Criminal Law of China, were two announcements. The first was that "the year 2000 will be doomsday"; the second that "the Virgin Mary will shine and make her appearance on March 15 and 17, 1980." Prophesying an early end to the world was "thus openly singing a tune directly opposite that of the state" that China would achieve the four modernizations by the year 2,000 for which "we have mobilized the broad masses, religious believers included, to work for that goal." Such activity, the court contended, was not protected as "normal" religious activity.²⁸

Other than the few details in "What We Learned from the Trial of the Case of the Zhu Hongsheng Counterrevolutionary Clique," little is known about Father Zhu's "co-conspirators." Some of them, along with Father Zhu,

²⁶ *Yushan Anli Xuanbian (A Compilation of Pre-Trial Investigation Case Studies)*, Vol.2, compiled by the Ministry of Public Security's Bureau of Pre-Trial Investigation, published (internally) by Masses Publishing house, 1984, Beijing.

²⁷ The 1991 announcement that Gong Pinmei had been secretly elevated to Cardinal in 1979 created a furor among Chinese government officials. Amid speculation about retaliatory arrests, they again severely rebuked the Vatican for interfering in China's internal affairs.

²⁸ "Normal" religious activities are protected by Article 36 of the constitution. Others are not. Nowhere is "normal" defined.

served time in labor reform before 1979. One, Chen Yunshang, was sentenced to an 11-year term and three years' deprivation of political rights at the same time as Father Zhu. Father Chen Tianxiang was sentenced to a 12-year term but released in 1988 or 1989 because of deteriorating health. He had previously served a 15-year term, extended for an extra three years, at a labor reform farm in Jiangxi Province.

VI. GENERAL HARASSMENT OF PROTESTANTS

A chronological listing of attacks on churches and intimidation of believers and church personnel in 1992 gives some indication of the repressive atmosphere for the practice of religion in China.

In December 1992, some 100 Protestants in Guoyang, northern Anhui Province, were detained in a raid on a house church. Their releases, predicated on the payment of heavy fines, were delayed when they refused to pay, saying they would rather remain in jail. The police retaliated with raids on the detainees' homes, confiscating their possessions in lieu of cash fines. Farm animals, necessary for the peasants' livelihoods, were among the goods seized.

In a rural area in Jilin Province, a meeting point which had already applied for registration was closed down in October 1992. One of the sisters was detained for 20 days and fined Rmb 200. Some 100 members were left with no alternative but to go to a city church some 10 miles away. According to a letter received from a congregant, "We cannot afford this, and those who are old need to leave home at three o'clock in the morning."²⁹

On June 15, 1992, the Public Security Bureau raided a house church in the Huguan District of Changzhi, Shanxi Province. They sealed the doors of the building and beat the participants with electric batons. Of the 100 or so present, twelve were detained, interrogated and beaten. Seven were released a few weeks later and the rest on August 5, but all were placed under house arrest.

In May 1992, police officials in Changle County, Fujian Province, broke into a "private prayer house" belonging to Chai Danghe. Statues and kneelers were confiscated, and the "unregistered religious venue" was shut down.

In Queshan County, Henan Province, 80 house church members were detained by police in April 1992.³⁰ Fangcheng County in southern Henan has also been the scene of arrests and harassment.

At the beginning of April 1992, eight itinerant evangelists in northern Zhejiang were arrested and beaten. At least six were released within eight weeks.

In March and April 1992, Guangzhou Pastor Lin Xiangao (Samuel Lam) was interrogated six times by the police and the local Religious Affairs Bureau over his refusal to register his church. One of his co-workers was detained at 5 p.m. on October 19 and released at 2 a.m. Some 15,000 Bibles stored in the worker's house were confiscated.³¹

In March 1992, an evening service in a rural house church near Suzhou in Jiangsu Province was disrupted by Public Security Bureau officials with electric batons, sticks and belts. At least 30 worshippers were detained.

²⁹ *China News and Church Report*, March 5, 1993.

³⁰ *South China Morning Post*, June 9, 1992.

³¹ *China News and Church Reports*, November 13, 1992.

Churches in Batou, Yikezhao Banner, Ih Ju League, and in a village near Hohhot, all in Inner Mongolia, and in Shaanxi and Gansu provinces were destroyed by the Public Security Bureau in 1991 and 1992. In one of the incidents, in September 1991, at No.9 Colliery near Datong, Shaanxi, 300 worshippers were beaten and forcibly removed from an affiliated (officially-recognized) church in the middle of a Sunday service. The building was then bulldozed. The only explanation given was that the church, with its cross, close to the main road and on top of a hill, was too conspicuous. As of October 1992, there had been no response from the Religious Affairs Bureau, the Communist Party's United Front Work Department and the official China Christian Church to appeals for an investigation.

VII. LIST OF DETENTIONS AND DEATHS IN CUSTODY OF RELIGIOUS PERSONNEL

This list includes the names of 56 people still in detention and six who died in custody. The accounting provides clear evidence that despite the releases of some 23 people in 1993, many religious activists remain in prison.

Detained

■ An elderly house church member, **BAI IPI**, from Ye County, Henan Province, is serving a 15-year prison term. Arrested in 1983 for association with the Shouters, an illegal religious sect, for holding illegal religious meetings and for receiving religious literature from abroad, he reportedly is held in Kaifeng in Henan.

■ Father Joseph **CHEN Rongkul**, 28, from Yixiang diocese, Hebei Province, was arrested at the Dingxian railroad station on December 14, 1990. As of March 1993, he was still in detention. The charges against him are unknown.

■ **CHEN Xiangyun** (Chan Syang-Ywin; also called Chen Chen), a 74-year-old doctor practicing in Hongkong, was sentenced in Meixian, Guangdong Province, on December 26, 1991 to a five-year prison term. He was charged with spying. On August 23, 1991, Dr. Chen flew to Meixian with two foreign English teachers who would be teaching at the Gya Ying University in Meixian. He carried a portable radio as a gift for a friend, Wang. On August 31, Dr. Chen was taken into custody at the airport, reportedly by Hongkong police. According to an Asia Watch source, a shopkeeper to whom the men had taken the radio for help in operating it turned them in. On January 6, 1992, in the first indications they had of his whereabouts, Dr. Chen's family received an urgent call to come visit him. Prison authorities only permitted a visit of a few seconds, enough for the family to know that Dr. Chan was extremely emaciated, had lost all his hair and had to be supported by two guards. His condition reportedly was the result of severe beatings during interrogation. In mid-June 1992, when Dr. Chen's daughter tried to visit her father, she was denied permission because she was not a China resident. By February 1993, according to family members who have been able to visit irregularly, Dr. Chen's health had improved. Dr. Chen was in prison once before, after the Korean War. He escaped to Hongkong after serving eleven years.

■ **CHEN Zhuman**, a 50-year-old peasant from Putian County, Fujian Province, was administratively sentenced in July 1992 to three years' re-education through labor for "illegally" joining a local group of the New Testament Church in 1980 and communicating with its overseas members. Arrested on December 14, 1991, Chen was held at Putian County Detention Center where he reportedly was tortured and beaten during interrogation and left hanging upside in a window frame for an extended period of time.³² After Chen was transferred to a prison in Quanzhou City, he was again abused. The repeated beatings by guards and other inmates have resulted in a severe hearing loss for Chen and uncontrollable shaking in his hands.

■ Father Peter **CUI Xingang**, a 30-year-old parish priest from Donglu Village, Qingyuan County, Hebei, was arrested on July 28, 1991 at midnight. No further information is available other than that Donglu is the site of a shrine

³² Amnesty International (ASA 17/55/92).

frequented by Catholics on pilgrimage.

■ The last confirmed information about a group of seven imprisoned Protestants from Lushan County, Henan Province, dates back to 1986 when they were sentenced. Six of the men are evangelical elders: **CUI Zhengshan**, 45, sentence unknown; **XUE Gulwen**, 37, from Linzhuang Village, Xinhua Brigade, Zhangdian Commune, sentence unknown; **WANG Xincal**, 39, from Zhandeum Village, Fuling Brigade, Xinji Commune, sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment; **ZHANG Yunpeng**, 68, from Zhaozhuang village, Houying Brigade, Zhanian Commune, received a 14-year sentence; **GENG Minxuan**, 66, from Sunzhuang village, Malon Commune, sentence unknown; and **WANG Baoquan**, 67, of Second Street, Chengguan Township, sentence unknown. Another whose sentence is unknown is **QIN Zhenjun**, a 57-year-old evangelical deacon from Xinji Commune. All were accused of membership in an illegal evangelical group, planning to overthrow the Chinese government, links to foreign "reactionary" forces, receiving materials from overseas, disturbing the social order and disturbing and breaking up "normal" religious activities. Lushan County, population between 300,000-400,000, has some 100,000 Christians.

■ **FAN Zhi**, **LENG Zhaoping**, **WANG Dabao**, **XU Hanrong**, **YANG Mingjun**, **ZENG Shaoying** and **ZHANG Guancui** were arrested in Yingshan County in August 1991 in connection with "illegal" religious activities. No further information is available about any of the detainees.

■ Father **GAO Fangzhan**, 27, from Yixian diocese, Hebei Province, was arrested in May 1991 by plainclothes police just outside Shizhu Village in Dingxing County. No other information is available.

■ **HE Suolle**, a house church leader from Henan Province, arrested in 1985 for allegedly opposing the official Three-Self Patriotic Movement, was sentenced to an eight-year prison term and, therefore, is due for release this year. No other information is available.

■ Father Peter **HU Duoer**, 32, was arrested in December 1990 in Lianghuang Village, Xushui County, Hebei Province. According to an Asia Watch source, he was handcuffed by Public Security officials and treated very roughly before being locked up in a facility in Xushui. The charges against him are not known. Father Hu Duoer is the same person as Father Hu Duo, previously arrested on December 24, 1989 while visiting neighboring Shandong Province. Requests by the U.S. State Department for information about Father Hu's whereabouts elicited no response from Chinese officials (November 1991).

■ **Ji Xiaoshang** (see Wei Daquan)

■ **LI Haiyao**, a shop owner and house church leader from Guangzhou, born October 12, 1959, was administratively sentenced to three years' re-education through labor on May 23, 1992 for distributing Bibles and other illegal religious materials sent from overseas. On September 17, 1991, Li's van was intercepted by Public Security Bureau officials as he was driving on a Guangzhou street. No incriminating material was found, but Li was ordered to a local detention center. The following day, 50 police officers confiscated 30 religious books along with bibles, teaching materials, training tapes and personal belongings during a search of his home. Li's family was not notified of his detention until May 5, 1992. They were finally able to see him in mid-May. Li is doing physical labor in Chek Li Prison in Huanghua, west of Guangzhou.

■ Father **LI Xinsan**, from Anguo diocese in Hebei Province, is one of those whose releases were announced by the Chinese government in March 1993; however, he has not returned home. Father Li had been sentenced to a three-year re-education through labor term and was held in a labor camp in Tangshan, Hebei. He was arrested at the end of 1990 or beginning of 1991 for an unspecified offense.

■ Father **LI Zhongpei**, arrested on December 3, 1990 and sentenced to three years' "re-education through labor" at a camp in Tangshan, Hebei Province, was among those whose releases were announced by the Chinese government in March 1993. However, as of May 1993, he has not returned home.

■ **Father LIAO Haiqing, 63, from Yujiang diocese in Jiangxi Province, was re-arrested by Public Security Bureau officials on August 16, 1992 while saying Mass in his home in Fuzhou, Jiangxi Province. At about 6:30 a.m., as more than 200 worshippers crowded in and around the house, some twenty police officers and Religious Affairs Bureau personnel forced their way in, demanding Father Liao leave with them immediately. Worshippers told the officials to wait until the Mass was complete. Rather than comply, they interrupted the distribution of communion and later broke icons and confiscated religious articles. Earlier, on April 15, Fuzhou officials had warned Father Liao to stop his "private" meetings for religious activities. The arrest was presumably in response to his refusal. It was the fourth arrest for Father Liao who trained at Xujiahui Major Seminary in the 1950s. As a layman, he was arrested on two separate occasions prior to 1980 and was sentenced to terms of eight and five years. There is some indication that he was not released until 1980. After his release, Father Liao was ordained a priest. A year later, on November 19, 1981, he was again arrested and sentenced to another ten-year term. Held for a time in Nanchang Prison No.4, he was released in July 1991.**

■ **Father LIU Heping, 28, was arrested on February 13, 1991 at his home in Shizhu Village, Dingxing County, Hebei Province. His whereabouts are unknown. Father Liu had been arrested once before, in a police raid in Zhaozhuang village, Hebei, on June 4, 1990.**

■ **LIU Guangpin (see Bishop Xie Shiguang)**

■ **Father Paul LIU Shimin, 32, was arrested in Xiefangying, Xushui County, Hebei Province on December 14, 1990. The charges against him are not known.**

■ **On November 6, 1991, MA Shunbao, a 42-year-old deacon, was arrested in Hebei Province. No additional information is available.**

■ **Father MA Zhlyuan and four seminarians were arrested on December 12, 1991 in Houzhuang, Xushui County, Hebei Province. There is no further information available.**

■ **The whereabouts of Father PEI Guojun, Yixian diocese, Hebei Province, are unknown; there has been no news of him since January 29, 1991 and requests for information about him by the U.S. State Department to Chinese officials have elicited no response (November 1991). Father Pei was arrested in connection with the November 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference in Shaanxi Province.**

■ **Two community leaders from Youtong village in Hebei Province, PEI Jioshu and PEI Shangchen, were arrested on October 23, 1989, according to an Asia Watch source. Both men were still in prison as of March 1993 despite the official Chinese response to U.S. State Department inquiries (November 1991) that Pei Shangchen was "not suspected."³³**

■ **Father PEI Zhenping, a young Trappist priest, who had trained outside the aegis of the official Chinese Catholic church, was arrested on October 21, 1989. He had lived and worked in Youtong Village, Luancheng County, Shijianhuang, Hebei Province. An Asia Watch source reported that he was sentenced to an unknown term of detention and as of March 1993 was still in prison. However, according to an official Chinese response to requests for information by the U.S. State Department (November 1991), Father Pei is "not suspected."**

■ **PEI Zhongxun (CHUN Chul), a 75-year-old ethnic Korean evangelist from Shanghai, was arrested in August 1983**

³³ See Bishop Paul Shi Chunjie for an explanation of the term "not suspected."

for counterrevolutionary activities. During his interrogation he was accused by Public Security Bureau officers of spying for the Taiwanese government, but his imprisonment was in connection with his leadership of house churches in the Shanghai area and for accepting quantities of Bibles from overseas sources. Pei received a 15-year sentence which, according to an Asia Watch source, he is serving in Shanghai Prison No.2.³⁴ According to his wife, Pei is in "reasonably good health and spirits" despite chronic pain and swelling in his feet. He is allowed to receive medication and other provisions from home, is exempted from work and assigned to a private cell. Nevertheless, given his age and the fact that he still has more than five years to serve, she is concerned he may die in prison.

■ **Bishop Cosmas SHI Enxiang**, the 71-year old auxiliary bishop of Yixian diocese, was arrested sometime in mid-December 1990, held by the Xushui County Security Bureau and sent for "study" sessions for about a month, possibly in Handan; then he disappeared. According to an official Chinese response to inquiries by the U.S. State Department (November 1991), Bishop Shi is "not suspected."

■ **SHI Guohui**, a Catholic lay leader from Baoding, Hebei Province, apparently was arrested, probably in mid-December 1990. No further information is available.

■ **Father WANG Danian**, in his 70's, and two sisters were arrested in June or July 1992 and accused of "illegally doing missionary work" in the area of Suzhou, Jiangsu Province. The two women were released by August 26, but Father Wang is still held either by the Changshu Public Security Bureau or in Suzhou.

■ **Father WANG Jiansheng**, 40, was among those whose releases the Chinese government announced in March 1993; as of May 1993, he had not returned home. Arrested on May 19, 1991, Father Wang was sentenced to three years' "re-education through labor" and was held at the re-education center in Xuanhua, Hebei Province.

■ **WANG Tongsheng** (Tongshang), a 56-year-old Catholic layman, held at the Re-education Center in Chengde, Hebei Province, was one of those whose releases were announced by the Chinese government in March 1993. As of May 1993, he had not returned home. Wang was last arrested on December 23, 1990 and subsequently sentenced to three years' "re-education through labor." He is probably the deacon and community leader previously identified as Wang Tongshan, arrested once before in December 1989, released, then picked up again and sent to a "study camp," probably in Tangshan, Hebei.

■ **Father WEI Jingyi**, a priest in his mid-thirties, from Yixian diocese, Hebei Province, was one of those whose releases were announced by the Chinese government in March 1993. However, as of May 1993, he had not returned home. Father Wei had been sentenced in March 1991 to three years' "re-education through labor" in connection with the November 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference in Shaanxi Province. He was arrested in August 1990 in Harbin, Heilongjiang, where he had previously served. The official Chinese response to U.S. State Department requests for information in effect confirmed the sentence, stating that Father Wei was "not found legally responsible" (November 1991), often a euphemism for an administrative sentence of "re-education through labor." Father Wei's ordination, in Baoding, Hebei Province, in the early 1980's, has never been recognized by the official Chinese Catholic church; he himself has refused to have anything to do with official Chinese church bodies.

■ **Father XIAO Shixiang**, 58, from Yixian diocese in Hebei Province, was arrested in a village in Dingxian on December 12, 1991 after he guided a retreat. He apparently is the same priest who disappeared on his way to Shandong Province on October 20, 1989 and had not been heard of until his recent detention.

■ **Father XU Guoxin**, from Langfang diocese in Hebei Province, was arrested in December 1991 and sentenced to

³⁴ *News Network International*, June 26, 1992.

three years' "re-education through labor." No additional information is available.

■ **XU Guoxing**, a house church leader in Shanghai, born March 16, 1955, was sentenced administratively to three years' "re-education through labor." Arrested first on March 14, 1989, released without charge on June 16 after intensive interrogation, then re-arrested on November 6, 1989 by the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau and sentenced on November 18, 1990, he was accused of setting up illegal churches in Shanghai and in Anhui, Zhejiang and Jiangsu provinces. He also "broke social order by stirring up trouble and creating conflicts," "interfering with and damaging the regular order of religious activities." Xu was at Da Feng Labor Farm in northern Jiangsu Province. It is not known if he has been released. According to an Asia Watch source, family members were told by prison camp officials to petition for his release. The family refused. They did not want it to appear as if he is repentant and will forego preaching. It is, the source continued, Xu's life work which he refuses to have restricted by government prohibitions on the content of sermons. Rather, the family said, he will preach the Gospel according to the Bible. Xu's father, mother and brother were permitted prison visits. During the two years, 1980-82, Xu spent in language school in the U.S., he was baptized in a Baptist church. However, he has no denominational or foreign affiliations.

■ **ZHANG Dapeng**, a Catholic layman from Baoding, Hebei Province, and his wife, **ZHAO Zhongyue**, were among those whose releases the Chinese government announced in March 1993. In fact, Zhang remained in prison as of May 1993; the status of his wife is not clear. Since none of the others who received administrative sentences and whose releases were announced had returned home as of May 1993, it is unlikely that she has. Both Zhang and his wife were arrested in mid-December 1990. Zhang was sentenced to three years' "re-education through labor"; Zhao was released after three months' detention. However, according to an Asia Watch source, sometime in 1992, she was re-arrested and sentenced to a three-year "re-education through labor" term. During the period between her arrests and prior to Zhang's sentencing, Zhao was not permitted to return to work, but was forced to pay for her husband's food and lodging in police detention.

■ **ZHANG Guoyan**, a layman in his late 30's and son of Zhang Dapeng, is one of those whose releases, conditions unknown, were announced by the Chinese government in March 1993. However, as of May 1993, he had not returned home. For refusing to join the official Catholic Patriotic Association, Zhang Guoyan was administratively sentenced to three years' "re-education through labor" sometime in 1991 or 1992. The date of his arrest is not known but it is possible it came in connection with the 1990 crackdown in Hebei Province.

■ **ZHANG Ruyun**, a 54-year-old teacher at the Physical Education Academy in Xianyu County, Fujian Province, and a house church member, reportedly was badly hurt on May 31, 1990 when Public Security Bureau officers raided her home and confiscated Bibles and religious literature. She was burned in the face with electric batons and beaten so badly that several of her teeth were broken. From then, until her arrest on August 25, 1990, she reportedly was repeatedly harassed and beaten by Public Security Bureau officers. Held incommunicado, Zhang was finally charged on March 27, 1991 with "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement" and tried on April 9 and 10 for "holding illegal meetings, distributing seditious propaganda through cassette tapes, attacking the government, and corresponding with foreigners." She was sentenced in September 1991 to a four-year term which she reportedly is serving in a women's prison in Fuzhou. Zhang reportedly was part of the May-June 1989 demonstrations in Tiananmen Square. Her 1990 arrest was not her first. She was imprisoned twice before for a total of over seven years and was last released in 1989.

■ **ZHANG Youshen**, a layman, is one of those whose releases the Chinese government announced in March 1993; in fact, as of May 1993, he remained in prison. He was administratively sentenced without trial to three years' re-education through labor" on July 2, 1991 for writing an unpublished article "Criticism of the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association," the official organization he had refused to join. A leader of the Catholic community in Baoding, the 65-year-old retired editor from the Huadong Bu Di Yi Jiaopian Chang (Chemical Industry Department No.1 Film Factory), was held in Hengshui Labor Camp in Hebei. According to his trial document, Zhang Youshen was officially

charged with counterrevolutionary activity for attacking the Communist Party and the Chinese government in his article. The article came to light after Zhang lent it to someone and that person was unexpectedly arrested. In March 1991, the police came to Zhang's home and ordered him to accompany them to the Public Security Bureau. Later that same day, his family was informed that he was being detained for "shelter for investigation." In April, the police searched Zhang's house, looking for any reference material he might have used while writing his article. They confiscated prayer books and hymnals. Because these religious materials were printed by the underground church, they were labeled "illegal printed matter". Although the family was never officially notified of Zhang's place of detention, they knew he was held in the Baoding Detention Station with five young criminals who had already been charged. No family visits were permitted until Zhang was moved in July 1991. Food in detention was poor and insufficient and Zhang's health deteriorated. On orders from the guards, other prisoners would not talk with him, and he was not permitted to write letters home.

- **ZHANG Youzhong**, a layman, arrested at the beginning of 1991 and sentenced to three years' in prison, was among those whose releases were announced by the Chinese government in March 1993; however, he has not returned home.

- **ZHAO Donghai**, a pastor and house church leader from Henan Province, was sentenced in 1982 or 1983 to a 13-year prison term for "counterrevolutionary activities." No further details are available.

- **ZHENG Yunsu** (see Case Studies: Shandong Province)

- **Father ZHU Rucl** (see Bishop Xie Shiguang)

- **Father ZOU Xijin** (see Bishop Xie Shiguang)

Deaths in Custody or Shortly After Release

- **Bishop FAN Xueyan** (see Case Studies: The Funeral of Bishop Fan Xueyan)

- **LAI Manping** (see Case Studies: Shaanxi Province)

- **LIU Qinglin**, a traveling house-church evangelist from Zalantun, Inner Mongolia, who was administratively sentenced to three years' "re-education through labor," apparently died in prison shortly after sentencing. He was 58 at the time. According to an Asia Watch source, Liu was arrested in mid-July 1989 for allegedly carrying out "unbridled witch-doctor activities," which included healing, and was responsible for the death of a child, a charge the child's parents disputed. He was also accused of being an untrained evangelist who should not have been permitted to preach. At his arrest, Liu was questioned by 47 agents from the Public Security Bureau who brought him in for a "conversation." He had been arrested twice before, first in August 1987 when Liu was jailed for 15 days to correct his "mistaken perspective," and again in 1988. Meetings of his followers were disturbed by the Public Security Bureau, bibles were confiscated and Liu's application for land on which to build a church was ignored. From the time Liu began preaching in 1984, he reportedly converted over 3,000 people and established some 20 house churches.

- **Bishop LI Zhenrong**, who eluded arrest for two years after he took part as vice-president in the November 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference, died from cancer on April 19, 1992, four months after he was forcibly removed from Tianjin No.2 Hospital on December 11, 1991. The government insisted that Bishop Li was not arrested but left the hospital of his own free will and against doctor's orders. Ill with stomach cancer, the bishop, using the name Li Mu, had had two-thirds of his stomach removed on November 28. Authorities discovered his presence on December 8. He was removed to an undisclosed location three days later by plainclothes Public Security officers from Cangzhou County, Hebei. Several people who helped care for the bishop were briefly detained. Some time afterwards, Bishop Li was

released and held a public mass. Born on September 29, 1919, Bishop Li was ordained a priest on May 3, 1951. He had entered the Xianxian Minor Seminary in September 1935, the Jiangxian Major Seminary in 1940 and later studied at the Shanghai Jesuit School of Theology. First arrested in 1955, Bishop Li was sentenced to a seven-year term and three years' subsequent deprivation of political rights for not joining the Catholic Patriotic Association. He was not released until December 1968. In April 1977, Bishop Li was again sentenced, this time to twelve years in prison and five years' deprivation of rights. He was released in 1980. Three years later he was ordained a bishop, serving clandestinely in Xianxian diocese.

■ **Bishop LIU Difen** (see Case Studies: Deaths and Disappearances of Bishops and Priests)

■ **Bishop Paul SHI Chunfeng**, the auxiliary bishop of Baoding, died in police custody in an "old-age home" on November 3, 1991. Although reliable sources attributed Bishop Shi's death to a heart attack caused by maltreatment, the exact cause is still not known. The bishop, who was almost blind, had a history of serious illnesses including heart disease and possibly diabetes. A lack of medication may have contributed to his death. According to the Chinese, no charges were pending against Bishop Shi. An official Chinese response to requests for information by the U.S. State Department (November 1991) listed him as "not suspected." The term is more appropriately translated as "those against whom no accusations have been made" and does not preclude detention or restrictions on movement. According to an Asia Watch source, the whereabouts of Bishop Shi were unknown from the time he was secretly led away by Public Security Bureau personnel in mid-December 1990 until his death. He was probably held for part of the time in a "study camp" organized by the government. On November 3, 1991, government personnel escorted members of Bishop Shi's family out of their village. They reappeared the next day with his body and orders to bury him within two days and to refrain from spreading news of his death. The attempt to avoid a large turnout backfired; some 1,500 people attended his funeral. Bishop Shi, who lived in Xinli Village Church in Qingyuan County, Hebei Province, and was in charge of young seminarians and novice sisters in Baoding and Yixian dioceses, was arrested December 15, 1990. He had previously served part of a 13-year sentence following a 1954 arrest. Born in January 1920, Bishop Shi was ordained a priest on June 1, 1947 and an auxiliary bishop on April 29, 1989. The official Chinese Catholic church did not recognize his consecration.

VIII. RELEASES

Parole and restricted movement

In many of the following cases, the precise legal status of those involved is unclear. We know that there are three major categories of those who may not move about freely: those who were sentenced and have been released on parole; those who were never formally sentenced and may still be under investigation; and those whom the Chinese government want closely watched. If released prisoners are officially termed "on parole," they are subject to rearrest for violations of the conditions of their release, including leaving a restricted area. Those released on bail are in the same situation, but their good behavior may have been "guaranteed" by another individual. Restrictions on movement vary and include confinement to home, to village, to a village other than one's own upon government instructions, to a church compound or to an "old-age" home.

■ **Father AN Shi'an**, 79, the Vatican-recognized Vicar-General of Daming diocese, Hebei Province, was released from detention, according to a December 21, 1992 announcement by the then Chinese Minister of Public Security. Arrested a few days after December 26, 1990, Father An, despite his two-year imprisonment, was never formally arrested or charged. In fact, an official Chinese response to inquiries by the U.S. State Department (November 1991), listed him as "not suspected." According to an Asia Watch source, after his apprehension for unspecified reasons, Father An, ordained in 1942, was first sent for "re-education," probably to a "study camp" (see Han Dianxiang). His post-camp whereabouts were never made public and the circumstances of his release, including place of residence,

are unknown. There is legitimate concern that he is under some form of restricted movement.

- **Bishop Peter CHEN Hanzhang** (see Case Studies: Deaths and Disappearances of Bishops and Priests)
- **Father Gabriel CHEN Tianxing**, 81, was arrested November 19, 1981 in Shanghai and tried in February or March 1983 at which time he was sentenced to a 12-year prison term. In 1988 or 1989, he was released reportedly because his health was deteriorating. According to an Asia Watch source, the charges against Father Chen, a Jesuit, had to do with his participation in the "Zhu Hongsheng counterrevolutionary clique," with baptizing several communist cadres while in detention and with the unauthorized saying of Mass after his release from a previous sentence. Father Chen's earlier arrest was in July 1955, but he was not sentenced until 1960 to a 15-year term. Later, his sentence was extended by three years for reasons unknown. Before his release in 1979, Father Chen served part of that sentence in the Sulphate Factory in Nanchang and part in a labor camp. His current whereabouts are unknown; no recent information is available.
- **Bishop FAN Yufei**, 60, from Zhouzhi, Shaanxi Province, is out of prison but appears to be under a form of house arrest. The bishop had been arrested after saying Mass at his parish church in Daxingyingon on Easter Sunday 1992. A group of eight priests arrested with him were gradually released after "learning Communist thoughts at a place of green hills and clear waters," probably a motel in the countryside near Baoji where they were forcibly detained. Throughout their study seminars, the priests were held incommunicado, their whereabouts unknown. Since their releases, they have been forced to report regularly to the police. Seven of the eight were dismissed from the university where they were all studying. In 1991, Bishop Fan had ordained some twenty priests, all of whom refused to work in the open church. The group detained presumably were among them.
- **Jesuit Auxiliary Bishop Joseph FAN Zhongliang**, 73, acting bishop of Shanghai, was released from detention on August 19, 1991 and placed under house arrest on the outskirts of Shanghai. He is under constant 24-hour surveillance by two policemen. He cannot travel and is subject to frequent and intense interrogation and intimidation. The Public Security Bureau questions him at least once or twice a month about where he goes, what he does and who he sees. Bishop Fan and his assistant, **QIAN Zhijiang**, were apprehended by public security officials on or about June 11, 1991 enroute to the coastal city of Wenzhou in eastern Zhejiang Province. For the 18 months prior to his arrest, Bishop Fan was interrogated repeatedly, possibly in connection with his role as a vice-president of the clandestine Bishops Conference in November 1989. Bishop Fan had earlier been detained for 15 years, from 1967 to 1982, in western Qinghai Province. Bishop Fan became a priest in 1951 and was secretly ordained a bishop in 1985.
- **Fathers GUO Qushan, GUO Shichun, GUO IPI** (see Bishop Xie Shiguang)
- **Bishop GUO Wenzhi**, 73, bishop of Harbin, Heilongjiang Province, cannot leave Qiqihar, his home village, according to an Asia Watch source. He was arrested there on December 14, 1989 in connection with the clandestine Bishops' Conference and released in March 1990. According to an official Chinese response to U.S. State Department inquiries (November 1991), Bishop Guo was "not suspected." Bishop Guo had been imprisoned twice before, first between 1954 and 1964, and again from 1966 until 1985, when he was interned in a Xinjiang Autonomous Region labor camp. Ordained in 1948 and consecrated a bishop in May 1989, he is thought to have resided in Hebei Province after his second release and to have taught foreign languages there.
- **Father HAN Dingxiang**, 55, clandestine Vicar-General of Handan (Yongnian) diocese, was arrested on December 26, 1990 after saying mass, and served a summons by Public Security officers to attend a study seminar. The "study camp," organized in Handan County, Hebei Province, for Catholic religious personnel from Daming and Handan dioceses, was part of an "Anti-Pornography, Evil-ridding, Anti-Convert Activities Campaign" to which certain Catholics were "invited." As of January 1991, more than 20 people, including Father Han, were in camp. All were eventually permitted to leave but some were placed under severe restriction. Father Han was still under restrictions on his

movements in March 1993. An official Chinese report in response to requests for information by the U.S. State Department (November 1991), listed Father Han as "under investigation," but supplied no further information. Father Han was imprisoned in Beijing for 19 years, 1960-1979, while still a layman. He was finally ordained after his release. In 1979, he was re-arrested and held for several months.

■ **Bishop HOU Guoyang**, the underground bishop in Chongqing, Sichuan Province, was released in early 1991, but has had his movements restricted. According to an Asia Watch source, his arrest came in early January 1990, in part for his participation in the November 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference. Other charges against Bishop Hou surfaced in the May 1990 issue of the magazine "Catholic Church in China" in which he was accused of inciting a small group to participate in demonstrations in Sichuan and of "collecting money to support the turmoil." Bishop Hou, who is not recognized as a bishop by the official Chinese church, but was ordained in 1988 by Bishop Fan Xueyan, was further accused of publishing and distributing a "so-called Bible" and cautioned to cease his "illegal activities." This warning marked the first time the Chinese government explicitly linked Catholics loyal to the Vatican to the pro-democracy movement, and Liu Bainian, a spokesman for the official Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association, went so far as to label Bishop Hou a fraud. Requests by the U.S. Department to Chinese authorities for clarification of Hou's status have elicited no response (November 1991).

■ **Bishop Vincent HUANG Shoucheng**, Vatican-approved bishop of Fu'an diocese, arrested on July 27, 1990, was placed under village restriction in March 1991. An official Chinese response to State Department inquiries listed Bishop Huang as "not suspected" (November 1991). According to an Asia Watch source, two deacons arrested with Bishop Huang were released shortly after they were seized. The detentions were confirmed by the Director of the Fujian Religious Affairs Bureau who claimed those arrested had violated government regulations.

■ **Bishop Julius JIA Zhiguo**, the 58-year-old non-government approved bishop of Zhengding diocese, Hebei Province, who had been re-arrested in November or December 1992 at his home, was released shortly before Christmas. He was picked up again after the holiday and held another month before his latest release with restrictions. Prior to these latest arrests, the bishop was "nowhere to be found" until word of his December 11, 1991 arrest was received on April 18, 1992. According to an Asia Watch source, he had been forced to tour the country. Bishop Jia, 58, was first arrested on April 7, 1989 in Beijing and released to his village of Wuqiu on September 11, 1989, reportedly without having been charged but with an order restricting his movements for three years. In November 1991, in response to requests for information by the U.S. State Department, Chinese authorities listed Bishop Jia as "not suspected." A native of Luan Xian in Hebei, Bishop Jia was secretly consecrated in February 1981.

■ **Bishop JIANG Liren**, 80, from Hohhot, Inner Mongolia, secretly consecrated in late June 1989, was in prison from late 1989 until sometime in early 1991 in connection with the 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference. A vicious campaign of character assassination by government cadres reportedly has succeeded in "destroying" him. According to an Asia Watch source, he is restricted to his own village and is under police surveillance. According to an official Chinese response to inquiries by the U.S. State Department (November 1991), Bishop Jiang is "not suspected."

■ **Father Joseph JIN Dechen**, the 72-year-old Vicar General of Nanyang diocese, Henan Province, arrested in December 1981 and sentenced on July 27, 1982 to a 15-year prison term and five years' subsequent deprivation of political rights, was released on parole in May 1992 and is confined to his village, Jinjiajiang, near Nanyang. The official Chinese response to requests for information from the U.S. State Department (November 1991) verified Father Jin's release. According to an Asia Watch source, he left prison in poor health. Father Jin reportedly had been held at the Third Provincial Prison in Yuxian, near Zhengzhou in Henan, on charges stemming from his objection to abortion and birth control. His first arrest, in 1958, resulted in a life sentence which was commuted; he was released in 1973.

■ There have been repeated unconfirmed reports that Bishop **LI Jingfeng**, 68, is gravely ill but is not permitted to leave the church compound in Fengxiang, Shaanxi Province or to receive visitors. His status is more clearly explained

by the following report. Just after Easter 1992, Public Security officers arrived in the compound and told Bishop Li to come with them. He asked, "Am I compelled to go?" The answer was, "No, you're free, but you must come with us."

■ **Bishop Joseph LI Side**, the unofficial bishop of Tianjin since 1989, now in his sixties and in ill-health, was released in early May 1992 after several weeks in prison and is under strict surveillance in Liangzhuang Village in Ji County. Bishop Li has been ordered not to go to Tianjin, but his congregants instead make the trip to Liangzhuang to worship at his temporary church. Earlier, in June 1991, Bishop Li was released after spending 18 months in detention without charge. He returned to Laoxikai (St. Joseph's) Cathedral in Tianjin on June 7, 1991 and openly presided at Masses starting on July 7. Although Bishop Li's secret consecration in 1982, which he later openly acknowledged, was not approved by Chinese authorities, his ordination as a priest was never questioned, accounting for his return to religious duties. Before the 1991 release, Bishop Li was taken on a "study tour" to visit churches in Jinan and Qingdao in Shandong Province. And after his second release, he was again taken on tour. The official reason for the travel was to acquaint the bishop with changes. Unofficially, it is reported that the stratagem is used to tire out elderly bishops. Bishop Li's first detention was in connection with his role as a vice-president of the 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference. He was arrested in the early hours of December 9, 1989 by a large contingent of public security personnel as he left his home to administer last rites. According to an Asia Watch source, Bishop Li was held in a city prison under very poor conditions, reportedly sharing a 30-square foot cell with 25 to 30 others. Food and sanitation were inadequate.

■ **Bishop John Baptist LIANG Xishong**, underground bishop of Kaifeng diocese in Henan Province, arrested in October 1990 for "illegal religious activities," was released in February 1991. According to an Asia Watch source, he is restricted to his village. Bishop Liang, born in 1923, was ordained a priest in 1980 and a bishop in 1989.

■ **Bishop Mathias LU Zhensheng**, 73, the second bishop of Tianshui diocese in Gansu Province is no longer in prison but his movements are restricted. He had been arrested in late December 1989 in connection with the founding of the 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference. The Chinese government, in response to U.S. State Department inquiries (November 1991), said that Bishop Lu was "not suspected." Bishop Lu was sentenced earlier, in 1984, to a ten-year prison term and four years' deprivation of political rights on charges of counterrevolutionary activities. The circumstances of his release from that sentence are unclear. Ordained a priest in 1981 and secretly consecrated a bishop in 1983 by Bishop Wang Milu, Bishop Lu is not approved as a cleric by Chinese authorities.

■ **MAI Furen**, in his late seventies, was unexpectedly released from prison in April 1991, according to an Asia Watch source. However, a prison document dated March 24, 1991 indicated that Mai was actually granted parole by the Guangdong Reform-Through-Labor Department for medical reasons, and could be jailed again. Another report indicated he was freed through an administrative order of the Ministry of Justice, in coordination with the Ministry of Public Security, because of his advanced age. He left prison with chronic bronchitis and in a generally weakened condition. Mai was one of three house church leaders sentenced in January 1986 (see Sun Ludian and Song Yude). He received a 12-year prison term on charges of counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement for connections to the Little Flock church, a Protestant evangelical group, and for distributing bibles. A native of Shantou, Guangdong Province, Mai was first detained in September 1983 and held after sentencing in the Meixian Labor Reform Camp in Northern Guangdong.

■ **MAO Wonke** (listed in the 1992 Asia Watch report *Anthems of Defeat* as MAO Yongke), was detained in Hunan Province in September 1992 after meeting with Shen Tong, the exiled dissident who had returned to China that August. Although released a week later on medical bail, Mao was informed by the police that she could still be tried. Originally a Chinese language teacher at the Xiangtan Physical Education College, now unemployed, Mao was active in the underground "house church" movement. In 1987, she began to travel around several southern provinces, including Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Hunan, preaching the gospel. After the 1989 crackdown, she visited prisons to appeal for the release of several pro-democracy activists. Prior to this detention, Mao, now in her thirties, had been harassed and

interrogated on several different occasions for her church work. Before 1989, probably in 1987, she was sentenced to four years imprisonment for "using religion as a cloak for political activities" and was held in Changsha No.1 Prison.

■ **Father PEI Ronggul**, a 60-year-old Trappist priest from Youtong Village, Luancheng County, Hebei Province, was released on parole on March 31, 1993 but is not free to move about. Arrested on September 3, 1989 by the Shijiazhuang Public Security Bureau while administering last rites, he was charged on December 15 with three counts of "disturbing the social order." On January 7, 1991, he was sentenced to five years in prison by the Luancheng County Court and held in Prison No.4 in Shijiazhuang for allegedly instigating a group which tried to take over by force a primary school in Youtong in March 1989. According to Chinese officials, as a result there were mass gatherings at the school and classes had to be suspended for 60 days. Pei also allegedly ministered to demonstrators in Beijing during the 1989 pro-democracy demonstrations and he allegedly officiated at unapproved religious activities, presumably in Youtong. Father Pei's name first appeared on a government wanted list in April 1989; he had refused to join the Catholic Patriotic Association. On April 18, 1989, in an early morning confrontation with police who came to destroy his church, a tent located in a schoolyard on property which had originally belonged to the church, over 300 people reportedly were injured, two died and 32 were arrested. The tent had been erected on March 17 to facilitate the Easter celebration, and after announcement of a government decision to deny compensation for church property confiscated or destroyed in the Cultural Revolution. The raid reportedly was carried out by at least 3,000 police armed with electric batons, sticks, bricks and water guns, and 270 military vehicles. The population of Youtong Village, between 3,000-4,000, has been fifty percent Catholic for generations.

■ **Father SHI Wande** (see Case Studies: Deaths and Disappearances of Bishops and Priests)

■ **Bishop SONG Weili**, the 76-year old underground bishop of Langfang diocese, Hebei Province, was detained twice between December 1992 and the beginning of March 1993, each time for several weeks. During his detentions, he reportedly was forced to study religious policy and the role of the patriotic associations, engage in self-criticism and examine his own attitudes toward the Vatican, and learn how to be patriotic. As of April 21, 1993, Bishop Song, despite the restrictions on his movements, reportedly was heading an altered Langfang diocese. It is unclear if the official Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association has sanctioned his activities. Bishop Song was also detained in late December 1990 or early January 1991. An official Chinese response to requests for information by the U.S. State Department (November 1991) in connection with that arrest, listed him as "not suspected." According to an Asia Watch source, after his apprehension, Bishop Song, who was ordained by Bishop Fan Xueyan in 1981, was sent for "re-education in a study camp," then released.

■ **Father SU Zhemin**, 60, accused of "organizing and taking part in illegal activities," was released on parole and is living in Baoding. He is not free to move about. Father Su had been administratively sentenced on May 21, 1990 to three years' "re-education through labor" by the Baoding City Labor Re-education Administrative Committee. According to an official Chinese response (November 1991) to requests for information by the U.S. State Department, Father Su was "not found legally responsible," a euphemism for just such an administrative sentence. As Vicar-General of Baoding diocese, Father Su took part in the 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference in Shaanxi Province on behalf of Bishop Fan Xueyan. Arrested on December 17, 1989, Father Su was initially held in Tangshan, where he reportedly was made to clean toilets, then moved to the northeast. According to an Asia Watch source, his family's efforts to visit him had been unsuccessful. Father Su served two previous prison terms, one from 1959 to 1975 and another from 1982 to 1986. The latter also was an administratively imposed "re-education through labor" sentence.

■ **SUN Ludian**, 67, of Shantou in Guangdong Province, who was sentenced in January 1986 (see Mai Furen and Song Yude) to nine years' imprisonment for "counterrevolutionary propaganda and agitation," was released on bail in May 1991. According to one account, he was freed under an administrative order of the Ministry of Justice in coordination with the Ministry of Security. First arrested in September 1983 on charges related to his maintenance of illegal overseas connections, including membership in the Little Flock church, a Protestant evangelical group, he was

held in Meixian Labor Reform Camp in northern Guangdong. During his incarceration, Sun was reported to have been very ill; his present health status is not known.

■ **Bishop Casimir WANG Milu**, the "black bishop of Tianshui" diocese, Gansu Province, was released on parole in April 1993. He is at home in Ganggu District, Gansu Province, but may not freely move about. Bishop Wang was arrested in 1983, then sentenced in 1985 by the Tianshui Intermediate Court to ten years in prison, four years' deprivation of political rights and confiscation of part of his property. An appeal to the Gansu High People's Court on April 29, 1985 failed, and on May 24 Bishop Wang was sent to a correctional facility, possibly a labor camp, in Gansu, northwest China, to start serving his sentence. An Asia Watch source reported that he was held in a prison in Pingliang, Gansu, then transferred to a labor camp, Dashaping, in Lanzhou. Bishop Wang was accused of counterrevolutionary activities, including passing a list of twelve imprisoned priests to a visiting clergyman from Taiwan in November of 1980, and visiting Bishop Fan Xueyan in Baoding in October 1980 and January 1981 in order to be secretly consecrated. Bishop Wang allegedly secretly ordained priests; openly opposed the constitutional article prohibiting foreign domination of religious institutions; criticized the Catholic Patriotic Association; and criticized government interference in religious practice. Although he did not become a priest until 1980, Bishop Wang, born in 1939, was imprisoned during the Cultural Revolution for professing his faith. He was pardoned in 1979, only to be arrested again in 1981 and again released. Bishop Wang reportedly was penalized several times during his last imprisonment for preaching the Gospel to other inmates.

■ Two brothers of Bishop Wang Milu, Father **WANG Ruohan** and Father **WANG Ruowang**, from Tianshui, Gansu Province, arrested in connection with the 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference, were released from prison after completing their sentences, one year each of re-education through labor. In a contradictory account, Chinese authorities reported to the U.S. State Department that Father Wang Ruowang was "not suspected" (November 1991). Father Wang Ruowang had been arrested on December 9, 1989 in Xushui County, Hebei Province, and charged with "illegal religious activities," then sent to a prison in Pingliang in Gansu. He was later detained for caring for Bishop Li Zhenrong during his final illness in late 1991. In June 1991, Father Wang Ruowang was picked up on a bus as he was heading for Wenzhou in Zhejiang Province and forcibly returned to Gansu. Father Wang Ruohan was also arrested in December 1989. Both men are under strict restriction of movement.

■ **Father Francis WANG Yijun**, the 75-year-old vicar-general of Wenzhou diocese in Zhejiang Province, was released on May 21, 1992. He is confined to his village, but is permitted to say Mass; however, he may not meet with foreigners. Father Wang was administratively sentenced on February 5, 1990 to three years' "re-education through labor" for failure to reform while serving a previous term. This administrative sentence followed immediately upon his release from imprisonment which began with his arrest on May 19, 1981. According to the official notice, Father Wang was re-sentenced because he "refused to repent...continued to maintain illegal ties to the underground Catholic Church in Wenzhou...and instigated Christian believers against the religious policy and lawful decrees of our People's government." This was Father Wang's third prison term. The first ran from 1957 to 1962 and was for counterrevolutionary activities. In total, he was interned for over 15 years.

■ **XIE Moshan**, a well-known Protestant pastor, evangelist and author now in his 70's, was released on bail on July 23, 1992, but his case is still being investigated. He is under extraordinarily strict surveillance. According to one account, Xie must report to the Public Security Bureau every time he leaves the house, even when "he goes out to buy vegetables," and he cannot engage in any religious activities. Another report indicated he cannot leave Shanghai, and must put in an appearance every Saturday morning from 9 to 11 at the security office of his local street committee. On April 14, 1992, Xie was intercepted on a train as he was returning home to Shanghai from Guangzhou and told to disembark. Taken to the Qingan branch of the Public Security Bureau, he was administratively detained and interrogated as to why he was preaching outside his "home region" without permission. Officers wanted to know where he had been since his last detention, from October 10, 1985 until October 1, 1986. Finally, on May 3, Xie was formally arrested and charged with "illegal itinerant evangelism." The term, although referring to preaching outside

one's designated geographic area, has connotations in China of vagrancy. Xie's family was notified of his arrest on May 5. Xie was imprisoned for the first time from 1956 until 1980 for refusing to join the Three-Self Patriotic Movement.

■ **XU Yongze**, 52, from Nanyang, Zhenping County, Henan Province, was released after completing his sentence.³⁵ On April 26, 1991, he was taken to a local Public Security office and detained an additional month. Sent home in May, he is under close surveillance. According to an Asia Watch source, the release came when a guarantor agreed to be responsible for keeping Xu from resuming his religious activities. Arrested on April 16, 1988 in Yuetan Park in Beijing, reportedly by the Ministry of State Security, he was subsequently sentenced to three years' imprisonment. In spite of serious illness, he was detained in Zhenping County Prison. In addition to his preaching, which he began in 1968, Xu trained young evangelists. The group, the New Birth Christian Movement, many of whose members reportedly have been arrested or detained, has expanded to other provinces and has established over 3,000 house churches. Xu was first arrested in August 1982 and was held without trial in a labor camp. He reportedly escaped sometime that year and immediately resumed his rural missionary work, managing to evade arrest until he journeyed to Beijing in the hopes of meeting Billy Graham.

■ **Bishop John YANG Shudao**, clandestine bishop of Fuzhou, Fujian Province, arrested on February 28, 1988 at 8 a.m. in Liushan village, was released in February 1991 and is living in a church near Fuzhou. According to an Asia Watch source, he is still under surveillance and is under severe pressure to join the official church. Secretly consecrated in 1987, Bishop Yang served a previous prison term which terminated in 1980.

■ According to an Asia Watch source, in July 1990, Father Mark **YUAN Wenzai**, 69, underground Vicar General of Haimen Diocese, Jiangsu Province, was placed under the custody of the patriotic bishop of the area, Monseigneur Yu Chengcai, in effect his jailer, and required to live at the church in Longshan. As of March 1992, the arrangements had not changed. However, according to the Chinese response to a U.S. State Department request for information (November 1991), Father Yuan is "not suspected." Father Yuan had been seized in early 1990 by the local Public Security Bureau and confined in the police station until transfer to Longshan.

■ **Father ZHU Baoyu** of Nanyang diocese, Henan Province, reportedly has been released, probably on parole, but is restricted to his home village. Arrested in December 1981 for taking Catholics on a pilgrimage to Sheshan, near Shanghai, he was sentenced in 1982 to ten years' imprisonment.

■ **ZHU Mei**, born May 12, 1919 in Nantong, Jiangsu Province, a retired primary school teacher and an active member of an independent Protestant church in Shanghai, was released on bail for medical reasons in early April 1992. Prior to her return home, she spent two months in a Shanghai hospital. After her arrest on June 3, 1987, Zhu was incarcerated in Shanghai Prison No.1 (Tilan Qiao Prison). On November 1987, she was sentenced in secret to a five-year term by the Shanghai Intermediate Court for "harboring a counterrevolutionary element," probably her son whom she had encouraged to escape. He was wanted for demonstrating for religious freedom in November 1986 and for publishing a family history which included a record of involvement in freedom of religion issues. Zhu was imprisoned once before, for six years during the Cultural Revolution, for religious activism. Reports of Zhu's ill-treatment have surfaced several times. She allegedly was beaten with electric batons at the time of her arrest, then on different occasions in 1987 for failing, while ill, to complete her work assignments. During one beating, her right knee was broken and she still is unable to walk.³⁶ Other prison conditions, including an insufficient diet and long work hours, also contributed to her declining health.

³⁵ (*China News and Church Report*, September 12, 1991).

³⁶ *Amnesty International (ASA 17/24/91)*.

Released: conditions unknown

■ **DING Hai**, a 31-year-old Protestant lay leader from Henan Province, arrested before June 1990 for possessing video equipment without the requisite license, was released in March 1992 for "good conduct." She had been sentenced administratively in November 1989 to a three-year term of "re-education through labor."

■ A 19-year old student named **David DONG**, arrested on December 20, 1991 in Kunming, Yunnan Province for receiving Christian literature from an American, was released in February 1992. Prior to his release, Public Security Bureau officers confiscated some of his possessions and boarded up his apartment.

■ **Father Joseph DONG Zhenlu**, in his 60s, and **Father PEI**, about 40, both from Zhengding diocese in Hebei Province, were released, one on December 15, 1992, the other on December 28. They were then sent back to Hebei. Both priests had been picked up by public security officers at a hostel in Guangzhou sometime between the evening of November 17 and noon on November 18, 1992. They had planned to meet church contacts to discuss recent developments in their diocese. Neither priest had affiliated with the official Catholic Patriotic Association.

■ **Father GUO Fude**, 69-year-old member of the religious order "Society of the Divine Word" who had been ordained in 1947, is probably not in detention, according to an Asia Watch source, but the circumstances of his release are unknown. By the time he was re-arrested, in the spring of 1982, Father Guo had already spent 22 years in prison. At his trial in 1983, he was sentenced to a further twelve-year term, reduced on appeal to seven, for publicly preaching in support of the Pope. At least part of Father Guo's imprisonment was spent in a labor camp in his native Shandong Province

■ **Father GUO Bole**, from Shanghai, arrested on July 22, 1992, was held by the Changshu (Jiangsu Province) Public Security Bureau for two months. He was detained for "illegal" preaching, saying Mass at a family's home and possibly because he organized a summer vacation catechism class.³⁷ Father Guo, now in his mid to late-50s, had consistently refused to join the official Chinese Catholic Church. For this recalcitrance and for other religious activities, he had spent many years in Chinese labor camps in Qinghai Province. Father Guo was ordained on July 3, 1982.

■ **Father Guieseppe LI Fangchun**, 59, from Shanghai diocese, Henan Province, was arrested in February 1983 and sentenced to a 12-year term for refusing to renounce his loyalty to the Vatican. Other charges included probable connection with a counterrevolutionary party and spreading counterrevolutionary propaganda. His release was one of the eighteen announced by the Chinese in March 1993, but he reportedly had been released some time prior to that announcement, probably in May 1992. At the time, he was near death and could not walk, speak or recognize people. Other than a slight limp, he has made a remarkable recovery. Ordained in the early 1950s, Father Li was first imprisoned in a labor camp from 1955 until 1979. At the time he was serving in Shangqiu diocese in Henan.

■ **LI Tianen**, a house church leader based in Shanghai, detained in early 1992, was released in March 1992. Earlier, on October 29, 1990, he was arrested in Mudanjiang, Heilongjiang Province for leading an evangelism course for some 100 pastors.

■ **Bishop Peter LIU Guandong**, 73, from Qingyuan County in Hebei Province, was released from prison on May 21, 1992 and after initially being restricted to his village is now free to move about. He is recognized as a priest but not as a bishop by the official Chinese Catholic Church. As clandestine bishop of Yixian diocese in Hebei, Bishop Liu was arrested when he appeared as requested at the Baoding Public Security Bureau. He was administratively sentenced on May 21, 1990 to three years' "re-education through labor," part of which he served at a "farm" in Qingyuan County near

³⁷ *Gong Jiao Bao*, September 11, 1992.

Tangshan in Hebei where he reportedly collected garbage. Charges against Bishop Liu included "planning, organizing and forming illegal organizations" and "taking part in illegal activities." Both accusations referred to his part in convening the clandestine Bishops' Conference held in Shaanxi Province in November 1989. Bishop Liu had been de facto president. Between his arrest and sentencing, Bishop Liu's home was raided and books and money confiscated. According to a court document, Bishop Liu's first arrest came in 1955. Released in 1957, he was convicted the following year as an "anti-revolutionary" and sentenced to life imprisonment, from which he was released in 1982.

- **LIU Huamwen**, a seminarian in his late twenties, arrested during the height of the 1989 pro-democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square for carrying a six-foot wooden crucifix, was released in April 1992. He had been administratively sentenced in November 1990 to two years' "re-education through labor."

- **Bishop Paul LIU Shuh** (see Case Studies: Deaths and Disappearances of Bishops and Priests)

- **SONG Yude**, a 39-year-old evangelical minister and house church leader from Baimiao Village in the Yuehe District of Tongbo County, Henan Province, was released from prison in early April 1992. He was convicted on January 29, 1986, one of three sentenced that month (see Mai Furen and Sun Ludian), and given an eight-year term and three years' deprivation of political rights (which he still faces) under Article 102 of the Criminal Code for allegedly distributing reactionary religious publications, conducting illegal religious meetings and slandering the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM). According to the charges, Song's activities, including the establishment of a network of illegal house churches in Henan and Hubei, constituted "counterrevolutionary propaganda and agitation." In April 1986, his appeal was rejected. Arrested on July 16, 1984 for refusing to join the official TSPM, Song was held in Tongbo Detention Center until his trial.

- At least seven Catholics were arrested between late April and June 1992 in connection with the funeral of Bishop Fan Xueyan. As of October 1992, six of them had been released, some after paying heavy fines. **WEI Daquan**, from Song Village, was arrested and held for one week on a charge of impeding public affairs during Bishop Fan's mourning period. **TIAN Guochun**, from Wangting Village, was detained 40 days, fined 1,000 yuan (\$175) and ordered to pay bail amounting to 600 yuan for asking what had caused Bishop Fan's death. Tian also had to prepare a banquet and offer gifts which cost him some 2,000 yuan. **SHE Sule**, from Shenjiabi Village, was detained for one week for distributing funeral notices. **JIE Xiaoxin**, from Jiezhuang Village, was held for two days, fined 1,000 yuan and ordered to pay 600 yuan for bail. **Ji Xiaoshang**, also from Jiezhuang, was detained in June for holding a megaphone. As of October 1992, he had not been released. **SU Lanmin**, from Donglu Village, was beaten during the 14 days he was held. His fine amounted to 400 yuan. **ZHANG Xiaoxi**, village unknown, was held for half a month.

- An Asia Watch source has confirmed that Bishop James **XIE Shiguang**, 74, clandestine bishop of Xiapu diocese, Fujian Province; Father **ZHU Rutan** (previously identified only as Father Zhu) and Father **ZHENG Xinzong** (previously identified as Father Zheng), both from Xiapu, were released on January 28, 1992. Premier Li Peng reportedly told President George Bush that they had breached Chinese law but were repentant. Their release was widely reported to have been an "offering" in exchange for President Bush's agreement to a bilateral meeting at the United Nations on January 31, 1991. Whether there are conditions attached to any of the men's releases is not known. Father **GUO Qilushan**, Father **GUO Shichun**, and a third man known only as Father **GUO**, have been released on bail for health reasons but are confined to house arrest in their respective villages. Father **ZHU Rucl**, chancellor of Xiapu diocese; Father **LIU Guangpin**, in charge of financial affairs for Xiapu diocese; Father **ZOU Xijun**, director of studies for clandestine seminaries in Xiapu diocese; and Father **XU** are believed to be still in custody. Requests by the U.S. State Department for information from Chinese officials about the whereabouts of these four have elicited no response about Father Zhu, Zou, or Xu, and the information that Father Liu is "under investigation" (November 1991). The ten Catholic clergymen were arrested on July 27, 1990 in Fu'an City, Fujian, at a meeting on church affairs at Loujiang Church. The Director of the Fujian Religious Affairs Bureau confirmed the arrests, claiming those arrested had violated government regulations.

■ The 77-year-old Bishop of Lanzhou diocese in Gansu Province, **YANG Libo**, was released, apparently without restrictions on December 8, 1992. His situation is unclear. He may have been sent back to his home in the town of Zhangye, some 90 kilometers from the cathedral in Lanzhou. Arrested in late December 1989 in Zhangye in northern Gansu, in mid-1990 Bishop Yang was administratively sentenced to three years "re-education through labor" which he served in the Pingantai Re-education Facility in Lanzhou. According to a Chinese response to U.S. State Department inquiries (November 1991), Bishop Yang, who is not recognized as a cleric by Chinese authorities, was "not found legally responsible," often, as here, a euphemism for just such an administrative sentence. According to an Asia Watch source, Bishop Yang, who was ordained in 1949 and secretly consecrated in 1981, was accused of gathering a large number of worshippers for services in the Ganquanzi Church in Shandan County and of appointing twelve people as Catholic leaders. In addition, he took part in the 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference and has "resisted reform." Bishop Yang was sentenced four times between 1952-1987 for counterrevolutionary crimes, spending all told over 28 years in prison. After his release from a labor camp in 1980, he was not permitted to resettle in his house in Lanzhou. For three years, until he was re-arrested in 1983, Bishop Yang was an "illegal" person.

■ As of May 1993, Bishop Bartholemew **YU Chongdi**, 72, (previously reported as Yu Chengdi), clandestine bishop of Hanzhong diocese, Shaanxi Province, is free to move about. As late as August 19, 1992, he was still restricted to his village. An earlier account (April 1992) reported that he had not been heard from since his November 1991 release. Bishop Yu first "disappeared" from his residence in early August 1991. All those who normally worked for him also "disappeared," including his younger brother, Father **YU Chengxin**. There was speculation that all were confined in a "re-education" camp and released at the same time as the bishop. Bishop Yu and Father Yu were listed as "not suspected" in a Chinese response to U.S. State Department inquiries (November 1991). Both were arrested for the first time in December 1989 or January 1990 in conjunction with the November 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference. The bishop was released from a Xi'an prison sometime before January 1991 and ordered not to leave Chenggu; Father Yu was released at the same time and under the same conditions. Bishop Yu joined the church some 20 years ago.

■ **YU Fang** (see Case Studies: Shaanxi Province)

■ Father Anthony **ZHANG Gangyi**, an 84-year-old Shaanxi Province native, who had been confined to a village in Sanyuan diocese, Shaanxi, is now free to move about. He was released from prison on June 6, 1990 because of his deteriorating health. After his return to China in 1949, Father Zhang spent more than 30 non-consecutive years in prison. He was last detained for "political reasons" - he allegedly said "something wrong" at a religious meeting - at 2 a.m. on December 11, 1989, briefly released, then re-arrested on December 28 and incarcerated in a Xi'an municipal prison. Prior to his work as a parish priest at Zhangerce Church, a regional pilgrimage center in Sanyuan County, Shaanxi, Father Zhang was a chaplain in Italy in World War II. When he re-visited there in 1987, he received a Heroes of the Resistance medal.

■ **ZHANG LI**, of Yixian diocese, Hebei Province, arrested on July 25, 1992 in Xuanhua for illegal preaching, was released after several months in detention.

■ **ZHANG Yongliang**, a 51-year-old pastor and house church leader from Fangsheng in Henan Province, arrested in September 1990 and sentenced in late 1991 to three years' "re-education through labor," was unexpectedly released in early 1992. He had been held in Nanyang, Henan. According to an Asia Watch source, Zhang, charged with "maintaining contact with an overseas Christian organization" and receiving Bibles from abroad, was severely beaten in prison. Prior to his conversion in the mid-1970s, Zhang was a Chinese Communist Party cadre. He was imprisoned for several years in the early 1980's for itinerant preaching. At least six other leaders from Zhang's church were arrested and detained at the time of his arrest. They are presumed to have been released.

Released without conditions

■ **CHANG Lubin** (see Case Studies: Henan Province)

■ **ZHANG Weiming** was one of those whose releases the Chinese government announced in March 1993. According to an Asia Watch source, his actual date of release was January 17. Zhang was detained on December 14, 1990 at 7 p.m. with his wife, **HOU Chongyan**. Two days after the couple was seized, members of the Public Security Bureau attempted a secret break-in of their apartment, but were discovered by a relative. The police, who were gloved, searched and photographed the apartment and confiscated eight categories of items, including religious books and magazines, photographs of a priest's funeral Mass, letters and bank statements. When Hou was released she was warned by the Public Security Bureau not to write her children, who were studying outside China; and she was informed that her husband was held for political as well as religious reasons." A letter from Zhang to his sons characterized the prison conditions as wretched and went on to say that in spite of severe medical problems, including a prior heart attack, severe ulcers and arthritis, it was extremely difficult to see a doctor. He was not permitted to write letters as other prisoners were. In a letter dated February 29, 1992, Hou wrote that she was finally able to visit her husband after a lapse of 14 months, and was then permitted monthly visits but could not collect his salary. She said she expected Zhang's release on December 15, 1992, which might have been an indication that he received a two, not a three-year, sentence. According to an Asia Watch source, Zhang and Hou have obtained passports and plan to visit their sons in the U.S.

■ **Father Vincent ZHU Hongsheng** (see Case Studies: The Counterrevolutionary Clique of Father Zhu Hongsheng)

Unconfirmed Releases

■ The whereabouts of Father **SUN Ximan**, Tianshui diocese, Gansu Province, are unclear, but there are unconfirmed reports that he may have been released. According to an Asia Watch source, Father Sun was arrested in connection with the 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference. Chinese authorities reported to the U.S. State Department (November 1991) that Father Sun was "not suspected."

■ **WANG Tianzhang**, a deacon from Lanzhou diocese, Gansu Province has probably been released. He was arrested on December 16, 1989 in connection with the 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference. Until his release, his whereabouts were unknown. Chinese authorities had reported to the U.S. State Department (November 1991) that Wang was "not suspected." Wang's present circumstances are also unknown.

■ The whereabouts of Father **ZHANG Xiaocheng**, Tianshui diocese, Gansu Province, who was arrested in connection with the 1989 clandestine Bishops' Conference, are uncertain, but an Asia Watch source has reported that he may have been released. Chinese authorities reported to the U.S. State Department (November 1991) that Father Zhang was "not suspected."

APPENDIX 1: ON CORRECTLY DEALING WITH THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE Speech by Bishop Ding Guangxun

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress rarely discusses religious matters, and this has been even more apparent since the death of the Committee's Deputy Chairman Ban Chan. There are many religious believers in the country. In the 1950s, Premier Zhou [Enlai] said that there were more than 100 million religious believers, plus many non-believers who had a positive view of religion. Religious believers make up 60-70 percent of the entire world's population. Internationally, both friends and enemies pay a lot of attention to how we treat religion. We can see that religious questions are not a small thing and in dealing with them we must oppose all subjective and arbitrary behavior.

Since bringing order out of chaos, we have been quite successful in our tasks of rehabilitating those who were unjustly convicted of offenses and returning places of religious activity [to their former use]. However, today I am forced by circumstances to make an urgent appeal here for an immediate cessation of the "wind of suppression" that is spreading through the country. This is where so-called "unregistered places of religious activity are banned without differentiation. In the nation today, the conditions for destroying religion do not exist, so we cannot deal with the masses by exercising dictatorship over them on the basis that they believe in religion and think that by doing so we will destroy religion. We must first clearly establish whether the place of religious activity is carrying out normal religious activity, whether it is involved in illegal/unlawful activities, or whether it is engaged in overseas infiltration activities, in accordance with the teachings of Chairman Mao's "Build Our Policy Using Differentiation." We should oppose crude methods which outlaw every place of religious activity without differentiation.

Today, the number of religious believers in the country has increased, while the number of churches and temples is several times smaller than that before liberation so, very naturally, the believers have set up their own meeting points, both large and small. This is above reproach. From the point of view of Christianity, many meeting points and house groups have come into existence outside the church buildings, with so many people attending that it is difficult to produce statistics on them. According to our investigations, the vast majority are engaged in normal religious activity with no difference from what happens inside church buildings. Those who engage in illegal/unlawful activities or who are bases for overseas infiltration are a minority. Today, however, most of these normal religious meetings points are being suppressed under the pretext of "being unregistered." Many have already been outlawed. The scope of the crackdown is too wide. According to convention, even though they are not registered, they should first be allowed to apply for registration. Those who meet the conditions should then be registered, and those who do not should only then be closed down. In the past, there was never a call issued for all such groups to register in order to get permission to exist, yet in many places, they are all labeled "illegal" and suppressed under the pretext of not being registered, without any differentiation between them. Is this the Party's policy? Actually, where is it possible to suppress them? If you suppress one, it will divide into three or four and go underground. Today, since destroying religion is out of the question, allowing the church to operate openly is better than having it operate underground.

The CCP Central Committee's Document No.19 of 1982 clearly states, "Firmly protect all normal religious activity and, at the same time, resolutely take strong measures against all criminal,

counterrevolutionary and superstitious activity which operate under the cloak of religion." This is the policy's criterion as to which groups should be permitted or suppressed. It is not the individual will or personal feelings toward religion of certain grass-roots level cadres that should be the deciding factor.

The wind of suppression has blown up in some places because certain people wrongly think that it is the will and spirit of the Central Committee. They completely forget the teachings of Chairman Mao on not using administrative orders to deal with the masses' ideological problems, and that the United Front is the Party's great magic weapon, etc. We know that in this way, the Central Committee attaches great importance to uniting all those forces which can be united in contributing to socialism. Therefore, it emphasizes the importance of stability and continuity in the policy of religious freedom. Suppressing meeting points where there is normal religious activity going on certainly does not tally with the spirit of the Party Central Committee.

The reports received from letters and visitors from all over the country indicate that in some grass-roots places, the operations of suppressing places of religious activity are both brutal and abnormal. They mobilize cadres, PSB and People's Militia to use electric batons, tear up religious pictures, confiscate Bibles and religious publications, imprison the believers, fine them, cut off their electricity, water and social security grain supplies, demolish houses and other such activities. The CCP has a traditional virtue of representing, respecting and treasuring the masses, but now there are people who, surprisingly, have no feelings for the masses.

Perhaps there are some who think that letting the wind of suppression blow a bit will be advantageous and reduce the number of believers. This is very short-sighted. During the Great Leap Forward, some of the places where religion was assaulted most vigorously, boastfully called themselves "non-religious areas." However, not long afterward, these places were those with the largest increases in religious believers. At that time, Wenzhou, in Zhejiang Province, was called a "city without Christianity," but today it is the place with the highest percentage of Christians in the country, even

including Hongkong. We can see that the increase or decrease in the number of religious believers happens according to its own objective patterns. It cannot be influenced by reckless actions.

It must be pointed out that this wind of suppression is against the Party's policy, and the harm it is causing is serious. The repercussions, both domestically and internationally, are very great. It is seriously harming the Party's image, and is reducing the trust people have in the stability and continuity of the People's Policy of religious freedom. In fact, it brings pain to our friends and rejoicing in our enemies. I hope this appeal will not be like a stone dropped into the sea which disappears forever, but that it will be treated seriously and will bring about a redress of policy which will turn this wind around.

APPENDIX 2: REFLECTIONS ON RESIDENTIAL SURVEILLANCE

**by Zhou Konliang and Wang Xunjue
(Loudi Regional Subprocuratorate)
Hunan Sifa (Hunan Judicial Affairs), No.6, 1990,**

As a compulsory measure, residential surveillance, its principal party, object, execution and termination or change have been defined in articles 38, 40 and 44 of China's Law of Criminal Procedure. It is not difficult to see that the original legislative intention is to make residential surveillance a relatively light compulsory measure. But the stipulations are not very specific. They leave some legislative space and room for debate. In this article, we shall offer some superficial views concerning residential surveillance.

I. Theoretical discussion of how residential surveillance should be carried out.

Section 2 of article 38 of the Law of Criminal Procedure stipulates that "the defendant subjected to residential surveillance may not leave a designated area." There are people who hold that residential surveillance should be carried out at the defendant's residence. It only restrains the defendant from moving freely, and the surveillance should not be too strict, as long as the defendant can be prevented from leaving the designated area (residence). In our opinion, residential surveillance may be carried out either at the defendant's resident or somewhere else depending on the nature of the case in question. It may be carried out individually or as a group. Surveillance may be incidental, or it may be strictly carried out by specially designated personnel. The surveillance of a defendant is not meant to restrict his freedom of movement but to restrict his personal freedom. This is because:

1. The law has not defined a standard mode of how residential surveillance is to be carried out. In Chinese legal stipulations, there is a relatively definitive legal standard that does not fully and exhaustively define the conditions of conduct of the various parties or the content of legal sanctions so far as their rights and

responsibilities are concerned. Rather, it leaves some "space" that allows the law enforcement personnel or the party concerned the right to find a solution to the problem in the light of actual conditions. The only requirement for the judicial use of such a legal standard is that the actual application must be carried out on the basis prescribed by the standard and within its limits and mode. In other words, the specific judicial applications must be in the direction defined by the standard and in keeping with the original intent of the legislation. The stipulation under section 2 of article 38 of the Law of Criminal Procedure is such a relatively defined legal standard. It simply points out that the "defendant subjected to residential surveillance may not leave a designated area," but does not say explicitly how residential surveillance is to be carried out, where it is to be carried out. What kind of an area is the "designated area?" The defendant's residence? Or the unit where he works? Or somewhere else? How large is the designated area? A certain house? A certain residence? Or even a certain street or village? How strictly should the defendant be restricted? Should he be placed under round-the-clock surveillance, singly or in a group? There is no explicit stipulation. It is up to the law enforcement organization to select the proper mode of carrying out residential surveillance in the light of the actual situation.

2. In judicial application, it is impossible to have a standard mode of carrying out residential surveillance.

According to the law, defendants to be subjected to residential surveillance may be (1) those who have committed misdemeanors or those who do not seriously endanger society. It is not necessary to have them arrested, yet they must be somehow restrained. (2) Defendants who should be put under arrest, but

suffering from serious illnesses, or women who are pregnant or nursing. (3) Those who are under investigation and could be arrested, but the principal facts of their crimes have not yet been ascertained, or there is insufficient evidence. These three types of defendants may be subjected to residential surveillance for different reasons and objectives. For those under category (1), they have committed less serious misdemeanors or they do not seriously endanger society and should not be put under arrest. For those under category (2), the defendants should normally be arrested but are not because of special circumstances. For those under category (3), the principal facts of the crimes have not yet been ascertained and a decision to make an arrest cannot properly be made. As the defendants are different, the objectives of putting them under residential surveillance are also different. For those under categories (1) and (2), the facts of their crimes have been ascertained and there is sufficient evidence, the purpose of subjecting them to residential surveillance is to prevent them from absconding or committing suicide to avoid investigation and trial. For these defendants, residential surveillance may be applicable, or they may be allowed to obtain a guarantor pending trial. Ordinarily, they are put under residential surveillance only when they fail to obtain a guarantor. For such defendants, residential surveillance may be carried out by the unit where the defendant works, or by the local public security station. As for those defendants under category (3), the objective of putting them under residential surveillance is to prevent them from absconding or committing suicide as well as preventing them from colluding to make their confessions tally, hiding or destroying evidence. For these defendants, it will not do without completely isolating them from their families. Even if they are put under residential surveillance in places other than their residences, they must be strictly controlled and prevented from making contact with the outside world. So these defendants must be treated sternly, surveillance must be strict. Residential surveillance may be carried out at places other than their residences, or personnel may be specially designated to carry out the surveillance. In case there is more than one defendant to be put under residential surveillance, they may be gathered together as a group and controlled by specially designated personnel.

Obviously, in terms of judicial practice, residential surveillance is carried out at different levels. The means for carrying out such surveillance should be determined by the circumstances. There should not be a standard model for carrying out residential surveillance.

II. Some suggestions for perfecting residential surveillance legislation

1. In designating the principal party for carrying out residential surveillance, the decision should be made in such a way as to answer the objective need. The power to carry out residential surveillance should be vested with the principal party that decides on residential surveillance. Bestowing the power only to the local public security station or the authorized people's commune or the unit where the defendant works can no longer cope with the objective requirements of fighting economic crimes. If all defendants that the procuratorate organ decides to put under residential surveillance are to be handled by the public security station, that station obviously does not have sufficient manpower to do the job. If they are to be handled by the authorized people's communes or the units where the defendants work, the objective of preventing the defendants from colluding to make their confessions tally cannot be achieved. Therefore, in judicial practice, some procuratorate organs have no choice but to carry out residential surveillance themselves. In our opinion, legally vesting the people's procuratorates with the power of carrying out residential surveillance not only meets the needs of fighting economic crimes, but is also practicable. This is so because unlike making arrests, residential surveillance does not require a special organ to carry it out, nor does it require a special place of detention.

2. Defendants to be subjected to residential surveillance should be more specifically defined. At the present time, legal scholars differ on this issue. Most of them agree with the stipulations in articles 40 and 44 of the Law of Criminal Procedure. The volume on jurisprudence of Encyclopedia Sinica holds that residential surveillance is applicable to those defendants who are allowed to obtain guarantors pending trial. There are three applicable situations: (1) defendants are put under residential surveillance

to prevent them from harming society when there is no need to have them arrested; (2) those defendants who are suffering from serious illnesses, or women who are pregnant or nursing; (3) those detained by public security organs who deserve to be arrested, but there is as yet insufficient evidence. The authors of *Interpreting the Law of Criminal Procedure of the People's Republic of China* (by Wang Shunhua et.al., Mass Publishing House, 1983) hold that those defendants to be put under residential surveillance include: (1) defendants deserving to be arrested but suffering from serious illnesses or are pregnant or nursing; (2) defendants deserving to be arrested but evidence is lacking. In our opinion, those to be put under residential surveillance should not be limited to those specified in articles 40 and 44 of the Law of Criminal Procedure. This is because article 38 of that Law says: "The people's courts, the people's procuratorates and the public security organs may...issue a warrant to compel the appearance of the defendant, order him to obtain a guarantor pending trial or subject him to residential surveillance." That passage does not say only those specified under articles 40 and 44 may be subjected to residential surveillance. Those articles only define what kinds of suspects may be arrested and under what conditions, and what kind of compulsory measures may be adopted to handle those defendants who should not be arrested. The law authorizes the people's courts, the people's procuratorates and public security organs to determine, "according to the circumstances of a case," who should be subjected to residential surveillance. In the light of the stipulations of the law and judicial practice, we are of the opinion that residential surveillance may apply to the following three broad categories: (1) the crime is minor or the criminal does not pose a serious threat to society, and therefore it is not necessary to have the defendant arrested. Yet he must be somehow restrained. This refers to a situation in which the main facts of the crime have been ascertained, and the seriousness of the crime and its harmfulness to society have been determined. Two situations may ensue. The defendant could be sentenced to public surveillance or criminal detention for labor or be subjected to some supplementary punishment, but there is no need to have him or her arrested. Or the crime may be relatively serious and the defendant is ordered to obtain a guarantor pending trial, or he may be

subjected to residential surveillance, provided he does not pose a serious threat to society. (2) Those who deserve to be arrested but are suffering from serious illnesses or are women who are pregnant or nursing (3) those under investigation and could be arrested, but evidence is lacking. This includes those defendants who already have been detained and need to be arrested, but evidence is insufficient. It also includes those defendants who are under investigation, but who cannot be arrested because the main facts of the crime have yet to be ascertained, yet who need to be somehow restrained. In addition, those detained defendants who are under investigation, but whose cases cannot be decided within the legally limited time frame, may be ordered to obtain guarantors pending trial or subjected to residential surveillance, provided they do not pose a serious danger to society. These defendants fall under section 2 of article 44 of the Law of Criminal Procedure and may be subjected to residential surveillance.

The law has not laid down the conditions for applicability of residential surveillance. In our opinion, there should be two rules: one is that residential surveillance is applicable only to those defendants whose cases have already been filed and who are under investigation. It must not be applied to suspects whose cases have not yet been filed, even though they may be under preliminary investigation. The second rule is that the compulsory measure of residential surveillance must not be applied to those defendants who can be prevented from avoiding investigation and trial by ordering them to obtain guarantors pending trial.

3. How residential surveillance is to be carried out should also be more explicitly and specifically defined. The general stipulation that "a defendant under residential surveillance may not leave a designated area" should also be made more specific as regards how and where the surveillance is to be carried out and the degree of restriction of the defendant's personal freedom.

4. There should be an appropriate time limit to residential surveillance carried out at a place other than the defendant's residence. Since residential surveillance of a defendant at his own residence represents a lenient measure, no time limit is

necessary. The case of residential surveillance carried out at a place other than the defendant's residence is another matter. It places a more stringent restriction on the defendant's personal freedom. His right of personal freedom cannot be protected without a time limit. Furthermore, the defendant placed under residential surveillance at a place other than his residence is usually one of the main facts of whose crime have not yet been ascertained, and in judicial practice, investigation is easily replaced by detention, and the case could drag on indefinitely if no time limit is imposed. Therefore there should be a time limit in the case of residential surveillance carried out at a place other than the defendant's residence. The time served under residential surveillance carried out at a place other than the defendant's residence should, in our opinion, count as part of the prison sentence served. This is because even though the personal freedom of the defendant is not being deprived, it is being restricted.

APPENDIX 3: THE TRIAL OF ZHU HONGSHENG

What We Learned from the Trial of the Case of the Zhu Hongsheng Counterrevolutionary Clique

**By The Pre-trial Investigation Department,
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Editors' Note: What are the characteristics of counterrevolutionary cases perpetrated under the cloak of religion? What are the points that require our attention when trying such cases? This case gives us some insight into these questions.

As mentioned in this case, an important characteristic of those counterrevolutionaries acting under the cloak of religion is that they cover up their illegal counterrevolutionary sabotage activities under the legal cloak of freedom of religious belief. When they are arrested and put on trial, they will never throw away that cloak even though their counterrevolutionary conspiracy has been exposed, and will cling to that cloak as a last straw to save themselves. It is therefore necessary to criticize and expose them thoroughly at the appropriate time so as to make them plead guilty and confess to their crimes. The best time to do this is after the basic facts of their crimes have been ascertained. In trying that case, comrades of the pre-trial investigation department of the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau exposed their lies of professing to be "consistently patriotic and supportive of socialism," by revealing the reactionary nature of the Vatican, and I stripped them of their legitimate cloak by explaining China's policy toward religion. All this is quite correct. What is deficient is that in our struggle against them, we have failed to take full advantage of the law as our weapon. Article 36 of China's constitution stipulates that citizens enjoy freedom of religious belief. On the other hand, it also stipulates that no one may make use of religion to engage in disruptive activities, and that religious bodies and religious affairs are not subject to any foreign domination. The defendants of this case, instigated by the anti-China forces of the Vatican and making use of religion, engaged in such activities as collecting intelligence, spreading rumors, inciting the masses and disrupting the socialist order. All this seriously violates China's basic law -- the constitution. Comparing their activities with the relevant articles of the Criminal Law, and pointing out to them that their activities violate the criminal law and constitute a counterrevolutionary offense, thus stripping them of their legitimate cloak more forcefully and with better results.

The law and policy figure prominently in the trial of such cases. We must strictly differentiate legitimate religious activities from illegal disruptive activities carried out under the cloak of religion, i.e., the non-criminal from the criminal. Those who are somehow involved in the case, but who have not participated in disruptive activities should be protected by law. During the trial, it is important to pay attention and not say anything that violates the party's policy toward religion.

In November 1981, our department accepted to hear the case of the counterrevolutionary clique under the cloak of the Catholic church headed by Zhu Hongsheng. We arrested Zhu Hongsheng, Chen Yunshang and Shen Baishun. Zhu Hongsheng, Chen Yunshang and others were arrested before as the backbone members of the Gong Pinmei counterrevolutionary and treasonous clique. They were sentenced to jail terms and later released after long periods of reform. Yet they persisted in their counterrevolutionary stand. They have continued to engage in counterrevolutionary activities since the party's third plenum, directly directed and instigated by foreign forces hostile to China, taking advantage of China's policy toward religion and openness, and under the pretense of "upholding their religious belief" and "engaging in friendly exchanges with foreigners."

Beginning in June 1979, acting according to a secret plan drawn up by anti-China forces abroad, that clique

headed by Zhu Hongsheng and centered around Chen Yunshang, Zhu Shude (employed after completing reform at an Anhui labor reform farm) and Chen Tianxiang (employed after completing labor reform on a Jiangxi labor reform farm), recruited Shen Baishun, Cai Zhongxian, Yan Yunliang, Zhu Weifang and Wang Chuhua, who had actively participated in the criminal activities of the Gong Pinmei counterrevolutionary and treasonous clique in Shanghai, Anhui, Jiangxi, Zhejiang and Qinghai, who had served out their jail terms and been released, to form a counterrevolutionary clique and actively engage in counterrevolutionary disruptive meetings convened by persons sent by anti-China forces abroad, to plot the collection of China's secret intelligence by using undercover methods and mustering the scattered reactionary forces and secretly training the reactionary backbone elements. It has been ascertained by investigation that these counterrevolutionary elements had secretly provided foreign anti-China forces with thirty items of secret intelligence. They also actively collected so-called thinking trends among various social circles, sent these materials in writing to foreign anti-China forces so as to achieve the objective of slandering China's People's Democratic Dictatorship and socialist system. They also energetically engaged in counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement, spreading such rumors as "the year 2000 will be doomsday," "Virgin Mary will shine and make her appearance on She Mountain on the 15th and 17th of March, 1980." Deceived by such rumors, thousands of believers from Shanghai, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Jiangxi and Henan flocked to She Mountain. A handful of thugs took advantage of the confusion to rush and smash up the church, beat up our workers and intentionally create disturbances in order to disrupt the political situation of stability and unity.

Zhu Hongsheng and other counterrevolutionary elements, who for a long period of time were kept by the foreign anti-China forces, were extremely reactionary and stubborn. They were experienced in their prolonged struggle against us. In contrast, quite a few of our pre-trial judges were new hands, inexperienced and did not know much of the characteristics of the counterrevolutionary activities carried out under the cloak of religion. They faced a difficult task. In order to make up for those weaknesses, we worked closely with the investigatory departments and made preparations for the trial that was to be conducted after the case was cracked. We organized our pre-trial force to tackle different targets, made a serious study of the Public Security Ministry "Circular on Fighting the Counterrevolutionary Elements Who Act Under the Cloak of the Catholic Church" and other relevant documents, thereby enhancing our understanding of the nature and significance of the struggle. We also familiarized ourselves with evidence of their crime and gained a firm grasp of the overall situation of the Zhu Hongsheng counterrevolutionary clique as well as the specific crimes of each individual member and the links among them. In order to enhance our people's understanding of the fraudulent nature and hypocrisy of these counterrevolutionaries under the cloak of religion, we invited leading comrades from the Bureau of Religious Affairs to lecture on the history of China's struggle against reactionary foreign forces, the Vatican, and China's consistent policy toward religion. After the case was solved, we started the trial. Throughout the entire process, we consistently presented the facts, reasoned things out, explained China's policy and law, so that the defendants had no choice but to confess their crimes. We were able to collect more evidence and complete the pre-trial within the time allowed by law and handed the case over to the procuratorate for indictment. The Municipal People's court sentenced, according to law, the principal criminal of the counterrevolutionary clique Zhu Hongsheng to a fixed-term period of eleven years' imprisonment, with three years' subsequent deprivation of political rights. Through the trial, we discovered 104 clues to various types of counterrevolutionary crimes and reported them to the relevant departments and dealt a powerful blow to the criminal conspiracy of the anti-China foreign forces to meddle in China's internal affairs. Our main experiences gained from trying this counterrevolution case are:

I. Stripping Them of Their Legitimate Cloak

These counterrevolutionary elements headed by Zhu Hongsheng were extremely arrogant during the trial. They openly declared their activities in collusion with foreign hostile forces, the Vatican, infringing on China's sovereignty "normal links within the Catholic Church," "legitimate activities upholding the unification of the Catholic Church." The defendant Shen Baishun asserted: "I am loyal to the Vatican in life or death." Zhu Hongsheng slandered us, saying we "only allow people to believe in religion led by the communist party and place restrictions

on people's faith." He also declared that "The Vatican is only a small state, and never interferes in other countries' internal affairs. The question of violating China's sovereignty does not arise." Chen Yunshang advertized himself as "consistently patriotic and supportive of socialism." They tried in vain to use their cloak of religion to wage a legal struggle against us. It was obvious that we would not be able to question the defendants without stripping them of their legal cloak. Therefore, we waged a struggle by argument and reasoning and from three angles refuted their reactionary fallacy.

First, we exposed the reactionary nature of the Vatican. In refuting the defendant, Zhu Hongsheng's fallacy that "The Vatican never interfered in other countries' internal affairs, and the question of violating China's sovereignty does not arise," we presented facts showing the Vatican interfered in China's internal affairs in history as a vanguard and accomplice of imperialism and colonialism's policy of aggression against China. Our questioners cited historical facts and asked the defendant Zhu Hongsheng: "Do you know what attitude the Vatican adopted toward Japan's occupation of China's three northeastern provinces and its creation of a puppet regime the `Manchukuo'?" Zhu Hongsheng remained silent. Our questioner decisively pointed out that "At that time, the Vatican was the first in the world to recognize the puppet regime. What does that say to you?" We went on to say: "After liberalization, all the clergymen who participated in the patriotic church were punished by the Vatican by forcing them to kneel or by outright excommunication. Whereas the anti-communists were praised by the Vatican as treasures. Up until recent years, the Vatican issued its so-called `encyclical of peace' that grants special privileges to Catholic fathers and lay followers in mainland China, openly treating them as its "subjects" in naked interference in China's internal affairs oblivious of China's sovereignty." Such exposures and refutations left the defendants no room for sophistry.

Secondly, we revealed their true features and personal histories to expose their lies of advertizing themselves as "consistently patriotic and supportive of socialism," as "never engaging in political activities" and it was "only a matter of faith." Our questioner pointed out: "Before liberation, your superior Bishop Yu Pin of the Nanjing parish was a puppet legislator. He openly called on Chinese Catholics to take part in Chiang Kai-shek's bandit and communist suppression campaign. After he escaped from the mainland, he was named a cardinal by the Vatican. What does that say to you?" The defendants Zhu Hongsheng and Chen Yunshang argued that was Yu Pin's problem. Then our questioner pointed out: "You -- Zhu Hongsheng and Chen Yunshang -- followed Gong Pinmei after liberalization and sabotaged China's political campaigns. What does that say to you? Up until now, you are still directed by the foreign anti-China force, the Vatican, to disrupt China's policy of `independence and autonomy and running the churches by the Chinese themselves,' bringing harm to China's sovereignty. You still call that a matter of `faith', `non-participation in politics' and a `pure matter of religious belief' and `patriotic and supportive of socialism'?" These refutations left the defendants speechless. They had no choice but to bow their heads and confess their crimes.

Thirdly, we explained China's policy toward religion to refute their reactionary slander that we "persecute religion." We solemnly pointed out to them: In China, freedom of religious belief as a citizen's basic right has been written into the constitution. All citizens who are religious believers are protected by the state. Then we asked them, "Are you Chinese citizens?" The defendant Zhu Hongsheng answered, "Yes." "Are you willing to observe the government's policies and laws?" Zhu answered "I do." Then he argued, "My relationship with Rome is a religious one and not political." We then asked: "China insists on the principle of independence and autonomy and running the churches by the Chinese themselves, and resolutely opposes control and domination by foreign forces. Why did you refuse to observe that policy?" We then further explained: "The constitution requires every citizen and every religious believer to support the Chinese Communist Party and socialism and safeguard China's unity and sovereignty, and be patriotic and law abiding. Yet you, Zhu Hongsheng, et al, actively worked with the Vatican, trying in vain to regain control over the Chinese church, interfere in China's internal affairs, adopted a hostile attitude and tried to sabotage China's policy of independence and autonomy and running the churches by the Chinese themselves. This is not a matter of religious belief, but criminal activities infringing on China's sovereignty and

security. It is a matter of course that you should be punished by law." As our questioner explained China's policies and laws, the defendant Zhu Hongsheng had nothing to say. Our reasoning took the wind out of their sails. They began to confess their reactionary relations with the Vatican and other problems. Chen Yunshang confessed that when he accepted assignment from the person sent by an anti-China foreign force, he suggested that people "should scatter when carrying out their activities and fight independently on their own," and that once one was exposed, each individual should bear the legal responsibility him(her)self so as to preserve their strength. He admitted that the counterrevolutionary tactic constituted the crime of having illicit relations with a foreign country according to law. Thus, they were stripped of their protective talisman, the legal cloak of religious belief.

II. Collect the Facts of Their Crimes First Before Exposing Their Counterrevolutionary Nature

On the whole, these counterrevolutionary elements admitted that they were in the wrong. Yet they were still reluctant to make confessions and plead guilty. So when we questioned them about their specific criminal activities, we were in no hurry to label them "counterrevolutionaries" so as to avoid wrangling. What we did first was to investigate and ascertain the facts of their crimes before we exposed the nature of their counterrevolutionary activities and made them plead guilty. This was what we did in investigating the "She Mountain incident" plotted by the defendant Shen Baishun.

In October 1979, Shen Baishun sent and authorized his reactionary followers, Wu Xishi and Shi Meiyong, to a commune near She Mountain to "banish the ghost" for a mental patient. They wrote that up together with the ravings of the patient into an article entitled "Banishing the Ghost" and spread the rumor that "doomsday will come in the year 2000" and that "Virgin Mary will shine and make an appearance on the 15th and 17th of March on She Mountain." That pamphlet, "Banishing the Ghost," was personally edited by Shen Baishun. He then instructed Wu and Shi to go to Zhejiang to have it printed and widely distributed. It incited thousands of deceived believers to flock to She Mountain. Shen Baishun promptly reported this to the principal criminal Zhu Hongsheng and instructed by the latter, Shen collected the relevant materials and secretly transmitted them to the anti-China foreign force. In questioning about that incident, we took three steps.

First, we questioned them about the facts, the entire process of that criminal activity. As the questioning began, Shen claimed that he had nothing to do with the She Mountain incident. Our questioner did not hasten to expose him, but patiently asked: "Why was it that thousands of believers flocked to She Mountain on that same day? What started it?" Shen confessed that a woman commune member by the name of Zhu was possessed by a ghost, that after the ghost was banished, Jesus made his presence felt on the body of the commune member. But he did not mention his role in the incident and did not give the names of his two followers. We told him, "You do not want to disclose the names of the two believers who went to She Mountain. Let us give them to you." That was a hint, and we pointed out in all seriousness, "How could believers banish the ghost without authorization by a father?" Then Shen realized he could no longer deny his role. He confessed that it was he who authorized Wu Xishi and Shi Meiyong to banish the ghost and that it was he who instructed Wu and Shi to write the story up, which he personally edited and had distributed widely by Wu and Shi.

Second, we questioned them about the nature of their criminal activities. On the basis of ascertaining the facts of their crimes, we went one step further and questioned them about the nature of their criminal activities. During the trial, the defendant Shen claimed that "it was normal for believers to go to She Mountain to worship Virgin Mary," and he refused to admit he had a counterrevolutionary objective. We cited the nonsense that "doomsday will come in the year 2000" as the pamphlet "Banishing the Ghost" asserted, and pointed out to Shen "that pamphlet and its contents had been personally edited by you and it was you who instructed others to distribute it widely." Shen said "Yes." We then asked, "Our country will bring about the four modernizations by the year 2000. And we have mobilized the broad masses, religious believers included, to work for that goal. But you,

through the mouth of a patient, raved about doomsday by 2000, thus openly singing a tune directly opposite that of the state. Do you know the nature of that problem? You call that normal?" By that time, Shen admitted that he "was putting on a rival show against the communist party" and that it was a "mistake." (*Editors' note: a further question should have been asked so that they had to say explicitly the nature of their activities*).

Third, we questioned them about wire pulling behind the scene. On the basis of a story printed in a foreign Catholic journal, we questioned Shen Baishun about the responsibilities of Zhu Hongsheng in that incident: "Did you contact Zhu Hongsheng before and after that incident? You need to make a clean breast of it." Shen confessed that, "After Shi Meiying 'banished the ghost' and wrote up the story, I read it and thought it was a miracle. I immediately compiled quotes from that story and sent them to Zhu Hongsheng's house. He was then receiving a Japanese nun by the name of Nishimura Kayo, a contact sent by the Vatican. I told him what happened. Zhu said to me, 'You should pay greater attention to it.'" We asked, "Did you go to see Zhu Hongsheng before the incident?" Defendant Shen answered: "Two days before the incident, Zhu expected many believers would be there. He asked me to have some knowledgeable people to record the event in order to report it." We then asked, "What happened afterwards?" Shen answered, "I sent Zhu the report of the event and materials written by the parishioners" (about seeing the resplendent Virgin Mary and smelling of fragrance). Thus we found out how Shen Baishun created the counterrevolutionary She Mountain incident with Zhu Hongsheng pulling the wires behind the scene.

III. Conduct a Thorough Investigation and Collect Evidence That Can Be Used in Public

As early as Zhu Hongsheng returned to Shanghai from the labor reform farm in early 1979, he got in touch with the Vatican, the anti-China foreign force. In two years or more, the Holy See sent seventy-six special envoys and liaison persons to China to assign tasks, relay intelligence, and all were received by the defendant Zhu. In an attempt to avoid detection, he moved surreptitiously and seldom appeared in public. When he wanted to contact the backbone elements in this city, he would send someone else to make the contact. After he was arrested, he stubbornly resisted and refused to confess of his crimes, declaring that "I am old and hopeless. It doesn't matter if I live or die"; "Do as you wish, kill me or lock me up. I don't want a future"; "I did not let the Lord down. I will never betray him or the church." During questioning, he refused to answer, closed his eyes and kept his mouth shut. In dealing with this kind of criminal, it would not do without solid evidence. Yet the materials we collected could not be used in public. What should we do? While we persisted in educating him, we also conducted a penetrating investigation so as to obtain evidence that could be publicly used. We searched his residence and found a score of intelligence reports he had written and that were to be brought out of China by Father Gu Bao (the rest of the name was illegible in the Chinese report), who had come to the mainland from Taiwan. We also found a list of fifty-four Catholic fathers belonging to Shanghai's Patriotic Catholic Church, arranged according to their political attitudes by Zhang Hongkeng, a counterrevolutionary hidden in that church (tried in a separate case). In addition, Chen Tianxiang, a co-defendant of the same case, confessed that he had learned from a labor reform official secret intelligence about arrangements made by the Public Security Department of Jiangxi Province for spying on and control of Chen by the labor reform farm. He immediately sent a messenger to Shanghai to report to Zhu Hongsheng. The defendant Zhu secretly transmitted that report to the anti-China foreign force. We questioned Chen Tianxiang, recorded his statement and verified it. In addition, Zhu Enyan, the defendant Zhu Hongsheng's nephew, by joining the patriotic church, stole four items of secret materials for internal use issued by Shanghai's department of religious affairs. He recorded two of them on audio tapes, which were secretly sent to the anti-China foreign force by Zhu Hongsheng. This evidence of Zhu's crime was also verified in the course of a trial. The defendant Zhu Hongsheng also secretly reported to the anti-China foreign force the "Shanghai Psychological Picture," written by Chen Yungshang, an important defendant in the same case; "Changes in the Various Social Strata in Every Field," prepared by Zhu Shude of Anhui; the secret document "Eight Articles of Managing Religion," promulgated by the Fuzhou Municipal People's Government and secretly reported by Fang Haiqing of Jiangxi Province; contents of a special meeting called by the Zhejiang Provincial People's Government and secretly reported by Zhu Weifang of Zhejiang Province. All the

evidences were verified through trials.

IV. Select Powerful Evidence to Induce the Principal Defendant to Confess

On the basis of the above-mentioned evidence, we began to question the defendant Zhu. He continued to resist and declared, "I have not committed a crime. If I have, you can point it out to me and the government can sentence me." Thus he acted as if he were an innocent victim. We chose to use the confession of Zhang Hongkeng that he had handed a list of fifty-four Catholic fathers in Shanghai arranged according to their political attitudes to Zhu and asked: "What kind of person is Zhang Hongkeng?" He answered, "A father of the patriotic church." We then asked: "What were your contacts with Zhang?" He answered, "I never had any contact with fathers of the patriotic church." We showed him the list of names which we obtained searching his house and asked, "What is this?" He answered, "A list of names of Catholic fathers of the patriotic church. "If you had no contact with the patriotic church, why would you keep such a list? Who gave it to you?" Zhu could not answer. We showed him the depositions personally written by Chen Yunshang and Zhang Hongkeng. He knew his criminal activities were defeated and could do nothing but confess his crime. Since then, his arrogance has diminished, and he began confessing.

We knew that these counterrevolutionaries were in a quandary; they were afraid they would be described as "selling out," "betraying others" and as "Judas" if they confessed. On the other hand, they were afraid they would be severely punished if they did not confess. So we collected and made use of the contradictions among them to break them one by one, so that they felt that somebody had already confessed, "it was not he who sold out the others, but the others first sold him out." For example, Zhu Mengchuan, leader of the Asia-Far Eastern region of the Catholic Jesuits, came to Shanghai in October 1980. On two occasions, he called Zhu Hongsheng, Chen Yunshang, Zhu Shude, Chen Tianxiang and Cai Zhongxian to meetings held in a parishioner's house, and ordered them "to deploy some of their forces to the countryside," "so as to change the social structure." We took advantage of the fact that four or five people took part in the meetings and they were suspicious of each other, fearing that someone might have already confessed. During the questioning, we tried to divide them, so that they had no choice but to confess in detail what happened at those meetings.

V. Study the Policy and Draw a Line Between Crime and Non-crime

On the basis of mastering the entire case, we made a serious study of the Party's policy toward religion and analyzed the facts of the crimes of Zhu Hongsheng and the others, drew a line of demarcation between religious activities and counterrevolutionary activities, so as to make sure that the policy of independence and autonomy and running the churches by the Chinese themselves was not infringed upon. Zhu Hongsheng, Chen Yunshang, Shen Baishun and the others were all Catholic priests. They performed Mass, read the bible and preached every day. These activities do not constitute crimes for ordinary practitioners of the religious profession. But when Zhu Hongsheng and the others carried out these activities, they were in league with the Vatican, and those activities served as a cover for their counterrevolutionary sabotage. They were instructed by the Vatican "to deploy some of their forces to the countryside," and "work at the grassroots in order to gradually change the social structure." They developed and recruited new reactionary forces, spread rumors to confuse and poison people's minds and collected secret intelligence in accordance with the Vatican's instructions and papal anti-China encyclical (the full name of the document is "Granting the Following Privileges to the Priests and Parishioners Living in Mainland China"). The criminal Chen Yunshang even went so far as to recruit a young soldier of the People's Liberation Army as a church member, sent him to troops stationed in Qinghai Province to recruit soldiers loyal to the Holy See in Rome and start the snowball rolling, extending the influence of the Vatican. They dreamed of some day turning China into a second Poland so as to attain the reactionary objective of the church controlling the state. That, of course, is a counterrevolutionary crime, and has nothing in common with legitimate religious activities. Religious belief such as belief in Catholicism, in the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ and all legitimate religious activities are a matter of ideology. In the course of the questioning, we followed the party's policy of freedom of religious belief,

took care not to make comments, still less satirical remarks to dig at them and avoided hurting their religious feelings to avoid confrontation.

APPENDIX 4: REGULATIONS FROM DAISHAN COUNTY

THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT OF DAISHAN COUNTY Zhejiang Province

PUBLIC NOTICE CONCERNING THE STRENGTHENING OF CONTROL OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN THE WHOLE COUNTY

In order to continue to earnestly implement the spirit of the documents of the Chinese Communist Party No.19 of 1982 and No.6 of 1991 to completely and correctly implement the religious policy of the Party; according to the law to protect the normal religious beliefs and religious activities; to restrict and crack down on all types of illegal religious activities; to resolutely resist the infiltration of unfriendly outside religious forces; to strengthen control of religious activities in the whole County; notification is given as follows:

1. All places of religious activities in the County must be registered according to the law and submit to the control of the local government. After registration and approval, places of religious activities shall be protected by the law.

2. With the exception of the County Three-Self Patriotic Churches that have already registered and been approved, all other Christian meeting places that have not registered, must implement registration of the believers. After the local Rural Government has examined the application, it will be submitted to the Religious Affairs Bureau of the County Government. Only after approval has been given will meetings be allowed.

Meeting places which are not willing to participate in the Three-Self church must register the believers. The landlord of the meeting place must make application to the local government. Upon approval of the local Rural Government, a report will be made to the Religious Affairs Bureau of the County Government. Only after approval is made can meetings be allowed. Otherwise, these are illegal

meetings and according to the law shall be banned,

3. All meeting places which have not registered and been approved, beginning from the date of this Public Notice, must not continue to conduct meetings. Otherwise, the appropriate Department will use coercive measures to force compliance. These include the confiscation of religious materials, equipment and properties used to conduct illegal religious activities.

4. All religious activities must be conducted according to the limits allowed by the law and policy. No person is allowed to use religion to oppose the leadership of the Party and the Socialist System. Religion must not be used to interfere with government administration, the administration of justice, the education of schools nor to disturb public order. It is not allowed to bring harm to the society or harm the interest of the masses nor to hinder the legal rights of other citizens. It is not allowed to coerce anyone, especially young people and children under the age of 18 to accept religion.

It is not allowed to use religious dogma to incite and organize so-called "Ascension" (probably referring to people leaving all and waiting on a hilltop for the "rapture") and such severe activities that bring harm to the people's life, property and safety. All who use the name of Christianity to seduce the masses, cheat people of money and bring harm to others, shall be severely dealt with.

5. Resolutely strike down activities of illegal preaching and evangelism. Without the approval of the Department Supervisor of the People's

Government, no organization or person is allowed to conduct Bible Seminaries (schools or classes) to train preachers. If itinerant preachers from the outside remain in our County to illegally meet and carry on their activities, the Public Security Bureau will severely deal with them. Those who receive and give shelter to these preachers or know of their whereabouts without making a report, will also be severely dealt with.

6. Resolutely oppose unfriendly outside forces who use religion to carry on illegal activities. Those who organize group listening, recording of and the re-broadcasting of the radio broadcasts of unfriendly overseas religious forces; those who transport and distribute religious books and propaganda materials illegally brought into the country, upon detection, shall be resolutely dealt with. The following will be investigated and legally responsible: those who accept the supervision of outside religious powers; those who accept subsidies or funds for projects; those who mobilize secret contacts in the country; those who set up illegal organizations.

If believers in the Christian religion impair or hinder civil servants as they perform their duties of controlling religion, or organize mass meetings, then those who are responsible shall be punished according to the regulations of the Public Security Bureau and in serious cases an investigation will be conducted for legal responsibility.

8. This "Public Notice" takes effect from this date.

**Daishan County People's Government
July 5, 1991**

APPENDIX 5: PROVISIONAL REGULATIONS IN FUJIAN PROVINCE

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