

January 30, 1991

UPDATE ON ARRESTS IN CHINA

INTRODUCTION

Beginning in January 1990, Chinese officials began releasing dissidents arrested in connection with the spring 1989 pro-democracy movement, but the repression is by no means over. Arrests, trials and sentencings continue, and Chinese authorities still refuse to issue a list of those detained, arrested, tried or released. Only a handful of released activists - most of them internationally known - have been officially identified. Of the thousands arrested since June 1989, fewer than 1000 have been publicly identified, and few of those identifications come from official sources.

Asia Watch has only recently become aware of certain arrests that may have taken place as long ago as June 1989. In many cases, the first indication that an arrest had occurred was official acknowledgment of trial and sentencing. Five of the nine dissidents sentenced on January 5, 1991 were previously unknown to human rights organizations and even now little information about their backgrounds or activities during the 1989 pro-democracy movement is available. Six others, now on trial in Beijing, also never appeared on lists compiled by Asia Watch or other organizations. Presumably they are workers who have had little opportunity to make their arrests known outside China. In another instance, only three of six dissidents released in Ningxia Autonomous Region in late December 1990 or early January 1991 were ever officially listed as in detention. All this suggests that the true figure for the total arrested after June 4 may be much higher than earlier estimates.

As Asia Watch receives new data, we will release short updates. These should be read in conjunction with two 1990 Asia Watch reports, *Punishment Season* and *Repression in China Since June 4, 1989: Cumulative Data* and with a shorter report issued in January 1991, "Rough Justice in Beijing."

SENTENCES ANNOUNCED

Students and Intellectuals

■ **ZHANG Ming** (), **ZHENG Xuguang** (), **MA Shaofang** () and **WANG Youcai** (), were sentenced on January 5, 1991 by the Beijing Intermediate People's Court. All four were on the list of "21 Most

Wanted Students" issued by the Chinese authorities shortly after the June 1989 crackdown and were the first "most wanted" student leaders to be tried. Three other defendants, probably workers, were sentenced at the same time (see Kong Xianfeng below) and an additional two students, LI Yuqi () and PANG Zhihong () who allegedly repented, were convicted of minor crimes (*New York Times*, January 6, 1991) but "exempted from criminal punishment" (*Xinhua* in *Reuters*, January 5, 1991).

Zhang, a 24-year-old Qinghua University automobile engineering student and No.19 on the list, was sentenced to three years in prison as was Ma, a 25-year-old former student at the Beijing Film Academy, who was No.10. Zheng, 21, an engineering student at the Beijing Aeronautics Academy and No.9 on the "most wanted" list, drew a two-year sentence. Wang, a 24-year-old Beijing University physics graduate and No.15 on the list, was handed a four-year term. Some defendants were also deprived of their political rights for unstated periods. Fan Shumi, a spokesperson for the Beijing Intermediate Court, said Zhang and Zheng were tried in open court (*AP*, December 4, 1990) and the *Washington Post* (January 6, 1991) reported *Xinhua* as saying that more than 60 Beijing residents, as well as relatives of the defendants, were present when the sentences were announced. Foreign journalists and international observers were barred from the trial.

Zhang and Zheng reportedly went on trial November 27, 1990. According to an official notice seen posted outside Beijing Intermediate Court on November 28, 1990 (*Reuters*, November 28, 1990) Zhang, a Jilin native and a key figure in the Beijing Student Autonomous Federation, was charged with counterrevolutionary agitation and propaganda. Zheng, a member of the Standing Committee of the Beijing Students Autonomous Federation, was charged with counterrevolutionary agitation and propaganda and trying to escape from China, according to the official notice of his indictment posted on November 27, 1990 (*Reuters*, November 29, 1990). According to *Xinhua* (*Washington Post* January 6, 1991) defendants were tried separately, so the trial dates of the other seven are unknown, but official notices posted outside the courtroom charged them with counterrevolutionary crimes (*Reuters*, January 5, 1991).

All those sentenced, as well as the two who were released, were accused of "inciting subversion against the people's government and the overthrowing of the socialist system during the 1989 turmoil and rebellion." Some of the prisoners, though the report did not specify which ones, were also found guilty of "organizing and directing" attempts to impede members of the armed forces charged with enforcing martial law in Beijing; others were guilty of "assembling crowds to disturb public traffic and seriously undermining public order."

Zhang reportedly was arrested before September 13, 1989 in Shenzhen while trying to escape to Hong Kong (*Ming Pao*, June 20, 1990, in *FBIS*, June 20). He was held in Qincheng Prison. Zheng, a native of the Mi District in Hunan Province, was arrested, probably in late July 1989 in Guangzhou, also while attempting to escape (*Ming Pao*, June 20, 1990, in *FBIS*, June 20). According to unofficial sources, Zheng's friends were permitted to deliver supplies to him in Qincheng Prison in October 1989, but were not permitted to see him. It is not known whether Zheng had any visits from his family during his incarceration. Wang, at one-time general-secretary of the Beijing Students Autonomous Federation, was arrested sometime between June and September 1989. He had attempted to organize continued student resistance in Shanghai after the June 3-4, 1989, crackdown in Beijing, according to *Renmin Ribao* (September 24, 1989). Wang also was mentioned in "Facts about the Shanghai Riot", an article published in *Wen Hui Bao* on June 28, 1989 which condemned many leading dissidents. Ma, a native of Jiangsu Province and an associate of student leader Wuerkaixi in the Beijing Students Autonomous Federation, reportedly turned himself in to the authorities on June 17 in Guangzhou. His arrest followed a June 13, 1989 state television broadcast of "wanted posters" for 21 leaders of the student movement. Ma allegedly made speeches during the protests and with three other student leaders held a May 21, 1989 meeting with government representatives. He was probably detained in Qincheng prison. There is no other information available about either Li or Pang. Their arrests were unknown to human rights organizations until their trials and sentences were announced.

■ **REN Wandling** (**任万里**) (REN An) (**任安**), a 46-year-old accountant from Beijing, was sentenced to seven years in prison on January 26, 1991 by the Beijing Intermediate Court (*Washington Post*, January 27, 1991). According to *Xinhua*, the official Chinese news agency, Ren "was found guilty of grave crimes and showed no repentance." Ren was placed on trial January 8, 1991, but according to court officials, the trial, which was closed to reporters, was recessed the following day (*AP*, January 9, 1991). Ren, who had been charged with counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement (*Reuters* January 10, 1991), is one of the few activists from the Democracy Wall period (1978-79) who took an active role in the 1989 pro-democracy movement. During the movement, Ren made numerous public speeches, as he had since late 1988, calling for the release of political prisoners. He also wrote and distributed articles calling for freedom of expression and the rule of law. Ren was accused in Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong's June 30, 1989 speech, as one of the people who "spread a lot of fallacies" at a 1989 "democracy salon" at Beijing University.

After June 4, 1989, Ren reportedly sought sanctuary at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing, but was turned away. He was arrested on June 9 at about 8 PM and probably held in Qincheng prison. His arrest was never officially acknowledged until he was officially charged in November 1990 (*UPI*/November 27, 1990). According to his wife, Zhang Fengying, who was an accountant at the Sociology and Economics Research Institute, Ren was charged earlier than current accounts indicate, in March 1990, with "counterrevolutionary incitement." Zhang has consistently been denied permission to see her husband, reportedly in poor health (*AP*, January 26, 1991), though she has been permitted to send books and clothing. Ren Wandling is the father of a 12-year-old girl.

When the crackdown on the Democracy Wall movement came in 1979, Ren, as founder of the China Human Rights League, was denounced by the authorities as a non-Marxist, as was Wei Jingsheng, China's most famous imprisoned dissident. Ren was arrested for the first time in April 1979 and spent four years in prison, his initial sentence having been extended when, rather than making an acceptable self-criticism, he wrote two volumes attacking the government. In 1988, on the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Democracy Wall, Ren wrote an article for the *New York Times* in which he called upon activist students to speak out for those in prison and on the business community to make any investment in China conditional on an end to the government's suppression of dissidents.

■ **WANG Dan** (**王丹**), 23, one of the top student leaders of the pro-democracy movement in Beijing, one of the organizers of the Beijing Students Autonomous Federation and No.1 on the list of "most wanted" students, was sentenced on January 26, 1991 to four years in prison and one year's deprivation of political rights (*UPI*, January 26, 1991). According to *Xinhua* (January 27, 1991), Wang "committed serious crimes but has shown such repentance as confessing his own crimes and exposing others." Wang, who went on trial on January 23, 1991 according to a notice posted outside the Beijing Intermediate People's Court, was charged with "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement" (*AP*, January 22, 1991). The trial reportedly lasted three hours and his parents were not notified of the proceedings until the morning of the trial (*Washington Post*, January 27, 1991). The *New York Times* (January 28, 1991) reported that Wang neither admitted "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement" nor did he say that the student movement had been a mistake. Wang's lawyer, from the Beijing No.1 Law Office, was selected for him by the government. She said she could defend Wang only on the basis that he was guilty.

Family friends reported a notice of indictment was sent by the Beijing Public Security Bureau to Wang's family on November 23, 1990, at which time they were informed that only family members would be permitted to attend his trial (*UPI*, December 5, 1990). Wang's father, an assistant professor of geology at Beijing University, and his mother, a researcher at the Chinese Revolutionary History Museum (*Shijie Ribao*, January 23, 1991) had difficulty finding a lawyer for his defense.

Wang, a native of Jilin Province and a history major at Beijing University, was arrested on July 2, 1989 after meeting a Taiwanese journalist to ask for help in fleeing from China; his arrest was officially acknowledged in August 1989. As of mid-1990, he reportedly had been held in solitary confinement in Qincheng Prison and required

to write confessional materials every day. He has been permitted to write letters and friends are permitted to deliver clothes. One friend of Wang's reportedly received a postcard from him in early 1990 urging him to "keep up the effort." In February 1990, a U.S. State Department official reported that Wang's family had "recently" visited him.

Before the crackdown, Wang studied recent political developments in Eastern Europe and wrote an article advocating similar reforms for China. In 1988-89, he was a key organizer of 17 open-air "democracy salons" during which those attending were urged to discuss controversial subjects. Officials have cited these as evidence that Wang agitated the unrest. They have also accused him of doing the bidding of dissident astrophysicist Fang Lizhi (*UPI*, January 23, 1991). In the same dispatch, *UPI* reports on a May 1989 article by Wang,

We make no attempt to conceal the aim of the current student movement, which is to exert pressure on the government to promote the progress of democracy. People's yearning for democracy, science, human rights, freedom, reason and equality, which lack a fundamental basis in China, have once again been aroused.

■ **GUO Haifeng** () was sentenced to four years in prison on January 26, 1991 by the Beijing Intermediate People's Court. He was convicted on charges of counterrevolutionary sabotage for attempting to set fire to an armed vehicle (*Washington Post*, January 27, 1991). Guo and three other activists, who may or may not be students (see Yao Junling, Chen Lai and Li Chenghuan below), went on trial on January 9, 1991 according to notices posted outside the court (*AP*, January 10, 1991), but the trials were then recessed briefly. The court did not notify families of the trials, and relatives had to search for lawyers who would help them attend the sentencing and file appeals (*AP*, January 11, 1991). Guo, 24, a student at Beijing University and at one time chairman of the Beijing Students Autonomous Federation, was seized by troops in front of Zhongnanhai (the residence compound of China's leaders) around 2 AM on June 4, 1989, shortly after the arrival in Tiananmen Square of vanguard contingents of the PLA (*Beijing Radio*, June 10, 1989). According to the report, Guo was captured "on the spot by the martial law enforcement troops while he and a gang of ruffians were trying to set fire to an Army unit's armoured vehicle." An official press report said Guo had intended to set fire to the former imperial gate in Tiananmen Square on which Mao's portrait is mounted (*Reuters*, January 9, 1991). On April 22, 1989, Guo and two other students knelt on the steps of the Great Hall of the People in an effort to submit a seven-point petition to the government calling for the posthumous rehabilitation of Hu Yaobang, former secretary-general of the Party. Guo also participated in the April 29, 1989, "dialogue meeting" with government spokesman Yuan Mu. Guo reportedly was badly beaten after his arrest.

■ **YAO Junling** (), was sentenced to two years in prison on January 26, 1991 by the Beijing Intermediate People's Court (*New York Times*, January 27, 1991). He was charged with "counterrevolutionary sabotage" (see Guo Haifeng above). No other information about Yao is available other than a report that he may be a student (*Wall Street Journal*/January 29, 1991). His detention was unknown to Asia Watch prior to the announcement of charges.

■ **BAO Zunxin** (), a former magazine editor and associate research fellow at the Institute of History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, was sentenced on January 26, 1991 to five years in prison. He was described as "repentant" (*Xinhua*, January 27, 1991). Bao was tried January 15, 1991 at the Beijing Intermediate Court for "agitating counterrevolutionary propaganda" (*UPI*, January 15, 1991). A philosopher and leading intellectual, now in his early fifties, he was notified on November 24, 1990 that he had been charged (*Hong Kong Standard*, November 29, 1990). Bao, an Anhui Province native, was arrested at home (*Bai Xing*, May 1990, in *FBIS*, May 14, 1990) on July 7, 1989 shortly after the authorities' issuance of secret warrants in June 1989. His name appeared on a government "wanted list" dated September 1989, under the heading: "Major criminals on Ministry of Public Security wanted lists who have now either been caught or have turned themselves in."

Bao reportedly is held in Qincheng prison; however, according to an Asia Watch source, he was seen in

September 1990 in an army hospital. "Small, frail and in poor health before his imprisonment, he looked no more than 70 pounds, scrunched in a wheelchair." According to a second source, Bao made several suicide attempts after discovering that the authorities had used statements made by him in prison as the basis for arresting several other pro-democracy figures. He is said by the source to have developed signs of mental illness and to require daily medication for heart disease and high blood pressure.

Bao was prominently mentioned in Mayor Chen Xitong's June 30, 1989 report, "Checking the Turmoil and Quelling the Counterrevolutionary Rebellion." Chen singled out Bao for his involvement in the production of several major pro-democracy texts: the May 13, 1989 big-character poster, "We Can No Longer Remain Silent"; the May 14 "Our urgent appeal concerning the current situation," jointly made by 12 intellectuals; and the "May 17 Declaration (see below)." Bao also had argued strongly against the imposition of martial law and had tried to organize his fellow intellectuals to form an independent organization and to support demonstrating students.

Between February and May 1989, Bao also authored several pro-democracy petitions which were circulated among intellectuals for signature. A February 28, 1989 petition demanded the release of political prisoners, including Democracy Wall activist Wei Jingsheng. One in mid-April called on the government to heed student demonstrators' demands for dialogue and to eschew violence. Another asked the government to rescind its decision to restructure the subsequently shuttered Shanghai liberal newspaper, the *World Economic Journal*. The "May 17 Manifesto" was the last petition which Bao helped write. The document, which equated Deng Xiaoping with past Chinese tyrants, read in part,

The Qing Dynasty died 76 years ago, but China still has an emperor without an emperor's title - a senile and fatuous autocrat. Down with autocracy. The autocrats can come to no good end. Rule by old men must die.

During the first half of the 1980's, Bao was acting chief editor of the journal *Dushu* (Reading), which advocated intellectual freedom and openness to the West. From 1983 to 1987, he was editor-in-chief of the book series *Weilai Congshu* (Toward the Future), a series which introduced new concepts in western social science and humanities to its Chinese readers. A number of leading younger intellectuals now in exile, sat on its editorial board.

Bao was dismissed from his post and expelled from the party on August 9, 1989 for "stubbornly clinging to bourgeois liberalism (and) fanning...the recent students' unrest..." In July 1989, he and nine other authors were banned by the State Press and Publications Administration.

Bao had been allowed to correspond with his wife. At Chinese New Year 1990, he was granted a family visit; but since January 24, 1990 there has been no exchange of letters nor had his wife heard any further news of him (*Amnesty International*/ASA 17/60/90) prior to the November 1990 indictment.

■ YU Zhenbin (), a 28-year-old cadre from the Qinghai Provincial Archives Bureau, was sentenced to 12 years in prison for organizing a "counterrevolutionary clique" in Qinghai in June 1989 (*Reuters*, January 16, 1991). The date of his sentencing is unclear. According to *Renmin Ribao* (June 30, 1989), Yu who was arrested on June 27, 1989 near Xining City, organized the illegal "Chinese People's Democratic Opposition Party Alliance," in order to overthrow the Communist party and "seize power." He also allegedly wrote and distributed leaflets calling for a revision of the Chinese constitution, the establishment of a new central government and an end to one-party rule.

■ A cousin of Chen Ziming, one of three arrested for hiding Chen, was sentenced to two years of re-education-through-labor (*Shijie Ribao*, December 7, 1990). A teacher, he was the oldest of the three.

Workers

■ **KONG Xianfeng** (), **ZHANG Qianjin** () and **XUE Jianan** () were sentenced on January 5, 1991 by the Beijing Intermediate People's Court. Kong received a three year sentence; the other two men were each sentenced to two-year prison terms. For details of the charges against them see Zhang Ming above. There is no information available about any of the three defendants, nor was it known, prior to their sentencing, that they had been detained. The three are presumed to be workers.

■ **Li Hongjiang** (), 23, was sentenced in May 1990 to life in prison for alleged corruption and for spreading rumors, according to an Asia Watch source. Li, who was arrested in early January 1990, reportedly made a donation of funds to the pro-democracy movement from the joint venture company at which he was employed as assistant to the manager. According to the source, Li had the authority to approve the donation. There is speculation that the harshness of Li's sentence is attributable to his close relationship with Ke Feng, a leading pro-democracy figure who escaped from China.

TRIALS UNDERWAY

Students and Intellectuals

■ **WANG Haidong** (), from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, went on trial on January 15, 1991. According to the notice posted at the Beijing Intermediate Court, he is charged with "agitating counterrevolutionary propaganda" (*UPI*, January 15, 1991). A court spokeswoman would not confirm the notice, saying she knew nothing about Wang's case; Asia Watch has no further information about Wang.

Workers

■ **LIU Zihou** (), 34, a staff member at the Beijing Aquatic Products Company, went on trial on January 11, 1991 according to a notice posted outside the Beijing Intermediate People's Court (*AP*, January 11, 1991). He is accused of the capital crime of "gathering crowds and armed rebellion" (*Reuters*, January 11, 1991). Liu was arrested on June 18, 1989, together with 15 others, "mostly vagrants and idlers", who were trying to flee China (*Xinhua*, in *FBIS*, June 19, 1989). He is accused of being the head of the "Capital Workers Special Picket Corps," an offshoot of the "Beijing Citizens Hunger Strike Corps." The group, which set up "freedom camps" of tents at Tiananmen Square, is accused of burning military vehicles, setting up roadblocks to stop the army from enforcing martial law and helping erect the "Goddess of Democracy" statue. According to a radio broadcast in Beijing, the group's members tried to flee Beijing after troops moved into the Square on June 3-4, 1989.

■ **Li Shuntang** (), **LIU Xiaojing** (), **YANG Junzhong** (), **ZHOU Wanshui** (), **LU Xiaochun** () and **YU Yongjie** () went on trial in Beijing on January 15, 1991. They are accused of arson, looting, larceny and blocking traffic in connection with pro-democracy activities in Beijing in June 1989 (*New York Times*, January 16, 1991). There is no biographic information about the men available.

RECENT INDICTMENTS

■ **CHEN Ziming** () and **WANG Juntao** (), two intellectuals who at one time headed the Chinese authorities "most wanted" list, have been indicted on two charges: "plotting to overthrow the government," or sedition, and "counterrevolutionary incitement" (*Associated Press*, November 26, 1990; *UPI*, November 27, 1990). According to confidential sources, the accounts continue, relatives of the men received formal

notices of charges dated November 24, 1990 from the Beijing Public Security Bureau. The Beijing City Foreign Affairs said it had not heard about the charges, the most serious to date against any intellectuals involved in the pro-democracy movement. A court official, speaking to reporters outside the courthouse on November 29 said Wang and Chen's files had not been received (*Reuters*, November 29, 1990). The *UPI* account also reported that Chinese officials have not confirmed they are moving ahead with trials.

Chen and Wang, now in Qincheng Prison outside Beijing and denied visits from family members, have been continuously castigated as "core organizers" and "black hands" of the 1989 pro-democracy movement (*South China Morning Post*, June 21, 1990, in *FBIS*, June 20). The two, together with Chen's 32-year-old pregnant wife, **WANG Zhilong** (), were arrested sometime in October or November 1989 in Zhenjiang near Guangzhou while following a secret escape route in a bid to reach Hong Kong (*Reuters* November 9, 1989). Several people from Macao and Hong Kong who had entered China to escort the group to safety were arrested at the same time. The CPC has neither confirmed nor denied those arrests. According to an escaped dissident, however, Chen and Wang were not together at the time of their arrests (*Bai Xing*, May 1990, in *FBIS*, May 14, 1990). For more information about Chen and Wang, see "Rough Justice in Beijing" (*News From Asia Watch*, January 27, 1991).

In July 1990, Wang Juntao's 27-year-old wife, **HOU Xiaotian** (), issued a 15-page public appeal asking that Wang be freed and given an open trial. "He never supported turmoil and never took part in any conspiracy" she wrote. Concerning the reported releases of pro-democracy detainees by the authorities in January, May and June 1990, she added: "The more people who are freed, the more dangerous it is for those remaining inside" (*Hong Kong Standard*, in *FBIS*, July 11, 1990). Her appeal succeeded in securing monthly exchanges of letters with her husband which began in July 1990. Until then there was no official acknowledgement that Wang was in custody (*Reuters*, November 6, 1990). Hou, a government personnel worker, wrote her appeal from a Beijing hospital where she was treated for chronic ailments contracted when she slept on a concrete floor during four months in jail in 1990.

Hou was arrested again on January 11, 1991 (*AP*, January 11, 1991) after a Hong Kong newspaper reported she planned to hold a news conference urging justice for her husband. She was released eleven hours later (*UPI*, January 16, 1991). A month prior to her second arrest, on December 13, 1990, a cadre from the Beijing Public Security Bureau's No.1 District warned Hou against seeing foreigners or anyone within the country concerned with her husband's case. In addition, she was prohibited from living in her work unit and was threatened with loss of her job (*Juishi Niandai*, January 1991).

Chen's wife, **WANG Zhilong** (), a Shanghai native, was released from prison sometime in mid-November 1990. Previous accounts reported that Wang was eight months pregnant when arrested and suffered a miscarriage during her incarceration. According to an Asia Watch source, those reports are now in question.

■ **LIU Gang** (), 29, a 1987 physics graduate (M.S. degree) from Beijing University, first employed at Chen Ziming's Beijing Social and Economic Sciences Research Institute (SERI) in late 1988 and No.3 on the "21 Most Wanted" student leaders, was indicted for sedition according to *UPI* sources (January 26 1991). Liu was arrested in Baoding, Hebei Province, south of Beijing on June 19, 1989, while trying to buy a railway ticket. According to a *UPI* report, local residents turned him in to the police after noticing that he did not have calloused hands as would have been expected from someone who wore worker's clothing such as Liu had on. On June 20, 1989, Liu was sent back to Beijing and was shown on Chinese Central TV. In May 1990, Liu reportedly was moved to solitary confinement in Qincheng Prison as punishment for trying to organize a prisoners' hunger strike commemorating the massacre of June 4, 1989 (*Reuters*, July 19, 1990).

After graduation, Liu, a Liaoning native, eschewed study abroad or work in Beijing. Instead, he accepted a position in a new technology development center in Ningbo, hoping that since the center was new it would be less

mired in bureaucracy and ideology and his education and ideas could be better utilized. However, Liu found the environment too confining and returned to Beijing in 1988 and became involved in student activism, speaking out repeatedly for freedom of the press, the need for multiparty elections and human rights. Liu believed students had a special role in shaping the course of China's political development. Liu was criticized in *Renmin Ribao* (July 25, 1989) as an organizer of a "democracy salon." The article cited statements purporting to show that the "real purpose" of the salon had been to "overthrow the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system." Liu also has been accused of being a "key agent" for dissident astrophysicist, Fang Lizhi, and his wife, Li Shuxian (*UPI*, January 26, 1991).

As a leader of the 1986-87 student movement, Liu was active in a campaign to get Li Shuxian, Fang Lizhi's wife, back on a ballot for election to the National People's Congress. Her name had been removed just prior to election time. Liu met Fang at the Chinese Institute of Science and Technology where Fang taught and Liu was an undergraduate.

■ **CHEN Xiaoping** (陈小平), a 29-year-old native of Hengyang, Hunan Province, is believed to be now facing prosecution on charges of sedition (*UPI*, January 26, 1991). Earlier unconfirmed reports (*Shishi Tongxin She*, Tokyo, May 10, 1990) said that he had already, in mid-1990, been sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for "inciting the masses to counterrevolutionary activity."

Chen reportedly turned himself in to the authorities shortly after June 4, 1989. A 1986 doctoral graduate of Beijing University's Law Department, lecturer at the University of Politics and Law in Beijing and a constitutional law scholar with an international reputation, Chen was an active promoter of constitutionally guaranteed basic freedoms. He reportedly was active in student demonstrations in late 1985, at which time he criticized a government ban on demonstrations as unconstitutional. He was punished by being denied a prestigious job with the Legal Commission of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Chen emerged as a leader of the pro-democracy movement in May-June 1989. He was instrumental in forming the Beijing Citizens Autonomous Union and often was seen using a bullhorn to exhort Beijing citizens to support the student protestors. Chen was a colleague of Yan Mingfu, now purged, who was in turn a close associate of Zhao Ziyang, deposed secretary-general of the Chinese Communist Party.

ARRESTS

Students and Intellectuals

■ **LI Mingqi (Minchi)** (李明启), an economics major in his junior year at Beijing University, has been formally arrested according to an Asia Watch source. In mid-October 1990, Li's family received a formal arrest warrant dated September 25 charging him with "counterrevolutionary propaganda and instigation." Li was first detained on June 4, 1990, but shortly thereafter he was released. He hid for a time, but then went back to school (*Shijie Ribao*, January 1, 1991). Li was summoned to Party headquarters at the school on June 15, 1990 and detained for his engagement in "anti-socialist activities." At the same time, he was expelled from the university. Li, who addressed hundreds of students at a spontaneous midnight rally on June 3-4, 1990, marking the first anniversary of the crackdown in Tiananmen Square, was labeled by authorities as the "chief instigator of an anti-party conspiracy" (*Reuters*, June 20, 1990). He allegedly had labeled Chinese leaders "wild and savage autocrats" and had called for an elective body to supervise the communist government. The rally followed a protest during which about 1000 students sang songs, shouted slogans and threw bottles from smashed dormitory windows. (This was a symbolic protest against China's ruler, Deng Xiaoping, since the Chinese word for "little bottle" sounds the same as "Xiaoping.") China's ruling Politburo branded the campus protest, which was repeated the following night, "as organized and planned" and announced its intention of dealing severely with student rioters (Hong Kong Asia Television, June 7, 1990; in *FBI*, June 7).

According to friends, Li Mingqi made the unplanned speech because "he knew it would be the last major demonstration in Beijing in the near future." At the time of his detention, the 21-year old activist reportedly was still under investigation for his participation in the 1989 protest. His membership in the Beijing Students Autonomous Federation was cited by university authorities as proof of his long-standing opposition to the present Chinese regime.

According to an Asia Watch source, Li's whereabouts are unknown; he has not been permitted any visits from his family.

■ **PENG Kehong** (), deputy director of the Marxist-Leninist Institute, was arrested on February 28, 1990. According to an Asia Watch source, he was sent to Qincheng prison, but because of his heart condition was not accepted there. Instead he is under house arrest. Peng's only activities in connection with the pro-democracy movement were to send a wreath to Tiananmen Square commemorating Hu Yaobang - he was the first one to do so - and to attend several meetings of "unauthorized" organizations at the Institute.

■ **YU Shihwen** (), 23, disappeared in mid-July 1989 from Dr. Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou. According to an Asia Watch source, his family was finally notified at the end of August that he had been arrested for "creating turmoil". He was formally arrested in July 1990. Yu, a philosophy major, class of 1990, was active in the short-lived 1986-1987 democracy movement, helping to organize student demonstrations in Guangzhou. Later he established a university-based "Democracy Salon". During the 1989 pro-democracy movement, Yu was chairman of the student association at his university and helped organize peaceful rallies and demonstrations on campus and in the city. Even after the crackdown in Beijing he continued to organize protests.

Yu's parents was denied permission to visit him until May 29, 1990 and even then, consent was granted only with the proviso that they "would try to persuade (him) to admit that he had committed crime." During the visit Yu's parents were further advised that should Yu continue "his refusal to cooperate", he would be put on trial. Since Yu is not permitted to write letters, there has been no direct communication between Yu and his family other than the brief prison visit.

■ **Lieutenant Colonel ZHANG Zhenglong** () was detained in August 1990 and his book, *White Snow, Red Blood*, published in August 1989, banned, according to a report in *The Christian Monitor* (September 27, 1990). Another report suggests he has since been released. Zhang was detained on orders from the Politburo for his expose of "Red Army atrocities and tactical blunders by Mao Zedong during the civil war in the 1940's." *White Snow, Red Blood* was denounced at a Politburo meeting in the spring of 1990 for "denying the justice of a revolutionary war" and "seriously exposing the dark side of the PLA." The book is considered a symbol of opposition to current hard-line Chinese leaders both within and outside the military.

White Snow, Red Blood, using Communist Party documents and reports from party survivors, tells the story of the siege of Changchuan, a city in the northeastern China, during which, according to Zhang, many died of starvation. "Hundreds of thousands of Chinese people were killed by (other) Chinese people. Why was this? Was this for socialism? Was this for the Communist Party? Was it worth it?", he asks in the book (*AP*, November 13, 1990 in *Shijie Ribao*, November 14, 1990).

Zhang's present whereabouts are unknown.

■ **MA Chengyi** (), editor at the PLA Publishing House of *White Snow, Red Blood*, (see Zhang Zhenglong above) has been detained, according to a *Christian Science Monitor* report (September 27, 1990).

RELEASES

Students and Intellectuals

■ **LIU Xiaobo** (), 35, the controversial literary critic and author, was convicted of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement" on January 26, 1991, but was exempted from punishment. According to *Xinhua* (*Washington Post*, January 27, 1991), Liu "committed serious crimes but has acknowledged them, showed repentance and performed some major meritorious services." According to the *New York Times* (January 27, 1991), he may have been released in response to international, and particularly, U.S. pressure.

Liu went on trial January 16, 1991 (*Reuters*, January 18, 1991), according to the notice posted at the Beijing Intermediate Court (*UPI*, January 15, 1991). His wife received official notice of the arrest on November 17, 1990 (*South China Morning Post*, November 28, 1990). According to *Shijie Ribao* (January 19, 1991), Liu's parents were permitted to attend his trial.

Liu, who was described by some students as their "spiritual tutor" (*Reuters*, January 18, 1991), was arrested on June 6, 1989; the arrest was not announced until June 23. At that time, state radio, television and print media said Liu had close ties to Hu Ping, head of the U.S. based organization Chinese Alliance for Democracy, which publishes the journal *China Spring*. Although Liu did not advocate violence, and indeed that he urged students and others to return weapons obtained on the night of June 3-4, 1989, he was accused by the authorities of "instigating and participating in the rioting" and of supporting armed resistance.

On April 26, 1989, Liu returned from the United States, where he had been a visiting scholar at Columbia University's East Asian Institute, to take part in the democracy movement. He was one of four men who started a second hunger strike at the base of the Monument to the People's Heroes in Tiananmen Square on June 2, 1989. In a declaration issued that night, the four stated: "Through our hunger strike, we want also to tell the people that what the government media refers to as a small bunch of troublemakers is in fact the whole nation. We may not be students, but we are citizens whose sense of duty makes us support the democracy movement started by the college students..." The four successfully negotiated the withdrawal of students from Tiananmen Square just before dawn on June 3, 1989, which may be the "meritorious services alluded to in the *Xinhua* report". Two of the men involved were released in 1990; one has been deported.

By the time of his arrest, Liu, like many other activists, was advocating multiparty democracy, freedom of expression and association and strict implementation of the Chinese constitution, which guarantees most basic rights. He has been reviled continuously by the Chinese media. In an article entitled "The 'Black Hands' Make Clear Their Position - Exposing the Fugitive 'Elite' of Turmoil," reprinted in *People's Daily*, Liu is accused of returning to China under the auspices of the "China Democracy and Unity League" (presumably, a reference to the Chinese Alliance for Democracy) in order to "participate in plotting the turmoil." He is further accused of having stated, in an "instigation" speech at Beijing Teachers College, "I am not afraid of being blamed as a 'black hand.' On the contrary, I feel proud of it..." Another alleged comment, "We must organize an armed force among the people to materialize Zhao Ziyang's comeback" reportedly has been used against him (*UPI*, January 16, 1991).

A native of Jilin province and a graduate of Jilin University, Liu was a faculty member in the Chinese department at Beijing Normal University. He finished his doctoral dissertation there on the aesthetics of Chinese literature in 1988. Liu has strongly criticized some of the older Chinese intellectuals, particularly in "Contemporary Chinese Intellectuals and Politics", an article published when Liu arrived in New York in 1989.

Liu has been held in Qincheng Prison since his arrest. His family was permitted a visit during the Chinese New Year, late January, 1990. He is married to Tao Li, a teacher at the Beijing Language Institute. They have a young son.

■ **LÜ Jiamin** (), 45, an associate professor of politics at China Labor College, (an institution for training cadres of the official labor organization, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions), and secretary-general of the Labor Movement Society, was released on January 26, 1991 without trial. He and 17 others (see Liu Suli, Chen Po, Xiong Yan and Zhou Yongjun) were found to have "committed only minor crimes and (to) have shown repentance and performed meritorious services" *Xinhua*, in *UPI*, January 26, 1991). Lü was originally charged with "counterrevolutionary propaganda and agitation" (*South China Morning Post*, December 3, 1990). According to a *Shijie Ribao* report (December 4, 1990), the warrant for Lü's indictment was issued by the Beijing People's Procuratorate and delivered by the Beijing Public Security Bureau. Lü was due for release prior to the start of the Asian Games in late September, according to the report, but his unrepentant attitude, evident in his alleged statement that he would never regret his participation in the pro-democracy movement, reportedly resulted in his indictment.

According to Lü's wife, Zhang Kangkang, the well-known writer, Lü had been held in Qincheng Prison, Beijing, from July 11, 1989 on (*Zhengming*, August 1990). He reportedly was allowed visits from relatives during the 1990 Spring Festival.

Lü was imprisoned once before, for a three year period which started in 1969. He was an editor of the unofficial *Beijing Spring* during the 1978-79 Democracy Wall movement.

■ **ZHOU Yongjun** (), formerly a fourth-year student at the University of Politics and Law in Beijing, arrested sometime in June 1989, was released without trial (see Lü Jiamin) (*AP*, January 26, 1991). He reportedly was charged with carrying out counterrevolutionary propaganda (*UPI*, November 27, 1990). A 23-year-old Sichuan native, Zhou reportedly was imprisoned in Qincheng Prison in Beijing (*Shijie Ribao*, April 12, 1990; *Xin Bao*, April 12, 1990).

Zhou was a founding member of the Beijing Students Autonomous Federation. He was one of three students who on April 22, 1989 knelt for several hours on the steps of the Great Hall of the People and asked to be allowed to hand over a petition to the authorities. On April 23, 1989, Zhou was elected the first chairman of the Beijing Students Autonomous Federation, which represented 21 universities and colleges in the capital. He was dismissed from this post on April 28 after he declined to support the April 27 demonstration march protesting the *Renmin Ribao* editorial of the previous day, which condemned the student movement as "turmoil" and a "planned conspiracy." The protest march drew massive public support. Zhou continued to play an active role in the pro-democracy movement, however, taking part in the Tiananmen Square hunger strike and later serving, under the name Wan Tie (), as a legal adviser to the Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation.

■ **LIU Suli**, () 30, a lecturer in public administration at the University of Politics and Law in Beijing and senior associate at SERI (Social and Economic Sciences Research Center), was released without trial on January 26, 1991 (see Lü Jiamin) (*AP*, January 26, 1991). He had been charged with instigating and spreading counterrevolutionary propaganda. According to friends of Liu's family, his wife received official notification dated November 24, 1990 from the Beijing Procuratorate (*UPI*, November 27, 1990). Liu and Chen Xiaoping had gone into hiding in Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province on June 10, 1989 but returned to Beijing several days later. Liu was arrested on June 17 according to *Shijie Ribao* (December 9, 1990). Liu served as head of the Liaison Department of the Beijing United Consultative Committee on Tiananmen Square. According to his wife, who had expressed concern for his health, her husband "insisted on principles of peace, reason and non-violence." Liu, a native of Xuzhou, Jiangsu Province, is the father of a three-year-old son.

■ **XIONG Yan**, () 26, a post-graduate law student at Beijing University, was released without trial on January 26, 1991 (see Lü Jiamin) (*AP*, January 26, 1991). Xiong, a Beijing Students Autonomous Federation member, and No. 21 on the government's 21 "most wanted" student list, was seized on a train outside Datong, northeast of Beijing in Shanxi province on June 13, 1989. According to the *South China Morning Post* (June 15, 1989),

Xiong was one of a number of student leaders who met with Premier Li Peng on May 18, 1989. At that meeting, he was quoted as saying, "We believe, no matter whether the government does or not, that history will recognize this movement as a patriotic and democratic movement...The people want to see whether the government is really a people's government or not." There was no news about Xiong, a native of Shuangfeng, Hunan Province, from the time of his arrest until his release. He probably was held with other political offenders in Qincheng prison.

- **CHEN Po (Bo)** (), a professor at Beijing University, was released without trial (see Lü Jiamin) (*AP*, January 26, 1991). Chen reportedly was active in getting students out on the streets at the start of the demonstrations in April 1989. No additional information is available.

- **CHEN Lal (Chen Tao)** (), identified as a student by Chinese sources, was convicted and released on January 26, 1991, according to a same day *AP* report. Chen was listed as facing trial on charges of "counterrevolutionary sabotage" (see Guo Haifeng above), but according to an Asia Watch source, he was convicted only of minor crimes. There are no other details about Chen available nor was his arrest ever officially announced.

- **YANG Jinchao** (), **YANG Hongzhe** (), **CHEN Menghui** () and three workers (see Zhang Zhiyong below), all from Ningxia Autonomous Region, have been released. "After investigation and education, they acknowledged their criminal behavior during the period of turmoil and demonstrated their repentance" (*Reuters*, January 3, 1991, from *Ningxia Daily* reaching Beijing January 3, 1991); therefore, the Yinchuan People's Court and the Yinchuan Public Security Bureau decided to be lenient with the six. According to police in the regional capital of Yinchuan who announced the releases, no one arrested in connection with the pro-democracy protests is still detained there.

Yang Jinchao, a Ningxia University student, and Chen Menghui and Yang Hongzhe, students at Ningxia Teachers College, were arrested on July 21, 1989 in Yinchuan City, Ningxia for "counterrevolutionary incitement." Chen, 21, and Yang Hongzhe, 21, were accused of writing articles and wallposters "wickedly slandering the Communist Party." Yang Jinchao, 21, apparently returned to Ningxia from Beijing on June 4, 1989. He was accused of spreading "false" rumors about the 1989 military crackdown there (*Ningxia Ribao*, July 28, 1989, in *Ming Bao*, August 2, 1989) and, on the basis of *Voice of America* broadcasts and other foreign media reports, about the imposition of martial law in Beijing. He also was accused of forming an illegal students' union on June 5, 1989 and of inciting students to boycott exams and classes. On June 6, in Yinchuan, he allegedly led an "anti-government demonstration of more than 20,000 persons."

- **YE Wenfu** (), a poet and army officer, was released during the last week in December according to a January 8, 1990 *Associated Press* report. An official at the Coal Mining Management College where Ye works, confirmed the account. Ye, who was arrested some time in July 1989, joined student demonstrators in Tiananmen Square. On May 18, 1989 he read a poem, "Bitter Love, which he dedicated to the protestors and announced his intention of resigning from the Communist Party. He also signed the May 16, 1989 declaration issued by the Beijing Union of Intellectuals calling on the government to accept student demands.

Ye, who was born in Hubei Province in 1944, joined the PLA when he was 20. He started writing poetry four years later and had his first works published in *PLA News* and *PLA Literature*. In 1978, his first book of poems, entitled "The Love of Mountains," was published. In 1980, he won the Award for an Outstanding Modern Poem by a Chinese Poet; and in 1981 he published "General You Shouldn't Do That," a long poem depicting corruption and malpractice within upper levels of the military. In response, 25 generals reportedly requested his sacking. Ye was imprisoned briefly in 1983 during the Anti-Bourgeois Pollution Campaign; in 1986 he was forced to resign from the army.

According to an Asia Watch source and also a report in the Hong Kong newspaper *Ming Bao* (July 20, 1989), Ye had undergone torture and other severe ill-treatment in Qincheng Prison and had tried unsuccessfully to

commit suicide. He reportedly is very ill. Other accounts by an Asia Watch source and an escaped Chinese dissident report Ye was tried sometime in mid-1990 and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for engaging in "counterrevolutionary propaganda" and obstructing army vehicles. There has never been any official confirmation.

■ **BAI Nanfeng** (白南丰), an economist with the Research Institute for the Reform of the Economic Structure (RIRES), an institute associated with Zhao Ziyang, was freed sometime in December 1990, according to a report in *AP* (January 8, 1991). He had been in detention for 18 months, after an armed soldier and four plainclothes policemen escorted him from his home on June 18, 1989; he was allowed home for a brief family visit in late January 1990 during the Chinese New Year period. Bai is the author of *Richly Endowed Poverty* and one of the signers of the May 19, 1989 "Six Point Declaration".

■ **YU Haocheng** (俞豪成), a 65-year-old legal scholar and former director of the China Legal System and Social-Development Research Institute, was freed sometime in late December 1990 according to *AP* (January 8, 1991). *Shijie Ribao* (January 17, 1991), however, reported that at the end of December Yu was transferred to a "guest house" operated by the Public Security Department. Although he may go in and out freely, the report continues, his activities are closely monitored. Yu reportedly is suffering from heart disease and gallstones.

Yu was arrested on June 27, 1989 by the Public Security Bureau, and taken away in handcuffs from his home in Beijing. According to an Asia Watch source, he was held at the Ministry of State Security's "reception Center" at Shunyi, near Beijing. *Shijie Ribao* (January 17, 1991) reports he was confined to one room; a Public Security Bureau guard was with him at all times. Yu's family were permitted visits. Toward the end of his detention they could bring food and reading matter. His previous reading had been confined to the official journals *Hongji* and *Renmin Ribao*.

On May 14, 1989 Yu joined 11 other intellectuals in a public appeal to the government to declare the student movement a "patriotic democracy movement." His name was included on a Politburo list of about 40 of Zhao Ziyang's supporters who were collectively referred to as the "Anti-Party Coalition." He was also criticized by name in Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong's speech of June 30, 1989 for allegedly advocating bourgeois-liberalization and "plotting and instigating" the counterrevolutionary rebellion.

Yu was declared a "rightist" and imprisoned in solitary confinement during the Cultural Revolution. After his release, he became director of the Public Security Department's Masses Publishing House, from which post he was fired in 1986 during the anti-bourgeois liberalization campaign. He allegedly published "questionable" books and advocated political and legal reforms. In 1988, Yu helped publish *New Enlightenment*, a magazine calling for political change. It was shut down after three issues (*AP*, January 8, 1991).

Yu was, at one time, general editor of the periodical *The Science of Law*, a member of the Standing Committee of the Chinese Political Science Association and an official of the Chinese Association for Legal Science.

■ **WEN Yuankai** (Wen Yuanke), 44, a prominent lecturer and biophysicist at the China University of Science and Technology in Hefei, Anhui Province, was released on December 1990, according to *Ming Bao* (December 24, 1990 in *Shijie Ribao*, December 24, 1990). However, Wen was never formally arrested; rather he was detained by the Hefei authorities for over a year. At first he was restricted to the university, reportedly engaging in "self review" (*Shijie Ribao*, December 10, 1990). He was not free to leave the campus; and he could not give lectures. Later he was moved to an armed police guest house. Wen also was expelled from the Communist Party for "adhering to the stand of bourgeois liberalization and openly declaring opposition to the four cardinal principles" (*Ming Bao* January 24, 1990 in FBIS, January 29, 1990).

Wen, who had studied abroad and returned to China to devote himself to reform, was criticized by Beijing

Mayor Chen Xitong on June 30, 1989 for his activities during the pro-democracy movement which included appeals to the government.

The China University of Science and Technology was the birthplace of the 1986-87 student protest movement. At that time, Fang Lizhi, China's leading dissident and Wen's close friend, was the university's chancellor. It is unclear whether Wen will be permitted to continue his ten year's of cancer research conducted at the university. According to the *Ming Bao* (*Shijie Ribao*, December 24, 1990) report of an interview with Wen, two of his reports, *Computer Assisted Medicine Design* and *The Structure and Function of Inorganic Materials* have not as yet been published. There is concern they will not be cleared.

Wen reportedly has said that after more than a year of living in a box, he needs time to readjust his physical and mental health. Lack of activity and movement, he said, have affected his legs.

Workers

- **HE Lih** (), 30, a leader of the Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation and formerly a lecturer at the Workers University of the Beijing Bureau of Machinery Industry, reportedly has been released (*Reuters*, November 29, 1990). Asia Watch has not been able independently to confirm the report.
- **ZHANG Zhlyong** (), a worker; **YAO Yong** (), a peasant; and **WEI Pizhi** (), who was unemployed at the time of his arrest, have been released (see Yang Jinchao above). Their arrests were never officially announced nor were their respective detentions known to Asia Watch or other human rights monitoring organizations, further evidence that the official count of those detained is deceptively low and that it is the detention of workers that goes unreported.
- **LI Chonghuan** (), identified as a unemployed worker by Chinese sources, was convicted and released on January 26, 1991, according to a same day *AP* report. Li was listed as facing trial on charges of "counterrevolutionary sabotage" (see Guo Haifeng above). There are no other details available nor was Li's arrest ever officially announced.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- **WEI Jingsheng** (), the renowned Democracy Wall dissident imprisoned since 1979, was transferred to Tangshan No.1 Labor Reform Camp in Hebei Province (*UPI*, August 15, 1990). Prior to 1989, Wei was in a camp in western Xinjiang Province.

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News from Asia Watch is a publication of Asia Watch, an independent organization that monitors and promotes human rights throughout Asia. The Chairman is Jack Greenberg. The Vice-Chairs are Orville Schell and Nadine Strossen. The Executive Director is Sidney Jones. The Washington Director is Mike Jendrzeczyk. Asia Watch is part of Human Rights Watch, which includes Africa Watch, Americas Watch, Helsinki Watch, Middle East Watch and the Fund for Free Expression.