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**THE PRICE OF OBSCURITY IN CHINA:
Revelations About Prisoners Arrested After June 4, 1989**

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I. Introduction

Five years after martial law troops stormed Beijing, many people arrested in the crackdown remain in jail. The Chinese government has claimed that all students arrested in connection with the 1989 pro-democracy movement have now been released, as if other prisoners, such as workers, were of no concern.

Human Rights Watch/Asia (formerly Asia Watch) and Human Rights in China (HRIC) recently obtained new lists of over 500 individuals in Beijing alone who were convicted for offenses related to the 1989 protests. A mere twenty-nine of these cases were previously known to human rights organizations. Over 200 of the detainees remain in jail today, performing hard labor and often suffering, as a result of the lack of attention to their cases, from torture and other serious abuses. Even with the names in this report, the picture from Beijing is still far from complete, and we continue to receive new lists of 1989 pro-democracy movement prisoners from other parts of the country.⁵¹

The wealth of new prisoner information contained in the report, coming as it does from a region of China more intensively scrutinized by foreign observers than any other, serves again to demonstrate that known cases of political and religious imprisonment in China represent only the tip of the iceberg. In view of the nationwide scope of the 1989 demonstrations, we can safely assume that thousands of prisoners whose names we do not know still languish in prison for their role in those protests.⁵²

The prisoners listed below (Appendices I and II) are all being held in the two main correctional facilities maintained by the Beijing municipal authorities: namely, Beijing No.2 Prison and Qinghe Farm. The latter, although located in the municipality of Tianjin, is directly administered by the Beijing Labor-Reform Bureau and house prisoners from the capital. They include a wide variety of Beijing residents, from peasants, security guards, and factory workers to engineers and cadres in the State Planning Commission. At the time of their arrests, they ranged in age from seventeen to seventy-one. These previously unknown prisoners were generally treated more harshly by the courts than intellectuals and students and were more frequently charged with "criminal" offenses. For the most part, they are people who were seen on television screens around the world in May 1989, marching in the streets, blocking the path of the troops entering the city with improvised barricades, running through the streets on the night of June 3-4, and throwing rocks and paving stones at the tanks and armed personnel carriers.

The lists also contain important information on some thirty-five newly discovered political prisoners, almost all so-called counterrevolutionaries, who were convicted of offenses committed during and after the May 1989 protests and who are presently being held at the Beijing No.2 Prison. Many of these detainees received sentences in excess of ten years and several are serving life terms or commuted death sentences. Their names should now be added to the list of approximately one hundred such cases identified in HRW/Asia's February 1994 report, *Detained in China and Tibet*, as representing a "new generation of Wei Jingshengs."

Besides the prisoner lists, this report contains various documents describing in detail the conditions in

⁵¹ Recent examples include forty-five names of people convicted for involvement in protest activities in Zhejiang Province, the majority from Hangzhou; eleven individuals from a single small town, Shiyan, which is one of about fifty towns of similar size in Hubei Province; and about sixty names of people convicted for such offenses in Shaanxi Province, most of them in the provincial capital Xi'an. These lists will be included in a subsequent report.

⁵² The most complete available accounting of imprisoned dissidents in the People's Republic of China is Asia Watch's *Detained in China and Tibet: A Directory of Political and Religious Prisoners* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1994). For a detailed examination of the scope of the crackdown in one province, see Asia Watch, *Anthems of Defeat: Crackdown in Hunan Province 1989-1992* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1992). The report names 200 "June 4th" prisoners out of an estimated 1,000 convicted in the province.

which such prisoners are serving their sentences. One is an account of life and conditions in Beijing No.2 Prison -- a composite work based on information from various sources directly acquainted with the regime there. (See Appendix IV.) The account gives details of the routine torture and abuse of prisoners and the payments to guards, doctors, and other inmates that are required to secure the basic necessities of prison life. Also included (Appendix II) is a detailed map of the layout of Beijing No.2 Prison. A signed letter by the poet Ya Xi, "An Appeal for Assistance" (Appendix V), describes the cases of several prisoners in Beijing No.2 who were convicted of "counterrevolution" for publishing an unofficial magazine. It also gives details of some of the abuses they have suffered in that and other facilities. And a previously unpublished court verdict, in the case of imprisoned student Chen Yanbin (Appendix VI), provides valuable insight into the nature and purposes of the Chinese government's continuing campaign to suppress peaceful dissent.

In addition, the report provides startling details of an attempt by the Chinese government to persuade the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to take a tour of Beijing No.2 Prison. The ICRC is currently negotiating with Beijing to be allowed regular access to political and other "security" detainees throughout China, and the offer of a prison tour came on January 20, 1994, during the initial round of discussions in Beijing on the topic. Although the visit did not take place, HRW/Asia and HRIC have learned that Beijing authorities made elaborate preparations in advance of the planned visit, designed to conceal all trace of the harsh and inhumane regime that normally prevails at Beijing No.2.

Also included in the report is a detailed account of Beijing's continued use of both political and "common criminal" prisoners to produce forced-labor goods for export, despite the Sino-U.S. "Memorandum of Understanding" signed in August 1992 that was supposed to have ended such practices. As the account shows, dozens of political prisoners in Beijing No.2 Prison are currently being forced to work long hours preparing latex gloves for shipment to the United States and other countries.

Finally, the report contains (as Appendix VII) a full translation of an important official document, *Regulations for the Behavior of Criminals Undergoing Reform*. Promulgated "internally" by the government in 1990 and made public here for the first time, this document reveals the absolute physical and mental obedience required of prisoners, with orders for everything from the positions in which they must sleep to what they may think and say.

The material for this report was gathered at considerable risk by numerous human rights activists in the mainland, some of whom went door to door visiting families of prisoners to collect information. The work could not have been done without the close cooperation of prisoners' family members and former prisoners.

Those who say that China has different human rights standards should look at the work of these people and the way many of the prisoners listed have struggled, at great personal risk, to have their rights respected. The families of many ordinary people, despite pressure and harassment from the authorities, have exhausted all possible avenues of appeal, from letters to local leaders to law suits, to get proper treatment for their relatives -- almost invariably without result. Often these families are connected neither to the dissident networks which provide support and act as conduits for information, nor to foreign journalists or human rights groups.

For all these prisoners, international pressure may be the only remaining source of hope. The events of the past few years have shown that when pressure is brought to bear on behalf of imprisoned individuals, there is the possibility of improved treatment, lighter sentences, and even early releases. In its absence, the treatment of prisoners can be brutal.

II. Beijing No.2 Prison

III-treatment of Prisoners

The following examples of prisoner abuse by guards at Beijing No.2 Prison are all ones which prisoners'

families, friends, and fellow-inmates felt compelled to find ways to bring to the attention of the outside world.

■ In September 1993, a group of more than forty "counterrevolutionaries" and other political prisoners was transferred from Beijing No.1 Prison (an old penal facility now reportedly scheduled for demolition)⁵³ to Beijing No.2. The new inmates were so appalled at the long working hours and harsh regime there, however, that they staged a series of low-key, peaceful protest actions. Citing relevant sections of the government's own recent "White Papers" on human rights and criminal reform, the protesters called for fresh air, exercise, reduced working hours, and an end to having to produce goods for export. Retribution by the authorities came swiftly. Two leaders of the protest, **Han Gang**, serving a twelve-year sentence, and **Miao Doshun**, serving a commuted death sentence, were removed from the group and placed in punitive solitary confinement, and other inmates have heard no news of them since then. Many other participants in the protest were subjected to beatings and/or "strict regime" (*yanguan*) treatment by the guards and then transferred to other parts of the prison as a means of diffusing and controlling the protest.

■ On September 28, 1993, **Shi Xuezhil**, a fifty-three-year-old prisoner serving a sixteen-year sentence for alleged "counterrevolutionary arson," inserted a note into a package of latex gloves destined for export that he had been handling in the prison workshop, in the hope that the note would be found by people abroad, thereby exposing the authorities' continued exporting of forced-labor products.⁵⁴ But he was discovered by another prisoner, who denounced him to the prison authorities. Shi was then placed in the solitary confinement block and beaten repeatedly by guards with electric batons. There has been no further word of him since then.

■ Around the same time, **Liang Zhongchang**, a "June 4th" detainee who had become deeply disturbed as a result of the harsh prison regime, attempted to commit suicide by swallowing three sewing needles inserted into a cigarette filter. Discovered by the authorities, he was promptly sent to the solitary confinement block for two weeks and then returned to his cell again. Any remission of sentence for medical treatment was out of the question for Liang. According to severe new regulations introduced by the government in 1988 and 1990, prisoners who attempt "self-injury or self mutilation" are in all cases to be denied the "release on bail for medical treatment" (*baowai jiuyl*) which on occasion can be granted to other seriously ill inmates.⁵⁵

■ Also in late 1993, **Shen Licheng**, a prisoner serving a thirteen-year term for alleged espionage, staged a

⁵³ In late 1990, most of the "common criminal" prisoners held at the Beijing Municipal Jail - a pre-trial detention facility which stood adjacent to Beijing No.1 Prison and was often referred to either as Banbuqiao Jail or, on account of the shape of its main cell building, as "K-Block" - were transferred to Qincheng Prison, formerly China's best-known facility for holding political prisoners. During 1991, Banbuqiao Jail was torn down and then rebuilt along modern, high-security and high-tech lines. It appears that the same fate is now about to befall Beijing No.1 Prison itself, the capital's oldest and most venerable penal institution. It is unclear, however, whether the prison is to be rebuilt on the same site as before or at another location altogether; it is also possible that, alternatively, it will not be rebuilt at all and that Beijing No.2 Prison will instead be enlarged.

⁵⁴ A similar incident occurred in Taiwan in April 1994, when a note written by prisoner Liu Hsin-ping protesting against the Taiwan government's exporting of prison-made goods was found in a toy glider package by a young boy in Colorado, U.S.A. The incident drew worldwide press attention and prompted official statements by both the Taiwan and U.S. governments. ("Taiwan Denies Human Rights Violations," UPI, April 19, 1994; and "Taiwan Welcomes Probe into Exports from Prisons," Reuters, April 21, 1994.)

⁵⁵ "Notification from the Ministry of Public Security and Ministry of Justice Concerning the Resolute Punishment According to Law of Criminal Elements Who Attempt to Evade Their Punishments by Employing Methods of Self-Encrimplement," August 25, 1988, in *Gong'an Jiguan Banli Laodong Jiaoyang Anjian Fagui Huibian (Compilation of Laws and Regulations on the Handling of Cases of Labor Re-education by the Public Security Organs)*, published *neibu* (restricted-circulation) by Police Officials Educational Press (Beijing), 1992. See also Article 3 of the "Methods of Implementation for Release of Criminals on Bail for Medical Treatment," issued jointly by the Ministry of Justice, Supreme People's Procuracy and Ministry of Public Security on December 31, 1990.

protest against the excessive working hours in the prison and declared that he would henceforth refuse to work more than eight hours per day. He was brutally beaten by guards, who employed four electric batons simultaneously on his body, and was then put in the solitary confinement block. When leading political prisoner **Chen Yanbin**, currently serving a fifteen-year sentence for publishing an unofficial pro-democracy magazine in 1990, heard of the incident, he expressed solidarity with Shen by demanding that the guards also lock him up in the solitary block. As punishment for his audacity, prison officials duly fulfilled his request. (The court verdict in Chen's case is attached below as Appendix VI.)

- In the early hours of October 30, 1993, **Sun Hong**, a twenty-two-year-old "June 4th" prisoner serving a suspended death sentence, later commuted to life imprisonment, for alleged arson offenses, became despairing at the harsh prison regime and attempted suicide by driving a long sewing needle hard into the left side of his chest. Before doing so, he left two letters containing his last wishes and statements; on the envelope of one was written the words, "I'm going home now." Discovered by the guards, he was rushed to the prison clinic and the needle was surgically removed. But in line with the regulations against "self-mutilators," Sun was not granted medical bail; instead, he too was sent to the solitary confinement block for ten days and then returned to the cells.

- "If you don't behave, we'll beat you to death," another group of prisoners were told by guards at the prison. "You are unknown anyway!" (See Appendix V.) **Sun Liyong**, **Li Aimin**, and **Shang Zhwen**, serving seven; three; and six-year sentences respectively, three members of a group of activists arrested in 1991 and convicted of "counterrevolution" for publishing an underground magazine, *The Sound of the Bell (Zhong Sheng)*, were among those so threatened. They had protested against the brutal treatment they were receiving at the hands of guards and other inmates, treatment which (according to the account of prison life included below) is routine at Beijing No.2.

- The medical conditions of two prisoners, **Ren Wandong**, a veteran human rights activist serving a seven-year prison term for making public speeches and writing and distributing articles calling for human rights reforms, and **Chen Ziming**, serving a thirteen-year sentence as one of the alleged "black hands" behind the 1989 pro-democracy movement, have seriously deteriorated. Ren is in danger of losing his eyesight to macular degeneration and bilateral cataracts. His chronic gastritis, severe stomach pain, and upper respiratory tract infections have not improved. Chen, in robust health when he entered prison, is in urgent need of diagnosis and treatment for kidney and stomach ailments, and for a severe skin condition which has spread to his entire body. He is reported to be very weak; all his teeth are loose; and he has repeated bad colds and upper respiratory infections.

Organization and Structure

In China, prisons (*jianyu*) are high-security facilities mainly used to hold two classes of detainees: "common criminals" sentenced to terms of ten or eleven years and upwards, and sentenced "counterrevolutionaries," most but not all of whom are political prisoners in the generally accepted sense.⁵⁶ The Beijing No.2 Prison, which is of very recent construction,⁵⁷ is located in a rural suburban area to the southeast of the capital. Prior to our receipt of the new prisoner lists, the only political dissidents known to be held there were Chen Ziming and Ren Wandong. Other prominent 1989 dissidents, including Wang Dan and Wang Juntao, were held at the prison prior to their release or transfer elsewhere.

⁵⁶ See *Detained in China and Tibet*, pp.288-91, for an explanation of the various categories of "counterrevolutionary" crime. For further information on the distinction between "prisons," "labor-reform camps" and "labor re-education camps" in China, see *Anthems of Defeat* (op cit), Chapter 6.

⁵⁷ The prison is believed either to have been built, or substantially enlarged, sometime during the mid- to late-1980s.

The main part of Beijing No.2 Prison is known as the "Southern Sector" (*nan jian qu*).⁵⁸ [See map of prison layout, below.] It currently comprises a total of seventeen different "teams" (*zhongdui*)⁵⁹ of between 120 and 160 prisoners each, housed in six different cell blocks. Each block has three floors, with a separate team of prisoners assigned to each one.⁶⁰ Perhaps for security reasons, access to each of the floors is via a separate entrance and stairway. There are eighteen cells on each floor: ten large ones of about twenty-four square meters in size, each containing twelve prisoners; and eight small cells of about sixteen square meters, each containing eight prisoners. The prisoners sleep on bunk-beds, and there is a cold-water washroom on each floor. Several of the small cells in each block are used as storage rooms; others contain surveillance equipment, and in these there is space left for one less prisoner. Adjacent to each cell block is a small exercise yard (a "basketball court," though it is reportedly never used for that purpose) and an office and dormitory block for the prison guards. The total prisoner population for the Southern Sector of Beijing No.2 Prison is currently about 2,000.

In addition to the six main cell blocks, the complex contains two factory buildings, as yet unused since most of the production work takes place in the cells; a two-story building known as the "Special Prison" (*Te-Jian*), which houses a canteen⁶¹ and a workshop where the political prisoners process latex gloves, most for export abroad; and a teaching building, main canteen, and medical clinic. The prison is also equipped with a solitary-confinement punishment block (referred to variously as the "isolation cells" (*jinbi shi*) and the "introspection cells" (*fankong hao*), located next to the Special Prison. Food rations in the punishment block consist of five steamed wheat buns (*mantou*) per day: one for breakfast, and two for lunch and dinner respectively. Other than this, those being punished receive only one small piece of pickled vegetables (*xian cai*). Prisoners sent to the punishment cells are almost always first handcuffed, usually with hands in front of their body, and they are also shackled at the ankles. The cuffs and shackles remain in place through the period of solitary confinement.

Prior to September 1993, Beijing No.2 Prison contained just over one hundred inmates sentenced in connection with the Tiananmen Square protest movement. On September 12, thirty-three "June 4th"-related prisoners, most of them "counterrevolutionaries," together with ten other "counterrevolutionaries," were transferred to the prison from Beijing No.1 Prison. Initially, all 140 or so of these political prisoners were housed in Team No.7 on the ground floor of Block 3. Following protest actions by the new inmates, however, all ten non-"June 4th" "counter-revolutionaries" were moved to other teams.⁶² That move left 130 prisoners in Team No.7, nine in Team No.9 and one in

⁵⁸ Also known as the prison's "new" sector.

⁵⁹ The usual administrative structure of Chinese prisons and labor camps (two different types of "labor-reform units" for sentenced criminals which together comprise the *laogai* system) is as follows: the prison or camp itself is often known as a "detachment" (*zhidui*), which is in turn made up of several "brigades" (*dadui*); the latter may in turn be subdivided into "teams" (*zhongdui*). But there are many variations on this general pattern: some labor-reform units are not large enough to qualify as "detachments"; in other cases (as in Beijing No.2 Prison), there may be "teams" but no "brigades." Further structural variations depend upon whether the labor-reform unit in question is under the direct administrative jurisdiction of the local, municipal or provincial authorities.

⁶⁰ The location of the various teams is as follows: Block 1: Teams 2 and 3 (ground floor empty); Block 2: Teams 4, 5, 6; Block 3: Teams 7, 8, 9; Block 4: Teams 10, 11, 12; Block 5: Teams 13, 14, 15; Block 6: Teams 16, 17, 18.

⁶¹ This is the special high-priced canteen, referred to in Appendix IV, where family members are allowed to dine with their imprisoned relatives during the once-monthly visit period. On such occasions, the families are reportedly often expected to pay for one or more of the prison guards to dine alongside them in the canteen.

⁶² The exception was **Guan Jian**, a former journalist for *Beijing Qingnian Bao* (*Beijing Youth News*), serving a twenty-year sentence for alleged spying activities; he remained in Team No.7.

Team No.10. Sometime in late 1993 or early 1994, nearly all of these prisoners were transferred again, this time to Team No.9 on the third floor of Block 3, where it is believed they currently remain. The list of Beijing No.2 inmates which appears below contains the names of fifty-nine prisoners, nearly all of whom were sentenced for "counterrevolution"; the majority of these cases were previously unknown to human rights groups. The identity of the other one hundred or so "June 4th" prisoners incarcerated in Beijing No.2 is not yet known.

As the first-hand account presented below (Appendix IV) reveals, the political prisoners in Team No.9 are being forced to work ten- to sixteen-hour days, seven days per week, at various production tasks such as checking latex gloves for quality. When the prison has a large order to fill, the prisoners sometimes have to work through the night as well. The account reveals a picture of unrelenting general abuse and exploitation of the inmates, both by prison officials and also by other, more "privileged" inmates. According to other sources, Team Nos.5 and 12 are said to be processing woolen clothing on behalf of two factories run by the municipal Bureau of Textile Industry; these are reportedly also for export. Other prisoners work at separating out cotton threads. In addition, the inmates of Team No.5 manufacture small toys; if a single substandard item is produced, the prisoner concerned is fined five *yuan*. In Team No.18, prisoners work on their cell floors making disposable, single-use chopsticks; no provisions or safety standards for hygienic production are observed. Inmates can be punished by the guards at any time and on any pretext, often with electric batons. They receive no pay, and many of them are said to have developed respiratory conditions and severe hand ailments as a result of the prolonged and repetitive forced labor.

The Proposed icrc Visit

According to a detailed account received recently by HRW/Asia and HRIC from Chinese sources, an elaborate scheme was hatched by the Chinese government in January 1994 to take a delegation of representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (icrc) on a carefully staged visit to Beijing No.2 Prison.

Although it is not known when the authorities first raised the idea of the visit to Beijing No.2 Prison with the icrc delegation, Chinese government preparations for the visit reportedly began in earnest on January 16 and the date of the visit was set to be January 20. No less an individual than China's Minister of Justice, Xiao Yang, reportedly assumed personal command of the preparatory work for the visit, which the authorities evidently viewed as a major international propaganda exercise requiring direction from the highest levels of the government. The preparatory measures, which involved various forms of coercion against prisoners in the rush to create an acceptable image for the prison, also illustrate the importance the government attached to this charade.

The icrc delegation was to be taken to see Team Nos.13-18 (i.e. Blocks 5 and 6.) In advance of the visit, all sick prisoners were moved out of these teams, and on January 20, all prisoners of so-called "unattractive appearance" (*moyang bu jia*) were transferred to various other teams in Blocks 1-4.

A massive clean-up and hygiene operation was carried out, lasting from January 16 to the morning of January 20. Team Nos.4 and 16 repainted the prison walls, and glass panes were installed in all the windows. (Window frames were normally blocked with paper in winter.) The deadline for this task was January 19, and it was done in such a rush that there was no time to put in the putty; the glass panes thus ended up being held in place by nothing more than small clips and could have fallen out at any time. Several of the prisoner teams did not sleep all night during the operation.

Team Nos.13-18 had to carry out a particularly thorough clean-up. Apart from bedding, washbowl, and towel, together with those few objects that would fit inside a small metal box beneath each bed, prisoners were not allowed to leave anything else on display, even a single water cup. All bedding quilts had to be folded into a square shape of exactly specified dimensions. Despite all these intensive preparations, after minister of justice Xiao Yang had finished an inspection one day, he drily commented: "I'll give you fifty marks out of one hundred for cleanliness and hygiene. You must do better than this."

Team No.4, the logistics and canteen team, was told to prepare several new, high-class meal menus and to write them up on the canteen blackboard. The dishes included deep-fried dough cake (*youbing*) for breakfast and pork dumplings (*baozi*) and rice for lunch. The staple foods listed were dough cakes, pork dumplings, rice, meat cakes (*roubing*), grilled sesame-seed cakes (*shaobing*) and steamed twisted roll (*huajuan*). Among the main courses listed were the following delicacies: "fragrant shredded meat" (*yuxiang rousi*), "fried three flavors" (*chao san ding*), fried pork chunks, and smoked liver with celery. (In reality, the actual staple food at Beijing No.2 consists of nothing but steamed wheat buns (*mantou*)— except on Sundays, when a meal containing rice is served. The diet reportedly never varies. The main courses are equally deficient: stewed vegetables for lunch, and in the evenings only a bowl of clear vegetable soup.)

Each team was ordered to make a unified purchase of new bedsheets and pillowcase-style towels. These were to be spread out on the beds during the day, but it was forbidden for prisoners to sit on them; and at night, it was forbidden to actually use the new bedsheets. The prisoners had to pay for the new sheets and towels themselves, and the guards made sure they did so.

On January 20, prison authorities imposed a total ban on all activities by both the inmates and the guards of Blocks 1-4. A strict ban was also placed on the hanging of goods or items in the windows of those blocks. The official plan was that when the ICRC delegation arrived, it would be informed that Blocks 1-4 had not yet been put into service and were still empty. (The aim was apparently to disguise the fact that the prison was already full, and so to conceal the fact of the canteen's inability to feed so many inmates.)

In the days prior to the scheduled visit, every prisoner in Beijing No.2 was allowed to take a hot-water shower, the first that any inmate of the prison had been granted since January 1993. (On average, one hot-water shower per year, usually just before the Chinese Spring Festival, is allowed to the prisoners.) On January 20, more than twenty prisoners from teams in Blocks 5 and 6 were selected by the authorities and ordered to stand ready with their toilet utensils. When the ICRC delegation arrived, they were to march out towards the shower room and all take a shower. (Again, the reality was that the shower room had been used as a storage facility for the past year, and the prison authorities had only emptied it of goods four days earlier, on January 16.)

The prisoners in Blocks 5 and 6 were instructed that if any delegation members asked them questions, on no account were they to mention the presence of second-time offenders (recidivists) in the prison. By this means, apparently, the authorities hoped to conceal the real details of the crime rate in China.

On January 20, in readiness for the ICRC visit, all production work in the prison was halted for the day. The reasons for this were, firstly, that export goods are among the items produced in the prison; and secondly, that certain other goods were produced in sub-standard conditions of hygiene. Just before January 20, all the teams had to shift the various products and raw materials they had been working on across to the prison's as-yet-unused factory workshop area, for purposes of concealment. (See area marked "4" on map of the prison.) Moreover, the workshop used by Team No.9 for manufacturing the latex gloves, which is located on the second floor of the Special Prison, was sealed off completely by the authorities. And the "family dining" room, located on the ground floor of the Special Prison, was also closed and sealed off for several days prior to January 20.

Finally, just in advance of the ICRC visit that never happened, the solitary-confinement punishment cells were emptied of all prisoners. After midday on January 20, when it was finally confirmed that the visit was cancelled, the prisoners were all sent back to the punishment block.

III. Qinghe Farm

Located to the east of Beijing in the municipality of Tianjin, Qinghe Farm, one of the oldest and largest PRC penal facilities, nonetheless comes under the administrative jurisdiction of the Beijing authorities. The western sector

of the farm contains mainly persons sentenced without trial by the police to terms of several years' re-education through labor. The eastern sector, which centers on the town of Chadian, primarily contains sentenced "common criminals" serving terms of ten years or less. The Qinghe penal complex is often loosely referred to as "Chadian Farm." Most of the approximately 200 democracy movement prisoners from 1989 who are listed below as still held at Qinghe Farm are housed in the eastern sector. The overwhelming majority of these prisoners' cases previously were unknown.

The camp is divided into some twenty-five different "branches," each of which is in turn subdivided into several brigades. Branches No.3, No.6, and No.8 each set up special brigades for the prisoners sentenced in connection with the 1989 protests. These are popularly known as "rioter" (*baotu*) brigades. All their inmates perform extremely arduous forced labor building the local road network. Each is expected to dig six cubic meters of earth every day; should he fail, he reportedly is either physically punished or has his rations reduced.

Fair Trial Concerns

As will be seen from the prisoner lists, many of those held at Qinghe Farm and some of those at Beijing No.2 were convicted of offenses allegedly involving violence. They include such activities as arson, "counterrevolutionary murder," and stealing weapons. It is important to note, however, that most such detainees were convicted of offenses involving violence not against the person, but only against property – a crucial distinction in most legal systems, but one that appears to have been ignored by the Chinese courts in the case of "June 4th"-related offenders. In light of this distinction, the prison sentences passed on many of those held at Qinghe Farm in particular appear to be disproportionately long. Moreover, HRW/Asia and HRIC have serious doubts about whether any of these inmates received fair trials such as would have conclusively demonstrated either the accuracy of the charges brought or, more importantly, the question of their guilt or innocence. In most cases, the trials were clearly aimed more at making examples of the individuals concerned, so as to deter those who might participate in such "rebellions" in future, than at uncovering the truth of their actual actions.

Human rights groups have repeatedly documented the failings of the Chinese justice system, particularly where politically sensitive issues are involved.⁶³ There is no presumption of innocence in Chinese courts, conditions of pre-trial detention are often severely abusive, coerced confessions are common, sentences are frequently decided by Party committees prior to the hearing of evidence, and judges are generally more versed in the exigencies of politics than in the requirements of law. Lawyers have hardly any time to prepare a defense, and in sensitive cases they may be forbidden from entering a not-guilty plea. Some defendants had no lawyers. (These and other fair trial concerns apply with equal force, it should be added, in the case of the allegedly violent or "common criminal" prisoners listed below as being held at Beijing No.2 Prison. Most of those held at Beijing No.2, however, were convicted of peaceful dissident activities and thus should never have been subjected to arrest or trial proceedings in the first place.)

According to a document circulated by the All-China Lawyers Association to lawyers around the country assigned to defend people such as those listed in this report, "Trying the serious criminal elements in the turmoil and rebellion is a grave political struggle, with very strong policy implications, and should be regarded as an important, specialized battle."⁶⁴ Moreover, "To provide good defense in the turmoil-related cases," said a report from the Shanghai

⁶³ For further information on fair trial concerns for both political and "common" criminals in China, see *Detained in China and Tibet*, pp.xvii-xxi; and Human Rights Watch/Asia, "The Trial of Bao Tong," 1992, Vol.4, No.22.

⁶⁴ This is one of three internal official documents translated in Human Rights in China, *Going Through the Motions: The Role of Defense Counsel in the Trials of the 1989 Protestors*, March 1993. The documents were prepared as reports for a series of high-level conferences of officials in charge of legal work, and provide detailed instructions to law firms on how they should handle cases involving "rioters."

Lawyers Association, "was to play a part in the overall task of quelling the turmoil and rebellion."⁶⁵ Such defense mainly involved cooperating with the procuracy and the courts in creating the appearance of trials which conformed to proper procedure, and persuading defendants and their families to submit to this "justice." "Defense is not a matter of victory or defeat, and the lawyer is not competing with the procuratorial and court personnel to see who comes out on top; it is a propaganda effort, directed at the citizens, to condemn vice and praise justice."⁶⁶

Human Rights Watch/Asia and HRIC are also concerned that, in many cases, individuals may have received excessive or arbitrary sentences. It is generally accepted that students were given the lightest sentences, while intellectuals were treated more severely and workers the harshest of all. Most of the specific circumstances of the trials are unknown. However, some stories illustrate the possible scale of the problem. One man listed here, for example, spent three years in Qinghe Farm for allegedly "stealing weapons": in fact, he had brought home seven bullets that he found on the streets of Beijing. Furthermore, in the circumstances of the crackdown, questions arise as to whether some acts charged as criminal might actually have been carried out in legitimate self-defense -- especially in a context where troops, tanks, and machine guns were ranged against unarmed crowds. Such arguments were never even considered in the trials of the people on these lists who were charged with violent offenses.

Considering the broader circumstances of these trials, HRW/Asia and HRIC believe that the evidence in all such cases should be made public by the authorities forthwith, and a judicial review conducted where appropriate. It is worth noting that after the "Tiananmen Square Incident" of April 1976 in which tens of thousands of citizens in Beijing publicly mourned Premier Zhou Enlai and denounced the regime of the Gang of Four, mass arrests took place. But later, following Deng Xiaoping's return to power, almost all of those arrested for alleged violent activities were freed and declared to have been the victims of political persecution and trumped-up charges. The same thing could well happen to most "common criminals" convicted for actions related to the 1989 protests.

IV. The Export of Prison-Made Goods

New documents obtained by Human Rights Watch/Asia also shed light on the current practice of exporting goods produced in Chinese prisons. According to the PRC State Council's most authoritative recent public statement on the subject:

Prison labor products are mostly used to meet the needs within the prison system, and only a small quantity enters the domestic market through normal channels. The export of prison products is prohibited. China's foreign trade departments, which handle the export of Chinese commodities in a unified way, have never granted foreign trade rights to reform-through-labor institutions.⁶⁷

Equally authoritative - although flatly contradicting the above claim - is the following, somewhat earlier official definition of one of the main functions of China's Ministry of Justice (the government department that actually runs China's prisons):

The Ministry of Justice shall organize the various Labor-reform Bureaus at provincial, autonomous regional, and municipal level...to realize and expand their foreign-exchange earnings through the exporting of labor-reform products.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Ibid, p.17.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p.19

⁶⁷ "White Paper on Human Rights," published by the Information Office of the State Council of the PRC, Beijing: November 1991, p.28.

⁶⁸ *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Guowuyuan Zuzhi Jigou Gaiyao (Outline of the Organizational Structure of the PRC State Council)*,

As if it were needed, given the overwhelming body of evidence that now exists to disprove the first of these two statements, the following recent passage from a "restricted circulation" journal for prison officials, published by China's Ministry of Justice, give a rare and candid admission of the truth:

According to the first point made in the "White Paper", only a very small number of [prison-made] products ever enter the domestic market. According to the second, *the exporting of such products is in all cases expressly forbidden*. In practice, however, these two stipulations have cut away the very foundation of the labor-reform enterprises' continued existence as enterprises.⁶⁹ (in original)

In response to steadily growing international pressure against their longstanding use of prison labor to produce goods for export, the Chinese authorities have recently begun to adopt a series of subterfuges in order to continue the practice. One such has been to launch - under the unfortunate slogan "one prison, two systems" (*yi jian liang zhi*) - a "structural reform" of the forced-labor economy entailing, essentially, a separation of prison-enterprise management from actual prison administration. The plan is, firstly, that prison administrators will henceforth have to supply prisoners to their own prison enterprises on a "contract labor" basis, and the enterprise management will in turn have to compensate the prison authorities financially; and secondly, that "purely worker-operated" factories and workshops, namely ones staffed solely by non-prisoners, should increasingly be set up within the prison enterprise system. If foreign businessmen have to visit the factories, they can then be taken only to these special workshops. In this way, it is hoped that forced-labor enterprises will be able to pass themselves off to the outside world as being normal, non-prison-labor business concerns.

Another tactic increasingly being employed by China's prison enterprise managers is to organize their captive workforce into a kind of "labor service" company, whereby prisoners are in effect contracted by the prison administration to perform "in-house" manufacturing or processing tasks for outside, non-prison enterprises. The codeword for this growing new prison-labor practice is "external processing" (*wai jiaogong*). According to the *1993 Beijing Industrial Yearbook* for example, in the course of 1992, "The Beijing Municipal Labor-Reform Bureau...undertook altogether seventy-nine external processing projects." The various production tasks currently being carried out by the prisoners at Beijing No.2 Prison fit this pattern closely.

Beijing No.2 Prison

Human Rights Watch/Asia recently obtained actual samples of both the latex gloves produced at the Beijing Latex Factory and those which the inmates of Team Nos.3, 7 and 9 of the Beijing No.2 Prison spend many hours each day checking for quality defects. The gloves obtained from the two different locations are identical, indicating that the Beijing Latex Factory is indeed the production source for the goods checked in the prison. Under existing U.S. law, all goods manufactured either in whole or in part by forced labor are barred from being imported.

According to official Chinese documents obtained by Human Rights Watch/Asia, the Beijing Latex Factory, which is centrally located in the capital's Chaoyang district, was by 1989 producing fifteen million pairs of latex medical gloves, together with no fewer than thirty-five million latex inspection gloves and eight million pairs of household-use latex gloves, annually. According to the document, "All are exported" (*"quanbu chukou"*)⁷⁰ According to the account of life and conditions in Beijing No.2 Prison translated below, "Since March 1991, more than 10,000 cases

Workers Publishing House (Beijing, June 1988), p.74.

⁶⁹ "Some Thoughts on How the Labor-Reform Economy Can Solve its Current Difficulties," *Fanzui Yu Gaizao Yanjiu* (Research in Crime and Reform), No.4, 1993, p.23.

⁷⁰ *A Compendium of Chinese Chemical Enterprises* (Zhongguo Huagong Qi-Shiye Danwei Minglu Daquan), pub. March 1991, p.41.

have been exported." Moreover, the principal export destination for the latex medical gloves (both the sterilized surgical type and also a non-sterile, "reusable" type) appears to be the United States.

According to a bilingual advertisement for the Beijing Latex Factory which appeared in an official Chinese trade book:

Our medical gloves...conform in quality to the health-product standards laid down by the American FDA (Food and Drug Administration), and moreover they have penetrated the U.S. market (*ibing jinru Meiguo shichang*)⁷¹ [Original text in Chinese.]

Human Rights Watch/Asia also has a copy of the factory's current price list. Written in Chinese type, it is headed: "General List of Export Products from the Beijing Latex Factory." The factory's current output of latex medical gloves for export is listed as 500,000 pairs per month; and of the latex examination gloves for export, 3.6 million units per month. (The latter type of glove is also believed to be exported to the U.S.) The Beijing Latex Factory, moreover, is one of seventeen enterprises which together make up the Beijing Chemical Industry Group Corporation (*Beijing Huaxue Gongye Jituan Gongsi*). The export arm of this corporation is the BCIGC Import-Export Corporation (offices also located in Chaoyang district.) According to official Chinese records, BCIGC is the third most profitable enterprise, by total sales receipts, in the whole of Beijing, ranking only after the massive Capital Iron and Steel Corporation and the Beijing Yanshan Petrochemical Corporation.⁷²

Qinghe Farm

The Qinghe Farm's administrative headquarters in Beijing is located at No.97 Xuanwu Menwai Main Street, in the southwestern part of the city. The following three other Qinghe entities are also located at the same address: the Beijing Municipal Qinghe Machinery Factory's Business Office (*Beijing Shi Qinghe Jixie Chang Yewusha*); the Xinxin Real Estate General Company—Qinghe Corporation (*Xinxin Shiye Zonggongsi, Qinghe Gongsa*); and the Beijing Municipal Qinghe Foreign Trade Commodities Sales Department (*Beijing Shi Qinghe Waimao Shangpin Jingyingbu*).

Documentary sources show that the Qinghe Machinery Factory is actually located in the eastern sector of Qinghe Farm, at the Chadian site.⁷³ Prisoners there produce "electromobiles" (*dianpingche*), a rare high-class item which is sold all over China and probably also exported.⁷⁴ As for the Xinxin Real Estate Company, its entrance is through the same door as that used for the Qinghe Farm administrative headquarters; Xinxin may be involved in using funds earned from prison-labor production to purchase property overseas. And the Qinghe Commodities Sales Department, which is clearly owned by Qinghe Farm, appears to be exclusively involved (apart from a small amount of retail trade conducted out of the shop in which its offices are located) in exporting goods such as clothing and sportswear to foreign countries.

APPENDIX IV: A LETTER FROM PRISON

⁷¹ *The Almanac of Chinese Export-Oriented Enterprises (Volume Beijing)*, Guangming Daily Press, Beijing, 1990, p.172. The book described the factory as follows: "Beijing Latex Factory, one of the earliest enterprises in manufacturing various kinds of natural emulsive articles, produces products in full sorts of specifications. The productions are well marketed at home and abroad...The main products: gloves for surgical operation, for working use, and for personal use. Besides, various kinds of latex products are manufactured, such as rubber sponge, blood transfusion pipeline, meteorological balloon, air valve wick, nipple, imitative leather, etc." [Original text in English]

⁷² *Beijing Statistical Yearbook*, 1993, p.158.

⁷³ *Zhongguo Youzheng Bianma Daquan - Gongye Qiye Juan (Complete Postcodes of China - Industrial Enterprises Volume)*, People's Postal and Telecommunications Press, September 1989, p.139.

⁷⁴ *Fazhi Jianshe (Law and Order)* magazine, February 1988, p.39; published by the Ministry of Justice.
HRW/Asia and HRIC

PRODUCTION REGIME

The principal task of China's policy of reform through labor is ideological remolding, while its supplementary goal is production. But in fact what happens in the prisons is the exact opposite of this; labor is by far the most important part of prison life. Labor in China's prisons is absolutely compulsory. So let us discuss labor first.

Prisoners work on jobs arranged by the prison, by the team leader (prison guard), or by prisoners' family members. The prison administration sets annual targets for the sums to be turned over to it by each team according to the team's work program. For example, in 1991 Team No.7 was assigned the task of turning over the sum of 20,000 *yuan* to the prison administration. In fact, it handed over 40,000 *yuan*. So in 1992, its target was increased to 50,000 *yuan* and it actually turned over 70,000 *yuan*. Such over-fulfillment of targets benefits the prison guards of the brigade, since they can get promotions and line their pockets. The production programs and the number of prisoners working on them did not change in 1991 and 1992, but the output value almost doubled. This was not because the target for 1991 was set too low, but because the guards of the production team, in order to earn more for themselves, added to the prisoners' workload, forcing them to work more than ten hours a day. The longest stretch of time prisoners worked non-stop was over thirty hours, and fifteen or sixteen-hour workdays were very common. During the 1992 Spring Festival, prisoners resumed work on the day following Lunar New Year's Day.⁷⁵ Between April and July 1992, prisoners were not given a single Sunday off. Sometimes they even had their lunch in the workshop. They were deprived of their lunch break and were not allowed to return to their living quarters, which made it impossible for them to lie down even for a few minutes. In the biannual work evaluation reports on individual prisoners it is not permitted to mention this kind of compulsory overtime and work during festivals, so the prisoners do not even get credit for this overwork.

As a result of prolonged overwork (the prisoners' jobs were inspecting latex gloves and separating cotton threads), some forty prisoners developed swollen or deformed finger bones. Some may even be crippled for life. Furthermore, prisoners may suffer severe respiratory damage from working without any type of protective equipment in the dust-filled workshop.

Despite the working conditions, all prisoners who turn out poor quality work or have to redo their work will be punished (see below for details of punishments).

PRISON LIFE

The prison practices a system under which prisoners are controlled by other prisoners, and as a result prisoners are divided into many different grades. The so-called top grade prisoners are those who either have strong family connections in the prison, or have plenty of money to bribe the prison guards. It is impossible to achieve top-grade status simply through good behavior. While the majority of prisoners are not allowed to argue with others (those who do can be punished), those in the top grade may curse at and even beat up others as they please. If a person so abused dares to explain or argue, he would bring disaster upon himself, since a guard would use an electric prod on any part of his body except his eyes while nothing at all would happen to the prisoner who administered the beating. Furthermore, the top-grade prisoners known as "miscellaneous duties," who are supervisors or production group leaders, have the power to punish other prisoners themselves or order others to do so even when the person did nothing to offend them, simply because they feel "lousy" that day. When one of them dislikes a prisoner for some reason, he can find some pretext to punish a prisoner, such as that he is not properly dressed, and order the latter to stand still for five or six hours. During the hottest days of summer, when others must wear a shirt and long pants (prisoners are not allowed to go bare-chested even in their cells), these "top-grade people" are free to shout in the corridors in their underpants!

After a day of ceaseless work, or on the occasional day when they get a whole day off, prisoners still have to "go to study,"

⁷⁵ Chinese workers generally have three or four days off on this, the most important holiday in the Chinese calendar.

sitting on a little stool twenty centimeters high, ten centimeters wide and thirty centimeters long and studying "Rules of Behavior."⁷⁶ They are not allowed to read other books. This kind of "study," which is in fact a sitting punishment, is carried out for a total of eight hours a day in the morning, afternoon, and evening. Prisoners are not allowed to lean on the bed or speak.

The food in the prison is terrible. According to the rules, dishes⁷⁷ are not to be prepared for the evening meal, only soup is to be made. Every day the dishes and even more so the evening soup are not cooked as if for human consumption, and sometimes the food smells so bad it is difficult to swallow. According to prisoners from rural areas, even pigs would not eat that kind of food. The prison is supposed to serve "improved" food one day a week or for several days during a major festival, but in fact they only change its appearance, putting a little fat pork in the dishes and using good quality flour rather than coarse. This is just like the 1970s. The prison does not respect ethnic beliefs; foods for the Hui Muslims are prepared only in the most perfunctory way and no special food is prepared for vegetarians, Buddhists or Taoists. In the "Assorted Vegetables" served on the last day of a festival, a vegetarian found a piece of fat pork (either the cook dumped leftovers into the pot or the pot was not properly cleaned). In fact, the same pot was used to prepare food for both the Han Chinese and the Hui Muslims. This is a routine practice; different pots for Han and Hui are used only when pork is prepared.

Those on "miscellaneous duties or supervising" squeeze what they can even from this poor diet. The "supervisors" get night shift food all the time, while even when they have to work late into the night the majority of the prisoners get nothing extra, not even a mouthful of hot water.

Squeezing does not only occur between prisoners; "government cadres" also practice this and are even more greedy than prisoners. In 1991, the prison sold some oranges to the prisoners. The fruits were so small they were the size of fresh walnuts, yet prisoners were only given eleven oranges for five *jīn*,⁷⁸ despite the fact that they were so dried out they had hardly any juice. In July 1992, a team leader sold some peaches to prisoners for one *yuan* per *jīn* while the same kind of peaches were selling for only 0.25-0.30 *yuan* per *jīn* on the market. The small shop attached to the prison is open to prisoners one day a month offering another opportunity for such theft. The prisoners do not know what the prices should be and the transactions are not strictly recorded, so the shop can raise its prices at will. A can of haws sells for no more than three *yuan* on the market, but it is sold at the shop for four *yuan*. The price of any item which is originally, say, 4.60 or 4.80 *yuan* is rounded off to five *yuan* for "convenience"! With the collusion of the brigade, the shop forces prisoners to purchase remaindered goods. On one occasion, every prisoner was forced to buy more than twenty *yuan* worth of instant noodles (at 0.95 *yuan* a pack), although prisoners only get a stipend of three *yuan* a month. Thus the balance had to be paid for by family members. Food at the shop often becomes spoiled due to poor storage, but it is sold just the same. In order to increase its profits, the shop sells high-grade items. Fine foods and cigarettes fill its shelves in spite of the admonition "a high level of consumption is prohibited within prison walls." Family members visiting the prison are not allowed to bring food or cigarettes bought on the market. But they can buy these items at the prison shop in whatever amounts they like, the more they spend the better!

PUNISHMENTS

Punishments can be meted out to prisoners at any time. There are many types of punishments, the most commonly-used ones include: standing still; bowing down (as if bowing low to someone); flying (bowing with both arms swept back with fingers

⁷⁶ The *Rules of Behavior for Criminals Undergoing Reform* was issued in 1990.

⁷⁷ "Dishes," of meat, fish, vegetables, beancurd, and the like, are a meal eaten with rice.

⁷⁸ One pound is 0.9 *jīn*.

pointing to the ceiling); electric shock punishments; and isolation cells for self-examination (often combined with electric shocks).

Standing still often lasts as long as six or seven hours. Bowing and flying may last more than an hour, depending on the mood of the "cadre" in charge. After monthly visits and purchases, the "government cadres" usually inspect the cells to talk shop and play cards, because good food and high-grade cigarettes usually fall into their laps at this time. If the "government" is not properly treated, the prisoners had better expect to be dealt with.

Electric shocks are worth mentioning. If the guards want to administer electric shocks to a prisoner, there is no escaping it, no matter how small the matter is, whether it involved violence or whether the violence has already been resolved. When administering electric shocks to a prisoner, three or four electric prods, but no fewer than two and as many as nine, are used. (The victim of nine prods was Ma Yumin, who has since been transferred to a prison in Xinjiang.) The prods may be pointed at the prisoner's chest or back, below the ribs, the arch of the foot, the mouth, the face, the private parts, or the anus. The duration may be ten minutes or half an hour, until the guard's craving is satisfied. When he becomes tired, someone else takes over. He may rest for a while, sip some tea and then come back to administer more shocks. The tragedy is that no prisoner dares to stand up and resort to the law to protect himself!

CORRUPTION IN THE PRISON

The corruption of the prison administration is primarily and most conspicuously related to money. The prisoners themselves can have no income, except the three *yuan* monthly stipend. But today, a prisoner cannot serve his sentence without money. First, family members have to supplement his living expenses. Second, except for an unlined suit of clothing issued every two years and a cotton-padded suit issued every four years, a prisoner's bedding, clothing, and shoes have to come from his family.

Third, prisoners are forced to subscribe to the *Beijing New Life Gazette* (the prison magazine) since those who do not are not eligible for the awards (these are given out every six months and are divided into labor reform activist class one, class two, and class three). To win a sentence reduction, a prisoner has to be named a labor reform activist four times, with each award reducing the sentence by three months. At the semi-annual award granting ceremony, fewer than half of the prisoners are eligible to be named labor reform activists and only a handful are able to win four awards in a row. Then there are a great number of prisoners who enjoy special privileges, so the number of prisoners who can actually win a sentence reduction through their hard work is extremely small and the prisoners have to pay a very high price for it.

Fourth, in the name of making "cultural savings," family members are not allowed to send books or periodicals to prisoners, so that prisoners live in a cultural desert.

Fifth, the prison shows a movie once a week on average, which is supposed to be for educational purposes. But the prison charges an admission fee of one *yuan* and attendance is compulsory. The admission charge is, of course, to be paid by the prisoner.

Sixth, when a prisoner becomes sick and has to be treated outside the prison, or when there is a serious event in a prisoner's family and the person has to return home for a visit, the prison provides transportation and charges the prisoner the regular taxi fare. In mid-1992, the prison tried to make prisoners pay their own medical expenses with a visit to the doctor and medicines all requiring such payment, and registration alone costing three *yuan*. This system was discontinued that same year, perhaps because it was just too terrible.

Seventh, the prison charges one *yuan* per person for each family member who comes on the monthly visit plus an additional *yuan* for "sanitation." There is no public bus service near the prison, and if one takes the prison bus, each person has to pay another *yuan*. If one needs to visit a prisoner for some reason at a time outside the regular visiting hours, the charges are doubled.

Eighth, in order to "make a profit" the prison has set up a restaurant within its walls where visiting family members may

have a meal with a prisoner. This appears to be "the government showing solicitude" for prisoners, until one finds out what the prices are. A meal will cost at least 100 *yuan* but it may be as much as 200, 400, or 500, even up to 700 *yuan*. This is exploitation pure and simple. No one but close relatives are allowed to visit prisoners, others are not allowed in and only three family members are allowed in at a time. But if you order a meal, you may see any one you like and more people may come. In other words, if you are willing to spend money, you get all the conveniences.

Ninth, on the subject of medical parole. When a prisoner gets sick, he may not get to see the doctor and even when his illness is diagnosed as being serious, he still will not necessarily get medical parole. But if you have enough money to grease all the necessary palms, you may get medical parole even if you are not really ill at all.

Tenth, prisoners often bribe the team leader to get their sentences reduced. Money is needed even to get assigned to lighter work or get sick leave.

Eleventh, the guards pretend to be upright, but they both solicit and accept bribes. They trample the law underfoot, brazenly exploiting the prisoners. Their mentality is warped; they feel bad when the prisoners have an easier time. Their pet phrase is, "If we say you are all right, you are all right even if you aren't; if we say you are not all right, you are not even if you are." In a word, "What we say goes." Even when a prisoner's fingers changed shape and became red and swollen from the work, they would not allow him to rest or seek treatment, saying, "Don't come to me if your fingers become swollen; it is only normal." "Unless you have a high fever, other symptoms simply don't count as being ill, so you can continue working."

Twelfth, labor reform products are not supposed to be exported. But the production of Team No.7 of Prison No.2 violates the law. The prison signed a contract with the Beijing Latex Factory to inspect its latex gloves; and the majority of the fleece-lined latex gloves for use in the home, the latex examination gloves, and also the latex medical gloves are all for export. Since March 1991, more than 10,000 cases have been exported. The inferior quality gloves were sold on the domestic market to deceive the nation's consumers. The department in charge of inspection has also been tricked (and bribed) so that sub-standard gloves are approved for export. The boxes for export bear English and German labels. (I am not certain, because I do not know German. But the letters are similar to English only arranged differently.)

MENTAL ILL-EFFECTS OF PRISON LIFE

As a result of four years of harsh imprisonment, some prisoners have become mentally abnormal. Firstly, they become decadent, which manifests itself in living like a robot; they do not study to improve their knowledge, but only read kungfu and obscene books. (Of course, these are smuggled in, but even the obscene stuff is all publicly distributed. In fact the books could hardly be described as pornographic; they are more like romantic novels.) They gamble and play cards to fill their spiritual emptiness.

Second, they become sadistic and cruel. Prisoners vent their spleen by mistreating others, but voluntary masochists are in short supply and there are many sadists among the prisoners. When the "political prisoners" first got to the prison, almost without exception they suffered torture and beatings at the hands of the "miscellaneous duties" (those prisoners charged with supervising other prisoners). They were bruised all over and some were bedridden for days. The "miscellaneous duties" used all kinds of instruments to beat the prisoners, including fists, feet, iron rods, rubber tubes, and batons. They also shamelessly robbed the prisoners of their personal belongings, clothing, and food while the guards simply turned a blind eye to it, did not pursue it, and even instigated this kind of brutality. In these circumstances, people who were beaten had no recourse, and their belongings sometimes ended up in the hands of the guards.

Third, they develop sexual abnormalities. As a result of prolonged suppression of sex, masturbation is very serious among the prisoners, and is done more or less openly, with some people doing it seven or eight times a day. At the same time, homosexual tendencies also appeared, with prisoners of the same sex embracing, kissing, and caressing each other openly.

Fourth, factions are formed. Since prisoners have different income levels, are from different classes and have different interests, they form different factions and gangs and fight among themselves. They report on each other to the authorities and make false accusations. In order to curry favor with the team leaders (the guards), to "make a good impression" and "stay close to the government," they inform on and create false charges against others.

Fifth, some have hallucinations. Some prisoners imagine that they will be released soon and draw mental support from the thought. They are repeatedly disappointed, but then they again start to plan and look forward to their releases. As a result, their mental state gets worse day by day.

Twelve people are crammed into a cell twenty-four meters square, not allowed to go out, and not allowed to visit other cells. There is no music, no books, and one even has to "report" to get permission to go to the toilet. Disaster may befall anyone at anytime. This distorted kind of life inevitably distorts prisoners' psyches. Prison cannot "reform" them; it can only and will certainly destroy them.

The prisoners described above are, in fact, those sentenced to prison terms for their role in "June 4th."⁷⁹ There are more than 100 of them in Beijing No.2 Prison's Team No.7. Many of them were under twenty when they were arrested and close to twenty of them were under eighteen years of age. More than thirty of them were sentenced to life or death with a two-year reprieve, while the rest are serving sentences of more than ten years. (Later, eight prisoners serving terms of less than ten years were transferred to Prison No.2; they were people whose residence registration (*hukou*) had been revoked.) Most of those sentenced to less than ten years are serving their time on the Chadian Farm (another name for Qinghe Farm). One, Le Qiang, a spy for Taiwan, is said to have been transferred from Prison No.1 to Yanqing Prison.

Of the over 100 prisoners in No.2 Prison, six are on medical parole; some thirty or forty have had their sentences reduced or have been re-sentenced. (Death with a two-year reprieve commuted to life imprisonment; life reduced to eighteen years. Sentences were reduced in most cases by one year or six months, with the exception of two prisoners, who got two and three-year reductions; this happened during the MFN negotiations.)

Prisoners have the right to appeal to the authorities, but if a prisoner does appeal, he is considered by the prison administration not to have recognized his crime and submitted to the law, so he will never be given a "labor reform activist" award and can never hope to have his sentence reduced. The court is fully aware of this, but does nothing about it. The courts usually refuse to hear any appeals, they just shelve them and do not even issue a response. So most of the appeals disappear without trace, like a stone dropped into the sea.

⁷⁹ "June 4th" is used to refer to the whole period of the protest movement, not only the massacre which occurred on that date.

APPENDIX V: AN APPEAL FOR ASSISTANCE

The Sound of the Bell, an unofficial periodical, was born in the days of brutality and terror after the bloody suppression of the 1989 pro-democracy movement by the ruling class who resorted to military force. Its purpose was to demonstrate strong dissatisfaction with the brutal act perpetrated by the Chinese government against human rights on June 4, 1989. At the same time, it represented a voice against the Chinese communists who brazenly trample on democracy, abuse their power and suppress the people in China. The founder of this periodical was Sun Liyong, formerly an official in charge of preliminary hearings of the East City Branch of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. Its major members were: Shang Ziwen, a cadre at the Through Transport Corporation; Li Aimin, a cadre at the Beijing No.2 Rubber Factory; and Jin Cheng, art designer at Beijing's International Conference Center. (Note: all four were sentenced and jailed in May 1991.) They were brought together by a common conviction to uphold justice, to cry out for democracy, freedom and human rights at great and inevitable risk!

The Sound of the Bell minced no words. Its language was simple and straightforward. It thoroughly repudiated and relentlessly exposed the brazen lies of the Chinese communist rulers. It condemned the authorities for their consistent violation of human rights, undermining of democracy, and evil acts of trampling the law underfoot. It inspired the awakening of the good but ignorant Chinese people to sound the bell of defending democracy, freedom, and human rights!

The periodical was published and circulated secretly. All by-lines were pseudonyms. So the outside world does not know the real names of these four founders or their current situation. In May 1991, the Chinese communist authorities closed ***The Sound of the Bell*** down, secretly arrested and tried Sun Liyong, Shang Ziwen, Li Aimin, and Jin Cheng. At the same time, they blocked information about the affair. Sun Liyong and the three others were held in four different cells in Qincheng Prison by the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. For eighteen months, their families did not know their whereabouts. As their names were unknown to the outside world, there was little pressure on the authorities. The Chinese communist police unscrupulously persecuted and maltreated them. They were once held in the same cell with prisoners on death row. Their inhumane treatment and mental and physical sufferings were unimaginable. They were often savagely beaten. Sometimes, the public security personnel used all kinds of torture to punish them on the pretext that they were "uncooperative" in settling their cases. They were warned on several occasions, "If you don't behave we'll beat you to death. You're unknown anyway!" What made one's hair stand on end was that the public security personnel often instigated the common criminals to beat them. These criminals, in order to win merit, were ruthless. Sun Liyong cannot use one of his eyes to this day. In the first eighteen months they were held at Qincheng, they were never let out, not even once. For a year and a half, they saw no sunshine. When the court tried them in secret, they could hardly walk. Except in the case of Jin Cheng, who was released after being held for almost two years, the three others are still languishing in prison under inhumane conditions.

Having learned the above-described situation, I, as a Chinese youth with a conscience, am duty-bound to publicize all this to the world. In my own name, I request that the international human rights organizations and all warm-hearted people, who are concerned about China's human conditions and who support China's democracy movement, extend your righteous hands and render humanitarian assistance to all the political dissidents and democracy campaigners, who, like those of ***The Sound of the Bell***, are still suffering illegal persecution, so that they may soon be released.

Thank you!

Ya Xi
Poet
December 25, 1993
Beijing

**APPENDIX VI: Verdict in the Case of Chen Yanbin and Zhang Yafei
Criminal Verdict of the Beijing Intermediate People's Court
(1990) Intermediate/Criminal No.2368**

Public Prosecutor:

Zhou Xiaoyan, Procurator acting on behalf of the Sub-Procuratorate of the Beijing Municipal People's Procuratorate Defendants:

Chen Yanbin, male; twenty-three; born in Beizhen County, Liaoning Province; unemployed. Residence: 3-7-601 Dongli, Dongdajie, Fengtai District, Beijing. Arrested on September 24, 1990 on charges of conducting counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement, and organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary clique. (The defendant) is currently in custody.

Zhang Yafei, male; twenty-four; born in Shanxian County, Shandong Province; unemployed. Residence: 201 Baliwa Village, Southern Suburb, Shizhong District, Jinan, Shandong Province. Arrested on September 24, 1990 on charges of conducting counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement, and organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary clique. (The defendant) is currently in custody.

Defender:

Liu Wenrong, Attorney, Beijing Overseas Chinese Affairs Legal Affairs Office.

The Sub-Procuratorate of the Beijing Municipal People's Procuratorate brought an indictment in this court against the defendants Chen Yanbin and Zhang Yafei who were charged with conducting counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement, and organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary clique. This court formed a collegial panel in accordance with law and conducted a public hearing. Zhou Xiaoyan, a procurator acting on behalf of the Sub-Procuratorate of the Beijing Municipal People's Procuratorate, appeared in court and spoke in support of the prosecution. The following facts were ascertained:

In February and March 1990, the defendants Chen Yanbin and Zhang Yafei, working in collusion, drafted the reactionary journal *Tieliu (Iron Currents)*, which attacked and slandered the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party as an "authoritarian tyranny," the Chinese state as a "40-year-old authoritarian empire," and socialism as "a great disaster and retrogression of mankind in the twentieth century, and China's calamity and pitfall." It incited the masses to overthrow the political power of the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist system, and to wage a "struggle to the death" against the Chinese Communist Party. Later, the defendants, Chen Yanbin and Zhang Yafei, went to Shuangfeng County, Hunan Province, where they mimeographed over 400 copies of the reactionary journal *Tieliu*. Chen Yanbin brought them to Beijing and, together with Zhang Donghui and others (prosecuted separately), distributed them in residential areas, on university campuses, and buses.

The defendants Chen Yanbin and Zhang Yafei mustered Zhang Donghui and four others (prosecuted separately) and in June 1990, formed the counterrevolutionary organization "The Chinese Revolutionary Democratic Front." They drew up a reactionary political program with the abolition of the four cardinal principles as its central content. They also put forward a reactionary organization, asserting that its members "will become the vanguards in the revolutionary struggle against authoritarian rule," in a vain attempt to overthrow the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the political power of the people's democratic dictatorship.

The above-mentioned facts are attested to by material evidence, written evidence, witnesses' testimony, and determined by criminal science and technical devices. The facts are clear, the evidence solid, complete, and sufficient to prove the case.

This court is of the opinion that the defendants Chen Yanbin and Zhang Yafei wrote, mimeographed, and distributed a reactionary journal, and thereby conducted counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement. They also organized and led a

counterrevolutionary clique in a vain attempt to overthrow the political power of the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist system. The actions of the two defendants constitute the crimes of conducting counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement, and of organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary clique. The crimes are serious, their nature sinister, the offense grave, and both defendants are principal culprits and must be punished severely. In order to uphold the authority of the law of the country, consolidate the political power of the people's democratic dictatorship, defend the socialist system, and punish the disruptive activities of counterrevolutionary elements, and, in accordance with Article 90; Article 102, Section 2; Article 98; Article 52; Article 22, Section 1; Article 23; Article 64; and Article 60 of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China, this court renders the following judgement:

1. The defendant Chen Yanbin committed the crime of conducting of counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement and is sentenced to a fixed-term period of eight years' imprisonment, with two years' subsequent deprivation of political rights. For the crime of organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary clique, he is sentenced to a fixed-term period of eight years' imprisonment, with two years' subsequent deprivation of political rights. It is hereby decided that he will serve a total fixed-term period of fifteen years' imprisonment (the period of imprisonment to be calculated starting from the date of this judgement's execution, and with a one-day reduction of sentence for each day spent in custody prior to execution of the judgement, that is from September 13, 1990 until September 12, 2005), with four years' subsequent deprivation of political rights.

2. The defendant Zhang Yafei committed the crime of conducting counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement and is sentenced to a fixed-term period of six years' imprisonment, with one year's subsequent deprivation of political rights. For the crime of organizing and leading a counterrevolutionary clique, he is sentenced to a fixed-term period of six years' imprisonment, with one year's subsequent deprivation of political rights. It is hereby decided that he will serve a total fixed-term period of eleven years' imprisonment (the period of imprisonment to be calculated starting from the date of this judgement's execution, and with a one-day reduction of sentence for each day spent in custody prior to execution of the judgement, that is from September 13, 1990 until September 12, 2001), with two years' subsequent deprivation of political rights.

3. The material evidence obtained is confiscated. (A list is attached.)

If the defendants do not submit to this judgement, they may, within a ten-day period starting from the day following the receipt of the judgement, lodge with this court a petition, plus one duplicate copy, as an appeal to the Beijing High People's Court.

Chief Judge: Chen Zhifang
Acting Judge: Bai Xibin
Acting Judge: Zhang Xiaoping
January 5, 1991
(Seal of the Beijing Intermediate People's Court)

This copy has been checked against the original and contains no error.

Clerk: Zhao Tong

A List of Confiscated Material Evidence

1. Newspaper	2 pp.
2. Damaged paper	10 pp.
3. Note books	15
4. Mimeograph	1
5. 30 MB hard magnetic disc	1
6. Soft magnetic disc (label)	1

APPENDIX VII: Regulations for Behavior of Criminals Undergoing Reform
November 6, 1990 Ministry of Justice Order No. 12⁸⁰

Chapter One: Basic Rules

- No. 1** Strictly observe national laws and regulations and all sets of prison rules enacted by prison administrations and the labor reform organs, and submit to supervision and education.
- No. 2** While serving your term, keep to the "ten forbiddens":
It is forbidden to oppose the four basic principles and to create or spread political rumors;
It is forbidden to resist supervision and education, to evade reform, to malingering, to injure or maim oneself;
It is forbidden to go beyond security lines or the designated sphere of activities, or to leave the mutual supervision small group and engage in unauthorized actions;
It is forbidden to employ such tactics as food and drink, talking in a chummy fashion or advocating local ideas as a way of claiming kinship and cementing friendship in order to get help from people or to create contention through gossip;
It is forbidden to quarrel, to fight, to gather a crowd to create havoc, to practice martial arts, to manufacture weapons, to tattoo, or to gamble;
It is forbidden to pass on criminal methods, to incite others to commit crimes, to read or pass on reactionary or obscene books and magazines, and to engage in activities related to feudal superstitions;
It is forbidden to conceal money, grain coupons, plain clothes, flammable or explosive materials, poisons or ropes, clubs or knives, and, unless permission has been given, to wear insulated clothing, shoes, boots or gloves;
It is forbidden to have communication privately with people in the outside world, to seek or exchange money or goods, and to seek out a person to whom to entrust a letter or a message;
It is forbidden to bully the weak and to beat, curse, humiliate, blackmail or frame other prisoners;
It is forbidden to disrupt production, to conduct go-slows, and to steal or damage public or private goods.
- No. 3** Cherish state property, preserve public facilities, behave in a civilized and polite manner, and respect society's public morals.
- No. 4** Increase organization and discipline in participating in collective activities. In special circumstances, obey the instructions of the corrections personnel, maintain good order, and do not follow your own inclinations.
- No. 5** When lining up and walking in line, obey oral instructions, maintain the correct form of the line, shout slogans, and sing songs loudly and clearly.

Chapter Two: Rules for Daily Life

- No. 6** When the order to arise is heard, get out of bed speedily and tidy up, arrange the bedding in piles with the edges and corners clearly lined up according to the standards on size and height, and arrange it neatly in a uniform manner.

⁸⁰ From *New China Encyclopedia of Judicial Explanations*(China Procuracy Publishing House, February 1992).

- No. 7** Proceed to the bathroom to wash in an orderly fashion, without pushing or shoving.
- No. 8** Have meals in an orderly fashion at the designated time, place, and using the proper method. It is forbidden to bang utensils or to play and make a racket.
- No. 9** It is forbidden to join together in eating or drinking, or to exchange foodstuffs. It is forbidden to waste grain foods or to throw out excess soup or rice.
- No. 10** It is forbidden to set up small cooking stoves or to eat or hoard more than one's share of the collective foodstuffs. It is forbidden to drink alcohol or to smoke in violation of the regulations.
- No. 11** During times for rest on festivals, holidays or days off work (or study), pursue healthful and beneficial activities within the permitted scope.
- No. 12** When the order to prepare for sleep is heard, speedily sit or stand upright in your designated place and wait for your name to be called. It is not permitted to make a hubbub, to whisper or to move.
- No. 13** Before going to bed, make sure you take the time to use the toilet. Wash and prepare your bedding. Place the clothes you take off neatly beside your pillow and arrange shoes in a line below the bed.
- No. 14** When the order to go to sleep is heard, immediately lie down in the designated direction. It is not permitted to exchange places without authorization or to sleep with one's head covered. It is forbidden to read or write or to disturb the sleep of others.
- No. 15** Report any illness to the corrections personnel and go with them or the designated person to the hospital (or clinic) for treatment.
- No. 16** While in the process of having a medical consultation, observe discipline, state clearly the nature of the illness, obey the doctor's decision on how to manage it, and do not make an unreasonable fuss. It is not permitted to ask for specific medicine or to seek a certificate mandating rest.
- No. 17** Sick prisoners must actively pursue methods which will cure them, follow the doctor's orders, and take their medicine at the proper time. Those being treated in isolation are not permitted to go outside the designated area. Those who have been given permission to rest should do so at the designated place.
- No. 18** Do a good job in personal hygiene and wash and change clothing and bedding frequently so as to maintain cleanliness.
- No. 19** Pay attention to hygiene in eating and drinking. Do not eat or drink to excess. Do not drink cold or dirty water and do not eat food which has gone bad. Keep eating utensils undamaged and clean.
- No. 20** Prisoners assigned to kitchen work must pay attention to their personal hygiene, must wear their work clothes while working, have physical examinations at the proper intervals, and are strictly forbidden to bring illness into the kitchens.
- No. 21** Apart from those prisoners who are due to leave the prison within the month, everyone must wear very short hair or shaved heads. It is not permitted to grow beards or whiskers or long fingernails. Apart from prisoners belonging to ethnic minorities who have special living habits, female prisoners must all wear short hair at ear length, not covering the neck, and are not permitted to have perms, dye their hair, wear wigs, paint their nails,

wear lipstick or jewelry, and so on.

- No. 22** Clean both inside and outside the room on schedule and keep the surroundings neat and tidy. The decorations of the room should be harmonious and moderate, the door and windows clean, and the washing implements should be arranged in an orderly way.
- No. 23** It is forbidden to expectorate or to relieve oneself on the ground. It is not permitted to throw down dirty things, garbage, fruit peels, scraps of paper, or to damage or trample on flowers and trees.
- No. 24** Everyone must wear the convict's uniform with the same designation on it. It is forbidden for individuals to alter the form, the color or the designations on the convict's uniform. In the summer, within the room, it is permitted to wear a vest or t-shirt provided the designation on it is clear.
- No. 25** While working, the appropriate clothing must be worn, with the designation on it.
- No. 26** Designations such as "person on duty" issued by the prison or labor reform organs are to be worn in the proper position. It is forbidden to lend, alter or damage them.
- No. 27** It is forbidden to conceal or replace clothing. Clothing which is not permitted or which is temporarily not being worn should be handed over to the corrections personnel for unified storage.
- No. 28** In receiving and sending letters, receiving funds or getting parcels or other mail, accept the examination of them according to the regulations. Secrets of the prison administration or labor reform unit should not be disclosed in letters; neither should they disseminate words which will hinder reform.
- No. 29** When receiving visits from family members, relatives or friends, it is forbidden to use enigmatic language or to secretly pass over letters, money, and other such items.
- No. 30** Listen to the radio and watch television at the times when this is permitted. When listening and watching, sit still and upright. It is forbidden to engage in other activities at this time. It is forbidden to chat or move around, to turn the system on or off or to choose the channel without authorization.
- No. 31** When more than three prisoners are walking along together, they should arrange themselves in a line or keep to the right hand side. They may not go arm in arm, shoulder to shoulder, hold hands or walk in a horizontal line.

Chapter Three: Rules for Production and Labor

- No. 32** All prisoners who are able to work must participate in the labor to which they are assigned. Those who cannot work because they are sick should get a certificate of examination from a doctor as well as the approval of a cadre.
- No. 33** When the order to go to work is heard, line up at the designated place at the proper time, and in the prearranged order, and wait for names to be called. Give full attention to reporting numbers in a loud and clear voice, accurately, and without error.
- No. 34** While engaged in production labor, keep to work stations and observe discipline. It is forbidden to move or run around, to make a racket, to joke or create a commotion, or to sleep. It is forbidden to do private work.
- No. 35** Diligently study the operating technology, strictly observe the operating rules for tools, do not break the rules for your task, pay attention to production safety and guarantee the quality of the products. Actively develop

innovations in technology, work hard to increase productivity, complete production quotas or planned tasks while ensuring quality and quantity. The output of waste or poor quality products may not exceed the level stated in the regulations.

- No. 36** Cherish the equipment, tools, and mechanical tools. Strictly enforce thrift and put an end to all loss and waste.
- No. 37** Do not damage crops, flowers, fruit trees or other farm crops or sideline products. Cherish farming implements, the cultivated fields, irrigation installations, and other installations in the fields.
- No. 38** Do a good job of civilized production. Keep the factory clean and tidy both inside and out. The set management rules of each workshop must be observed and each type of tool and part must be arranged in an orderly fashion.
- No. 39** When the order to stop work is heard, quickly clean, put in order and protect the machines, equipment and other production tools. Clean the site. If requested to do so, at the proper time hand over to the next shift.
- No. 40** At the command of the cadre escorting the team, form a line at the designated place and return together to the prison dormitory. It is forbidden to take any kind of tool, dangerous goods or banned articles back to the prison dormitory.

Chapter Four: Rules for Study

- No. 41** Actively participate in political study, consciously read the relevant political books and periodicals, connect closely with reality, bravely admit your crime, and repent for it and speed up the reform of thinking.
- No. 42** Participate in political, cultural, and technological study at the scheduled time. Observe discipline in the classroom; pay attention to listening to what is being said; and diligently make notes. If you wish to ask a question, raise your hand to show this, and when given permission, stand up and ask it. Stand up when replying to the teacher's questions. After class, revise diligently, and complete homework at the scheduled time. Observe discipline during examinations and strive for excellent grades.
- No. 43** Work hard to study production technology; intensively study scientific knowledge; become skilled through mastering the technical ability required for work stations; and strive to become capable in using production technology.
- No. 44** Actively participate in professional technological training and strive to achieve expertise in one area in order to make proper preparations for finding employment, earning a living, and participating in the construction of the "Four Modernizations" when you get out of prison.
- No. 45** Sit still and straight when in class. It is forbidden to remove shoes, sit with legs crossed, or to go bare-chested or barefoot. In the winter it is forbidden to wear a gauze mask.
- No. 46** Respect teachers. Stand up and present greetings at the beginning and the end of the class. If entering or leaving the classroom at the same time as the teacher, let the teacher go first.
- No. 47** Conscientiously cherish the desks, chairs, and educational tools in the classroom. It is forbidden to carve or draw on them.

Chapter Five: Rules for Civility and Politeness

- No. 48** Speak moderately and carry yourself in a civilized manner. Tell the truth and what is real. Do not use coarse or

dirty language. Vulgar or obscene actions are not permitted, and homosexual love is strictly banned.

- No. 49** When requesting something from someone, use respectful words such as "please" and "you" (polite form); when expressing regret to someone, use apologetic words such as "sorry" and "please forgive me"; when helping someone, use modest words such as "it's nothing" and "don't be polite." When someone helps you, use grateful words such as "thank you" (polite form) and "sorry to have troubled you."
- No. 50** Prisoners should all call each other by their proper names and should not make up names for each other or use nicknames. It is forbidden to call each other brothers, or to use appellations of neighbors, relatives, friends, family or clan used in society before entering the prison.
- No. 51** Respect state personnel. Personnel who hold positions of leadership should be called by the name of their positions, while personnel whose positions are not clear should be called "team leaders." Workers who participate directly in production should be called "master." When people come from outside to carry out inspections, respond to their questions politely, do not contradict them or get into arguments, or create a commotion for no reason.
- No. 52** When corrections personnel enter or leave the prison dormitory, automatically stand up and do not lie or sit down (sick people are the exception).
- No. 53** When the call of corrections personnel is heard, immediately respond "I'm coming." Quickly go over and stand two meters from them and await their orders. When corrections personnel ask a question, stand at attention while responding (special circumstances, such as being in the middle of operating machinery and being unable to leave it, are exceptions). When the corrections personnel have given their orders, immediately reply "yes." While the corrections personnel are speaking, it is forbidden to interrupt as you wish. When speaking to or replying to corrections personnel, it is forbidden to make indiscreet remarks or criticisms.
- No. 54** When you have something you need to tell to the office of the corrections personnel, call out "wish to report" and enter after permission is given. If you have something you must tell the personnel on duty when out in the fields or at the work site, stop five meters distant from them and report.
- No. 55** When walking in the same direction as corrections personnel, do not walk shoulder to shoulder with them. If you meet on a relatively narrow path, automatically stop, stand to the side, and let them pass. Put down the tools you are holding in your hands and wait until the corrections personnel have gone five meters beyond you before proceeding.
- No. 56** If you encounter guests who have come to look, or leading cadres above the branch level who have come to inspect the prison dormitories, you should halt all activities and stand in attendance. If the guests or leaders ask questions, stand at attention and reply according to the facts. While inspections are going on, it is forbidden to tail after them, to stand around and look, or make remarks about their appearances. If you have not been granted permission, you should not approach them or speak to them unauthorized.

Chapter Six: Supplementary Articles

- No. 57** These regulations must be observed as the norm for the words and deeds of prisoners receiving reform. They are an assessment of the basic content of the prisoner's expression of reform. They are a basic condition for carrying out appraisal, and a basis for determining the issuance of rewards and punishments, and all prisoners must strictly observe them. You must put them into effect.
- No. 58** These regulations are in force from the day they are issued.

Key to Photographs

- 1. Main gate to Beijing No.2. Prison**
- 2. Side gate to Beijing No.2 Prison (visiting relatives entrance)**
- 3. View of Beijing No.2 Prison**
- 4. Newly built Beijing Municipal Jail (*Banhuqiao*) where K-Block used to be**
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Zhang Yafei
Zhang Yan
Zhang Yi³
Zhang Yinjun
Zhang Yongshun
Zhang Yu²
Zhang Yucheng
Zhang Zhenxi
Zhang Zhongfu
Zhao Dequan
Zhao Donghui
Zhao Feng
Zhao Guilin
Zhao Jianxin¹
Zhao Jianxin²
Zhao Jinchuan
Zhao Jinguang
Zhao Jun
Zhao Liqiang
Zhao Liwei
Zhao Pengli
Zhao Pinju
Zhao Ruixiang
Zhao Shengqiang
Zhao Suoran

Zhao Wanliang
Zhao Wensheng
Zhao Yizhi
Zhao Yong
Zhao Yonggang
Zhao Yongjiang
Zhao Yongjing
Zhao Yonglin
Zhao Yushun
Zhao Zhiyong
Zhao Zhongyou
Zheng Jianghui
Zhong Fang
Zhong Weimin
Zhou Gang
Zhou Guolin
Zhou Jihui
Zhou Wendong
Zhu Gengsheng
Zhu Shouzheng
Zhu Tongjie
Zhu Wenfu
Zhu Xiaozhong

APPENDIX II

Key to Floorplan of Beijing No.2 Prison

- 1. Surrounding Wall**
- 2. Guard Tower**
- 3. Factory Building (not yet in service)**
- 4. Workshop (1)**
- 5. Workshop (2)**
- 6. Empty Yard**
- 7. Block No.1**
- 8. Block No.2**
- 9. Block No.3**
- 10. Block No.4**
- 11. "Special Prison"**
- 12. Solitary Confinement ("Introspection" Cells)**
- 13. Block No.5**
- 14. Block No.6**
- 15. Shower Block**
- 16. Medical Clinic**
- 17. Boiler Room**
- 18. Empty Yard**
- 19. Kitchens**
- 20. Teaching Block**
- 21. Auditorium**
- 22. Entrance to Underground Passage (to Meetings Room)**
- 23. Meetings Room**
- 24. North (Main) Gate**
- 25. North Gate Security Perimeter**
- 26. PAP Stationing Area**
- 27. West Gate**
- 28. Main Road Through Prison**

Detail:

- 7-(1) Wardens' Office/Dormitories**
- 7-(2) Prisoners' Dormitory**
- 7-(3) Basketball Court**
- 7-(4) Main Gate**
- 7-(5) Ground Floor Entrance**
- 7-(6) Third Floor Entrance**
- 7-(7) Second Floor Entrance**

- 11-(1) Wardens' Office**
- 11-(2) Prisoners' Dormitory**
- 11-(3) Exercise Yard**

Human Rights Watch/Asia (formerly Asia Watch)

Human Rights Watch is a nongovernmental organization established in 1978 to monitor and promote the observance of internationally recognized human rights in Africa, the Americas, Asia, the Middle East and among the signatories of the Helsinki accords. Kenneth Roth is the executive director; Cynthia Brown is the program director; Holly J. Burkhalter is the advocacy director; Gara LaMarche is the associate director. Juan E. Méndez is general counsel; and Susan Osnos is the communications director. Robert L. Bernstein is the chair of the executive committee and Adrian W. DeWind is vice chair. Its Asia division was established in 1985 to monitor and promote the observance of internationally recognized human rights in Asia. Sidney Jones is the executive director; Mike Jendrzeczyk is the Washington director; Robin Munro is the Hong Kong director; Therese Caouette, Patricia Gossman and Jeannine Guthrie are research associates; Cathy Yai-Wen Lee and Grace Obama-Layat are associates; Mickey Spiegel is a research consultant. Jack Greenberg is the chair of the advisory committee and Orville Schell is vice chair.

Human Rights in China

Human Rights in China (HRIC) is a non-profit organization independent of any political groups or governments. HRIC's work involves collecting information about and publicizing human rights violations in the People's Republic of China, informing Chinese people about their rights as defined in international human rights instruments, and assisting those in China who have suffered persecution and imprisonment for the non-violent exercise of their fundamental rights and freedoms. The executive committee of HRIC consists of Liu Qing, Chair; Li Xiaorong, Vice-chair; Xiao Qiang, Executive Director; Wang Yu, Research Director; Sophia Woodman, Press Director; and Liu Baopu; Fu Xinyuan; and Yu Ping.