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Persecution After Prison

Problems Faced By Released Chinese Dissidents

Since January 1990, according to Chinese authorities, close to 1,000 pro-democracy activists have been released from detention without charge, or convicted but "exempted from punishment" and allowed to return home. Many of those released continue to face harassment by public security authorities. Many have also experienced job and housing loss, expulsion from school, restrictions on traveling (including being forbidden to leave China for study in the United States), frequent mandatory reporting to public security officials, or compulsory transfer of household registration (*hukou*) to a small town or the countryside -- and sometimes all of the above.

In China, where the government, through the Communist Party apparatus, has control over almost every facet of daily life, it is standard practice to make a person's educational and work opportunities, social benefits and medical care, and freedom of movement contingent upon his or her political behavior. Such controls are a way of trying to curb dissent.

The practice of dismissing released prisoners from their jobs and sending them back to small towns or villages, often where their parents live, can be an effective way of silencing outspoken dissidents, particularly intellectuals. Such places are isolated from the big cities, where most intellectuals live and work, and where people in general are better informed about and more sympathetic toward the pro-democracy movement. "It's the end. Nothing you can do there," one active intellectual, who recently left China, told Asia Watch. "The local police and the neighborhood committee treat a former political prisoner worse than in the jails: you are watched every moment in a small place, your mail is opened and your message asking for help never gets out of town."

In addition to the problems they face in leading normal lives, many released dissidents returned home in poor health, suffering from tuberculosis, skin diseases, malnutrition, and in some cases, damaged organs from beatings received in prison. Medical treatment in the cases known to Asia Watch was poor or non-existent. When hospitalization was required, families had to bear the costs, sometimes while their relatives were still imprisoned, always after they were released, even if their medical condition was directly related to their imprisonment.

In this report, Asia Watch documents the post-release restrictions for several leading pro-democracy activists. It is because they are so well-known, and because they are for the most part students or intellectuals, that their current circumstances can be documented. The problems they face may be minor compared to the hundreds of less well-known people, many of them workers, reported to

have been released over the last two years. Asia Watch reiterates its call to the Chinese government to account for all those imprisoned and released in connection with the 1989 pro-democracy movement, to lift restrictions on the civil rights of released prisoners and detainees and to provide compensation to former prisoners for injuries or illnesses sustained while in custody.

1. Zhang Weiguo: Re-Arrested for Defying Order Not to Speak Out

Whether you're inside or outside, it's just about the same for the Chinese. Either way, you have no freedom.

Zhang Weiguo, *The New York Times*, April 5, 1991

Zhang Weiguo, former Beijing bureau chief of the *World Economic Herald*, was twice arrested and released in the wake of the crackdown in Tiananmen Square. He reportedly played a key role in organizing pro-democracy information to the *Herald*, one of China's most liberal newspapers. He also tried to institute legal proceedings to protest the way in which the newspaper was closed down in May 1989 by then Shanghai Party Secretary Jiang Zemin (now Secretary-General of the Chinese Communist Party).

Zhang was taken into custody for the first time on June 20, 1989 in Jingshan, near Shanghai, and then formally arrested on September 20, 1989. He was held in a detention center on the outskirts of Shanghai, then was moved to Shanghai No.1 Detention Center where he shared a cell with common criminals. He was released in Shanghai on February 12, 1991. According to a Shanghai Foreign Affairs official¹, he showed an "understanding" of his crime.

During his 20 months in detention after June 1989, Zhang was never allowed a visit from his family nor, with a single exception, was he permitted to do exercise outside. He developed a heart problem soon after his arrest.²

Zhang's release in February 1991 appears to have been conditional on his abstaining from making public statements, not traveling beyond Shanghai and maintaining regular contact with the police. But Zhang did speak out publicly. He recounted his prison experience and criticized the government in an interview with *New York Times* journalists, published on April 5, 1991. Despite a warning from police, he gave another interview to Hong Kong journalists from *Ming Pao*, published on April 8, 1991, in which he revealed the harsh conditions in the Shanghai No.1 Detention Center. Once a corporate lawyer, Zhang said in an interview with BBC TV journalists in May 1991,

I am under overt pressure... In theory I have all the rights of a citizen. But I have a lot of trouble exercising these rights. For example, ...the authorities can dock my wages...they can interfere with my mail by screening it.

¹ *Associated Press*, February 14, 1991

² *New York Times* April 5, 1991.

He didn't hesitate to criticize the government:

I've made a personal commitment to demand the establishment of democracy and legality in China. The reason I feel free to express such a notion in front of you is because that is a right to which I am entitled as a citizen by our law and constitution. If I get in trouble when I exercise my right that means there is something wrong with Chinese law...³

In June 1991, Zhang moved to the home of relatives in Zhejiang province, reportedly to avoid the constant harassment he was receiving from security officials for continuing to speak out. He had been called in by the Public Security Bureau for questioning at least twice since his release. ⁴ On May 29, 1991 and again on May 30, he was questioned for eight hours about his relationship with *Luntan* (Forum), the journal which a group calling itself the Study Group on Human Rights in China had planned to publish. Zhang was a member of that group which surfaced in early 1991; some of its other members remain under arrest. At the same time, Zhang was asked about his contacts with foreign reporters and about his plan to compile a selection of the writings and speeches of Qin Benli, the crusading editor of the *World Economic Herald* who died of cancer in April 1991, while still officially on "probation" and censored. Authorities demanded Zhang hand over the manuscript. Zhang insisted the police hand over his confiscated prison diaries first.

On July 30, 1991, Zhang Weiguo, while at his relatives' home in Zhejiang, was taken into custody again for repeatedly defying orders to stop talking to foreign journalists. The Public Security Bureau told Zhang's brother that he was being "held for surveillance." But they were secretive about where Zhang was or why he was re-arrested. He was released on August 21, after three weeks in custody.

Zhang has been harassed in other ways. He had been notified by the Shanghai Social Science Institute that he had until June 15 to find a job or he would have one assigned. According to the *South China Morning Post* (June 6, 1991), one possible assignment was with a petrochemical plant 45 miles from Shanghai. Zhang had requested a job as a journalist and six months in which to locate one. As of October 1991, he still had no job, was not allowed to leave Shanghai, and had to report to the Public Security Bureau at least once a week.

2. Wang Ruowang: A Hostage of His Own Outspokenness

After being in jail for one year and two months, I was released and regained freedom. I just found out that many people from overseas fought for my freedom! ...The meaning of my release is not a personal triumph. It is a victory similar to Mandela's release (at least we are the same age and get out of jail in the same

³ Amnesty International, Urgent Action No. UA 267/91.

⁴ *Shijie Ribao*, June 1 and June 3, 1991.

year). However, my situation is very different from his; he can travel around the world and give speeches, while I am restricted in many ways and I am only released conditionally and waiting for trial.

– Wang Ruowang, December 10, 1990

Wang Ruowang is a renowned writer and a veteran critic of the Chinese government. He was expelled from the Communist Party in early 1987, along with dissident intellectuals Fang Lizhi and Liu Binyan, for his involvement in the 1987 student demonstrations. Earlier, Wang had been branded a "rightist" in 1957 and expelled from the Party for five years; for his activities during the Cultural Revolution, he was imprisoned for six years. Wang's outspokenness had also caused his imprisonment by the Nationalists in 1933, when he wrote a sarcastic article criticizing Chiang Kai-shek.

Following the Tiananmen Square crackdown in 1989, Wang was accused of listening to the Voice of America and spreading "rumors" based on these broadcasts; making counterrevolutionary speeches; and supporting student hunger strikers. On July 19, 1989, Wang was placed under house arrest in Shanghai. On September 8, he was moved to a detention center in the city and accused of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement," but he was never formally charged. Wang, 73, was allowed no visitors during his fourteen-month detention. He was conditionally released on October 29, 1990.

Feng Suying, Wang's wife, told the *South Morning Post* on November 1, 1990 that Wang's health had deteriorated in prison. When he was released, his hands shook too badly to write; his eyesight, hearing and memory were impaired; he was missing some teeth and had difficulty climbing stairs. Police told him at the time that he could be taken back for prosecution at any time.

Since his release, Wang has been under surveillance and must regularly report his ideological state to the authorities. He has to get special permission to leave his home in Shanghai and has been denied permission to travel abroad. In November 1990, a month after his release, Columbia University in New York City formally invited Wang and his wife to visit the East Asian Institute for a period of three months. Wang would have participated in seminars on Chinese literature of the 1930s. He submitted all the required documentation to the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau immediately. (He also mentioned that he would like to get eye treatment while abroad. The university has confirmed that he could obtain the needed medical care.) Five months passed, but no answer, much less a passport, came from the Security Bureau.

In March 1991, Wang received another letter from Columbia University, stating that "...the East Asian Institute's invitation to you and your wife to come to Columbia University ... remains open." He still heard nothing. The third invitation arrived in June, but to date, Wang and his wife have received no information as to whether they will be allowed to leave China.

Wang was never on any of the Chinese government's "Most Wanted Lists" issued after the June 1989 crackdown, nor was he ever charged with any crime. According to the Chinese constitution, he should be eligible to travel abroad and to give academic lectures outside China. Puzzled by the government's silence, Columbia University wrote to the mayor of Shanghai requesting permission for Wang to travel. The mayor has not responded.

On April 18, 1991, Wang and his wife were taken back for questioning by the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau for 30 hours. Their interrogation followed an interview with Wang by a journalist for the Hong Kong newspaper *Ming Bao* which was published on April 17. In the interview, Wang mourned the death of Qin Benli, the editor of the *World Economic Herald* who had died two days earlier and urged a state funeral for him. In July 1991, in another act of harassment, Wang's telephone line was disconnected, and as of October 1991, his telephone service had not been restored.

Confronted with these restrictions, Wang continues writing and talking to journalists. He recently finished Volume I of his biography.⁵ "I am in good spirits," he told an American professor who visited him at his home in July 1991. He wrote to a friend,

...[The lack of freedom after my release] reminds me of the increased value of my existence in this world. It's worth paying the price of going to jail for the third time in my life. Now, I value freedom more than before, cherishing the rest of my hard-to-be-extinguished life."

3. Han Dongfang: Conditionally Released in Broken Health

Han Dongfang was a railway worker in the Fengtai Locomotive Maintenance Yard in Beijing. With a small group of fellow workers, Han founded the Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation in Tiananmen Square on May 19, 1989. On June 2, the BWAFF was branded by the authorities as "counterrevolutionary" and on June 8, it was declared "illegal." The BWAFF called on workers throughout China to organize independently to press their demands in accordance with the Chinese constitution and laws. His leading role in the late May protests and negotiation for the release of three detained BWAFF members led to his being charged as a "leading instigator of attacks on the Public Security Bureau."

Han, known as China's Lech Walesa, turned himself in on June 19, 1989 and spent 22 months in detention before being released on April 28, 1991 "on bail, awaiting trial," meaning the charges against him have not been dropped. (Formal charges of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement" were brought against Han in March 1990.)

According to a released inmate at Paoju Lane Detention Center in Beijing where Han was first incarcerated, "Han had a stomach problem in and around July [1989], due to the summer heat and poor food. At first the police said Han was pretending and refused to take him to the doctor....After other cell-mates begged on his behalf, the police agreed to take him."

Han was later transferred to Banbuqiao Detention Center in March 1990. The authorities consistently refused to acknowledge the gravity of his illness. His health continued to deteriorate at Banbuqiao to the point where he had difficulty walking. In January 1991, Han was moved to Qincheng Prison. There he was held in a dank and overcrowded cell. Infectious diseases were common among the prisoners and he developed a persistently high fever. The authorities denied his request for proper

⁵ The first volume of a three-volume projected series, *Wang Ruowang's Biography* was published in 1991 by Ming Bao Press in Hong Kong.

medical treatment until early April, when he was finally taken to a hospital. Doctors at the hospital mistakenly diagnosed the illness as Legionnaire's disease and gave him the wrong medical treatment. Only after his release at the end of April did Han begin to receive the necessary treatment for advanced tuberculosis. The medical treatment and access to medical facilities, however, were not provided by the authorities, and his parents were reportedly obliged to cover all medical costs. In fact, it appears that Han's release stemmed from official fears that Han would otherwise die in prison.

Although Han's health has reportedly begun to improve since his conditional release, he has been dismissed from his former job, has no income and is facing possible eviction from his home. He remains under police surveillance, and authorities have told him that he could be re-arrested and put on trial at any time.

4. Wen Yuankai: the "Disarmed" Scientist and Silenced "Youth Mentor"

Wen Yuankai, a prominent biophysicist and reformist at the prestigious China University of Science and Technology in Hefei, Anhui Province, was released in December 1990 after 15 months in the "reception center" of the local office of the People's Armed Police. During the 1989 demonstrations, he had gone to Tiananmen Square twice, requesting the government to recognize the pro-democracy movement as "patriotic" and trying to persuade the students to leave. He had worked closely with another dissident intellectual, Yan Jiaqi, to support Zhao Zhiyang's reform campaign and was the major mover of reform in the science and technology system.

The Anhui Provincial Public Security Bureau placed Wen, 45, under house arrest in August 1989. He was detained at an unknown corner on campus, reportedly engaging in "thorough self-censorship", before being moved to the "reception center." After his release, he reportedly wrote to a friend, "I have some difficulty walking and feel weak and lacking in nourishment, due to the confinement."

Soon after his detention, Wen lost his official position as the Deputy Director of Anhui Province Education Committee and was then expelled from the Communist Party for "adhering to the stand of bourgeois liberalization and openly declaring opposition to the four cardinal principles."⁶ After June 1989, criticisms of his reformist ideas appeared in CCP documents and internal news reports at least 17 times, according to one of his friends.

Wen has not been allowed to teach classes since his release. He was informed by the authorities that the Central Committee issued a document banning the publication of his scientific work, but that he could continue the research on cancer he conducted during his last ten years at the university. According to an interview with Wen in the Hong Kong-newspaper *Ming Bao* (reported in the US paper *Shijie Ribao*, December 24, 1990), two of his books, *Computer-Assisted Medicine Design* and *The Structure and Function of Inorganic Materials*, which were sent to the printer just before the June 4, 1989 crackdown, cannot be published.

Wen did not believe that the ban on his freedom was issued by the Central Committee and

⁶ *Ming Bao*, January 24, 1990, in *FBIS*, January 29, 1990.

planned to appeal directly to Beijing, according to an Asia Watch source. In addition to requesting a release of the ban on publishing his books, he wanted to teach his graduate students and recover his lab and research funding. Wen is one of fifty authors whose works are officially banned.

To support himself, Wen turned to private enterprise and became the head of a company linked to the University of Science and Technology which aimed to promote advanced bio-technology. The company has since had its connection with the university severed, and is now thought to have folded. An internal police document outlining the possibility that political dissidents might use private-venture profits to fund political opposition, might be responsible for the rupture.¹

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. Wen's campaign speeches all over the country made him known as a "youth mentor" among university students.

5. Liu Xiaobo: Refusing to be Silenced

Liu, 35, was a well-known literary critic and a visiting scholar at Columbia University's East Asian Institute when he decided to return to China in April 1989 to join the pro-democracy movement. He was to become a leader of the movement and spent some 20 months in detention as a result.

Liu Xiaobo was one of four men who started a second hunger strike on June 2, 1989 at the base of Tiananmen Square's Monument to the People's Heroes. 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 4, 1989. Two of the men involved were released in 1990; the third has been deported to Taiwan.

By the time of his arrest on June 6, Liu, like many other activists, was advocating multiparty democracy, freedom of expression and association and strict implementation of the Chinese constitution, which formally guarantees most basic rights. After the crackdown, he was 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 was accused of returning to China under the auspices of the "China Democracy and Unity League" (presumably, a reference to the US-based organization, *Chinese Alliance for Democracy* which publishes the magazine *China Spring*) in order to "participate in plotting the turmoil." In a speech at Beijing Teachers College, he was quoted as saying, "I am not afraid of being blamed as a 'black hand.' On the contrary, I feel proud of it..."

¹ *Reuters*, June 2, 1991

Liu, described by some students as their "spiritual tutor," 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 *Chinese Alliance for Democracy*. Although Liu did not advocate violence, and indeed 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. He was held in Qincheng Prison for over 19 months, during which time his family was permitted one visit, during the Chinese New Year in late January 1990. He was tried on charges of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement" and convicted on January 26, 1991 but "exempted from punishment" for unspecified "meritorious services" and allowed to go free.

Liu lost his teaching position and his residence permit in Beijing. In February 1991, he was reportedly living with his father in Dalian, a city in Jilin province. He remained under the supervision of the local security authorities and had to report regularly to the Dalian Public Security Bureau.⁸ He is now reported to be back in Beijing. The Beijing Normal University, which fired him, has offered to help him find a job outside of the capital. But Liu prefers staying in the capital to avoid losing the opportunity to speak out and to contact the world.

On June 12, 1989, Columbia University wrote to Liu, as well as his "work unit" or *danwei* at the Beijing Normal University where he was a lecturer, inviting him to resume his visiting scholar position at the school and offering to "handle the necessary formalities" for him. Liu, arrested six days earlier, could not reply. Since his release, several more informal invitations have been sent to him by Columbia University, the latest of which was sent in May 1991. Liu has also reportedly been invited to study in Australia.

6. Dai Qing: "It's a citizen's right to claim the Nobel award"

On May 9, 1990, Dai Qing, an outspoken journalist and a regular columnist, was freed without charge from her eleven-month imprisonment, first in Qincheng Prison, then in a police "reception center." Upon her unexpected release, she found that she had not been discharged from her employment at the *Guangming Daily*, but her journalist license was confiscated. No longer able to continue her journalist career, she accepted an offer from a Taiwanese agency to edit a Taiwan folklore magazine *Hansheng*.

On May 22, 1991, she was offered a Nieman fellowship at Harvard University, a prestigious honor awarded to twelve journalists around the globe each year. As of November 1991, she had not been allowed to leave China. She has sent an appeal to Jiang Zemin, the General Secretary of the Central Committee, requesting him to permit her to leave the country. "I cherish this opportunity greatly, because it's a good thing, it's legal. Anyone should get the permission to go to the U.S. to claim an award," she told the General Secretary. According to an August 13, 1991 *Reuters* dispatch, her appeal was turned down. She was told by her work unit, which has to give permission before authorities issue a passport, that "she was not in the plan for going abroad." It is not clear whether the high government

⁸ *The South China Morning Post*, February 8, 1991

officials had ordered her unit to reject her application or the unit officers acted on their own. Dai has asked Harvard to defer her registration at the program, and she is still trying to get a passport.

Authorities at the *Guangming Daily* have harassed her continuously since her release. For her "mistake of supporting and taking part in political turmoil," her work unit ordered her to "stay at home to study ideology and take a rest," effectively preventing her from working.

Ten days after her release, a Hong Kong newspaper, *Ming Pao*, published her controversial memorial of her jail life, in which she described how well she was treated in jail and how security authorities had "understood her and showed sympathy with her case." In the same article, she criticized the strategy of some of the Chinese dissidents in exile overseas. "If I have to side with either democracy or enlightened authoritarianism, I choose the latter...I think it's more horrifying to have a revolution (to overthrow) than to maintain the current regime."

Despite these comments, restrictions on her rights to work and travel remain in force. After all, she has always been an uncompromising critic of the government. "I may continue criticizing the government; to do this is for its health and its strength," she wrote after her release. She rejected a jail visit by journalist from the official Xinhua agency in October 1989, as she did not want to be interviewed by an exclusive agency which was only interested in her jail treatment for propaganda purposes.

During the pro-democracy movement, Dai helped rally other journalists to support Qin Benli, the suspended editor of the *World Economic Herald*. She went to Tiananmen Square to try to persuade students to leave to avoid bloodshed. She was later accused of slandering the government and of belonging to an illegal organization. She was also criticized for resigning, on June 4, 1989, from the Party and for signing an appeal in May 1989 asking the government to recognize the legality of the student movement.

7. Zhou Duo: Routinely "Visited" by Security Officials

Zhou Duo, 43, was first arrested on July 10, 1989 in southern China. He was released on May 10, 1990 along with 210 other dissidents. At the time of his first arrest, Zhou was head of two departments in Stone, the Strategic Planning and the Public Relations Departments. Prior to joining the Stone Company, he was a lecturer in the Economics Department at Beijing University. Before that he taught at the cadre training institute of the Communist Youth League. Several senior staff from Stone either have been arrested or have fled into exile. The corporation's Institute for Social Development Research was accused of leading the petition drive calling for an emergency meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress following the declaration of martial law on May 20, 1989. A May 21, 1989 letter containing the names of 57 Standing Committee members said that "the will of the people should be reflected through legal procedures." According to one account, the letter also called for the dismissal of Li Peng.

Zhou Duo was expelled from Stone Company where he was an employee before his detention. He has been jobless since his release in May 1990. The security authorities told him not to talk to foreign journalists, but he continued to speak out. He has thus been visited by the security authorities almost once every week. They reportedly try to intimidate him into severing his links with the international

press. Zhou has had to turn to private-venture enterprise to make a living,⁹ but here too, he has run into difficulty. According to the internal police document referred to above, Chinese authorities are trying to block business ventures of political opponents to prevent the development of a financial base for future political protest. A partner of Zhou's in a research project reportedly has been pressured to withdraw; Zhou himself has been forced out of the project.

On May 30, 1990, three weeks after his release, Zhou, together with two of the other hunger strikers, Hou Dejian and Gao Xin, was put back in detention, shortly before the three were to hold a joint news conference appealing for an amnesty for political prisoners. They were held by the authorities for almost three weeks.

After his second release, Zhou, said the police had seized him at his home and told him he would be detained for his "own good" until after the first anniversary of the Tiananmen crackdown had passed. He was held for 18 days, during which time he complied with official requests to write about his circumstances and opinions. According to a June 19, 1990 *Reuters* dispatch, Zhou reported that he was held in suburban Beijing in the same hotel as Hou, but the two did not see each other during their detention.

Zhou is currently trying to obtain the necessary documentation to study in the United States.

8. Chen Xiaoping: Law Lecturer Out of Work

Chen Xiaoping, a leader of the Beijing Citizens Autonomous Union in the 1989 pro-democracy movement and an active student critic of the unconstitutional ban on demonstrations in 1987, lost his job as a lecturer on constitutional law at the University of Politics and Law in Beijing when he was released from prison in February 1991. He had been detained for almost 18 months without trial, during which time he was deprived of his right to reside in Beijing and his party membership. He was convicted in February of "counterrevolutionary sedition" but exempted from punishment. Upon his release, he returned to his hometown, Hengyang, Hunan Province, to live with his parents. After some months he returned to Beijing and was living on the campus of the University of Politics and Law with the full knowledge of university administrators. That arrangement is a temporary one, however, and Chen is trying to recover his Beijing residence permit which would allow him to find other housing. He is being supported by friends and family members as he still has no job, although he is continuing his writing on constitutional law.

9. Yu Haochen: Legal Scholar Not Allowed to Publish

Yu Haocheng, 65, is China's leading dissident legal scholar. At the time of his arrest on June 26, 1989, he was director the Legal Institute of the Capital Iron and Steel Works, a member of the Standing Committee of the Chinese Political Science Association, and an official of the Chinese Association for Legal Science. Yu was released on January 26, 1991 after exactly 18 months in detention. He is not allowed to publish and has been removed from all the posts he held before his arrest. He is now

⁹ *Washington Post*, June 2, 1991

essentially in "forced retirement," according to one colleague.

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, but 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.

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 also was 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.

The Public Security Bureau arrested Yu on June 26 and took him 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. Yu's family was permitted visits; toward the end of his detention, the family could bring food and reading matter. His previous reading had been confined to the official journals *Hongji's Red Flag* and *Renmin Ribao*.

10. Xiong Yan: Damaged Kidneys, No Income

Xiong Yan, 26, a graduate student in law at Beijing University prior to his dismissal from the school, was released without trial on January 26, 1991. Too seriously ill with kidney disease to work -- he reportedly needs a transplant -- he and his wife have been living on a small income from her typist job. Xiong's kidney problems reportedly stemmed from the treatment he received in jail. He was denied medical care despite his repeated reports to prison authorities of severe back pain. According to one report, he was confined with handcuffs and leg shackles for several months.

A member of the Beijing Students Autonomous Federation and No. 21 on the government's 21 "most wanted" student list, Xiong 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), he 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.

11. Cao Siyuan: Struggling to Survive and Preserve a Cause

Cao Siyuan, 44, was one of the prime movers behind an attempt in May 1989 to convene an emergency session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress to press for the repeal of Li Peng's declaration of martial law in May 1989. He had been a senior adviser to then Party Secretary-General Zhao Ziyang. An economist, political theorist and legal expert, he was the director of the Stone

Company's Institute for Social Development Research and the chief architect of China's bankruptcy law. On June 3, 1989, a day before the tanks rolled into Tiananmen Square, Cao Suiyan was taken, blindfolded and hand-cuffed, by four policemen in front of a food store near his home in Beijing. They did not show a warrant or any identification. His family and colleagues were not notified until long after his arrest.

Cao was first put in a "reception center" (*zhaodaisuo*) at the airport and then held in Qincheng Prison in a very crowded cell, given bad food, and allowed one shower and twenty minutes of outside exercise per week. After having been in jail for nearly a year, Cao Siyuan was told in early May 1990 that the investigation found him not guilty and he was free to go home, along with 211 other dissidents reportedly "excused from investigation, given lenient treatment."¹⁰

Cao requested a written statement of innocence at his release and was refused. According to friends, he politely protested the illegality of his detention and insisted on the lawfulness of his demand for an emergency meeting of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress in May 1989. Within days of his release, Cao was informed by the party secretary of the Stone Company of his intention to expel Cao from the party. Cao protested according to the Party Rules. He insisted that he had not been found guilty of any crimes. He has received no response.

The Stone Company violated a state regulation in refusing to pay him after his release and denying back salary for the period he was detained. According to a 1984 document, "Opinions on Government Employees' Salary During Their Detention for Investigation," issued by the Labor and Personnel Ministry,

"Government employees, when they are detained for investigation, should receive 75 percent of their salary...; the reduced part can be paid back to them when they are released without criminal charge or administrative punishment..."

"They didn't succeed in drowning him legally, so they are now strangling him economically," a family member said. Cao has been quietly but closely watched since his release by security authorities.

The same group of people who worked with Cao at the Institute for Social Development Research also ran the Siyuan Bankruptcy Consulting Firm. After Cao's arrest, five other members of the group were arrested, and one went into hiding. The Institute was searched, offices confiscated, and business registration canceled.

After his release, Cao tried to restore the bankruptcy firm, despite efforts of his friends to stop him from engaging in a "dangerous non-official business." In August 1990, the firm got a new license, but it has made little money, in part because the government's central planning is reluctant to permit bankruptcies within the system, and in part because people are scared to consult him because of his dissident reputation. The Party secretary at Stone Company has urged that the firm be disassociated from Stone, and it has stopped any funding for office supplies.

¹⁰ *Xinhua*, May 10, 1990.

Cao, who has to support his family of four -- his wife, daughter and mother -- finds himself unable to make ends meet.

12. Shao Jiang: Banned from Attending Grandmother's Funeral

Shao Jiang, 22, a mathematics student at Beijing University, was released in February, 1991, after 18 months in custody without trial. Having been dismissed from school, Shao, a member of the Standing Committee of the Beijing Students Autonomous Federation, has not been able to find a job. His parents have to pay his living and medical treatment expenses. Harsh prison conditions, including inadequate and poor food, caused him stomach problems. He has no residential identification and has been frequently visited by security authorities.

In October 1991, he applied to go to Taiwan to attend the first anniversary of the death of his grandmother but was told that since he had been the leader of a counterrevolutionary organization (the Beijing Students Autonomous Federation), his departure would threaten national security and under the terms of Article 8(5) of the Immigration Regulations Law, he would not be permitted to leave. He has mounted a legal challenge to this ban.

Other Cases

Asia Watch knows of many other released prisoners facing some post-release problems:

Zhong Di, 33, former deputy chief editor of the magazine *Economics Weekly*, was released in 1990. He was arrested on October 19, 1989 while trying to flee the country. A graduate of Beijing University's economics department, Zheng's official job was as a teacher. He has been fired and has not been assigned to any other job, nor is he permitted employment as a journalist.

Chen Lal, a student at Beijing Teachers College, was charged with "counterrevolutionary sabotage" but during his trial on January 26, 1991, he was convicted of a lesser crime and released without punishment. It is not known when he was arrested. He has been expelled from school and has not been able to find a job since his release.

Li Yuqi, a leader of the Beijing Autonomous Workers Federation at Qinghua University, was convicted of minor crimes and released on January 5, 1991. He has no job. A chemistry student from Tianjin, Li was first incarcerated with criminal suspects in Changping Prison in a suburb of Beijing.

Pang Zhihong, 25, a student at Liaoning Railway College, was convicted and exempted from punishment in December 1990. He was then dismissed from school and has not been able to find a job.

Chen Po, a lecturer of international politics at Beijing University, was released without trial on January 26, 1991. He lost his job at the University. Chen reportedly was active in getting students out on the streets at the start of the demonstrations in April 1989.

Feng Gang, a 35-year-old radio announcer for *Guizhou Provincial Television*, was released in January or

February 1991. As one of the major organizers of pro-democracy protests in Guiyang, the capital of Guizhou Province, he reportedly made several public speeches and led the May 1989 demonstrations there. After June 4, 1989, Feng recorded *Voice of America* broadcasts, then played the tape in front of the Guizhou Provincial Television and Broadcasting Department. Prior to his arrest at the end of July 1989, Feng had been warned by friends that he was on the wanted list, but he refused to go into hiding or attempt to escape. Reportedly tortured while in prison, he now suffers some undiagnosed mental illness. Since his release, Feng has been working as a bartender. According to an unofficial government source, he may be permitted to return to his old job, with the proviso that he not appear on screen.

Zhang Wei, Chen Wei, Ding Xiaoping and Wen Jie were released on January 27, 1991 without ever having been charged, according to an Asia Watch source. Chen, a native of Sichuan province, was a student at Beijing Science and Engineering University. He was expelled from school and has been unemployed since his release. Ding, 27, a graduate student at Beijing University, has been too ill to work and staying home in Beijing. He was the first elected chairman of Beijing University Student Solidarity Union. Wen Jie, 28, has also been unemployed and is staying with his parents in Beijing.

Hou Jie, a 27-year-old journalist at *Beijing Ribao*, arrested around June 18, 1989, and released in 1990, is no longer permitted to work as a journalist.

Lian Shengde, about 24, was released in December 1990 after having been in detention since August 10, 1989. After his arrest, he was dismissed from the Chinese airlines college. Lian, who served briefly as Provisional Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Tiananmen Square Command Center just after the May 20, 1989 declaration of martial law, was arrested in Shenzhen on August 10, 1989. Lian has been unable to work since his release.

Yang Tao, 19, a history major at Beijing University and one of the 21 "most wanted" student leaders, was quietly released sometime in August 1990, according to students and teachers at the university (*Reuters*, September 12, 1990). Yang, who was held for 13 months in Qincheng Prison, reportedly has been banished to his hometown of Fuzhou, the capital of Fujian Province. In addition, he reportedly has been expelled from school and barred from future entry into any Chinese university. He has been unemployed since his release. Yang, who was head of Beijing University's Autonomous Student Union, was labeled an "instigator of the counterrevolutionary rebellion" at the time of his arrest in Lanzhou, Gansu Province on June 17, 1989. He was further accused of "advocating bourgeois liberalization" and of "wantonly attacking Marxism."

Yu Guolu, a 33-year-old member of the Research Institute for Economic, Technological and Social Development, a division of the Sociology and Economics Research Institute, has been released. Yu was briefly detained in June 1989 and then re-arrested later in 1989 in Beijing, following the arrest of his brother-in-law, Chen Ziming. Yu and his wife, Chen Zhihua, a former employee at the Beijing Social and Economic Development Institute, who was also detained briefly, both lost their jobs and have no source of income. They have one child.

Zhou Fengsuo, 23, a physics major at Qinghua University and a member of the Standing Committee of the Beijing Students Autonomous Federation, was one of the 97 prisoners released by the authorities on June 6, 1990. Zhou, who was on the list of 21 "most wanted" student leaders, was arrested near Xi'an on June 13, 1989, shortly after being informed on by his elder sister and brother-in-law. Zhou was dismissed

from school and has been unemployed since his release.

Yang Baikui, a former researcher at the Political Science Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, lost his job after his arrest. He was released in December 1990.

Li Honglin, former director of the Fujian Academy of Social Sciences, was released on May 7, 1990. He has not been able to return to work but he has received his salary.

Wan Jinxin, a lecturer at the University of Politics and Law, was released in February 1991. He has been dismissed from his job.

Li Zhixi, a worker at the printing shop of the University of Politics and Law, was arrested in December 1989 and released in early 1991. He was dismissed from his job.

Liu Danhong, a staff member at the *Beijing Economics Weekly*, was arrested in December 1989 and released in June 1991. He lost his job and was sent home to Wuhan.

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Asia Watch was founded in 1985 to promote internationally recognized human rights in the region. The Chair is Jack Greenberg and the Vice Chairs are Harriet Rabb and Orville Schell. The Executive Director is Sidney Jones.

Asia Watch is part of Human Rights Watch, which also includes Africa Watch, Americas Watch, Helsinki Watch and Middle East Watch. The Chairman of Human Rights Watch is Robert L. Bernstein and the Vice Chair is Adrian DeWind. The Executive Director is Aryeh Neier and the Deputy Director is Kenneth Roth.